METISS
Residential

Primary Sources

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Migration and Empire: The Impact of Scottish Settlers

January 23-26, 2025

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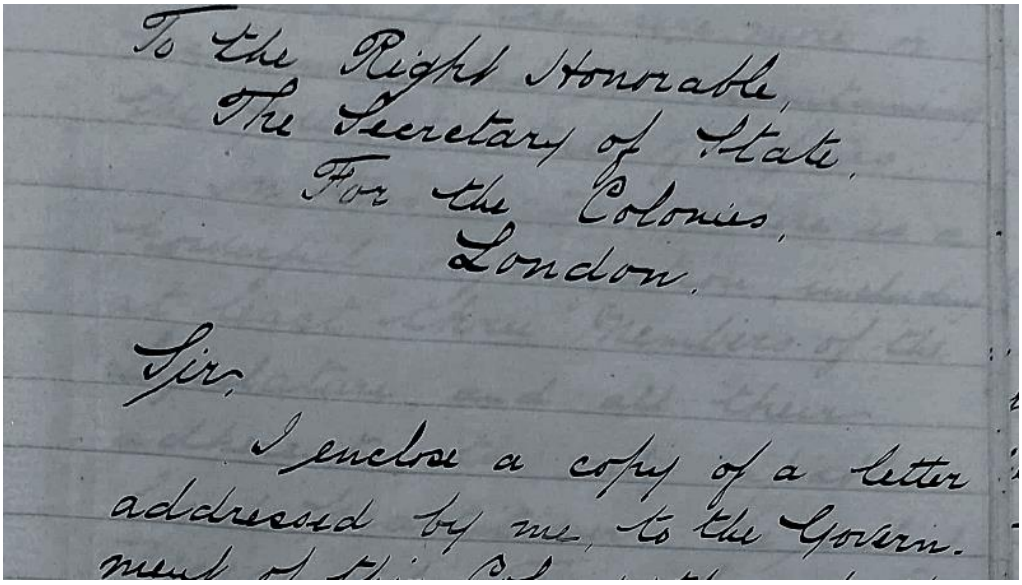
Letters to the Aborigines Protection Society Database

SOURCE 1: John Walkinshaw Cowan to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21 October 1886, CO 18/207, no. 445, The National Archives


To the Right Honorable,
The Secretary of State,
For the Colonies,
London.

Sir,

I enclose a copy of a letter addressed by me to the Govern.

Western Australia
Cossack
21st October 1886
To the Right Honourable
The Secretary of State
For the Colonies
London

Sir

I enclose a copy of a letter addressed by me to the Government of this Colony through the local representative here.

As I have reason to fear that the matter will be suppressed by the Government of Western Australia, I appeal to the Imperial Government to demand a fair and impartial investigation of the circumstances connected with the same.

If all the papers can be laid before you, bearing on the state of affairs, relating to the native question, especially regarding the North West of this Colony, it will be found that a shameful state of slavery and oppression has existed for years past, and is still carried on with the cognizance, and under the protection of, the Western Australian Government.

Many of the members of the Legislature are slave owners, and most of them are more or less interested in maintaining the present state of affairs.

In this district, there is a powerful organization, including at least three Members of the Legislature, and all their adherents, the only capable legal practitioner, the ruling Mercantile Firm here, and all working under the protection of the Government Inspector of Pearl Shell Fisheries, acting in cooperation with all the Justices of the Peace, excepting the Government Resident, who is himself being persecuted by this wicked combination.

It will be useless for you to order an investigation through this Government, which is rotten and corrupt from top to toe. But if Her Majesty's Government is desirous of doing justice to her subjects black and white in this distant part of Her Majesty's dominions, the only hope of attaining that object will rest in the appointment of a Commission by the Imperial Government, with full powers to deal with this large question.

And I humbly recommend that if should have a British Man-of-War at its back.

I have the honour to be
Sir
Her Majesty's most loyal
And devoted servant
John Walkinshaw Cowan

PS It is not an unusual custom in the North West when a station and pearling plant is sold to see the natives with it. The transfer of the natives increases the price. There are abundant instances which must be known to the Government authorities.

John Walkinshaw Cowan
Cossak
15th October 1886
To the Government Resident
Roebourne

Sir

Since you have declined to take any further reports from me, except in writing, I beg to submit the following statement, for the information of the Government, and wish you to understand that I do not intent to allow it to be burked as others have been, that I have made, concerning the ill-treatment of natives in the North West.

I will first state that I have frequently made reports of this nature to former Government Residents, to the Inspector of Pearl Shell Fisheries, and to the Police without satisfaction.

The first circumstance connected with this report that came under my notice after my arrival in this district was seeing a party of pearlers in the

employ of Alfred Rouse proceeding from the Upper Ashburton to the Coast, where Rouse was expecting to meet his pearling boat, the party was escorting a number of pearling natives, some of whom were in chains. I asked Rouse if that was the usual way of putting pearling natives on board pearling boat, he replied, 'Those in chains are runaway servants and I have warrants for their arrest.' And I think he added, 'I have been sworn in as special constable.' I told Rouse I wished him to camp in some other place, he relied, he would camp where he liked.

Some of the natives, who were not in chains, ran away that night. I reported this occurrence to the then Government Resident who confirmed what Rouse had said, as to his having warrants for the apprehension of runaway servants. I never afterwards heard of any proceedings being taken by Rouse, against the natives for absconding from his service.

The morning after the above occurance, one of this party, whose name I do not know, took a boy about ten years of age away from his father and mother, who were both in my employ, and put the boy on his horse in front of him, the boy shrieking with fright, and his father and mother crying, they asked me to interfere. I remonstrated with the white man, he replied laughingly, 'he'll be all right after he's been a bit away.' I told him I would report him, which I did in writing to the Government Resident. I received an answer to the effect that he had been informed that the boy had come away willingly with the party, and that he had seen the boy, and that he appeared to be quite happy.

Some time after this in the same locality, a native servant (whose name I forget, but which still might be ascertained) who had been for a holiday in the bush, reported to me, that a man named Wally Sharp, who was in the employ of a man named Mountain, who was a notorious 'nigger hunter,' and who was at this time employed by F. McRae and Co to obtain pearling natives for them, had shot a native between the eyes, and that the native had died instantly, my informant went on to say that this native was shot because he would not show Mountain where some boys were, who were sons of the murdered native.

I asked the native who told me this, if he could point out to the Police where the body of this native was, he said yes, 'I helped to bury him.' I informed Serjeant Houlahan of the matter, and offered my assistant to bring the perpetrators of this outrage to justice. Mr H. Higham, who was my partner at the time, sent a written report of what the native had told me to the authorities.

I left the district after this and went to Melbourne for a short time, on my return, I asked Serjeant Houlahan if any steps had been taken to follow up my report, he relied that the police had been out and could find out

nothing about the death of the native, reported to have been shot by Sharp.

Both Mountain and Sharp were afterwards convicted by Mr Lawrence, the Government Resident, for some offence against the natives, and both men have since died. Sharp was drowned at Fremantle, and Mountain was killed at one of the timber stations on the Guildford-York Railway Line.

I reported Mountain several times for cruelty to the natives, and in one instance made a complaint about Mountain assaulting one of my native shepherds, because he would not show him (Mountain) where some boys were that he was hunting about the country for, and who were trying to evade him. I got no satisfaction from the authorities, and a good deal of abuse from Mountain and others, who said I was actuated by jealousy of seeing the natives taken away.

I met Mountain at the public dinner table at the Roebourne Hotel, who reproached me in the presence of the then landlord, with being a liar, informer, and bloody 'native protector.' The landlord took no notice. I got up from the table and kicked Mountain out of the room myself.

After Mountain's conviction, the district became less lawless, and no cases of illtreatment came under my notice until after the death of Mr Walcott, our former Inspector of Pearl Shell Fisheries, who always carried out his duties in a thoroughly conscientious manner, with justice to the natives and always had the respect of the pearlers, and everyone who came in contact with him.

The first suspicious circumstances that next came to my knowledge was when I was on board the Eloise the present Inspector of Pearl Shell Fisheries boat, during the signing of Roy Cowan & Co's native divers. I was on the deck of the Eloise and heard a native named Farquhar, who is now in Cossack, say he did not wish to dive, but wished to go back to Cowan to the station. Captain Mayne placed the native in the cabin. I left the boat before the signing was completed, and have never been present at the signing of Roy Cowan & Co's natives since, but have always been informed that no natives have objected to sign.

I was told after I had left the Eloise that Farquhar had signed.

On the return of the Harriet from the pearling grounds, the native Farquhar told me that he did not wish to dive again, as his chest was weak and it hurt him. What had occurred on board the Eloise, then came back to my memory. I asked why he had signed on board Captain Maynes' boat after refusing, he said, 'Captain Mayne told me he would put me in jail if I did not.' I told Farquhar he should not go diving again and he has never since been diving.

I have heard many reports and scandals, with which Captain Mayne's name has been coupled, as to his partiality to some and unfairness to others, and he had earned for himself the character of being a bounce, and he seldom, I have heard it said, was connected with any case against a pearler, other than that which involved a fine, of which I believe Captain Mayne gets half.

I have heard of numerous instances in which Captain Mayne has received bribes, but will only mention that of Hunter having given him a pearl worth fifty pounds. Mr H. Matthews, who was formerly accountant at the National Bank, Geralton, and who is now somewhere about Derby, could witness to this.

The McRaes are the people I refer to, when I saw I heard of Captain Mayne's favoritism. Last season when the boats in Exmouth Gulf were fined for overworking the natives, the penalty for which is (in addition to the fine) that the then employers shall never dive their natives again. The 'Expert' Mr A. McRae's boat escaped the penalty by a trick, through which only one dingy was fined, to save appearances, and the general impression throughout the fleet was, that the 'Expert' had been forewarned, and was prepared.

About two years ago, whilst I was absent from … Bay, a party of overlanders kidnapped a boy named Wally who belonged to the abovenamed locality. As it is not an unusual occurrence for boys to be taken away forcibly by overlanders, along the route between the Grey River and Derby. I reported the circumstance to the Inspector of Pearl Shell Fisheries, and also to the Government Resident, Mr Lawrence, with a view of trying to put a stop to this illegal practice. I learnt afterwards that the boy Wally had been heard of one hundred and fifty miles up the Pitzroy River, having run away from the party he was taken away by, and it was supposed that he was then with some natives in that locality. When I was at … Bay, after my return from Perth, Captain Mayne came there in the Eloise, and brought Wally back to … Bay Station, having found him on board the Pearl, Patterson's boat, with five of my native servants, Craig, Sheep, Dicky, Bandy and Captain were detained by Captain Mayne, Wally was left at Wittenoom and Co's Station, and signed by them. And I believe no enquiry has been made by Captain Mayne into Wally's case.

I believe Captain Mayne to be very lax in the matter of carrying out his duties generally and reports connected with the pearling fleet, that he should have been and no doubt was cognizant of, reached me.

I know it is a common practice amongst storekeepers and holders of gallon and publicans licenses, wherever opportunities offered, to send out

large quantities of spirits and beer, and my own natives have told me, that is always a constant debauch, after the arrival of any tender to the fleet, as long as the grog lasted. I have heard this from other sources, besides the natives. My duties have always been ashore, and never having been out with the pearling fleet, I cannot say anything of this personally, but this matter should be strictly investigated, as such a disorderly state of things would without doubt lead to much cruelty and illtreatment of the natives during the drunken sprees I have described, and which should have been prevented by those in authority. But I believe these things and worse, are winked at.

It is difficult to reconcile the above state of affairs with Captain Mayne's report at the end of last season 'that everything connected with the treatment of the natives, was all that could be desired.'

I need not further refer to those occurrences which have come under your notice, through the late native cases, in which I have been concerned, but since the case of Roy Cowan & Co. v Witterroom and Co has been decided, a new phase of injustice and oppression, has forced itself on my observation, and that in in plain terms, the forgery of native's signatures to agreements.

Since the release from surveillance of my native servants, Craig and Sheep, who are witnesses in Patterson's case, and for whom I am under recognizance, I have had some conversation with both natives, and they both adhere to their former statement to me. "That they had never signed any agreements with Wittenoom & Co."

McPhee, Wittenoom & Co's managing partner, has told me, that all the natives mentioned in the agreements as Roy Cowan and Co's servants (which are now in the hands of the Government) had signed agreements with Wittenoom and Co. I know this statement of McPhee's to be incorrect, with regard to the following natives, viz: Craig, Sheep, Lambo, Irishman, and Moses. If Wittenoom and Co's agreements could be produced, a charge of forgery might be established against them.

Craig came to me one day and said, why am I to go back to LaGrange Bay with Sandy (McPhee), "I have never signed any agreement with him," and added, "I was away when the others, that is Dickey, Bandy, and Captain signed." I immediately went to McPhee, who was seeing the natives on board the "Harriet," and asked if Craig had signed. McPhee said yes, he signed while you were writing out the Acceptance for me to sign (this was referring to a different matter). I can prove that both Craig and Sheep were absent at that time, and had been for some time before from the house where the acceptance referred to was written. They had

both gone to the Beach to light a fire to hail the dingy of the "Eloise" which was then lying out in the Bay.

Lambo, Irishman, and Moses had never been seen by Wittenoom and Co, up to the time that I was told by McPhee, that all the "Harriet"'s native divers had signed with Wittenoom and Co.

These are the natives whom I was warned in open court by Mr Roe (solicitor for Wittenoom and Co. and a close friend of Captain Mayne) not to tamper with, being Wittenoom and Co's servants.

After McPhee had told me that Craig had signed, I went to Craig, and accused him of having told me a lie. Craig said at once in the presence of a witness "Sandy (McPhee) is the liar, not me." I can bring incontestable proof that Craig is right and McPhee is wrong. And although the law has decided against me, I do not relinquish my right to the native servants who have contentedly remained in my service for more than five years, and who have declared in open court that I have been a kind master to them; and whose services I have been deprived of by a trick, thereby taking the very bread out of my mouth.

There is a matter that my native divers have complained of to me, and that is, they find it harder work now to get shell than in years gone by. Shell is not so plentiful, and the water they now dive in is deeper, and from what I gather from them, I concluded that natives generally had dived last season beyond regulation depths.

I have heard since that it was not unusual for the natives to be dived in nine fathoms, six being the regulation depth. If the regulation as to depth were enforced, it would benefit not only the natives, but the pearlers also, as it would result in more prospecting, and more ground being opened up in easier depths. I think no native should be allowed to dive, who had not been examined by a medical man, and pronounced by him to be in sound health.

I have heard of inconsiderate men, diving sickly natives, with fatal results to the natives.

I have heard also, of natives being attached to the ring of an anchor, by a rope, and pulled down to teach them to dive.

Most natives would not object to dive if they got fair play, indeed a great many prefer being on board a pearling craft, during the pearling season, to being ashore.

But it is imperative, that the officer at the head of the pearling interests, should be a man above suspicion, to see that the natives are not

overworked, which as a rule I believe them to have been, during the last two seasons.

The dress diving will no doubt supercede, and before long, the native or swimming diving, as has been the case in the Torres Straits, and be the means of increasing the revenue, but in the meantime, were the industry stopped abruptly, it would do neither government, settlers, nor natives any good; on the contrary, it would be productive of much harm.

The natives must now in a great measure, depend on the settlers for food, and it would not be possible to find employment for all the pearling natives, were they turned loose on the country. Employment, however, might be found for a limited number, and their labor utilised, as pumpers on board the dress diving boats.

The natives much learn that they must work as well as the white man, and those who would refuse to dive would refuse to work on a station without some pressure being used.

One more matter that I should mention that has lately forced itself more prominently than ever on my notice, and that is, the ill-treatment natives are often subjected to, through the interference of the white men with the native women, and which is often productive of much ill-feeling and sometimes bloodshed between whites and blacks.

Just before I left LaGrange Bay last, two natives named Joey and Peter came to me and spoke of the ill-treatment the natives had received at the hands of Wittenoom and Co's servants in this respect.

Peter told me that a man named Bourke had come to him in the night and had accused him of inciting the natives to run away from some sheep they were minding. Peter denied the accusation; whereupon Bourke tied Peter up to a tree by the neck, and flogged him till, as Peter himself said, "I was very near dead."

Peter said that Bourke then took his woman away from him and kept her for some time.

Peter told me that this was not the only case of the sort that he could mention, but that it was a constant practice of Wittenoon and Co's men, to take the women away from the men and detain them for carnal purposes.

During my experience as a settler, and an employer of labor, white and black, I have had more trouble from this cause than any other, and have more than once had to dismiss my European servants for this breach of one of my rules, "that the native women were not to be interfered with." The dismissal of the aggressor always restored the good understanding that has always existed between myself and the natives.

I have been making enquiries into the character of Bourke, and find that he was formerly a schoolmaster at Roebourne, whose school was broken up owing to his intemperate habits, and was, I hear, guilty of obtaining money, under fraudulent pretences, ostensibly for a charitable purpose, and of appropriating the money to his own use.

This is the same man who witnessed on is said to have witnessed the native's signatures to Wittenoom and Co's agreements with them.

Matters connected with the native question, appear to be growing worse every day, until they reached a stage that was equalled only in the worst times of the notorious Montain's career, and although I have heard of Mountain having chained a pearling native to a cart arm who afterwards effected his escape with it carrying it more than one hundred miles, before he could unburden himself of it. And although Mountain was a known ravisher of native women, Bourke's treatment of Peter and his wife, is a bad as anything I have heard of during my residence in the North West.

In conclusion I cannot help now stating what I have often felt bitterly in common with many of my brother settlers, and that is that the government are much to blame, in not providing more efficient protection to both blacks and whites. The government take revenues from Pioneers, in the shape of rents due and distinctly decline to guarantee any protection whatever.

There is now a tract of country (extending from the Delfry River to Derby, a distance of over three hundred miles, that has now been occupied by settlers for the last five years, from whom a considerable revenue is derived) over which no Police supervision is exercised.

Many of the Justices of the Peace are no protection to the natives. On the contrary, I know that some of them are not to be trusted with the signing of pearling or any other natives.

I have heard of cases where an unjust use has been made of their privilege.

Trusting that I shall not have made this report in vain, and that the government will at once take steps to investigate the subject matter of this statement, otherwise I shall consider it my duty to place the whole matter before Her Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies.

I am,
Sir,
Your obedient Servant,
John Walkinshaw Cowan

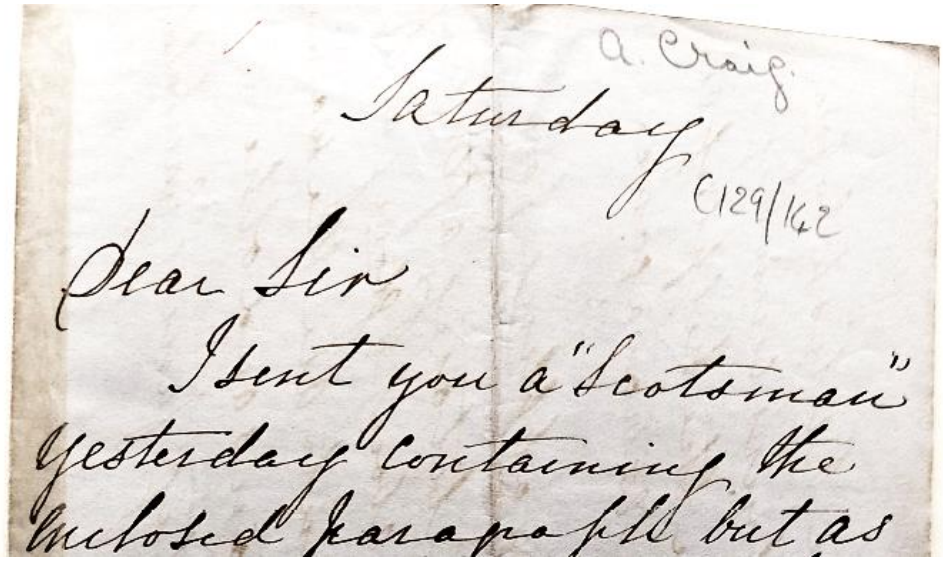
CONTEXT:

John Walkinshaw Cowan to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 21 October 1886, CO 18/207, no. 445, The National Archives

This document consists of a letter originally sent by a pearler and pastoralist in Western Australia named John Walkinshaw Cowan to his local government and legal officer, called the resident magistrate. That letter was then forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, with the covering letter at the top of the document. Cowan was born in Australia in 1844, five years after his family emigrated from Borrowstounness, Scotland.

The primary context behind this letter is the disputed existence of the widespread enslavement of Indigenous peoples by Western Australian settlers. A select few individuals, particularly missionaries, spoke out against this practice out of concern for Indigenous people's labour rights. Cowan's letter shows another perspective. Cowan employed Indigenous workers, but repeatedly had those workers kidnapped and abused by slavers, so that slavery was impacting the profitability of his business. This letter helps illustrate how Indigenous rights activism in the settler colonies could be made to support settler capitalism, so that Indigenous rights were only defended to the extent that they served settler interests.

SOURCE 2: Agnes Craig to Frederick Chesson, 23 March 1861, MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 18 / C129-142, Bodleian Libraries



Saturday

Dear Sir,
I sent you a *Scotsman* yesterday containing the enclosed paragraph, but as papers often go astray, I cut it out of another copy. Not that it is of any consequence, except as a specimen of the insolent spirit deepening and widening in this country. The *Scotsman* being the most popular paper here, must do mischief to the moral feeling of the people. It had a fine anti-slavery article the day before on the Canadian extradition case, so that our anti-slavery sentiment is serving

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merely to soothe consciences for our pro-serfdom practices. It is impossible for a free country yearly to send out men to administer such a despotic system without deteriorating morally. I saw in another paper that the government of Cafraria had imposed a tax on wives. I forget how much for each. It is surely a ridiculous, stupid jest. I think it very sad to see a nation like this becoming a mere machine for extorting wealth, amid such hypocrisy of religious and political professions.

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It seems monstrous for the British to force themselves into their neighbours country, plunge into debt, and then force the helpless, reluctant people to pay for their extravagance. Then how disgraceful the squabbling for prize money among our military after every engagement and still boasting about glory and patriotism too. How different are the warriors for freedom among the Italians and other nations struggling for liberty? Fancy Garibaldi taking prize money?

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I must apologize for being so troublesome introducing my opinions. I fear all the natives capable of manly resistance in New Zealand and elsewhere will be massacred before either you or Dr. Guthrie can interpose. Indeed, it would be more merciful to kill them all as the French did in New Caledonia than have them live lingering slowly like the wretches in Flinders Island.

Yours truly,
Agnes Craig

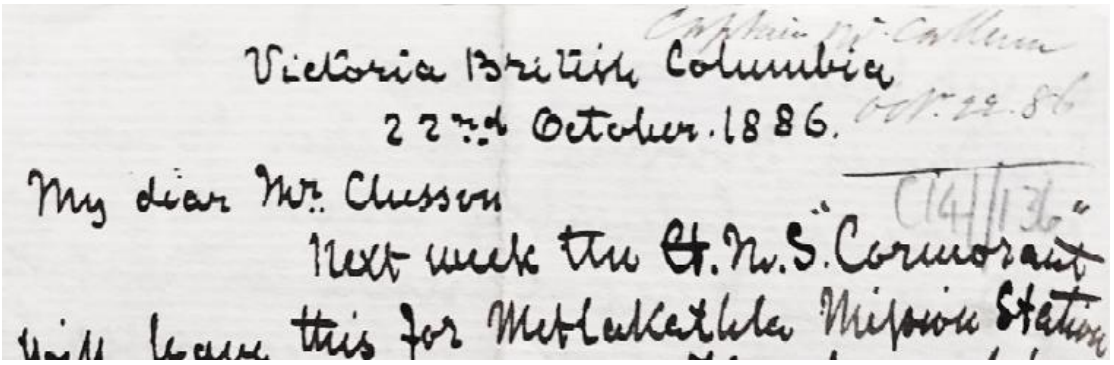
CONTEXT:

Agnes Craig to Frederick Chesson, 23 March 1861, MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 18 / C129-142, Bodleian Libraries.

This is one letter from a long-term correspondence between Agnes Craig and the British Aborigines' Protection Society. Craig was an independently wealthy philanthropist born in 1821 and living most of her life in Edinburgh. Her philanthropic interests were varied, ranging from women's suffrage to anti-vivisection, but in 1858 she began a 36-year sponsorship of the Aborigines' Protection Society. During that time, she opened her house in Edinburgh to Māori delegations from New Zealand in 1863, 1882, and 1884.

The immediate context behind this particular letter is the eruption of war between Britain and the Taranaki Māori in 1860. For many (likely most) people in Britain, defeating the Māori was perceived to be necessary for the preservation of British sovereignty in New Zealand. This letter shows an alternative perspective, which asserted that Britain was dishonoring itself by slaughtering Māori peoples. Yet even though Craig did not support war with the Māori, she was not primarily concerned about saving Māori lives. Instead, she feared that Britain's dishonorable behavior was weakening its national reputation and soft power around the world. This letter is therefore helpful in showing how even those Scots who spoke out against imperial violence did so from a desire for protecting British rather than Indigenous interests.

SOURCE 3: Arthur McCallum to Frederick Chesson, 22 October 1886, MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 18 C141/136, Bodleian Libraries.


Victoria British Columbia
22nd October. 1886.
My dear Mr. Chesson
Next week the H.M.S. "Cormorant"

Victoria, British Columbia
22nd October 1886
My dear Mr Chesson,

Next week the H.M.S. 'Cormorant' will leave this for Metlakathla mission station to coerce the indians there. They demand but a legal enquiry into the rights of their case in stopping the surveying party from the survey of their lands before the promised enquiry they formerly asked for is made by this government. They are now to have force backed by gunpowder in place of justice, and this injustice will naturally in the indian nature breed revenge. It is to be the deliberate manufacture of another miserable little indian war to enable a ritualistic bishop with a nominal following to oust a nonconformist minister who amongst these tribes has been a second 'Moffat.' When injustice is resisted (if it be resisted) I presume the authorities here will more or less with equal injustice hold Mr Duncan responsible, so I write before the event. I have recently been at 'Metlakathla' more than once, and I speak from direct knowledge of the circumstances. The indians believe they have the legal right to expel trespassers from their reserve in a legal manner, there has

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as yet been no treaty made with them, but Sir James Douglas a former governor of British Columbia whose wife was of Indian race, caused without treaty the present reserve of five miles by ten miles to be marked out as a special reserve to these particular indians inside of which no white man could intrude save on sufferance, and neither the Church Missionary Society of London as represented by Bishop Ridley, or any noncomformist minister as is Mr Duncan could claim any legal title to any portion of this land because permitted by the indians to erect houses

upon it, and I hold that any such missionaries are there on sufference only whilst living within this indian reserve. The indian reserve upon Victoria harbor has recently in arbitrary fashion been make over to the local railway company, and

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the indians on the mainland at Metlakathla who know this may reasonably expect that the survey party who wish to survey their reserve (for the projected railway to Fort Simpson above them possibly) may at a future date act in like manner towards themselves. These indians of the Duncan mission are thoroughly civilized. Previous to the advent of Mr Duncan live dog devouring and other abominations were in full swing amongst them. They now follow various trades besides cultivating and live in two story cottages and are clothes as decently as the whites. In indirect taxation on the goods and stuff they buy they pay the government probably not less than £5 five pounds a head per annum. They are able to conduct their own simple church service themselves in their own language and

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the harmonium in their church is played by no less than three different indians at times. The place is the chief focus of indian civilization in these parts. The next thing the D-d [damned] indian will want when you have civilized him and appropriated his territory within the Canadas will be a vote. This sort of thing must be nipped in the bud so send blue jackets with rifles to improve this opportunity, throw all the responsibility on the Revd Duncan and if there be bloodshed place him at the bar and try him for conspiracy with the natives against the government. Having no religious prejudices I write as no partisan of either side, but with a sincere feeling of regret, and when future telegrams reach you as to the course events take, then use this letter as you please.

Yours truly
Arthur Ewd McCallum

CONTEXT:

Arthur McCallum to Frederick Chesson, 22 October 1886, MSS. Brit. Emp. S. 18 C141/136, Bodleian Libraries.

This is one of several letters written by a man named Arthur McCallum in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, to a group in London, England called the Aborigines' Protection Society. McCallum was born in Russia in 1836 to a Scottish diplomat, rose to the rank of captain in the British Army's Argyllshire Highlanders, and finally retired to British Columbia in 1885, where he became a landlord holding a significant amount of land that was claimed by several Indigenous nations as their own property.

The primary context of these letters is a three-way conflict between an Indigenous community at a town called Metlakatla, a British missionary group called the Church Missionary Society, and the Government of British Columbia. The Indigenous inhabitants of Metlakatla desired to practice their own unique form of Christianity developed by their local missionary, named William Duncan. The Church Missionary Society wanted to force the inhabitants of Metlakatla to follow correct Anglican doctrine. And the Government of British Columbia wanted to survey the land around Metlakatla to open it up to settlement. The Indigenous inhabitants of Metlakatla asserted their ownership of the land around Metlakatla in opposition to both government encroachment and missionary interference. In response, the Church Missionary Society and the Government of British Columbia teamed up to undermine and deny the existence of Indigenous land rights.

This letter from McCallum reveals one way that the land conflict was interpreted by settlers in the province. Some settlers supported the denial of Indigenous land rights, since doing so would make it easier to obtain land. McCallum did not, instead demanding that the Indigenous inhabitants of Metlakatla be left alone. But he did so not entirely out of concern for Indigenous land rights or a sense of justice, but because he feared that the broader Indigenous population would rise up in military resistance if their land rights were denied. This letter is therefore useful for examining how, even when settlers challenged colonial violence and tried to stand up for Indigenous peoples, they typically did so in ways that directly benefited themselves or their societies. In this case, treating Indigenous peoples fairly was a strategic means of preventing the spilling of settler blood.

SOURCE 4: A newspaper article from *The Scotsman* (March 21, 1861), referred to in the letter from Agnes Craig to Frederick Chesson, 23 March 1861

THE SCOTSMAN

EDINBURGH, THURSDAY, March 21, 1861.

"MUCH may be said on both sides of the question" is a dictum of almost universal applicability, and forms a famous excuse for the laziness or cowardice that apes impartiality. In some instances, however, it is nearly impossible to decide which *much* is the *more*, and one of these, north of the line, is the righteousness or wrongfulness of the commencement of the New Zealand war. We cannot deny the compactness of the case which the assailants of Governor Browne's policy make out against it by their mouthpieces, Sir William Martin (formerly Chief-Justice of the colony) and Mr William Fox (Member of the Auckland House of Representatives.) The latter gentleman's pamphlet we have read. So far as we can judge from the analysis of Sir William's pamphlet which has reached us, his argument is identical with Mr Fox's, and it amounts to this: Up to the date of the purchase from Teira, the tribal tenure of the Maories, which forbids the alienation of land at the simple pleasure of the individual occupier, had been recognised by the British Government; William King was head chief of Teira's tribe; therefore, without King's consent, Teira could not sell. Passing mention is made of the fact that not only was the head-chief opposed to the sale of the land, but that so also was the inferior chief at the head of the "hapu," or subdivision, of the tribe to which Teira belonged. The women who prevented the survey are said to have been the wives and daughters of this sub-chief, Patukakariki. Even admitting, it is added, the tribal claim to be invalid, Teira did not own the whole of the block he sold. He shared it with many co-proprietors, including William King and his family, whose rights in it were, to say the least, quite as large as his; but these claims, through insufficient investigation, were ignored by the Government. Finally, it is asserted that the Governor was not justified in taking forcible possession without the judgment of a Court of Law, and that his proclamation of martial law, illegal in itself, was so badly worded that the Maories regarded it as a declaration of war.

A very formidable indictment this looks to be laid by persons of colonial experience, intelligence, and integrity; but when we find all its counts flatly contradicted by persons who have an equal mansional, mental, and moral right to declare that "they've seen and sure they ought to know," how is it possible for those who do not possess colonial experience to come to a decision on the contested point? If we endeavour to make out for ourselves the laws of New Zealand conveyancing from the evidence given in New Zealand blue-books, we flounder in a mass of contradiction, or at all events of conflicting claims, matted like New Zealand fern. Mr Commissioner M'Lean, who may be supposed to know as much about Maori tenure as any European, observes:—"The rule which applies to one portion of land does not apply to another; each piece of land has its own history."

Leaving, however, the *lis* of the lawfulness or illegality of the origin of the war still *sub judice*, or rather begging for a competent judge, we may express an opinion that since the war has been begun, has extended far beyond the original dispute, and can manifestly only be terminated by the subjugation of the Maories, the anti-war party are doing wrong both to their countrymen and their clients by worrying the Government about the justice, when all its attention is needed for the conduct of hostilities, and encouraging by their expression of sympathy the Maories to persist in a defiance which not only threatens the colonists with ruin, but is fraught with daily increasing fatal consequences to themselves. It is preposterous to talk about reconsidering W. King's claims—that is, if the northern island of New Zealand is to continue a British colony—until the Maories are completely cowed. It is gratifying to find that a step has been taken in that direction. The immediate results of the battle of Matarikoriko were not so decisive as could be wished, but after the stain which the military prestige of the British had received in most of our previous encounters with the Maories, one feels inclined to exclaim "half a loaf is better than no bread."

The inhabitants of New Plymouth must have spent a very dreary Christmas, a perfect deluge of rain falling, and the Maories harrying with impunity their horses and cattle. On the 28th of December, however, the weather permitted General Pratt to resume operations against the Waikatos, who, having been reinforced after their defeat at Mahoetahi, had occupied in large numbers a very strong position on the left bank of the Waitara. The British force, including the additions it received from the Waitara camp and other outposts, amounted to about 900 men. The force of the Maories is said to have been the same. After a night's halt in the camp, the British set out again at half-past three in the morning of the 29th. As an attack was expected on the way, skirmishers were thrown out in the fern, which, being six feet high and drenched with dew, wetted them to the skin. In three hours' time the little army reached Kairau, opposite, at a distance of 900 yards, the Waikatos' pah. Between it and the redoubt the British proceeded to construct, yawned a gully with almost precipitous banks, and a bottom of swamp and forest, the tree-tops of which, although 100 feet high, could not be seen from our intrenched camp. Those who were digging this were unmolested in their labours until nine o'clock. At that time British skirmishers had advanced to within fifty yards of the natives, when from three sides at once the Maories opened fire. From a line of cleverly-constructed rifle-pits or galleries, 600 yards long, fringing the pah-rim of the ravine, despite a heavy return from howitzers and rifles, a furious fire was kept up until six P.M., at which time the redoubt, having been finished, was garrisoned, and a portion of the British withdrew to the Waitara camp. The natives are said to have expressed great astonishment that the British could fight and build simultaneously. All night long a fierce fire was interchanged between the redoubt and the rifle-pits. When General Pratt returned from the Waitara camp on Sunday morning he found white flags flying over the pah and the rifle-pits. The *Globe* endeavours to discredit the report that General Pratt consented, at the Maories' instance, to a mutual abstinence from fighting on the Sunday, but he admits himself that there was no fighting on that day, and two independent accounts concur in stating that the Maories sent in a flag of truce with a request for a day of truce, because they wished to bury their dead and did not like to fight upon the Sabbath. This Sabbatarianism reminds us of that of their compatriot convert, hebdomadally, from cannibalism. "Me berry good now," he exultingly exclaimed to the missionary who had converted him, "me nebber eat man's meat on de Sunday." The British were not quite so pious. They spent their Sunday in strengthening their redoubt. On Monday morning, General Pratt, having heard that the pah and rifle-pits had been evacuated, sent a force to ascertain whether this was really the case, with additional orders, should the report be true, to occupy them. They were evacuated sure enough, notwithstanding the strength of the position. In the rifle-pits was found a letter from a "friendly" native magistrate giving full particulars of the movements of the British troops. He has been arrested, and, should the document prove genuine, it is certain that the punishment of such a spy—paid by the Government he betrayed—will be exemplary. We cannot understand a statement that one of the colonial papers makes to the effect that the officers and men had half persuaded General Pratt to permit them to storm the pah, but that his consent was withheld through the interference of the "Rev. Mr Wilson." If this gentleman, who appears to have great influence with the natives, makes use of the information he gains through it to their disadvantage—becoming, under pretence of being a Maori missionary, a British spy—his conduct is most contemptible; if through partiality to the natives he gives exaggerated accounts of the strength of their positions, he is a traitor to his country. What business — at all events, as the General's chief adviser — he had in the British camp, we cannot conceive. There can be no doubt that the Maories must have suffered most severely in the Saturday's fight, or they would never have slipped out from about as formidable a post as it is possible to imagine. The Maories being notoriously bad marksmen, and possessing no artillery, our trifling loss may be accounted for; but we cannot believe that British soldiers fired some 55,000 rounds of ammunition from rifles and field-pieces without inflicting far more serious injury on the enemy than has been admitted by them or estimated on our side. If a rush of steel had swept them from the fortifications from which they shrunk in dread of another hailstorm of lead, our loss for the time might have been greater, but probably we should have avoided future loss. The Maories retained their opinion that the British were afraid of a hand-to-hand conflict with them—that the British "boo-boos," as they call our cannon, were the only cause of British victories. According to the last accounts, the Waikatos, though more downcast than Maories were ever known to be before through a reverse in war, were obtaining reinforcements (their stores being supplied by W. King), fortifying fresh positions, and sending challenges to General Pratt, who appeared to be resting rather lazily upon his laurels. However, a British stockade was very nearly erected on the site of the Matarikoriko pah, and an attack on W. King's was threatened. Of course, there can be no doubt as to the final issue of the war. The best fruit of British victory for both Maori and Pakeha would be for the British General to insist, as a condition of peace, on the relinquishment of tribal tenure by the tribes which he had conquered. Let the individual's right of alienation be freely acknowledged amongst these, and much land would at once be unlocked for the purchase of English settlers who long to convert its present comparative barrenness into cereal plenty; these tribes would have mounted another round in the scale of civilisation, and their example would lead to the gradual abolition of the Maori feudal system throughout the whole of New Zealand.

Settler Colonialism and Empire

SOURCE 5: From Charles Muhoro Kareri, *The Life of Charles Muhoro Kareri*. Edited by Derek R. Peterson. Translated by Kariũki Mũrĩithi. African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003, pp. 14-22.

I can vividly remember the morning of 4th September 1913 when I left home, having decided to become a reader [mission adherent]. I arrived at Tumutumu mission and was taken to *Nyamacaki* [Marion Stevenson, a Scottish missionary]. When she was told I had come to be a *Mambere* reader, she was delighted. She called Meshak Matu (who later became a pastor) and asked him to take me to the Iraguma (a small stream to the east of the mission) to bathe. Nyamacaki gave me a new black checked shirt, a *shuka* [long cotton cloth] and a piece of soap. I went holding these clothes with my hands. I had worn a *gathii* (a piece of skin) that was infested with lice. When I got to Iraguma stream, I removed the *gathii*, took a bath and then put on the shirt and tied the *shuka* around my hips. Meshack showed me how to put on the shirt and tie the *shuka* around me. I came from Iraguma stream a foreigner wearing his clothes. I left my lice-infested *gathi* at Iraguma. After we returned from Iraguma stream, I was given a blanket and shown the house in which I would be sleeping.[1] I started learning on September 5th. The first thing I learned was to do everything according to the timetable. Nyamacaki was very strict on observing time, and as her student I inherited this trait from her. Everything, including eating, sleeping, studying and even playing was on a schedule. Nyamacaki was interested in seeing that everyone studied. In the afternoon, she taught those who were teaching in the morning at Tumutumu or at the outschools. At half past ten, she trained girls on needlework.

I should explain the reasons [why I wanted to go to school]. First, the early readers were very dedicated to preaching the Word of God in all ways. Because of this dedication, they made the people realised them that it behoved them to learn. Second, there was a man called Cosmas, who the people had nicknamed "Mwendia-Ruhiu" [the 'seller of the knife', a mocking nickname for a government agent] because of his evil doings. He was a hut tac clerk, employed by the government to record the names of all people who were obligated to pay tax. He was an important person in the eyes of the people because wherever his tent was pitched, it was fenced with dry banana leaves. Girls were forcefully arrested and brought to him. Whenever he was travelling from one village to another he was carried on a stretcher like the one that carries patients in the hospital, for he would not

[1] Charles Muhoro Kareri pp14-15.

step on the ground. The power this man enjoyed caused me to go to school, hoping that I might be treated in the same way. However, even after learning I have never been treated that way!

Third, I was a soloist in boy's [shepherd] songs at night. While looking after cattle on top of Tumutumu hill, I could hear some songs coming from the foot of the hill [where the mission is based]. I was eager to learn these Christian songs.

Fourth, the early missionaries were dedicated to preaching the Word of God. Together with a small group of people in the boarding school, they would go preach in the villages in the evening. My place was visited frequently. We were taught songs and preached to, I remember how we used to touch whites even on the eyelids to ascertain whether they were really people like the rest of us. Many of them were tolerant. I remember how I came to see a white person at close range. I had gone to see them play tennis. While standing at the edge of the court, Mr Barlow [a Scottish missionary] came to me and said "Boy – Get up and Go home". I went home very happy that a white man had talked to me, and I had understood what he said.

Fifth, the 'Boys Brigade' attracted me., Since there were not many people who had seen police marching before, it was great fin, especially the clothing and the marching. The brigade members were distinguished from other school -goers by their clothes, which were shirts with white and black stripes and a cotton cloth to tie around the waist. A recruit wore this attire until he had learned to march. After learning how to march, one was given a pair of shorts and became a member of the brigade. To be in the Boys Brigade was an astonishing sight, because one was in a shirt and shorts, on the top of that he had a bag, then he girded himself with a belt. On the head he wore a cap with white and black colours, therefore becoming a very beautiful soldier. The belt went over the left shoulder and the bag would hang on the right side. There was a trumpet blower who called people for parade. The trumpet regulated the marching, instead of shouting to the marchers 'left, right', and so on. People were supposed to march in unison., I was a corporal, meaning that I had two badges and headed a troop. There were strict rules, tougher than those followed by police or soldiers in the battlefront. We were taught how big personalities like white government officvers were to be saluted and how people were supposed to appear before their superiors.

The final thing that attracted me was the playing football. There were some footballers who occasionally went to play football at Kahuhia or Weithaga, where there were other strong players. When our team went to play against any other team and won, we would be very hjappy and the players' food

ration would be doubled. There was time that our team went to play against the whites from the plantations and the government. A man called Isaac Hunja tripped a tycoon [settler] named Cole, and this became a very big issue to the whites. After that, whenever Barlow met Isaac he would ask hi: "Isaac, so you knocked down Bwana Cole." The whites put on shoes in order to defeat our team, while our team played barefoot. But our team still won.

These are the things that made me want to be a reader [mission adherent].

CONTEXT:

From Charles Muhoro Kareri, *The Life of Charles Muhoro Kareri*, pp. 14-22

This is an extract from an autobiography of Charles Muhoro Kareri, a Gikuyu Kenyan who became the first African Moderator of the Presbyterian Church in East Africa. In this extract, Muhoro relates the day he joined the Church of Scotland Mission in Kenya, in 1913, and the reasons he decided to become a Christian. Kenya was a British Colony from 1895 until 1963.

SOURCE 6: From Phyllis M. Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*. Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 110.

In February 1936, a player had the misfortune to break a leg during a match. This incident resulted in the death of our sadly missed comrade after about two months in hospital. Because of this, and with the agreement of Mr Dupon, the President has asked that all players play bare footed, and, beyond this, has excluded teams that wear shoes. Since he has not achieved the hoped-for results, the President has discqualified and excluded for life all players using shoes.

We ask ourselves, Mr Governor-General, why Mr Benilan has not proposed that these players show up at the office or workshop in bare feet? We do not wear shoes out of vanity or organization, but quite simply, as we wear trousers or shirts. So, why are these articles imported into our country? And, since whites first began to play football, has there never been a single occasion when they had an accidental injury?

The Native Sports Federation has only once spent money on football shoes. It was in 1934 when twenty-two pairs of shoes were distributed to two teams, and that is all. Yes, we do not pay our dues, but we have arranged, ourselves, to buy shoes. So what are the President and Secretary complaining about?

We love association football, Mr Governor-General, and that has always been why we have played. Since Mr Benilan no longer wants us in that federation which, nevertheless, belongs to us, allow us, Mr Governor-General, to request permission to establish an autonomous native association for association football. In that way, we will be able to continue playing as we have done for a long time, and will no longer be dependent on the Sports Federation of Mr Benilan.

CONTEXT:

From Phyllis M. Martin, *Leisure and Society in Colonial Brazzaville*, p. 110

This is an extract from a letter, written in May 1936, May 1936 by the Native Sports Federation in Brazzaville, French Equatorial Africa. The African authors of the letter were protesting the rule, that required Africans to play football barefoot. At this time in this part of colonial Arica, football was segregated. The rule had been imposed by white French league officials on Africans following an injury which resulted in the death of an African player, but justified on the grounds that Africans were rougher when they played in boots.

SOURCE 7: From B.J. Mnyanda, *In Search of Truth: A Commentary on Certain Aspects of Southern Rhodesia's Native Policy* (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1954), pp. 36-42.

The African people suffer from many disabilities by reason of the colour of their skin. Separate doors, counters and windows have been provided for Africans at the post offices, railway stations, public conveniences, telephone booths, banks, some police stations, some shops, some Government buildings, some Municipal offices and magistrates' offices, while separate accommodation or area is made available for such amenities as hospitals, schools, hotels, theatres, trains, swimming baths, waiting rooms at railway stations, mortuaries, cemeteries, buses, lifts in public buildings, seats in courts of law, residential establishments, sports fields, waiting rooms at private doctors' surgeries, and ambulances.

Admittedly, the African people in the mass have certain undesirable habits. Yet … why should not those Africans who are fairly clean in their habits be accorded the treatment which is given to Indians and Asiatics in general, to half-castes and other Coloured people?

There may be some justification for different treatment of two unequal persons; but on what moral, ethical or legal basis can one justify the unequal treatment of two equal persons? On what basis, indeed, except that of unreasoned and unreasonable racial prejudice?

The tragedy is that many of the Colony's politicians and officials are guilty of a *mass attitude* towards the African people. "we are here", they say, "to legislate for the masses, and we are not concerned with educated or highly civilised Natives." Such an attitude spells disaster; for danger to the Europeans would come precisely from these educated and civilised Natives if the latter begin to feel, as they are beginning to feel, that all avenues of progress are barred to them under the present dispensation.

…It has often been claimed that Government's policy provides for equal but separate or segregated facilities for African people. This claim is contradicted by facts.

For instance, compared with the Europeans, even in the case of advanced Africans, urban housing which, *inter alia* includes, latrines, dance and social halls, is poor in quality and in quantity. Catering arrangements, cleanliness, furnishing and general lay-out in many native hotels – all of which are without any boarding facilities – in Municipal areas, Municipal beer halls and Municipal fruit and vegetable markets leave much to be desired, and are an insult to advanced African people. The necessity for introducing measures to combat the unhygienic conditions which obtain in

some beer halls and eating houses will be appreciated when I point out that those who handle utensils, food and beer show a complete disregard for cleanliness.

The communal latrines – which are in use in most urban native locations, townships, or compounds – are kept in an extremely insanitary condition, possibly because the habits of many of their users are primitive in the extreme. These communal latrines are a menace to the health of the people and a disgrace to the Colony. Though a large part of the Harari African township is still served by unsatisfactory communal latrines, the Salisbury Municipality must be congratulated on introducing a system of individual latrines in its new area. This is a real boon for the residents. It is hoped that other Municipalities will emulate Salisbury, for an individual latrine can be kept clean because it is the sole responsibility of the tenant using it; whereas, in the case of communal latrines, the attitude of many less advanced African people is that "everybody's business is nobody's business".

In comparison with the pictures shown in the European Cinemas, the films exhibited in African recreation halls are either silent or deal mainly with Mickey Mouse stories and stories relating to cowboys, crooks, and pick-pockets. As the cinema is destined to play an increasingly important role in the life of African people, especially those in urban areas, it is very unfortunate that, in the entertainments organized specifically for them, good pictures are usually conspicuous by their absence … Another criticism against recreation halls for African people is that hard, backless benches, instead of chairs, are provided; and lack of heaters or fireplaces in some of them keeps away many patrons during the winter months.

The European often suffers form an inability to understand the African. He feels that the latter is a simple child of nature who enjoys a remarkable immunity from insults. In consequence, good manners are not merely expected from the African people but are demanded; while the latter themselves are even expected to bear daily abuse with equanimity. The European generally acts on the principle that he is the master and that, therefore, the relation between him and his African servants should be that of the victor and the vanquished; he feels that he belongs to the dominant race and needs must uphold his dignity by sheer exhibition of bullying, rudeness, and aggressiveness. I have been puzzled by the abuse of power on the part of junior officials. In the railways, in Government services, in post offices and the police department, in the Municipalities, among ill-informed industrialists, prejudiced farmers and miners, and compound managers, one comes across many cases of abuse of power; some of these men literally bellow at the African people who are obliged to transact some business with them. To be roared at or shouted at in a language which would

not bear repetition in any decent society; to be told that they were careless in the choice of their parents is deeply resented by the African people, though outwardly they may show no signs of this resentment for fear of victimisation or reprisals.

CONTEXT:

From B.J. Mnyanda, *In Search of Truth: A Commentary on Certain Aspects of Southern Rhodesia's Native Policy*, pp. 36-42

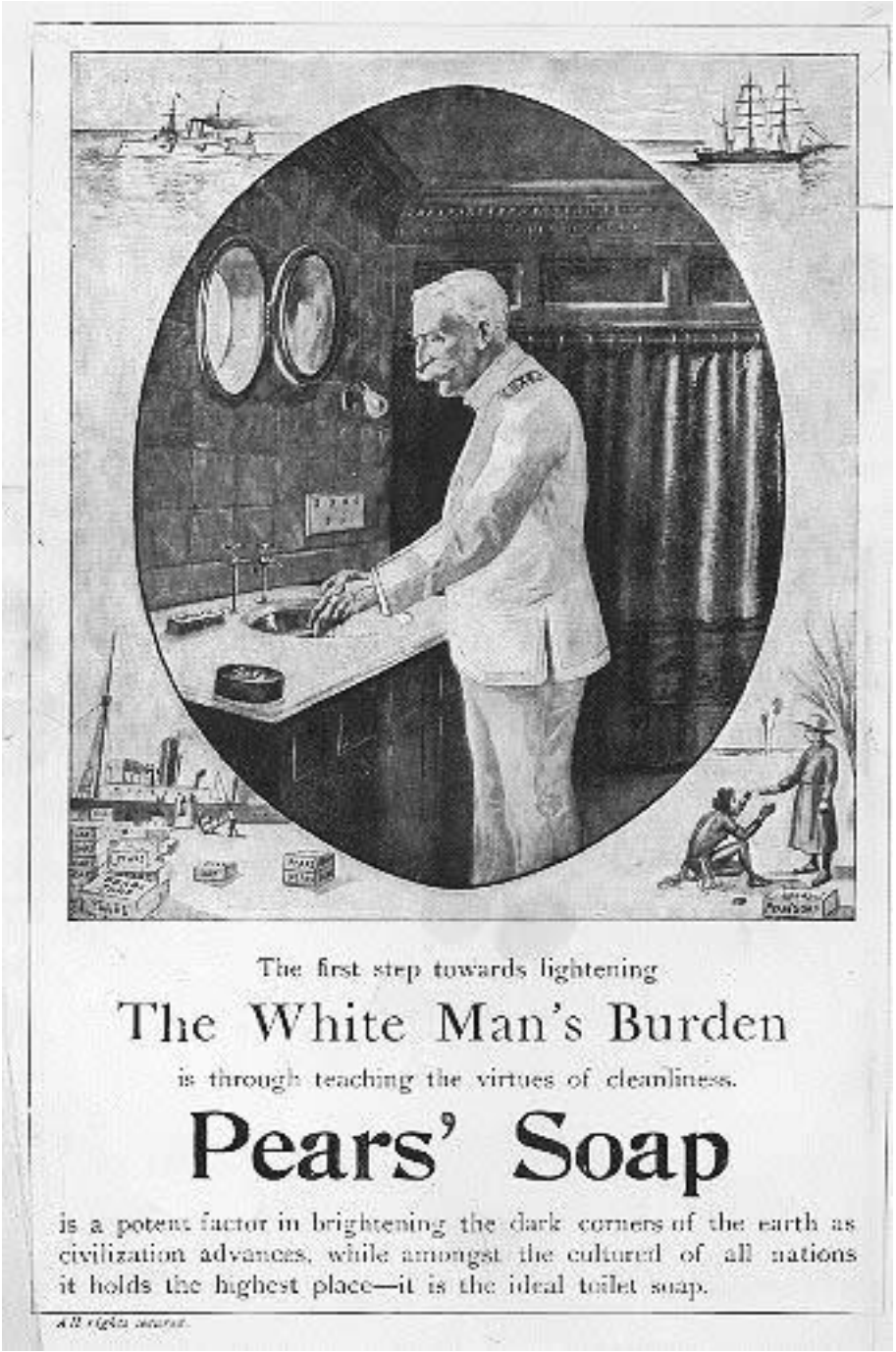
An extract from the autobiography of Bradford J Mnyanda, a black Southern Rhodesian [Zimbabwe] man. Published in 1954, it relates his experiences of Southern Rhodesia, a white settler colony, during the 1930s. In this extract, as in the book as a whole, Mnyanda criticises the policy of segregation, but he does so from a particularly conservative viewpoint, reflecting his own class and cultural background as a wage-earning, Christian.

SOURCE 8:

An Advertisement for Pears' Soap, illustrated with a naval officer washing his hands. Taken from *Cosmopolitan* magazine (Advertising Section), v. 27, May-Oct. 1899

The title is: 'The first step toward lightening the White Man's Burden is through teaching the virtues of cleanliness'

Subtitle follows: 'Pears Soap is a potent factor in brightening the dark corners of the earth as civilization advances, whilst among the cultured of all nations it holds the highest place – it is the ideal toilet soap'.



Canada

SOURCE 9: Gradual Civilization Act of 1857

C A P. XXVI.

An Act to encourage the gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in this Province, and to amend the Laws respecting Indians.

[*Assented to 10th June,* 1857.]

III. The Visiting Superintendent of each Tribe of Indians, for the time being, the Missionary to such Tribe for the time being, and such other person as the Governor shall appoint from time to time for that purpose, shall be Commissioners for examining Indians, being members of such Tribe, who may desire to avail themselves of this Act, and for making due inquiries concerning them : and such Commissioners shall meet for the said purposes at such places and times as the Superintendent General of Indian affairs shall from time to time direct, and shall have full power to make such examination and inquiry: and if such Commissioners shall report in writing to the Governor that any such Indian of the male sex, and not under twenty-one years of age, is able to speak, read and write either the english or the french language readily and well, and is sufficiently advanced in the elementary branches of education and is of good moral character and free from debt, then it shall be competent to the Governor to cause notice to be given in the Official Gazette of this Province, that such Indian is enfranchised under this Act; and the provisions of the third section of the Act aforesaid, and all other enactments making any distinction between the legal rights and liabilities of Indians and those of Her Majesty's other subjects, shall cease to apply to any Indian so declared to be enfranchised, who shall no longer be deemed an Indian within the meaning thereof.

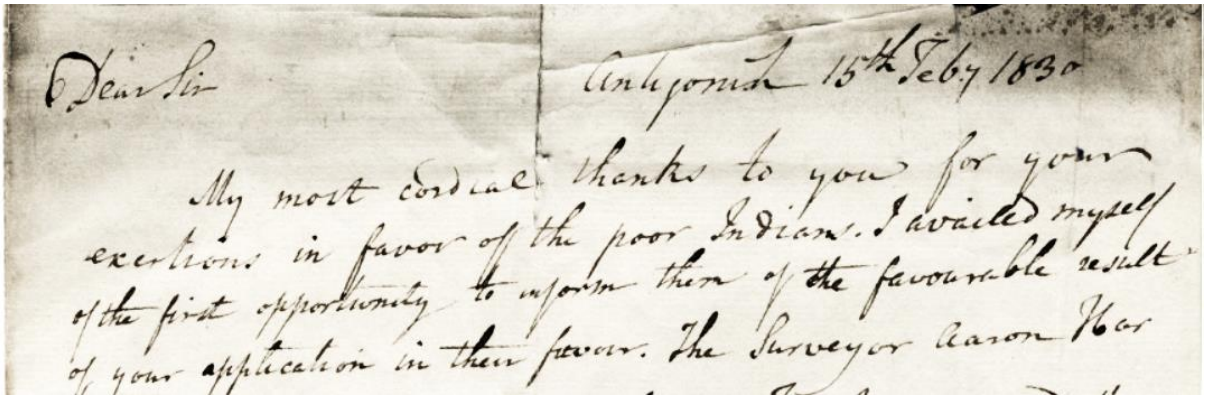
IV. The said Commissioners may also examine and inquire concerning any male Indian over twenty-one and not over forty years of age, desirous of availing himself of this Act, although he be not able to read and write or instructed in the usual branches of school education; and if they shall find him able to speak readily either the English or the French language, of sober and industrious habits, free from debt and sufficiently intelligent to be capable of managing his own affairs, they shall report accordingly in writing to the Governor; and if such report be approved by the Governor as to any Indian, he shall by virtue of such approval be in a state of probation during three years from the date of the report, and if at the end of that term the Commissioners shall again report in writing to the Governor that such Indian has during such term conducted himself to their satisfaction, then it shall be competent to the Governor to cause notice to be given

CONTEXT:

Gradual Civilization Act of 1857

The Gradual Civilization Act of 1857, which was enacted under the leadership of Glasgow-born John A MacDonald, who would go on to become Canada's First Prime Minister. This act helped lay the groundwork for the Indian Act, the government's management and distribution of property and rights, and all sorts of aspects as they attempted to assimilate the indigenous populations without consulting them. From just the title, its goal of assimilation and being rid of indigenous culture, language, etc. is evident. At the time, MacDonald was the leader of the Conservatives in Canada West (formerly Upper Canada, and what would become Ontario in 1867) and would be the Premier of the province by the end of the year. The Indian Act could be offered as an additional resource for reading. MacDonald was in opposition when the Indian Act came into law, but his government's policies and legislation lent itself to its creation, form, and content. MacDonald's reputation and legacy has been under critical review for the past two decades or so, in large part due to these efforts.

SOURCE 10: Letter from Bishop Fraser in Antigonish to John Young, accompanying petition for Mi'kmaq, 15 February 1830, Nova Scotia Archives


Dear Sir

Antigonish 15th Feb.y 1830

My most cordial thanks to you for your exertions in favor of the poor Indians. I availed myself of the first opportunity to inform them of the favourable result of your application in their favor. The Surveyor Aaron Har

Excerpts p.1, p.4:

Antigonish 15th Feb.y 1830

Dear Sir

My most cordial thanks to you for your exertions in favor of the poor Indians. I availed myself of the first opportunity to inform them of the favorable result of your application in their favor. The Surveyor Aaron Harrington is to be with them shortly. I wish you could throw twenty pounds or more in my way to be distributed among them. They should be encouraged. I think a part of the above sum would be usefully expended in buying potatoes of which they stand in much need, and a part might be left to buy seed for the ensuing season. I proposed to Sir James that something in the shape of a promsion [promissory?] might, with success, be held out to the best farmer among them, as an encouragement to exertion: he seemed to approve of the proposal: the rest I leave to your consideration.

The channel thro' which the inclosed petition goes your length will surprise you. it came my way by mere accident. I trust however, you have influence enough with our country man Michael Wallace to give it a favourable hearing, and grant the prayer of the Petitioners. Capt John McDonald a particular friend of mine for twenty years, is worthy of, and, partly entitled to confidence, in the expenditure of thousands of pounds. Should any counter petition in favour of some inhabitants of that quarter, appear be not afraid to set your face against it, this however must be done slyly, like a Scotsman, of if you please a Jesuit. There is, I believe, little difference between the two. hoc inter nos [between us].

…

As to appropriation money for roads and bridges send us thousands, no matter whether justly or otherwise. I will grant you full absolution for any injustice in that I expect some applications will be made to you shortly for different items, and I make no doubt you will exert yourself with your wanted energy and success. I have one favor more to ask, that you overlook the membership inaccuracies in the above hurried lines, it is now one o'clock in the morning, and the Sheriff who is to be the Bearer is to start tomorrow by 8 o'clock. With the sincerest sentiments of [unreadable] to you, Mrs Young, your by far best half, Wm, George and my darling Charly Stewart,

I remain My Dear Sir

yrs unalterably

William Fraser

CONTEXT:

Letter from Bishop Fraser in Antigonish to John Young, accompanying petition for Mi'kmaq, 15 February 1830, Nova Scotia Archives

An example of Scottish influence and activity in connection with indigenous populations of Canada. William Fraser, Bishop of Arichat, was born in Glen Cannich, Scotland, and became Halifax, Nova Scotia's first Bishop in the 1840s. In this 3-page letter, Fraser appeals for money to improve conditions for the First Nations peoples and for improvements to infrastructure. It provides some insight into living conditions and the ways in which the indigenous populations were viewed and spoken of at this time in the Maritime provinces.

SOURCE 11: Chapter 6: 'Indians, &c', from Robert MacDougall's *Ceann-iùil an fhir-imrich do dh'America mu-thuath*; or *The Emigrant's Guide to North America.* Glasgow: J. & P. Campbell [Eng. trans., ed. Elizabeth Thompson, Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, c1998].

VI

INDIANS, &C.

Excerpts pp. 39-40

With that the emigrant can see the type of people the Indians are, commanding valiant men, but I do not ever expect to see men who are more respectful toward others. They have a slow, soft, pleasant speech, merely a branch of the Gaelic language, and if those who first wrote it down had been well acquainted with Gaelic, the two languages would look remarkably similar. But if one or two travelling preachers were sent out from England, through the mountains to learn Gaelic, and if after they had scarcely begin to acquire it, they gave themselves permission to write it down, and put it in print, it would be just as difficult to understand as the Indian language, and much more difficult for me to read.

But although their language has been spoiled by the foreigners, their intelligence has not been destroyed by them, for these foreigners served as a means of bringing many of them from darkness into light, inasmuch as they cast off the old man, along with his works, in two senses, I hope. They have done this outwardly, at any rate, for many of them have now abandoned the hunting, and every old custom that was unprofitable, and have begun building permanent homes in the same place. They do not cultivate large areas within a few years, as many other people do in America, but they have enough crops to provide food for themselves and their families. The minister and the schoolmaster are always situated in their midst, so that they are close at hand to each and every family. Many of them have a godly look, and I would like to believe that they situation is not without hope, even though they were recently strangers to the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenants of promise, without hope, and without a God in the world.

CONTEXT:

Chapter 6: 'Indians, &c', from Robert MacDougall's *Ceann-iùil an fhir-imrich do dh'America mu-thuath*; or *The Emigrant's Guide to North America*

Originally published in Gaelic in 1841 by Scottish colonist and explorer Robert MacDougall, the book was meant to dispel rumours and inaccuracies about the colonies. It was published in the aftermath of violent popular uprisings across the Canadian colonies in the late 1830s and at a time of growing Scottish emigration to Upper Canada (which would become Ontario, the most populated province in Canada). Chapter 6, as the title suggests, is focussed on examining and understanding the appearance, customs, and practices of the First Nations populations in the region from his perspective. This version was translated by Elizabeth Thompson and published by Natural Heritage/Natural History Inc. in Toronto in 1998.

New Zealand

SOURCES 12 & 13 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

The below are focused on Donald McLean's role as Native Minister for the New Zealand colonial government

Donald McLean was a Scottish Highlander, born on 25th October 1820, at Kilmaluag on Tiree (Inner Hebrides). He was the third son of Margaret McColl and John McLean, a tacksman who held a large lease from the Duke of Argyll, but was dispossessed when Argyll subdivided his estate. Donald was educated by his mother's brother, the Reverend Donald McColl, in preparation for the Presbyterian ministry, and studied history, literature and divinity until 1838, when he sailed for New South Wales, accompanying relatives with government connections. When his employers, Sydney merchants Abercrombie and Company, sent him to the Auckland area of New Zealand in 1840, he stayed on, cutting timber and managing a schooner on the Waihou River and the Firth of Thames for trader John McLeod. Already bilingual in Gaelic and English, McLean also learned Māori (the language of New Zealand's Indigenous community) during this period. Through the influence of colonial secretary Andrew Sinclair (a fellow Scot), McLean was appointed as Protector of Aborigines in 1844, and subsequently held a number of influential government roles, including chief land purchase commissioner for the Land Purchase Department established by Governor George Grey in 1854; Native Secretary for Governor Thomas Gore Browne (from 1856); and Native and Defence Minister (from 1869) under Premier William Fox. He retired in 1876, the year in which the nine provincial governments of New Zealand were abolished and replaced with a centralised government.

McLean gained standing among Māori for his knowledge of their language and his respect for Māori socio-political structures and cultural protocols. He identified closely with hard-working bush settlers, and became a landowner himself, but also drafted the Native Land Act of 1873, a major reform of Māori land law that required all owners to be named on certificates of title, in an attempt to eradicate fraud and protect Māori from becoming landless. (Māori land was customarily held in communal ownership, but prior to the 1873 Act, only ten owners could be named on certificates of title.) McLean also oversaw the establishment (in 1867) of state-controlled Native schools; increased Māori involvement in public works and sheep farming; and the participation of Māori leaders in local administration (as well as in parliament, following the establishment of four Māori seats in 1867). His respectful interactions

with Māori contrasted with the racial prejudice against Māori expressed by many British settlers of his time.

However, McLean also believed, in keeping with dominant British attitudes of his day, that Māori were a 'dying race', and that Māori should accept what he believed would be the inevitable dominion of the settlers. (Introduced diseases and various wars waged through the nineteenth century triggered a dramatic decline in the Indigenous population, which only began to recover during the early twentieth century.) McLean opposed the nationalist Māori King movement, founded in 1858 in an attempt to unify Māori against increasing alienation of their land as the settler population increased, and he ignored legitimate objections by Māori landowners to a proposed government purchase of land at the mouth of the Waitara River in north Taranaki province in 1859. The dispute led to an escalation in a series of military conflicts (known as the 'New Zealand Wars') between government military forces (and their Māori allies, known as kupapa), and Māori resisting government and settler pressure to sell further ancestral land. (The first phase of the New Zealand Wars dates back to the mid-1840s: the 1840 signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, which formalised British annexation of Aotearoa/New Zealand, had only been signed by select Māori leaders, and the Māori and English versions of the Treaty document differ in some significant respects, generating Māori protest that continues to this day.) In addition to playing a key role in triggering the Waitara conflict, McLean also sanctioned a series of controversial government confiscations and reallocations of land belonging to Māori communities who fought against government and kupupa forces, though he changed his position on this practice in the late 1860s, playing an instrumental role in bringing an end to the wars in 1872. He was knighted in 1874 (KCMG) and died in 1877, shortly after his retirement from politics.

SOURCE 12: From *Te Wananga*, Saturday October 21st, 1876.

TE WANANGA.

HE PANUITANGA TENA KIA KITE KOUTOU.

"TIHE MAURI-ORA."

NAMA 37. NEPIA, HATAREI, 21 OKETOPA, 1876. PUKAPUKA 8.

Editorial commentary:

We are glad to see in some of the debates which have taken place in the New Zealand Parliament, not only in the House of representatives, but in the Legislative Council also, language used, which endorses most of the assertions made by us in respect to the Native Minister [Donald McLean]. Honourable members of those two Houses do not speak in an uncertain way, and from the right use of observation, in the Parliament and in the field, have had opportunities to weigh and estimate the value of the calibre of the intellect and power of the leader of the so-called Maori policy in the House of Representatives. The Hon. Col Whitmore has held high positions, not only in the British army, but in the field with the New Zealand forces, and has while there seen the various shifts and uncertain action devised and attempted to be carried out by the great Maori Doctor in his capacity of Native and Defence Minister.

From Col. Whitmore's address:

[T]he Colony must regret Sir Donald McLean's mismanagement of Native affairs during the last seven years. For that period he has controlled his department in a ruinous way; but the day will come, Sir, when the Colony will no longer be able to pay the Natives to keep peace; and when the restraint which the Colony is no longer able to bear is removed, we shall find the Natives in precisely the same position as they were before. But it will then be apparent that the lavish expenditure of money on the Natives has had bad results; we shall have in our midst a lot of lazy good-for-nothing Natives, who will do a great deal of harm by their connection with the other Natives throughout the Colony. In the year 1869, the Government of the day were upset at a moment when they were very close to the re-establishment of peace between the two races. At a moment when we had very nearly set aside the turbulent Natives, we were told that if we would only give the new system which was to be tried in regard to the Natives a trial, and endow the Ministry with enormous funds for the purpose, we should immediately find that the country would be at

peace for ever, and that the Natives throughout the Colony would be reconciled to us, and that, in fact, we should all become one people. On every occasion when I have differed with the measures that were brought down at the instance of the Hon. The Native Minister, I have protested in my place in this Council, but I have never offered him any of that obstruction which as an officer serving the country in the field I was continually exposed to at his hands. I have never tampered with the Natives or interfered with him in his dealing with them: nor do I believe that any other person who worked with the Government which he succeeded, and who held the same conservative principles as myself, did [….] In what state does Sir Donald McLean leave the Native question in New Zealand? I say that he leaves it in the most unsatisfactory condition, and that we shall have to go back to the first principles of the great law of England, which has always been found quite sufficient to manage any race or creed it has been our duty to govern, and to treat the Natives exactly in the same manner as if they were our English fellow-subjects. I hail the retirement of the honourable gentleman with satisfaction, because I think it will give us a chance of returning to proper principles.

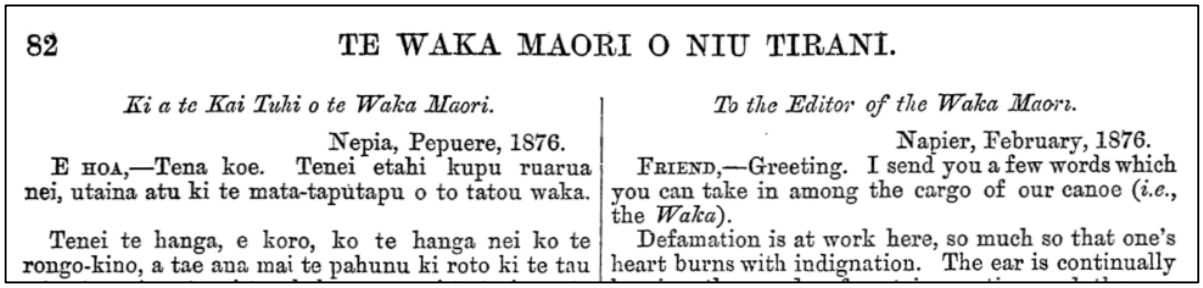
CONTEXT:

***Te Wananga*, Saturday October 21st, 1876**

Te Wananga (The Forum), was one of several Māori language newspapers established during the nineteenth century. This newspaper (published between 1874-78) was associated with the movement to repudiate sales of Māori lands in the Poverty Bay area (on the East Coast of the North Island), and was published by Hēnare Tomoana and Karaitiana Takamoana, and edited by Hēnare Tomoana. The paper was highly critical of Sir Donald McLean's policy as represented in the pages of Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani (The Maori canoe of New Zealand), a government-run newspaper from which excerpt 2 originates.

The article from which the excerpt above originates covers parliamentary discussion following the announcement of Sir Donald McLean's retirement from politics in 1876. This extract includes some opening editorial commentary, and sections of an address by Colonel Whitmore (Sir George Stoddart Whitmore, who led colonial military forces during phases of the land wars in the 1860s, and was also a member of the New Zealand Legislative Council). These excerpts express strong criticism of McLean's actions as Native Minister.

SOURCE 13: From *Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani* (The Maori canoe of New Zealand), February 1876.



82 TE WAKA MAORI O NIU TIRANI.

Ki a te Kai Tuhi o te Waka Maori.

Nepia, Pepuere, 1876.

E HOA,—Tena koe. Tenei etahi kupu ruarua nei, utaina atu ki te mata-tapùtapu o to tatou waka.

Tenei te hanga, e koro, ko te hanga nei ko te rongo-kino, a tae ana mai te pahunu ki roto ki te tau

To the Editor of the Waka Maori.

Napier, February, 1876.

FRIEND,—Greeting. I send you a few words which you can take in among the cargo of our canoe (*i.e.*, the *Waka*).

Defamation is at work here, so much so that one's heart burns with indignation. The ear is continually

To the Editor of the *Waka Maori*. Napier, February, 1876.

Friend, - Greeting. I send you a few words which you can take in among the cargo of our canoe [i.e., the newspaper: Waka means 'canoe']. Defamation is at work here, so much so that one's Heart burns with indignation. The ear is continually hearing the words of certain parties, and the eye seeing letters also which are sent to be printed in the *Wananga*, condemning Sir Donald McLean, their friend and guardian, as I in my simplicity call him, for I am convinced he is the friend and guardian of the Maori tribes of this island. Now hearken, my friends, to some of the benefits which I have seen that our parent Sir Donald McLean has conferred upon the Native race. 1. Prisoners taken in war were spared and returned to their homes by the Government of Sir Donald McLean. 2. The telegraph and railways were constructed by the Government of Sir Donald McLean. 3. Schools were established and roads made in Native districts by the Government of Sir Donald McLean. 4. Native members were introduced into Parliament by the Government of Sir Donald McLean. 5. Tawhiao and his Hau Hau followers are peaceably disposed towards us through the instrumentality of the Government of Sir Donald McLean. Is it not so? The followers of Tawhiao had thoughts of war, but from the judgment and able administration of the Government of Sir Donald McLean the present peaceful state of affairs has resulted. Let the above suffice. Many other good works have been performed by his Government, which, if all enumerated, would fill up our canoe, and there would be no space for the writings of others. Now, probably, some men will say that it was through his Government that the land came to grief; that it was mortgaged, and that it was parted with for the purchase of drink, and various other things for which land is sold; and that he sent Land Purchase Commissioners to various parts of the island by the action of whom some of our lands have been alienated. Now, attend to what I have to say about mortgages. That practice was not brought about by Sir Donald McLean; it was the Pakehas who asked the Maoris to mortgage their lands to them - that was the work of the Pakehas. I say it was the

work of those Pakehas alone, from the fact that it is a practice which is not common to both islands. I am told it exists in Hawke's Bay only; therefore I say, if it emanated from the Government of Sir Donald McLean, it would be common to both islands. Now, with respect to the Commissioners. This, my friends, is a perfectly justifiable thing: they go to you and make overtures in the broad daylight, the sun shining high in the heavens; the eyes of all see them - of men and women, of old men and old women, and of children. I will give you an illustration to the point. This very day on which I am writing this letter, I went to the store of a Pakeha named Cosgrove and inquired the price of a pair of trousers: he told me they were 18s. I said I had only 16s. in my pocket, and asked him if he would let me have the trousers for that amount: he refused, so I left his trousers and came away with my money. Now, this is just what the Commissioners do: they simply go and inquire; it rests with the owners of the land to determine what they will do. If they give the land for the Commissioner's money, of course it is gone; but if they refuse to. do so, then they retain their land and the Commissioner returns with his money. The Commissioners act in conformity with the regulation which provides that the land must be adjudicated on before it can be sold. That regulation was issued among the proceedings of the Native Land Court, and that institution did not take its rise during the period of the Government of Sir Donald McLean; it originated when Sir George Grey was governing this colony, and during the time of the Government of Mr. Richmond and Mr. Stafford - it was then that the Native Land Court was established. Now, my friends, do not slander our parent Sir Donald McLean; seek not his downfall by subterfuge and detraction, but say openly, "I do not want Sir Donald McLean" - that will be right. If any person desires a new man, that is well. But, my friends, in my simple opinion, if any man rise up after Sir Donald McLean, he will have nothing to do; he will find that Sir Donald McLean has finished the work in connection with the Maori race.

From your friend in love, C. W. HADFIELD, a Maori.

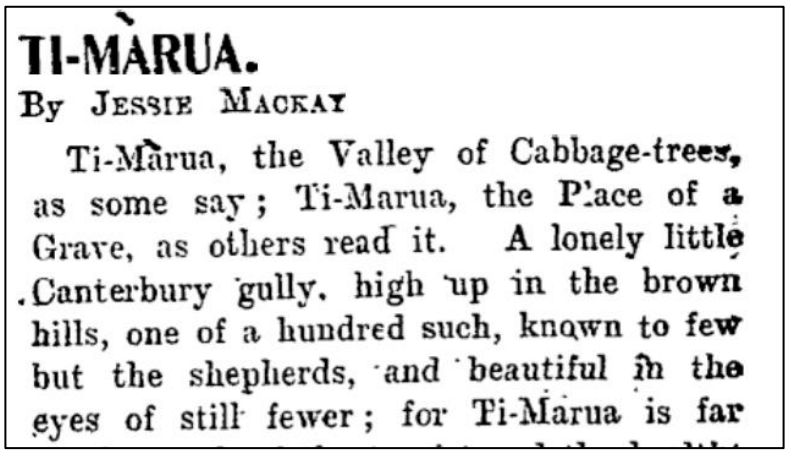
CONTEXT:

Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani **(The Maori canoe of New Zealand), February 1876.**

There were several iterations of Te Waka Maori: it is deemed likely that Donald McLean was involved in the first, Te Waka Maori o Ahuiriri (1863-71), although the editor of this publication is not named. The newspaper was published in Napier, where McLean was the Provincial Superintendent at the time. In October 1871, the paper passed entirely into the hands of government, and it became Te Waka Maori o Niu Tirani (1871-77).

This extract is from a February 1876 edition of the paper, and takes the form of a letter to the editor submitted by an author identifying as 'C. W. HADFIELD, a Maori'. As is standard practice in the newspaper at this time, the letter appears first in Māori, followed by an English translation (the latter is included above).

SOURCE 14: Excerpt from 'Ti-Marua', by Jessie Mackay, *Otago Witness*, 4 February 1903, p. 70.



TI-MARUA.

By JESSIE MACKAY

Ti-Marua, the Valley of Cabbage-trees, as some say; Ti-Marua, the Place of a Grave, as others read it. A lonely little Canterbury gully, high up in the brown hills, one of a hundred such, known to few but the shepherds, and beautiful in the eyes of still fewer; for Ti-Marua is far

Ti-Marua is far off the track of the tourist and the health-seeker. That, perhaps, is its greatest charm in the eyes of its lovers, plain folk for the most part, with a good, old-world, savage reservation of sacred things from the bland "thine is mine" gaze of a new world ever lessening and ever hustling, as elbow-room is narrowed in the ancient ways. Ah yes, we are good socialists on the low levels, some of us. Among the Avon fogs or among the green stretches of the Waimakariri basin we can rejoice whole-heartedly over the downfall of the squatter's castle and can see the heart of the country opening like a rose to the rising sun of the new Commonwealth, with its score of homes for every one of old time. But out here, alone on the steep brow of Ti-Marua, we are not good socialists at all. The world is even too little with us, one would say, this glorious December sunset, else why this solemn rush of gladness in the primeval communion of tussock and cabbage-tree, where no smoke rises, and none but the gull and the swamp hen breaks in on the long, dreaming song of the river, whose green pools lie yonder low on the left? Not good socialists, and yet we are traitors to the Commonwealth after all, in this glad hour of a grand loneliness that only two people know how to appraise, as one of earth's chiefest delights – the true mountain-born and the true Bedouin of the desert? Surely not; what is there in Ti-Marua that many should desire it but ourselves? The very flowers take up the controversy; yonder half a mile away, down by the river, the bank is white with the spreading daisy weed, a cuckoo stranger of a Pakeha bloom; but high up here is the strong, white lady of the soil, the starry mountain daisy [*Celmisia semicordata*, native to New Zealand], stately among her sharp papyrus-shafted leaves, on whose stem is the down of the cotton plant. The cuckoo marguerite [*Argyranthemum frutescens* daisy, introduced by British settlers] duplicates herself a million times, like so many city misses, all blowing one way in the wind of popular opinion, while the

unbending storm-braced lady of the hills looks down, lonely, choice, and self-poised [….]

Seldom has Ti-Marua been so lonely as in this late December sunset; for this is a right royal season for native bloom. On one side of the steep gully the ti-tree grows thick and close; and this year each tree bears its own honey-scented crown of blossom till the dark hillside is lit and softened with one tender tint, too creamy to be white, to pale to be true gold. But on the eastern side the creamy crown of the ti-palm is little seen; in its place there waves a grey-white glory of manuka that scents the whole gully with aromas of a buried past [….] A perfect sunset and a typical New Zealand scene lies before us [….] And yet the gully and the greater river-gorge into which it opens have far other and scarce less lovely moods – moods that the mist-hating Southron shudders at, as the Roman revellers shudder at the Christian hymn in the "Sign of the Cross." But a dark gladness that is sweetly all but one with pain rises in the Northern heart when the mist wraps Ti-Marua suddenly, by dawn or by day's decline. For the mist loves Ti-Marua, and swoops upon it eagle-like, many and many a time. Then the steep sides of it take another aspect; the great water-scarred slopes are like the face of a giant old Maori warrior, seamed with the sacred moko and gashed in many a long-past fight. A passion of Ossianic melancholy glorifies the Northern soul with a nameless romance. Ti-Marua broods over the past; the river sings loud of ancient things. What a foolish, conceited fancy it is to disdain the virgin hills of New Zealand because no bard has woven them into undying song! We atoms of a day, do we think these great Presences loom between earth and heaven to honour our petty wars, our ever-repeating Empire games of check and counter check? Ti-Marua knows better, smiling darkly through the mist; Ti-Marua is as deep in the counsels of creation, as full of the primeval romance of earth and sun, cloud and rain, as Alp or Apennine. Ti-Marua has been loved of the storm-wind, robed with the snow, crowned with the rainbow; can Ghaut or Grampian claim more?

CONTEXT:

'Ti-Marua', by Jessie Mackay, *Otago Witness*, 4 February 1903, p. 70.

Jessie Mackay was born in 1864 at Double Hill sheep station, above the Rakaia Gorge in Canterbury (on the east coast of the South Island). Her parents, Elizabeth Ormiston and Robert Mackay, were both born in Scotland, emigrating to New Zealand in 1863. Robert Mackay, a

shepherd, was employed as manager at the Double Hill station, and eventually the Mackay family moved to their own farm at Trentham, South Canterbury. Jessie was educated at home until 1879, then trained as a schoolteacher, using her earnings to support herself and her sister (neither married). She was also a poet, well known for her ballads based on Scottish and Māori legends. One of her best-known ballads, 'The burial of Sir John McKenzie', was a tribute to the Scottish immigrant and farmer who became Minister of Lands in the Liberal government in the 1890s. Mackay supported McKenzie's commitment to land tenure reform, to curtail the power of large landholders and allow small farmers to acquire land, and she was also a supporter of the Society for Self-Determination for Ireland. Mackay also achieved renown as a journalist; she wrote a fortnightly column for the Otago Witness from 1808, and in 1906 was appointed 'lady editor' of the Canterbury Times. She campaigned for prohibition and penal reform, and for a number of feminist causes including women's suffrage; better pay for women; and the recruitment of women into the police force.

Mackay's poetry and journalism, while informed by the prevalent social Darwinist view that Māori were a 'dying race', challenges racial stereotypes (such as the argument that depopulation was a result of 'degeneracy'), and is critical of the Pākehā (European) land-hunger and violence that triggered the land wars. The following excerpt, from her Otago Witness column, offers a lyrical description of a valley in Canterbury province named Ti-Mārua (whose name is connected with the cabbage tree or cordyline australis, known as 'tī' or 'tī kōuka' in Māori), that expresses both her support for the land reform policies that allowed small farmers to benefit from the breaking up of large landholdings, and her awareness of the imperial expansionism underpinning European settlement in New Zealand. Her reference to Ossian, narrator and supposed author of a cycle of Celtic epic poems published by Scottish author James Macpherson in the 1760s, is a potentially satirical reference to nationalist mythographies Scottish and other British settlers invoked when laying claim to colonised territories. By the early nineteenth century, many believed that rather than Macpherson having produced English-language translations from Scottish Gaelic sources written by Ossian, the latter was in fact Macpherson's own invention, and the myth cycles a combination of existing Celtic mythology and new material created by Macpherson. Further, Mackay's reference to the introduced marguerite daisy species (argyranthemum frutescens, originally from the Canary Islands but introduced to New Zealand by British settlers) proliferating at the expense of the native mountain daisy (celmisia semicordata), allegorises the social Darwinist view that Māori were a disappearing race, and the settlers in the ascendancy.

SOURCE 15: Excerpts from *Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station* (1921), by Herbert Guthrie-Smith

a) From the preface to the 1940 third edition of *Tutira*, p. xxiii:

To follow the fortunes of Tutira the strains of breeding of the carnivore in possession [ie, Guthrie-Smith himself] must needs be insisted upon. At least as material to the station as the breedings of Merino, Lincoln and Romney Marsh blood to its flocks, of Polled Angus and Hereford to its herds, has been the Scottish-Irish cross in the owner of these flocks and herds.

Personally, I may say that a grandmother from South Ireland has been invaluable to me. A resilience that could only emanate from County Cork especially crops up in dealing with solemn, almost holy things – balance-sheets, banks and station accounts. It has been impossible in certain chapters to escape the whiff of Irishry. Overdrafts have ever seemed natural to the dear lady. Her bright spirit has never quailed at impecuniosity, never been dashed by lack of credit.

From the station point of view, however, matters have worn a different aspect. To a dualism of this sort, often deranging the thread of its management, can in measure be attributed to its financial ups and downs; its troubles, I must needs say, chiefly owing to the one streak, its recoveries owing entirely to the other [….] To speak of duty and pleasure would be perhaps to over-emphasise this conflict in nature. In lighter mood, rather, would I call to mind the simple barometrical device by which in my boyhood weather conditions were forecast, when from their Swiss rustic home, according to conditions of fair or foul, the man stood forth in storm, the woman in sun. The husband I picture as representative of the tenacious Scot, the women of the temperamental, profuse Celt; the one bearing the burden of life, the other enjoying its benefits.

These dualities arise before me like the ghosts of the kings in Macbeth, like buried Denmark's shade they speak. Whispers the first in soft South Ireland brogue as gaily she flutters from her wooden chalet – the clouds roll by, the heavens are cleared, the sun shines, the flowers bloom, the birds sing, the pleasant doors of life are opened wide, "put money in your purse," she seems to say, "take up your gun, unstrap your rods, put money in your purse; there are settlers to range the wildest Argyllshire moors, put money in your purse. When the spring salmon run, Beauly and Dee are lovely in their leafless woods. In her top pools does the Awe ripple and break after the long smooth of her narrow pass. Heed not over much the old sheep station, bow not over low to the cult of the olive and vine."

To such Celtic levity do the author's Lowland Scot ancestors listen with dour distrust. Sad, grim in grain from age-long struggle with unpropitious soils and weeping skies, far otherwise breathe forth the voices of his Stirlingshire progenitors. In the beginning, starved crofters and bonnet lairds, later West Country gentlefolk – slave-labour lords of far Virginia and Trinidad – but always on the land, always rooted in the soil, with one accord they cry, "Heed not that Irishwoman's call. A man's first duty is to the soil, the station must come first and foremost, consideration of its flocks and herds; there is yet bracken to be destroyed, undergrowth to be cleared, pastures to be renovated, weed growth to be eradicated."

b) pp. 224-5:

[O]ur [Māori] landlords were perennially impecunious; rents were spent always before they fell due, the station was expected to furnish perpetual advances to replenish the landlords' pockets with sums varying from hundreds of pounds to shillings; marriages, births and deaths were equally excellent reasons for demanding cash. All these loans and advances were quite irregular; in the absence of J.P.'s [Justices of the Peace] and licensed interpreters and stamps they need never have been repaid, yet it was rarely indeed that a Maori went back on his word. If a man must need be burdened with a brood of a hundred couple of landlords, let him pray Heaven on his bended knees, I say, for Maori landlords.

Often I have wondered if any work at all done on the station was legally done, for if I am to credit the local natives, the original lease was signed by many who had no sort of claim on the Tutira lands; no proper supervision seems to have been exercised, many of the signatures were forgeries, or if that is too strong a word, one native signed for another; then again, was it clearly defined that Newton and the succeeding tenants of Tutira were permitted to destroy the ancient vegetation of the run, to cover it with clover and grass, to drain its swamps? Rumblings of distant thunder, that might have at any time broken over our heads, reached us now and again in the shape of legal remonstrances. To this day I remember one which threw Cuningham and myself into the utmost consternation – we had not become calloused by custom to the sword of Damocles. This particular epistle was written, I recollect, by a Minister of the Crown, at the request, doubtless, of some good old crusted Tory, forbidding, under the most horrible penalties, the destruction of bracken. Another heathen reactionist on another occasion forbade drainage, on the ground that it might affect the welfare of the eels in the lake.

c) p. 325:

Sixty seasons will have sufficed to metamorphose a solid block of bracken [a highly invasive fern species] into a solid block of leptospermum [manuka, a native shrub], which has in its turn given place to a mixed woodland of green-leafed trees, tall shrubs, tree ferns innumerable, creepers, ground ferns, and small terrestrial orchids.

Especially is such a chronicle expedient in New Zealand where, in addition to the normal calls of change in a faster shifting world, subdivision of land and rising taxation are tending to eliminate the few large proprietors who continue to desire to dwell in the homes of their fathers and grandfathers.

As to the smaller holders, there is scarcely an individual who would not without care or compunction sell out for some fanciful gain, absurdly inadequate when weighed against deprivation of local experience, acquisition of strange stock, and delay in repurchase. Almost unavailingly, in fact, could New Zealand be searched for instances of the French peasant's feeling for his little holding. When a block of land passes, as it may do through the hands of ten holders in half a century, how can long views be taken of its rights? Who under these conditions can give his acres their due?

Aue, taukari e, ano te kuware o te pakeha kahore nei i whakairo ki te mauri o te whenua. Alas! Alas! that the pakeha should so neglect the rights of the land, so forget the traditions of the Maori race, a people who recognised in it something more than the ability to grow meat and wool.

CONTEXT:

Excerpts from *Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station* (1921), by Herbert Guthrie-Smith.

William Herbert Guthrie-Smith was born in Helensburgh, Dunbartonshire, in 1862, the eldest child of John Guthrie Smith, a wealthy insurance broker, and his wife, Anne Penelope Campbell Dennistoun. He attended Rugby School, and in 1880 travelled to South Canterbury, New Zealand, with his relative and schoolmate Arthur Cuningham. Guthrie-Smith and Cuningham learned the basics of sheep farming from their uncle, George Denniston (at Peel Forest station), and

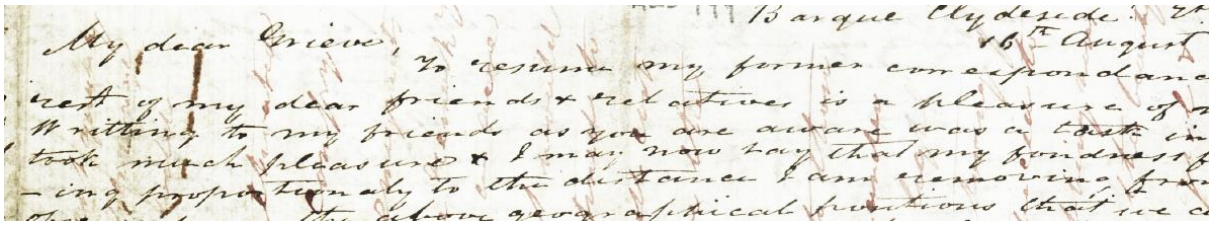
in 1882 they took over the lease of Tūtira, a 20,000 acre station in central Hawke's Bay owned by Māori from the Ngāi Tatara hapū (subtribe). The station, covered in bracken, was run-down and barely viable to begin with; Cuningham soon quit, but after taking on Thomas Stuart as a new partner, Guthrie-Smith slowly improved Tūtira's pastures and flocks, and after acquiring the leases of two neighbouring properties in the late 1890s, expanded the size of the station to around 60,000 acres.

In 1901, Guthrie-Smith travelled back to Scotland, marrying a distant cousin (Georgian Meta Dennistoun Brown), and their only child, Barbara, was born in 1903. That same year, Guthrie-Smith took sole control of the now profitable Tūtira station (stocked with some 32,000 sheep by this time), and after his brother Harry took over the daily management of the station, Herbert turned his attention to natural history, and to the writing of a book integrating 40 years' collected records, observations, notes and anecdotes into a comprehensive history of Tūtira station. Tutira: The Story of a New Zealand Sheep Station was first published in 1921, and reprinted with a new preface, map and index in 1926. A revised edition, published in 1953, incorporated new chapters that Guthrie-Smith had written before his death in 1940. By this point, the station had reduced significantly in size (after the First World War, Guthrie-Smith had subdivided 13,000 acres of Tūtira into smaller farms for returning soldiers, and had already relinquished the leases taken up in the 1890s by this time), and after Guthrie-Smith's death, the remainder of the estate was left in trust to the New Zealand public as an educational and recreational reserve.

Guthrie-Smith's book is distinctive for its detailed and respectful attention to Māori history attached to the Tūtira estate (and surrounding area), Tutira includes discussion of the ways in which the land was used by Ngāi Tatara (the hapū, or subtribe, that owned the land leased by Guthrie-Smith), describing the Māori eel fisheries established at Lake Tūtira alongside documentation of the history of European occupation of the area. Unlike many Pākehā of his time, Guthrie-Smith eschews the 'vanishing native' stereotype, and the accompanying tendency to relegate Māori to a distant past, instead detailing the continuing relationship the Māori owners of the Tūtira area maintain with their ancestral land, based on conversations he had with Māori friends. His book is also distinctive in detailing the environmental damage wreaked by the alien plants, animals and pests introduced by British settlers, recognising his own imbrication in this process as a farmer, while also detailing his own commitment to environmental remediation and conservation, and the need for protection of native birds and their forest habitats.

Included above are three excerpts from Tutira: the first, from Guthrie-Smith's preface to the 1940 edition, makes reference to the ways in which his Scottish and Irish ancestry informs his attitudes towards the challenges of managing a sheep farm under often difficult economic and environmental conditions. The second expresses Guthrie-Smith's alternating admiration and frustration with his Māori landlords, and his dismay at what he saw as misguided Pākehā political policies focused around land husbandry. The third extract is from a chapter describing the resurgence of native species in an area of the Tūtira estate previously dominated by bracken due to settler deforestation, ending with a commentary contrasting the lack of attention to sustainable environmental practices among settlers focused on short-term monetary gain with the long-duree of Māori land custodianship since precolonial times. This chapter, written shortly before Guthrie's death, thereby challenges colonial social Darwinist rhetoric by linking the resilience of New Zealand's native plants with the endurance of its Indigenous peoples.

SOURCE 16: Letter written by Donald Gollan, started on board the 'Clydeside' in November 1841, and continued in Port Nicholson, Wellington in March 1842. MSDL-1259. ATL-Group-00791: Manuscripts & Archives. National Library of New Zealand.



My dear Grieve
New Zealand, Pt Nicholson 8 Nov

(…) South Australia is a splendid country. The time we were there corresponds with the beginning of our spring but the weather was infinitely superior to our best summer weather in Scotland. Eight miles to the back of Adelaide is the foot of that great range of mountains called Mt Lofty & Mt Barker. They are not high nor abrupt but of an undulating kind & covered with trees to the very summit. The space between the foot of the mountains & the sea is one immense level plain of rich alluvial soil, covered with tree & bushes of all kinds & sizes. The trees & the grasses are of a greyish colour. In this extensive plain there are innumerable saltwater creeks abounding with fishes all kinds in great abundance. Beautiful wild ducks are
also found in these creeks without number. In the forests there is a great variety of birds with the most beautiful plumage. The plains & marshes abound with quails, water hens, wild turkey, wild geese & ducks. In this country the sportsman will find plenty of good & cheap amusement. (…)

The land generally speaking is good. I saw the finest wheat & barley growing here that ever I saw. Turnip & cabbage grow to a prodigious size. We saw a single cabbage that weighed 28 lbs! The city of Adelaide is distant 8 miles from the port. It is built on rather elev[ate]d ground. It looks more like a scattered village than a city. There is only one stone building in the town. (…)

When we were in Adelaide business was nearly at a stand & most of the merchants bankrupt. Land jobbing was carried to such an extent that the colony was ruined by it. English goods were selling 2 & 300 pr ct under prime cost. The Australian Compy. have been the ruin of thousands. They sold land to people in England. They encouraged those people to go out to the colony & take possession of their lands, when they arrived their land was not surveyed for
perhaps two or three years after the arrival of the owners. Those who did not [text missing] turn their hand to something else or leave the country were completely [text missing] looking person in it & all spoke highly of its healthyness. I never saw such

fine clear weather at home as we had in Australia. The scarcity of rain & fresh water is the great drawback. (…)

We left Pt Adelaide on the 28th Sept & arrived in this place on the 11th Oct after making the shortest passage that has been made. The first sight we had of New Zealand was by no … inviting. It was Mount Egmont 14000 feet high rising high above the highest clouds & covered with cloud snows. Benevis & Benlomond are mere molehills compared to this mountain of mountains. We were sadly disappointed with the prospect before us. All round the coast it blows five days out of the seven. The wind comes down of[f] the hills in perfect hurricanes. The city of Wellington is situated at the foot of a range of hills facing the Bay. In this bay there is very good ancorage [sic] & it is nearly land locked. The bay is actually swarming with excellent fish such as salmon, trout, cod, ling & some times herrings, were a fisherman to come here I am convinced they would make a fortune in a year or two, by curing fish & exporting them to the Australian colonies, where there is a great demand & high prices. At present there are no person here who knows anything of curing fish. We have explored the country all around Wellington for 30 miles both by land & water. The interior is so exceedingly overgrown with trees & all sort of bushes that a dog could scarcely make his way through it. The Company have been at great expense cutting footpaths between the different stations.

(…)

Beef is rather scarce in the Wellington market 1/2d for the mutton, 1/ fresh pork 5d fresh butter 3/6 salt do 1/9 cheese 1/3 all other provisions are dear in proportion. Pork tastes more like mutton than anything else. The pigs that are fed near to the seashore are not good. They have a disagreeable fishey taste. In this colony there are a great many Scots. The people are altogether a different class from those we met at Auckland. A great part of the people at Adelaide are runaway convicts from Sidney or convicts that served their time & left the place where they were known. The Australian natives are a miserable set. They have no huts but live entirely in the open air. Most of them go about naked. In colour they are entirely black. The young children are all grown over with hair. The women are small & as ugly as you can imagine the sex to be. They have to do all the drudgery. They go about naked carrying their children & dogs on their backs.

Disease has been communicated to them by profligate Europeans & they have communicated it in turn to their husbands. The consequence is that both sexes are in a most miserable condition with this disease & by & by the whole race will be entirely cut off with it. The men are rather better looking than the women. They are from five feet to six feet in height, stout & well made. They are an exceedingly indolent with the exception of occasionally felling a tree. They will do no work in the neighbourhood of Adelaide. They are harmless but in the interior they are beginning

to be troublesome. Both males & females are horrid gluttons. If they see a dog picking a bone they will chase him until he drops the bone. They will instantly take it up, pick all the flesh & break the bone for the marrow. I have seen the young ladies frequently do this. Since I came here I have embraced every opportunity of acquiring the native tongue. It is a beautiful language & easily learnt. With what I have learnt of it I can do a little business with the natives. They are clear headed people & are making rapid strides towards civilisation. Farewell!

[Addressed to] Mr John Greive [sic]
Whitsome Dunse
Berwickshire
Scotland
[Postmarked] 25 March 1842 Dunse

[Crosshatched in faint red ink & unreadable in parts]
There is abundance of fresh water in all parts of excellent quality. The birds are beautiful creatures, generally of bluish green or red plumage. We have been often out & have always returned loaded with l …., geese, cooves etc. They are …. eating. In this part of the island there is very little land cultivated yet. The New Zealand Company as well as The Australian Company have erred in not having the land surveyed before the emigrants arrived. We have seen some patches of wheat that look reasonably good. Where the land is thickly wood it will take £49 an acre to clear it. The quality of the land is so good however that it would refund the same in a year or two. I do not think it is destined to be something, this cultivating of the land will cost too much money. There being few parts level enough to use the plough with advantage. It is now addapted [sic] for gardens.

The natives of New Zealand are infinitely superior to those of Australia, physically as well as intellectually. The New Zealander is a tall handsome made fellow. The colour of his skin is of a light brown. There is a great deal of originality displayed in the tatooing of their faces. I had the honour the other day of being introduced to his majesty the king of this district, of shaking hands & rubbing noses with him & his whole family. His daughter the princess Eina is the beauty of the place. She is to say the least of it a handsome looking girl & has much more of feminine softness about her than our fair friends. She informed us that she had a great respect for the white people & has determined never to marry any but a white man. They have in this part acquired but a very little of the English language. Many of the white people can however speak the language (…).

Some of the native canoes are 80 ft long, 6 ft broad & 3 ft deep they will carry 40 or 50 people. A good many of the native men are sailors. Generally speaking they are not fond of working. They weave mats of the flax so neatly wrought that no one would suppose them to be the workmanship of savages. For clothing they prefer the grass blanket to anything else.

Most of them have money. A stout fellow came into a shop where I was & bought £10 worth of clothing. He paid the money in banknotes. The greater numbers of these about this place are followers of the missionaries & have given up …. … They keep the Sunday with great solemnity, reading the scriptures in their own language. Some of the young damsels dress as well on Sundays as some of their … Some of the settlers here are married to native women. Others keep them for convenience so much their … for …animal propensities are so much sobered down that I don't think I should do either.

I remain, my dear Grieve & the best wishes from your affectionate friend
Donald Gollan
Address to the care of R… Mathieson Esq
Wellington, New Zealand

CONTEXT:

Letter written by Donald Gollan, started on board the 'Clydeside' in November 1841, and continued in Port Nicholson, Wellington in March 1842.

In his letter, Glasgow-born Donald Gollan outlines his feelings for leaving Scotland, his voyage to Wellington, New Zealand aboard the 'Clydeside' from Greenock via Adelaide; short period spent in Adelaide en route; his impressions of the settlement and communities of Aborigines; his arrival in Wellington; and European settlers. In this letter, he also identifies commercial opportunities for himself and for the promotion of settler interests, including the acquirement of local dialects to entrepreneurial ends. His letter illustrates a settler focus on personal gain, viewing the ecology, flora and fauna, as well as the peoples he encounters, from the perspective of pecuniary and business prospects. He also touches on settler notions of 'native improvement' and 'civility', spotlighting various forms of sociopolitical, cultural and fiscal exploitation of Indigenous communities and resident Māori. Gollan went on to become a merchant, tradesman, and shop owner in Wellington.

SOURCE 17: Excerpt from letter written by Ebenezer Hay (Pigeon Bay) to his parents (Midbuiston), 26 Jan. 1844, CM, ARC 1990.8/8.

You will I have no dout have hard of that Sad Massacker near to nelson of 22 of our most interprising Colonists done by one chife in cold Blood after A schiomes about survaiying some land. The had maid peace and the white people had laid down all thare arms which was veray wrong in them as the natives is very treacherous and the should have known that. The chief got them all tyed and laid in A row and then he comenced at the one and *and* went to the other with his thomahauck spliting open all thare heads. When he came to Cap Wak[*e*]field he offered him 2 hundred pound to save his *li*fe but it had no affeck as he took [*erased:* it off holding *word illegible*] off Col Wakefields head holding it up in his hand saying hear goes the man of 2 hundred pounds till he smashed it all to peces. If Goverment does not punish them for such an act thare will be no living hear.

CONTEXT:

Letter written by Ebenezer Hay (Pigeon Bay) to his parents (Midbuiston), 26 Jan. 1844

On 17 June 1843, 22 Europeans and four Māori died when an armed party of New Zealand Company settlers clashed with Ngāti Toa over the purchase of land in the Wairau valley. This affray at Tuamarina was the first significant armed conflict between Māori and British settlers after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the annexation of New Zealand by the Crown.
Nine Europeans had been executed, and outraged settlers demanded action against Ngāti Toa. They were disappointed when the new governor, Robert FitzRoy, judged that the Māori had been provoked by the Europeans.
When the New Zealand Company had arrived in 1839, it began negotiations with local Māori communities and, through the operations of its chief negotiator, Colonel William Wakefield, eventually claimed to have purchased 1.2 million hectares in the Cook Strait region. On the basis of three dubious, and soon discredited purchases, the company set about establishing its main settlement at Port Nicholson (Wellington), where the first shiploads of immigrants arrived in January 1840.

Port Nicholson struggled to establish itself. Flooding forced the company to abandon the original site. When they moved across the harbour to Te Aro and Thorndon, the settlers ran into more problems. The Māori occupants of these places denied the validity of the company's claims to them. Reliance on Māori for survival did not sit well with the many company settlers who viewed them as an obstacle to European settlement.
The second of the company's planned settlements in the Cook Strait region was at Nelson, where it claimed to have purchased land at Whakatū from the Ngāti Toa community in 1839. Captain Arthur Wakefield, William's brother, subsequently negotiated with the resident Te Tau Ihu chiefs, who rejected Ngāti Toa's claim to the area.
By the end of February 1842 there were 500 settlers in Nelson and another 1500 on the way. Nelson Māori initially profited by supplying the new settlers with food, but relations began to sour when the company and the Crown reneged on some of the purchase terms. When the company decided to push ahead with plans to survey the Wairau plains, the resident Māori communities actively resisted.
The fertile plains of the Wairau valley, 70 km south-east of Nelson, were seen as the answer to the settlement's lack of nearby flat land suitable for agriculture. New Zealand Company surveyors sent to the area in early 1843 met with immediate opposition from Ngāti Toa, who were adamant that this land had not been included in the company's 1839 'purchases'. When Ngāti Toa ordered a halt to the survey, William Wakefield told his brother Arthur to continue and a fresh survey party arrived in the Wairau valley in April 1843. The company hoped that once settlers occupied the land, the Crown would recognise and defend the settlement's claims.

In early June 1843, Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata evicted the company's surveyors and burnt their temporary shelters, while taking care to protect their personal property and provisions. An armed but militarily inexperienced posse of 49 Europeans, including Nelson's Chief Constable Henry Thompson and Arthur Wakefield, arrived on the eastern side of the Tuamarina Stream on 17 June 1843, to charge the resident chief with arson. Nearly twice as many Māori, including a number of women and children, had gathered on the opposite bank.
After eight of the Europeans crossed the river on a makeshift bridge formed by a canoe, Thompson made two attempts to place handcuffs on chief Te Rauparaha. The latter's nephew, who was also to be arrested, shouted that he was on his own land and that Māori did not go to England to take Pākehā land. As tensions rose, a musket shot rang out. In the confused fighting which followed, about nine of the posse were killed or fatally injured. So were two Māori. After a disorganised retreat during which four more Europeans were killed, most of the survivors were

surrounded and forced to surrender. Nine European prisoners, including Arthur Wakefield and Henry Thompson, were killed on the spot. Despite Ebenezer Hay's insistence that the Māori be punished, this did not eventuate since, in the first instance, there was no evidence to suggest that settlers had legally bought the land from Māori. Hay's letter demonstrates the development and spread of settler mythologies through its omission of or ignorance regarding the context of the affray, disregarding notions of justice and land rights, and perpetuating a settler agenda of Othering and expansionism.

SOURCE 18: Excerpt from David Kennedy's *Kennedy's Colonial Travel: A Narrative of a Four Years' Tour Through Australia, New Zealand, Canada, &c.* Edinburgh Publishing Company, 1876.

Chapter 16, pp.210-11:

Here we saw Maories for the first time in any numbers. Going along Lambton Quay we met a native in full European costume – in velvet coat, light tweed trousers, and white hat, with silver-headed cane and heavy gold chain, and tattooed so that you could scarcely distinguish his eyes. Every inch of him proclaimed "Am I not a man and a swell?" And he looked as if he owned thousands of acres, as perhaps he did, or as if he were a member of Parliament, as perhaps he was, for there are four Maories now in the Assembly – two on the Government benches, and two on the Opposition. Maories, taught by white man's examples, are worldly wise, and take care of their broad acres, leasing them well or selling them at a godly price. Many of the natives are rich, have large farms, cultivate their land, and come in with their crops to market as regularly as any of the settlers.

The Maories are well-built fellows, with brown skin, black straight hair, sharp eyes, and high cheek-bones like a Chinaman. None but the older natives bear tattoo marks. The younger men have learned better,

or have been shamed out of the custom by contact with the whites. They are brave, excitable, shrewd, patriotic, and eloquent. (…) Love of country reigns in a Maori as well as a Scotchman. (…) In their relationships and the shifting alliances between them, they were like the Scottish clans of a couple of centuries ago. (…) [And the last war] enabled the Maories to assert themselves, like the Scots of old under the Invasions of the Edwards. (…) Their store of tradition, fable, poetry, proverb, and song is endless. They are undoubtedly the Scotchmen of Savages, though there is one thing against this comparison – their women are ugly! A Maori man is nearly always superior in looks to his better half. Some of the very young women have a kind of comeliness, but they age fast. They have big thick lips, flat noses, narrow foreheads, liquid eyes, and, terrible to relate, are guilty of inveterate smoking. The Maories are said to be very lazy at times; but what savage or what civilized man of any standing can clear himself of this charge? We saw more Maories – Maori girls in tartan dresses and Rob Roy shawls (...) We missed the picturesque robe and plumed head-dresses of the savage, though we were told that the native, when he goes back to the country, throws off the clothes of the pakeha (white man) and wraps himself again in his blanket.

CONTEXT:

Excerpt from David Kennedy's *Kennedy's Colonial Travel: A Narrative of a Four Years' Tour Through Australia, New Zealand, Canada, &c*

Published in 1876, this account describes the experiences of David Kennedy Jr (1849-85) as he toured the world with his musician father and family choir between 1872 and 1876, performing 'The Songs of Scotland'. Kennedy travelled extensively through Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, and over a three-year period wrote articles recording his impressions for publication in Edinburgh newspapers. Kennedy describes places and events, depicting entertainments and pastimes, education and worship, Indigenous traditions, and the daily life of settler Scots, spotlighting individuals such as innkeepers, stage-coach drivers, travellers, and miners. In his depiction of impressions of Māori, what is perhaps most striking is Kennedy's attempt to build parallels between Māori and Scottish communities, constructed on grounds of patriotism, cultural wealth and tradition, and social organisation, while also building historical parallels between the settler-Māori conflict and the Scottish Wars of Independence.

AUSTRALIA

SOURCE 19: William Barak (c.1824-1903) Source: Barak, William, *Ceremony with Rainbow Serpent* (c.1880), NGV Naarm/Melbourne

Source: Barak, William, *Figures in Possum Skin Cloaks* (1898), NGV Naarm/Melbourne

See NGV 'William Barak' website for these and five other Barak paintings: https://www.ngv.vic.gov.au/explore/collection/artist/172/

See also this video from NGV Melbourne, 'William Barak's Ceremony with Rainbow Serpent' https://youtu.be/4vUtuAeT32M?feature=shared

Source Comparison: McCubbin, Frederick, *The Pioneer* (1904)

CONTEXT:

Frederick McCubbin (1855-1917) was born in Naarm/Melbourne. An influential and respected artist of the Victoria's late colonial era, his father, Alexander McCubbin was from Ayrshire, where he was a baker.

William 'Beruk' Barak, a Wurundjeri man, lived through the initial invasion and subsequent occupation of the sovereign lands of the Kulin nation, beginning with John Batman's attempted treaty in 1835.

Surviving the initial dispossession of the Wurundjeri and Boonwurrung people of the Kulin nations resulting from the imposition of the British colonial town of Melbourne, Barak worked to establish and then lived at the Coranderrk Reserve from 1863.

An important spokesperson and activist for the Kulin nation, his paintings represent foundational Indigenous art of the post-invasion era and Barak one of Australia's most important artists.

SOURCE 20: Extracts from James Dawson's *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the western district of Victoria* (Melbourne: George Robertson 1881). Available via Trove, National Library of Australia: http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-52770478

PREFACE.

A NUMBER of years ago there appeared in the columns of the *Australasian* newspaper a short account of the language of one of the native tribes of the Western District of Victoria, written by my daughter, whose long residence in the Port Fairy district, and intimate acquaintance from infancy with the aboriginal inhabitants of that part of the colony, and with their dialects, induced her to publish that sketch. Some time afterwards our attention was directed to the formation of a vocabulary of dialects spoken by aboriginal natives of Australia, and a request was made that she 'would assist in collecting and illustrating all connected with their history, habits, customs, and languages.' In undertaking so interesting a work, our intention was to publish the additional information in the columns of the *Australasian;* but, finding it to be too voluminous for that journal, it was resolved to present it to the public in its present shape.

Great care has been taken in this work not to state anything on the word of a white person; and, in obtaining information from the aborigines, suggestive or leading questions have been avoided as much as possible. The natives, in their anxiety to please, are apt to coincide with the questioner, and thus assist him in arriving at wrong conclusions; hence it is of the utmost importance to be able to converse freely with them in their own language. This inspires them with confidence, and prompts them to state facts, and to discard ideas and beliefs obtained from the white people, which in many instances have led to misrepresentations. All the information contained in this book has been obtained from the united testimony of several very intelligent aborigines, and every word was approved of by them before being written down. While co-operating in this arduous task, which they thoroughly comprehended, our sable friends showed the utmost anxiety to impart information, and the most scrupulous honesty in conveying a correct version of their own language, as well

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES

THE LANGUAGES AND CUSTOMS OF SEVERAL TRIBES OF ABORIGINES IN THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF VICTORIA, AUSTRALIA

BY

JAMES DAWSON

GEORGE ROBERTSON
MELBOURNE, SYDNEY, AND ADELAIDE

KAAWIRN KUUNAWAIRN
(HISSING SWAN),
Chief of the Kirrae Whurrung.

as of the languages of the neighbouring tribes; and so proud and jealous were they of the honour, that, by agreement among themselves, each was allotted a fair proportion of questions to answer and of words to translate; and if levity was shown by any individual present who could not always resist a pun on the word in question, the sedate old chief, Kaawirn Kuunawarn, at once reproved the wag, and restored order and attention to the business on hand.

During this tedious process, occupying several years in its accomplishment, I found my previous good opinion of the natives fell far short of their merits. Their general information and knowledge of several distinct dialects—in some instances four, besides fair English—gratified as well as surprised me, and naturally suggested a comparison between them and the lower classes of white men. Indeed, it is very questionable if even those who belong to what is called the middle class, notwithstanding their advantages of education, know as much of their own laws, of natural history, and of the nomenclature of the heavenly bodies, as the aborigines do of their laws and of natural objects.

In recording my admiration of the general character of the aborigines, no attempt is made to palliate what may appear to us to be objectionable customs common to savages in nearly every part of the globe; but it may be truly said of them, that, with the exception of the low estimate they naturally place on life, their moral character and modesty—all things considered—compare favourably with those of the most highly cultivated communities of Europe. People seeing only the miserable remnants to be met with about the white man's grog-shop may be inclined to doubt this; but if these doubters were to be brought into close communication with the aborigines away from the means of intoxication, and were to listen to their guileless conversation, their humour and wit, and their expressions of honour and affection for one another, those who are disposed to look upon them as scarcely human would be compelled to admit that in general intelligence, common sense, integrity, and the absence of anything repulsive in their conduct, they are at least equal, if not superior, to the general run of white men. It must be borne in mind, also, that many of their present vices were introduced by the white man, whose contact with them has increased their degradation, and will no doubt ultimately lead to their extinction.

And even, in censuring customs and practices which we may regard as repugnant to our notions and usages, we should bear in mind that these may appear right and virtuous from the stand-point of the aborigines, and that they have received the sanction of use and wont for many ages. If our habits,

manners, and morals were investigated and commented upon by an intelligent black, what would be his verdict on them? What would he think of the 'sin of great cities,' of baby-farming, of our gambling hells, of our 'marriage market,' of the universal practice of adulteration, of the frightful revelations made by Mr. Plimsoll's committee with respect to rotten ships freighted and insured on purpose to founder, of the white slavery in all great cities, and of the thousand and one evils incidental to our highly artificial civilization? Living, as we do, in a conservatory constructed of such remarkably fragile materials, we should hesitate before picking up the smallest pebble wherewith to lapidate the despised blackfellow.

To several friends who have assisted me in various ways in the publication of this book my thanks are due: to Professor Strong, of the Melbourne University; to James Smith, Esq., Melbourne; to Mr. Goodall, Superintendent of the Aboriginal Station, Framlingham; and especially to the Rev. F. R. M. Wilson, formerly of Camperdown, now of Kew.

To my sable friends who have kindly given us their aid I express my gratitude for their patience and their anxiety to communicate information; especially to the very intelligent chiefess Yaruun Parpur Tarneen, whose knowledge greatly exceeded expectation; as also to Wombeet Tuulawarn, her husband, who assisted her. In return for their friendship and confidence, I trust that this little contribution to the history of an ill-used and interesting people, fast passing away, may lead to a better estimate of their character, and to a more kindly treatment at the hands of their 'Christian brethren' than the aborigines have hitherto received. If so, this volume will attain its chief object, and will confer intense gratification on their sincere friend,

JAMES DAWSON.

AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.

CHAPTER I.

TRIBES.

THE country belonging to a tribe is generally distinguished by the name or language of that tribe. The names of tribes are taken from some local object, or from some peculiarity in the country where they live, or in their pronunciation; and when an individual is referred to, 'Kuurndit'—meaning 'member of'—is affixed to the tribal name, in the same way as the syllable 'er' is added to London, 'Londoner,' or 'ite' to Melbourne, 'Melbournite.' Thus the Mount Rouse tribe is called 'Kolor,' after the aboriginal name of the mountain; and a member of the tribe is called 'Kolor kuurndit.' The language of the Kolor tribe is called 'Chaap wuurong,' meaning 'soft' or 'broad lip,' in contra-distinction to other dialects of harder pronunciation. The Kolor tribe and its language occupy the country commencing near Mount Napier, thence to Germantown, Dunkeld, Wickliffe, Lake Boloke, down the Salt Creek to Hexham, to Caramut, and to starting point.

The Kuurn kopan noot tribe is known by the name of its language, 'Kuurn kopan noot,' meaning 'small lip,' or 'short pronunciation,' with 'Kuurndit' affixed for an individual of the tribe, who is called 'Kuurn kopan noot kuurndit.' Its territory, commencing in the middle of the Tarrone swamp, 'Yaluuk,' extends to Dunmore House dam, Upper Moyne Falls, Buunbatt, Goodwood main cattle camp, Marramok swamp, and round by South Green Hills station to starting point.

The Hopkins tribe is called after its language, 'Pirt kopan noot,' and a member of the tribe 'Pirt pirt wuurong kuurndit;' and its language, which is very slightly different from the 'Chaap wuurong,' is called 'Pirt kopan noot,' meaning 'jump lip.' Its country is bounded by Wickliffe, Lake Boloke, Salt Creek, Hopkins Hill, Ararat, and Mount William.

The Spring Creek tribe is called 'Mopor,' and a member of it 'Mopor kuurndit.' Its language is called 'Kii wuurong,' meaning 'Oh, dear! lip.' Its country, commencing at the swamp Marramok on Minjah station, extends

to Woolsthorpe, to Ballangeich, up Muston's Creek to Burrwidgee, through the centre of Mirræwuæ swamp to Goodwood House, thence to Buunbatt, and to starting point.

The Port Fairy tribe is called 'Peek whuurong,' and a member of it 'Peek whurrong kuurndit.' Its language, 'Peek whurrong,' 'kelp lip,' is taken from the broad-leafed seaweed so very abundant on the sea shore. Its territory lies along the sea coast, from the mouth of the Hopkins River to nearly half-way between Port Fairy and Portland, thence to Dunmore dam, Tarrone swamp, Kirkstall, Koroit, Woodford, Allansford, Framlingham, and down the Hopkins River to the sea.

The Mount Shadwell tribe and its language are called 'Kirræ wuurong,' 'blood lip,' with Kuurndit affixed for a member of the tribe. Its territory commences at the Hopkins Hill sheepwash on the Hopkins River, and extends to Mount Fyans, Mount Elephant, Cloven Hills, Minninguurt, Mount Noorat, Keilambete Lake, Framlingham aboriginal station, and up the east side of the Hopkins River to starting point.

The Camperdown language is called 'Warn talliin,' 'rough language.' The Colac language is 'Kolak gnat,' 'belonging to sand,' and is hard in pronunciation. The Cape Otway language is 'Katubanuut,' 'King Parrot language.' The country between Cape Otway and the Hopkins River is called 'Yarro wætch,' 'Forest country,' and the language 'Wirngill gnatt tallinanong,' 'Bear language.'

At the annual great meetings of the associated tribes, where sometimes twenty tribes assembled, there were usually four languages spoken, so distinct from one another that the young people speaking one of them could not understand a word of the other three; and even the middle-aged people had difficulty in ascertaining what was said. These were the Chaap wuurong, Kuurn kopan noot, Wiitya whuurong, and Kolac gnat. The other tongues spoken at the meeting might be termed dialects of these four languages.

The aborigines have a very ready way of distinguishing the ten dialects enumerated above, by the various terms which are employed by each to denote the pronoun 'you,' as Gnuutok, Gnuundook, Winna, Gnæ, Gnii, &c. The differences of language are also marked by peculiarities of pronunciation, especially by the way in which the end of a sentence is intoned. Natives of Great Britain will remember similar differences between the various counties or towns of their fatherland, which will serve to illustrate the differences of aboriginal pronunciation.

CHAPTER II.

POPULATION.

In attempting to ascertain the numbers of individuals in the different tribes, it has been found almost impossible to make the aborigines comprehend or compute very large numbers, or even to obtain, from the very few now alive, an approximate estimate of the aggregate strength of the tribes of the Western district previous to the occupation of the country by the white man. It has been found necessary to ascertain from some of the most intelligent middle-aged persons among them, first, the number of friendly tribes which met annually in midsummer for hunting, feasting, and amusements,—occasions of all others the most likely to draw together the largest gatherings,—and then the average strength of each tribe.

These great meetings were held at Mirræwuæ, a large marsh celebrated for emus and other kinds of game, not many miles to the west of Caramut. This place was selected on account of its being a central position for the meetings of the tribes occupying the districts now known as the Wannon, Hamilton, Dunkeld, Mount William, Mount Rouse, Mount Napier, Lake Condah, Dunmore, Tarrone, Kangatong, Spring Creek, Framlingham, Lake Boloke, Skipton, Flat-topped Hill, Mount Shadwell, Darlington, Mount Noorat, Camperdown, Wardy Yallock, and Mount Elephant. None of the sea coast tribes attended the meetings at Mirræwuæ, as they were afraid of treachery and of an attack on the part of the others. According to the testimony of the intelligent old chief Weeratt Kuyuut, and his equally intelligent daughter Yarruum Parpurr Tarrneen, and her husband, Wombeet Tuulawarn, when two of these tribes fought a pitched battle, each mustered at least thirty men; and for every able-bodied warrior present (and no one durst absent himself on such an occasion under the penalty of death) there would be at least three members absent, as the old men, women, children and invalids were kept at home; thus making an average of one hundred and twenty in each tribe; and, as the twenty-one tribes enumerated were generally present, there must occasionally have been the large gathering of two thousand five hundred and twenty aborigines.

In the estimation of some of the earliest settlers, this calculation of the average strength of each tribe is too low; but, as they could not tell how many tribes or portions of tribes were seen by them at one time, the statements of the natives who attended these great meetings, and of those who remember the accounts given of them by their parents, are the most reliable.

On questioning old Weeratt Kuyuut—who was privileged as a messenger to travel among the tribes between the rivers Leigh and Glenelg—about the population of the Great Plains, which have Mount Elephant as a centre, he said the natives were like flocks of sheep and beyond counting.

At this date, July, 1880, there are only seven aborigines who speak the Chaap wuurong language, three who speak the Kuurn kopan noot language, and four who speak the Peek whuurong language.

CHAPTER V.

CLOTHING.

THE aborigines are very fond of anointing their bodies and their hair with the fat of animals, and toasting themselves before the fire till their skin absorbs it. In order to protect their bodies from the cold, they mix red clay with the oily fat of emus,—which is considered the best,—or with that of water fowls, opossums, grubs, or toasted eel skins, and rub themselves all over with the mixture. Owing to this custom very little clothing is necessary.

During all seasons of the year both sexes walk about very scantily clothed. In warm weather the men wear no covering during the day time except a short apron, not unlike the sporran of the Scotch Highlanders, formed of strips of opossum skins with the fur on, hanging from a skin belt in two bunches, one in front and the other behind. In winter they add a large kangaroo skin, fur side inwards, which hangs over the shoulders and down the back like a mantle or short cloak. This skin is fastened round the neck by the hind legs, and is fixed with a pin made of the small bone of the hind leg of a kangaroo, ground to a fine point. Sometimes a small rug made of a dozen skins of the opossum or young kangaroo is worn in the same way.

Women use the opossum rug at all times, by day as a covering for the back and shoulders, and in cold nights as a blanket. When they are obliged to go out of doors in wet weather, a kangaroo skin is substituted for the rug. A girdle or short kilt of the neck feathers of the emu, tied in little bunches to a skin cord, is fastened round the loins. A band of plaited bark surrounds the head, and pointed pins, made of wood or of the small bones of the hind foot of the kangaroo, are stuck upright at each side of the brow, to keep up the hair, which is divided in front and laid over them.

Beds are made of dry grass laid on the ground; and in summer the body is covered with a thin grass mat, or a sprinkling of loose dry grass, but in cold weather a wallaby or opossum rug is used in addition. In rare instances the rug is made of skins of the ring-tailed opossum.

A departure from this primitive mode of covering, and the adoption of the white man's costume, have weakened the constitution of the aborigines, and rendered them very liable to colds and pulmonary diseases, more particularly as—though they overload themselves with European clothes during the daytime —they seldom sleep under their rugs, excepting in the cold season of the year.

Fur rugs were very scarce and valuable before the white man destroyed the wild dogs, the natural enemies of the opossum and kangaroo, as it took a year to collect opossum skins sufficient to make one. The ring-tailed opossums were more plentiful than the common kind, but the skins were less esteemed. Rugs were also made of the skins of the wallaby and of the brush kangaroo, which are likewise inferior to the common opossum. A good rug is made of from fifty to seventy skins, which are stripped off the opossum, pegged out square or oblong on a sheet of bark, and dried before the fire, then trimmed with a reed knife, and sewn together with the tail sinews of the kangaroo, which are always pulled out of the tail, and carefully dried and saved for thread. Previous to sewing the skins together, diagonal lines, about half-an-inch apart, are scratched across the flesh side of each with sharpened mussel shells. This is done to make them soft and pliable. The only addition to this kind of ornamentation is occasionally the figure of an emu in the centre skin of the rug. It may be stated that, although many of the opossum rugs of the aborigines are now ornamented with a variety of designs, some of which are coloured, nothing but the simple pattern previously described, with the occasional figure of an emu, was used before the arrival of the white man. The figures of human beings, animals, and things, now drawn by the natives, and represented in works on the aborigines of the colony of Victoria as original, were unknown to the tribes treated of, and are considered by them as of recent introduction by Europeans.

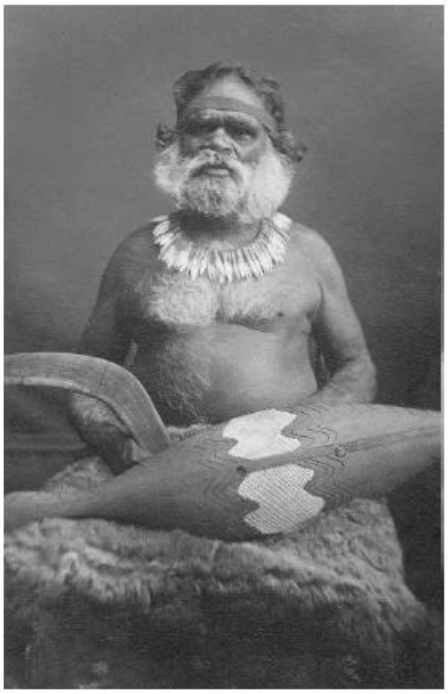
CONTEXT:

Extracts from James Dawson's *Australian Aborigines: the languages and customs of several tribes of Aborigines in the western district of Victoria* (Melbourne: George Robertson 1881)

Born in West Lothian and arriving in Naarm in 1840 where he was appointed Protector of the Aborigines, James Dawson was a critic of colonial policy towards, and impact on, First Nations people.

Indicative of global Scottish colonial connections, his wife, Joan Alexander Park [pictured with James, below left], was a niece of Mungo Park.
Dawson was a friend of Wombeetch Puyuun (c.1818 -1883), a Djargurd Wurrung man [below, right] who refused to move to the Framlingham Aboriginal Station.
Mediated by racialised thinking, the book extracts listed above demonstrate his atypical sympathy towards First Nations people in so-called Australia.

c.1878



c.1881

SOURCE 21: **Angus McMillan, 'Supposed Outrages by the Blacks', *Sydney Morning Herald* (28 December 1840), p. 2**: https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/28652865

SUPPOSED OUTRAGE BY THE BLACKS.

We call the particular attention of parties who have friends and relatives in the neighbourhood of Port Phillip, to the following letter from a station at Gipps Land or South Caledonia, the country that lies between Cape Howe and Port Phillip. It appears quite clear that murder has been committed, and perhaps the publication of the list of property found may assist in identifying the murdered party. The letter was placed in our possession several days since, but was unfortunately mislaid :—

"November 15.—Started from our station, to discover a road to the coast with the view of running along the Long Beach to Shoal inlets, thence to Corner inlet,—same evening, came upon the camp of twenty-five black natives, chiefly women, who all ran away on our near approach, leaving every thing they had behind them excepting some of their spears. We then searched their camp, where we found European articles as underneath described, viz:—Several check-shirts, cord and moleskin trousers, all besmeared with human blood; one German frock, two pea-jackets, new brown Macintosh cloak, also stained with blood; several pieces of women's wearing apparel, namely, prints and merinos; a large lock of brown hair, evidently that of a European woman, one child's white frock with brown velvet band, five hand towels, one of which was marked R. Jamieson No. 12, one blue silk purse, silver tassels and slides, containing seven shillings and sixpence British money, one woman's thimble, two large parcels of silk sewing thread, various colours, 10 new English blankets perfectly clean, shoemakers awls, bees' wax, blacksmith's pinchers and cold chisel, one bridle bit, which had been recently used, as the grass was quite fresh on it; the tube of a thermometer, broken looking glass, bottles of all descriptions, two of which had castor oil in them, one sealskin cap, one musket and some shot, one broad tomahawk, some London, Glas-

gow, and Aberdeen newspapers, printed in 1837 and 1838. One pewter two gallon measure, one ditto hand basin, one large tin camp kettle, two children's copy books, one bible printed in Edinburgh, June 1838, one set of the National Loan Fund regulations respecting policies of Life insurance, and blank forms of medical man's certificate for effecting the same. Enclosed in three kangaroo skin bags we found the dead body of a male child about two years old, which Dr. Arbuckle carefully examined professionally, and discovered beyond doubt its being of European parents; parts of the skin were perfectly white, not being in the least discoloured. We observed the men with shipped spears driving before them the women, one of whom we noticed constantly looking behind her, at us, a circumstance which did not strike us much at the time, but on examining the marks and figures about the largest of the native huts we were immediately impressed with the belief that that unfortunate female is a European—a captive of these ruthless savages. The blacks having come across us the next day in numbers, and our party being composed of four only, we most reluctantly deemed it necessary to return to the station without being enabled to accomplish our object. This was the more painful to our feelings, as we have no doubt whatever but a dreadful massacre of Europeans, men, women and children, has been perpetrated by the aborigines in the immediate vicinity of the spot, whence we were forced to return without being enabled to throw more light on this melancholy catastrophe, than what I have detailed above.

"AUGUSTUS M'MILLAN."

CONTEXT:

Angus McMillan, 'Supposed Outrages by the Blacks', *Sydney Morning Herald* (28 December 1840), p. 2

Celebrated in Australia with numerous public monuments dedicated to his honour in Gippsland, Gunaikurnai country, Angus McMillan was born in Glenbrittle Syke in 1810. Leaving for Australia in the 1830s during the Clearances era, he can be read as a victim of dispossession who then succeeded in obtaining land and achieving social mobility as a settler in Australia. He can also be credited with making a significant contribution to the successful establishment of the colony of Victoria including the ongoing settlement of the Gippsland region. This is the colonial story. McMillan can also be read as indicative of a Scottish Highland 'land hunger' that contributed to Scots participation in the violent dispossession and ongoing occupation of Indigenous country and dispossession of First Nations in so-called Western Victoria and beyond. Following the surveying of part of this region by fellow-Scot, Thomas Mitchell, McMillan further explored Gunaikurnai country. Similarly to Mitchell, McMillan relied on Indigenous guides and Indigenous assistance. Like many other Scots McMillan also engaged in violent frontier warfare. In the most infamous case, he led a group of Gaelic-settlers in the murder of c.150 Gunaikurnai people at Warrigal Creek in July 1843. In 1861 he was made president of the Caledonian Society of Victoria.
The letter linked to above offers an insight into the mentality and mythmaking of Scottish 'frontier' settlers.

SOURCE 22: Sir Thomas Mitchell (1792–1855), *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia; With Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the Present Colony of New South Wales*, 2nd Ed. (London: T and W Boone, 1838).
Volume 2. Expedition to the Rivers Darling and Murray, in the year 1836.
https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00036.html#CHAPTER%203.4

Chapter 3.4

MEET WITH A TRIBE

Soon after we entered a small plain bounded on the west by another dry channel, and beyond this we were prevented from continuing in the direction in which I wished to travel by a creek full of water, obliging us to turn northward and eastward of north until I at length found a crossing-place, and just as we perceived smoke at some distance beyond the other bank. To this smoke Piper had hastened, and when I reached a plain beyond the creek I saw him carrying on a flying conversation with an old man and several gins who were retiring in a north-west direction to a wood about a mile distant.

LAKE BENANEE.

This wood we also at length reached, and we found that it encircled a beautiful lake full sixteen miles in circumference and swarming with natives both on the beach and in canoes.
The alarm of our arrival was then resounding among the natives whom I saw in great numbers along its western shores. This lake, like all those we had previously seen, was surrounded by a ridge of red earth, rather higher than the adjacent plains, and it was evidently fed, during high floods, by the creek we had crossed. I travelled due west from the berg of this lake along the plain which extended in that direction a mile and three-quarters. We then came to another woody hollow or channel in which I could at first see only a field of polygonum, although we soon found in it a broad deep reach of still water. In tracing it to the left or from the lake towards the river, we found it increased so much in width and depth, after tracing it three-quarters of a mile, that a passage in that direction seemed quite out of the question. Many of the natives who had followed us in a body from the lake overtook us here. They assured Piper that we were near the junction of this piece of water with the Millewa (Murray) and that in the opposite direction, or towards the lake, they could show us a ford. We accordingly turned and we came to a narrow place where the natives had

a fish-net set across. On seeing us preparing to pass through the ford, they told Piper that, at a point still higher up, we might cross where the channel was dry. Thither therefore we went, the natives accompanying us in considerable numbers, but each carrying a green bough. Among them were several old men who took the most active part and who were very remarkable from the bushy fulness and whiteness of their beards and hair; the latter growing thickly on the back and shoulders gave them a very singular appearance, and accorded well with that patriarchal authority which the old men seem to maintain to an astonishing degree among these native tribes. The aged chiefs from time to time beckoned to us, repeating very often and fast at the same time "goway, goway, goway," which, strange to say,
means "come, come, come." Their gesture and action being also precisely such as we should use in calling out "go away!" We crossed the channel at length where the bed was quite dry, and pitched our tents on the opposite side.

DISCOVER THE NATIVES TO BE THOSE LAST SEEN ON THE DARLING

It will however be readily understood with what caution we followed these natives when we discovered, almost as soon as we fell in with them, that they were actually our old enemies from the Darling! I had certainly heard, when still far up on the Lachlan, that these people were coming down to fight us; but I little expected they were to be the first natives we should meet with on the Murray, at a distance of nearly two hundred miles from the scene of our former encounter. There was something so false in a forced loud laugh, without any cause, which the more plausible among them would frequently set up, that I was quite at a loss to conceive what they meant by all this uncommon civility. In the course of the afternoon they assembled their women and children in groups before our camp, exactly as they had formerly done on the Darling; and one or two small parties came in, whose arrival they seemed to watch with particular attention, hailing them while still at a distance as if to prevent mistakes. We now ascertained through Piper that the tribe had fled precipitately from the Darling last year to the country westward, and did not return until last summer, when they found the two bullocks we left there; which, having become fat, they had killed and eaten. We also ascertained that some of the natives then in the camp wore the teeth of the slaughtered animals, and that they had much trouble in killing one of them, as it was remarkably fierce. This we knew so well to the character of one of the animals that we had always supposed it would baffle every attempt of these savages to take it.

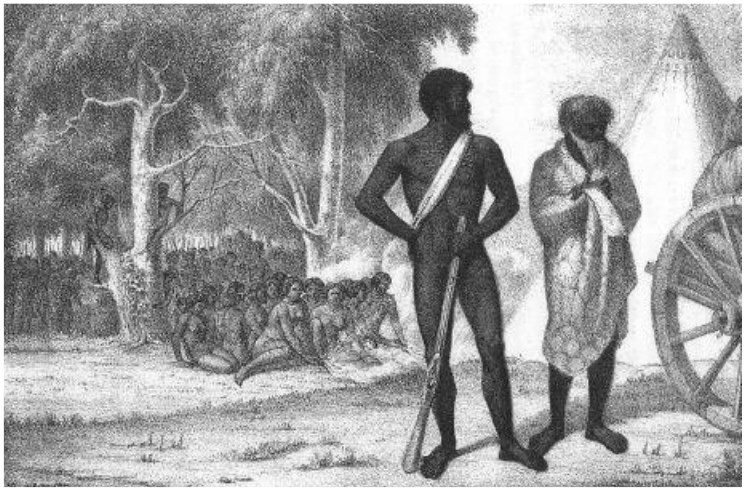


PLATE 25: PIPER WATCHING THE CART AT BENANEE. Major T.L. Mitchell del. Waldeck Lith. J. Graf Printer to Her Majesty. Published by T. and W. Boone, London.

In the group before me were pointed out two daughters of the gin which had been killed, also a little boy, a son. The girls exactly resembled each other and reminded me of the mother. The youngest was the handsomest female I had ever seen amongst the natives. She was so far from black that the red colour was very apparent in her cheeks. She sat before me in a corner of the group, nearly in the attitude of Mr. Bailey's fine statue of Eve at the fountain; and apparently equally unconscious that she was naked. As I looked upon her for a moment, while deeply regretting the fate of her mother, the chief who stood by, and whose hand had more than once been laid upon my cap, as if to feel whether it were proof against the blow of a waddy, begged me to accept her in exchange for a tomahawk!

HARASSING NIGHT IN THEIR PRESENCE.

The evening was one of much anxiety to the whole party. The fiendish expression of some of these men's eyes shone horribly, and especially when they endeavoured to disguise it by treacherous smiles. I did not see the tall man nor the mischievous old one of last year; but there were here many disposed to act like them. One miserable-looking dirty aged man was brought forward, and particularly pointed out to me by the tribe. I accordingly showed him the usual attention of sitting down and smoothing the ground for him.* But he soon requested me to strip, on which I arose, mindful of a former vow, and perceiving the blacksmith washing himself, I called him up and pointed out the muscles of his arm to the curious sage. The successor and brother, as the natives stated, of king Peter, was also looking on, and I made Vulcan put himself into a sparring attitude and tip him a touch or two, which made him fall back

one or two paces, and look half angry. We distinctly recognised the man who last year threw the two spears at Muirhead; while on their part they evidently knew again Charles King who, on that occasion, fired at the native from whose spears Tom Jones so narrowly escaped.
(*Footnote. Instead of handing a chair the equivalent of politeness with Australian natives is to smooth down or remove with the foot any sharp spikes or rubbish on the ground where you wish your friend to be seated before you.)
Night had closed in and these groups hung still about us, having also lighted up five large fires which formed a cordon around our camp. Still I did not interfere with them, relying chiefly on the sagacity and vigilance of Piper whom I directed to be particularly on the alert. At length Burnett came to inform me that they had sent away all their gins, that there was no keeping them from the carts, and that they seemed bent on mischief.

PIPER ALARMED.

Piper also took alarm and came to me inquiring, apparently with a thoughtful sense of responsibility, what the Governor had said to me about shooting blackfellows. "These," he continued, "are only Myalls" (wild natives). His gin had overheard them arranging that three should seize and strip him, while others attacked the tents. I told him the Governor had said positively that I was not to shoot blackfellows unless our own lives were in danger. I then went out--it was about eight o'clock--and I saw one fellow, who had always been very forward, posted behind our carts and speaking to Piper's wife.

ROCKETS FIRED TO SCARE THEM AWAY.

I ordered him away, then drew up the men in line and when, as preconcerted, I sent up a rocket and the men gave three cheers, all the blacks ran off, with the exception of one old man who lingered behind a tree. They hailed us afterwards from the wood at a little distance where they made fires, saying they were preparing to corrobory and inviting us to be present. Piper told them to go on, and we heard something like a beginning to the dance, but the hollow sounds they made resembled groans more than any sort of music, and we saw that they did not, in fact, proceed with the dance. It was necessary to establish a double watch that night and indeed
none of the men would take their clothes off. The most favourable alternative that we could venture to hope for was that a collision might be avoided till daylight.

THEY AGAIN ADVANCE IN THE MORNING.

May 25.

The night passed without further molestation on the part of the natives; but soon after daybreak they were seen advancing towards our camp. The foremost was a powerful fellow in a cloak, to whom I had been introduced by king Peter last year, and who was said to be his brother. Abreast of him, but much more to the right, two of the old men, who had reached a fallen tree near the tents, were busy setting fire to the withering branches. Those who were further back seemed equally alert in setting fire to the bush and, the wind coming from that quarter, we were likely soon to be enveloped in smoke. I was then willing that the barbarians should come again up, and anxious to act on the defensive as long as possible; but when I saw what the old men were about I went into my tent for my rifle and ordered all the men under arms. The old rascals, with the sagacity of foxes, instantly observed and understood this movement and retired.

MEN ADVANCE TOWARDS THEM HOLDING UP THEIR FIREARMS.

I then ordered eight men to advance towards the native camp, and to hold up their muskets as if to show them to the natives, but not to fire unless attacked, and to return at the sound of the bugle.

THEY RETIRE, AND WE CONTINUE OUR JOURNEY.

The savages took to their heels before these men who, following the fugitives, disappeared for a time in the woods but returned at the bugle call. This move, which I intended as a threat and as a warning that they should not follow us, had at least the effect of giving us time to breakfast, as Muirhead observed on coming back to the camp.

AGAIN FOLLOWED BY THE NATIVES. DANGER OF THE PARTY.

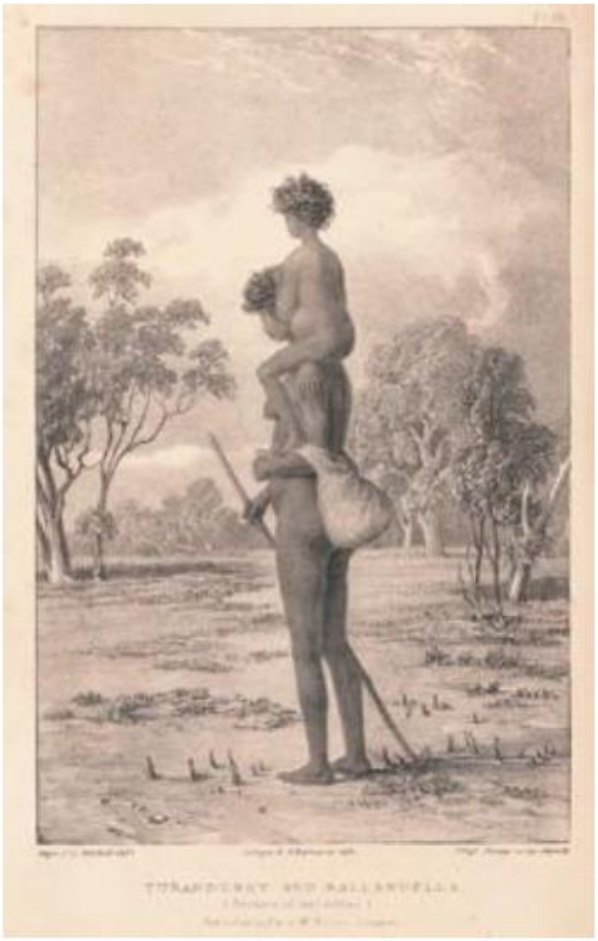
We afterwards moved forward on our journey as usual; but we had scarcely proceeded a mile before we heard the savages in our rear and, on my regaining the Murray, which we reached at about three miles, they were already on the bank of that river, a little way above where we had come upon it and consequently as we proceeded along its bank they were behind us. They kept at a considerable distance; but I perceived through

my glass that the fellow with the cloak carried a heavy bundle of spears before him.
He comes, not in peace, O Cairbar: For I have seen his forward spear.
Ossian.

CONTEXT:

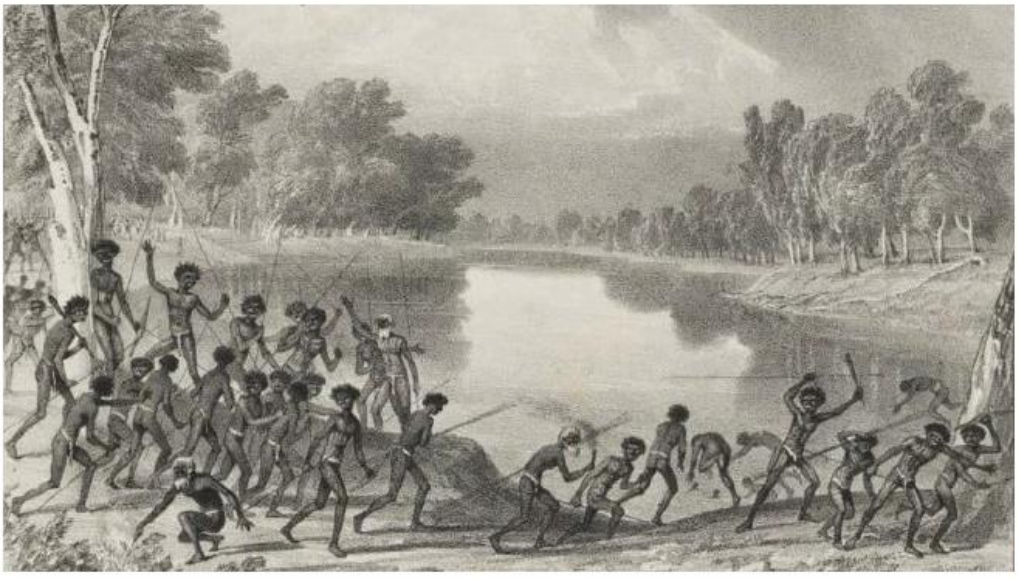
Sir Thomas Mitchell (1792–1855), ***Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia; With Descriptions of the Recently Explored Region of Australia Felix, and of the Present Colony of New South Wales.***
Volume 2. Expedition to the Rivers Darling and Murray, in the year 1836.

Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell was born in Grangemouth. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, Mitchell served in the Napoleonic Wars. He arrived in Warrane/Sydney in 1827 and was appointed Surveyor-General of the New South Wales colony in 1828. During this appointment he explored and mapped lands that had been occupied for tens of thousands of years by sovereign Indigenous nations.
In his explorations, Mitchell and his team were reliant on Indigenous guides such as John Piper, included in the expedition narrative reproduced above, and Turandurey (c. 1806–?) [pictured below, with her daughter, Ballandella. Drawn by Mitchell.]
Indicative of the combination of accommodation and resistance deployed by First Nations in so-called Australia to survive the catastrophic (and ongoing) invasion and occupation that began in 1788, Mitchell's expeditions also regularly faced fierce resistance from Indigenous nations.
Mitchell's murder of at least seven Barkindji people at a sacred site he named 'Mount Dispersion' in March 1836 led to an official inquiry, resulting in absolution for Mitchell based on an assumed Indigenous hostility. In 1839 he received a knighthood.



By Mitchell, 1836

Of Mitchell, c.1830s, artist unknown



By Mitchell