

**Submission
No 251**

**INQUIRY INTO WINDSOR BRIDGE REPLACEMENT
PROJECT**

Name: Mr Barry Corr
Date received: 26 January 2018

I am an Aboriginal person living in the Hawkesbury. I am a member of the RMS Aboriginal stakeholders Group for the refurbishment of Thompson Square.

I am writing to register my concerns with the ways in which the history of Thompson Square is being interpreted, not just by RMS, but by all parties. I am concerned that all parties are engaged in mythologising Thompson Square as a symbol of Georgian and Victorian heritage and completely ignoring that it was for many years a military base for military operations against Aboriginal people.

There is a perception that Thompson Square that there was a civic square in Windsor from 1795. This distortion of historical fact is necessary to the argument that Thompson Square is a foundation of Australian egalitarianism and identity. I have not yet found any evidence to support this claim, particularly in the Strategic Conservation Management Plan, Volume 1: Site Identification, Historical Background and Heritage Status, that there was a civic square in Windsor from 1795.¹² On page 50 the SCMP claims that “Macquarie recognised that there was already an informal civic square in existence in Windsor.” Macquarie did no such thing. In naming the square as Thompson Square, Macquarie described it as the “Government Garden or Domain”.³ James Meehan’s 1812 survey of Windsor shows the content of this government domain: the Church and School House; the granary and store; the Government House; and the Military Barracks.⁴

The challenge to “revealing the significance of heritage places” is that in the Hawkesbury heritage has been manipulated to create and maintain a myth and discourse of peaceful settlement in which Aboriginal people simply disappeared not just from the place but also from the records.

I am concerned that the documents retrofit Thompson Square as a “civic square”, a unique celebration of Georgian heritage, while conveniently ignoring the execution of Cunningham, or the derision directed at Aboriginal people on blanket days. Macquarie’s journal shows clearly it was a “government precinct”, not a “civic square”. The documents memorialise floods (while ignoring the 1799 warning by Aboriginal people of an approaching flood) as a means of perpetuating the stereotype of the settler battling adversity and a hostile environment. The documents whitewash the reputations of the protagonists. Edward Abbott got his Haycock Farm as a result of his military operations against Aboriginal people in June 1795. Andrew Thompson also engaged in ethnic cleansing on the Nepean River opposite his Agnes Bank farm in 1805. Samuel Marsden may have refused to serve as a magistrate with Andrew Thompson, not because of his convict background, but because of his immorality.

¹ Page 28, Strategic Conservation Management Plan, Volume 1: Site Identification, Historical Background and Heritage Status and

² “The new government precinct occupied higher and less fertile land than the local farms. The civic square complex, later known as Thompson Square, was to be part of this larger area.” Page 54, Strategic Conservation Management Plan, Volume 1: Site Identification, Historical Background and Heritage Status

³ “The principal street in the present Town of Windsor, running in a westerly direction from Government Garden or Domain towards the new Township, I have called George Street in honor of his present most gracious Majesty, and which street from the, present Square to the new intended one in the Township, will be nearly an English mile long. — The Square in the present Town I have named "Thompson Square", in honor of the memory of the good and worthy late Andrew Thompson Esqr. Justice of Peace & Principal Magistrate for this District – and who may justly be said to be the Father and Founder of the Village hitherto known by the name of the Green Hills; there being hardly a vestige [sic] of a single Building here, excepting the Government Granary, when he first came to reside on the Green Hills ten years ago.” <http://www.mq.edu.au/macquarie-archive/lema/1811/1811jan.html>

⁴ Page 81-82, SCMP.

The name Thompson Square probably owes more to Macquarie being included in Thompson's will rather than any good deeds on Thompson's part. As regimental paymasters neither Macquarie nor William Cox conducted their affairs in a regular manner.

Thompson Square is an appropriate place to record the Hawkesbury's Frontier War. This claim that Thompson Square was a "civic square" before 1810 masks the reality that the government precinct was an outpost on a frontier designed to protect the colony's farm harvest and that the garrison based in Thompson Square was involved in expeditions against Aboriginal people from 1795 to 1825.

This debate on Thompson Square is an opportunity for the Hawkesbury to recognise and come to terms with the reality that not only was settlement founded upon a Frontier War 1794-1825, but also that settler families from the Hawkesbury were involved in the Bathurst frontier war 1822-24, The Myall Creek Massacre 1838, and the fighting around Benalla in 1838.

Attached to this email is a file describing the Hawkesbury's frontier war and the relationship of Thompson Square to Aboriginal people on the Hawkesbury.

Historical records of Frontier War documents relating to Thompson Square and post conflict records of Aboriginal people and Thompson Square

The Hawkesbury's Frontier War began in 1794 and ended in 1825 with the execution of the Hawkesbury warrior, Mosquito in Tasmania. It began with the killing of Aboriginal people by settlers and grew in intensity as organised parties of settlers and soldiers attacked camps and Aboriginal warriors retaliated. At times it was part of a larger conflict. Fighting flared particularly in years of drought and flood when settlers sought new land. The expeditions that were mounted against Aboriginal people in 1795-1799, 1804-05, 1816 (three expeditions) and 1825 all involved the Government Precinct/Thompson Square.

The effects of small-pox were noted on Governor Phillip overland expedition to Richmond Hill in April 1791: "Natives were found on the banks in several parts, many of whom were labouring under the small-pox."¹ How many Aboriginal people died as a result of small-pox is unknown.

In February 1794, before settlement had officially begun, Lieut.-Governor Grose ordered the return of muskets from Norfolk Island to arm the settlers on the Hawkesbury.² Settlement commenced officially in April 1794 with 22 grants.³ Aboriginal people gathered around farms and were fired on. One Aboriginal man was killed.⁴

A primary role of the Government Precinct/Thompson Square was as a garrison, as shown by the soldier's barracks, commandant's barracks⁵ and the Macquarie Arms use as a mess-house in the 1840s⁶. Detachments or headquarters of the NSW Corps, the veteran company, the 73rd, 46th, 39th, 17th, 50th, 80th, 58th, 96th, and 99th regiments were stationed in Windsor from 1795 to 1848.⁷

We actually know about some of the men and women who used the military buildings. We know from Serjeant Goodall that in 1795 he was "sent to the Hawkesbury for the express purpose of defending the Settlers from the attacks of the Natives in consequence of the representation from the Settlers that they were in Danger of being murdered by the Natives"; and that "Parties of Soldiers were frequently sent out to kill the Natives."⁸ Captain Abbott who was commandant at the Green Hills 1795-6 was probably torn between his military duties and his 400 acre Haycock farm on Freemans Reach, received as a land grant following his June 1795 expedition clearing Aboriginal people from Freemans Reach. Mary Archer probably went there in September 1799 to report the murders of Little George and Little Jemmy to Constable Rickerby.⁹ Also in September 1799 Corporal Farrell left the barracks with a small party and shot and wounded Cappy and captured Charley on a South Creek farm. Charley would have been taken to the barracks as a prisoner before being sent to the Governor at Parramatta.¹⁰ Charley was killed in 1805. Samuel Marsden who owned a South

¹ Pages 223-234, Captain Watkin Tench, *Sydney's First Four Years*, Library of Australian History, 1979.

² Pages 125-126, Volume II, *HRNSW*, Sydney, Government Printer, 1893.

³ All references to land grants are drawn from R. J. Ryan, (ed.), *Land Grants, 1788-1809*, Australian Documents Library Pty Ltd, 1974.

⁴ Page 304, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Volume 1, 1974.

⁵ Page 59, SCMP.

⁶ Page 98, SCMP.

⁷ Leonard L Barton, *The Military History of Windsor: NSW*, Leonard Barton, 1994.

⁸ Pages 417-8, Series I, Volume II, *HRA*, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914.

⁹ Pages 403-422, *HRA*, Series 1, Vol. II, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914.

¹⁰ *Ibid*.

Creek farm just outside the study area and preached in the Government Precinct in the 1790s wrote disparagingly of the warrior Mosquito who he knew at that time.¹¹

By June 1795 there were 400 settlers on the river.¹² Large parties of Aboriginal people were on the farms. Webb, Thorp and Wilson were killed. Aboriginal attempts at negotiation were rejected leading to a military expedition. Lieutenant Abbott and sixty soldiers were sent to Hawkesbury “for the purpose of driving the natives away”.¹³ At least 7-8 Aboriginal people were killed and a number of men, women and children were taken prisoner. William Rowe and his child were killed and Rowe’s wife wounded on their isolated farm on the right bank of the River near the current north Richmond Bridge. Another punitive expedition was sent out after Rowe was killed.¹⁴

In December 1795 Aboriginal people plundered farms around Addy’s Creek,¹⁵ resulting in another punitive expedition. Four Aboriginal men and one woman were killed, a child was badly wounded and four males were taken prisoner.¹⁶

In 1795 there were 87 grants of 2375 acres, most of which went to the officers and men of the NSW Corps.

John Lacey was speared in a boat and mortally wounded in January 1796.¹⁷ In the following month Patrick Hyndes two brothers were speared to death on their farm at Bushell’s Lagoon.¹⁸

A settler was killed in June 1796, but there are no details of who or where.¹⁹

In April 1797 Aboriginal people burnt a farm house and a stack of wheat belonging to a settler after having plundered him.²⁰

There were attacks on Hawkesbury boats in October 1797 at unknown places on the river. The crew (2-5) of one boat were killed and 2-3 Aboriginal warriors were killed in an unsuccessful attack on another boat.²¹

¹¹ Page 347-9, Niel Gunson, *Australian Reminiscences and Papers of L. E. Threlkeld*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1974.

¹² Page 346, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974.

¹³ Pages 56-57, *The Journal of Richard Atkins during his residence in NSW, 1791-1810*, FM3/585, Mitchell Library or http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw/html/atkins_1794.htm

¹⁴ <http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/80258.jpg>, <http://image.sl.nsw.gov.au/banks/80259.jpg>, Pages 348-349 and 597, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974, & Rev Fyshe Palmer in a letter to Doctor John Disney 13th June 1795.

<https://www.ausnc.org.au/corpora/cooee/1-043-original>

¹⁵ Modern Currency Creek

¹⁶ Page 371, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Volume 1, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1974.

¹⁷ Page 37, Copley, John, *Sydney Cove, 1795-1800*, Angus and Robertson, 1986.

¹⁸ Page 133, Hall B., *A Desperate Set of Villains: The Convicts of the Marquis Cornwallis, Ireland to Botany Bay, 1796*. Barbara Hall, 2000, and

Page 87, Hardy, Bobby, *Early Hawkesbury Settlers*, Kangaroo Press 1985.

¹⁹ Pages 400-401, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, Volume I*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Sydney, 1975.

²⁰ Page 23, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Vol. 2, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Sydney, 1975.

In February 1798 thirty to forty warriors, including Little Charley, McNamara, Major White, Little George, Terribandy and Jemmy, attacked farms at Prospect. On Tarlington's farm Redman, Collins and Malong/Malloy/Malone were killed. Tarlington and wife were wounded. A few days later Terribandy killed a settler on the race ground near Windsor. As well, he wounded David Brown on his Wilberforce farm.²²

An Aboriginal man was killed at Mulgrave in an argument over a kangaroo sometime between October 1798 and 1799.²³

Despite the on and off hostilities Aboriginal people warned settlers of an approaching flood on the Hawkesbury in March 1799.²⁴

In August 1799 Private Cooper killed an Aboriginal mother and child.²⁵

While on a hunting trip in August 1799, Hodgkinson and Wimbow were killed on the Grose River by Terribandy and Major White. Wimbow had been living with Terribandy's daughter.²⁶

In the same month Major White wounded ex-serjeant Goodall near Bella Vista. In September 1799 Cappy was shot and wounded while Charley was captured on Farrell's South Windsor farm. In the same month William Blady met two groups of warriors while he was out hunting. Major White, Jemmy and another were in one group. Major Worgan, Charley and 12 others were in the other group. They said they were angry with the soldiers. On his return to his farm he found it had been plundered and his wife was unharmed.²⁷

Also in the same month, Little George, Little Jemmy and a third youth went to Forrester's farm to return Hodgkinson's musket. Little George and Little Jemmy were killed by Powell, Freebody, Metcalfe, Timms and Butler on Powell's farm. The third youth escaped.²⁸

In September 1799 Little George and Little Jemmy were killed by Powell, Freebody, Metcalfe, Timms and Butler on Powell's Argyle Reach farm. Mary Archer reported the killings to Constable Rickerby, probably at the Government Precinct.²⁹

At the trial of the five men, from which they walked away unpunished, evidence was given by John Francis Molloy, appointed as acting surgeon that in four and a half years (1795-99) he knew of 26 whites being killed and 13 wounded.³⁰ Land grants continued apace, in 1799 there were thirty five grantees receiving a total of 2631 acres and in 1800, 1,045 acres were granted to 21 individuals. In 1802, 27 grants were made totalling 1,981¼ acres. While

²¹ Page 39, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Vol 2, A.H. &A.W. Reed, Sydney, 1975.

²² Pages 403-422, *HRA*, Series 1, Vol. II, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Page 143, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Vol II, A.H. &A.W. Reed, Sydney, 1975.

²⁵ Pages 403-422, *HRA*, Series 1, Vol. II, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Pages 403-422, *HRA*, Series 1, Vol. II, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914. .

³⁰ *Ibid.*

releasing the prisoners Lord Hobart made clear his displeasure to the Governor: "It should at the same time be clearly understood that on future occasions, any instance of injustice or wanton cruelty towards the natives will be punished with the utmost severity of the law."³¹ It was an instruction never far from the minds of successive governors as they dealt with frontier conflict.

Drought began in 1803 and the Coromandel settlers were established around Portland Head.³²

In June 1804 parties of soldiers and settlers were active against Aboriginal people. An unnamed settler was speared (it is not possible to determine the location or whether the person was wounded or killed). Seven settlers purportedly pursued 40-50 warriors who had plundered farms. After encountering a group of 250 warriors they were able to recover some plunder and successfully retreat.³³

In mid-June 1804 Aboriginal people plundered the farms of Bingham and Smith (probably at Portland Head), speared and wounded John Wilkin and burnt the farms of Cuddie and Crumby on South Creek at what is now Llandilo. Joseph Kennedy on the Upper Crescent Reach fired on Aboriginal people taking corn from his fields.³⁴

In June 1804 Major White and Terribandy were killed by NSW Corps soldiers on the farm of a Richmond Hill settler, in what was probably an execution.³⁵

In 1804, apart from 20,830 acres allocated to commons, Governor King made grants to 75 individuals totalling 10,335 acres.

Fighting broke out again in April 1805 when Branch Jack led an attack on John Llewellen's farm on the Lower Half Moon Reach. Llewellen was killed, his servant wounded and Llewellen's musket was taken. Adlam and his servant died in his farm house on Upper Half Moon Reach. Armed boats sent down the river in response.³⁶

In April 1805 fighting was widespread across the Sydney Plain. At a peace conference at Prospect the following Hawkesbury warriors were identified: "Talboon, Corriangee, & Doollonn, Mountain natives; Moonaning & Doongial, Branch natives; and Boon-du-dullock, a native of Richmond Hill".³⁷

On the 28th of April 1805 an attack was made by constables and settlers led by Andrew Thompson on an Aboriginal camp on the western bank of Nepean River probably around Shaws Creek. Yaragowby and at least seven or eight others were killed. Charley was killed shortly after at Aiken's farm on the then junction of the Grose and Hawkesbury Rivers.³⁸ As this was the only conflict on the upper Hawkesbury and Nepean Rivers it is most likely related to Andrew Thompson's land acquisitions at Agnes Banks. On the same night an attack was made on James Dunlap at Prospect. Another attack was made upon the

³¹ Pages 366-7, *HRA*, Series 1, Vol. II, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1914.

³² *Sydney Gazette*, 26th February, 1804.

³³ *Sydney Gazette*, 17 June 1804.

³⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 24th June 1804.

³⁵ *Sydney Gazette*, 15th of July 1804

³⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 21st April 1805.

³⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday 5th May, 1805.

³⁸ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday 5th May, 1805, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/correction/626753>

Government Farm at Seven Hills, as well as another attack at Pittwater upon the William and Mary and the Richmond sloops.³⁹

Private Robert Rainer was drowned in May 1805 when crossing the Nepean River.⁴⁰

In June 1805 Henry Lamb's farm at Portland Head was fired. William Stubbs accidentally drowned in the river after his house was plundered four times. Cuddy's farm and Crumby's farm on South Creek were burnt out for the second time.⁴¹ William Knight's farm was plundered by Branch Jack and his musket taken.⁴² Abraham Yeouler's farm at Portland Head was burnt.⁴³

Fighting came to a close in June 1805 with the capture of Mosquito and Bulldog, and the release of Tedbury.⁴⁴ An Aboriginal girl taken by Henry Lamb was discovered in the act of setting fire to Thomas Chaseland's house. She admitted to setting fire to Yeouler's and Lamb's houses.⁴⁵

Woglomigh was killed and Branch Jack wounded in a failed attack upon the Hawkesbury at Mangrove Point in early September 1805.⁴⁶ There were repeated attempts to fire the wheat crops by Branch natives in December 1805. The Resource was attacked at the First Branch (MacDonald River) by a hail of stones.⁴⁷

Ben Singleton's servant wounded in an October 1808 attack on his farm. His sons shot one Aboriginal person dead and wounded others.⁴⁸

A party of Aboriginal people reported to the Special Constable Matthew Locke that they had been fired upon and one of their party killed in January 1812.⁴⁹

On the 31st of December 1812, Richard Evans was killed on China Farm, Second Branch or Colo River.⁵⁰

During the harsh drought which began in 1813 and ended in floods in 1816 fighting broke out on the Nepean around Bringelly in 1814 and flared intermittently into 1815 and 1816. It reached the Hawkesbury in March 1816. By April there was fighting on the western side of the Blue Mountains.⁵¹

In January 1815 the Native Institute opened with 12 children. By March six had left.⁵²

³⁹ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday 5th May, 1805, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/correction/626753>

⁴⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 12th May 1805

⁴¹ *Sydney Gazette*, 16th June 1805

⁴² *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 23rd June 1805, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626831>

⁴³ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 2nd June 1805, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626797>

⁴⁴ *Sydney Gazette*, 4th August 1805, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626869>

⁴⁵ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday, 7th July, 1805, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626845/6142>

⁴⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, Sunday 15th September, 1805, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/626907>

⁴⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 22nd December 1805.

⁴⁸ *Sydney Gazette* 30th October, 1808, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/627616>

⁴⁹ *Sydney Gazette*, 11th January 1812, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/628396>

⁵⁰ Australian Archives of NSW: Reel 6021; 4/1819 pp.193-198

⁵¹ Letter Macquarie to Murphy, 22/04/1816, NLA mfm N257, Reel 6065 AONSW CSO 4/1798, pages 39-50.

⁵² Pages 466-467, *HRA*, Volume VIII, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1916.

In April 1816 Governor Macquarie ordered a sweep of the Sydney Plain.⁵³ Captain Schaw marched out and arrived at Windsor where he consulted with magistrates. Schaw made a sweep from the Grose River to Kurrajong before returning to Windsor. His attempt to surprise an encampment failed when the white guide refused to take the troops to the Aboriginal camp.⁵⁴

Captain Schaw then marched south and joined Captain Wallis, who on the advice of settlers killed fourteen Aboriginal men, women and children in what is now known as the Appin Massacre.⁵⁵

Macquarie's proclamation of martial law in May 1816 banned: the carrying of spears within a mile of settlement; any more than six Aboriginal people being near a farm; and gatherings for Ritual punishments. Aboriginal people had to carry a monthly passport. Aboriginal people could apply for small land grants. Settlers were empowered to drive Aboriginal people off and magistrates and soldiers were to co-ordinate support for settlers.⁵⁶

It is likely that a party of Wiradjuri men, women and children were massacred on the Nepean near Shaws Creek sometime in 1816. The only source for this was Toby Ryan, who, while good on details, frequently muddled the sequence of events.⁵⁷

At the end of June 1816 there were more floods on the Hawkesbury and Cooling and Gallagher, assigned servants to a Mr Crowley were killed on his Grose River farm.⁵⁸ Governor Macquarie issued instructions to Magistrate Cox who organised a billet for Serjeant Broadfoot downstream from Bell's Farm and formed a party "to go in quest of the hostile natives." In July Joseph Hobson was killed on his Kurajong Slopes farm and a man was killed at Richmond. Hobson was reputedly the last settler left on the Kurrajong Slopes.⁵⁹ His headstone in St Peter's cemetery at Richmond is probably our only tangible evidence of the Hawkesbury's Frontier War.



A week later Magistrate Cox informed Governor Macquarie that Cocky, Butta Butta, Jack Straw and Port Head Jamie had been killed. We know from later sources that at least three of the men were executed without a trial which was illegal.⁶⁰

⁵³ *Sydney Gazette*, 4th May, 1816, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2176637>

⁵⁴ AONSW, reel 6045, 41173 5, pages 33-41.

⁵⁵ *Sydney Gazette*, 11th May 1816, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2176653>

⁵⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, 4th May, 1816, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2176637>

⁵⁷ Page 4-6, James T Ryan, *Reminiscences of Australia*, 1894 Reprinted 1982.

⁵⁸ *Sydney Gazette*, 29th June 1816, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2176711>

⁵⁹ Pages 177-181, Sir William Dixon - *documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853* ML, reel CY2743; DL Add 81, State Library of NSW

<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/ItemViewer.aspx?itemid=862003&suppress=N&imgindex=190>

⁶⁰ Page 187, Sir William Dixon - *documents relating to Aboriginal Australians, 1816-1853* ML, reel CY2743; DL Add 81, State Library of NSW,

<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/ItemViewer.aspx?itemid=862003&suppress=N&imgindex=190> & Alfred Smith, *Some Ups and Downs of an Old, Richmondite*, Nepean Family Historical Society Inc, 1991, Page 109-110, S. Boughton (Cooramill), *Reminiscences of Richmond, From the Forties Down*, Cathy McHardy, 2010 and Pages 150-151, S. Boughton (Cooramill), *Reminiscences of Richmond From the Forties Down*, Cathy McHardy, 2010.

Later in July 1816 Governor Macquarie's extended the proclamation of the 4th of May and outlawed ten Aboriginal men. The seven new additions were probably Hawkesbury men, reflecting Magistrate Cox's recommendations.⁶¹

In late August 1816 warriors attacked Cox's Mulgoa farm, killing a shepherd and 200 sheep. Parties were sent out, but no contact was reported. Fighting in August had spread to the Hunter.⁶²

In September 1816 Magistrate Cox organised five parties to sweep both banks of Nepean and Hawkesbury Rivers from the Warragamba to the Colo for a fortnight. At least one of these parties involved boats which would have come from the Thompson Square wharf.⁶³ At the end of October Governor Macquarie made a payment to Cox for his expenses in the "recent warfare".⁶⁴ Possibly 400 Aboriginal people were killed in this operation.⁶⁵

Perhaps not unsurprisingly, Hawkesbury settler families were involved in the expansion of settlement and the related warfare with Aboriginal people. Again the conflict coincided with drought and an expanding frontier.

In August 1824 five stockmen were found not guilty of the manslaughter of three Aboriginal women west of the Blue Mountains. William Cox was a defence witness and cited Governor Macquarie's proclamation of martial law in their defence.⁶⁶

In October 1825, two white men were killed on Grieg's Hunter River property. The killers then visited the Hawkesbury and returned via the Bulgar road, chasing some mounted settlers and stopped at a hut at Putty where they killed one man and wounded another while the third escaped to Richmond.⁶⁷ An armed party was sent out after them from Richmond and fell upon the camp of a "friendly tribe" which was scattered. It is my understanding that this party contained soldiers who would have come from Thompsons Square.⁶⁸

⁶¹ *Sydney Gazette*, 4th May, 1816, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2176637>

⁶² *Sydney Gazette*, 31st August 1816, <http://newspapers.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2176790>

⁶³ Call No: DL Add 81

Digital Order No: a1893188

State Library of New South Wales

<http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/album/ItemViewer.aspx?itemid=862003&suppress=N&imgindex=190>,

⁶⁴ <http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816oct.html>

⁶⁵ <http://www.library.mq.edu.au/digital/lema/1816/1816oct.html>

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http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/cases/case_index/1824/supreme_court/r_v_johnston_and_others/ and <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/494903>

http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/cases/case_index/1824/supreme_court/r_v_johnston_and_others/

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http://www.law.mq.edu.au/research/colonial_case_law/nsw/other_features/correspondence/documents/document_102a/

⁶⁸ *Macarthur Papers, 1823-97*, A4360, CY2378, Mitchell Library, Pages 197-198, Editor, David S. Macmillan, Peter Cunningham, Surgeon R.N., *Two Years in New South Wales*, First Published 1827, Reprinted, Angus and Robertson, 1966, Pages 451-452, Sibella Macarthur Onslow, (ed), *Some Early Records of the Macarthurs of Camden*, Angus and Robertson Ltd., Sydney, 1914, Pages 49, 74 and 128, Niel Gunson, Editor, *Australian Reminiscences and papers of L. E. Threlkeld*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, 2601, *The Colonist*, 27th October 1838, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/4246179>, Page 195-197, William Romaine Govett, *Sketches of New South Wales*, originally published in *The Saturday Magazine* in 1836-37, republished by Gaston Renard, Melbourne, 1977, Page 29, *Australian Aborigines, Copies of Extracts of Despatches relative*

In February 1825, Mosquito, an Aboriginal warrior from the Hawkesbury was executed in Tasmania. He was captured after being wounded by Teague, another Aboriginal person who had been brought up by the Luttrells and taken with them to Tasmania when they left the Hawkesbury and Sydney. Teague fretted away after not being given his reward for shooting Musquito.⁶⁹

A compilation of casualties in the period 1794-1825, as reported in Governor's despatches, trial transcripts, *The Sydney Gazette*, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, land grant records, memorials and memorandums suggest that approximately 35 settlers were killed, one drowned as a result of the sacking of his farm and 12 were wounded, one soldier was drowned – accidentally or otherwise and approximately 50 Aboriginal people were killed and several wounded. However, when private letters, memoirs and reminiscences are included, it is likely that at least 470 Aboriginal people were killed 1794-1825. Due to the paucity of military records and the reluctance of Governors to report Aboriginal casualties this figure is likely to be significantly understated.

to the massacre of various Aborigines of Australia, in the year 1838, and respecting the trial of their murderers.
House of Commons 1839

<http://books.google.com.au/books?id=hTBDAAAacAAJ&pg=PA29&lpg=PA29&dq> and *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 25th October 1890.

⁶⁹ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/musquito-13124>

Post Frontier War: Primary Source Records and Aboriginal people in Thompson Square

2nd of September, 1826

PUBLIC MEETING.—One of the most useful and truly interesting Meetings ever recorded in New South Wales, was held at the Court-house, Windsor, on Monday last, August 28th, 1826. It was a truly awful assemblage convened for the most profound purposes. Notice had not been published in the Gazette, and a veil of darkness covered the whole; nevertheless the OBJECTS OF THE MEETING shone with a resplendence, which made clear the truly MUNIFICENT INTENTIONS of the FOUNDER!—

Present.-- COLEBY, IN THE CHAIR :---

Stewards.

MILES, Chief of Richmond Tribe.

MIRANGI, or Creek Jemmy, a Chief.

BILL JEBINGE, a Chief of Portland Head Tribe.

GILL-MA-BOO JACK, a Chief.

And, Davy, of the Curry Jong.

Wool-loom-by, alias Bugle Jack, of Richmond.

Stephy, of Curry-Jong.

Ba-raa by, of Richmond.

Symon, of Black Town.

Runaway Jack, of Portland Head.

Penny Royal Jack, of Windsor.

Bobby, son of Creek Jemmy.

Narang Jack, of North Richmond.

Warren, of South Creek.

Crodjie Jack, the Doctor.

Ben Bungraa, of Pitt Town.

Creek Jemmy, or Niraugi, of South Creek

Jonquay, of Wilberforce.

Iron-bark Jack, of South Creek

Billy Congate of Richmond.

Emery, alias the Lawyer. ⁷⁰

1840s

We know from William Walker that around 1842 the officers of the 80th regiment were “getting up a corroboree in Thompson's Square. Of course they plied the darkies well with wine, or something stronger.”⁷¹

13th February, 1845: Thompson Square

‘THE ABORIGINES.-On Monday evening as three Aborigines were amusing themselves and several of the Military who flocked around them by throwing the Boomerang in Thompson's Square, Robert Fitzgerald, Esq., on seeing the crowd and hearing the noise which they occasioned, ordered the Natives to be confined in the Watch-house. A constable named Brien, who was present at the time, on hearing the Magistrate's order, immediately rushed on one of them, and dragged and cuffed him along until he was fairly incarcerated. We do not question the propriety of Mr. Fitzgerald's order for imprisoning them - but we do question the right of this constable to ill-treat them or any of her Majesty's subjects in the manner in which he is invariably reported to do on similar occasions; and we hope if any of the inhabitants are spirited enough at any future time to appear against this worthy, and bring home charges of unnecessary severity against him - the Magistrates will do their duty in dismissing him from the police, and otherwise punishing him as he may deserve. We regret to

⁷⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 2nd September 1826, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/2186454>

⁷¹ The 80th were garrisoned in Windsor 1834-44.

Pages 6-9, William Walker MLC *Reminiscences (Personal, Social and Political) of a Fifty Year Residence at Windsor, On the Hawkesbury*, Turner and Henderson, Sydney, 1890.

be obliged to notice this man's conduct, but our duty to the Public will not permit us any longer to remain silent on the subject.'⁷²

30th of May, 1874: blanket distribution

'THE ABORIGINALS. - On Monday last the remnant of the aboriginals belonging to this district received their blankets, our old friend S. Tuckerman Esq., J.P. as usual superintending the distribution.'⁷³

28th of May, 1881: *Blanket Day*

The description of this blanket distribution provides a range of information about the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people. It suggests that most Aboriginal people were living around Lower Portland and that Aboriginal people of mixed parentage lived with their Aboriginal relatives and identified as Aboriginal people.

'BLANKET DAY.-The aborigines of the district assembled at the Windsor Court House on the Queen's Birth Day, for the yearly distribution of blankets There does not appear to be any falling off in the contingent; but the aborigines are gradually losing their distinctive character, and are becoming a whitey-brown nation. The following are the names and ages of the Lower Portland tribe:-Elizabeth Captain, 28;105 Margaret Shaw, 28; Jane Shaw, 6; Christina Shaw, 5; an infant, one week old; Sally Barber, 23; Charles Cumber, 50; Matilda, 85 ; Joseph Frederick, 3; Elizabeth Doyle, 27; Bertie Nowland, 24; Totty Barber, 3; Albert Shaw, 3; Andrew Barber, 26: Albert Andrew Barber, 22; Boney Stewart, 22; Rachael Lenart, 23; Harry Cubrer, (reads) 25; Margaret Cumber, 30; Willie Cumber, 12; Alfred E. Everingham, 10; Emily Everingham, 2; Sally Bowman, 23; Tommy Cox, 60; George Captain, 37: Johnny Barber, 55; Elizabeth Barber, 24; Edward Barber, 8; Charles Barber, 6; Arthur Muley, 4; Jane Barber, 18.'⁷⁴

'The bestowal of a suit of clothes in addition to the blanket given annually to each of the aboriginal natives, is now under the consideration of the Government.'⁷⁵

1st of June, 1889: blanket day and gloomy predictions

'Once more the few remaining dusky natives of the colony have had their respective blankets doled out to them. Year by year they are growing beautifully less, and in a very short space of time it will be necessary to chronicle the demise of the last genuine aboriginal of the district. On Friday 70 blankets were distributed at the Court House, but out of that number a very small percentage went to genuine blacks. Most of those who were recipients were piebald in colour; many were as white as the average Australian; and one in particular rejoiced in the possession of as good a head of red hair as it would be possible to see in a day's walk. The

⁷² *Hawkesbury Courier and Agricultural and General Advertiser*, 13th February 1845.

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66378288>

Apart from owning the Macquarie Arms in Thompson Square, Fitzgerald was the second largest property owner in the Hawkesbury after William Cox. His attitude may have been shaped by the ongoing conflicts on his properties along the Namoi and Gwydir Rivers in 1838. See page 234, Roger Milliss, *Waterloo Creek, Waterloo Creek*, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood, 1992.

⁷³ *The Australian, Windsor, Richmond and Hawkesbury Advertiser*, 30th May 1874,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/70660346>

⁷⁴ *The Australian, Windsor, Richmond, and Hawkesbury Advertiser*, 28th May 1881,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66358538>

⁷⁵ *The Australian, Windsor, Richmond and Hawkesbury Advertiser*, 8th October 1881,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66358778>

whole thing is becoming a complete farce, and the sooner the practice is abolished the better. These people, who all earn a good living in various parts of the district, are brought from their homes, sometimes many miles away, to receive the annual gift of "Mister Gubermment" and oftentimes they do not retain possession of the blanket for more than a few hours, disposing of it for a few shillings with which to purchase the national beverage, rum. As a natural consequence, they become intoxicated, and during their few days' stay in town render night and day hideous, besides proving a source of annoyance to the residents. It would be far better to allow them to remain in their bush homes, where at least they do not make themselves obnoxious to the people, than to entice them into the towns where they commit excesses, and often get themselves into trouble. They are dying out fast enough-and it would be a mercy to the poor creatures to allow them to do so in peace and quietness.'⁷⁶

1890s

J. C. L. Fitzpatrick has left a valuable record of a positive interaction between Settlers and Aboriginal people. It would appear that because of Mr. Gordon's generosity Aboriginal people were able to turn the blanket distribution into a gathering which could continue for a week. The extract is also important for showing two contrasts, one the belief that Aboriginal people were on the verge of extinction and Aboriginal humour and resilience in "King Somebody" who dressed up in a suit and tall hat.

'Mr. A. Gordon's old home next to the School of Arts was vacated by him for some time in the 70s, he being transferred to a distant part of the state by the Justice Department. When he qualified for retirement he returned to Windsor and took up his quarters again in the same building. At and about the Queen's birthday his yard was the rendezvous for all the aboriginals of the district, who came along several days in advance to receive their blankets and stayed a week or so after they received those very useful presents. Mr. Gordon was very kind to the last remnants of a dying race. There was one old fellow. King Somebody, who took the town by storm, garbed in a black suit, tall hat and all the other requisites of a modern civilisation.'⁷⁷

31st of May, 1890: Blanket day and more sanctimony

The following article is revealing in its anticipation that the looming disappearance of Aboriginal people would remove an *eyesore*. Truly out of sight, out of mind.

'The dusky natives of this district are very quickly being civilized off the face of the land and each Queen's birthday their numbers are growing beautifully less. On Saturday last the few who remain had handed out to them a miserable dole in the shape of an inferior, cheap and nasty class of Government blanket. Why this absurd practice of giving this paltry present to the aborigines should any longer be continued is rather strange and unaccountable. These people are brought into town from miles down the river; they hang about the place, drinking and making night hideous, and finally leave, minus the very article for which they travelled so long a distance. If the powers that be were inclined to be so generous, why not send to the various settlements in the district a parcel of blankets and have them distributed there, thus averting the necessity for the poor unfortunate creatures travelling all the way to town, and doing away with the encouragement afforded to them whilst here to fill themselves up to the throats with fighting-rum. Of those who presented themselves on Saturday there were but half-a-dozen men and women who could claim to be really black, the remainder of the tribe

⁷⁶ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 1st June 1889, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72559534>

⁷⁷ Page 11, J. C. L. Fitzpatrick, *When We Were Boys Together: reminiscences of the Hawkesbury district*, originally published 1909, republished Cathy McHardy, 2004.

being made up of children of a half-and-half shandy-gaff colour. In a year or two hence, rum and "civilization" will have cleared this district of the few genuine aboriginals who remain, and perhaps it will be a good thing, too, not only for themselves - as they most, most assuredly, hang out a most miserable existence - but for our boasted civilization, - as it will have removed one of the eyesores which most people who believe this is an age of progress and enlightenment see in the remnants of an ignorant, uncultivated, unintellectual and inferior race, such as the dusky natives of this Colony have proved themselves to be.

This reminds me of a story which was told me the other day respecting the proposed distribution of blankets at the Windsor Court-house some years ago. It was during the time that Sir Hercules Robinson (the Governor) was away at Fiji,¹¹⁷ and, as most people remember, his place was temporarily occupied by Sir Alfred Stephen. The blankets had arrived some days previous to the 24th, but were found to be damaged and were returned. The fresh supply did not come to hand in time, but the aboriginals mustered in great force at the Court-house, unaware of the non-arrival of the annual dole. The Senr-sergeant called from the crowd one of the men, and sought to explain to him the reason for the non-delivery of the blankets. He said, "You see, white fellar down there send'em bad blanket - me send'em back; not good bought for you - twige-vous. Me get'em blankets next week send'em down to you - twigevous." This explanation the sergeant repeated several times, finishing up with "twige vous" on each occasion, until at last the dusky native got wild, and ejaculated, much to the amusement of the congregated crowd, "To - with your - twigevous; I want my blangry;" and turning round to an aged savage close by he explained, "That fellar Gubernor down there not half a - Gubernor; our good Gubernor gone away in Fiji." Then he left, and the whole tribe, much disappointed at the result of their trip from the back-blocks of the Hawkesbury quickly followed.⁷⁸

30th of May, 1891: blanket day and indignation at government handouts

The following piece is most telling in its determination to remove any presence of Aboriginal people from the Hawkesbury, particularly those Aboriginal people of mixed parentage who identified as Aboriginal people and were accepted by their Aboriginal relatives, but not by settler society.

'THE ABORIGINES.-A motley array of aboriginals - men, women and children - pervaded the precincts of the Court-house on Monday, waiting to receive the customary blanket which constitutes the "Queen's bounty" to these benighted people on her august Majesty's natal day. Upwards of 50 townspeople assembled to witness the proceedings, and shortly after noon, close upon 100 blanket were served out, to the evident delight of the darkies, who gave three cheers for the Queen, but they were very feeble cheers. There is no gainsaying the fact that the race is becoming rapidly extinct, for there were not above a dozen full-blooded aboriginals in the whole lot. Indeed, it would be difficult for the casual observer to understand by what right some of them were entitled to share in the distribution.⁷⁹

Dora Dora Blacks and Thompson Square, 1891-93

'Dora Dora Blacks wanted for murdering a Russian

The Dora Dora Blacks, we hear, are on their way to the Kurrajong Mountains. A reward of £200 is offered for their apprehension, so Kurrajongers had better look out.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 31st May 1890,

⁷⁹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 30th May 1891, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72540013>

⁸⁰ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 27th June 1891, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72540276>

Two darkies, carrying swags, traversed George-street on Wednesday, and the town was informed by some practical jokers that they were identical with the Dora Dora blacks. They were, however, able to prove a 'halibi' as the elder Weller called it.'⁸¹

The significance of the following quote lies in its reference to Aboriginal people camping in Thompson Square.

"What are you doing there?" shouted a local policeman to several aboriginal ladies who were camped on Thompson Square on Saturday night.

"Oh, we not der Dora Dora blacks, Mr. Policeman," was the reply.'⁸²

27th of May, 1893: blanket return and more questions about identity

'The local "darkies" rolled up in great force on Queen's Birthday, went to Windsor, and returned in the afternoon to their quarters on the Blacktown-road.'⁸³

'The Holiday.

The Queen's 78th birthday passed over very quietly in the Hawkesbury district on Tuesday. The weather was cold and showery at times, but still the great bulk of the people went somewhere or other for an outing. Windsor was well-nigh deserted. The Aborigines from all parts of the district rolled up, to the number of about 100, and received their blankets. By the way, the race seems to be rapidly dying out, and by far the greater number of those who presented themselves at the Court-house on Tuesday were a long way from being genuine "darkies." In fact, many of them would require "another dip" before they could even claim to be called copper coloured, nevertheless, they got there just the same.'¹³⁶⁸⁴

'Anyone going along the roads on Tuesday morning would have observed the darkies and half-casts rolling in dozens seeking for their annual dole of blankets, and at night they could be seen wending homewards in their vehicles and on foot. Some with a drunken leer yelled out as they passed other vehicles on the road, "We got our blankets ole fellah."⁸⁵

The pavilion: 1894

'MINUTES FROM MAYOR.

(3) "That tenders be called for removing the pavilion from Thompson Square to McQuade Park, to the site chosen by a majority of the Council." Aid Primrose proposed that the minute be adopted.

Ald Huggins said this would be a petty piece of work; the pavilion would not accommodate more than six or seven people, and its removal would cost more than it was worth.

The Mayor said he did not recommend, that the pavilion be removed. He merely recommended that tenders be called for its removal, and they need not accept a tender if they did not suit.

Ald Paine said he did not believe in that sort of work. They had no right to call tenders simply to see what a job was to cost.

⁸¹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 18th July 1891, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72540478>

⁸² *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 22nd August 1891, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/72540776>

⁸³ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 27th May 1893, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72546943>

⁸⁴ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 28th May 1892, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72543008>

⁸⁵ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 28th May 1892, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/72543014>

The Mayor said his idea was to find out whether it would be cheaper to remove the structure from Thompson's Square or to build a new one.

Ald Huggins: What's to accommodate the aboriginals?
The minute lapsed for want of a seconder.'⁸⁶

'It is proposed that Thompson's Square which is to be surveyed, should be re-dedicated as a market-place. A very good idea. At present it is merely a camping place for district aboriginals and local drunks.'⁸⁷

1st of June, 1895: An Aboriginal suicide

Throughout the pages of the local newspapers in this period it is possible to glimpse the effects of alcohol abuse and mental health issues on Aboriginal people.

'Eighty-eight darkies turned up at the local court-house on Friday last to get their blankets, amongst whom was Florrie Morgan, who committed suicide by taking poison on Sunday last. Last year the number of blankets distributed was 97.'⁸⁸

10th September 1892

"The pavilion in Thompson's Square appears to be now used for no other purpose than as a resting-place for inebriated aboriginals and tramps. Could not the square as a whole be utilized in some way, instead of remaining an eyesore to this end of the town."⁸⁹

⁸⁶ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 8th September 1894, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/66444723>

⁸⁷ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 27th October 1894, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/66445071>

⁸⁸ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 1st June 1895, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/66446954>

⁸⁹ *Windsor and Richmond Gazette*, 10th September, 1892,
<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/72544965/7000984>