

Replica of a traditional Aboriginal *nawi* or bark canoe, 2010

Built by James Dodd

Stringybark

The phrase ‘Nowey, binnie bow [*nawi bini-bawu*] --- I will make a Canoe’ was recorded in an Aboriginal vocabulary from the Sydney area in 1791. This canoe is based on descriptions by First Fleet observers, who in 1788 found Warrane (Sydney Cove) crowded with men and women skimming across the waters in their fragile craft.

The replica was made from a single sheet of inner bark cut from a stringybark tree (*Eucalyptus obliqua*) near Batemans Bay, with permission and assistance from Paul Carriage, Aboriginal cultural officer, Forests NSW. The ends were bunched and tied together with stringybark cord.

Bennelong Point from Dawes Point, c. 1804

Attributed to John Eyre (b. 1771)

Watercolour on card

V1/1810/1

‘They [Natives] often Come on board our ship, which they call an Island ...’

David Blackburn to his sister Margaret Blackburn, 17 March 1791

MLMSS 6937/1/1

This watercolour view looking across the water from Dawes Point (Tarra) to Bennelong Point (Tubowgulle) is an early work attributed to artist John Eyre, a convicted housebreaker, who advertised in the *Sydney Gazette* for a box of watercolours one month after he received his pardon on 4 June 1804.

By 1804 some Aboriginal men and women had made the transition from their *nawi* or bark canoes to English sailing ships, but both kinds of watercraft coexisted in Sydney Cove for many years, as this painting shows.

Journal of PG King, April 1790

Philip Gidley King (1758–1808)
(reproduction)

Acquired from Francis Edwards, 1898
C115, p. 400

The title of this exhibition is drawn from the language spoken by the Indigenous coastal clans of the Sydney area, who called themselves Eora, meaning ‘people’. *Mari nawi* is a phonetic transcription of words recorded in Sydney in April 1790 by naval lieutenant Philip Gidley King.

Conscious of the relationship between their canoes and the First Fleet ships, the Eora named the largest vessel, the 20-gun HMS *Sirius* (540 tons), Murray Nowey (*mari nawi*) or ‘large canoe’, and the smallest, the eight-gun brig HMS *Supply* (168 tons), Narrong Nowey (*narang nawi*) or ‘small canoe’.

Aboriginal man and woman in canoe, 1802

Nicolas-Martin Petit (1777–1804)

Pencil, charcoal and ink (reproduction)

Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre, France

2002.51

Aboriginal bark canoes (*nawi*) were 3 m to 4 m long and about 1 m wide, shallow and made from a single sheet of bark, cut while green and bent into shape over a fire. The ends were bunched and tied with cord or vines and the sides were held apart with wooden spacers. Bark for canoes was usually taken from the stringybark (*Eucalyptus obliqua*) or from the *goomun* or 'fir tree' (*Casuarina* species).

Petit's drawing of an Aboriginal couple shows the small fire that burned in the middle of the canoe and the paddles (*narewang*) used to propel them.

First description of canoes at Botany Bay, 1789

Author unknown

An authentic and interesting narrative of the late expedition to Botany Bay: as performed by Commodore Phillips (sic) and the fleet of seven transport ships ... London: Printed by W Bailey, H Lemoine and J Parsons, 1789

DL 78/68, p. 28

The first printed reference to bark canoes at Botany Bay after the arrival of the First Fleet in January 1788, an anonymous and unauthorised work attributed to ‘An officer’, appeared in London in April 1789. The author scorned the ‘despicable’ bark canoes of the Sydney area, but praised the skill and boldness of the paddlers, noting that Aboriginal people took their canoes to sea and valued them highly.

HMS *Sirius*, armed storeship and flagship of First Fleet, 1937–38

Geoffrey Ingleton (1908–1998)

Ship model of timber and brass 1:24 scale

Made for the sesquicentenary of the arrival of the First Fleet, Sydney
Kindly lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of the Australian
Sesqui-Centenary Committee, 1938.

H4052

HMS *Sirius*, flagship of the First Fleet, was built on the Thames as the *Berwick* in 1780. The Royal Navy rebuilt the 511-ton capacity vessel in 1786 following a fire and renamed it *Sirius* after the brightest star in the sky.

When first taken on board the *Sirius*, Bennelong ‘looked with attention at every part of the Ship & expressed much astonishment particularly at the Cables,’ wrote William Bradley.

HMS *Supply*, armed brig, 1937–38

Geoffrey Ingleton (1908–1998)

Ship model of timber and brass, 1:24 scale

Made for the sesquicentenary of the arrival of the First Fleet, Sydney
Kindly lent by the Powerhouse Museum, Sydney. Gift of the Australian
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H4053

HMS *Supply*, a storeship of 170-ton capacity, was built in North America about 1759 as an armed tender and commissioned by the Admiralty in 1786.

In February 1790, Arabanoo, the first Aboriginal man captured on the orders of Governor Arthur Phillip, jumped overboard in terror when taken on board the *Supply*, which was leaving for Norfolk Island. He cheered up when Phillip called him into a boat to go ashore.

The smallest and fastest of the First Fleet convoy, *Supply* made 10 round trips to Norfolk Island. Both Bundle and Bennelong sailed in the *Supply* on this route.

Ballooderree (Ballooderry)

'Port Jackson Painter' (fl. 1788–1792)

Ink and watercolour (reproduction)

Natural History Museum, London

Watling Drawing — no. 58

Ballooderry (Leatherjacket Fish), a Burrumattagal, from the Parramatta clan, built a new *nawi* to barter fish with officers at Parramatta, but when convicts scuttled his canoe, he speared a man at the Parramatta River.

Ballooderry became gravely ill and died from unknown causes in December 1791. He was buried in Governor Phillip's garden (Circular Quay precinct) in a cross-cultural funeral organised by Bennelong. Ballooderry's body was wrapped in his English jacket and blanket and buried in his bark canoe with his spear, throwing stick, fishing spear and initiation waistband. Marines beat a drum tattoo while European spectators helped to fill in the grave.

*Abbarroo (Boorong) a moobee af.^r
Balloderrees funeral, 1790*

'Port Jackson Painter' (fl. 1788–1792)

Ink and watercolour (reproduction)

Natural History Museum, London

Watling Drawing — no. 45

The family of Maugoran and his wife, Gorooberra (Firestick), were first linked to the settlement at Sydney Cove in April 1789 when their daughter, Boorong, aged about 14, was brought in suffering from smallpox. She recovered and was adopted by the Reverend Richard Johnson and his wife, Mary. The chaplain taught Boorong to read and write and to recite prayers.

Boorong (at first wrongly called Abbarroo) was the sister of Yeranabie Goruey and half-sister of Bidgee Bidgee. She is pictured as a *moobee* or principal mourner at the funeral of her brother, Ballooderry, painted with red ochre and white pipeclay.

Journal of PG King, April 1790

Philip Gidley King (1758–1808)

Acquired from Francis Edwards, 1898

C115, p. 408

*The Melancholy Loss of His Majesty's Ship
Sirius Wreck'd on Norfolk Island on Friday
Noon March 19th 1790 taken from the
Flag Staff on the Beach, 1790*

George Raper (1769–1797)

Watercolour (reproduction)

Natural History Museum, London

Raper Drawing — no. 22

After two years as commandant at Norfolk Island, Philip Gidley King returned to Sydney Cove on the storeship *Supply* on 5 April 1790. HMS *Sirius* struck a reef, ran aground and sank on the island, as vividly illustrated by midshipman George Raper.

Boorong, whose name meant ‘Star’, might have been a seer. King recorded an anecdote about her in his journal: ‘The Girl once went into very violent Convulsions at seeing a falling star & said every body would be destroyed.’ He added in a marginal note: ‘Some say she particularly alluded to the Murry Nowey or Sirius.’

Nueva Holande: Cabeza de un habitante
(New Holland: Head of a Native), 1793

Juan Ravenet (c. 1766–1821)

Pencil

Purchased May 1961

DGD 2, f. 2

Italian-born artist Juan Ravenet drew this fine portrait sketch of an Aboriginal boy while in Port Jackson in 1793 with the Spanish scientific expedition led by Alejandro Malaspina (also Italian). His identity is unknown. Here he represents a group of young Aboriginal orphans who were adopted by settlers, given English names and clothing, and embraced a life at sea.

There are no existing images of Bundle (Bondel), Tristan Maamby or Tom Rowley, who were 10 or 12 years old at that time, or of James Bath, who was about fifteen.

A view of Sydney on Norfolk Island, 1805

John Eyre (b. 1771)

Watercolour

V8/Norf Is/1

Bundle's father had been killed in battle and his mother was bitten in half by a shark, so he attached himself to Captain William Hill of the New South Wales Corps. On 22 March 1791 Bundle sailed with Hill to Norfolk Island on the storeship HMS *Supply*. He returned in September 1791 on the *Mary Ann*, whose master, Mark Munro, usually hunted whales off Greenland.

Lieutenant William Bradley of HMS *Sirius* said Bundle 'was much pleas'd at the Idea of the Voyage, he is the first who has had confidence & Courage enough to go to Sea'.

'Two Natives', 1812

Claims and Demands

Sydney Gazette, 5 December 1812

F8/55

Log of the Mary and Sally

James Kelly (1791–1859)

Ship's Log, bound with *Log of the Brothers* (reproduction)

Crowther Library, Public Library of Tasmania

C 6028

Bundle was probably one of the 'Two Natives' who sailed on the colonial schooner, *Brothers*, on a sealing voyage to Bass Strait on 29 December 1812. The front section of the log kept by James Kelly has been torn off and lost. Bundle, however, did serve on the *Mary and Sally*, a 130-ton sailing brig, as Kelly referred to him at Elephant Bay, off King Island in Bass Strait, in March 1813: 'This day discharged Bundle by his own Request ...' Bundle might have returned on a supply ship or aboard *Brothers*, which docked in Sydney on 31 May 1813 with 7070 sealskins.

'A perfect dandy'

John Septimus Roe (1797–1878)

Letter 160, 6 June 1821

Purchased 2009

ML MSS 7964

Entrance to Oyster Harbour, King George Sound (with brig Bathurst), 1827

Phillip Parker King (1791–1856)

Lithograph

From Phillip Parker King, *Narrative of a survey ...* vol. 2, London, 1827

980.1.131C, frontispiece

We have got a native Port Jackson black on board... his name is Bundle: he is a more useful man than any Australian black I have seen, having sailed on board several whalers and other vessels on this coast; and although one of his eyes has been knocked out or in with a spear, his sight is excellent, like all other Australians.

John Septimus Roe, Letter to his father, 6 June 1821

At the age of 30, Bundle enlisted on the survey ship HMS *Bathurst* with Phillip Parker King in 1821. Master's mate John Septimus Roe described him as 'about 40 years of age, 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, and being now rigged out with a red cap, red shirt, and pair of white trowsers, is a perfect dandy.'

In a voyage of 344 days, the brig circumnavigated Australia and crossed 4800 km of ocean to Mauritius. *Bathurst* reached Oyster Bay in King George Sound (Albany) on 6 January 1822 and dropped anchor in Sydney on 24 April 1822.

*Nanberry, a Native Boy of Port Jackson,
living with Mr. White – the Surgⁿ Gen^l*

George Raper (1769–1797)

Ink and watercolour (reproduction)

Natural History Museum, London

Raper Drawing — no. 3

Port Jackson for Norfolk Island, 1799

HMS *Reliance* Muster, 30 October 1799 (reproduction)

The National Archives, London

ADM 36/13399

Nine-year-old ‘Nanberry’ (Nanbarry) was brought into the Sydney settlement in April 1789, seriously ill from smallpox, which had killed his parents. He recovered after treatment by Surgeon John White, who adopted him, but left Sydney in December 1794.

Nanbarry’s uncle Colebee, clan head of the Cadigal, was his sponsor at the *Erah-ba-diang* initiation ceremony at Woccanmagully (Farm Cove) in February 1795. Later that year, Nanbarry joined the crew of HMS *Reliance*, which regularly sailed to and from Norfolk Island. The ship’s muster shows a voyage in 1799 with Bondel, after this time usually called Bundle.

‘No white woman will have me ...’, 1814

Unknown Aboriginal sailor (possibly Nanbarry or Bundle)
Sydney Gazette, 1 January 1814 (reproduction)

F8/56

The name of this Aboriginal seafarer is unknown, but it might have been Nanbarry, who died in 1821.

Or perhaps it was the mysterious Aboriginal mariner who told Russian astronomer Ivan Simonov in 1820 that he had met ‘King Biuker’ (Field Marshall Gebhard von Blücher) and other European commanders of the Napoleonic Wars in London in 1814?

They attended the Prince Regent’s review of navy ships at Portsmouth, where New South Wales ships docked, on 25 June 1814. There is no corroborating account of an Aboriginal man visiting England at that time, but he would not have known their names if he had not been on the spot.

Banalong (Bennelong), c. 1793

WW (William Waterhouse)

Pen and ink wash

DGB 10, f. 13

On 10 December 1792 Wollarawarre Bennelong and his Wangal kinsman, Yemmerrawanne, boarded HMS *Atlantic* in Sydney Cove to sail to England with Governor Arthur Phillip. On arrival in London on 21 May 1793 the Westminster tailors, Knox & Wilson, fitted them out with frockcoats, knee breeches, striped waistbands and spotted waistcoats.

They lodged at the home of William Waterhouse at 125 Mount Street, Mayfair, near Berkeley Square. In the sketch Bennelong wears a 'pepper-and-salt' waistcoat, and it is likely that it was drawn by 'WW' (William Waterhouse) at that time and provided the model for later engraved portraits.

St. James Street, 1792

PW Tomkins (1760–1840) after Thomas Malton Junior (1748–1804)

Aquatint engraving (reproduction)

From Thomas Malton, *A picturesque tour through the cities of London and Westminster, illustrated with the most interesting views, accurately delineated and executed in aquatinta* ... London, 21 August 1792

DSM/F914.21M, plate 94

‘Governor Phillips [sic] on his arrival from Botany Bay’ was presented to King George III on 24 May 1793, according to *The Times* (25 May 1793). There is no evidence that Bennelong or Yemmerrawanne also met King George. John Turnbull in *A voyage around the world* (London 1805) said only that Bennelong was presented to ‘many of the principal nobility and the first families of the kingdom’.

If they had already attended St James’s Palace (rear centre in this aquatint), why would the *London Packet* (2 June 1793) report that they were taken to a window in St James’s Street on 1 June to ‘see the company going to St. James’s’?

A Song of the Natives of New South Wales ...

From Edward Jones, *Musical curiosities ...* 1811

(reproduction)

British Library, London

R.M.13.f. 5

While in London, ‘Benelong, and Yam-roweny, the two Chiefs’, sang a song in their own language ‘in praise of their lovers’, their voices rising above the repetitive beat of the hardwood sticks they clapped to maintain the rhythm.

The words and music of this ‘Song of the Natives of New South Wales’ were written down by Edward Jones, the Welsh harpist and bard to the Prince of Wales (later George IV), a neighbour of William Waterhouse, who lived at 122 Mount Street. Jones noted that the left-hand stick rested on the ground, while the other beat against it.

Copy of a letter from Baneelon, one of the Natives of New South Wales, now in London, to his wife Barangaroo, at Botany Bay, 1797

From *The spirit of the public journals for 1797*, London:
Printed for R Phillips, 1798

RB/050/S759.4, p. 114

Britain had declared war on France in February 1793, three months before Bennelong arrived in London. This rare satirical squib was written by an author familiar with the First Fleet chronicles and pretends to be a letter from Bennelong to his wife, ‘my dear little Barangaroo’, who had died before he left Sydney.

Bennelong tells Barangaroo that ‘all the men in King George’s country are mad because the tribe of England-gal is making war against the French-gal’. He concludes by saying: ‘I beg of the great Spirit to save you from lightning, sharks, and red men’ (red-coated British soldiers).

Supernumeraries borne for Victuals only—, 1794

Signed by Captain John Hunter

HMS *Reliance* Muster (reproduction)

The National Archives, London

ADM 36/10981

London newspapers reported Yemmerrawanne's death from a lung ailment on 18 May 1794, adding poignantly, 'His companion pines much for his loss'.

Bennelong boarded HMS *Reliance* at Chatham (Kent) on 30 July 1794, the date of a one-guinea bill for a 'Post Chaise to take Mr. Benalong on board the *Reliance*'. 'Bannelong' appears on the ship's muster on 15 September 1794. 'A Chest for Mr Benalong' brought on board, contained bonnets, gowns and ribbons 'for the Native Women'.

After six months of confinement, Captain John Hunter feared Bennelong might die, noting his 'precarious state of health' and 'broken spirit'.

Vocabulary of part of the Language of New South Wales, 1795

Daniel Paine (b. 1770)

Manuscript kept in a voyage to Port Jackson New South Wales, a short residence in that settlement ... in the years 1794,5,6,7, and 8 by Danl. Paine (reproduction)

National Maritime Museum, London

MS JOD 172

On the long voyage home, which began on 2 March 1795, Bennelong taught words from his language to Lieutenant Matthew Flinders and Surgeon George Bass (who treated him) and provided this vocabulary to master shipbuilder Daniel Paine.

HMS *Reliance* moored in Sydney Cove on 7 September 1795.

Bennelong had been away for two years and 10 months, 18 months of which he spent on ships at sea or in the docks. Once ashore, he found his young wife, Kurúbarabúla, had taken up with Caruey, a Cadigal. She remained with Caruey, despite Bennelong's gifts of a rose-coloured petticoat and gypsy bonnet.

Salmanda (Salamander), 1820 (detail)

Pavel Nikolaevich Mikhailov (1786–1840)

Pencil and sanguine (reproduction)

Russian State Museum

Image courtesy of Longueville Publications

R29209/207

Salamander took his name from the 320-ton Third Fleet convict transport *Salamander*, commanded by John Nicol, which dropped anchor in Sydney Cove in 1791 and then went to sea as a whaler. Though others followed, he was the first mainland Aboriginal person known to visit Tasmania since the end of the last great Ice Age, 12 000 years ago.

In 1820 the Russian artist, Pavel Mikhailov, sketched ‘Salmanda’, ‘Movat’ (Maroot) and members of Bungaree’s family at Kirribilli on Sydney’s north shore. Salamander’s wife, Bidy, later portrayed by Charles Rodius, was probably one of Bungaree’s daughters.

View of Sullivan Cove (Sullivans Cove, Van Diemen's Land, with *Ocean* at left), 1804

Possibly by George William Evans (1780–1852)

Watercolour

SV6B/Sull C/1

The name 'John Salamander' appears in a list of 'Persons Victualled on Full Allowance' at the short-lived settlement at Sullivan Bay, Port Phillip (now Portsea, Victoria), established by David Collins in 1804.

Salamander sailed with Henry Hacking (c. 1753–1831) aboard HM Brig *Lady Nelson* to the new colony at Sullivans Cove on the Derwent River in Van Diemen's Land (Hobart, Tasmania). His name was on the rations list until 24 March 1804 but he probably returned to Sydney earlier.

According to the *Sydney Gazette* (18 March 1804), local Mouhenenner (Derwent River, Tasmania) people threatened Salamander when he and Hacking shot a big kangaroo.

Of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New South Wales, 1834

William Proctor

*A Landsman's Log ... on board the John Craig,
Merchantman, John Currie, Commander, 1834-5*

MS B1126, pp. 118-19

In 1834, Salamander, Bogy from Brisbane Water and Bungaree's sons, Toby and Bowen, camped with 100 men, women and children in rock shelters at Camp Cove, near the Port Jackson Heads. They sold fish to ships' crews and guided European fishermen and kangaroo shooters, taking leftover fish or game and a bottle of rum in payment.

'By their broken English and odd expression which they pick up from sailors in the harbour, they amused us very much ...', wrote William Proctor, from Newcastle-on-Tyne, a passenger aboard the 573-ton barque *John Craig*, in his journal.

Nambré (Nunberri), Shoalhaven tribe, 1834

Charles Rodius (1802–1860)

Crayon

Kindly lent by the National Library of Australia

PIC R7404

Nunberri or Nambré (c. 1803–1840), from Numba on the south shore of the Shoalhaven River, was also called Jem, Jemmy, Jeremy, James or Jim Charcoal, or Charcoal.

‘Charcoal was my regular boatman,’ wrote Alexander Berry (1781–1873), a former East India ship’s surgeon turned successful Sydney merchant. In June 1822 Berry asked the young Aboriginal man, lame in one leg after a cartwheel accident, to sail with him to the Shoalhaven, where he established Coolangatta farm.

‘Next morning he was rugged up in sailors cloathes and appointed *pro forma* Mate of the cutter Blanch,’ wrote Berry in *Recollections of the Aborigines* (1838).

Nunberri. Chief of the Nunnerahs, N. S. Wales,
1834

Charles Rodius (1802–1806)

Lithograph

Sydney: Printed by IG Austin

Presented by Francis Edwards, 1932

PXA 615, f. 16

Typical portraits of the Aborigines
(Morirang and Nambré or Nunberri (above),
Ricketty Dick and Tooban (below)), 1847

James William Giles (1801–1870)

Hand-coloured lithograph

From George French Angas, *South Australia Illustrated*, London, 1847

DSM/ X983/2, plate 35

Two of Alexander Berry's men were drowned when a boat was swamped in the surf at Crooks Haven. Although lame, Nunberri was a strong swimmer and easily reached the shore.

The German-born artist, Charles Rodius, drew portraits of Nunberri (who wears a breastplate) and other Aboriginal people from Berry's farm, who sometimes camped in the Sydney Domain.

George French Angas appropriated some of Rodius' originals, claiming in *South Australia Illustrated* (London 1847) that Morirang, Nambré and Tooban (from the Shoalhaven) and Ricketty Dick (from Botany Bay) were 'typical' South Australian Aboriginal people.

Broten (Broughton) Nlle Hollande, 1819

Jacques Arago (1790–1855)

Pencil

Purchased from the collection of Dr J Raven at Sotheby's Australia, Melbourne Sale,
23 August 1992

PXB 283, f. 3

Broughton Native Constable Shoal Haven 1822

Rectangular brass breastplate with brass chain
(reproduction)

Awarded to Broughton by Alexander Berry

From Tania Cleary, *Poignant regalia: 19th century Aboriginal breastplates ...*, Glebe: Historic Houses Trust of NSW, c.1993

‘I got safe to Sydney with my singular crew after a tedious passage occasioned by fowl [foul] winds,’ wrote Alexander Berry. His crew on the tiny 15-ton capacity cutter *Blanch* included Nunberri, Wajin, chief of Shoalhaven, and Yager, chief of Jervis Bay.

Broughton, whose Aboriginal name was Toodwick, sailed from Sydney with Berry and guided him to the site where he built his homestead, Coolangatta, but returned overland to Sydney with the young explorer, Hamilton Hume. ‘Broughton was my Landman,’ wrote Berry, who gave him the rectangular breastplate inscribed ‘Broughton Native Constable Shoal Haven 1822’.

Port M^cQvarie (sic) *New South Wales*,
5 May 1824

Attributed to Joseph Lycett (1775–1828)

Sepia watercolour

SV1B/Pr Mac/1

Captain Francis Allman of the 48th Regiment took three Aboriginal men to Port Macquarie as ‘bush constables’. Their task was to track and capture escaped convicts at the new penal colony.

Mongoul (also called Bob Barratt and Port Stephens Robert), Biriban (Johnny McGill) and Boardman sailed with Allman aboard the colonial schooner *Prince Regent*, which anchored in Port Macquarie on 17 April 1821.

Mongoul had previously visited Twofold Bay and Tasmania in 1804 on the sloop *Contest*. In 1829 ‘Monuggal, alias Bob Barrett’ was found to have wilfully murdered Boorondire, known as ‘Dirty Dick’, in the Sydney Domain.

Bi-ra-bán. M'Gill.

Alfred T Agate (1812–1846)

Lithograph (reproduction)

From *A key to the structure of the Aboriginal language*,
Sydney, 1850

DSM/499.611A3, frontispiece

Biraban was born about 1800 at Bahtahbah (now Belmont) into the Hunter River–Lake Macquarie language group. He acquired his English name from ‘Captain M’Gill’ (John Mander Gill), who brought him up at the Military Barracks in Sydney, and took his totem name Biriban (Eaglehawk) at his initiation in 1826.

Biriban is best known as the language informant of the Reverend Lancelot Threlkeld, a Congregational minister, who in 1824 established a mission for the Aboriginal people at ‘Ebenezer’ (Toronto) on Lake Macquarie. Threlkeld described Biriban as ‘a noble specimen of his race, my companion and teacher in the language for many years’.

Boardman, Lake Macquarie Tribe, c. 1836

Possibly by William Henry Fernyhough (1809–1849)

Pencil

Bequeathed by Sir William Dixson, 1952

DL PX47, f. 8

Biriban and Boardman guided visiting Society of Friends (Quaker) missionaries James Backhouse and George Washington Walker through the bush from Newcastle to Lake Macquarie in April 1836. Biriban wore a hat, a 'red-striped shirt' and his brass gorget or breastplate around his neck.

Backhouse said Boardman (also called Boatman and Jemmy Jackass) was 'an interesting young man ... about 18 years of age and wore a ragged blue jacket and a pair of trowsers'. Boardman was speared in a fight in Sydney and died of his wounds. He was buried at Eraring, near Lake Macquarie, in 1839.

Nouvelle-Hollande. Gnoung-a gnoung-a, mour-re-mour-ga (dit Collins), 1811

Barthelemy Roger (1767–1841)

after Nicolas-Martin Petit (1777–1804)

Engraving

From François Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres Australes*, Paris:

De l'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1811

F980/P Atlas (1811), plate XVII

While Bennelong was in London, his brother-in-law Gnung-a Gnung-a Murremurgan (or Anganangan) twice crossed the vast Pacific Ocean, visiting Norfolk Island, Hawaii, Nootka Sound (now Vancouver, Canada), and the Spanish colonies of Santa Barbara and San Diego on the Californian coast.

The round distance Gnung-a Gnung-a traversed was some 25 000 km as the crow flies, but much further in a sailing ship driven by unpredictable winds. He left behind his wife, Warreeweer, Bennelong's younger sister.

On the first day he ventured into the Sydney Cove settlement, Gnung-a Gnung-a adopted the name 'Collins' from Judge Advocate David Collins.

HMS Daedalus

John Baily after Lieutenant Evans

Hand-coloured aquatint (reproduction)

National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

PAD 6003

The 350-ton brig *Daedalus* was ordered to supply the expedition to the north-west coast of North America commanded by Captain George Vancouver (1757–1798). The storeship left Port Jackson on 1 July 1793, reached Nootka on 8 October and met the Royal Navy ships *Discovery* and *Chatham* off San Francisco. Gnung-a Gnung-a sighted the Spanish settlements at Monterey, Santa Barbara (where the ship was met by sea-going Chumash Indians in their canoes) and San Diego.

After leaving North America, Gnung-a Gnung-a spent one month at Kealakekua Bay in Hawaii, where King Kamehameha wanted to buy him, offering canoes, weapons and curiosities.

‘Old Collins, who was found dead ...’, 1809

Sydney Gazette, 15 January 1809 (reproduction)

RBF 450

During a revenge combat in December 1795, Pemulwuy, the Georges River Bidjigal leader, launched a spear at Gnung-a Gnung-a that remained fixed in his back. The British surgeons could not remove the barb, but his wife, Warreeweer, eventually pulled it out with her teeth. Afterwards, Gnung-a Gnung-a walked with a limp.

In January 1809, the body of Gnung-a Gnung-a was found behind the Dry Store, site of the present Macquarie Place in Bridge Street, Sydney. Gnung-a Gnung-a’s children, others he had adopted, and his brother Old Phillip faced the ritual revenge combat that usually followed a funeral.

Nouvelle-Hollande - Toulgra (mère)
(Worogan), 1802

Nicolas-Martin Petit (1777–1804)

Pencil, charcoal and ink (reproduction)

Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre, France

20032.1

The Lady Nelson – Brig, 6 Guns ..., c. 1820s

Artist unknown

Oil

Presented by Captain GN Hector

ML 86

Worogan (Crow) and her husband, Yeranabie, accompanied Lieutenant James Grant in 1801 aboard the 60-ton sloop *Lady Nelson*. During an 11-week voyage the ship stopped at Jervis Bay before Grant charted Western Port and Churchill Island (Victoria).

In his second language notebook (1791) William Dawes included ‘Wárrgan’ (Worogan) with Bennelong’s sisters. Petit’s handwritten caption, *Toulgra (mère)*, suggests that she was the mother of Toulgra (Bulldog). Yeranabie was the son of Maugoran, a leader of the Burramattagal (Parramatta clan), and brother of Booroong and Ballooderry.

Worogan and Yeranabie are the only known Aboriginal husband and wife who went to sea together.

Port Jackson for a Passage to Norfolk Island, 29 May 1798

HMS *Reliance* Muster (reproduction)

The National Archives, London

ADM 36/13398

After Bennelong, Bungaree or Boongaree (c. 1775–1830) is the best known Aboriginal voyager. Because the others on board were British, Bungaree became the first Australian to circumnavigate the continent when he accompanied Lieutenant Matthew Flinders on HMS *Investigator* in 1801–03.

The first voyage of ‘Bungary’ was in May 1798 aboard HMS *Reliance*, from Sydney Cove to Norfolk Island, with Nanbarry and Wingal (from Broken Bay). On this 60-day round trip Matthew Flinders first met and came to respect Bungaree. One year later, Flinders took Bungaree with him on a survey voyage to Bribie Island and Hervey Bay on the sloop *Norfolk*.

Newcastle, in New South Wales: with a distant View of Point Stephen. Taken from Prospect Hill

W Preston after IR Brown

Engraving

From Absalom West, *Views in New South Wales*, 1813–14 (reproduction)

Bequeathed by DS Mitchell, 1907

PX*D 65, plate 6

In 1801 Bungaree took part in the establishment of a penal settlement at the Hunter River (now Newcastle). After landing from *Lady Nelson*, Lieutenant-Colonel William Paterson told Governor Philip Gidley King that ‘Bonjary ran off ... and has since not returned’.

In May 1804 Bungaree escorted six Aboriginal men returning from Sydney in the ship *Resource*. Marine Lieutenant Charles Menzies valued Bungaree’s help in capturing runaway convicts, calling him ‘the most Intelligent of that race I have as yet Seen ...’ However, in October Menzies reported that convicts had taken revenge by killing Bungaree’s father ‘in the most brutal manner’.

Australia or Terra Australis, 1804

Matthew Flinders (1774–1814)

Pen and ink chart (reproduction)

United Kingdom Hydrographic Office

y46/1

Bungaree enlisted as a go-between and sailed with Matthew Flinders on HMS *Investigator* in 1802–03, becoming the first Australian known to circumnavigate the continent. He also visited Timor.

Flinders completed his manuscript chart in 1804 while a prisoner of the French on Mauritius. This was the first known use of the name Australia but, after the intervention of Sir Joseph Banks, the printed version in 1814 was titled ‘Terra Australis or Australia’. From 1817, Governor Lachlan Macquarie wrote ‘Australia’ in his correspondence and so our country got its name.

*Boon-ga-ree Aboriginal of New So. Wales
who accompanied me on my first voyage
to the N. W. coast, 1819*

Phillip Parker King (1791–1856)

Ink and watercolour

From Phillip Parker King, *Album of drawings and engravings*, 1802–1902

Purchased from the King Estate, November 1933

PXC 767, f. 48

His Majesty's Cutter Mermaid, 1817

Phillip Parker King (1791–1856)

Ink

From Phillip Parker King, *Album of drawings and engravings*, 1802–1902

Purchased from the King Estate, November 1933

PXC 767, f. 85

In return for ‘rations, grog, a hammock and somewhere to stow his spears’, Bungaree volunteered to go to sea with naval explorer Phillip Parker King, who had orders to survey the north and west coasts of Australia.

King wrote: ‘He [Bungaree] was about forty-five years of age, of a sharp, intelligent and unassuming disposition, and promised to be of much service to us in our intercourse with the natives’.

The snub-nosed cutter *Mermaid* left Port Jackson on 22 December 1817, put into Twofold Bay, steered through Bass Strait, and followed the Great Australian Bight to King George Sound (Albany).

‘Bongaree speared a great many fish with his fiz-gig’, 1818

Phillip Parker King (1791–1856)

Remark book, January 1818

MLMSS 5277 (item 1)

King valued Bungaree’s skills in finding water and catching fish and as a go-between who understood Aboriginal protocol. Bungaree often stripped off his European clothes to parley with the local Aboriginal people and tried to talk to them in broken English.

When sharks hampered hook-and-line fishing at King George Sound in January 1818, Bungaree, wrote King, ‘speared a great many fish with his fiz-gig; one that he struck with the boat-hook on the shoals at the entrance of the Eastern River weighed twenty-two pounds and a half, and was three feet and a half long.’ King sketched the fish in his remark book.

*Naturels de la Nouvelle-Galles.
(Port-Jackson), 1824*

Bungaree and Cora Gooseberry to René-Primavère Lesson
(1794–1849)

*Voyage autour du monde: entrepris par ordre du
gouvernement sur la corvette La Coquille*, Paris: P Pourrat
Frères, 1838–1839, pp. 296–297

DSM/980/64A2

While in Sydney on the French corvette *Coquille* in 1824, surgeon and naturalist René Primavère Lesson obtained an Aboriginal word list, predominantly from Bungaree's Karikal (Broken Bay) language.

Obviously, Bungaree could not resist a joke, giving 'kiss' for 'lower lip', while his wife, Cora Gooseberry, gave her own name for 'eye', either misunderstanding or making a pun on the personal pronoun 'I'.

Lesson examined Bungaree's body, finding his skull 'quite shattered by numerous blows of a club that would have felled a strong animal'. No wonder the first entry 'Tete' [Head] is given as *Ti-a-kas*, probably meaning 'scars', rather than Cabbera (*gabara*) meaning 'head'.

Bungaree, King of Sydney Cove

James F O'Connell (1808–1854)

A residence of eleven years in New Holland and the Caroline Islands: being the adventures of James F. O'Connell, Boston: BB Mussey, 1836

980/242A1

Bungaree is derisively titled 'King of Sydney Cove', 'His Bungaree Majesty' and 'Chief of the Sydney Blacks' and accused of 'lushing max' (drinking gin) in this tale, told in colourful convict cant or 'flash language' by James O'Connell, a sailor who was tattooed during four years as a captive at Ponape, or Ascension Island, in the Caroline Islands, north of Papua New Guinea.

Billed as the 'Celebrated Tattooed Man', O'Connell appeared on stage in the United States for showman PT Barnum. He died in New Orleans in 1854 from the effects of chemicals used to produce electricity for stage lighting.

Portrait of Bungaree, a native of New South Wales, with Fort Macquarie, Sydney Harbour in Background, c. 1826

Augustus Earle (1793–1838)

Oil (reproduction)

National Library of Australia

Pic T305. NK 118

There is an air of genuine nobility in the expression and bearing of Bungaree in Augustus Earle's oil painting. He stands in a typical pose, his right arm raised, doffing his cocked hat in greeting. Bungaree wears a splendid scarlet jacket with brass buttons and gold lace. His metal gorget hangs from a chain around his neck.

The warships of the British China Squadron, moored near Bennelong Point, evoke Bungaree's seagoing career. In his later life, he relied on visiting ships to provide his people with grog, tobacco and old clothing.

Tonungora St. Boundary Nov 1806

‘Got by Dan’

Specimen identified as *Eucalyptus paniculata*

X *E. siderophloia*

Kindly lent by the National Herbarium of NSW

RBG barcode 6620

In 1805 a 14-year-old Aboriginal orphan sailed to Norfolk Island and Hobart in Van Diemen’s Land. Five years later, Dan or Daniel Moowattin (c. 1791–1816) became the third Aboriginal person to visit England.

Daniel, born in Parramatta, was the trusted bush guide, interpreter and companion of botanist George Caley, who was sent to Australia in 1800 to collect natural history specimens for Sir Joseph Banks.

More than 200 years ago, Daniel gathered these eucalyptus leaves, gumnuts and flowers, labelled ‘Got by Dan’ in Caley’s handwriting, and now kept in the National Herbarium at the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sydney.

Mogargro – South Brush, 1807

‘Got by Dan Oct 1807’

Specimen identified as *Eucalyptus beyeri*
by Joseph Maiden

Kindly lent by the National Herbarium of NSW

RBG barcode 326895

In 1805 a 14-year-old Aboriginal orphan sailed to Norfolk Island and Hobart in Van Diemen’s Land. Five years later, Dan or Daniel Moowattin (c. 1791–1816) became the third Aboriginal person to visit England.

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More than 200 years ago, Daniel gathered these eucalyptus leaves, gumnuts and flowers, labelled ‘Got by Dan’ in Caley’s handwriting, and now kept in the National Herbarium at the Royal Botanic Gardens in Sydney.

*The Cataract of Car'ring-Gur'ring;
on the river Moowat'tin, 1807*

George Caley (1770–1829)

Ink

From Letter received by Philip Gidley King from George Caley, 25 September 1807

The Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive, Series 18.067

Moowattin Creek and the Cataract of Carrung-gurring, 1814

Detail from *Chart of Terra Australis*, East Coast, 1 January 1814 (reproduction)

From Matthew Flinders, *A voyage to Terra Australis*, London, 1814

X919.4042/1 Atlas, plate 8

The placenames, ‘Moowattin Creek’ and ‘Cataract of Carrung-gurring’, appear on colonial maps, but there are no surviving portraits of Daniel Moowattin or his mentor, George Caley.

While searching for a koala for Banks in 1807, Daniel ‘heard a noise like the surf’ and found a cataract (waterfall) flowing into the river Moowattin: the present Appin Falls on the Cataract River, south of Sydney.

In a letter to Banks in 1808, Caley wrote: ‘I should much like to bring him [Moowattin] to England. By shewing him the different Museums we should get a better knowledge of the animals of this part.’

*A View near Woolwich in Kent, shewing the
Employment of the Convicts from the Hulks,
c. 1800*

Artist unknown

Hand-coloured engraving

London: Printed for Bowles and Carver

Purchased 1938

View V*/CONV/1

The frigate HMS *Hindostan* left Sydney on 12 May 1810, touched at Rio de Janeiro, reached Spithead on 25 October and anchored in the Thames at Woolwich. Daniel Moowattin was kept on the ship until 3 January 1811, when Banks asked gardener and nurseryman George Suttor to look after him.

Daniel lived in Regency London for almost one year and dressed ‘in the pink of fashion’. He lodged at Chelsea, visited Banks and was inoculated against smallpox, smoked a pipe, frequented pubs and coffee houses, and endured a bitterly cold winter, in which the Thames filled with blocks of ice.

‘Moowattin, a native follower of mine ...’

NA Vigors and Thomas Horsfield

A description of the Australian birds in the collection of the Linnean Society ..., London: Linnean Society of London, 1827

DSM/Q598.2/V

Caley sometimes took Daniel botanising. There was ice on the ponds on 20 January 1811, when they walked to Kew Gardens via Fulham and spoke about crows.

One morning ‘Dan a Black native’ met Lieutenant William Lawson of the New South Wales Corps in St James’s Park. ‘I asked him how he liked the fine things in England’, wrote Lawson, ‘his answer was: “I am anxious to return to my Country. I find more pleasure under a gum tree ... than I do here”.’

Daniel was homesick. He quarrelled with Caley and they parted unhappily when he began to drink.

‘The native which your humanity fed and clothed ...’, 1812

George Suttor to Sir Joseph Banks, 12 November 1812

The Sir Joseph Banks Electronic Archive, Series 20.71

When Caley left for Manchester, Moowattin, in Suttor’s care, boarded the convict transport *Mary*, which left Portsmouth in November 1811. Going ashore by boat at Rio, he haughtily informed a Portuguese officer that he was ‘a black Gentleman, sent out as a Botanist to New South Wales’.

Daniel must have quickly realised that he was not a curiosity in his own country. Within two weeks of landing, in May 1812, he sold a gun for shooting bird specimens given to him by the botanist Robert Brown, bought some peach cider, shed his English clothes and ran into the bush.

Trial of 'Daniel Mow-watty', 1816

Supplement to the *Sydney Gazette*, 28 September 1816
(reproduction)

F8/56

In 1816 Daniel Moowattin, aged 25, was working as a labourer at the 40-hectare farm of James Bellamy at Pennant Hills, near Parramatta.

On 28 September the *Sydney Gazette* reported the trial of 'Daniel Mow-watty', charged with the rape of Hannah Russell, daughter of a settler. Another Aboriginal man, Bioorah, said to be an accessory, was discharged.

Bidgee Bidgee and other Parramatta Aboriginal people 'who speak and understand English' were allowed to sit near the prisoner.

On Monday, 7 October 1816, the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction passed its sentence on 'Daniel Mow-watty, for a rape—*Death*.'

‘Daniel Mowwattin (a Black Native of this Colony)’, 1816

Lachlan Macquarie (1762–1824)

Journal of Lachlan Macquarie, Friday, 1 November 1816

A 773, p. 59

Daniel, who had consistently denied the charges against him, was said to have confessed his crime to the Reverend Samuel Marsden and ‘repented of it’. He was hanged on Friday, 1 November 1816, from the public gallows on Hangman’s Hill, next to the stone gaol at the corner of George and Essex Street in Sydney’s Rocks district.

Governor Lachlan Macquarie, who bestowed his patronage on ‘friendly’ Aboriginal people like Bungaree and Bidgee Bidgee, could find no sympathy in his heart for a black man who had raped a white girl.

Aboriginal man with rifle, probably Bowen Bungaree, 1843

Artist unknown

Pencil

From *Portraits of the Aborigines of New South Wales*, 1843

Bequest of David Scott Mitchell, 1907

PXA 74, f. 4

'A black-fellow named Bowen', 1837

Sydney Morning Herald, Monday, 17 April 1837
(reproduction)

MRB/F7, p. 3

In 1823, at the age of 21, Bungaree's eldest son Bowen (Boin) took part in the discovery and exploration of Moreton Bay with Surveyor General John Oxley on HM cutter *Mermaid*.

In later years Bowen owned two boats and carried a rifle as a Customs tracker, capturing bushrangers and illegal alcohol distillers in the Pittwater peninsula, near Palm Beach, north of Sydney. In 1829 Bowen shot and killed a bushranger named Casey. Writing in the *Sydney Mail* (1861), Charles de Boose said Bowen had been given a rifle and was 'very proud of this and took it with him everywhere'.

For California. The brig William Hill, 1849

Advertisement in *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 January 1849
(reproduction)

BN445

At the start of the California Gold Rush, Bowen and five other Broken Bay Aboriginal men sailed to San Francisco in 1849 with the Sydney merchant, Richard Hill, aboard the brig *William Hill*. Returning, the ship moored off Papeete and brought back 1200 ounces of gold dust. Bowen was said to be the only one to return. He was present at the annual distribution of blankets in Sydney on Friday, 24 May 1850.

Thomas Archer, from Durundur Station in Queensland, took two 'blackboys', Jacky Small and Davy, to California via Pitcairn Island on the barque *Elizabeth Archer*. Their fate is unknown.

Charley (and) Harry Brown, 1847

Harden S Melville after Charles Rodius (1802–1860)

Engraving

From Dr Ludwig Leichhardt, *Journal of an overland expedition in Australia, from Moreton Bay to Port Essington ... 1844–1845*, London: T&W Boone, 1847

DL 84/418, facing p. 14

Harry Brown, ‘an Aboriginal of the Newcastle tribe’, left Sydney in August 1844 with explorer Ludwig Leichhardt on the 119-ton paddlewheel steamer *Sovereign* at the start of an overland expedition. Charley Fisher, from Bathurst, New South Wales, who had been a native policeman and tracker, joined them at Moreton Bay. Leaving the Darling Downs on 1 October 1844, Leichhardt’s party traversed 4800km. They returned from Port Essington on *Sovereign*, reaching Sydney on 29 March 1845. Leichhardt relied on Harry and Charley to find water and shoot birds and kangaroos and mentioned them each 100 times in his *Journal* (London 1847).

Tam O'Shanter, 1848

Owen Stanley (1811–1850)

Watercolour

From *Voyage of HMS Rattlesnake, 1846–49*

Transfer from the National Art Gallery of New South Wales, August 1927

PXC 281 vol. 1, f. 65

The story of Galmarra, nicknamed Jackey Jackey (Jacky-Jacky), and his heroic attachment to the ill-fated explorer, Edmund Kennedy, who died in his arms, gripped the imagination of society in the Victorian period.

Born near Jerrys Plains, New South Wales, Galmarra was still a teenager when he sailed aboard the barque *Tam O'Shanter*, which landed Kennedy's party at Rockingham Bay (near Cardwell, north of Townsville) on 24 May 1848, aiming to traverse Cape York Peninsula.

After struggling for five months through swamps and jungle, Kennedy left eight men at Weymouth Bay and three others near the Shelburne River and pushed on with Galmarra.

*Jacky Jacky (Galmarra).
Expedition of Kennedy, March 16th 1849*

Charles Rodius (1802–1860)

Lithograph

Presented by Francis Edwards, 1932

PXA 615, f. 38

‘I am going to leave you’, 1849

William Carron (1821–1876)

Narrative of an expedition undertaken under the direction of the late Mr. Assistant Surveyor E.B. Kennedy, for the exploration of the country lying between Rockingham Bay and Cape York ... Sydney: Kemp and Fairfax, 1849

DSM/Z/C983, pp. 84–85

In December, hostile Aboriginal people who had pursued them for days speared Kennedy in the side, leg and back at Escape River.

‘I am bad inside Jackey,’ Kennedy told Galmarra, who asked him, ‘Mr. Kennedy are you going to leave me?’ and he replied, ‘Yes, my boy, I am going to leave you.’ When Kennedy died of his wounds, Galmarra, wounded above the eye, risked his life to bury him and struggled 130 km through mangroves to signal the schooner *Ariel* at Port Albert, returning to Sydney on 5 March 1849.

Only two other members of the 13-man expedition survived.

Jackey Jackey (Galmarra), c. 1851

Silver breastplate presented by His Excellency Sir Charles Augustus FitzRoy KB, Governor of New South Wales, to Jackey Jackey, c. 1851

Made by Brush and Macdonnel, Sydney

Presented by JE Byrnes, 1966

R 453

In May 1849 Galmarra returned to Cape York on the brig *Freak* with Jemmy and Tommy from his clan in a vain search for Kennedy's body. They returned to Sydney in the sloop *Coquette* with Kennedy's saddlebag, compass and some of his papers.

Galmarra was rewarded for his courage with this elaborately engraved silver breastplate praising his 'sagacity' and given £20, which he used to buy a horse, saddle and bridle, which he soon sold.

In 1854 Galmarra was reported to have died from burns after falling, while drunk, into a fire at a cattle drovers' camp near Albury, New South Wales.

Mousquéda ou Mousquita, 1802

Nicolas-Martin Petit (1777–1804)

Pastel, charcoal, pencil and ink (reproduction)

Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre, France

20039.1

Musquito, a Broken Bay resistance leader, was first noted, as 'Bush Muschetta', by the colonial authorities in the *Sydney Gazette* (May 1805). Two months later he and Bulldog, a lad aged 16, were given up by allies of Tedbury (Tjedboro), son of Pemulwuy, and imprisoned in Parramatta gaol.

Earlier in Sydney in 1802, Nicolas-Martin Petit, a young artist with the French scientific expedition commanded by Captain Nicolas Baudin, sketched this Aboriginal man 'painted up' with white circles around his eyes and pipeclay designs on his chest. Petit clearly identified his subject in a pencil caption as *Mousquéda ou Mousquita*.

Nouvelle-Hollande. Y-Erran-Gou-La-Ga, 1811

Barthelemy Roger (1767–1841)

after Nicolas-Martin Petit (1777–1804)

Engraving

From François Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres Australes*, Paris:

De l'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1811

F980/P Atlas (1811), plate XIX

Barthelemy Roger's engraving in the 1811 *Atlas* accompanying François Peron's *Voyage de découvertes aux terres Australes* named 'Mousquéda ou Mousquita' as *Y-Erran-Gou-La-Ga*.

Several of Petit's 1802 field sketches were wrongly captioned in this volume, edited by Louis de Freycinet. By 1811, the principal French expedition members of 1802 had died: Baudin at the Ile France (Mauritius) in 1803, Petit after a fall in 1804 and Péron in 1810.

Musquito has been confused with 'Musketer', a young Kameygal man from the north side of Botany Bay, killed in January 1806 by Ploge (Blueitt) at The Rocks.

**PG King to John Piper, Sydney,
18 August 1805**

Philip Gidley King (1758–1808)

Letter book, 1797–1806

Transferred from the Public Library (Bent Street) to the Mitchell Library, May 1941

A 2015: 495, p. 41

Supernumeraries at 2/3 allowance no Spirits, 1805

HMS *Buffalo* Muster, 1805 (reproduction)

The National Archives, London

ADM 36/17313, p. 91

Advised that the Aboriginal peoples were not subject to British law, Governor Philip Gidley King sent Musquito and Bulldog to Norfolk Island as prisoners. They sailed on HMS *Buffalo*, a ship with the figurehead of a kangaroo, which reached the island on 5 September 1805.

King told Captain John Piper that the two men should be put to labour, but ‘victualled from the Stores’.

There are two more Aboriginal names on the muster. Daniel (Moowattin) was en route to Van Diemen’s Land with botanist George Caley, but it is difficult to explain why Musquito’s brother, Philip, was included as a free passenger.

Développement du Dynamomètre du Cit.n Regnier, 1798

Artist unknown

Engraving (reproduction)

From Edme Regnier, *Mémoires explicatifs du dynamomètre et autres machines ...*, Paris, 1798, between pp. 4 and 5

RAV/FM4/2/17273

Aux Terres Australes - Sauvages de la Nouvelle-Hollande

Table II

From François Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres Australes* ... vol. 1, Paris: Chez Arthur Bertrand, 1807

MRB/Q980/pt 1, p. 477

François Auguste Péron, a naturalist with the French expedition, studied Aboriginal people from a medical and anthropological viewpoint. He tested the muscular strength of 17 Aboriginal men in the Sydney area with a metal spring device called a *Dynamomètre*, or Dynamometer, invented in 1798 by Edme Regnier.

Péron recorded the name, age and physical appearance of each man.

No. 2 was ‘Toul-gra, called Bouldog, age 14-15 ... Quite well built, very lively, very spiritual [sic]; excellent mimic’.

No. 13 was ‘Mou-guéan’ (Maugoran), father of Boorong and Bidgee Bidgee.

No. 16 was ‘Bénil-lon [Bennelong] ... The chief; pleasing figure but somewhat thin.’

Nouvelle-Hollande – Toulgra (Bouldogue), 1802

Nicolas-Martin Petit (1777–1804)

Charcoal, pencil and ink (reproduction)

Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre, France

20043.3

Petit sketched and signed this portrait of Musquito's companion, *Toulgra (Bouldogue)*. Roger's engraving of the same person, published in 1811, was captioned *Orou-Mare, dit Bull-Dog par les Anglais*. A glance at Péron's Table II shows that the Aboriginal man recorded in 1802 as No. 7 'Ou-rou-Maré' was *not* the same person as No. 2 'Toul-gra, dit Bouldog'.

No. 10 'Ouca-la-ga, age 17–30', described by Péron as 'Quite well built; sombre look with haggard eyes', might refer to Musquito, here called *Y-Erran-Gou-La-Ga*. Petit's subjects, Musquito, Gnung-a Gnung-a, Bulldog and Bidgee Bidgee, were allies and related by marriage to Bennelong.

'Py.a Ila - to tell'

Henry Fulton (1761–1840)

Extract from *Church of England Baptisms, Marriages and Burials Register*, St Philip's, Sydney

Births, Marriages, Deaths 1787–1809, Norfolk Island 1792–1809

Kindly lent by State Records NSW

NRS 12937, SZ 1022 B

Vocabulary obtained by Rev. H Fullow (Fulton) in 1801 AD from Aborigines on Norfolk Island, c. 1805

Henry Fulton (1761–1840)

From *The Australasian Anthropological Journal*, vol. 1, no. 2,
12 September 1896

DQ572.06/2, p. 13

The Reverend Henry Fulton compiled an 80-word Aboriginal vocabulary while chaplain on Norfolk Island between 1801 and 1806. One version is found in the *Norfolk Island 1797–1806 Baptisms, Marriages and Burials* records of St Philip's Church, Sydney. Fulton has crossed through the entries to reuse the writing paper for his records.

A bigger word list, 'Obtained by the Rev. H. Fullow [Fulton] in 1801 AD from Aborigines in Norfolk Island' was printed in the *Australasian Anthropological Journal* in 1896. As there were no other Aboriginal people on the island, the chaplain's informants must have been Musquito and Bulldog *after* 1805.

*North Cape of New Zealand
(Showing Brig Active), c. 1815*

Samuel John Neele (1758–1824)

Engraving

From John Liddiard Nicholas, *Narrative of a voyage to New Zealand performed in the years 1814 and 1815 in company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden*, London: Printed for James Black and Son, 1817

DSM 987/107A4 vol. 2, frontispiece

‘Philip, Jemmy and Scotchman, Natives’, 1813

Claims & Demands

Sydney Gazette, 1 May 1813, p. 2 (reproduction)

RB/F450

For many years the two Aboriginal convicts were put to work as charcoal burners in the penal colony. ‘Bull dog’ and ‘Muskitoe’ were included in the *Norfolk Island Return of Inhabitants* at 6 August 1812.

‘Moschetto (Port Jackson Native)’ was a passenger aboard *Minstrel*, which arrived in Van Diemen’s Land on 4 March 1813. Somehow Musquito’s devoted brother, Philip, heard about his transfer. ‘Philip, Jemmy and Scotchman, Natives’ enlisted in the crew of the whaling brig *Active*, which left Port Jackson in May 1813 and twice put into port at Hobart before returning to Sydney on 27 September 1813.

‘He is called Mosquito’, 1814

Colonial Secretary, Sydney, to Lieutenant Governor Davey,
17 August 1814

Kindly lent by State Records NSW
NRS937, 4/3493, p. 251

Musquito was sent to work for the wealthy settler and merchant, Edward Lord. In August 1814 his brother, Philip, requested Governor Lachlan Macquarie to return Musquito to his ‘Native Place’ and attempted to sail to Van Diemen’s Land. We don’t know if Philip succeeded, but in January 1815 he was in Sydney as a ‘settler’ with Bungaree at Georges Head.

In October 1817 Lieutenant Governor Sorrell requested that Macquarie repatriate Musquito who had ‘been extremely useful and well conducted’ and wanted to return to Sydney. In September 1818 Musquito nearly captured the bushranger, Michael Howe, who was killed a month later.

‘Hanging no good for black fellow’

Musquito, in conversation with Mr Bisdee, the jailor ...

Henry Melville

History of the island of Van Diemen’s Land, from the year 1824 to 1835 ... London: Smith and Elder, 1835

DSM/996/5A4, p. 35

Musquito remained in Van Diemen’s Land, leading attacks against the settlers. In 1824 he was captured by an Aboriginal youth called Teague and convicted of the murder of William Hollyoak.

On 25 February 1825 Musquito, a Tasmanian Aboriginal man named Black Jack and six bushrangers were hanged in Hobart Town. After his death sentence, Mosquito was reported to have had this conversation with his gaoler, John Bisdee:

‘Hanging no good for black fellow.’

Mr Bisdee. ‘Why not as good for black fellow as for white fellow, if he kills a man?’

‘Very good for white fellow, for *he* used to it.’

*Hobart Town in 1817.
Kangaroo Govt. Schooner*

Charles Jeffreys (1782–1826)

Late 19th century lithograph after contemporary drawing

SSV6/1817/1

In 1814 an Aboriginal youth named Dual (Doual or Dewall) guided explorer Hamilton Hume and his brother, John, through the rugged Bargo Brush to country near Bong Bong.

Two years later Dual, from the Cowpastures (Camden area), was captured by soldiers at Appin and banished to Van Diemen's Land for seven years as a 'Native Convict' by Governor Lachlan Macquarie, then waging war on 'hostile' Aboriginal people.

Dual was sent to Port Dalrymple on the Tamar River aboard the armed brig *Kangaroo*, which left Sydney on 5 August 1816. The ship's commander, Lieutenant Charles Jeffreys, made the drawing for this lithograph.

‘with the assistance of two native guides’,
1819

The Times, London, 1 November 1819, p. 2 (reproduction)

Through the efforts of Charles Throsby, Dual received an early release and returned to Sydney on the schooner *Sindbad* in January 1819. In April, Dual, with Coccooyong and Bian, sons of Nagaray of the Burra-Burra clan of the Gundungurra, joined Throsby on a journey from Camden to the Campbell River, near Bathurst.

Macquarie rewarded Dual with a metal breastplate, clothing and bedding. The French mariner, Jules Dumont d’Urville, who met ‘Douel’ and his 16 warriors at a big payback combat in Sydney in 1824, said he was ‘chief’ of the warlike ‘Mericon [Murringong] tribe that lives on the Cowpastures Plains’.

An Exploring Party in New South Wales, 1826

Artist unknown

Hand-coloured aquatint

From James Atkinson, *An account of the state of agriculture & grazing in New South Wales*,
London: J Cross, 1826

SSV*/Expl/1, frontispiece

Party preparing to bivouac, 1826
Party Bivouac'd for the night, 1826

Artist unknown

Hand-coloured aquatints (reproductions)

From James Atkinson, *An account of the state of agriculture & grazing in New South Wales*, London: J Cross, 1826

DL 82/95, plates 2 and 3

It is possible that Dual, Coocooyong and Bian are the Aboriginal guides in three hand-coloured aquatints in James Atkinson's book, published in London in 1826. Atkinson knew Hamilton Hume and William Hovell, who breakfasted with him at Bong Bong on 7 October 1824 at the start of their overland journey to Western Port in Port Phillip.

Atkinson referred to the assistance of 'black Natives ... as guides, they having the most intimate knowledge of the localities of the country ... I have performed many long journeys ... without any other attendants than two black Natives, on whose fidelity I could rely'.

‘Tristram Maamby - New Hollander’, 1795

Philip Gidley King (1758–1808)

Norfolk Island, Victualling book, 1792–1796

Presented by Gilbert Goldfinch, July 1934

A 1958, p. 89

The Reverend Samuel Marsden wrote about ‘one of my boys’ who was ‘taken from his mother’s breast’. According to Thomas Hassall, formerly Tristan’s ‘school fellow & play mate’ at Parramatta, Marsden had found the infant in the bush after his mother was ‘shot by the Whites’.

Marsden adopted Tristan in 1794 and took him to Norfolk Island the following year, at the age of five, aboard the 170-ton ship *Fancy*. Commandant Philip Gidley King entered the boy’s name in the island’s victualling book as ‘Tristram Maamby’, while Hassall wrote it as ‘Mambe’, meaning ‘quail’. This was probably his totem name.

'I have also a little native Boy ...'

Elizabeth Marsden to Mrs Mary Stokes, Parramatta, 1 May 1796

Letter No. 5, Marsden Family, Letters to Mrs. Stokes, 1794-1824

MSS 719, p. 41

‘... — poor Tristan ran away at Rio ...’

Elizabeth Marsden to Rowland Hassall, Hull, 9 January 1808

Hassall Correspondence

Bequeathed by DS Mitchell, 1907

A 859, f. 174

In the following years, Tristan was taught to read, write and ‘wait at Table’. In 1807, aged 17, he embarked for England with the Marsden family on the storeship *Buffalo*. Tristan fell in with bad company on the ship and was ‘constantly tipsy’. In Rio he absconded from the house where the Marsdens were staying.

Thomas Hassall, who married Ann Marsden, wrote afterwards that Tristan had been ‘thrown in the way of temptation and got drunk for which he was punished — At Rio de Janeiro he robbed his Master of a considerable sum of Money & ran off.’

‘... a native boy about fourteen ...’

James Hardy Vaux (1782–1841+)

Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux, written by himself, B Field
(ed.), 2nd edn, London: CH Reynall, 1827

DSM/A923.41/V385/3A1 vol. 1, p. 203

In Rio Janeiro, looking towards the Entrance, 1787

William Bradley (1757?–1833)

Watercolour

From William Bradley, *A Voyage to New South Wales*, 1802+ (facsimile volume)

Acquired from Francis Edwards, Antiquarian Booksellers, 1924

ML Safe 1/14, Opp. p. 36

Before the voyage of the *Buffalo*, Governor King arranged a pardon for his convict secretary, James Hardy Vaux, a self-confessed swindler and thief, who complained: ‘I was employed [on the ship] from morning till night in copying and arranging Captain King’s papers, of which he had several large trunks full.’

Vaux’s other duties were to tutor King’s daughter, Marsden’s two children and Tristan. ‘During our stay at Rio de Janeiro he [Tristan] absconded from the house of his protectors, in consequence of some chastisement for misconduct, and could not be recovered before the ship’s departure’, Vaux wrote.

‘God be merciful to me ...’

Reverend Thomas Hassall

Undated memorandum referring to 1807–1813

Hassall family — Correspondence

A 1677 vol. 2 pt 1, p. 84; pp. 87–88 (p. 88 reproduction)

Tristan had been seven years in Rio when Captain John Piper found him and took him to Sydney aboard the *General Hewitt* in November 1813.

Thomas Hassall described a ‘sight frightful to behold’ when he saw his old school friend in Sydney’s General Hospital. Tristan was desperately ill, with bulging eyes and sweat pouring from his head and neck. He cried out ‘God be merciful to me a vile miserable sinner’. It seems that Tristan contracted dysentery or typhus on the convict ship. He died the next day and was buried in the Old Church Yard (present Sydney Town Hall).

Nouvelle-Hollande - Bedgi, 1802

Nicolas-Martin Petit (1777–1804)

Pastel, charcoal and ink (reproduction)

Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle, Le Havre, France

20041.1

Bidgee Bidgee (River Flat) was the youngest son of Maugoran, who in November 1788 was forced to relocate his family to the territory of the Wallumedegal (Snapper Clan) at Kissing Point (Ryde) when a military post was built at Parramatta. He was a half-brother of Ballooderry, Boorong and Yeranabie.

In February 1816 Governor Macquarie reserved land for Bidgee Bidgee and appointed him 'Chief of the Kissing Point Tribe'. Bidgee Bidgee preferred to have a fishing boat and, in March 1818, Daniel Daykin was paid £13 from the Police Fund to provide one. Bidgee Bidgee was still 'chief' in 1836.

*Nouvelle-Hollande: île King. L'Éléphant –
Marin ou Phoque A Trompe. Vue de la Baie
des Eléphants (Elephant seals in the Bay of
Elephants, King Island), 1811*

Victor Pilliment (1767–1814)

after Charles-Alexandre Lesueur (1778–1846)

Engraving

From François Péron, *Voyage de découvertes aux terres Australes*, Paris:
De l'Imprimerie Imperiale, 1811

F980/P Atlas (1811), Plate XXXII

‘... employed in the fishing and sealing trade ...’, 1811

David Dickenson Mann (c. 1775–1811)

The present picture of New South Wales ... London:
Sold by John Booth, 1811

MRB/Q991/M, pp. 46–47

Governor King’s ex-convict clerk, David Dickinson Mann, who left New South Wales in March 1809, named ‘Bull Dog, Bidgy Bidgy, Bundell, Bloody Jack’ as Aboriginal men who had ‘made themselves extremely useful on board colonial vessels employed in the fishing and sealing trade, for which they are in regular receipt of wages’.

Mann further commented: ‘They strive, by every means in their power, to make themselves appear like the sailors with whom they associate, by copying their customs, and imitating their manners; such as swearing, using a great quantity of tobacco, drinking grog, and other similar habits.’

Native Carvings, La Perouse (whale), c. 1891

William Dugald Campbell

Pencil (reproduction)

PXD 223/5

For countless thousands of years, pods of humpback whales have migrated from the south in the winter months, following the eastern coastline of Australia to warmer northern waters. In spring the whales return southwards with their calves to spend the summer feeding on krill in the icy Antarctic. Aboriginal people gathered to feast on the rich blubber whenever a whale was stranded or washed ashore.

When surveyor William Dugald Campbell saw this stone engraving of a whale and calf at La Perouse near Bare Island in 1891, he was told it was a *boora* whale, associated with initiation ceremonies.

Departure of the whaler Britannia from Sydney Cove, 1798

Thomas Whitcombe (1763–1824)

Oil

Kindly lent by the National Library of Australia

PIC T271 NK7

After transporting English convicts to Port Jackson in October 1791, the whaler *Britannia* went to sea in search of whales. A young Aboriginal man named Tom Rowley sailed from Sydney Cove on *Britannia* in June 1795. The ship loaded provisions in Calcutta (Kolkatta) and Madras (Chennai), and stopped for wood and water at Gower's Harbour, New Ireland, while returning, anchoring in Sydney in May 1796.

Tom Rowley was shot and killed on the north shore of Port Jackson in October 1797. William Miller, who was charged with his murder, was acquitted on the grounds that he had shot Tom accidentally.

Movat (Boatswain Maroot) (detail), 1820

Pavel Nikolaevich Mikhailov (1786–1840)

Pencil and sanguine (reproduction)

Russian State Museum

Image courtesy of Longueville Publications

R29209/207

Boatswain Maroot (Maroot, Merute), son of the clan head of the Kameygal, was born at Cooks River on the north shore of Botany Bay. Although he fought in ritual revenge battles, the younger Maroot admitted that he had not ‘lost a tooth’ and had never been initiated.

After returning to Sydney, Boatswain Maroot went to live at the home of Commissary David Allan at Woolloomooloo.

In 1820, the Russian artist Pavel Mikhailov painted ‘Movat’ (Maroot) with ‘Salmanda’ (Salamander) before sailing to Macquarie Island, with the Russian Antarctic expedition led by Captain Fabian von Bellingshausen, where he made the first drawing of the island.

Petition by 'Merute a native of this Territory', 1810

Minutes and Proceedings, Bench of Magistrates,
County of Cumberland, Colonial Secretary Papers

Kindly lent by State Records NSW

NRS 3397, SZ773

Garden Cove, Macquarie Island, 1820

Ivan Pavlovitch Fridrits after Pavel Nikolaevich Mikhailov
(1786–1840)

Lithograph (reproduction)

From Faddei Faddeevich Bellingshausen, *Atlas k puteshestviu Kapitane Bellingsgauzena*
... St Petersburg, 1831

F980/3A1, plate 58

Some time during 1810, the sealing vessel *Sydney Cove* put Boatswain Maroot ashore on the remote and desolate Macquarie Island, 1500 km south-east of Tasmania in the sub-Antarctic ocean.

When their food rations ran out, Maroot and two European sealers were forced to live for months in icy conditions on seals, penguins and mutton-birds, before stowing away on the 150-ton brig *Concord*, which reached Sydney on Friday, 4 October 1811.

‘Merute’ (Maroot) petitioned Governor Lachlan Macquarie, claiming he had been stranded for two years, and was awarded damages of £10, half in cash and half in goods.

*Natives of New South Wales,
Biddy Salamander of the Broken Bay Tribe,
Balkabra Chief of Botany, Gooseberry
Queen of Bungaree*

Charles Rodius (1802–1860)

Watercolour

Presented by Francis Edwards, 1932

PXA 615, f. 6

Ships Muster of the Brig *Mercury*, 1822

Colonial Secretary Ships Musters, 22 October 1822

Kindly lent by State Records NSW

NRS 1289, 4/4773

‘I went out whaling five or six voyages’, ‘Boatswain’ Maroot told Dr John Dunmore Lang in 1845. He described whaling as ‘dirty work, and hard work’. Three of his voyages were in 1822–23 aboard the 156-ton *Mercury*. ‘Boatswain’ Maroot, with ‘Tommy’ Chaseland and two brothers, ‘Bulgabra’ (Balkabra) and ‘William’ (Willamannan), mustered as ‘Black Natives — Shipped this Voyage’, sailed aboard *Mercury* for the whale fishery in October 1822 and were away for nearly six months.

‘Bulgabra’ and Boatswain Maroot, ‘Seamen’, sailed again on *Mercury* to the Bay of Islands and the New Zealand sperm whale fishery on 6 August 1823.

William Minam - Walamata Port Aitken,
c. 1843–1849

Artist unknown

Pencil

From *Portraits of the Aborigines of New South Wales*, Sydney, 1843

Bequeathed by DS Mitchell, 1907

PXA 74, f. 1

‘I am a native of New Holland near to Botany Bay ...’, 1832

William (Willamannan) to GA Robinson

GA Robinson Papers, 22 June 1832, vol. 35

Purchased from the estate of Albert Robinson, son of George Augustus Robinson, through Maggs Bros, London, 1939

MS A7056, p. 205

Willamannan (Budgerygoory) sailed on the whaler *Raven* to Jervis Bay in October 1805 and was later a sealer and tracker in Van Diemen’s Land.

Port Egan or Aitken was an early name for Port Hacking, where Gunamatta Bay adjoins Cronulla Beach. Based on the statement by ‘William’ (Willamannan), recorded by Robinson, and the caption of the portrait of ‘William Minam’, ‘Boolgobra’ was head of the ‘Koonemetta’ (Gunamatta Bay) clan. ‘Walamata’ suggests that the clan’s territory ran north from Wattamolla (now in the Royal National Park) and included Port Hacking.

Surgeon John Nielson amputated the right arm of ‘William Annam’ at the Colonial Hospital in Sydney in 1838.

'I know them for many years ...'

John Connell to Capt. Dumaresq, Sydney, 30 April (no year)

Purchased November 1940

MS Aa 84

Parish of Southerland, c. 1835

William Meadows Brownrigg (1711–1800)

Engraving (reproduction)

From Maps comprising the various parishes of the County of Cumberland
DSM X/45

John Connell farmed the site at Kundal (Kurnell) in Botany Bay where James Cook had landed in 1770. His 210-hectare grant, marked on the *Parish of Southerland* chart, included an extensive shoreline to Gunamatta and Burraneer Bays at Port Hacking.

Connell was the author of a request (possibly written in 1829) to Governor Darling's aide, Captain William Dumaresq, to issue blankets to Willamannan and 'Bolgobrough' (Balkabra), 'Chief of Botany bay'. 'They & their tribe are Come to Sydney for his Excellency General Darling's Benevolent Donation of Blankets &c for the Ensuing Winter. I know them for Many Years', he wrote.

*Windsor, Head of navigation
Hawksbury (sic) River, c. 1810*

Possibly by George William Evans (1780–1852)

Watercolour

Purchased 1933

SV 1B/WIND/6

English settlers took up land on the Hawkesbury River near the Green Hills (Windsor) in 1794. Small sailing boats were needed to transport farm crops to Sydney from the river farms, but it was illegal to build boats because of frequent attempts by convicts to seize them and escape.

James Bath, found when his Aboriginal parents were killed in a raid at Toongabbie, became a bird shooter and expert 'in the work of a small Hawkesbury vessel'. He was 'adopted' by George Bath and a series of 'guardians'. James died from dysentery in 1804 at the age of fifteen.

Ships Muster of the Brig *Glory*, 1819

Colonial Secretary Ships Musters

Broken Bay, 29 October 1819

Kindly lent by State Records NSW

NRS 1289, 4/4771, p. 187

'Coleby, Brig *Glory*', 1819

Claims and Demands

Sydney Gazette, 2 October 1819, p. 3 (reproduction)

RB/F450

‘Two natives from Richmond joined us ...’, 1814

William Cox (1764–1837)

Journal of William Cox, August 1814

MS C708-2, p. 22

Three Aboriginal men from the Hawkesbury River were in the sealing crew that sailed the brig *Glory* on her first voyage to Sydney in 1819. Jonathan Griffiths built the ship at his farm at Richmond Hill. Colebee, Tom from the Branch (Macdonald River) and Jack Richmond sailed to Port Dalrymple, Bass Strait and Kangaroo Island.

In 1814 ‘Coleby from Richmond’ had accompanied William Cox’s gang building the first road over the Blue Mountains. Governor Macquarie made separate land grants to Colebee and Jack Richmond in 1816.

Captain (Karingy Jack) from Cattai went sealing on the brig *Elizabeth* in 1821–22.

'Tommy, a native boy'

Claims and Demands

Sydney Gazette, 21 December 1811 (reproduction)

F8/55

Ships Muster of the Brig *Jupiter* of Calcutta, 1817

Colonial Secretary (reproduction)

State Records NSW

NRS 1289, 4/4771, p. 31

‘Tommy, a native boy’, aged about 14, left Sydney in December 1811 on the schooner *Endeavour*, which took missionaries to Tahiti and returned with a cargo of pork.

Thomas, Tom or Tommy Chaseland, son of an Aboriginal woman from the Hawkesbury River and Thomas Chaseland Senior, an English settler, was born about 1797. Chaseland was a tall, powerful man and a strong swimmer and rower.

From 1816, when he enlisted on the brig *Jupiter*, Chaseland sailed on so many sealing and whaling expeditions that it often seems that he spent more of his life at sea than ashore.

Whaleboat showing position of crew

Artist unknown

Watercolour and pencil (reproduction)

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

A-032-025

In 1827 Tom Chaseland survived the wreck of the brig *Glory* at the Chatham Islands, steering a whaleboat 805 km to Moeraki on the New Zealand mainland. He also was one of three survivors after the brig *Industry* sank at Stewart Island in 1831.

Chaseland settled at Waikouaiti, on the South Island of New Zealand, working in bay whaling stations for ship owner John Jones. In 1843 he married Puna, sister of the famous Maori chief Te Matenga Taiaroa. After her death, he married Pakawhatu, daughter of a Maori woman, Esther Leah Pura, and Joseph Antonio, a Portuguese whaler.

HMS Acheron, Captain J. Lort Stokes, riding out a terrific gale between the South Islands of New Zealand, 1849, 1862

Richard Bridges Beechey (1808–1895)

Oil

Kindly lent by the National Library of Australia

PIC R297

At Waikouaiti in 1849, Tom Chaseland discovered the fossilised leg bones of the extinct flightless bird called the *moa*. Addressing the Geological Society in London, the famous palaeontologist, Gideon Mantell, called him ‘the best whaler in the [South] island’.

In February 1851 Captain John Lort Stokes, commander of a British Navy survey, engaged Chaseland to pilot the steamship *HMS Acheron* around the South Island of New Zealand. Stokes’ clerk, George Hansard, said Chaseland’s eyesight was so keen that he once spotted a whale that could not be seen through the ship’s telescope.

Tom Chaseland died at Stewart Island in 1869.

Tom Chaseland or the adventures of a Colonial half caste: a tale of old times, 1842–1878

Thomas Dowse (1809–1855)

Kindly lent by the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland

OM79-68/20

Chaseland's voyages took him to Bass Strait, Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), Kangaroo Island, Macquarie Island in the sub-Antarctic seas, Fiji, the Marquesas, Tahiti, the Friendly Isles (Tonga) and frequently to New Zealand, working as a sailor, sealer, second mate, harpooner and boat-steerer.

After he was granted his freedom and moved to Brisbane, Thomas Dowse, an ex-convict clerk to the Sydney Harbour Master, wrote in this unpublished memoir that Chaseland's mother was a 'black princess', named Gumeereewah, a daughter of Bennelong. However, Bennelong's only known daughter Dilboong died as an infant. Dowse's story is obviously a work of fiction.

‘Pigeon (Warroba), Potter & Jack’, 1811

Sydney Gazette, 23 March 1811 (reproduction)

F8/55

In 1811 ‘Pigeon, Potter and Jack’ were sealers in a gang landed by the brig *Mary and Sally* at the volcanic Campbell Island in the sub-Antarctic ocean, some 700 km south of New Zealand.

‘Young Pigeon’ was regarded as a Botany Bay Aboriginal man in reports of ritual revenge battles in Sydney Town, but came from the Shoalhaven River. He was an ally of Potter and Blewit, alias Ploge, two brothers from Botany Bay. In 1806 Potter helped starving survivors of the shipwrecked vessel *George*, north of Twofold Bay. The third man was probably a sailor known as ‘Botany Bay Jack’.

Johnny Crook, Nat Name Janenb (—?) Illa (Illawarra)

Possibly by TG Wainwright (1794–1847)

Watercolour

Purchased from Sotheby sale, 9–10 July 1962, Lot 239

DG P2/18

Janenbaya or Yuenbai was called Johnny Crook after the missionary William Pascoe Crook, who had christened him.

Settler John Batman sent Pigeon (Warroba) and Crook to Sydney in 1831 to recruit more mainlanders. They returned nine months later with Pigeon's brother Lewis Maccah, Bill Bullet (likely Pigeon's old ally, Blueitt or Blewit), Musquito's ally Old Bull (Bulldog), Joe Bangett, Jacky Stewart, Jack Radley, Sam, Sawyer and Jack Waterman.

'William' (Budgerygoory) came to Launceston on the schooner *Henry* in March 1832 and was attached to William Cotterell and employed by the Van Diemen's Land government. He returned to Sydney in January 1833 with a reward of £7.

Seven of the Sydney Aborigines dancing, c. 1833

John Glover (1790–1868)

Ink and grey wash

Kindly lent by the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery
Sketchbook 97, f. 10

Pigeon and the ‘Sydney Aborigines’ carried boomerangs, shields and spear-throwers, weapons unknown to the Palawa. At night they staged corroborees, singing and dancing, imitating emus and kangaroos, brandishing firesticks and striking their shields with boomerangs.

They performed for John Batman’s guests, including the club-footed landscape painter, John Glover, who made this sketch after Pigeon and Johnny Crook had helped him climb Ben Lomond.

Under Aboriginal protocol such corroborees were expected from visiting strangers.

Pigeon's Well

Government Notice. No. 186

Colonial Secretary's Office, 17 September 1830

Hobart Town Gazette, 18 September 1830

MDQ 351.73/1

Batman requested that Johnny Crook and Pigeon should be granted land for 'their good conduct and useful services ... in pursuit of the hostile Aborigines'. Though the Government Notice said the grants were 405 hectares each, this was corrected to 40 hectares each the next week.

Surveyor John Helder Wedge marked out the grants in 1833 at Buffalo Brook, adjoining Batman's farm. In 1835 Batman claimed the 43 hectares originally granted to Johnny Crook.

Wedge gave the name Pigeon's Well to a water basin (probably Lake Youl, source of the Nile River), 'having been discovered by a Sydney native of that name'.

Lewis (Lewis Maccah), 1842

John Rae (1813–1900)

Pencil and watercolour

From *Portraits of Australian Aborigines*

Presented by Sir William Dixson, 1951

DG* D23, f. 1

George Augustus Robinson said ‘Macca alias Lewis, Chief of Killimbagong or Shoalhaven Tribe’, was the brother of Pigeon (Warroba). He sometimes worked on Alexander Berry’s farm, ‘Coolangatta’, near Nowra. Lewis and five other rovers landed in Sydney in 1833 from the ship *Ellen* and went to Berry’s house at Crows Nest to store their luggage.

In October 1836 Lewis guided the Quaker missionaries, GW Walker and James Backhouse, whom he had met in Van Diemen’s Land, from ‘Coolangatta’ to Bong Bong. Lewis, who was leaving for Port Phillip, wore a cabbage tree hat and an officer’s coat and trousers.

The Melbourne Deed ('Batman's Treaty'), 1835

Legal copy of deed of conveyance of 500,000 acres from
Aboriginal People of the Port Phillip district to John Batman
Detail showing the marks of the 'chiefs' (reproduction)

National Museum of Australia

Accession No. 1997.19

On 6 June 1835, Batman and his rovers met eight Kulin 'chiefs' at Port Phillip to negotiate the agreement that resulted in the unauthorised land 'purchase' known as 'Batman's Treaty'. While Batman believed he was enacting a feudal English property transfer called *enfeoffment*, the Kulin regarded the transaction as a form of reciprocal exchange they called *Tanderrum*.

Batman exchanged quantities of tomahawks, knives, scissors, mirrors, necklaces, blankets, suits, shirts, handkerchiefs, flour and sugar for the land. Next day, two of the *ngurungaeta* (clan heads) presented possum skin cloaks to Batman. They later gave him stone axes, spears, woomeras and boomerangs.

Borong Boruck. The bread is all done —. 1835

John Helder Wedge (1793–1872)

Pencil

From *John Helder Wedge Field Book*

Kindly lent by the State Library of Victoria

MS 10768, p. 170

Batman returned to Van Diemen's Land, leaving James Gum, William Todd and Alexander Thompson, the three treaty witnesses, with Pigeon, Joe the Marine, Bullet, Bungett and Old Bull to build a camp at Indented Head (near Geelong, Victoria).

The words, '*Borong Boruck. The bread is all done*', written upside down in Wedge's Field Book indicate that the Aboriginal man in the possum-skin cloak is Pigeon, who baked dampers for local Aboriginal people, as mentioned in Todd's *Diary* (MS 11243, La Trobe Collection, State Library of Victoria). In the Sydney Language '*Barong-boruck*', as recorded by Philip Gidley King (1790), meant 'Belly-full'.

Jacky Stuart, Shoalhaven, c. 1844

Charles Rodius (1802–1860)

Charcoal

From *Portraits of New South Wales Aboriginal Australians*

Transfer from the National Art Gallery of New South Wales to the Mitchell Library, 1921

PXA 1005/4

**‘... one of the most trusty and sagacious ...’,
1832**

The Hobart Town Courier, 28 December 1832 (reproduction)

X079.9461/1

Lewis Maccah, Gillang (Jacky Stewart or Stuart) and Quanmyoh (Joe the Marine), all from the Shoalhaven, accompanied Constable William Cotterell on a journey to Macquarie Harbour. In December 1832 Jacky Stewart was met with a hail of spears from hostile Palawa as he crossed the Arthur River in a makeshift canoe. He escaped by diving underwater and shaking off his clothes.

Jacky Stewart joined John Batman in Melbourne, where he worked as a tracker but was often put in the stocks for drunkenness. A big man and normally a strong swimmer, he drowned, while drunk, in the Yarra River on 16 March 1839.

*King Jack Waterman,
Shoalhaven New South Wales, 1834*

Charles Rodius (1802–1860)

Black chalk with red chalk highlights (reproduction)

The Trustees of the British Museum

AN416038001

Monowara, from the Burrewarra clan near Jervis Bay, was known as Waterman Jack and King Jack Waterman after John Waterman, overseer of the Sydney Domain, where Charles Rodius sketched this portrait in 1834.

John Batman employed Waterman in his ‘roving parties’ and as a worker on his farm at Ben Lomond in Tasmania. In 1833 Batman loaned a horse to Peregrine Massingberd, who sent ‘John Waterman, one of the blacks, on foot, to take the horse back home’. Waterman returned to the Shoalhaven in 1834. He camped with other Aboriginal people visiting Sydney at Grose’s Wharf in Cockle Bay in 1836.

Aboriginal Breastplate for Sawyer King of Wickham Hill

Brass

Kindly lent by the National Museum of Australia

Object number 1985.0059.0387

‘You Masser come after me—a snake here, and will bite Masser, I go first’, cried Johnny Sawyer (Numbagundy) to Peregrine Massingberd while hunting possums and kangaroos atop Ben Lomond, near Batman’s Farm, in February 1833. ‘And yet’, added Massingberd in his journal, ‘he had neither shoes or stockings on’.

The figure of an Aboriginal man holding a spear and boomerang is engraved at the centre of this breastplate. Sawyer, who returned from Van Diemen’s Land in 1836, might have hunted game for ex-convict Robert Garrad, who lived at Wickham Hill Farm at Narrawallee, near Milton, New South Wales, from 1834.