

THE PROGRESS OF WHITE SETTLEMENT IN THE
ALICE SPRINGS DISTRICT AND ITS EFFECTS
UPON THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS, 1860 - 1894

PART II

by

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE PASTORAL FRONTIER, 1872 - 1894

The notion that these portions of the Continent are unfitted for the growth of live stock will as surely pass away as did that of the early settlers in South Australia, when they imagined that the plains lying to the north of Adelaide were unfitted for agricultural purposes.

—— Northern Territory Times,
9th October, 1875.

I held the property for some years and finally was wiped out, ruined.

—— George Gilmair, 1921
C.P.P. 76/22, p.187.

These are the men who make the best settlers for any country....These are the small men who wish to grow big.

—— John Hart Egerton Warburton, 1921
C.P.P. 76/22, p.248.

I was the only protector in a thousand miles of country.

—— F.J. Gillen, 1899
S.A.P.P. 17/99, p.94.

Beginnings, 1872 - 1879

Though the seeming richness of the Top End and the great drought of the sixties had led some to believe that Central Australia would be the last part of the Northern Territory to be occupied by pastoralists, the caprice of the weather and the construction of the overland telegraph, the rapid recovery of the South Australian pastoral industry¹, and the retreat of certain tenants of the crown before a tide of South Australian credit selectors² ensured that it would be the first.³ Before the telegraph wires were joined in August 1872 William Gilbert was on his way with some 450 cattle and horses to form two runs in the MacDonnell Ranges for his father Joseph and for E.M. Bagot. Both Bagot and Gilbert were lured inland by the lushness of the Centre in 1871 and 1872; both were deceived. The pastoral frontier they pushed beyond the twenty-sixth parallel, however, was never wholly to retreat, even in the severest moods of the land; while both the proximity of the country to settlements in South Australia and the easiness of its

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1. See Chap. 2, pp. 131-2 (above); Bowes, op. cit. pp. 95-96; Meinig, op. cit. p. 22; cf. N.G. Butlin, 'The Growth of Rural Capital, 1860-1890' in Alan Barnard (Ed.), op. cit. pp. 325, 327.
 2. Concerning the pressures placed upon the South Australian pastoral industry by the agricultural frontier in the seventies see Bowes, op. cit. Chap. 8 and pp. 319-30; Buxton, op. cit. Chaps 2-4; Meinig, op. cit. pp. 26-27 and Chaps. 3, 4.
 3. But see Chap. 2, p. 128 (above).

approaches from the south relative to those from the north or east, ensured that South Australians would have a virtual monopoly of the Centre's pastoral resources for decades. Bagot and Gilbert were followed in the seventies by individuals or groups of individuals who, like themselves, believed that the inland could best be exploited by the establishment of large, heavily capitalized pastoral stations⁴ and who, with one exception, had already established such stations in South Australia. In the eighties, South Australian pastoralists who occupied new country in the Centre formed themselves into even larger groups or associations and sank even more capital into larger runs in an effort to make them pay. In the nineties, drought and depression brought about the collapse of this sort of pastoral enterprise and the Centre became a 'small man's' frontier. The Alice Springs District, it will be argued, was too marginal, fickle and isolated a pastoral country for large-scale pastoral enterprise to succeed in it. Having induced men by a show of bounty to invest large sums of capital, it rewarded them penuriously, broke their spirit and devoured their assets in a few hungry years in the early nineties and, with the aid of low prices, scared off any bank or non-banking finance company which might have rescued them. By 1894 most men of capital who had had

4. Cf. Chap. 2, p. 131 (above); S.A. Register 13.2.75, p.7 (letter by H. Scott).

experience of the Centre were convinced that it was impossible to recoup any sizeable investment there in a lifetime. The 'big' pastoralist almost everywhere gave way to the 'claypan' squatter, who came into being and subsisted by adapting his morals and economy to the exigencies of his new environment.

Nothing more adequately demonstrates that Bagot and Gilbert and the pastoralists who followed them were considerably impressed with the pastoral potential of the MacDonnell Ranges than their readiness to comply with somewhat stringent pastoral regulations. By 1872 the regulations framed in the sixties⁵ on the supposition that the fabulously rich country (as it was regarded) in the Top End would be the first part of the Northern Territory to be occupied by pastoralists had, though legislators must have been aware that the Centre would be occupied soon if not first, been made harsher yet. On the one hand, the Centre too had come to be regarded as rich pastoral country;⁶ on the other, the rapid progress of agriculture in South Australia and of hopes for agriculture in the Northern Territory had put legislators in no mood for treating pastoralists liberally.⁷

5. See Chap. 2, p. 127 (above).

6. See Chap. 3, pp. 232-3, 234-5 (above).

7. Cf. Bowes, op. cit. p. 320.

Length (twenty-five years) and security (six months) of tenure, rent (a peppercorn for seven years and 10s. for eighteen years) and stocking conditions (ten small or three great cattle) remained as in 1866, but in 1871 the system of preferential rights to leases for first applicants and a stocking period of but twelve months were introduced.⁸ The preferential system made for more orderly settlement, but, for country 800 miles distant from any market or from any port or railway, twelve months was a very short time within which to stock a run. Speaking to the second reading of the Waste Lands Act Amendment Bill in 1874, J.H. Angas took the opportunity to confess that he would have taken up a large area of pastoral country in the Centre but for this provision;⁹ there were probably others who thought like him. The only other alteration made (in 1873) to the regulations was less severe: it was provided that a lease or claim should be forfeited, unless a £25% penalty was paid, if the rent upon it was not forthcoming within thirty days (instead of sixty days, as hitherto) of its falling due.¹⁰

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8. N.T. Pastoral Regulations, 1871 in S.A. Govt. Gazette 20.7.71, pp.1071-2. See also Act 28 of 1872 ('The N.T. Land Act'), s.74; cf. Act 48 of 1876 ('The N.T. Land Amendment Act'), s.3.
 9. S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 14.7.74, col. 908. Cf. M.C.N.T. In 453/74 (R.C. Baker to M.C.N.T., 18.11.74).
 10. N.T. Pastoral Regulations, 1873 in S.A. Govt. Gazette 9.1.73, p.36.

Not surprisingly, the squatters of the seventies brought no sheep with them, stocking their country with cattle and, to lesser extent, with horses. To stock first with cattle and later with sheep was established practice among South Australian squatters moving north.¹¹ Cattle travelled better than sheep, could graze further from water, required fewer improvements and less labour, were not likely to be troubled by dingoes and, unlike wool, could be exported at little cost.¹² Moreover, the men of the overland telegraph had reported more obstacles to sheep-breeding in the Centre than to cattle-raising.¹³ Above all, the prices ruling for cattle in 1872 were extremely high. Owing to the great drought of the sixties and the change from cattle to sheep as pastoral stations became established and fencing the order of the day, the number of cattle in South Australia in 1872 was less than half of the number in 1859, whereas sheep had increased by more than 80%.¹⁴ Prices¹⁵ tapered off as cattle numbers in the colonies increased, but they were always high enough in the seventies to make cattle-raising an attractive enterprise.

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11. See Chap. 2, pp. 85, 93, 129 (above); cf. Report of the Pastoral Lands Commission, together with the Minutes of Proceedings, Evidence, and Appendices (S.A.P.P. 33/91) p.128.
 12. Cf. A.J. Giles in S.A. Register 10.12.75 (p.6) and N.T. Times 2.10.75; R. Duncan, op. cit., pp.113-16.
 13. See Chap. 3, p. 235 (above).
 14. Statistical Summary of S.A. (loc. cit.), pp.12,13. See also Chap. 2, p. 129 (above).
 15. See Appendix III.

The amount of land applied for each year,¹⁶ however, bore little relation to fluctuations in beef prices. It was probably closely associated with the general boom in pastoral investment in the eastern colonies (including South Australia) which, according to N.G. Butlin,¹⁷ rose 'from 1871 to an extreme peak in 1877 (before falling away to a trough in 1879)', being stimulated largely by high wool prices and a rapidly increasing sheep population. As far as is known, there was only one applicant (J.H. Angas) for land in the Centre prior to 1872, and he quickly withdrew his application for reasons already stated.¹⁸ In 1872 and 1873 E.M. Bagot applied for 1,100 square miles surrounding Alice Springs and present Undoolya station and a further 300 square miles surrounding Owen Springs, while Joseph Gilbert applied for 1,800 square miles surrounding Bagot's country at Owen Springs. The Owen Springs claim was transferred to W. Gilbert in 1879, thus becoming part of Joseph Gilbert's run.¹⁹

In 1874 there were two applicants for a total of some

16. See Appendix II.

17. Art. cit. in Barnard, op. cit. pp.325-327; cf. Duncan, op. cit. p.136.

18. See p. 285 (above); S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 12.8.91, col.705.

19. See Appendix II; C.A.O., C.P. 811, N.T.Dr.1 (plan); G.R. In A 2167/77; M.C.N.T. IN 132/72, 6 401/74, 183/77. Gilbert forfeited 900 sq. mls. within a few years.

800 square miles in the Mann and Petermann Ranges and on the Finke River south of the Junction, but neither subsequently made any attempt to stock his country.²⁰ Already by this time prospective and actual claimholders were growing dissatisfied with the pastoral regulations and administrative arrangements, and at least five of them demanded that applications might be made in Adelaide as well as in Palmerston,²¹ and that stocking conditions should be relaxed and the stocking period lengthened.²² Cabinet acceded to these requests early in December 1874, approving regulations which allowed claimholders three years in which to stock their runs with two great or ten small cattle and which provided that applications might

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20. See Appendix II, M.C.N.T.In 60/77; G.R.In A1170/75; Plan Shewing the Leased Country Adelaide and Port Darwin Telegraph Line [C.1877] (copy in my possession). Grant and Stokes applied for 400 sq.mls., Ernest Giles for 750 sq.mls. and H. Scott for some 2,000 sq.mls. in 1874, but their applications were not granted until 1875-76 (see M.C.N.T.In 312/74, 450/74, 499/74, 334/76, 443/76; G.R.In A 651/75; M.C.N.T.Out 3.2.75).
21. In order to avoid confusion it had originally been decided that applications should be received in Palmerston only (see Chap.2, p.¹²⁷ above) but this system, owing to unreliable ocean-mail services and the disorganized state of the administration in Palmerston (see Chap. 2, p.¹²⁷ above), led to intolerable delay for applicants in Adelaide in receiving acknowledgement of their applications (see, e.g. M.C.N.T.In 401/74, 542/75).
22. M.C.N.T.In 453/74. Cf. M.C.N.T.In 376/72; ————Out, 27.11.72 (Deering to Gilbert).

be lodged in Adelaide.²³

'If land is not worth taking up for pastoral purposes ...on the terms now set forth,' wrote the editor of the Register,²⁴ 'it is not worth taking up at all.' Undoubtedly, it was partly owing to this liberalization of the pastoral laws that the area applied for in 1875 and 1876 was considerably in excess of that applied for in any previous year.²⁵ But while the new regulations benefitted the bona fide²⁶ squatter, they created greater opportunities for the speculator: the success of Bagot and Gilbert in stocking their runs and successful overlanding in the early seventies had considerably increased the estimated value of the central

23. M.C.N.T.In 453/74 (Cabinet minute 8.12.74); S.A. Govt. Gazette 31.12.74, pp.2515-6. The new system of receiving applications at either side of the continent in its turn led to confusion (as was originally feared) - see, e.g., M.C.N.T.In 598/78; G.R.In A 3984 - until in 1880 the Govt. Resident was instructed to send regular returns of all land held under application to the Adelaide office (see M.C.N.T.In 164/80, 358/80, 246/81).

24. 11.1.75, p.4.

25. See Appendix II.

26. The term 'bona fide' is used here and elsewhere in this Chapter to distinguish those applicants who made efforts to stock their country from those (the 'speculators') who made no such efforts. It is a somewhat arbitrary distinction, for some of the applicants who made efforts to stock and failed may have intended to make a short-term speculative investment, while some of those who made no effort may have intended, at the time of applying, to stock their country; it is however, as precise as my sources allow. Of those who succeeded in stocking their runs none proved themselves 'speculators' by attempting to dispose of them on a rising market.

country, and the speculator was now given an additional two years to realize a profit on it. In 1875 A.J. Giles, over-landing with his brother, visited Bagot's and Gilbert's runs and declared a large part of them 'the finest grazing country in Australia';²⁷ which was one of the reports that convinced the editor of the Northern Territory Times²⁸ that: 'The notion that these portions of the Continent are unfitted for the growth of live stock will as surely pass away as did that of the early settlers of South Australia, when they imagined that the plains lying to the north of Adelaide were unfitted for agricultural purposes.'

Among the speculators was Ernest Giles, who tried to recoup himself for money and effort expended during his explorations. In 1875 he successfully applied for 970 square miles of country discovered by himself west-south-west of Alice Springs, and in 1876, after requesting in vain that the Government grant him 2,000 square miles free of rent in the Musgrave Ranges, he secured 940 square miles in the same area. Though he made no effort to stock his country, the Government, in recognition of his services, granted him extensions amounting to three years, and in 1881 allowed him another three years in which to dispose of his claims

27. N.T. Times 2.10.75; S.A. Register 10.12.75, p.6.
28. 9.10.75. Quoted in S.A. Register 27.12.75.

at a profit.²⁹ On the whole, however, (though the Government adopted a lenient attitude towards bona fide squatters) claimholders who made no attempt to stock their country could hope for little mercy and were forced to transfer their claims within three years or forfeit.³⁰ At least 2,000 square miles of the land taken up in 1875-76, apart from Giles's 1,910 square miles, was transferred to bona fide pastoralists within three years. During the same period pastoralists who subsequently demonstrated that they were bona fide applied for 7,741 square miles,³¹ and it may thus be said that within three years over half of the land applied for in 1875-76 had been secured by squatters who made efforts to stock it. Of this, F.A. Grant and F.W. Stokes secured 2,457 square miles on the middle Finke and Palmer rivers and in the MacDonnell Ranges west of Alice Springs, on which the stations Mt. Musgrave-Engoordina-Idracowra and Glen Helen were subsequently formed; E.W. Parke and C.H. Walker took up 1,630 square miles on the Finke south of the James Range (Henbury); and Gilmour, Hendry and Melrose successfully applied for 1,340 square miles (Mount Burrell). In addition, E.M. Bagot took up 600 square miles near Alice Springs, which in 1877-81 were transferred, together with the other 1,100 square miles

29. M.C.N.T.In 450/74, 160/77, 232/77, 86/79, 490/79, 92/80, 73/81; M.C.N.T.Out 28.5.77, 28.5.79; S.A.P.Ps. 80/80 (p.1), 114/77 (p.1); G.R.In A3255/78, A352/79.

30. Cf. Appendix II; Duncan, op. cit. pp.355-6.

31. Appendix II.

held by him, to Andrew Tennant and John and Robert Love, well-established pastoralists of Port Lincoln.³²

At the end of January 1877 the following claims and leases were held in the Centre:

Table 5: Country Held under Application and Lease,
January 1877³³

Lessee or Applicant	Year applied for	Area held under application (sq.mls.)	Area held under lease (sq.mls.)	Location
E.M.Bagot	{1872 1873 1876	1400	600	Near & N.W. of Alice Springs (Undoolya) & S.W. of Alice Springs (Owen Springs)
J. Gilbert	1872	-	900	W. & S.W. of Alice Springs (Owen Springs)
R.C.Baker	1874	600	-	Mann & Petermann Ranges.
E. Giles	{1875 1876	1910 ³⁴	-	George Gills & Krichauff Ranges
{F.A. (Grant & F.W. (Stokes	1875 1876	2257	-	West of Alice Springs (Glen Helen); Finke, Hugh & Palmer Rivers (Idracowra)
W. Malcolm	1875	1594	-	North of Alice Springs
H. Scott	1875	2028 ³⁵	-	Hugh & Finke Rivers; E. of Charlotte Waters
{C.H. (Walker E.W. (Parke	1876	1330	-	Upper Finke River (Henbury)
J. Crompton	1876	1250	-	N.E. & E. of Alice Springs;

(See p.292a)

Table 5 (Cont.)

Lessee or Applicant	Year applied for	Area held under application (sq.mls.)	Area held under lease (sq.mls.)	Location
J.Crompton (cont.)				N.W. of Charlotte Waters
T.McT. Gibson	1876	1620	-	Surrounding Barrow Creek & Central Mount Stuart
R.E. Warburton	1876	300	-	Near Charlotte Waters
TOTAL		14289	1500	

References for p.292

32. See Appendix II; G.R.In A 651/75, A 684/75, A 685/75, A 1175/75, A 1300/75, A 1320/75, A 1329/75, A 1344/76, A 1659/76, A 4622/81; M.C.N.T.In 312/74, 499/74, 347/75, 160/77; S.A.P.Ps 80/80 (p.1), 119/82 (p.13); N.T. Times & Govt. Gaz. 10.2.77, p.2; Cancelled and Surrendered Pastoral Leases, 1886-1903 (C.A.O., N.T.A. unnumbered); Cockburn, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp.140-41.
33. M.C.N.T.In 160/77. 1340 sq. mls. applied for by Gilmour, Hendry and Melrose (see p. 291, above) and still held in 1882 (S.A.P.P. 112/82, p.13) for some unaccountable reason does not appear on this list. Cf. N.T. Times 12.2.76, p.3. The position of most of these claims is also indicated on Plan Shewing Leased Country Adel. & P.D. Telegr. Line (loc. cit.).
34. This country, together with 1242 sq. mls. subsequently secured by Giles, was acquired by D.W.H. Patterson in 1883 and subsequently stocked as part of Tempe Downs (p.336, below; M.C.N.T.In 405/84, 749/84).
35. Much of this country was subsequently acquired by the lessees of Mt. Burrell (G.R.In A 5281/82; M.C.N.T. In 529/78).

In 1877 the wave of optimism concerning the northern pastoral country crested and a flood of applications flowed into the Palmerston and Adelaide Land Offices. Late in June a leader appeared in the Register³⁶ declaring that the pastoral potential of this country was enormous.

'Nerved by past successes in subduing the desert', it ran, 'the pioneer sees no limit to what may be accomplished if only the Legislature will lend their aid'. Precisely how much land was applied for in the Centre is unknown, but the figure supplied in Appendix II (37,785 square miles) may be taken as minimal.³⁷ It is probable, however, that most of the applicants were speculators who forfeited their land within three years. This appears to have been the case in the Top End too, so that in December 1877 the harassed Minister authorized the Government Resident to decline applic-³⁸ ations where he was satisfied that their object was speculative. Only some 4,740 square miles³⁹ are known to have been secured in the Centre by pastoralists who subsequently demonstrated that they were bona fide, and it is probable that much of it was never stocked.

In 1878 the boom subsided somewhat, but there again appears to have been a large element of speculation. Of the

36. 23.6.77, p.4.

37. Cf. Duncan, *op. cit.* pp.60,73.

38. M.C.N.T. In 585/77 (minute by M.C.N.T., 7.12.77); G.R. In A2454. Cf. S.A.P.D. (H.of A.) 22.9.80, cols. 1094-5; Duncan, *op. cit.* pp.60, 74-76, 106.

39. See Appendix II; G.R. In A2433/77, A2480/77; S.A.P.Ps. 80/80 (p.1), 119/82 (p.14).

18,000 square miles (approx.) applied for only some 2,275 square miles were secured by bona fide pastoralists, all of which was added to runs already existing.⁴⁰ And in the following year only 2,155 square miles were applied for, 300 square miles being added to Henbury.⁴¹

One reason for the subsidence in the boom may have been that all known (and much unknown) country in the Centre had by this time been taken up. In the one instance where unknown country was secured by bona fide squatters - Grant and Stokes's claims west of Alice Springs in the MacDonnell Ranges - an explorer was quickly sent out to examine it: in the latter half of 1875 R.E. Warburton, believing the Finke Gorge (from Giles's account) to be impassable, travelled along the northern side of the MacDonnells in his own and his father's footsteps and succeeded in penetrating to the heart of the ranges by following the Dashwood Creek. From there he reached the head of the Finke, and named Glen Helen Gorge.⁴² But apart from this expedition no efforts were made to locate new country between 1874 (when Giles left the Centre) and 1878. Speculators often had to be

40. See Appendix II.

41. Ibid.

42. Charles Chewings, Back in the Stone Age: The Natives of Central Australia (Sydney, 1936) pp.v,vi; S.A. Register 15.10.75; N.T. Times 22.5.75; M.C.N.F. In 312/74.

content to see their names occupying blank rectangles on the map, while bona fide pastoralists were intent on examining and stocking claims already held.

In 1877, however, the Government decided to have the valuable Herbert (Georgina) River country, which Queensland squatters were again occupying, surveyed and the eastern boundary of the Northern Territory determined; and sent out the Herbert River and North Eastern Exploring Expedition under Herbert Vere Barclay and Charles Winnecke, instructing them to travel through the Centre selecting sites for trigonometrical stations and exploring the largely unknown country north-east of Alice Springs. In July 1877 they left Adelaide with eight men, Barclay a roving and unpredictable Lancastrian in his early thirties, Winnecke a lean and large-boned South Australian of twenty-two years and German parentage, and on 16th November reached Alice Springs. After some preliminary skirmishings in the neighbouring country they split forces on 31st January 1878, Winnecke being detailed to carry on a trigonometrical survey around Alice Springs, Barclay to explore towards the Herbert River.⁴³

43. See S.A. Register 10.1.79; C. Winnecke, Journal of the Herbert River and North-Eastern Exploring Expedition 1877-81 (S.A.A. 1471 - the original; S.A.P.P. 121/82) entries for 13.7.77, 16.11.77, 31.1.78; [H.V. Barclay], Journal of Mr. Barclay's Explorations (S.A.P.P. 209/78), entry for 31.1.78; E. Favenc, op. cit. (1908), p.229; J.J. Pascoe (Ed.), History of Adelaide and Vicinity with a General Sketch of the Province of South Australia and Biographics of Representative Men. (Adelaide, 1901) p.582.

Barclay left Alice Springs with three men, a black boy, horses and an express wagon. Why the Government did not supply him with camels after the success of explorers who had used them earlier in the decade is a mystery. With horses and a cumbersome wagon it took him a month to find a pass through the western end of the Strangways Range and reach the Mueller and Gillen creeks; and then he found that he had to return for provisions, which the Government had been rather remiss in forwarding, and for more horses. He left his old camp on the Gillen on 28th March and on the 29th cut the upper Plenty River. From then on the party was plagued with mishaps. Barclay fell from his horse and for days thereafter coughed blood from an internal injury; one of his men had two ribs broken by a bucking horse; another contracted scurvy. On 23rd April the Marshall River was discovered and Barclay decided to set up a base-camp on it and to send two of his men (Pfitzner and Edwards) to follow it in the hope that it would lead them to the north or north-east. Pfitzner and Edwards soon found that the river turned south, but explored almost to the border before returning. Taking Pfitzner with him, Barclay now headed north, but on 28th May, soon after crossing the twenty-second parallel, turned back for want of water. Arriving at his camp on the Marshall, he found his stock of provisions running low, decided to abandon the expedition temporarily and headed for Alice Springs.⁴⁴ He

44. See Barclay, Journal 1878, entries for dates mentioned in text and passim.

He did not return; it is probable that he was relieved of his position. Upon reaching Adelaide, he vanished and was not heard of again for eighteen months.⁴⁵ He had failed to find a route to the Herbert River, and had taken a long time in failing. He discovered a good deal of pastoral country, however, and reported favourably, sometimes very favourably, on much of it.⁴⁶ In addition, Pfitzner and Edwards discovered a possible route for livestock in a good season from western Queensland to the Centre.⁴⁷ But the year 1878 was a fair season,⁴⁸ and a general absence of surface water was to keep most of the new country unoccupied for the remainder of the century.

Charles Winnecke received charge of the whole party and equipment on 31st July 1878. While Barclay was endeavouring to reach the Herbert, he had converted some fifty hills into trigonometrical stations from Mt. Polhill in the south to Central Mount Stuart and mountains in the Reynolds Ranges, from Mt. Giles in the west to Mt. Ultim in the north-east. In February he had gone east from Alice Springs, then north-east along the Waite River, and it was probably on this trip that he discovered the Hale and Bundey Rivers. In July he had travelled all the way to the Reynolds

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45. See S.A. Police Gazette, 29.6.81 (p.119), 12.10.81 (p.193).
46. See his Journal, passim.
47. This 'route' was used once only in the nineteenth century (see below, pp.333-4).
48. See Appendix I. Barclay was delayed by rain on a number of occasions.

Ranges and the Lander and, after piling some hills, had returned to Alice Springs via the Stuart Bluff Range. Upon receiving sole command of the expedition he headed down the Waite with three men and a blackboy, and then down the Sand-over River in September in an effort to reach the Herbert. On 20th September he arrived at a spot near Central Mount Hawker where Barclay had indicated that permanent water existed. He found no water, drank the blood of a horse, turned back, contracted scurvy, and early in November covered the remaining 120 miles to Alice Springs walking and riding by turn after losing a number of horses and leaving every soakage north-east of the Burt dry.⁴⁹

The second attempt to reach the Herbert River having failed, the Surveyor General instructed Winnecke to try starting from Tennant Creek. After spending three months waiting at Alice Springs for provisions to arrive from the south, Winnecke arrived at Tennant Creek in April 1879 and from there easily made the Herbert. Having completed his survey-work, he cut across from Lake Nashe to the Jervois Range and the Plenty River in May 1880 'thus forming a connection with Mr. Barclay's work.'⁵⁰ From there he had intended to proceed directly to Alice Springs, but his plans were thwarted by scurvy and a dearth of waters. Retracing his steps, he reached Barrow Creek early in November and set out

49. See Winnecke, Journal 1877-81, entries for dates mentioned in text and entries 31.7. - 9.11.78, passim.

50. Winnecke, Journal 1877-81, entry for 12.6.80.

for Adelaide, making a check survey of the overland telegraph as he went. He left Charlotte Waters in February 1881.⁵¹ Not until the arrival of Alan Davidson in 1898 was the Centre to greet so competent a surveyor or explorer again.⁵² Winnecke discovered good pastoral country on the Bunday, the Sandover and especially on the Hale; and his trigonometrical work was to prove of great value in the difficult task of establishing boundaries of pastoral runs and later of 'ruby', gold and mica claims east of Alice Springs.

Meanwhile, the stocking of the Finke and Hugh River valleys ^{and} of the MacDonnell Ranges had proceeded steadily. For the most part it was performed by pastoralists, singly or in groups, who were already well established in South Australia proper, and may be regarded as an extension of South Australia's northern pastoral frontier. The frontier must not, however, be thought of as gradually moving northwards; it jumped from Peake and the Macumba to Alice Springs, picking the eyes out of the country, and then occupied the

51. See Winnecke, Journal 1877,-81, entries for 9.11.78,-25.2.81, passim; C.A.O. C.P.811 NTR & NTR A-H. For
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briefer accounts of the work of Barclay and Winnecke see Threadgill, op. cit. p.168; Holmes, op. cit. pp.77-79.
52. Winnecke himself returned in 1883 and 1894 (see pp. 326-7 and Chap. 6, pp. 569-70 below). Cf. H.V. Barclay, 'Roughing It in Central Australia: The Fascination of Exploring' in Australasian Life, Nov.1907, p.442.

the better parts of the intervening space.⁵³

William Gilbert arrived in the MacDonnell Ranges early in 1873. Born in 1800, the second son of an old landed family in the Vale of Pewsey (Wiltshire), his father had, against the wishes of his grandfather, come to South Australia in 1838 equipped with a frame house and the cash value of the portion which was to be his, and in the following year had secured, together with Edward Rowland, a special survey of 15,000 acres in the Barossa Valley. This he had turned into a beautiful sheep and wine-growing property, naming it 'Pewsey Vale' and prospering exceedingly. There William was born; and after being sent to England to complete his education at Clifton and Cambridge, was recalled by his father in 1870 to help manage the family properties. His father had meanwhile secured Orriecowrie run on Yorke Peninsula and now decided, since the run was to be resumed for credit selection, to move its 1,500 cattle and horses to the MacDonnell Ranges.⁵⁴ E.M. Bagot,⁵⁵ who had in 1870 converted Phillip Levi's old Mount Margaret-Umbum run into

53. Cf. Duncan, op. cit. pp.63,87-88, 411; N.T. Times 17.2.76, p.3; Chapman, op. cit. pp.72,89; Holmes, op. cit. pp.160-61 (but some details of his account are inaccurate).

54. Cockburn, op. cit. pp.24-25; S.A.A. 1384/48. A report (in S.A.A. 1384/48) by a descendant of Joseph Gilbert that William Gilbert induced his father to take up country in the MacDonnell Ranges after he had visited it in company with two troopers in search of a party of missing men and cattle is probably a fable; the report is inaccurate in other respects and there is no record of Gilbert's visit in the overland telegraph records.

55. For biographical details see Chapter 3, pp.191 (above); R. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. 2, pp.24-25; Davies, Biographical Cuttings, Vol. 27, pp.126-45.

the Peake cattle-station, and who had become convinced that squatting in the MacDonnell Ranges would be profitable, joined him in the enterprise. Both partners, however, remained in the city and directed much of their correspondence from the Adelaide Club, while W. Gilbert roughed it in the bush to supervise the venture. Finding the country to the north dry and his cattle weak when he arrived on the Macumba in November 1872, W. Gilbert decided to form a run on that river and use it as a half-way house to the MacDonnells.⁵⁶ Early in 1873 he was seen by Alfred Giles erecting a log hut at Owen Springs (on Bagot's claim).⁵⁷ This was the first homestead formed in the Centre, Undoolya the second. The cattle and horses reached the central ranges at least by April and were shortly followed by several more mobs; so that by October 1874 there were 3,200 great cattle on the two runs. This was, however, 3,700⁵⁸ short of the

56. M.C.N.T. In 376/72. In 1874-75 Gilbert stocked the Macumba run with horses, but in 1876 the waters failed and all the animals were sent to Owen Springs. Early in the eighties he and Edward Belt stocked it again (with cattle), but later in the decade sold it to Grant and Stokes, who abandoned it in 1893. (See A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.51; S.A. Register, 5.10.75; R. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. 2, p.35).

57. A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.48.

58. 6,400 more great cattle would have been required to stock all the land actually held; but Gilbert had by this time decided to surrender 900 sq. mls. (M.C.N.T. In 401/74, 253/75).



PLATE 18

'Old' Owen Springs
The site of the first homestead in the Centre

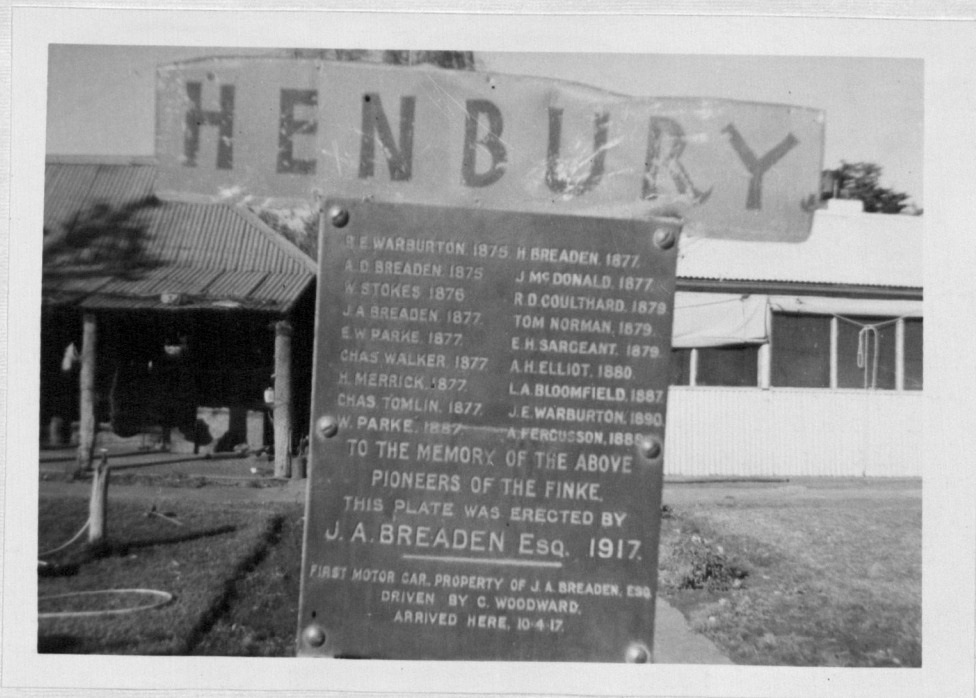


PLATE 19

number required by the pastoral regulations, and the time for stocking had long since expired. Fortunately, the Government declined to enforce forfeiture, and late in 1874, as we have seen, increased the stocking period by two years and decreased the number of great cattle required for every square mile by one. Even then Gilbert in June 1875 had to ask for six months' extension on some of his country. 'I think it is very desirable to give every reasonable encouragement to the pioneers of pastoral settlement in the Northern Territory', wrote the Minister concerning this application, 'and subject to the opinion of the Hon. Attorney General as to the legality of the concession, I recommend that it be granted.'⁵⁹ The concession was not legal, for the regulations in no way provided for it, but Cabinet approved it⁶⁰ and was to approve many a similar application until it became legal in November 1881.⁶¹ By December 1874 600 square miles (Undoolya) had been declared stocked, by November 1875 a further 900 square miles (Owen Springs), and by 1876 a total of 2,300 square miles belonging to both runs. Leases 1-2 and 16-17 (Undoolya) and 3-6 (Owen Springs) were issued in 1876-78. W. Gilbert left the Centre in 1874 or 1875 and a manager was hired for each station. An

59. M.C.N.T. In 253/75.

60. Ibid (Cab. min. 10.6.75).

61. See pp. 318-9 (below) and Duncan, op. cit. pp. 355-6; also, e.g. M.C.N.T. Out 28.5.77, 7.11.78; M.C.N.T. In 529/78, 334/79, 467/79, 477/79.

outstation of Undoolya was subsequently built on Loves Creek.⁶²

Bagot and Gilbert have left no record of the reasons why they chose to form runs on country in the vicinity of Alice Springs rather than elsewhere in the Centre, but their motives are easy to surmise. Duncan has argued that the location of settlement in the seventies was largely determined by the reports of Stuart and the explorers of 1872-74. 'The settlers of the 'seventies', he wrote, 'all took up land which had been praised by Stuart, Giles or Gosse.'⁶³ Of these explorers, however, none had reported on the Undoolya country and only Stuart had visited Owen Springs. Just as the reports of the men of the overland telegraph had attracted the attention of South Australian pastoralists to the Centre after the great drought of the sixties,⁶⁴ so they probably determined, in part, the location of the first two runs formed. Moreover, Bagot and Gilbert were probably influenced by the fact that the Undoolya and Owen Springs country was close to the route from the south which the construction of the overland telegraph opened up

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62. See G.R.In A977/75, A1388/75, A1483/76, A3169/78; M.C.N.T.In 183/77, 320/77, 588/78; M.C.N.T.Out 12.6.76; S.A.P.P. 119/82, p.12; Todd, Notebook 1872, entry for 31.7.72; A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., pp.47-51; H.Y.L. Brown, Report on Arltunga Gold-field etc. (S.A.P.P. 127/96) Map I (re Loves Creek); Duncan, op. cit. pp.56-57.
63. Duncan, op. cit. p.145. See also ibid. pp.57,60,83.
64. See Chap. 3, pp.232-5 (above).

and to a telegraph station which could be used as a depot for supplies and from which they could be kept informed about their enterprise. Similar considerations, together with the reports of the men of the overland telegraph, probably influenced the location of other runs as much as the reports of explorers.

Whatever the considerations that moved them to locate their runs in the central MacDonnell Ranges, Bagot and Gilbert found themselves in possession of the best-watered country in the Centre, which, in its virgin state, was clothed with a fine array of grasses, cotton- and salt-bush and edible shrubs. 'Grass up to one's knees, abundance of fresh water at convenient distances all over the run, fine timber, and lofty hills', wrote 'An Overlander' concerning the Owen Springs run in 1875, 'make it one of the most desirable squatting properties I have ever seen.'⁶⁵ Some of the squatters who followed them had to be satisfied with less well-watered runs, all with runs further removed from a telegraph station. In 1877-78 Parke and Walker stocked Henbury and Grant and Stokes Idracowra and Glen Helen. Alexander William Thorold Grant was sent to South Australia in 1837 from Normandy, whither his father, an ex-M.P., had retired after squandering two fortunes, to attempt to redeem his family's position. Having prospered as a sheep farmer

65. S.A. Register, 2.4.75.

between Adelaide and Gawler, he 'sent home' for his younger brother, Frederick, and together they went into the pastoral business in a big way. By the early fifties they^{had} become well established at Coonatto in the lower Flinders, with F.W. Stokes, brother of Lieutenant-General Sir John Stokes, as manager. In 1860 Stokes was admitted into the partnership, as was Henry Le Strange in the mid-seventies.⁶⁶ By purchasing a property in the south-east the firm was able to avoid overwhelming loss during the great drought of the sixties. Coonatto became famous as a run where a shearing might involve upwards of 100,000 sheep and Grant and Stokes developed into one of the biggest pastoral concerns in the colony. In 1875, however, Coomatto was resumed for agricultural purposes, and the firm, in an effort to maintain its position, and on the advice of Major Warburton, decided to extend its activities into Central Australia.⁶⁷ The Major's son, as we have seen, was sent to examine the country in the western MacDonnells. For three consecutive years mobs of 600 cows were sent up, Stephen Jarvis, managed of Mt. Margaret for P. Levi until 1867 and an officer during the construction of the overland telegraph, being in charge of the whole

66. After Le Strange entered the firm A.W.T. Grant held $\frac{3}{8}$ interest in it, F.A. Grant $\frac{3}{8}$; F.W. Stokes $\frac{1}{8}$ and H. Le Strange $\frac{1}{8}$ (R. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. 1, p.65).

67. See Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. 1, pp.64-65. Report of Brought Commission (loc. cit.) p.19; Adel. Observer, 10.8.89, p.56.

stocking operation; but only 1,200 reached their destination.⁶⁸ By August 1876 R.E. Warburton had formed the first homestead on Idracowra run at Mt. Musgrave,⁶⁹ while A.D. Breaden built a homestead on the banks of the Ormiston Creek some one and a half miles from Glen Helen Gorge and became the first manager of Glen Helen station.⁷⁰ By 1880 some 4,000 cattle and 300 horses were grazing on the two runs, and leases had been obtained for 3,034 square miles.⁷¹

Little is known of Edmund Parke prior to his appearance in the Centre, nothing of Charles Walker. Parke was a well-educated scion of a landed English family - probably a younger son - who was sent to South Australia with a modest supply of capital to make his fortune.⁷² He and Walker, like R.E. Warburton in the eighties, were the only pastoralists in the

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68. S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 22.9.80, col. 1094; M.C.N.T. In 562/77; A.V. Purvis in Centralian Advocate 28.1.1955 (p.8), 25.3.1955 (pp.8-9); Report of Drought Commission (loc. cit.) pp.38-40. Cf. S.A. Register 5.10.75; A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.98.
69. This was abandoned in the mid-eighties and another homestead built 19 miles up the Finke at Udratnamma waterhole. In the late eighties or early nineties this in turn was abandoned and another built at the site (Bundooma) of the present Idracowra homestead. (Information gleaned on fieldwork and from Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol. 1, p.1049; Winnecke, Journal of Horn Expedition, entries for 22.5.94, 24.5.94, A.V. Purvis in Centralian Advocate, 26.11.1954, p.8; C.A.O., CP 811, NTR F.)
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70. S.A. Register, 5.4.1928; C. Chewings, 'The Sources of the Finke River' in Adel. Observer 1886, Vol. 1, p.42. In 1886 a new homestead was built on a tributary of the Davenport some twenty-five miles west of Glen Helen Gorge (Prot. Abos. In, 191/86; W.H. Tietkens, Journal (loc. cit.) map appended and entry for 1.4.89).
71. S.A.P.Ps. 80/80 (p.1), 53.87 (p.1); M.C.N.T. In 292/80; G.R. In A 2991.
72. Miss C. Parke, personal communication.

Centre in the seventies. who did not have roots in the pastoral industry in South Australia; and, like Warburton, they may be regarded as intermediaries between the 'big' men of the seventies and eighties and the 'small' men who became established after drought and depression in the nineties. In 1876 they visited the country they had taken out on the upper Finke and on Ellerys Creek, and decided to stock it. By late 1876 they had reached Dalhousie Springs with 400 cows, where they were detained some months by dry weather. They arrived at Ellerys Creek on 30th August 1877 and began to build a homestead at a spot just before the creek enters the Krichauff Ranges.⁷³ In 1879 500 more cattle arrived. Only in 1883, however, were they able to declare all the country they held in 1879 (2,130 square miles) fully stocked and to have leases issued for it.⁷⁴

The last station to be formed on country taken up in the seventies was Mt. Burrell (Gilmour, Hendry and Melrose). Both Gilmour and Melrose were sheep farmers at Mt. Pleasant, east of Adelaide. In 1879 they sent Gilmour's teenage son

73. In about 1886 the homestead was shifted to its present site on the Finke near Chandlers Range. (S.A. Register 29.5.1928. Cf. Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol.2, p.90; A.S.Pol.Jl., entry for 22.7.88).

74. See Luth. Kirchenbote 24/77, p.90; Hermannsburger Missionsblatt 3/80, p.44; S.A.P.Ps. 80/80 (p.1), 28/91 (p.9); M.C.N.T. In 651/78, 477/79, 779/82; G.R. In A 3570/79, A 5115/81; W.H. Willshire, The Aborigines of Central Australia, with Vocabularies of the Dialects spoken by the Natives of Lake Amadeus and of the Western Territory of Central Australia (Adelaide, 1891) p.10.

George, who evidently also had an interest in the partnership, to examine the 1,340 square miles they had taken up on the Hugh. By October 1879 he had returned and had again reached the Peake, this time with 500 young cattle of mixed sexes from Mt. Pleasant. The stocking time had already been extended, but the Minister, observing that the partnership was bona fide and that the track north of the Peake was dry, extended it to five years in all. Not until 1882, when it is probable that 1,500 sheep Gilmour is known to have sent to Mr. Burrell arrived, was the run declared stocked. George Gilmour remained on the station and managed it, building a homestead some ten miles up the Hugh from the present Maryvale homestead.⁷⁵

Meanwhile, in 1878, Dr. W.J. Browne, a pastoralist with extensive holdings in the south-east and the Flinders Ranges, had started an expedition to Newcastle Waters and the Katherine River which, according to an inland saying, could have fitted any of the expeditions previously seen in the Centre into its packbags. Some forty men (many of whom had helped to construct the overland telegraph, including A.T. Woods, leader of the expedition), 150 horses, 2,500 cattle in mobs of 500 each and 20,000 sheep crossed the Northern Territory border at Charlotte Waters in August 1878. The

75. See M.C.N.T.In 529/78, 467/79; C.P.P. 76/22, p.187; G.R.In A 5221/82, A 5281/82; Adel. Observer 14.4.94 (p.31), 30.6.94 (p.6); R. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. I, p.38; cf. S.A.P.P. 53/87, p.1.

expedition included a large number of drays and wagons loaded with provision, ploughs and a scoop for hollowing out trenches which were converted into troughing with the aid of tarpaulins, and a well-sinking party; and it was even equipped with its own machinery for the administration of justice: two of the party were specially sworn in as J.Ps., and Woods as a Special Magistrate. The sheep remained at Charlotte Waters seventy-eight days in the shearing. From there the expedition straggled out across the Centre, following the Finke instead of the Hugh for much of the way, for the latter river did not contain sufficient water. By January 1879 Alfred Giles, crossing the continent for the sixth time, was in the lead at Alice Springs with 6,000 wethers. The expedition had been timed for the summer rains, but skies were still vacant. Pushing on north of Alice Springs, Giles travelled his sheep ^{by} night across a dry stage of 100 miles to Annas Reservoir, where he watered them in small mobs (for the entrance to the reservoir did not permit of large numbers) and on the eighth night lay down for a well-earned sleep. And then rains visited the whole of the Centre. Stranded parties of men and animals moved again on the Finke and in the ranges, and by August 1879 had reached their destination. Three runs were formed (Newcastle Waters, Glencoe and Springvale), and the bold experiment of breeding sheep in the tropics on a large scale commenced. It proved a disastrous failure, and

the runs were soon converted into cattle- and horse-stations.⁷⁶ Browne had shown that large mobs of livestock could be driven through the Centre if the weather was kind, the drover expert and expenditure lavish, but the results of his enterprise did not encourage squatters to venture into the Top End from the south. That territory was to become the preserve of Queensland pastoralists.⁷⁷ No stocking expedition ever again passed north through the Centre.

By 1860 herds containing a goodly proportion of females had occupied much of the best pastoral country in the Centre, and it is probable that they maintained a fair rate of increase. The seventies were, on the whole, a decade of favourable seasons.⁷⁸ On Owen Springs, Undoolya, Glen Helen and Henbury natural waters were spaced at convenient distances over wide areas. On Idracowra and Mt. Burrell cattle were compelled to graze for much of the time within short distances of the Finke and Hugh, but the country was virgin and the numbers of stock small as yet, and when rains fell the animals could scatter all over the runs, quenching their thirst at claypans or on parakeelya. Sometimes, it was said, cattle became so fat that they could not breed,⁷⁹ but on the whole

76. See A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T. pp.61,67-136ff; N.T. Times 18.1.79, p.2; Duncan, op. cit. pp.108-9; Chapman, op. cit. p.72; Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. 1, p.31.

77. Duncan, op. cit. pp.88,144.

78. See Appendix I.

79. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.148.

the prime condition of the animals must be regarded as a factor conducive to their increase. The country was healthy for stock, the only disease affecting any of the cattle being pleuro-pneumonia;⁸⁰ but, as with the cattle of the overland telegraph construction, when this disease did appear on rare occasions it was easily stamped out. Moreover, the Aborigines still for the most part in the phase of tentative approach, indulged in little cattle-killing.⁸¹ Reliable figures are, unfortunately, scarce, but the table supplied in Appendix IV in which exports and imports are taken into account, suggests that the average rate of increase exceeded 20%. When it is remembered that, in a country where imported foodstuffs were very expensive, large quantities of beef were supplied to station-hands, and that cattle-stations sometimes supplied the telegraph stations and exploring and over-landing parties with animals for consumption, it seems reasonable to conclude that the rate of increase probably exceeded 25% - an exceptionally good rate in open range conditions.

Most of the cattle imported into the Centre in the seventies appear to have been Herefords of fair quality, at least by South Australian standards.⁸² On the other hand,

80. See A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.98; S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.9; cf. Duncan, op. cit. p.210.

81. See pp. 292-3 (below).

82. Cf. J.J. Waldron, Central Australia: The MacDonnell Ranges and surrounding country having in view the possibility of a railway extension from Oodnadatta to Alice Springs (Melbourne, 1916), p.38; Madigan, op. cit. p.65; A.Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T. p.51; N.T.Times 14.3.90. The large amounts of capital invested by pastoralists (see below, pp.376-8) further indicate that cattle were of fair quality.

once initial herds had been imported little selective breeding was carried on, largely because of the open range conditions; and few, if any stud stock were imported. The sheep and horses introduced (the former by the Department of Post and Telegraphs and the Hermannsburg missionaries⁸³) seem to have been of a decidedly inferior quality. Horses were bred on most stations for stockwork only. The chief exception was Owen Springs, which carried some 500 by 1880.⁸⁴ Even the Owen Springs horses, however, did not acquire a good reputation with the few people who bought them. 'The saddle and packhorses obtained from Owen Springs are utterly useless and unfit for this work',⁸⁵ wrote Winnecke in October 1878 after a trip down the Waite and the Sandover. Since sheep were raised for mutton only, little attention was paid to the quality of their wool. By 1880 - and the belief was to persist - it was widely held, however, that much of the Centre was suitable for woolgrowing; but also that it could never be a paying proposition unless the cost of cartage were greatly reduced.⁸⁶ Appendix IV gives a

83. See Chap. 5, p. 484 (below); Chap. 3, pp. 201, 236 (above).

84. M.C.N.T. In 292/80.

85. Winnecke, Journal 1877-81, entry for 27.10.78; cf. ibid., entries for 6.6.78, 20.8.78.

86. See, e.g., S.A. Register 10.12.75 (p.6), 2.5.91 (p.6); N.T. Times 1.10.81; Duncan op. cit. p.112; Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.) pp.61,83; S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.9; Pastl. Lds. Commn. Report (loc. cit.) pp.57,112,115,119,120,121, 123,127,151,166; F.W. Holder, Our Pastoral Industry (Adelaide, 1922; reprinted from S.A. Register) p.25.

rough indication of the numbers of sheep and horses in the Centre from 1872 to 1880. Unfortunately, owing to a dearth of precise information as to importations and the number of sheep consumed, it has been impossible to estimate percentage increases. A number of sources, however, indicate that the animals flourished.⁸⁷

Some 3,000 square miles of country had been declared stocked by 1880,⁸⁸ but it is impossible to know how much country the Centre's 13,243 cattle, 1,260 horses and 6,860 sheep⁸⁹ actually grazed. R.A. Perry⁹⁰ has estimated that of the 144,000 square miles of 'the settled country of the Alice Springs pastoral district'⁹¹ in 1956-57 only 42,000 square miles was usable for stock; that of the 42,000⁹² square miles only 2,100 or 1,300 (depending on whether cattle will walk five or three miles for fodder⁹³) was

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87. See references 86 (above) and 163 (below); Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.83 (p.6); N.T. Times 1.10.81 (letter 11.5.80).
90 - 100% lambings were claimed for sheep throughout the period 1872-94 (Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.123,166).
88. G.R.In A 977/75, A 1074/75, A 1388/76, A 2991/78, A 3348/79; M.C.N.T.In 183/77, 651/78. Much of the country being grazed had not yet been declared stocked.
89. See Appendix IV. Figures are approximate.
90. 'Present and Potential Land Use of the Alice Springs Area' in C.S.I.R.O., op. cit. pp.263-67, 276-78.
91. R.A. Perry and G.A. Stewart in ibid Part I, p.9.
92. Apart from 3,300 square miles of crown land.
93. Cattlemen maintain that they will walk 5 miles, Perry (from limited observations) that they will walk 3.

within grazing distance of natural waters; and that the provision of watering points at intervals of ten or six miles, together with active control of range condition and an efficient transport system, would perhaps enable the district to carry 450,000 or 800,000 cattle (10.7 or 19.0 per square mile) respectively without long-term degeneration of pastures. Now in 1880 there were few man-made waters in the Centre, and some of the naturally watered country had not yet been occupied. Even if we assume, however, (and the fact that some natural waters have 'disappeared' owing to extensive stocking perhaps justifies the assumption⁹⁴) that the area of land accessible to stock was as large as the area accessible from natural waters in 1956-57 we find that the country was carrying as many as 7-12 great cattle⁹⁵ per square mile. Since there was no range control in the seventies, and no efficient transport system, it seems reasonable to conclude that the country was carrying close to the maximum number of stock it could carry consistently with the maintenance of fodder resources. Seasons were fair in the seventies, however, and squatters were convinced that the pastoral potential of the country was enormous. There was still an emphasis, therefore, on building up herds to a point at which there would be a surplus for market.

94. See Chap. 1, pp. 9-10 (above).

95. A general term for horses and cattle. I have made the common assumption that 5 sheep are equivalent to 1 bullock or horse.

Not that profitable markets did not exist. Prices were good on the Adelaide market for most of the decade, and for a while exceptionally good prices were offered in Palmerston and on the Top End goldfields.⁹⁶ This latter market the owners of Undoolya, though they held much unstocked country, could not resist. Bagot consigned 100 fats to it in 1875 and a similar number in 1876; and in 1878 the new owners, Tennant and Love, sent up another mob.⁹⁷ In the following year, however, Dr. Browne's stations in the Top End began to supply this market, soon Queensland cattle began to invade the northern part of the Territory and the population on the goldfields did not increase as expected; so that in 1881 and 1882 the Government Resident was able to report that supply had equated demand.⁹⁸ The only other market availed of by squatters in the seventies has already been indicated: a few cattle and horses were supplied to the local telegraph stations, overlanders and explorers. With little chance that the demands of the local market would greatly increase, with the closing of the Top End market to Central Australian pastoralists and a drop in prices on the Adelaide market,⁹⁹ prospects for marketing the

96. Duncan, op. cit. p.214. Cf. S.A. Register 5.10.75; N.T. Times 26.12.73.

97. Numbers unknown. See A. Giles, The First Pastl. Settlement in the N.T., p.32; S.A. Register, 5.10.75, p.6; N.T. Times 25.3.76 (p.2), 8.7.76 (p.4), 5.4.79 (p.2); Duncan, op. cit. p.149.

98. M.C.N.T. In 63/81, 181/82; Duncan, op. cit. pp.213-6.

99. See Appendix III.

large herds envisaged in the eighties seemed gloomy. Furthermore, but little work had been done on the route to Adelaide since the construction of the overland telegraph¹⁰⁰ and squatters who had experienced difficulty in getting their stock into the country probably wondered how they would be able to get them out of it in good condition.

In the absence of a need for markets, by far the biggest problem facing squatters in the seventies was the cartage of supplies.¹⁰¹ The nearest railhead until late in 1879 was Port Augusta, and it was said in the same year that the rate of cartage to Owen Springs and Alice Springs was £60 a ton and had never been less.¹⁰² During dry years, owing to an inadequate supply of water along the road, rates sometimes exceeded this amount and difficulty was often experienced in obtaining supplies at the time required.¹⁰³ Bagot is reported to have spent over £30,000 on Undoolya before he sold to Tennant and Love at heavy loss in 1877,¹⁰⁴ and it is probable that a goodly proportion of this money found

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100. See Chap. 3, p. 234 (above); Todd, Report 1884 (loc. cit.) pp.135,153 (most of the wells mentioned here were sunk in 1871-72). Cf. S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 10.8.80, col. 609; Duncan, op. cit. pp.174-5 (but his account appears to be exaggerated); Chewings, art. cit. (1882) p.282. No sums appeared on the N.T. Estimates for the provision or maintenance of wells on the north-south route until 1880-81.
101. Cf. Chapman, op. cit. p.94; Duncan, op. cit. pp.340-43; S.A. Register 10.12.75, p.6.
102. See Appendix V.
103. See ibid; Chewings, art. cit. (1882) p.282; cf. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.152.
104. S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 20.11.01, p.271.

its way into the pockets of teamsters. That some expenditure on cartage could have been avoided is indubitable; it is probable that most of the stations employed more men than were required, and little use was made of Aboriginal labour.¹⁰⁵

Expansion, 1880-88.

In 1879, when runs in the Centre were not yet paying even their working expenses, the increased rental of 10s. per square mile became due on 600 square miles leased by Tennant and Love and on 900 square miles leased by J. Gilbert. Gilbert immediately wrote to the Minister requesting a reduction in rent, arguing that the pastoral regulations had been originally framed under the supposition that the first pastoral settlement would take place in the Top End and that it was grossly unfair that pastoralists in the Centre should have to pay, in addition to higher wages and cartage, a higher rental than the maximum of 2s.6d. paid by pastoralists in the north of South Australia. Tennant and Love backed up the request, but the Minister and Cabinet refused to entertain it on the grounds that such a concession would virtually entitle every pastoralist north of the MacDonnells to a reduction, whereas it was desirable to draw a line somewhere between the poor country of the south

105. See pp.346, 381 (below).

and what was regarded as the good country of the north, and that Gilbert, Tennant and Love had taken up their land in full knowledge of the future increase in rent.¹⁰⁶ When a petition bearing the signatures of fifty-six pastoralists, merchants and bankers was organized in July, however, and Central Australian squatters threatened to abandon their country if rent was increased to 10s., the Government yielded, and by October 1880 a Bill authorizing a reduction of 7s6d. had passed both Houses with little opposition.¹⁰⁷ At the same time F.W. Stokes, now a M.P., extracted from the Minister a promise to make provision in the regulations for the payment of rents in Adelaide, a promise which was kept in 1881.¹⁰⁸

Few other concessions were made to pastoralists in the eighties. In 1881 the practice of the Government since 1875 of extending the period for stocking where circumstances beyond the control of a squatter alone prevented him from

106. See Act 86 of 1877; M.C.N.T. In 190/79, 201/79.

107. An Act was necessary because Gilbert and Tennant & Love had already paid 10s. rent and authority was required to refund them 15s. in £1; otherwise the regulations might simply have been altered. See Act 179 of 1880; S.A.P.P. 69/79; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 24.9.79 (cols. 1066-7), 1.10.79 (col. 1183), 3.6.80 (col. 67), 29.7.80 (col. 534), 22.9.80 (cols. 1093-5), 28.9.80 (col. 1139), (L.C.) 28.9.90 (col. 1127), 7.10.80 (col. 1314), 8.10.80 (col. 1347); Duncan, *op. cit.* p.364.

108. See Chap. 2, p. 127 (above); G.R. In A1220/75; M.C.N.T. Out 24.8.75; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 22.9.80, col. 1095; S.A. Govt. Gaz. 28.4.81, p.1289.

getting cattle onto his land was legalized.¹⁰⁹ In 1883 notice of resumption for unstocked land was extended to twelve months and for stocked land to three years,¹¹⁰ but Northern Territory pastoralists continued to regard the resumption regulations as harsh. As J.H. Gordon pointed out in 1887, tenure, though nominally twenty-five years, was in reality only three years.¹¹¹ Few squatters feared resumption for agricultural purposes, but some feared it for a land-grant railway. Aware of the uneasiness of Northern Territory pastoralists on this score, the Minister in 1885 (Cockburn) introduced a Bill providing for fixity of tenure and compensation for improvements (concessions which had been granted in South Australia in 1884); but the House, more convinced than ever that the Northern Territory was fabulously rich pastoral country, threw it out:¹¹² one M.P. even declared that the Northern Territory

109. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 1.12.81, p.1613. The Surveyor General (Goyder) may have been largely responsible for this practice and its legalization. See his minute (24.4.84) to a new Minister in M.C.N.T. In 386/84 and cf. the influence Bowes (op. cit. pp.133-40) ascribes to him. In 1882 all N.T. pastoral laws were brought within the scope of one Act (271 of 1882, 'The N.T. Crown Lands Consolidation Act, 1882').

110. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 6.9.83, p.813.

111. M.C.N.T. In 168/87. See also Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.127,140; Duncan, op. cit. pp.375-6.

112. See S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 7.7.85 (col. 193), 14.7.85 (col. 260), 30.7.85 (col. 410), 6.8.85 (col. 476), 2.12.85 (col. 1757).

was 'one of the finest pastoral countries in the world.'¹¹³

Fortunately for pastoral enterprise in the Centre, cattle prices, especially after 1882, were buoyant. Again, however, there is no apparent connexion between prices and the amount of land applied for.¹¹⁴ The number of applications for land were probably closely related to the 'short boom and sharp slump'¹¹⁵ in pastoral investment during 1880-82 and the boom in pastoral real estate, which reached a peak in 1881-83, in South Australia and the eastern colonies.¹¹⁶ Local conditions, however, continued to play a part. In 1880 some 3,000 more square miles were applied for than in 1879, the increase being due, no doubt, partly to factors such as the continued flourishing of livestock in the Centre and the success of Dr. Browne's expedition. Alfred Giles, a member of that expedition, reported in May 1880 that all the country from Charlotte Waters to Mt. Boothby was good second- and third-class pastoral country, wrote of 'rolling downs' north of the MacDonnells 'thickly grassed and equal in richness of soil to any in South Australia' and declared the sheep at Barrow Creek too fat to eat.¹¹⁷ Over half of the land applied for was secured

113. Ibid 30.7.85, col. 410.

114. See Appendices II and III.

115. N.G. Butlin, art. cit. in Barnard (Ed.) op. cit. p.325.

116. N.G. Butlin and A. Barnard, 'Pastoral Finance and Capital Requirements, 1860-1960' in ibid, p.385.

117. N.T.Times 1.10.81 (letter 11.5.80).

by bona fide pastoralists. Some 500 square miles were added to Henbury, some 200 to Idracowra.¹¹⁸ New among the bona fide applicants was W. Willoby, who secured 1,000 square miles near Charlotte Waters, which was to become part of Crown Point run.¹¹⁹

In 1881 at least 154,000 square miles were applied for, and there is evidence to suggest that by the end of that year every square inch of the Centre was held under application or lease.¹²⁰ One reason for this burst of activity was undoubtedly the lowering of rent in 1880 on claims held for seven years;¹²¹ but the chief reason was the boom in the Queensland and New South Wales pastoral industry and the invasion of the Top End by Queensland squatters.¹²² Pastoral land was in great demand and speculators hoped for big returns from a small investment of 6d. per square mile over a few years. Even the blank spots on the map, the totally unknown country in the south-east, north-west and

118. See Appendix II; G.R.In A3909, A 4330/80; M.C.N.T.In 630/80; S.A.P.P. 119/82, p.14.

119. See Appendix II; G.R.In A 3898/80.

120. See Appendix II; M.C.N.T.In 761/87 (map); 655/90; S.A.P.P. 119/82, pp.15-16. Cf. G.R.In A 5026/81; Duncan, op. cit. pp74; Report on Pastoral Country comprising the Well-Watered Petermann Ranges Situate Almost in the South-Western Corner of the Northern Territory (Adel., 1883?)

121. Cf. Charles Chewings, Back in the Stone Age: The Natives of Central Australia (Sydney, 1936) p.xi.

122. See Report of the Northern Territory Commission: Together with Minutes of Proceedings, Evidence and Appendices (S.A.P.P. 19/95) p.31; Duncan, op. cit. pp.106, 143-4; Butlin, art. cit. in Barnard (Ed.) op. cit. pp.325-7.

west, much of which later proved to be desert, were seized upon. Fortunately, bona fide squatters were sometimes able to get in first and secure the good country. Parke and Walker added 430 square miles to Henbury; Willoby and J.H. Gordon secured 8,515 square miles, part of which was to become Crown Point, part Bond Springs; Charles Chewings took up 3,990 square miles in the Krichauff Ranges and the western MacDonnells (Tempe Downs); R.E. Warburton secured 950 square miles that were to become part of Erldunda, A.D. Breaden, manager of Idracowra, 700 square miles west of Erldunda, and A.M. Wooldridge some 20,000 square miles in the Reynolds Ranges and surrounding Barrow Creek.¹²³ Speculators were able to dispose of only a few thousand square miles of the remaining country applied for to bona fide squatters; most of the rest, apart from the country taken up by the Musgrave Range and Northern Territory Pastoral Land Company

123. See Appendix II; G.R.In A 4443/81, A 4824/81, A 4825/81, A 4826/81, A 4827/81, A 4831/81, A 4832/81, A 4833/81, A 4834/81, A 4874/81, A 4876/81, A 4877/81, A 5005/81; M.C.N.T.In 778/82, 1072/86, 15/06; S.A.P.P. 119/82, pp.13,15-16; Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.83, p.6. Wooldridge was associated with applications for a total of 42,335 square mls. in 1881. 20,000 sq.mls. of this was evidently transferred to the subsequently formed Barrow Creek Pastoral Company and the rest of it to the Musgrave Range and N.T. Pastoral Land Company, which appears to have been purely speculative. Contemporary sources do not bear out an assertion made by Goyder in 1886 (M.C.N.T.In 1072/86) that D. Murray applied for the country which the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company was formed to stock.

(M.R.P.L.Co.), was probably forfeited within three years.¹²⁴

The M.R.P.L.Co. was formed late in 1881 with a nominal capital of £100,000 by ten prominent South Australian pastoralists and business men (including A.M. Wooldridge, D. Murray and J.B. Spence) to acquire and stock claims to some 85,000 square miles (much of which was in the Centre) taken out by twelve persons in October 1881. Early in 1882 it increased its capital by the issue of 20,000 £1 shares, and its number of shareholders by twelve - thus becoming the only public or semi-public company to hold land in the Centre in the nineteenth century. In November it made an agreement with Sir Julius Vogel which stipulated that Vogel should receive all purchase money over and above £1 per square mile if he found a company to buy its rights to the 85,000 square miles; in December it informed the Government that it was endeavouring to raise sufficient capital in London to stock its country with 160,000 cattle, but that it would go ahead with this scheme only if it was given to understand that a reasonable extension of time for stocking would be granted. The Government swallowed the bait and assured the Company that it would not enforce forfeiture as long as reasonable haste was made in stocking. 'The benefit likely to arise to the colony from the introduction of so

124. See Appendix II; M.C.N.T.In 655/90. Cf. Duncan, op.cit. pp.74-76, 413.

large a supply of stock and capital', wrote Goyder, 'can scarcely be exaggerated.'¹²⁵ Unfortunately for the Company, Vogel was unsuccessful and it never pocketed the £85,000. In 1884 it forfeited much of its country and in 1885 was refused an extension of the stocking period for the remainder on the grounds that it had made no attempt to stock.¹²⁶ For four years when conditions were favourable to pastoral enterprise it had locked up a huge area of country in the Centre and elsewhere in the Northern Territory and the only redeeming feature of its career was that much of the country it held was unsuitable for pastoral enterprise.

The vast extent of the land applied for in 1881 meant that there remained little to be applied for until forfeitures became heavy in 1884; in any case, there is little evidence that many persons, bona fide pastoralists or otherwise, were desirous of obtaining land in those years.¹²⁷ After 1884 speculators, having failed for the most part to realize on their claims and having observed a general decline in the value of pastoral holdings, appear to have deserted the Centre, while bona fide pastoralists were by and large content to stock the land they had acquired in 1880 and 1881. An

125. M.C.N.T. In 773/82.

126. See Musgrave Range and N.T. Pastoral Land Company, Miscellaneous Documents and Plans (Barr Smith Library, Univ. of Adel. Microfilm 837); M.C.N.T. In 773/82, 1196/84, 1209/85, 1239/85, 829/87; M.C.N.T. Out 675/84, 1977/84, 46/86, 84/86; G.R. In A 5015/81, A 8603/85; N.T. Times & Govt. Gaz. 11.5.84; S.A.P.P. 119/82, pp.13,16; Duncan, op.cit. pp.415-6.

127. Cf. M.C.N.T. In 91/86.

unknown area of land (probably small) was added to Bond Springs in 1885, and in 1888 the nucleus of the last stations to be formed in the Centre before 1894 by capitalist squatters from South Australia (Frew River and Elkedra) had been secured by the Willowie Land and Pastoral Association (W.L.P.A.).¹²⁸

The Frew River country had been discovered by an operator named Lennie while out from Barrow Creek looking for strayed horses.¹²⁹ The only other discovery of valuable pastoral country in the eighties was made by Charles Chewings, eccentric son of a South Australian pastoralist, who was later to found a camel-carrying business, earn a Doctorate of Philosophy in Geology at Heidelberg, report on mines in Western Australia, set himself up as a land agent, and write a book on the Aborigines of the Centre.¹³⁰ In September 1881 he set out alone with two camels to examine country he had taken up in the MacDonnell and Krichauff Ranges. After taking his camels through Glen Helen Gorge in November by following a sandspit through the water, he made a tour to the north-west with A.D. Breaden, visited Hermannsburg Mission and went west from

128. See Appendix II; M.C.N.T.Out 470/85; M.C.N.T.In 49 & 243/88.

129. Adel. Observer 22.8.91, p.34.

130. See Chewings, Back in the Stone Age; R. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. 1, p.182; Australian Encyclopedia (N.E.) Vol. 2, p.342a; Letterheads used by Chewings in, e.g., M.C.N.T.In 650/88, 989/89; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.139.

there until he saw a creek in the Krichauff Ranges which he took to be the upper Palmer and until his camels were forced to retire with sore feet. Following the Finke down to Henbury, he set out with 'Charlie' Walker in January 1882 to trace the Palmer to its source. Having traced it to where a large tributary joined it, he followed the tributary (which he called Walker Creek) through a picturesque gorge (which he called Walker Pass) and came upon a beautiful stretch of country 'clothed in some of the finest grasses I have ever seen, with cotton and saltbush as thick as they can grow together; the hills [he wrote] widen to several miles, and a plain that South Australia can scarcely show the equal of stretches out for about **thirty** miles....I should estimate this plain alone to carry 4,000 head of cattle and could be fenced with very little expense indeed [sic].'¹³¹ Elated, and evidently highly satisfied with the bushcraft of his companion, he dubbed his discovery the Walker Plain, and returned to Adelaide.¹³²

Apart from a detailed examination of much of the country in this area made by Chewings in 1885,¹³³ the only other exploration of any consequence before 1889 was made by Charles Winnecke in 1883 and by David Lindsay

131. Chewings, 'A Trip to the MacDonnell Ranges' in The Adel. Observer 1882, Vol. 2, p.282.

132. See *ibid*, pp.186, 232-4,282; Chewings, *op. cit.*(1936) pp.xi-xiv; ———, 'The Sources of the Finke River' in The Adelaide Observer, 1886, Vol. 1, pp.1049,1097, 1193,1241; M.C.N.T. In 778/82,362/84.

133. See pp.335-6 (below).

in 1886. Winnecke left Farina with camels in July 1883 for Sandringham Station in south-western Queensland. On 13th September he entered the Northern Territory on the lower Field River and five days later cut the Hay River, which proved to be the lower end of the river Barclay's men had seen turning to the south in 1878, and followed it up as far as the Tarlton Range. He discovered a little pastoral country on the Hay and Field Rivers and in the Tarlton Range, some of which was subsequently stocked for a short period by Adam Hay and the Carandotta Pastoral Company of Queensland.¹³⁴ Lindsay, a South Australian of Scottish parentage who had graduated as a surveyor in the South Australian Survey Department in 1875 and had led an expedition into Arnhem Land in 1883, was detailed by the Government in 1885 to survey some country on the Herbert River and decided to do some exploring on his own account on his way north. In December he followed the Finke down to learn where it emptied and to search for traces of Leichhardt's party, for Aborigines had told Stephen Jarvis in the sixties that a party of white men had once perished to the north-east of Mt. Margaret. The Finke was found to flow into the Macumba and then into Lake Eyre, but Leich-

134. See Winnecke, 'Mr. Winnecke's Explorations during 1883: Diary of Northern Exploring Party under the Leadership of Mr. Chas. Winnecke' (S.A.P.P. 39/1884), entries for dates mentioned in text and passim; C.A.O., C.P. 811 NTR A - F and NTR 1B & 1A. Cf. 107 121
S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.9.

hardt's fate remained a mystery. With C. Bagot of Dalhousie Springs Lindsay then made a rapid excursion to the Queensland boundary and back, approximately along latitude 25°30'S. Early in February 1886 he left the lower Finke for the Herbert, travelling via Alice Well, the lower Todd and Giles Creek, and on 6th March cut the Hale River. Following the Hale down, he found its bed littered with bright red stones, which he took to be rubies, and named Glen Annie Gorge after his wife. Leaving the gorge he travelled via the Plenty, the Marshall and the Tarlton Range to Lake Nashe and the Herbert.¹³⁵ He had discovered a little pastoral country on the lower Todd and the Hale, and, like most men who saw the Centre for the first time in a favourable season, he spoke extravagantly of its pastoral potential upon his return to Adelaide.¹³⁶ But by far his most important discovery was the 'rubies' on the Hale. He returned to prospect that

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135. See D. Lindsay, 'An Expedition Across Australia from South to North, between the Telegraph Line and the Queensland Boundary, in 1885-6' (reprinted from Procs. of the Roy. Geog. Soc. and Monthly Record of Geography, Nov 1889) pp.2-12; ———, Report of an Exploring Expedition Across Australia 1885-6 (S.A.A. 528/B7), passim; ———, 'Explorations in the Northern Territory of South Australia' (R.G.S.A., S.A.Br., Procs. Vol.2) pp.2-16; H.A. Lindsay, 'Across Australia in 1886' (R.G.S.A., S.A. Br., Procs. Vol. 54 (1953)) pp.35-41; M.C.N.T. In 112/85, 1049/85, 85/86, 162/86, 247/89, 990/89; M.C.N.T. Out 51/91; Port Aug. Desp. 14.10.85; S.A.A. 1047/6.
136. Lindsay, 'Explorations in the N.T. of S.A.', loc. cit., pp.5,7,15-16.

river and its tributaries in 1887. An account of this work, however, properly belongs to another Chapter.¹³⁷

The stocking of the runs taken up in the early eighties had meanwhile been delayed by drought, the first five years of the decade consisting largely of unfavourable seasons.¹³⁸ The first to attempt stocking were Willoby, Gordon, Harding and Heywood (Crown Point). William Willoby was a pastoralist of Red Bluff Station near Bordertown, Heywood a member of a prominent South Australian pastoral family, J.H. Gordon a solicitor of Strathalbyn and the mayor of the town, and Joe Harding a teamster who had been on northern tracks since 1867 and had helped to construct the overland telegraph.¹³⁹ In 1883, finding it impossible to get cattle on to their country from the south, they made an effort to have 3,000 delivered from south-western Queensland, but a contract they made with the owners of Shibley Station there fell through. Foiled in this attempt they successfully applied for twelve months extension of the stocking period and unsuccessfully for a railway to Alice Springs; and sent Harding with a mob of cattle to endeavour to reach the country. After meeting with heavy losses on the road and being detained by dry

137. See Chap. 6 (below).

138. See Appendix I; also, e.g. Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81, p.275; M.C.N.T. In 217/83, 362/84, 391/84, 764/84.

139. Adel Observer 1.7.93, p.16; S.A.P.P. 34/87, pp.38-39; M.C.N.T. In 217/83; A.V. Purvis in Centralian Advocate 24.12.54, p.8.

weather, Harding reached Crown Point in 1885 (though one source indicates that already in 1883 there were 500 cattle and horses on the run¹⁴⁰). No sooner had success been achieved, however, (some 5,985 square miles were declared stocked in 1885 and 7,000 cattle and 150 horses were reported on the run in 1886¹⁴¹) than the partners lost confidence in the country, and sold to James Cowan (an Irishman who had arrived in South Australia at the age of four, made a fortune in flourmilling and land speculation, lost it, and won another by investing in Broken Hill¹⁴²) for an undisclosed price: but it could not have been high, for Crown Point was said to have ruined J.H. Gordon.¹⁴³

Willoby and Gordon, together with Youl, also held some 2,400 square miles near Alice Springs (Bond Springs). This they stocked in 1885 by purchasing all of the cattle (some 4,000) and about 100 of the horses on Owen Springs, Joseph Gilbert having died in 1884 and his estate having been wound up. Both Willoby and Youl visited the station to supervise

140. M.C.N.T.In 217/83, 263/83, 276/83, 601/84; S.A.P.P. 53A/83-4, p.2.

141. M.C.N.T.In 1113/85; M.C.N.T.Out 570/85; G.R.In A8449/85; S.A.P.P. 53/87 (p.2), 54/86 (p.3).

142. Adel. Observer 26.7.90, p.34.

143. See M.C.N.T.In 281,304 &416/92; A.Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.51. Cf. M.C.N.T. In 168/87 (Gordon to the Minister, 17.2.87); S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 22.7.90, col.559.

stocking, and probably managed it for some years. In 1887, however, they appointed teamster Tom Williams as manager.¹⁴⁴

'When my uncle took up Erlunda Station, the niggers showed him a little limestone hole', R.E. Warburton's nephew told a Federal Parliamentary Committee in 1921, '...and he often told me that when he got there they could scarcely water the saddle and pack horses.'¹⁴⁵ But Warburton deepened the hole (a native well), installed troughing, drove several hundred cattle and horses to it across sixty waterless miles from Idracowra and in 1884 declared 300 square miles he had taken up there stocked. By 1889 he and his partner Tomlin had acquired and declared stocked a further 800 square miles and had demonstrated that a 'small' man could more than hold his own in the Centre with the 'big' squatters of the eighties.¹⁴⁶ The only other 'small' man to attempt to set himself up as a squatter in the eighties was A.D. Breaden, manager of Mt. Burrell. He

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144. Port Aug. Desp. 19.9.84 (p.3), 29.9.84 (p.2); N.T. Times 31.10.85, p.3; M.C.N.T.In 601/84, 451/86, 673/87, G.R. In A8639/85; S.A.P.P. 53/87, p.2; Youl's initials are unknown. He was admitted into partnership with Willoby and Gordon in 1885 (M.C.N.T.In 670/85).
145. C.P.P. 76/1922, p.248.
146. M.C.N.T.In 390 & 391/84, 961 & 1261/85, 291/87, 586/91; G.R.In A8447/85; A.Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.48; S.A.P.P. 53/87, p.2; W.H. Tietkens, Journal, (loc. cit.) entry for 2.8.89; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.10. A further 500 sq. mls. was declared stocked in 1891 (M.C.N.T.In 586/91).

stocked 700 square miles west of Erldunda in 1889, but soon abandoned it owing to difficulties he encountered in providing water for his cattle.¹⁴⁷

Other pastoralists who stocked portions of the Centre in the eighties were 'big' indeed. In 1883 the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company was formed by A.M. Wooldridge, D. Murray and J.B. Spence to stock 20,000 square miles taken out in 1881 by Wooldridge in the Reynolds and surrounding Barrow Creek.¹⁴⁸ Wooldridge, who was born in Adelaide of English parents, had pioneered the pastoral industry of the Gawler Ranges in the sixties and had developed the rich Arcoona run in the seventies.¹⁴⁹ Murray, on the other hand, was a prosperous merchant,¹⁵⁰ while Spence, brother of Catherine Helen, was a businessman who had gained 'a good deal of experience with station properties' as manager of the E.S.&A.C. Bank from 1864 to 1878.¹⁵¹ Early in 1883 the Company purchased 3,000 cattle from G.C. Hawker's Parallana Station and thirty stud Hereford bulls from J.H. Angas, and organized a stocking expedition larger than any seen in the Centre since Dr. Browne's sheep passed through.

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147. M.C.N.T. In 281/87, 946/88, 46/89; cf. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.113.
148. Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.83, p.6; cf. Report on Pastoral Country about Barrow's Creek Telegraph Station, Overland Telegraph, N.T. (Adel. 1882).
149. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol. 2, pp.124-5.
150. The Cyclopedia of South Australia (Adelaide 1907 & 1909) Vol., p.585.
151. Adel. Observer 13.12.02, p.34.

The cattle were sent up in four mobs in charge of boss-drover William ('Billy') Benstead (who became the first manager of the runs formed), a score of camels and 80-100 mares being used for hauling provisions. Before the year was out the expedition reached the Reynolds, and the men set to work building a homestead at Annas Reservoir and an outstation thirty miles to the west.¹⁵²

Meanwhile the Company, unable to obtain more cattle in South Australia at suitable prices, had secured a very favourable agreement with one Ridley Williams of Bierbank Station in the Warrego district of Queensland: he was to deliver 2,000 head of cattle at Annas Reservoir at £2.10s. a head. Only the temporary depression of the Queensland pastoral industry and extraordinary daring could have induced Williams to agree to such a proposal: stock had never before been brought across from Queensland and both Barclay and Winnecke had commented on the absence of surface water in the country east of the Reynolds. In April 1883 the cattle left Bierbank in charge of drovers Charles and Frederick Lowe and about ten men. When pleuro-pneumonia broke

152. Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.83 (p.6), cf. 19.9.84 (p.3); M.C.N.T. In 276/83, 686/84; undated press cuttings in possession of L. Green of Lovess Creek (re Benstead); Plan appended to W.R. Murray, Journal of the Government Prospecting Expedition to the Buxton and Davenport Ranges (S.A.P.P. 50/1907); Map 3 in H.Y.L. Brown, Reports on Arltunga Goldfield etc. (S.A.P.P. 127/96).

out among them two months later Williams himself joined the party, innoculated the whole herd, and pressed on to the Toko Range on the Queensland border in December. There men and cattle waited several months for rain while Williams and Batten, general manager of the Company who had joined the expedition with a mob of bulls, scouted ahead as far as the Harts Range and sank a soakage-well on the Plenty. When the cattle were finally moved over the border to Cockroach Creek only 1,600 of them remained. Williams contrived, however, to get 600 of the strongest over to the Plenty; and when rain fell in March the weaker animals were easily able to follow. From the Plenty to the Waite the expedition appears to have met with little difficulty, but great droving skill had to be displayed to travel the herd from the Waite to Annas Reservoir across a dry stage of seventy miles.¹⁵³

Because of Williams's remarkable feat the company was able to declare more than half of its land stocked in 1885-86; for most of the rest it managed to get extensions until 1888, then threw it up, together with 5,000 square miles

153. K.T. Cameron, 'Ridley Williams, Early Pastoralist of the Warrego District' in Roy. Hist. Soc. of Qld., Journal, Vol. VI, No. 2 (1959-60) pp.343-50; Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.83, p.6. Cf. Duncan, op. cit. p.87; A. Giles, The First Pastl. Settlement in the N.T., p.50; M.C.N.T.In 687/84. W & W.C. Hood of Annandale Stn., Qld., made an agreement in 1883 or 1884 with R.C. Baker to stock some country held in the Centre by Baker, but drought deterred them from carrying it out. (M.C.N.T.In 361/84).

of the poorer country declared stocked, because it lacked natural surface waters and the rent on it had increased from 6d. to 2s.6d. per square mile.¹⁵⁴ Meanwhile, Benstead and his men had been forced by the Unmatjera to abandon Annas Reservoir and its outstation. They built a new homestead at Stirling Creek with an outstation (Murray Downs) at the foot of the Davenport Ranges.¹⁵⁵ By the late eighties the country was carrying some 8-10,000 cattle.¹⁵⁶

In 1885 Charles Chewings revisited the Centre to stock the 4,145 square miles held by him in the western MacDonnells and the Krichauff Ranges. Having decided in 1881 that it would be impossible to stock the country from the south, he concluded that it would be best to buy cattle locally 'at ruination prices',¹⁵⁷ got John Lewis of the firm of Liston, Shakes & Lewis, and the brothers S. and John Drew to join him in the enterprise, and ordered forty camels from India. When the camels arrived in September 1884 he took a loading

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154. Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.58,115,120; M.C.N.T.In 686/84, 1175/84, 1182/84, 1175/85, 1213/85, 1215/85, 412/86, 413/86, 1072/86, 1091/86, 1195/86; S.A.P.P. 53/87, p.1.
155. See pp.395-6, 458 (below); M.C.N.T.In 1072/86; N.T.Times 7.2.90, p.3 (the 'Cornelia Downs' mentioned here is mentioned in no other source and may have been an alternative name for 'Murray Downs'). For the location of the homesteads see plan appended to W.R. Murray, Journal (loc. cit.).
156. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.58; N.T.Times 7.2.90, p.3. 1,500 head of Undoolya cattle were purchased for £15,000 'sometime' before 1889 (M.C.N.T. In 327/89).
157. M.C.N.T.In 362/84.

to Hergott Springs, founded a camel transport service there, and set out for the Centre in January of the following year. After a preliminary inspection of the country, he bought cattle from one of the central cattle-stations (which one is unknown) and then rode on camel-back 'all over the country to locate any waters that promised to be of service when the stock...increased in numbers.'¹⁵⁸ He saw the Petermann tumbling gleefully after rain and had no difficulty in locating other waters, discarded his 'crude old notions' that the Centre was a desert, returned to Adelaide convinced that his fortune was made, and published 'The Sources of the Finke River' in which he spoke extravagantly of the Centre's pastoral potential.¹⁵⁹ R.F.I. Thornton was installed as manager at Tempe Downs, a homestead was built on the Walker Plain, and by 1889 some 6,000 cattle were grazing on the run. Some time after 1884 D.W.H. Patterson, who held over 3,000 square miles in the same area, and W. Liston and J. Shakes joined the partnership; and in 1889 the seven partners formed the Tempe Downs Pastoral Company.¹⁶⁰

158. Chewings, op.cit., p.xvii.

159. See 'The Sources of the Finke River' (loc. cit.) Vol. 1 (pp.1001, 1049, 1097-8, 1145-6, 1194, 1241), Vol. 2 (pp.42, 90, 138, 186, 234, 281); M.C.N.T. In 778/82, 362/84, 640/85, 1295/85; Port Aug. Desp. 26.9.84, 29.9.84, 15.10.84.

160. See reference 34 (above); Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol. 1, p.1049; M.C.N.T. In 798/84, 468/89; Thornton to W.E. Dalton 26.11.92 (copy in Port Augusta Police Station, Letterbook 1892-96 (S.A.A.1414)).

The last runs to be formed in the eighties were Frew River and Elkedra, owned by the Willowie Land and Pastoral Association (W.L.P.A.) and managed as one station. The W.L.P.A. was formed in 1882 to purchase the extensive pastoral interests of J.H. Angas^{north} of Mt. Remarkable. £310,000 was fixed as the price and the deal clinched; but misunderstanding arose, and as a result of a lawsuit Angas himself became the chief share-holder in the Association. In 1888 it sent 1,800 cows to the Frew River country from its Stuart Creek run, and William Coulthard became its first manager there. In 1890 it took over a good deal of the country and the stock of the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company, and in 1891 at least 7,000 cattle were grazing on its land.¹⁶¹

In 1886 the task of restocking Owen Springs was begun by Sir Thomas Elder who had made his debut as a pastoralist in the Centre in 1885 on Mt. Burrell when he purchased that run and its 1,000 cattle and 70 horses from Gilmour, Hendry and Melrose and stocked it with a further 800 horses.¹⁶²

The Centre had by this time earned a good reputation as horse-breeding country,¹⁶³ and it was Elder's intention to

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161. See R. Cockburn, *op.cit.* Vol. 1, p.11; M.C.N.T. In 538/89, 588/91; N.T. Times 7.2.90, p.3; Adel. Observer 21.5.04 (p.38, obit. Angas), 22.8.91, p.34; A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.50. For the location of the Frew River and Elkedra homesteads see plan appended to W.R. Murray, Journal (loc. cit.).
162. S.A.P.D. 12.8.85, col. 514; S.A.P.P. 533/83-84; C.P.P. 76/22, p.187; A.V. Purvis in Centralian Advocate 24.12.54, p.8.
163. J.P. Stow, op. cit. p.286; S.A.P.P. 54/86, p.3; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn, Report (loc. cit.) p.144; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) pp.73,83,85,90; S.A.P.Ps. 54/86 (p.3), 28/91 (pp.9,10); S.A.P.D. 12.8.85, cols. 514-5.

breed horses for the Indian Remount Service. The question of exploiting this market had early been raised in South Australia, and some shipments had actually been made in the fifties.¹⁶⁴ In 1869 it was raised again by R.D. Ross, who suggested that horses should be overlanded to a remount depot at Port Darwin and thence exported.¹⁶⁵ The Indian Government regarded the scheme as impracticable, however, while an agent it sent to the Australian colonies in 1874 was unimpressed with the quality of Australian horses.¹⁶⁶ From then until 1883, when a number of persons unknown wrote to the Minister (Parsons) offering to form a company with Indian and Australian shareholders to supply horses to India if 5,000 square miles were let to them in the north of the colony, and 10,000 in the Northern Territory, the question slumbered. Much taken by the idea, Parsons moved in the House that ninety-nine year leases should be granted for the amount of land requested to any company whose bona fides satisfied the Government; but reluctantly withdrew his motion when most M.Ps. protested that the amount of land involved was too great, and that the Company would have a monopoly of the trade and would hinder private enterprise.¹⁶⁷

164. Pike, op. cit. p.325; S.A.P.P. 162/57-58.

165. S.A.P.Ps. 43/69-70, 67/69-70, 67A/69-70.

166. S.A.P.P. 25/75.

167. S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 21.11.83 (cols. 1701-9), 14.2.84 (cols. 2007f.), 26.2.84 (cols. 2159-62); Duncan, op. cit. pp.115-6.

The only private enterprise it could have hindered in South Australia, however, was that of Sir Thomas Elder, and there is no evidence that he or anyone else ever exported horses to India from the Centre. But his intentions were clear. In 1887 he placed a further 110 horses on Mt. Burrell, and imported two Suffolk Punch stallions from England; while Owen Springs, which he acquired¹⁶⁸ after the death of Joseph Gilbert and which became a sub-station of Mt. Burrell, was carrying some 1,500 - 2,000 horses and 1,000 cattle by 1890.¹⁶⁹

By the end of 1888 there were probably some 49,210 cattle, 4,480 horses and 10,000 sheep in the Centre. In spite of the approximate nature of the figures supplied in Appendix IV, it seems clear that the rate of increase of cattle during the period 1880-88 was somewhat lower than during the years 1872-79. And even if statistics did not indicate a decrease, a number of circumstances would lead one to expect it. The first half of the eighties consisted of poor seasons, and on few, if any, of the stations was any systematic attempt at permanent water-improvements

168. See p. 330 (above).
169. See S.A.P.Ps. 54/86 (p.3), 34/87 (p.7), 28/90 (p.3);
S.A. Register, 2.5.91, p.6; N.T. Times 28.2.90; Port
Aug. Desp. 28.6.87 (p.2), 2.8.87 (p.4); cf. S.A.P.P.
28/91, p.9.

made.¹⁷⁰ This meant that cattle were confined to limited areas surrounding natural waters in the ranges and in the beds of creeks, and that the more unfavourable the season the smaller the area of pasturage available to cattle became. Because of this it may be said that at least by 1886, when Crown Point, Idracowra and Undoolya carried some 7,000 great cattle each, much of the country was overstocked.¹⁷¹ On some of the runs damage to indigenous flora was so great that even when stock were removed from them in the nineties and favourable seasons prevailed observers were to note how hungry and eaten-out the country looked.¹⁷² Furthermore, on some runs there was a great increase in cattle-spearing by Aborigines which both directly reduced the numbers of cattle and, by causing the cattle to lose condition and to become restive, created conditions highly unfavourable to their increase.¹⁷³ In spite of the evident lowering of the rate of increase, however, some stockowners appear to have been more than satisfied with the

170. See S.A.P.P. 34/87, p.49; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.58,115,116,120,121,123,140,142; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.85; Duncan, op. cit. p.389; C.P.P. 76/22, p.189; M.C.N.T. In 1074/88; cf. Waldron, op. cit. p.43. Systematic 'improvements' were said to have been made on Tempe Downs (Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.36), but they did not include water improvements (see Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.140).

171. See pp.313-4 (above); S.A.P.P. 54/86, p.3; Duncan, op. cit. p.471.

172. Winnecke, Journal of Horn Exped., entry for 26.6.94. For further evidence of overstocking see S.A.P.P. 34/87, p.7; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.58,111-2,144,166; M.C.N.T. In 764/84,1009/85; S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.9.

173. See pp.395,403,406-9,419 (below).

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in which their herds multiplied. 'Stock have increased,' wrote Chewings in 1886, 'in a way that has surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine.'¹⁷⁴

For sheep and horses it is impossible even to estimate percentage increases, owing to want of information concerning numbers exported and imported or used as food. Appendix IV gives a fairly accurate indication of the numbers of sheep grazing in the Centre during this period. All grazed at the telegraph stations and Hermannsburg Mission, except some 1,500 on Mt. Burrell from about 1882-84, some 500 on Crown Point from 1890-94 and 3,000 on Murray Downs from 1886-89.¹⁷⁵ More attention was paid in the eighties to the quality of livestock than in the seventies, but on the whole it remained negligible.¹⁷⁶

Apart from the unwillingness of station-owners to increase the heavy expenditure incurred in forming their

174. Art. cit. (1886) Vol. 2, p.281; cf. S.A.P.P. 54/86, p.3.

175. See Chap. 5 (below); S.A.P.Ps. 54/86 (p.3), 28/90 (p.3), 45/96 (p.13); Report of Pastl. Lds. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) pp.111,123,128,129,166; Murif, op. cit. p.63; Todd, Report 1884, p.152.

176. For information concerning **importations** of stud stock or of 'new blood' in the eighties and early nineties, see Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.124; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.85; M.C.N.T. In 40/90; N.T. Times 28.2.90; Port Aug. Desp. 28.6.87, p.2. Duncan (op. cit. p.394) is in error when he claims that there is only one 'reported import' of cattle into the Centre during 1880-90. Concerning the general quality of Central Australian livestock after 1880 see also reference 163 (above); Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.123,128,151,166; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.61; S. Newland, 'The Far North Country' in Adel. Advertiser 19.7.87.

stations by investing in water-improvements, the most important cause of overstocking in the eighties was undoubtedly the difficulty experienced by cattlemen in getting their produce to market. Indeed, by the mid-eighties this problem had replaced the cost of cartage as the greatest obstacle to the progress of the pastoral industry.¹⁷⁷ Not that a suitable market did not exist. Prices were good for most of the decade, and Queensland cattle did not begin to swamp the Adelaide market (the natural outlet for the Centre) until 1889-90.¹⁷⁸ But inadequate supplies of water on the north-south stock-route placed the pastoralist at the mercy of the weather. From 1880-81, when the Government commenced a program of well-sinking along this route, to 1883-84 a total of £4,200

177. Cf. S.A.P.Ps. 54/86 (p.3), 34.87 (p.7); M.C.N.T.In 217/83; Duncan, op. cit. p.175.

178. See Appendix III and p. 374 (below). Queensland pastoralists began sending cattle to Adelaide via the Strzelecki track in the seventies, and when this track was closed in the early eighties the Birdsville track was cut; but South Australia subsequently imposed a duty of 5s. per head on all cattle imported from Queensland, and until the early nineties, when the South Australian Government began converting the Birdsville track into an all-weather stock route, Queensland pastoralists, like those in the Centre, had to await favourable seasons before sending their stock to Adelaide. (See George Farwell, Land of Mirage: The Story of Men, Cattle and Camels on the Birdsville Track (Adelaide, 1960) p.104; Adel. Observer, 1881, Vol. I, p.90; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 22.9.80, col. 1094; Port Aug. Desp. 24.12.84; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.59; S. Newland, 'The Far North Country' in Adel. Advertiser, 19.7.87.

was placed on the estimates for that part of the route lying within the Northern Territory.¹⁷⁹ Precisely how much of this was expended is unknown, but Todd in 1884 reported that little more than £2,500 had been spent during 1870-83 in well-sinking along the whole of the overland telegraph line.¹⁸⁰ From 1884-85 to 1888-89, in spite of increasing agitation by pastoralists, a total of only £1,200 was placed on the estimates: the Government had decided to concentrate on opening stockroutes in South Australia proper and to proceed gradually from the known to the unknown, from south to north, in testing the country for artesian water.¹⁸¹ The wells that were sunk or enlarged in the Centre in the eighties, moreover, were poorly maintained and, as the Conservator of Water confessed in 1891, were intended 'more for the use of teams and ordinary travellers than for stock.'¹⁸² The caprice of the weather, therefore, regulated the marketing of Central Australian

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179. N.T. Estimates 1880-81 to 1882-83 (S.A.P.Ps. 11/80, 13/81, 13/82); S.A. Cmmr. of Audit, Report 1884; Duncan, op. cit. p.182.
180. Todd, Report 1884 (loc. cit.) p.135. The figure quoted is exclusive of £479.10s.4d. which, since it was charged to South Australia, was probably expended south of Charlotte Waters.
181. See S.A. Cmmr. of Audit, Reports for 1885-89; Duncan, op. cit. pp.182-4; Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.83 (p.6), 19.1.85 (p.2); S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 6.8.84, cols. 531-3.
182. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.183. Cf. ibid, p.192; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.91; S.Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 19.7.87; S.A.P.D. (H.of A.) 6.8.84 (cols 531-3), 10.6.86 (col. 145), (L.C.) 19.8.91 (col. 794). See also pp. 371-2 (below).

cattle in the eighties, and it was only in the latter half of the decade that any could be sent to market at all. When the waterholes were full along one half of the route the chances were that they would be empty on the other. Few cattle reached their destination in prime condition.¹⁸³

For wool-growing, however, the cost of cartage remained the greatest obstacle and was probably the chief cause of the abandonment of efforts at sheep-raising on Mt. Burrell and Murray Downs.¹⁸⁴ But while cartage remained a heavy item of expenditure for all pastoralists throughout the decade, it nevertheless steadily declined from the prodigious height reached in the seventies (£60 - £70 per ton) to about £20 (to Alice Springs) in 1889.¹⁸⁵ This decline was due to the gradual extension of a railway north from Port Augusta after 1878 until it reached Warrina in 1889,¹⁸⁵ over 400 miles from Port Augusta, and to the introduction of the camel as a beast of burden on the north-south route. 'The ship of the desert is sailing steadily on into the heart of Australia now', wrote the editor of the Port Augusta Despatch in December 1885 '....The substitution of camels for horses for all heavy work in the interior is only a question of time'.¹⁸⁶ His words were proved true before the decade was out. Camels shuffled over distances with supplies for

183. See Appendix IV; S.A.P.P. 54/86, p.3; C.P.P. 76/22, p.189.
184. Cf. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.122,129,143.
185. See Appendix V; Duncan, op. cit. p.343.
186. Port Aug. Desp. 30.12.85, p.2.

needy settlers more surely and quickly than lumbering teams, and there were few commodities that could be loaded on to a wagon but not balanced on their strong backs.¹⁸⁷

Few reliable estimates of the European population of the Centre were made in the eighties and nineties, none in the seventies. In 1881 a census return¹⁸⁸ showed that there were seventy-nine males and three females between Barrow Creek and the 26th parallel, but it probably did not take the floating population into account. After 1885 the numbers of Europeans were considerably swollen by fossickers for 'rubies' and gold.¹⁸⁹ In 1886 it was estimated that the residential population south of a point seventy miles north of Barrow Creek was 290 and the floating population 150.¹⁹⁰ And according to the census of 1891 there were 313 males and

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187. See ibid 30.1.85, p.2; S.A. Register 2.5.91, p.6; N.T. Times 21.3.90, p.3; Adel. Observer 5.11.92, p.30; F.W. Holder, op. cit. p.25; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.85; N.E. Phillipson, 'Camels in Australia' in R.G.S.A. S.A. Br., Procs. Vol. 3, pp.83-92; Luth. Kirchenbote 4/91, p.59; S. Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 9.8.87; Murif, op. cit. p.61. In order to avert heavy expenditure on cartage the W.L.P.A. initiated its own camel-service (see, e.g. Port. Aug. Desp. 8.6.94, p.4).
188. S.A.P.P. 74/81, p.14. Neither the 1881 nor the 1891 census showed the ages, occupations etc. of the population.
189. See Chap. 6, (below).
190. S.A.P.P. 54/86, p.3.

thirty-seven females living south of Barrow Creek.¹⁹¹

Most probably came from the northern pastoral areas of South Australia, missionaries and some miners and telegraph officials being the chief exceptions to the rule. Some of those not employed in an official capacity came to the Centre in order to avoid an irate parent or an education or the law, others to escape the complexities of civilization or for adventure;¹⁹² but nothing is known of the motives of the majority of them. Once the runs formed in the eighties had become established it is probable that more than one hundred worked on the cattle-stations. In 1890 a petition for more frequent mail services was signed by seventy-one men on but six of the twelve runs in the Centre.¹⁹³ Moreover, it is known that, prior to 1894, the number of police in the Centre never exceeded six,¹⁹⁴ that the number

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191. S.A.P.P. 74/91, p.39. For other estimates see M.C.N.T. In 477/88 (300 and a large floating population); H.Y.L. Brown, Report of Geological Examination of the Country in the Neighbourhood of Alice Springs (30th October, 1890) in S.A.P.P. 189/90, p.8 (about 200 in the central ranges and the country between them and Charlotte Waters).
192. Hermannsburger Mission^sblatt 8/80, p.159; E. Eylmann, op. cit. p.453; A.V. Purvis in Central. Advoc. 24.12.54, p.8; H. Bloomfield and sons, personal communication; undated press cuttings in possession of L. Green of Loves Creek.
193. M.C.N.T. In 628/90. Of 66 Central Australians who enrolled as electors in or before 1889 some 32 were connected with the pastoral industry (Electoral Roll (H. of A.): Flinders, July 1889); of 241 who enrolled in or before 1895 some 95 were connected with the industry (Roll of Electors for the Electoral District of the N.T., Palmerston, 2.9.1895).
194. See pp. 420-5 (below).

of men working on the telegraph stations probably never exceeded thirty-six,¹⁹⁵ and that, except for brief periods in the late eighties, the population on the goldfields fluctuated between thirty and fifty.¹⁹⁶ Apart from managers, however, the pastoral work-force was extremely mobile. In off-seasons those who were prepared to eke out a living by honest means took jobs as teamsters or cameleers, or, until the Government in 1890 ceased to pay a bounty for dingo scalps, led the hermit life of a dogger.¹⁹⁷ Others took to the less honest profession of the sly-grogster, the cattle-thief, or the 'speler'.

Sly-grogsters, extremely welcome in most sections of a community too small and scattered to support licensed hotels, did a thriving trade from the beginning of settlement, and their business was not greatly affected when police attempted to suppress it in the late eighties following the granting of a publican's licence to 'Billy' Benstead at Alice Springs.¹⁹⁸ Even Major Warburton, ex-Commissioner of Police, swore never to prosecute or persecute another

195. Cf. Todd, Report 1884, p.21; M.A. Rendell, The Chinese in South Australia and the Northern Territory in the Nineteenth Century: A study of the social, economic and legislative attitudes adopted towards the Chinese in the Colony (unpublished M.A. thesis, The University of Adelaide, 1952) p.213.

196. See Chap. 6, (below).

197. See M.C.N.T. In 315/86, 277/90, 351/90.

198. See Chap. 6, p. 580 (below); M.C.N.T. In 670/87; Port Aug. Desp. 11.9.88, 15.3.89, 12.9.90.

after he had tasted their wares north of Alice Springs in 1873.¹⁹⁹ And so it was that at race meetings in the mid-eighties 'go-carts' or 'bum boats' were numerous and whisky flowed like water at £1 a bottle,²⁰⁰ and that, for instance, one Palmer made an appearance at Alice Springs in December 1887 with 'no less than 14 camels all loaded with intoxicants' and was welcomed by all except the police and some station-managers and telegraph officials.²⁰¹ 'Spelers' often travelled in company with sly-grogsters, and were especially conspicuous at race meetings. 'A speler is known as a man that can do without working', wrote Chewings in 1886, 'and who travels from meeting to meeting with a pack of cards or a dice-box in his hand. To offer him work would be to take a liberty quite unwarranted. They are independent men; they have no need of work; they live by their wits'.²⁰² The 'speler' was never as widely tolerated in the Centre as the sly-grogster, probably because he was regarded by some as a parasite on his fellows. Cattle- and horse-thieves, on the other hand, who began operations in a small way in the eighties, were soon widely accepted and even

199. Warburton, Diary 1873-74, entry for 16.4.73.

200. Chewings, art. cit. (1886), Vol. 1, p.1049.

201. M.C.N.T. In 36/88. See also Luth. Kirchenbote 1/87, p.5; S. Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 19.7.87; Port Aug. Pol. Stn., Letterbook, Besley to C.P. 22.8.92; N.T. Times 28.2.90; Port Aug. Desp. 20.6.90, 12.9.90^{12.12.90}, 9.1.91, 30.1.91; P.C.O. In 683/93; M.C.N.T. In 281/87, 451/87, 707/90.

202. Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol. 1, p.1049; cf. S. Newland in Adel. Advertiser 29.7.87.

esteemed. During the 'ruby' and gold excitement of the late eighties their ranks swelled considerably. 'I doubt if ever they [the Aborigines] killed as many cattle as the whites did during the "Ruby" excitement,' wrote an 'Overlander' in 1890, 'more than half the men on the field never bought beef. They objected to pay sixpence per pound when they could get it for nothing.'²⁰³

That the professions of the sly-grogster and of the cattle-duffer became respectable in the Centre must be attributed basically to the isolated harshness of the environment and the consequent absence of the amenities of civilization. Since alcohol was desired by most of the populace, to supply it, though the action was illegal, was accounted a service to the community. Similarly, men with little capital, knowing that they themselves might one day be forced to steal a horse or, if they had ambitions to become independent pastoralists, that they had no prospect of obtaining cattle by means considered honest in the south, took no exception if their neighbours did what they had in their own minds to do. Similar causes probably underlay the open acceptance of the shooting of cattle-killing Aborigines in the eighties and the eventual acceptance of

203. N.T. Times 28.2.90. See also Port Aug. Desp. 31.5.95; Spencer, op. cit. (1928) p.351; S.A. Police Gaz. 18.1.93, p.11; A.S. Pol. J1., entries for 22.3.86, 24.3.86, 14.9.88, 16.9.88, 21.9.88; Eylmann, op. cit. pp.6-7, 13,454; Kirchen- und Missions- Zeitung 4/95, p.1.

'comboism'.²⁰⁴ The isolation and harshness of the environment, moreover, almost wholly secluded the people of the Centre from organized religion and the machinery of justice.²⁰⁵ In addition, if men like Winnecke are to be believed, these conditions attracted to the Centre a 'class of so called workmen' who were 'the outcasts of all the colonies'.²⁰⁶ Finally they were the chief causes of the disappearance from the Centre of the 'big' squatters and their managers, who were prepared to resist at least some aspects of the

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204. See pp.418-9,427-31 (below); Madigan, *op. cit.* p.71; Conrad H. Sayce, Golden Buckles. (Melbourne 1920) *passim*; Port Aug. Desp. 10.4.90, p.2. Though widely practised from early times, 'comboism' did not become wholly respectable until the nineties (see pp.351,353-4 below, and references 207 and 216). 'I have been among them twenty-four years, away from civilization, and I do not know what I would do without getting a bit of that sometimes,' Joe Harding told the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines Bill (1899) (S.A.P.P. 77/99, p.64). No-one would have dreamt of openly professing to be a 'combo' in the seventies and eighties.
205. See pp.428-9,581 (below). Apart from the Hermannsburg missionaries no minister of religion visited, let alone resided in, the Centre until 1901 (P.McD. Smith, The Strenuous Saint: Being an Account of the Longest Journey of William Magarey Wilkinson, Mission Priest of the Diocese of Carpentaria 1909-1918 (Adel. 1947) p.86; Gilbert White, Thirty Years in Tropical Australia (London 1918); S.A. Register, 15.8.01, p.5.
206. C. Winnecke, Journal 1877-81, entry for 19.1.80. See also *ibid*, entry for 12.6.80; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.58; S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 24.9.89, col. 983; W.H. Willshire, The Aborigines of Central Australia, with a Vocabulary of the Dialect of the Alice Springs Natives (Port Augusta, 1888) p.7; Kirchen- und Missions- Zeitung, 2/95 (p.1), 4/95 (p.1); pp.152-3, 346 (above). Cf. Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letter-book, Barrett to Besley 13.1.94; M.C.N.T. In 939/87.

'new morality' (for so it might legitimately be called, being quite different from the prevailing middle-class morality in South Australia).²⁰⁷ With the collapse of large-scale pastoral enterprise in the early nineties the only opposition, if the missionaries are excepted, came from a few telegraph officials and police officers. Once it had struck firm routes the new morality generated its own motive power. A newcomer might either condone (if not accept) it or become a social outcast,²⁰⁸ and no man could remain an outcast and sane in the Centre for long. Criticism by outsiders, informed or otherwise, tended to make its roots strike deeper and its adherents swell in numbers. When the missionaries at Hermannsburg in 1889 spoke out against comboism and the shooting of Aborigines, they were met with widespread and indignant protests of the innocence of the men against whom their allegations were made, and with hostile criticism of themselves.²⁰⁹ The Board of Enquiry that was subsequently appointed met with a refusal of any man to incriminate another and with remarkable uniformity of

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207. See pp.376-82 (below); Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol. 2, p.1049; M.C.N.T. In 281/87, 707/90; P.C.O. In 458/87.
208. Cf. Port Aug. Desp. 9.8.95, p.3; M.C.N.T. In 707/90; Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.39; S.J. Mitchell in Introduction (p.vii) to A. Giles, Exploring in the 'Seventies
209. See Chap. 5, pp.527-31 (below). Cf. S.A. Register 23.6.91 (letter from Ben Rogers), 25.6.91 (letter from T. Benstead); Adel. Observer 15.8.91, p.27; Willshire, op. cit. (1896) p.91.

attitudes. '...the people who have been called on to give evidence do not wish to get anyone into trouble', wrote an observer at Alice Springs.²¹⁰

This group solidarity, this virtual 'free-masonry of felony',²¹¹ which extended to most members of Central Australian society by 1894, may or may not have been partly the result of the 'convict-derived bush ethos',²¹² described by Russel Ward. In Chapter Two I suggested that runaway convicts and ex-convicts may have influenced the mores of pastoral workers in South Australia. Since most Central Australians probably came from the pastoral areas of South Australia and there was always considerable movement back and forth over the southern boundary of the Territory, it is probable that the convict influence was felt in the Centre too. There is, however, no possible way of demonstrating this. The material conditions of the Centre and of northern South Australia, both by the pressures they placed upon men to make moral adjustments and by attracting men most likely to make these adjustments, probably provide sufficient explanation of the origins and of the persistence of sentiments of group loyalty - and indeed, of other prominent traits of Central Australian

210. Port Aug. Desp. 15.8.90; cf. Conrad H. Sayce, op. cit. pp.56,222; Madigan, op. cit. p.11; Hartwig, op. cit. pp.6,44.

211. The phrase is Russel Ward's (The Australian Legend, p.28).

212. Ibid, p.5 and passim.

character: resourcefulness, a heightened sense of personality, the habit of 'work and burst', enormous profanity and equally enormous hospitality (if mistrust of strangers was overcome), and willingness to lend a helping hand.²¹³

There is little evidence that many station hands adhered to 'the tradition that a man should have his own special 'mate''.²¹⁴ The tradition was strong, however, among miners in the Centre,²¹⁵ and it may be that only the evidence is lacking in the case of pastoral hands: exceedingly few white women were available to either group, and it would be surprising if the same causes did not produce the same result. On the other hand, pastoral workers had greater opportunity than gold-fossickers to commence enduring relationships with Aboriginal women and hence to enjoy something approximating to 'that close

213. See Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol. I (p.1049), Vol.2 (p.281); J.J. Murif, From Ocean to Ocean: A Record of a Trip across the Continent of Australia from Adelaide to Port Darwin (Melbourne, 1897) pp. 61,82,97-98; Eylmann, op. cit. pp.10-11,18,454; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entries for 17.4.01, 13.5.01, 16.5.01; Adel. Observer 16.4.04 (p.39), 23.4.04 (p.39); Port Aug. Desp. 19.5.99, p.3; S. Newland, Memoirs (Adel.1926) pp.146,148; ———, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 2.7.87; Winnecke, Journal 1877-81, entry for 11.11.80; ———, Journal of Horn Expedition, entries for 28.5.94, 4 & 5.6.94, Hermannsburgers Missionsblatt 8/80, pp.158-9; Kirchliche Mitteilungen 3/95, pp.18-19; Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung 24/94 (p.189), 2/95(p.11). Cf. W.A. Horn, op. cit., 'Bush Echoes' (n.p.); Conrad H. Sayce, Golden Buckles (Melbourne 1920) passim; Madigan, op. cit. p.11.

214. Ward, The Australian Legend, p.93.

215. See Chap. 6, below.

psychic companionship which men seek in a wife.'²¹⁶

When white women did make an appearance at cattle-stations - probably less than half-a-dozen arrived before 1894 - they did not fail to leave their impress on their immediate surroundings. Baldwin Spencer left the following description of Crown Point as it was in 1894 after Mrs. Thomas Magarey and then Mrs. Alec Ross had lived there for some years:

The little homestead was on a rise on the western bank of the Finke...and there we were made welcome by Mrs. Ross, her husband being away on the run....At that time everything was green, the verandah overgrown with creepers, was cool and restful; we had fresh vegetables from a garden watered by a well close by the river, and the change from the dust and flies and crudeness of the camp to the comfort and refinement of the little station home was more than welcome.²¹⁷

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216. Ward, The Australian Legend, p.93. 'Comboism' was widely practised. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/83, p.205; Luth. Kirchenbote 7/85 (p.110), 4/88 (p.52), 9/89 (p.138); T.G.H. Strehlow, op. cit. (1957) p.6; M.C.N.T. In 87/87; Prot. Abos. In 150/85, 330/86; Eylmann, op. cit. p.458; Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung 21/95, p.163; Papers relating to expeditions undertaken by R.T. Maurice (S.A.A. 158/22), Maurice to Winnecke, 31.12.98; S.A.P.P. 17/99, p.64; Report of Messrs. Swan and Taplin on their Visit to Finke, etc. Mission Stations (S.A.P.P. 148/90) p.2; W.H. Willshire, The Aborigines of Central Australia, with Vocabularies of the Dialects spoken by the Natives of Lake Amadeus and the Western Territory of Central Australia (Adelaide, 1891) p.36; ———, The Land of the Dawning: Being Facts Gleaned from Cannibals in the Australian Stone Age (Adel. 1896) p.18.
217. Spencer, op. cit. (1928) p.51. Cf. Spencer & Gillen op. cit. (1912) p.184; Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung 24/94, p.187.

Homesteads lacking white women contrasted sadly with Crown Point. Gardening was carried on at few of them, and then only a number of years after they had been founded. Simpson Newland, travelling to the Centre in 1887, listened to his companion Joe Harding extolling saltbush as a table vegetable and later commented: 'As an article of diet it is surely time, when a country has been settled for ten or twelve years, that it were relegated to the cattle and sheep and the prosaic cabbage substituted.'²¹⁸ Missionary Kempe suggested that the reluctance of station-managers to practise gardening stemmed from a fear lest, by demonstrating the agricultural potential of the Centre, they helped to bring about the resumption of their runs for agricultural purposes.²¹⁹ Such a fear may have been prevalent in the seventies when the tide of agricultural optimism in the south ran high.²²⁰ But it is more likely that most managers simply did not believe that it was possible to garden successfully and did not try until telegraph officials and especially missionaries²²¹ had demonstrated its feasibility.

218. Art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 15.7.87; cf. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/80, p.170.

219. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 8/80, p.158.

220. See Chap. 5, p. 477 (below). Cf. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.122; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 14.7.74, col. 908; N.T. Times 1.10.81, p.3; S.A.Register 21.2.77, p.4; M.C.N.T.In 215/80.

221. See Chap. 5, pp.477-82 (below); Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.167.

Living quarters were makeshift and uncomfortable. Most buildings were rectangular in shape with floors of pug or flagstone, and thatched roofs. Walls usually consisted of horizontal logs or slabs, the chinks between them being stopped with pug. Often one of the end walls was made of stone and boasted a huge open fireplace and chimney. In other instances the whole building was of stone and pug, and, when camels lowered the cost of cartage, thatch was sometimes replaced by corrugated iron. Furniture was normally improvised from logs, packing-cases and greenhide.²²²

The loneliness and monotony of life on these homesteads -

Where the tall gum trees whisper
And the desert oaks moan
Must I, like the wild dog,
Be forever alone²²³

- was relieved on few occasions: by a drinking spree, a hunt for cattle-killers, a trip to the Alice or the Charlotte. Card games were popular, and gossiping and yarning became an art. Those who could read spent hours poring over newspapers and battered novels. The Adelaide Observer and (from the late eighties) the Port Augusta Despatch reached many stations, but perhaps the most popular newspaper was the Sydney Bulletin:

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222. Much of this information was gleaned on field-work, but see Spencer and Gillen, op. cit. (1912) pp.143,303; Winnecke, Journal of the Horn Scientific Exploring Exped., 1894, entries for 24.5.94, 26.6.94; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entry for 25.5.01; E. Eylmann, op. cit. p.40; W.H. Tietkens, Journal (loc. cit.) entry for 1.4.89; Madigan, op. cit. pp.202,207; N.T. Times 28.2.90.
223. Pt. Aug. Desp. 17.2.99 (by a manager of a Central Australian cattle station); cf. S.A. Register 25.6.91 (letter from T. Benstead).



PLATE 20

Glen Helen Homestead in the Nineties
By courtesy S. A. Archives

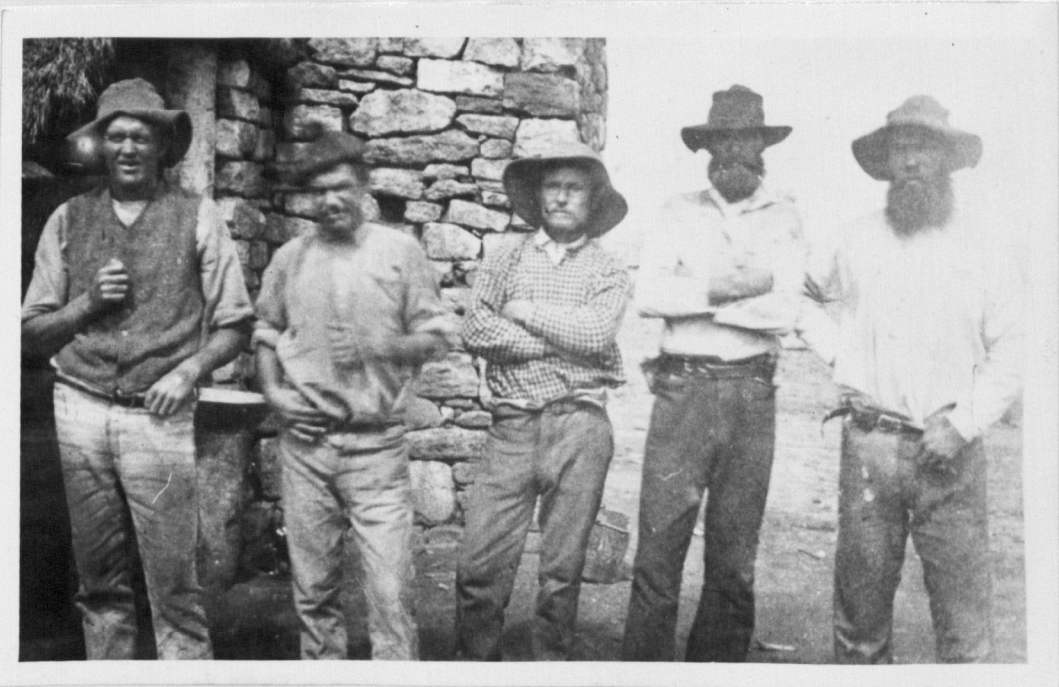


PLATE 21

Glen Helen Stationhands in the Nineties
By courtesy S. A. Archives

it understood the bushman, lauded his finer qualities, and above all refrained from criticizing him. '...it is without the slightest doubt, the very best all-round newspaper in the Southern Hemisphere', wrote Trooper Willshire in 1896, 'and must have on its staff some real live artists, whom the Almighty has endowed with more brains and method of using them than the men employed on some of those ranting, canting rags, who would, if they could, hang a man for shooting a treacherous, bloodthirsty native who pursues a solitary traveller to his night's encampment.'²²⁴

The infrequency of the arrival of the mail, however, ensured that reading matter was often exhausted before a new supply arrived. When in 1878 post offices were opened at Alice Springs and Charlotte Waters and a six-weekly pack-horse mail service established between the Peake and Alice Springs, 'J.K.' complained to the editor of the South Australian Chronicle that the mail used to arrive at least twice as frequently under the old system of entrusting it to 'any respectable person travelling up the line'.²²⁵ Probably as a result of agitation of this sort, a monthly service was instituted in 1879; but, because the up-mail arrived only after the down-mail had left, it was, as far

224. Willshire, op. cit. (1896) p.72. See also South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail 14.6.79, p.14; Pt. Aug. Desp. 8.2.95; cf. M.C.N.T.In 291/01.

225. S.A. Chronicle and Weekly Mail 14.6.79, p.14; and see Chap. 3, p. 241 (above).

as correspondence was concerned, no better than a bi-monthly service.²²⁶ At 1s.6d. per mile, however, it was the most expensive mail service in the colony, and the Government was naturally reluctant to improve it. The mailmen travelled directly up the telegraph line, bypassing Erldunda, Idracowra, Henbury, Tempe Downs, Hermannsburg and Glen Helen. Chewings in 1885 got many of the locals to sign a petition requesting the establishment of a branch-mail to Hermannsburg and Glen Helen, but it had no immediate effect. After further agitation, however, a monthly pack-horse mail to Hermannsburg was instituted in 1888, and in the following year, when Warburton induced Hon. A. Hay to raise the question in the Legislative Council, a post office was established and facilities for receiving and despatching telegrams were installed at Horseshoe Bend.²²⁷ Many a long ride to the Alice or Charlotte Waters was thus saved. By this time, however, the country required something more progressive than a packhorse mail. Though it was provided by regulation that parcels weighing no more than 1 lb. should be sent by post, it was said in 1887 that the average mail weighed some 400 lbs. and included articles such as

226. Todd, Report 1884, p.78; M.C.N.T. In 826/88, 393/89; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 8/80, p.158.

227. Todd, Report 1884, p.78.

228. Chewings, art. cit. (1886), Vol. 2, p.90; S.A.P.D. (H.of A.) 8.12.87, col. 1808, (L.C.) 30.10.89, col. 1372; Port Aug. Desp. 16.8.87, p.2; M.C.N.T. In 826/88.

boots, trees and barbed wire. Sometimes the packages broke and the contents worked into the horses' sides; often articles arrived in a badly damaged condition.²²⁹ These circumstances alone rendered a wheeled-mail highly desirable, but it is doubtful whether packhorses would have been forsaken but for the 'ruby' and gold discoveries. Immediately after these discoveries tenders were invited for the fortnightly conveyance of mails and passengers by coach to Alice Springs. N.A. Richardson of Port Augusta West was the successful tenderer. He established a number of 'changing stations', each in charge of a few Aborigines, on the road to Alice Springs, and every two weeks started a coach north on its journey of nine or ten days.²³⁰ Passengers were few, however, and after a few months the service was placed on a monthly basis; and there it remained in spite of letters of protest and a petition bearing the signature of almost every station-hand north of the Peake.²³¹

Though reluctant to ride 150 miles to fetch their mail or send a telegram, Central Australians never tired of riding double the distance to attend race meetings. In 1878 the MacDonnell Range Turf Club was formed, and its first meeting that Christmas was a great success. Byt the

229. Todd, Report 1884, p.72; S. Newland in Adel. Advertiser 29.7.87.

230. Port Aug. Desp. 10.2.88, p.2; Spencer and Gillen, op. cit. (1912) p.222.

231. M.C.N.T.In 393/89, 628/90.

mid-eighties similar clubs had been formed at Charlotte Waters and Barrow Creek, and the passion of Central Australians for the sport had developed into mania. 'It is astonishing to find what a deal of interest is taken in horseracing in the centre of Australia,' wrote Chewings in 1886, '....Not a man is to be had at the time the races are on; neither love nor money will induce him to leave the grounds before the meeting is over.'²³² The only sport enjoyed in the Centre,²³³ horseracing provided an opportunity for everyone in a community in which everyone knew everyone else to meet everyone else at the same time and, by drinking or gambling a year's wages away, to attempt to banish a twelve-month monotony. The total stakes at Alice Springs sometimes exceeded £500 and were said to have once amounted to £900 at Charlotte Waters; and visitors were attracted from the Top End, from the northern areas of South Australia and from within the Queensland border. But extravagance on this scale could be maintained only so long as the pastoral industry flourished; and when money was short and 'spelers' a nuisance in the late eighties, the clubs at Charlotte Waters and Barrow Creek were disbanded and the stakes

232. Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol. 1, p.1049.

233. Athletic events were sometimes organized at race meetings. A cricket club was formed at Alice Springs in 1890 (Port Aug. Desp. 12.9.90, p.3), but it is doubtful whether a match was ever played.

lowered at the Alice.²³⁴

Decline, 1889 - 94.

In the latter part of 1889 two severe blows were dealt to the pastoral industry: at a time when squatters were desperately looking for returns from their heavy investments in the seventies and eighties, a drought²³⁵ set in and prices²³⁶ for cattle dropped to a level at which beef-raising in the Centre would have been unremunerative in most seasons. The drought was to last until 1894, the low prices until 1899. By the end of 1894 every station in the Centre except Erldunda, Frew River and Elkedra had been abandoned or had passed into the hands of those better able to carry on. Frew River and Elkedra were abandoned in 1895-96.

At the onset of drought and low prices, Central Australian squatters turned to the Government. In April

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234. See Adelaide Advertiser 15.7.87; N.T. Times 12.9.85, 9.1.86, 8.1.87, 7.4.88, 28.2.90; Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.39; Port Aug. Desp. 28.1.81, 31.1.90, 9.1.91, 30.1.91, 12.6.91, 21.12.91, 22.1.92, 8.12.93; S.A. Register 13.6.79 (Supplement); M.C.N.T.In 1074/88 (J.J. East to M.C.N.T. 14.11.88, pp.4-5); A.S. Police Journal, entries for 1.1.86, 27.12.86, 30.3.88; W.B. Spencer (Ed.) op. cit. I, p.132; Barclay, art. cit. (1907) p.443.
235. See Appendix I, also e.g., S.A.P.P. 28/90, p.3; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) pp.85.
236. See Appendix III; also, e.g. M.C.N.T.In 327/89; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.59; Duncan, op. cit. p.235.

and May 1889 representatives of all the big stations in the Centre joined other Northern Territory pastoralists in demanding an extension of tenure and of the period (seven years) for which a lease could be held at the minimum rental of sixpence per square mile. They were able to make out a strong case by pointing to the poor prices prevailing, the inadequacy of stock routes, the high price of labour and cartage, the great difficulty and expense of stocking their runs, and the slow increase of their herds owing to disastrous seasons and depredations by Aborigines. Some threatened to abandon their runs if legislation was not forthcoming.²³⁷ Both daily newspapers agreed that new legislation was necessary,²³⁸ the Cockburn Government was won over, and in September a Bill, a comprehensive measure dealing with all aspects of land tenure in the Territory was introduced in the Legislative Council by the Minister (J.H. Gordon). Its pastoral provisions, however, were regarded as unsatisfactory by squatting interests in the Council. It provided for payment for improvements by the incoming lessee, but rent was to be by valuation above a minimum of sixpence per square mile, stocking conditions were to be more stringent and there was to be no increase in tenure. Rent by valuation was popular with a Government anxious to check speculation

237. M.C.N.T.In 327/89, cf. 655/90.

238. S.A. Register, 26.4.89; Adel. Advertiser, 26.4.89.

but unpopular with squatters who had never learnt to trust their Governments since Goyder's valuations and who much preferred fixed (and low) rentals and a long tenure.²³⁹

Moreover, the Bill provided for selection before survey in the whole of the Northern Territory, and Cockburn, who was noted for his radical views on the land question, had already seen fit, because of the influx of miners in 1887 and thereafter, to withdraw all pastoral lands within a radius of 100 miles of Alice Springs from sale.²⁴⁰

Disagreements arose between the Assembly and the Council, and after much amendment the Bill was shelved late in December on the motion of Hon. D. Murray, who thought that a more suitable measure could be introduced in the following year.²⁴¹

Gordon introduced an almost identical Bill - an important difference was that it provided for selection before survey only in the country north of the seventeenth parallel - in July of the following year, lost his job in August when the Cockburn Government fell, and then calmly supported the

239. See, e.g., Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.v, 59,141,147-8; S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 22.7.90, col. 558; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.85.

240. See M.C.N.T.Out 341/89; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 18.7.89, col. 276.

241. See S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 23.7.89 (col. 277), 17.9.89 (col. 897), 24.9.89 (cols 980-4), 25.9.89 (col. 1060), 9.10.89 (cols. 1154ff.), 16.10.89 (cols 1233f.), 5.11.89 (col. 1415), (H. of A.) 14.11.89 (col. 1573), 19.11.89 (col. 1603), 21.11.89 (col. 1666), 28.11.89 (cols. 1758-66), 3.12.89 (col. 1801-5), (L.C.) 4.12.89 (col. 1817), H. of A.) 4.12.89 (col. 1858), (L.C.) 6.12.89 (col.1884); M.C.N.T.In 327/89.

representatives of the squatters in the Legislative Council, who were accused of 'voting as a class',²⁴² in getting the Bill amended and passed. Tenure was increased to 42 years. Rent was fixed at 6d. for the first seven years, 1s. for the second, and 2s. for the third; thereafter it was to be fixed by the Government by valuation irrespective of improvements, and, if disputed, by a representative of the Government and a representative of the lessee. In addition, leaseholders were given an opportunity to surrender their leases, within twelve months of the passing of the Act, for new leases of fourteen years, the rent for which was to be fixed by valuation. The £25% penalty for non-payment of rent was reduced to £10% and three months instead of one month were allowed within which to pay rent. Three years were allowed to stock a run with one great or five small cattle per square mile and seven years to stock with two great or ten small cattle. Notice of resumption, however, was decreased to three months if the land was required for mineral or public purposes and twelve months in other instances - for which provision pastoralists had to thank the mineral discoveries of the eighties and proposals for

242. S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 16.12.90, col. 2422.

a transcontinental railway.²⁴³

'The laws are so liberal that unless you give them a bonus to go and keep the land I do not know what else can be done',²⁴⁴ said Goyder in 1895; and Hansard shows that most M.P.s, though anxious to promote the pastoral development of the Territory, were in the same predicament.²⁴⁵ Compensation for improvements, they argued, would be too costly for a Government which received a negligible income from the pastoral industry.²⁴⁶ The problem might have been overcome by increasing rents, which there is good reason to believe were too low in that they encouraged speculation and deprived the Government of the means of providing essential services (such as adequate stockroutes) to pastoralists;²⁴⁷ but such a proposition could scarcely have been carried at the height of a depression, and, if carried, would no doubt have led to extensive abandonment

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243. See Act 501 of 1890 ('The N.T. Crown Lands Consolidation Act, 1890') Part IV s.54 and Part V; S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 24.6.90 (col.202), 9.7.90 (col. 429), 16.7.90 (col. 504f.), 22.7.90 (col. 558f.), 29.7.90 (col.619), 12.8.90 (col. 803), 3.9.90 (col. 1006), (H. of A.) 9.9.90 (col. 1068), 14.10.90 (col. 1535), 25.11.90 (col. 2126), 27.11.90 (col. 2192), 4.12.90 (col. 2256f.), 9.12.90 (col. 2275), (L.C.) 16.12.90 (col. 2419f.), 19.12.90 (col. 2581f.), 23.12.90 (col. 2641); S.A. Govt. Gazette, 26.2.91, pp.610-11.
244. Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.), p.22.
245. The same might even be said of some Central Australians, including pastoralists. (See Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) passim; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) pp.26,27,85.
246. Duncan, op. cit. pp.373,379.
247. Ibid, pp.268-9.

of pastoral country. Furthermore, they argued that it would be foolish to grant security of tenure when there was a possibility that large mineral discoveries might be made any day, and that a land-grant railway might be built.²⁴⁸ In the event no such discoveries were made, nor any railway built, but they could scarcely be expected to foresee this.

It can hardly be doubted, then, that the legislators did their best for the country as a whole. One has to agree with Duncan,²⁴⁹ however, that the failure to provide for compensation and a reasonably secure tenure were serious weaknesses in South Australian pastoral legislation. It meant that pastoralists were extremely reluctant to invest in improvements and the banks unwilling to advance them loans²⁵⁰ against their leases when they were most in need of them.

These and other shortcomings were brought home to a Pastoral Lands Commission which visited the Centre in March and April 1891. Appointed in January 'to inquire into the best means of dealing with the available pastoral lands of the...colony',²⁵¹ it automatically assumed that the Centre

248. See, e.g., S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 27.11.90 (col. 2192), 4.12.90 (cols. 2256-7), 19.12.90 (col. 2582). Cf. ibid 6.8.65, col. 476; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.vi.

249. Op. cit. pp.373-9, 383-4.

250. See p. 383 (below), M.C.N.T.In 168/87.

251. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.), p.iii. (It is here stated that the Commission was appointed in March, but this is an error - see ibid, p.IX).

came within its terms of reference. It reported that it considered different laws for the country between 20°S and 32°S latitude unnecessary, and its recommendations included a number of provisions which the Act of 1890 had not applied to the country north of the twenty-sixth parallel: a Pastoral Board was to be set up to fix rents, receive applications, and so on; the system of auctioning forfeited leases was to be abolished on the grounds that it forced rents up; and there was to be compensation for improvements and greater security of tenure. The Commission had, moreover, been favourably impressed with the agricultural potential of the MacDonnell Ranges (which had decked themselves out splendidly for its visit), and recommended that pastoralists be encouraged to cultivate for home consumption and that suitable localities be set aside and offered under special terms for the encouragement of agricultural experiments.²⁵² Unfortunately, legislators were unable to bring themselves to break with precedent by legislating for one half of the Territory and not the other, and when most of the recommendations of the Commission were incorporated in an Act in 1893 they were made to apply only to South Australia proper.²⁵³ The Centre had to wait until 1899 for

252. Ibid, pp.v-vii and passim; S.A. Register 16.4.91, p.5 (telegram from Alice Springs).

253. Act 585 of 1893; E.M. Smith, Presidential address in R.G.S.A., S.A.Br., Procs. Vol. XXV (1923-4) p.21; Bowes, op. cit., p.348.

compensation for improvements and greater security of tenure.²⁵⁴

How many lessees took advantage of the opportunity to convert their leases into new fourteen-year leases is unknown. Since much of the country held at the time had been taken up in 1881 or thereafter, few lessees stood to gain a longer tenure by conversion, but those who were not too distrustful of Government valuations could hope to obtain a decrease in rent. The W.L.P.A., at any rate, secured a reduction from 2s.6d. to 6d. per square mile for at least 2,320 square miles of the country it held.²⁵⁵ The only other lessees known to have taken advantage of the offer were Warburton, Tennant and Love, and the Tempe Downs Pastoral Company.²⁵⁶

For the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company the offer came too late: in 1889, in an effort to reduce its expenses when the rent on its land increased to 2s.6d. per square mile it had thrown up 15,000 square miles. A further 2,000 (approx.) square miles were forfeited by other lessees in the same year, and in 1890 some 6,000 square miles were thrown up. In 1891 there were few, if any, forfeitures, but in the three years that followed some 20,000 square

254. Act 722 of 1899, s.35.

255. S.A.P.P. 158/93, p.1; M.C.N.T.In 636/91.

256. Cancelled and Surrendered Pastoral Leases, 1886-1903 (C.A.O., N.T.A. unnumbered); M.C.N.T.In 586/91, 835/91; S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.10.

miles - much of it good country held by established lessees - were thrown up.²⁵⁷ The area of land taken up during the same period (1889 - 94) was small. In 1890 some 10,000 square miles were applied for near Charlotte Waters and Alice Springs, probably partly because the Minister reduced the initial rate of bidding at auctions from 6d. to 1d.; but in the other five years the total amount taken up probably did not exceed 1,000 square miles.²⁵⁸

The main reasons for the small amount of land applied for during this period were undoubtedly depression and drought. A further reason was that no good new country was discovered. W.H. Tietkens, the former lieutenant of Giles, was the only explorer to take the field. Finding himself - a 'wanderer by accident' who wanted 'nothing so much as to settle down to a quiet life with those he loved'²⁵⁹ beset by 'pressing necessities'²⁶⁰ in 1886, he delivered a lecture to the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (South Australian Branch) shrewdly calculated to bring about his appointment as leader of an expedition to Lake Amadeus and its vicinity. The lake, he argued, was bound to have a

257. See Appendix II; M.C.N.T. In 327/89; pp.334-5 above; Duncan, op. cit., p.92.

258. See S.A.P.F. 28/91 p.26 and Appendix II.

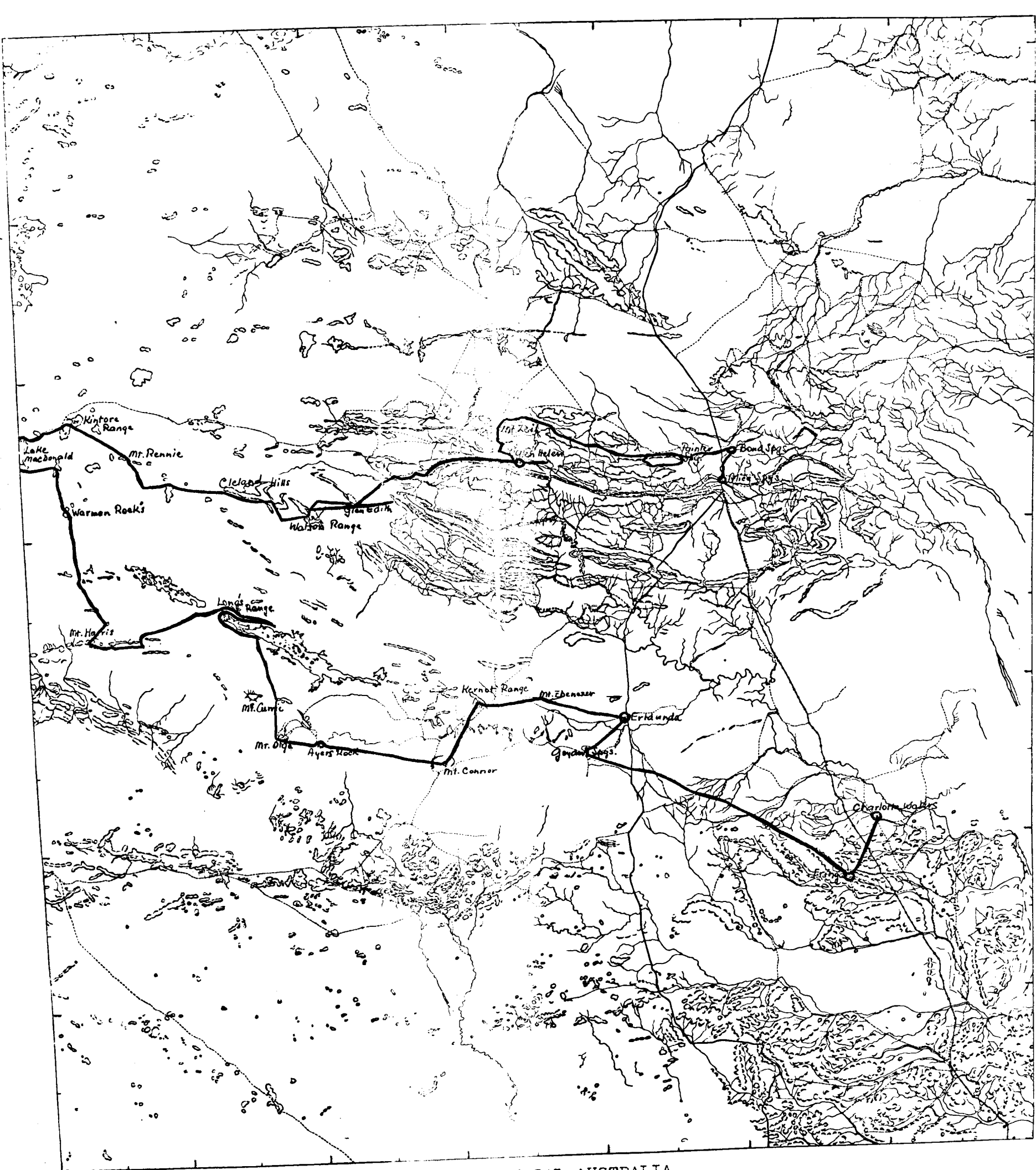
259. Louis Green, art. cit., p.20.

260. Tietkens, Reminiscences (loc. cit., n.p.).

'channel of supply', and it was probable that such a channel rose in a chain of mountains he and Giles had seen to the north-west in 1873. If so, it was also probable that 'a safe and easy overland route to the settlements on the north-west coast' might be discovered - a route which would be particularly valuable if, as he thought, the Lake Amadeus basin contained vast underground supplies of water.²⁶¹ He gained the appointment two years later when a prospecting expedition sent out by members of the South Australian and Victorian Branches of the Society had completed its work and it was thought desirable to make further use of equipment in the field.²⁶²

Tietkens left Alice Springs for Glen Helen on 14th March with two Europeans, a black-tracker, an Aranda 'weei', twelve camels and provisions for four months. After prospecting the country in the vicinity of Mt. Razorback and Mt. Sonder, he bade farewell to Glen Helen on 16th April and travelled west via Glen Edith, the Cleland Hills, Mt. Rennie and the Kintore Range until, on 1st June, he reached Lake Macdonald on the western border of the Northern Territory. Since he had cut no 'channels of supply' and his instructions forbade him to go further west, he turned north-

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261. W.H. Tietkens, 'Lake Amadeus and the Vicinity' in R.G.S.A., S.A.Br., Procs. Vol. 2 (1886-7) pp.39,41.
262. See Chap. 6, pp.551,554 (below); W.H. Tietkens, Journal of the Central Australian Exploring and Prospecting Association's Expedition, 1889 (S.A.P.P. 111/1890), p.1.



VI. MAP OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA
 Showing Route of the Exploring & Prospecting Expedition
 under the command of William Henry Tietkens
 1839

east to Lake Amadeus, defined its borders, visited and photographed Mt. Olga and Ayers Rock, and on 22nd July was welcomed by Warburton at Erldunda. A few weeks later he left Charlotte Waters for the south with a collection of seven new species of plants and ninety-four geological specimens.²⁶³ The Government Geologist praised his geological collection highly and used it to compile a 'Geological Sketch' of much of the new country;²⁶⁴ and the Surveyor General was sufficiently impressed with his journals and maps to recommend that he be paid £250 for them.²⁶⁵ Geographical and geological knowledge had been extended, but Tietkens was obliged to report all the country he had discovered worthless.²⁶⁶

As the drought fastened its grip on the Centre pastoralists found themselves unable to move their stock to markets or agistment in the south. 'That the present condition of the wells [on the north-south stockroute] is a disgrace to the whole colony', wrote a visitor to Frew River in 1891, 'anyone who has had occasion to use them will admit. For the use of travellers the water is unwholesome, and the inadequate raising appliances makes it almost impossible to water stock. The wells are all

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263. See Tietkens's Journal, entries for dates mentioned in text and passim; M.C.N.T.In 825/89.
264. Tietkens, Journal, appendix.
265. M.C.N.T.In 825/89.
266. Ibid; Tietkens, Journal, passim.

without lids, and prove a good trap to all sorts of animals. The troughing also is deficient and incomplete'.²⁶⁷ This state of affairs was partly due to lack of co-ordination between the two authorities responsible for water-conservation in South Australia and the Northern Territory - the Engineer-in-Chief's Department and (under the Minister) the Department of Post and Telegraphs respectively. Partly as a result of agitation by Central Australian pastoralists, especially by representatives of the W.L.P.A., this anomaly was abolished in 1892, the authority of the Engineer-in-Chief's Department being extended to include the Territory.²⁶⁸ Moreover, an additional well was sunk between Oodnadatta and Charlotte Waters and other wells improved during the period under survey, and in 1892 the Government embarked upon a program of sinking a line of artesian wells along that part of the route.²⁶⁹ North of Charlotte Waters, however, less work was done, though the vote for the provision and maintenance

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267. Quoted in S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 12.8.91, col. 707. See also ibid cols. 704-6; S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.9; Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.57,110,114,116,119,122, 126-8,131,141,152-3,183,192; Report of N.T. Commn.(loc. cit.) pp.85,91; M.C.N.T.In 3/91,407/91,588/91,796/91, 479/92,413/93,49/94; S.A. Register 6.9.92, 13.8.96.
268. See Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.183; Adel. Observer, 20.6.91,p.6; M.C.N.T.In 628/90,138/91,407/91, 588/91,796/91,410/92,479/92; S.A. Register 6.9.92; S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 12.8.91 (cols. 704-7), 3.8.92 (col.492), 14.12.92 (col. 2100).
269. See M.C.N.T.In 570/91,588/91,796/91; S.A.P.D. (H.of A.) 9.8.92 (col. 542), 7.12.92 (col. 1969), 13.12.92 (col. 2075), (L.C.) 3.8.92 (col. 492), 14.12.92 (col. 2100), 8.11.93 (col. 2668); W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit. p.30.

of wells on the north-south route in the Northern Territory for the years 1889-90 to 1893-94 (£3,200) compared favourably with the vote for the preceding five years (£1,200).²⁷⁰ £2,040 of the vote was expended, mostly on maintenance.²⁷¹

As a result of improvements to the stockroute and some timely falls of rain 7,578 cattle and 222 horses passed south through Charlotte Waters in 1893 and 13,652 cattle and 1,413 horses in 1894.²⁷² Some of these probably came from cattle-stations north of Tennant Creek, but it is impossible to say how many. The cattle were valued at only £39,286, however, and the horses at £7,545,²⁷² and it is probable that there were sometimes considerable losses on the road. Thornton of Tempe Downs sent a mob of his best cattle to market in 1893, lost 5% of them on the way, and received only £1.7s.9d. per head for the survivors.²⁷³ During the three previous years it is probable that many fewer livestock left the Centre, and losses were probably

270. See p. 343 (above); S.A. Commr. of Audit, Reports 1890-94; Duncan, op.cit., p.182.

271. S.A. Commr. of Audit, Reports 1890-94.

272. S.A.P.P. 24/95, p.22. Accurate records of livestock movements across the southern border of the N.T. became available for the first time in 1893. Customs officers were appointed at Charlotte Waters in 1888. Unfortunately, they kept no record of livestock movements until 1893, and after 1893 gave no indication in their reports of where livestock came from. See M.C.N.T. In 778/88, 152/92; N.T. Times and Govt. Gaz. 12.1.89, p.1; S.A.P.Ps. 28/90 (p.11), 28/91 (p.20).

273. M.C.N.T. In 111/94.

heavier. Of 1,440 cattle started for Hergott Springs in 1889 by the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company only 840 reached their destination,²⁷⁴ and the only exports in 1890 and 1891 were a few small mobs of cattle and horses from Crown Point, Tempe Downs and Mt. Burrell.²⁷⁵ More than 500 cattle were started from Frew River and Elkedra in 1892 for Stuarts Creek Station south of Lake Eyre, only to be detained by dry weather at Undoolya for a year or more.²⁷⁶ But for the hopes held out by pastoralists for the development of a profitable local market on the goldfields, the general collapse of the industry might have occurred sooner than it did.²⁷⁷ When cattle did reach Adelaide they were rarely assured of the best market, or, indeed, of any market at all. Competition from Queensland for the Adelaide market had steadily grown in the late eighties and by the early nineties was overwhelming.²⁷⁸ Between 1889 and 1894 the cattle population of Queensland jumped dramatically from 4,872,000 to 8,013,000,²⁷⁹ and the South Australian

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274. M.C.N.T.In 327/89. Cf. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.58,124.
275. Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.90; Luth. Kirchenbote 5/91, p.76; Port Aug. Desp. 16.1.91; Pastl.Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.144.
276. S.A. Register 6.9.92; M.C.N.T.In 413/93, 479/92.
277. See M.C.N.T.In 327/89; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.153; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) pp.129-30; cf. Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.11.
278. S. Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 19.7.87; M.C.N.T.In 655/90; Duncan, op. cit. p.232; S.A.P.P. 28/91. p.9; Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.v, 58,59,119,122,128.
279. S.A.P.P. 3A/1897.

Government, realizing that Queensland had greater potential than the Northern Territory as a source of beef, expended far greater sums of money on the Birdsville track than on the route to the Centre²⁸⁰ - a fact of which Central Australian pastoralists were sometimes heard to complain bitterly in the nineties.²⁸¹

The cattle population of the Centre declined from about 49,210 in 1889 and 52,300 in 1890 to some 36,400 in 1894.²⁸² Exports and depredations by Aborigines²⁸³ probably accounted for the major portion of this decline, but drought undoubtedly accounted directly for some of it. The number of horses²⁸⁴ in the Centre reached a peak of about 6,460 in 1891; thereafter their numbers steadily declined, though less rapidly than those of cattle, horses being less affected by drought and Aborigines than cattle and fewer of them being exported. Sheep numbers²⁸⁵ declined from about 10,000 in 1888 to 4,400 in 1894, chiefly because the wool-growing experiment on Murray Downs was abandoned in 1889 and because, at about the same time, the owners of Bond Springs insisted that the Department of Post and Telegraphs remove those of its sheep that were grazing beyond the boundary of the reservation at

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280. S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 3.8.92 (col. 492), (H.of A.) 21.7.97 (col. 234); Port Aug. Desp. 6.4.94, p.2; cf. Duncan, op. cit., p.183.
281. See, e.g., Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.141; S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 3.8.92, col. 492; cf. S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.9.
282. See Appendix IV. Cf. Duncan, op. cit., p.95.
283. See pp.400-3,408-9, 419 (below).
284. See Appendix IV .
285. Ibid.

Alice Springs.²⁸⁶ All sheep save a few on Crown Point grazed at Hermannsburg and the telegraph stations.

By January 1891 the railhead had been moved north to Oodnadatta, but owing to dry seasons and the fact that the carriage of goods to the Centre had become the monopoly of a few camel-carrying concerns, notably that of Faiz and Tagh Mahomet of Hergott Springs,²⁸⁷ pastoralists hoped in vain for a reduction in the heavy cost of cartage.²⁸⁸ Moreover, the cost of railing cattle south from Oodnadatta being prohibitive, stockowners still had to walk their cattle all the way to market. Some even expressed the opinion that a railway as far as Alice Springs would serve no useful purpose and that the Government would do much better to provide adequate stockroutes.²⁸⁹

Willoughby, Gordon and Youl were the first to succumb to low prices and dry seasons. In 1889 they sold Bond Springs to James Cowan, who had secured Crown Point in 1886,²⁹⁰ for an undisclosed sum. It is known, however, to have left them heavy losers.²⁹¹ Cowan managed to hold on to his two stations through the lean period because of

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286. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.167.
287. See Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) p.129; N.E. Phillipson, art. cit. p.84, Cf. M.C.N.T. In 82/89.
288. See Appendix V.
289. Pastl. Lds. Cmmn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.109,113,119,125, 144; Report of N.T. Cmmn. (loc. cit.) p.129, cf. p.122.
290. See p. 330 (above).
291. M.C.N.T. In 327/89, 433/92. Cowan bought two of the blocks comprising Bond Springs at auction after Youl, Gordon and Willoby had forfeited them in 1889.

his large financial resources, his thrifty management (John Ross referred to him as 'the worst employer in the colony'²⁹²) and his daring: in 1888-89 he allowed leases of 5,385 square miles of his country, for which he was paying 2s.6d. per square mile to lapse on the chance that no bid would be made for them at auction. The gamble came off, and in 1890 he successfully re-applied for the country at 6d. per square mile.²⁹³ Tennant and Love sold Undoolya to the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company in 1890 at a heavy loss, and after one or two years the Company in turn sold at a loss to the powerful W.L.P.A., which was to remain in possession until 1907.²⁹⁴ At the same time the Company abandoned Stirling and Murray Downs after heavy losses (one of its minor shareholders lost £4,000 in three years).²⁹⁵ Some of this country was occupied by the W.L.P.A., which also held Frew River and Elkedra, but by 1896 the Association had abandoned all its country to the north-east of Alice Springs without

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292. John Ross to his sisters Sarah and Helen, 2.8.97 (copy in possession of Mrs. P.D. Boerner of Alice Springs).
293. M.C.N.T.In 281,304 and 416/92; Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.152. Cowan was killed in a railway accident near Dry Creek in July 1890. His widow became administratrix of his estate. (Adel. Observer 26.7.90, p.34).
294. See S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 20.11.01, p.271; S.A.P.P. 28/90, p.3; Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.115; C.A.O., CP 811, NTR 1B; Adel. Observer 25.7.91, p.33; M.C.N.T.In 121 355/07.
295. Adel. Observer, 18.7.91 (p.6), 22.8.91 (p.34); Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.57-8. Cf. M.C.N.T.In 686/84.

even attempting to dispose of the cattle on it, and J.H. Angas, its principal shareholder, was reported to have lost £40,000.²⁹⁶ In September 1893 the Tempe Downs Pastoral Company sold Tempe Downs to its manager (who contrived to hold on for a few years) for £2,500, and reported a net loss of £27,000.²⁹⁷ In November, Grant and Stokes sold the 15,000 cattle on Idracowra, Glen Helen and their Macumba run for 11s. each after reporting that their operations in the Centre had involved 'one endless out-pouring of money';²⁹⁸ and Sir Thos. Elder sold the cattle and horses on Mt. Burrell and Owen Springs, with the leases given in, to stock- and station-agents for 10s. or 5s. and 12s.6d. or 10s. each respectively,²⁹⁹ after having spent some £40,000 on the two stations in about eight years.³⁰⁰

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296. M.C.N.T.In 413/93, 337/01; C.P.P. 76/22, p.7; Port Aug. Desp. 16.12.98, p.3; Murif., op. cit. p.104; H.Y.L. Brown, Reports on Arltunga Goldfields etc. (loc. cit.) pp.9-10; Eylmann, op. cit. p.462. Cf. S.A.Pol. Gaz. 17.6.91, p.95.
297. S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 20.11.01, p.271; M.C.N.T.In 111/94.
298. M.C.N.T.In 655/90; Adel. Observer, 29.7.93 (letter from 'Gumsucker'), 23.4.04 (p.39); N.T.Times 26.5.93, p.2; C.P.P. 76/22, p.24; S.A.P.D., 5.9.94, col.1221. Cf. Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.) p.128; M.C.N.T.In 764/84, 1009/85 (Grant and Stokes had invested £33,000 without return by 1885); R. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol.I, p.65.
299. Which were the actual prices is unknown. The only two accounts of the transaction I have seen conflict on this point. See D.J. Gordon, The Pastoral Industry: Its Present Condition and Possible Future (Adelaide, 1894) p.20; S.A.P.D. 5.9.94, col. 1221).
300. Port Aug. Desp. 15.6.94, p.4.

In the following year Charles Gall (previously manager of Owen Springs), A.D. Breaden and Sidney Kidman secured Owen Springs.³⁰¹ Parke and Walker held on at Henbury, but as ruined men who were to sell out at the turn of the century.³⁰² Of all the pastoralists who had entered the Centre in the seventies and eighties, only Warburton of Erldunda was in as good a position in 1894 as when he started. With his partner, Tomlin, and later with his nephew, J.H.E. Warburton, he was to remain in possession of Erldunda and prosper moderately until his death in 1917.³⁰³

The secret of Warburton's success lay in his ability to economize and come to terms with the land. He began in a small way, lived frugally, employed few white hands, worked hard and was patient for the fruits of the land. Not so those who failed. They were 'big' men impatient for big returns. They began by overestimating the country,³⁰⁴ partly

301. Ibid, 1.11.95, 22.11.95.

302. Miss C. Parke, personal communication; M.C.N.T.In 404/02. Cf. A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.53 ('Glen Helen' should read 'Henbury').

303. C.P.P. 76/22, p.248; Bundles of Pastl. Permits (N.T.A., unnumbered) 142. Cf. Waldron, op. cit. p.38. For further evidence that no pastoralist made a profit in the Centre over the period 1872-94, see S.A.P.D. (H.of A.) 6.8.84 (col. 532), 24.7.89 (col.306), (L.C.) 24.9.89 (cols. 983-4), 12.8.91 (col. 705); Pastl. Lands Commn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.57,124,128,166; C.P.P. 76/22,p.187; N.T. Times 28.2.96, p.3; Port Aug. Desp. 25.5.94,p.4; M.C.N.T.In 655/90, 645/91; Duncan, op. cit., pp.347-51.

304. Cf. Waldron, op. cit. p.38; M.C.N.T.In 327/89, 655/90; S. Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 9.8.87.

from wishful thinking, partly because of the power of the land to deceive. Such was this power that even after drought and depression men were speaking in superlatives of the Centre's potential. 'Steprails' of the Port Augusta Despatch visited the MacDonnell Ranges in 1894 and had visions of 'bountiful gifts of nature all lying in primitive state' and of the day when 'a population may conserve the rain in those natural reservoirs, and the hillsides will be dotted with farmsteads.'³⁰⁵ W.A. Horn, a more experienced observer, visited the Centre in the same year and made the following comment:

I have seen portions of this Eremian region which have been reduced by drought to the condition of a moving mass of sand, and yet within a month of a heavy fall of rain, the country was covered with a most luxuriant vegetation and capable of carrying an enormous amount of stock. These rapid changes have, however, led to ruinous losses among the pastoralists, as people with a meagre knowledge of the climate, and who have seen this country for the first time after one of those tropical downpours, imagine it to be its normal condition, and are induced to send out large numbers of stock to graze....³⁰⁶

This was typical of a huge area of inland Australia, and it took squatters a long time to realize it. 'After I was

305. Port. Aug. Desp. 15.6.94, p.4. Cf. S.A.P.P.28/91, p.9; N.T. Times 21.2.90, 21.3.90; S.A. Register, 1.5.95, p.5; Port Aug. Desp., 25.5.94 (p.4), 13.1.99 (p.3); Adel. Observer, 6.6.91, p.36; Pastoral Lands Commn., Report (loc. cit.), pp.113, 142; Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.), pp.27,75,83,85; C.Chewings, 'Central Australia' in Roy. Geog. Soc. and Mthly. Record of Geog., Procs. Vol. XIII (1891) pp.348,356, 357,361-2.

306. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition, p.vii.

ruined in the Territory [on Mt. Burrell], and got out of it,' testified G.J. Gilmour to a Commonwealth Parliamentary Committee in 1921, 'I felt for a good many years that I had been unfortunate in striking a dry cycle, but after nearly thirty years of personal experience in the interior [mainly in Queensland] I have unhesitatingly come to the conclusion that I was wrong.'³⁰⁷ Having overestimated the country, the big pastoralist was prepared to invest heavily in it. He spent thousands of pounds on livestock and equipment and paid high wages,³⁰⁸ to large numbers of stationhands and to a manager. 'Those were big companies, with a general manager and a station manager, etc. and 22 men on the place, and the owners in England', exaggerated 'Gus' Elliott of The Bend in 1921.³⁰⁹ Aborigines would probably have served as well as the hands he employed, (who were, as we have seen, usually of a decidedly inferior quality), but he made little effort to exploit this source of labour.³¹⁰ Confident that the land would quickly repay him, he was prepared to foot both a high wages bill and (consequently) a high cartage bill. Much of the money he spent on livestock, wages and cartage would

307. C.P.P. 76/22, p.189.

308. See, e.g., Duncan, op. cit. pp.345-6; Hermannsburger Missionsblatt 8/90, p.158; Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung 22/95, p.11; M.C.N.T.In 655/90.

309. C.P.P. 76/22, p.24. See also pp.346-7 (above). Cf. Waldron, op.cit. p.38.

310. See pp ~~43, 44, 47-50, 457-8~~ (below); cf. Adel. Observer 25.7.91, p.33. This conclusion is based chiefly on a dearth of references to Aboriginal labour in my sources.

doubtless have been better invested in improvements, especially water improvements, on which he spent little;³¹¹ though it is probable that it would have been even better for him had he not spent it at all in a land so grudging as the Centre. The manager he installed was not inclined to work himself to the bone for a master in the city and and often found that instructions arrived too late or unattuned to local conditions. Remote control of marketing meant that he was not always able to seize the few opportunities presented to him to dispose of his stock.³¹² Finally, he quickly lost faith in the land when it demonstrated that he had overestimated it, and declined to risk any further capital.

After visiting the Centre in 1887 as Chairman of the Transcontinental Commission Simpson Newland declared that requisites for the success of the pastoral industry in the face of the problems of marketing and cartage were 'either men who are prepared to spend years of their life at it until the few stock they begin with increase, men who will live hard, work hard, and lie [die] hard; or capital, capital, capital.'³¹³ By 1894 considerable capital had

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311. See reference 170 (above); S.A. Register 2.5.91, p.6. Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.126,128; Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.) p.86; Duncan, op. cit. 158-63, 386, 389.
312. Cf. Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.124); Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.) p.85.
313. S. Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 9.8.87; cf. Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.122.

been tried and had failed, and there was no prospect that the sort of capital envisaged by Newland would be attracted. So complete was the big pastoralists' loss of faith that he was unwilling to fall back on banks and try again; and had he been willing he would have found no bank to support him.³¹⁴

Butlin has demonstrated that between 1865 and 1900 a small number of banks and finance companies gained control and direction of much of the pastoral industry in New South Wales.³¹⁵ There was no such trend in the Centre. The big pastoralist financed himself for the most part; and when faith in the country deserted him he merely cut his losses and vanished from the land. His place was taken by the 'small' man, who required little, if any, capital.

Partly because he was less ambitious, partly because he had come to know the land while working on the big stations of the seventies and eighties or plodding behind teams or fossicking for gold, the small man did not over-estimate the country. If he had a little capital he bought a few cattle and patiently waited for them to multiply; if he had none, he duffed the nucleus of a herd or took possession of unbranded cattle missed during the final muster of an abandoned run. He improvised most of the equipment he

314. Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.87-88;
Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.) p.32.

315. N.G. Butlin, 'Company Ownership' of N.S.W. Pastoral Stations 1865-1900' in Hist. Studs. Vol.4 No.14 (May 1950) pp.89-111.

required, employed few Europeans and many Aborigines, and compensated for his loneliness by taking Aboriginal women to him. Together with other small men in the Centre, pastoralists or otherwise, he presented a common front to all who objected to his methods. Having greater incentive, he worked harder than the manager for the big pastoralist and seized every opportunity presented by favourable weather conditions to turn off small mobs of cattle. With little to lose and no more attractive profession to turn to, he merely tightened his belt after the advent of drought and depression and did not lose faith in the country.³¹⁶

Duncan has defended the big pastoralist in the Northern Territory against charges of inefficiency and of locking up the land, arguing that the Territory was 'a big man's country virtually from the start.'³¹⁷ This may have been true of the Top End (and most of Duncan's evidence relates to that country); but in the Centre the small

316. See pp.385-7,593 (below); also, e.g., Eylmann, *op. cit.* pp.11,39-40; *Port Aug. Desp.* 11.5.06, p.2; *Adel. Observer* 23.4.04, p.39; H.V. Barclay, 'Report on Exploration of a Portion of Central Australia by the Barclay-Macpherson Expedition, 1904-5' in *R.G.S.A., S.A.Br., Procs.* Vol. 16 (1914-15), pp.113-4; *M.C.N.T.* In 291/87, 392/90; *C.P.P.* 76/22, pp.14,21,23,24,34, 248; F.G.G. Rose, *art. cit.* p.169 (but he post-dates the rise of the small man).

317. Ross Duncan, 'South Australia's Contribution to the Development of the Northern Territory Cattle Industry, 1863-1910' in *Hist. Studs.* Vol. 11, No.43 (Oct.1964), p.335.

pastoralist was more efficient than the big man in the sense that he was more economical and better able to exploit available markets, and the big pastoralist locked up the land in the sense that land became available for the more efficient enterprise of the small pastoralist only after the big pastoralist had failed. Though small men might have appeared earlier than they did, however, had land been available, it is doubtful whether they could have pioneered the Centre. Their way was paved for them by the big man, who supplied them with cattle and experience.

Already in 1894 small men were striking out for themselves. Mailman and ex-stationmanager Tom Williams and stockman Joe Harding were growing beef for a few miners east of Alice Springs;³¹⁸ storekeeper and mail-contractor E.H. Sargeant was setting himself up as a cattleman at Horseshoe Bend;³¹⁹ Richard Sandford, who in 1893 had applied for a lease of the 'abridged reserve...the hole of it if possible [sic],³²⁰ that had been created east of Charlotte Waters and then cancelled in 1892,³²¹ was tending a herd of 150 cattle he had duffed from Crown Point;³²² miner and drover

318. See M.C.N.T. In 673/87, 401/92, 315/93, 157/95, 395/96.

319. M.C.N.T. In 361/95; Adel. Observer 16.4.04, p.39; Spencer, op. cit. (1928) p.52.

320. M.C.N.T. In 144/93.

321. See p. 443 (below).

322. M.C.N.T. In 474/92. See also ibid 401/95; cf. Pastl. Lds. Comm., Report (loc. cit.) p.109.

C.J. Chambers, who held that 'When a man looks after his own business it always prospers better', was attempting to breed at Arltunga a heavy type of horse suitable for the Indian remount service;³²³ and William Hayes, an Irish-Liverpudlian in his sixties, who had arrived in South Australia in the fifties and in the Centre in the eighties after the wanderings of an Odysseus in the Far North, was tending, with a wife, four sons and two daughters, a mob of goats and cattle on 'Deep Well Allamba'³²⁴ Valley Station' south of Alice Springs. In 1892-93 he obtained a lease of Deep Well and 374 square miles of the country surrounding it, and by 1894 he was the proud owner of a few log huts, some troughing, a set of stockyards and a fenced garden. The Minister, who early in 1895 received the following letter together with overdue rent, would scarcely have predicted a bright future for him:

'Sir

i am sanding you cheque for £9.1.0 nine pounds one shiling for rant of leace No.1606 thar is Eight plasd to my credit in last year rant

yours truly

William Hayes.³²⁵

323. Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.) pp.84-86.

324. Also spelt 'Alamba' and 'Alhambra' by Hayes. A cattle station east of Deep Well is today known as 'Allambi'.

325. M.C.N.T. In 76/95.

By 1910 he was by far the biggest leaseholder in the Centre and well on the way to becoming a wealthy man.³²⁶

Aborigines and the Pastoral Industry, 1872-94.

The pattern of Aboriginal reaction to the settlers and explorers whose work has been described in this Chapter was similar to that experienced by Stuart, the men of the overland telegraph and the explorers of the early seventies, except that, with the passage of time, it embraced two new phases. 'Intelligent resistance' sometimes followed resistance; and 'intelligent exploitation' everywhere followed tentative approach, resistance or intelligent resistance. Intelligent resistance was similar to resistance, but is to be distinguished from it because it was a more carefully planned response to contact and appears to have been carried out by the young men of a local group or community instead of by all adult males. It occurred only where geographical and other factors delayed the process of pacification, thus enabling young men to become semi-

326. See M.C.N.T. In 293/93, 241/95, 362/95, 249/00, 404/02, 355/07; Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.39; Port Aug. Desp. 15.6.94, p.4; A.V. Purvis in Centralian Advocate 24.12.54, p.8; R. Cockburn, op. cit. Vol.2 pp.110-11; C.P.P. 76/22, p.40; Winnecke, Journal of Horn Expedition, entry for 20.7.94; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entry for 20.4.01.

civilized and wise in the ways of the white man. Intelligent exploitation was probably essentially a voluntary exploitation of the new food and material resources afforded by Europeans and thus a logical extension of tentative approach. Where Aborigines offered resistance after making tentative approaches its advent was hastened by pacification and depletion of indigenous food-supplies. During this phase of reaction Aborigines 'came in' to white settlements, formed more or less permanent camps in their vicinity, and for the first time made significant adaptations, chiefly in the economic sphere, to the European way of life. The factors regulating fear and avoidance, tentative approach, and resistance were essentially the same as in the early sixties and seventies, except that two new factors affected the intensity and duration of resistance: the depletion of indigenous supplies of food and water and the position occupied by any one cattle-station relative to other settlements.

Where Aborigines were contacted for the first time fear and avoidance was again, so far as is known, their most frequent reaction. Most Aborigines living in the country adjacent to the telegraph line where Crown Point, Idracowra, Mt. Burrell, Henbury (Southern Aranda), Owen Springs (Central Aranda), Undoolya (Eastern Aranda), Bond Springs (Northern Aranda), Annas Reservoir (Unmatjera), and Stirling (western

Kaititja and Unmatjera) were formed had, as we have seen,³²⁷ probably passed through the phase of fear and avoidance by 1875 and would certainly have passed through it by the time these runs were formed. When Hermannsburg Mission, Glen Helen (Western Aranda, Matuntara, and Kukatja), Erldunda (Matuntara and Antekerinja), Tempe Downs (Matuntara), and Frew River (eastern Kaititja and Wakaja)³²⁸ were founded, however, most Aborigines living there had probably not yet entered this phase. Unfortunately, there are few records of initial Aboriginal reaction in these areas. The experience of Chewings while exploring in 1881-82 and 1885,³²⁹ and of the Hermannsburg missionaries,³³⁰ however, leaves no doubt that fear and avoidance was by far the most common initial reaction of the Matuntara, the Kukatja, and the Western Aranda. Similarly, most Aborigines met by Barclay, Winnecke and Lindsay outside the settled districts disappeared as fast as they could, and all three explorers had occasionally to resort to running an Aboriginal down and catching him in order to extract information from him as to the

327. See Chap. 3, pp. 261-2 (above).

328. The Wakaja 'came in' to Frew River (see p. 402, below).

329. Chewings, art. cit. (1882), p. 233; _____, art. cit. (1886) Vol. 1, p. 1049, Vol. 2 pp. 138, 186; _____, op. cit. pp. xv, xvi.

330. See Chap. 5, pp. 495-6 (below).

direction of waters.³³¹

When moving in country outside the settled districts these explorers met instances of tentative approach only where Aborigines had been previously contacted by themselves or other Europeans, or where they remained at one place for some time. Again, curiosity and acquisition appear to have been the strongest motives of the Aborigines who made approaches, and women and children were usually absent during the first approaches. 'As our wanderings lasted several months', wrote Chewings after observing that the dominant reaction of Aborigines to his party was fear and avoidance, 'they became less shy, and would remain while we paid a visit to their camp to make presents of a little food or tobacco. By degrees friendly relations were established.'³³² After Barclay's men had been camped on the Gillen Creek for almost two weeks in 1878 three Aborigines visited them and stole an artificial horizon and a mercury bottle.³³³ In May of the same year Barclay came across a

331. See Winnecke, Journal 1877-81, entries for 18.8.78, 14.10.78; Barclay, Journal 1878, entries for 13.4.78, 11.5.78, 23.5.78; Lindsay, 'Explorations in the N.T. of S.A.' (loc. cit.) p.6; _____, 'Report of an Expl. Exped. across Aust.' (loc. cit.) entries for 15.3.86, 19.3.86. Tietkens evidently met with no Aborigines outside the settled districts - a conclusion which is supported by the fact that he was careful to record in his Journal particulars as to the numbers, condition etc. of Aborigines on Glen Helen (see his Journal, entries for 1,7 & 10.4.89 and passim).

332. Chewings, op. cit. (1936), p.xvii.

333. Barclay, Journal 1878, entry for 15.3.78.

very forward and friendly group of Aborigines on the Lucy Creek who had obviously been in contact with Queensland squatters.³³⁴ And Lindsay in 1886 met Eastern Aranda on the Giles Creek who had a smattering of pidgin English and who befriended him, guided him to water, gave him exact directions as to the course he should take after leaving the borders of his country and thus helped him to make his 'ruby' discovery.³³⁵

The experience of these explorers affords further evidence that the initial reaction of Aborigines to Europeans was incipient resistance or resistance only when one or more of the factors indicated in Chapter Three were present: when the Aborigines concerned considerably outnumbered Europeans, when their water supply was threatened, or when the terrain afforded good cover. When Winnecke in October 1878 emptied a well on the Sandover on which some sixty previously uncontacted Iliaura were depending the sixty became so hostile that shots had to be fired over their heads on two occasions in order to disperse them.³³⁶ In May of the same year one of Barclay's men was threatened by two armed Iliaura as he watered the party's horses on the

334. Ibid, entries for 23.5.78, 27.5.78.

335. Lindsay, 'Report of an Exploring Exped. across Aust.' (loc. cit.), entries for 26.2.86, 5.3.86, 6.3.86; cf. 23.3.86; N.T. Times 13.11.86. See also Chewings, art. cit. (1886) Vol. 1, p.1147.

336. Winnecke, Journal 1877-81, entry for 17.10.78.

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Marshall. The only other instance of resistance met with by these explorers was evidently occasioned partly by rough treatment previously accorded to some of the Matuntara. Upon crossing the Walker Creek one day in January 1882, Chewings and his companion suddenly found themselves confronted by about twelve Matuntara with spears poised, and whipped up rifle and revolver to cover them. 'Evidently they had heard of firearms', wrote Chewings, 'for they dropped their spears and vanished as mysteriously as they appeared.'³³⁸

Little is known of the nature of Aboriginal reaction to pastoral settlement from 1872 to 1880, but it may on the whole, I think, safely be regarded as a period of tentative approach. A.J. Giles in 1875 was of the opinion that only those Aborigines north of the MacDonnell Ranges were 'hostile and treacherous'. Though the Aranda of the MacDonnell Ranges were 'the most villainous looking rascals on the whole route [from Adelaide to Port Darwin]' he knew of no depredations committed by them; and all the tribes south of the ranges were 'so far, peaceably disposed towards the

337. Barclay, Journal 1878, entry for 9.5.78.

338. Chewings, op. cit. (1936) p.xvi; ———, art. cit. (1882), p.282. (The earlier source states that there were 'about twelve' would-be attackers, the later that there were 'fifty or more.') Ernest Giles came to a similar conclusion concerning a group of Matuntara he met in the Vale of Tempe in 1872. (E. Giles, Diary 1872, entry for 5.11.72).

whites.³³⁹ One of the chief causes of subsequent resistance - the depletion of indigenous supplies of food and rivalry for water - had scarcely become operative yet. Furthermore, it is unlikely that many serious clashes between Europeans and Aborigines could have taken place without leaving traces for the historian.

Beginning in 1881, however, all Aboriginal communities within whose territories European settlement had taken place or was to take place, with the exception of the western Kaititja and the possible exception of most Southern Aranda, adopted policies of resistance and did not drop them until they had been cowed into doing so. The western Kaititja adopted no such policy because they had already been pacified after offering resistance in the seventies.³⁴⁰ The attitude of the Southern Aranda is more difficult to ascertain. On the one hand, as we have seen, it is probable that at least those Southern Aranda living on the lower Finke had already passed through the phase of resistance;³⁴¹ on the other, there is evidence that the northern Southern Aranda offered some resistance in the eighties and early nineties - one cattle-killer ('Parké's' Jimmy) earned a

339. S.A. Register 10.12.75, p.6.

340. See Chap. 3, pp. 273-6 (above).

341. Ibid, pp. 251-2 .

wide reputation for his elusiveness³⁴² - and tradition has it that many Aborigines were shot on the middle and upper Finke 'in the early days'. Neither written sources nor tradition suggest, however, that the resistance offered by the Southern Aranda approached the resistance offered by other Aboriginal communities in either intensity or duration.³⁴³ Furthermore, a number of local circumstances lead one to expect a relative absence of resistance south of the central ranges. Since their country offered little cover and was occupied almost wholly by cattle-stations, the Southern Aranda had little chance of resisting effectively. Moreover, since most of these stations were flanked by sparsely populated desert country to the east and by other cattle-stations to the west, and since Aborigines have a traditional respect for tribal boundaries, it is improbable that many non-Southern Aranda 'came in' to them.

The other Aranda communities and the Unmatjera were the first to offer widespread resistance. In the early eighties, as stock numbers on established runs rapidly increased, a severe drought³⁴⁴ set in. In 1881 Chewings noted a general

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342. Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, South to Besley 12.3.93. Cf. C.P.P. 76/22 p.187; Prot. Abos. In 360/84 (Wurmbrand to Besley, 5.6.85: 'Charcoal Jack of Idracowra'.)
343. Cf. S. Newland in Adel. Advertiser 29.7.87; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.11; Chewings, op. cit. (1936) p.vi.
344. See p. 339 (above).

atmosphere of fear among settlers on the upper Finke: they considered the blacks 'unsafe out from the stations' and wore revolvers on their hips wherever they went.³⁴⁵ Soon the missionaries were reporting that their neighbours often complained of cattle-killing by Aborigines and that it was not uncommon to hear that an offender had been shot.³⁴⁶ On Owen Springs, Undoolya, Glen Helen and the newly-formed Annas Reservoir run cattle-killing had become so prevalent by August 1884 that the Sub-Inspector of the Far Northern Division of South Australian Police³⁴⁷ spoke of 'the present emergencies' and sent M.C. Brookes of Barrow Creek to help cope with the situation.³⁴⁸ Gathering together a party of blacktrackers and stationhands Brookes set out in pursuit of cattle-killers on Annas Reservoir, tracked a mob down and ordered his party to fire upon them when they resisted arrest; but, though some were wounded, all were said to have escaped into the ranges.³⁴⁹

Just before dawn one morning soon after Brookes's party had set out a number of Unmatjera warriors attacked and set fire to Annas Reservoir homestead while all hands except stockman Harry Figg and cook Thomas Coombes were out on the

345. Chewings, op. cit. (1936), p.vi.

346. See Chap. 5, pp.525 (below); M.C.N.T.In 45/84; Luth. Kirchenbote 3/84, p.38; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/83, p.202.

347. Hereafter referred to as 'The Sub-Inspector of Police' or 'the Sub-Inspector'.

348. C.S.O.In 1480/84. Cf. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 6/85, p.101.

349. C.S.O.In 1480/84.

run (probably chasing cattle-killers with Brookes). Coombes was severely wounded, both men were nearly incinerated, £1,600 worth of stores were destroyed and the Unmatjera retreated after one of their number had been shot.³⁵⁰

Footprints surrounding the homestead told a tale, warrants were taken out for their owners, and a party of police, settlers and trackers under M.C. Willshire of Alice Springs set out to apprehend the offenders. On 29th August, after capturing four lubras and extracting 'useful information' from them, the party surrounded a camp of some sixty Unmatjera before dawn, and, according to Willshire, shot two who resisted arrest and wounded three others. Before returning to Alice Springs on 17th September the party came across at least two other groups of Unmatjera and shot 'Jimmy Mullins notorious cattle-killer' and 'Boco' when they resisted arrest.³⁵¹

Meanwhile, on 11th September at Alice Springs, about thirty Aborigines from the west had attacked an Aboriginal shepherd named Tommy who 'having [a] revolver, defended himself and shot one'.³⁵² Though it turned out that the

350. Ibid.; M.C.N.T.In 1072/86; Port Aug. Desp. 19.9.84, p.2; Adel. Observer 23.4.04, pp.39-40; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.10; ———, The Land of the Dawning; Being Facts Gleaned from Cannibals in the Australian Stone Age (Adel. 1896) p.20; A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.50. 'Coombes' is also spelt 'Combes' or 'Combe' in various accounts.

351. Prot. Abos.In 266/84; Port Aug. Desp. 19.9.84, pp.2-3; C.S.O.In 1480/84.

352. Prot. Abos.In 266/84.

thirty had come to punish Tommy for recovering a lubra they had previously stolen from him,³⁵³ settlers and police interpreted the attack as indirectly aimed at themselves. M.C. Daer, who had been sent up from Charlotte Waters, took out warrants for Youlla, Apareeltha, Althaparings and others and organized a party of settlers and trackers which traced the offenders to where they had been killing cattle near Simpsons Gap, fired about thirty rounds to 'disperse' them, and wounded Youlla.³⁵⁴

Reports having meanwhile reached Alice Springs that Aborigines were killing cattle on Undoolya, a trooper and ten stationhands went in pursuit.³⁵⁵ It was probably this party or one of the many others that carried out raids on cattle-killers to the east of Alice Springs during the next few years³⁵⁶ that effected the 'Blackfellows Bones' massacre. 'Blackfellows Bones' is the European name for 'Italinja', a honey-ant totemic centre on the northern edge of Harts Range.³⁵⁷ Contemporary sources are silent as to the origin of this name, but the name itself and tradition among black and white in the Centre leave small doubt that some time in

353. This is Tommy's account. It is more likely that he stole the lubra in the first instance from the thirty.

354. Port Aug. Desp. 19.9.84 (p.3), 29.9.84 (p.2); Prot. Abos.In 266/84.

355. Port Aug. Desp. 29.9.84, p.2. ('Tennant's' has been taken to mean 'Undoolya' which was owned by Tennant and Love).

356. See pp. 399-400 (below); Prot. Abos.In 266/84 (3 shot dead, 4 wounded).

357. A Mt. Riddoch station water-point in the vicinity today bears the name of 'Blackfellows Bones Bore'.

the eighties a party of police, trackers and settlers shot a large number of Unmatjera (perhaps fifty, perhaps one hundred) who were gathered there on a ceremonial occasion.

Early in October news came from Glen Helen that fifteen cattle had been speared in a fortnight and that manager James MacDonald and two of his men had been attacked in a gorge by about sixty Western Aranda. Hurrying to the station, M.C. Daer overtook four of the offenders, for whom warrants had been issued, wounded one and failed to make any arrests.³⁵⁸ Two days later (on 9th November) a brother of an Austrian count - M.C. Erwein Wurmbbrand - who had been sent up from the Peake as a reinforcement arrived at the Alice; and on 13th November set out with two stationhands and four trackers to succeed where Daer had failed. Arriving at Glen Helen, he received news from missionary Schwarz that three of the offenders were at Hermannsburg. Hurrying there he arrested them at dawn, chained them heavily together, and shot them when they allegedly tried to escape in a gorge on the track to Glen Helen. Relieved of his captives, he started round Mt. Sonder after the other attackers and at dawn on 8th December surrounded a camp and shot four who resisted arrest.³⁵⁹

358. Prot. Abos. In 293/84, 332/84; Port Aug. Desp. 15.10.84, p.2; Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.3.

359. Prot. Abos. In 360/84, 150/85; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 6/85, pp.102-3; S.A. Register 10.1.90; P.C.O. Out, C.P. to His Excellency Leo Count-Wurmbbrand-Nappach 11.5.93 (S.A.A. 605); Port Aug. Desp. 19.5.93, p.2.

For some months it seemed that the Aranda and Unmatjera had had enough. But then at 3 a.m. one morning early in April 1885 a mob of Western Aranda surrounded Glen Helen homestead evidently with the intention of burning it down. A station boy gave the alarm, however, and the attack was frustrated. When Wurmbbrand learnt of the incident he immediately left for Glen Helen, taking a circuitous route via Annas Reservoir, Stuart Bluff Range and Mt. Sonder lest, he claimed, the offenders should have warning of his approach; he was probably also determined to catch up with a few more of the attackers of Figg and Coombes. For more than two weeks he worked with a party of four trackers and two settlers in the Annas Reservoir area, following the tracks of three Unmatjera wanted for 'arson and cattle-killing'. He made no arrests and claimed he shot only one. From 11th May he spent a further two or three weeks chasing offenders on Glen Helen, and admitted to shooting/^{one}and wounding others at the foot of Mt. Sonder after two of his trackers had been injured. A stationhand who accompanied him informed the missionaries that the number actually shot was seventeen.³⁶⁰ In the following year cattle-killing broke out on Undoölya again and at least four parties under Willshire and Wurmbbrand rode out all over Eastern Aranda territory: with what result is

360. Prot. Abos. In 360/84, 150/85.

is unknown; they made few reports and no arrests.³⁶¹

By the end of 1886, it is probably true to say, the phase of resistance among the Aranda (apart from the Western Aranda or Glen Helen) and the Unmatjera had virtually passed.³⁶² No sooner had Aboriginal depredations ceased in the occupied country within an eighty-mile radius of Alice Springs, however, than they began on an even larger scale on Tempe Downs, Erldunda (to lesser extent) and, a few years later, on Frew River and Elkedra.

The Matuntara of Tempe Downs began killing cattle early in 1887, some two years after the run had been founded. By May of that year some twelve cattle had been speared.³⁶³ From then until 1893 cattle-killing increased, especially after the advent of drought, in spite of the fact that the police at Alice Springs regularly patrolled the district during 1887-88 and 1891-93 and that during 1889-91 M.C. Willshire and six trackers were stationed at Boggy Water (some fifty miles from Tempe Downs homestead) with express instructions to put an end to it.³⁶⁴ Early in 1893 manager

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361. A.S. Pol. Journal, entries for 29.3.86, 15.4.86, 15.9.86, 29.9.86, 15.10.86, 18.10.86, 24.10.86. Cf. P.C.O. In 566/87 Wurmbrand to Besley 27.8.87).
362. Cf. N.T. Times 28.2.90; Wurmbrand to Besley 27.12.85 (copy by courtesy Miss D.M. Pyatt).
363. P.C.O. In 475/87. See also Ibid 65/87 (South to Besley 2.6.88); A.S. Pol. J1, entry for 27.4.87.
364. See pp. 424-5 (below), also M.C.N.T. In 49/89 (Willshire to Besley 30.11.88), 40/90, 61/93; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Dalton to Chief Sec. 17.1.93, Marshall to Besley, 6.2.93, Daer to Besley 25.8.93; A.S. Pol. J1, entries for 12.5.87, 29.8.87, 1.9.87, 20.11.87, 12.6.88, 22.7.88; P.C.O. In 475/87; S.A. Register 31.8.88.

Thornton reported that 600 cattle had been killed in 1892, 1,000 since the foundation of the run.³⁶⁵ Later that year two mounted constables and ~~six~~ trackers were stationed at Illamurta.³⁶⁶ By the end of 1894 ten of the leading cattle-killers had been arrested and gaoled, including the notorious 'Race-horse' and some of his 'mob', who for years had wreaked havoc among Tempe Downs and (to some extent) Glen Helen cattle. M.C. Daer caught three who had killed a calf and had them whipped. A good season set in, and with it a temporary lull in cattle-killing.³⁶⁷

Since Erldunda Station lies approximately on the boundary separating Matuntara from Antekerinja territory, it is not known for sure which community began to resist the white man there in 1887; it was probably the Matuntara.³⁶⁸ At 7 a.m. on 17th May 1887 fifteen or sixteen 'wild' Aborigines attacked the log hut within which Warburton, his neighbour Parke and drover Charles Fox were soundly sleeping. A lubra gave the alarm, however, and the attackers were repulsed with gun-fire. A month or so later there was an outbreak of cattle-killing on Erldunda. In June-July and October-November two strong parties, headed by M.C. Daer and Wurmband respectively, rode out all over the countryside,

365. C.S.O. In 82/93.

366. See p. 425 (below).

367. See Appendix I; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Cowle to Besley 18.7.93, 6.8.93, 1.9.93, Daer to Besley 28.1.94; M.C.N.T. In 101/94; W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit. IV, p.7.

368. The police parties which went in pursuit of Aboriginal offenders confined their activities chiefly, if not wholly, to Matuntara territory.

shot two cattle-killers who resisted arrest and one of the attackers of the station (who had escaped after being arrested), and caught two of the attackers alive.³⁶⁹ During the next few years cattle-killing was rare on Erldunda, but it became widespread when the drought set in. A number of police parties spent weeks at a time scouring the Erldunda country for offenders in 1892 and 1893 and are known to have wounded one and arrested six Aborigines who had killed cattle or taken part in an attack on two of M.C. Daer's trackers.³⁷⁰ Few cattle were killed on Erldunda in or after 1894.

The eastern Kaititja and Wakaja (who evidently 'came in' to Kaititja territory from the east³⁷¹) appear to have commenced killing cattle soon after the Frew River and Elkedra runs were formed in their country in 1888-89. In June 1891 about sixty Wakaja attacked the palisaded Frew River homestead very early one morning, but manager Coultard and three of his men, forewarned by dogs and a lubra, succeeded in driving them off. By mid-day, however, they had reappeared

369. P.C.O.In 475/87,277a/88; A.S.Pol. Jl., entries for 23.5.87, 26.5.87ff, 20.11.87; Port Aug. Desp. 28.10.87 (p.2), 10.1.88 (p.2); Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.11; Tietkens, Journal (loc. cit.) entry for 2.8.89.

370. See p. 427 (below); Port Aug. Pol.Stn. Letterbook, Daer to Besley 14.11.92 and 2.1.93, South to Besley 12.3.92; Prot. Abos.In 66/93; Port Aug. Desp. 17.3.93, 28.7.93.

371. Cf. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit. IV, p.13; Adel. Observer 8.8.91, p.32; Port Aug. Desp. 16.12.98, p.3. 'Wakaja' is spelt 'Waagai', 'Wagai', 'Agia', and 'Akia' in contemporary sources.

on nearby hills. 'Before long we shall probably have to fight the blacks', wrote bookkeeper H.B. Walkington, 'as they appear to be strong, and as they have some half-civilized niggers in their mob.'³⁷² It is probable that they did fight them on a number of occasions. Two further attacks were made on the station buildings before 1895, and cattle-killing steadily increased. As the grip of the drought tightened in 1893 the cattle were forced to go deep into the ranges for water, and the Kaititja and Wakaja set upon them, scattering them all over the countryside, 'perishing' and killing over 300 in three weeks. When rain fell the situation eased a little, but by the beginning^{of} 1894 it was worse than ever. In March Coulthard reported that 600 cattle had been speared in a few months. In 1895-96 the stations were abandoned.³⁷³

By late 1894 the phase of resistance had come to an end in the whole of the occupied Centre except on Glen Helen, Tempe Downs and Frew River. Most of the ascertainable reasons why it occurred and why it varied in intensity and duration in different parts of the country are implicit in the foregoing account. In the first place, the fact that

372; Adel. Observer 8.8.91, p.32.

373. See pp. 377-8 (above); p. 458 (below); Eylmann, op.cit. p.462; C.P.P. 76/22, p.43; Prot. Abos. In 117/91, 37/94; M.C.N.T. In 296/93, 413/93, 101/94; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Bennett to Besley 18.7.93; Adel. Observer 8.8.91 (p.32), 11.7.91 (pp.34, 36).

Aborigines greatly outnumbered Europeans undoubtedly both emboldened them to attack in particular instances and ensured that their resistance would be longer and more spirited than that offered by Aborigines in those parts of Australia that were more rapidly and densely settled.³⁷⁴ It may also partly explain why resistance continued on Glen Helen and Tempe Downs after 1894: both these runs were far removed from the main centres of population and the north-south thoroughfare. In the second place, where a station occupied a frontier position, as did Glen Helen, Tempe Downs, Erl-³⁷⁵ dunda and Frew River, the coming-in of Aborigines from beyond the frontier ensured a lengthy period of resistance. Thirdly, the nature of the terrain affected both the intensity and duration of resistance. 'It is generally recognized', wrote D.J. Gordon after visiting the Centre in 1890 'that those tribes who live in the ranges and on the banks of rivers are a bad lot and that those on the plains and in country easy to reach are quiet and inoffensive.'³⁷⁶ Rugged country both presented Aborigines with more opportunities for attack and gave them a better chance to evade punitive parties and live to resist again, than flat country. Thus

374. Cf. Chap. 6, p. 589 (below).

375. See reference 371 (above); M.C.N.T.In 354/91 (min. Besley 6.7.91); Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Dalton to Chief Sec. 17.1.93, Marshall to Besley 6.2.93. Cf. S. Newland in Adel. Advertiser 29.7.87; Chewings, op. cit. p.147.

376. Adel. Observer 11.7.91, p.34. See also, e.g., W.B. Spencer (Ed.) op. cit., IV, pp.7,83; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Dalton to Chief Sec. 17.1.93; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.18; P.C.O.In 475/87.

the approaches to most of the homesteads attacked offered good cover; far more cattle were killed in rugged country (Glen Helen, Tempe Downs, Frew River) than in plain country; and resistance lasted much longer, though both runs occupied frontier positions, in the rugged Tempe Downs country than in the flat Erldunda country.

Availability of indigenous supplies of food and water, in the fourth place, affected resistance. European settlement made considerable inroads in some areas into these supplies, whether by depleting them or by denying Aborigines access to waterholes.³⁷⁷ When drought came along the problem of finding adequate food and water became acute, and it is probably no co-incidence that the worst outbreaks of cattle-killing occurred during the droughts of the early eighties and nineties. 'The condition of these old people and indeed of many of the young and delicate was deplorable', wrote F.J. Gillen of Aborigines who came in to the ration depots established in the early nineties, '...and one cannot wonder that cattle killing was rampant.'³⁷⁸ It is unlikely, however, that Aborigines speared cattle merely for food. Too many were speared for that, and too many carcasses left to rot.

377. See pp. 314, 340 (above); also, e.g., Report of Pastl. Lds. Commn. (loc. cit.) p.116; Sel. Committee of the L.C. on the Abos. Bill, 1899 (S.A.P.P. 77/99), p.101; Prot. Abos. In 330/86; Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1899), p.50.

378. M.C.N.T. In 101/94. Cf. Pastl. Lands Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.125.

It is probable (in the fifth place) that, with the passage of time, the initial Aboriginal fear of the white man was replaced by a fear lest he become a permanent intruder and by a desire to harass him and drive him out of the country.³⁷⁹

Finally, the intensity and duration of resistance depended partly on the policy Europeans adopted towards Aborigines. It is probable that many Aboriginal 'atrocities' were committed from a desire to retaliate for cruel treatment, shootings, the illicit sexual relationships some settlers had with Aboriginal women, and the desecration of sacred sites. We have already seen that 'comboism' was prevalent among settlers. This practice usually occasioned no ill-will, the Aboriginal woman being offered to the settler in return for small 'payments'. Where the settler was not offered a lubra, however - as probably often happened before the Aborigines had become 'intelligent exploiters' - he sometimes took one by force, thereby, apart from giving the deepest offence, unwittingly incurring the penalty of death at Aboriginal law. Eylmann and the Hermannsburg missionaries advanced this practice as an important cause of Aboriginal retaliation, and it is often advanced by Aborigines today as the chief cause of the various attacks known to them on

379. Cf. C.S.O.In 1480/84; Prot. Abos.In 101/90; P.C.O.In 475/87; Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1927), p.92.

homesteads and the persons of settlers.³⁸⁰ It was probably no co-incidence that some of these attacks were frustrated by a lubra who 'gave the alarm'.³⁸¹ Brutal treatment of Aborigines, if we may believe the missionaries and others,³⁸² was common, and we have already seen that Aborigines who committed depredations were frequently shot. That these acts sometimes occasioned reprisals scarcely requires explanation.³⁸³ Europeans are known to have looted tjurunga caves on a number of occasions, and the Aborigines' freedom of access to totemic sites, which^{were} often located at or in the vicinity of water-holes, was probably curtailed on all cattle-stations. It is impossible that Aborigines did not violently resent this 'desecration'.³⁸⁴

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380. Eylmann, op. cit., pp.462,463; S.A. Register, 1.4.90, p.6; Prot. Abos.In 360/84. See also S.A. Register 25.6.91 (letter from Taplin); M.C.N.T.In 98/01.
381. See pp. 401,402 (above); cf. S.A. Register 23.6.91 (letter from Ben Rogers).
382. See, e.g., Prot. Abos.In 360/84; Hermannsb.Missionsb. 6/85 (p.101), 6/86 (p.93); S.A. Register 10.1.90; Charles Chewings, Natives of Central Australia: Their Strange Habits and Customs (Adel. 1909) pp.4-5; N.T. Times 9.5.90; Eylmann, op. cit. pp.18,43,462,463; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.37.
383. Cf. Eylmann, op. cit. pp.40,462-3; Hermannsb Missionsb. 6/86, p.93; Prot. Abos.In 360/84.
384. See Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1899), pp.50,136; W.B. Spencer (Ed.) op. cit., IV, p.76; Winnecke, Journal of Horn Expedition, entries for 22 & 23.6.94. Cf. Papers rel. to expedns. undertaken by R.T. Maurice (S.A.A. 158/19-23), Maurice to Winnecke 9.10.98, 17.11.98, 1.12.98, 31.12.98, 8.1.99.

By the late eighties or early nineties resistance had passed into intelligent resistance on Glen Helen, Tempe Downs and Frew River, and a few instances of the latter policy had been seen on Owen Springs and Henbury.³⁸⁵ There was, of course, no abrupt change. It is not easy to distinguish the dividing line between the two policies; in many districts they ran parallel to one another for a number of years. When Aborigines adopted intelligent resistance it was as though they had realized the futility of a head-on clash with Europeans. Bands of young men, most of whom had learnt something of the ways of white men and were described as 'semi-civilized',³⁸⁶ retreated into mountain fastnesses and waged a kind of guerilla war against settlers, while the old men, unable to assist them otherwise than by offering encouragement,³⁸⁷ became intelligent exploiters. Willshire in 1889 admirably illustrated

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385. For examples and evidence of the continuance of intelligent resistance after 1894, see (apart from the sources indicated below) A.S. Pol. Journal, entries for 26.8.86, 29.8.86, 28.1.87, 28.3.87, 24.4.88; Port Aug. Pol. Stn., Letterbook, Dalton to Chief Sec. 17.1.93, Marshall to Besley 6.2.93, Bennett to Besley 18.7.93, Cowle to Besley 18.7.93, 6.8.93; M.C.N.T. In 40/90, 296/93, 143/98, 463/03; P.C.O. In 540/96, 949/98, 64/99, 380/99.
386. See, e.g., Willshire, op. cit. (1891) pp. 25, 29; S.A. Pol. Gaz. 17.6.91, p. 95; M.C.N.T. In 143/98; P.C.O. In 64/99. Cf. Adel. Observer 15.8.91, p. 27; P.C.O. In 540/96.
387. Some contemporary observers believed that the young men acted at the instigation and under the direction of the old men. See M.C.N.T. In 354/91 (min. Besley 6.7.91); Prot. Abos. In 21/90, 101/90.

the attention these young men devoted to tactics. '...they kept a constant watch for me', he wrote of cattle-killers on Tempe Downs after spending twelve frustrating months in pursuit of them, 'and when I passed, they came down on the flats below, and killed cattle, they were hard to get on account of so many ranges, therefore they got cheeky and slapped their behinds, at my party,....No man could catch those natives alive...they are as wily, as wild ducks & as cunning as it is possible to be, ever on the alert, watching all my movements...'³⁸⁸ That this sort of resistance could not have taken place in plain country is obvious. Rugged country afforded cover and enabled young men to stay alive and learn the ways of white men. Furthermore, by 1894 the rule of law had been established to some extent in the Centre,³⁸⁹ and the unpacified Aborigines in rugged country seem to have been quick to realize that, instead of being shot, they would be sent to gaol for six months at the most, an experience to which they were not greatly averse, since it satisfied their curiosity and probably enhanced their status within their own community.³⁹⁰ Rugged country alone, however, does not explain the fact that intelligent resistance was

388. M.C.N.T. In 254/91 (Willshire to Besley 26.2.91).

389. See pp. 443-4 (below).

390. The overwhelming opinion of contemporary observers. See p. 430 and reference 440 (below); W.B. Spencer, op. cit. (1928), p.351.

more prevalent on Tempe Downs and Glen Helen than elsewhere. It is probable that 'reinforcements' continually arrived on these stations from the west, and that the pacification of the Western Aranda and the Matuntara was delayed by the presence of Hermannsburg Mission. Willshire and others often bitterly complained that the Mission was a refuge for outlaws. It probably was, in the sense that fear lest the missionaries should inform the authorities and the outside world deterred settlers and police from acting illegally in its vicinity.³⁹¹

The most obvious consequence to the Aborigines of their policies of resistance was considerable depopulation. Most occasions on which Aborigines are known from written sources to have been shot between 1881 and 1894 have been mentioned in the foregoing account. It is probable, however, that some shootings left no written traces, and even more probable that more were shot on known occasions than settlers and police were prepared, at the time, to admit. As a rule, traces have been left only where a mounted constable was a member of a punitive party. It would be surprising if harassed settlers did not sometimes ride out unaccompanied by policemen, and there is considerable written and unwritten evidence to suggest that they did. On Frew River, for example, a

391. See Chap. 5, pp. 523, 528, 530 (below); Willshire, op. cit. (1891), pp. 34, 38.

a heavy toll of the Kaititja and Wakaja population was taken, according to Aboriginal tradition, by 'Billy' Coulthard and his men, and Coulthard's subsequent career³⁹² in the Centre indicates that he was not the man to go down without a fight; though a story told to F.J. Keane by 'a chap who ought to know' that the Frew River blacks in 1898 mustered '45 bucks and 460 gins' probably exaggerated Aboriginal casualties.³⁹³ We have already seen how, according to the missionaries, Wurmbbrand understated the number shot on at least one occasion. If another allegation made by the missionaries - that the three Western Aranda shot by Wurmbbrand in November 1884 were shot in their chains - is true (and there can be little doubt that it is) we have good reason for supposing that this officer preferred to shoot rather than to arrest.³⁹⁴ Wurmbbrand and Willshire led the only parties known to have pursued the Unmatjera after the attack on Annas Reservoir. They claimed that they shot only five, but in 1901 Baldwin Spencer noted that the Unmatjera were 'now nearly wiped out,

392. B. Webb, personal communication; and see M.C.N.T. In 35/00, 116/00; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entry for 24.3.01. Cf. Adel. Observer 11.7.91, p.34.

393. Port Aug. Desp. 16.12.98, p.3. See also ibid 31.7.91 (Ed.); Eylmann, op. cit. p.462; Papers rel. to expedns. undertaken by R.T. Maurice, Maurice to Winnecke, 1.12.98; J.D. Woods, op. cit. (1894), p.397; S.A. Register 31.8.88; Prot. Abos. In 150/85; Luth. Kirchenbote 4/88, p.52.

394. See p. 398 (above); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 6/85 pp. 102-3; S.A. Register 10.1.90; Prot. Abos. In 150/85; cf. Wurmbbrand to Besley, 27.12.85 (copy by courtesy Miss B.M. Pyatt).

partly by drought and partly by the fact that they had years ago been what is called "dispersed", after having attacked one or two white men [Figg and Coombes] whose intrusion into their country they resented, with results unfortunate to themselves.³⁹⁵ Willshire himself boasted in 1896: 'I am proud to be able to submit to paper that the Government at the time told me off as the officer of police parties to go out and do as the law provides in such cases. I worked hard for ten months sometimes with seven or eight white men, and, latterly with black trackers, and now I say, "All's well that ends well."³⁹⁶ When F.J. Gillen, subsequently a famous anthropologist, had Willshire arrested on a charge of murder in 1890, the grateful Aranda people rewarded him with their utmost confidence and accepted him as a fellow tribesman.³⁹⁷ Little is known, apart from what has already been narrated, about the operations of other police in the Centre during this period. On the one hand, none of them have as bad a reputation among Central Australian Aborigines today as Willshire and Wurmbbrand; on the other, like Willshire and Wurmbbrand - though subsequent events were to prove that it was possible to arrest 'wild' Aborigines alive - they

395. Spencer, op. cit. (1928), p.412. Cf. N.T. Times 25.10.84, p.2.

396. Willshire, op. cit. (1896), p.20.

397. T.G.H. Strehlow, personal communication and 'Personal Monototemism in a Polytotemic Community' (loc. cit.) p.723; pp.443,572-3 (below); Gillen, Camp Jottings, entry for 2.5.01; Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1899), p.vii.

made no arrests before 1887 and few arrests until the early nineties.³⁹⁸

Another important result of the period of 'clash' was that it left the Aborigines with bitter feelings of fear and resentment - with a 'refugee outlook'.³⁹⁹ How important these feelings were and are only research into the history of the Centre after 1894 and the events of the future will show. Finally, the pacification of the Aborigines, as we shall see, hastened the phase of intelligent exploitation.

We have seen in an earlier Chapter how resistance was sometimes avoided where Europeans adopted a deliberate policy of conciliation. Unfortunately, there was no chance that the settlers and police of the seventies and eighties would adopt such a policy. In the first place, it is probable (though there is little direct evidence to suggest it) that they came into the country with the same set of linked attitudes held by Stuart, the explorers of the early seventies and the men of the overland telegraph - attitudes incompatible with the effective implementation of a policy of conciliation. Most settlers, as we have seen, were hardy bushmen who had spent considerable time in the north

398. For a discussion of the reasons why more arrests were made in the early nineties (and thereafter) see pp. 443-4 (below).

399. The phrase is T.G.H. Strehlow's (personal communication). Cf. T.G.H. Strehlow, 'Personal Monototemism in a Poly-totemic Community' (loc. cit.) p.747; Chewings, op.cit. (1909), p.15.

of South Australia, where they would undoubtedly have come into frequent contact with Aborigines. Mounted constables invariably came to the Alice Springs District after spending a number of years in the same area, and the roughest of them seem to have found their way to the Centre, either because they asked to be sent there in order to enjoy an active, adventurous life free from the restraints of civilization, or because the Commissioner of Police regarded them as unsuitable for service in the 'settled districts'.⁴⁰⁰

Once settlers and police had arrived in the Centre nothing occurred there or beyond it to weaken these attitudes, while much occurred to strengthen them. It is 'accepted history' that the belief in progress and the superiority of European culture rapidly gained ground in the Western world in the latter half of the nineteenth century. To Central Australians in the seventies and eighties it seemed that the forces of progress were well on the way to replenishing and subduing the earth. The more these forces came into contact with Aborigines the more inferior Aboriginal culture seemed to become. It may also be that crude distortions of

400. See M.C.N.T.In 121/95 (min. by C.P. 7.5.95), 93/90; Beltana Police Station Letterbook 1879-81, pp.5,100; Melrose Police Station Journal, entries for 23.2.81ff.; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Journal, entries for 28.2.80ff.; P.C.O.In 1083/81; W.B. Spencer, op. cit. (1928), pp. 156-7. Cf. Gillen, Camp Jottings, entries for 13.4.01, 10.5.01; W.H. Willshire, A Thrilling Tale of Real Life in the Wilds of Central Australia (Adel. 1895) p.33; S.A. Register 11.4.73, p.6.

those unilinear anthropological theories which relegated Aborigines to the lowest scale of humanity found their way to settlers. When a rumour arose in the Centre in the nineties that a 'missing link', born of a monkey and a lubra, had been killed and buried by Aborigines, in the western MacDonnell Ranges, a party went out to try to locate the bones of the monster.⁴⁰¹

Linked with these attitudes of superiority was a belief that the Aborigines were doomed to extinction. Clashes between the forces of progress and the Aborigines were held to be inevitable. '...when you have subdued them', wrote Warburton of Erldunda, 'you can be as kind as you like to them, it's only the same old story of pioneer settlement over and over again ever since Australia was first settled by white men.'⁴⁰² As the years passed this belief probably came to be held more and more firmly, both because settlers unconsciously used it to justify to themselves their policies of pacification and because the Aboriginal population did, in fact, decline in the Centre and elsewhere.

Similarly, contempt for the capacity and persons of Aborigines probably increased with contact. In the first

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401. Papers rel. to expedns. undertaken by R.T. Maurice, Maurice to Winnecke 1.12.98 and 31.12.98. Concerning the superior attitudes of Europeans, cf. T.G.H. Strehlow 'Personal Monototemism in a Polytotemic Community', (loc. cit.) pp.747-8.
402. M.C.N.T. In 395/90. Cf. S. Newland in Adel. Advertiser 29.7.87; S.A.P.P. 28/90, p.9.

place, the physical appearance of Aborigines deteriorated. Aborigines who donned cast-off clothing or who were afflicted by European diseases seemed more unclean and hence more contemptible than the healthy uncontacted Aborigines settlers first saw. Secondly, social repugnance increased. Because of the language barrier, because of the reluctance of Aborigines to share their religious secrets with Europeans and because settlers had neither the will nor the time to come to an accurate understanding of Aboriginal culture, all manner of half-truths and distortions of the truth concerning Aboriginal habits and customs gained currency. The Aborigines were cannibals, practised infanticide as a rule rather than as an exception, were bestially cruel to one another, were sexually licentious. On the other hand, Aborigines seemed to acquire only the vices of Europeans: ingratitude, laziness, mendicancy, deceitfulness.⁴⁰³ The very fact, moreover, that Aboriginal

403. See S.A. Register 23.6.91 (letter from Ben Rogers), 25.6.91 (letter from T. Benstead); Port Aug. Desp. 8.6.94, p.4; Eylmann, op. cit. p.414; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entries for 3.5.01, 6.5.01; D. Lindsay, 'Explorations in the N.T. of S.A.' (loc. cit.), p.4; S.A.P.P. 17/99; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) pp.16,17, 28,29,30,33,38,39; —, op. cit. (1895) pp.11,13,15, 16,18,20,22,41; —, 'On the Names, Customs, Religion, Superstitions, etc., of the Natives of Central Australia' in Jl. of the Anthropol. Instit. of G.B. & Ireland, Vol. XXIV (1895), p.184; —, op. cit. (1896) preface (paragraph 13) and p.21.

culture was so greatly different from their own, and unfathomable, induced a sort of fear and resentment in settlers that only a flourish of contempt could dispose of. 'These poor creatures amuse me', wrote Willshire in 1895, 'in fact, they take no notice of me, and, I suppose, think I am taking no notice of them; their simplicity and superstition are incongruous in the extreme. They think me a duffer in their hearts, and I think them a very innocent lot of savoury-smelling duffers, with no more sentiment than a lump of putty.'⁴⁰⁴ Men like Willshire, of course, had more regard for some Aboriginal women, especially for those who bestowed various attentions on them. 'The women are good, but the men are bad',⁴⁰⁵ Willshire generalized in 1896; and it may be that sexual rivalry and a heady glimpse of sexual power sometimes increased settler contempt for, and disregard for the lives of, Aboriginal men. Willshire, at any rate, imagined himself visiting Aboriginal harems, where he 'walked about like a sultan in his seraglio'; or stamping naked and looking 'supremely attractive' down the 'race' on a corroboree around 'to where the black beauties were sitting' who 'could scarcely restrain their genuine admiration.'⁴⁰⁶ On the other hand, feelings of guilt

404. Willshire, op. cit. (1895) p.37. Cf. Judith Wright, The Generations of Men (O.U.P. 1959) pp.88-89; W.H. Hardy in Port Aug. Desp. 6.4.06, p.2.

405. Willshire, op. cit. (1896) p.6. Cf. ———, op. cit. (1895) dedication and passim.

406. Willshire, op. cit. (1895) pp.25-26, 31-32, 38.

deriving from the implementation of their policy of pacification probably caused settlers to exaggerate the contempt in which they held Aborigines, just as they no doubt caused them to overstate their belief that Aborigines were treacherous and murderous.

There can be no doubt, however, that this belief was, for the most part, genuinely held. We have already seen how the Barrow Creek 'outrage' enhanced it.⁴⁰⁷ News of Aboriginal 'atrocities' beyond the Centre, moreover - in Queensland, and the Top End and north-western Western Australia - must frequently have reached Central Australians. In the Top End alone an average of 2.4 Europeans or Chinese were killed on an average on 1.5 occasions per year during the period 1875-94.⁴⁰⁸ Finally, the belief was greatly strengthened by the resistance which Aborigines in the Centre offered to settlers after 1881.⁴⁰⁹

And so it becomes easier to understand that settlers and police should have put down Aborigines who offered resistance

407. Chap. 3, pp. 278-80 (above).

408. C.P.P. 1913, III, pp. 329-32. See also, e.g., N.T. Times 17.5.75, 25.1.79, 22.7.82, 4.11.82, 1.9.83, 15.3.84, 13.9.84, 4.10.89, 15.1.92, 4.3.92, 28.10.92; The North Australian 23.2.90. Cf. Willshire, op. cit. (1896), pp. 7, 19.

409. Cf. Eylmann, op. cit. p. 10; Murif, op. cit. pp. 68, 109, 110, 113; Papers rel. to expedns. undertaken by R.T. Maurice, Maurice to Winnecke, 1.12.98; S.A.P.P. 53/87, p. 3; Adel. Observer 11.7.91, p. 34; A.V. Purvis in Central. Advoc. 28.1.55, p. 9 (quoting George Ballingall).

with such a heavy hand. To many of them Aborigines were inferior, contemptible, treacherous and murderous beings already doomed to extinction. When such creatures, provoked or unprovoked, presented a very real threat to life and property, they seemed little better than pests, a part of nature which it was the settlers' supreme purpose to subdue.⁴¹⁰ Settlers no doubt exaggerated their fear for their lives, perhaps because their fear for their property was so great. Already beset by feelings of insecurity in a marginal land, they were enraged and exasperated by the added threat presented by cattle-killing Aborigines. It was not only that Aborigines killed large numbers of livestock. '...serious losses necessarily follow,' wrote Sub-Inspector Besley after visiting the Centre in 1890, 'as the cattle became very wild, run all their condition off, abandon their watering places, desert their calves, and the herd soon becomes scattered and wild.'⁴¹¹

The actions of settlers and especially of police are even more understandable if we bear in mind the fact that, unlike the men who built the overland telegraph, they received no instructions to conciliate the Aborigines. On

410. Cf. Mincham, op. cit. p.209; S.A. Register 23.6.91 (letter from Ben Rogers); Port Aug. Desp. 31.7.91 (Ed.).
411. Prot. Abos.In 101/90. See also Eylmann, op. cit. p.463; W.B. Spencer (Ed.) op. cit., IV, p.7; S.A. Register 31.8.88; M.C.N.T.In 40/90 (Willshire to Besley 8.1.90).

the contrary, they received the open or tacit support of the authorities and wide sections of the public in the south in pursuing a policy of pacification. An examination of the development of the police force in the Centre reveals that the force grew, for the most part, in proportion as the threat presented by Aborigines to the overland telegraph or the pastoral industry grew, and suggests that most police officers conceived it their duty to protect Europeans ⁴¹² against Aborigines rather Europeans and Aborigines and that some received explicit instructions to 'disperse' Aborigines.

We have already seen why mounted constables were stationed at Charlotte Waters and Barrow Creek in the early seventies and how police were given a free hand in pacifying the Kaititja in 1874⁴¹³. Instructions issued by the Minister to the Northern Territory Police in 1878 indicate that Governments in the seventies and eighties were sometimes prepared to give express orders for the pacification of Aborigines in frontier regions. After a party of police and settlers in the Top End shot at least seventeen Aborigines while in pursuit of the murderers of a European, the Northern Territory Police were directed not to resort to 'severe measures' except in 'the last extremity' or in self-

412. Cf. Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.33; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Besley to C.P. 12.1.93; Madigan, op. cit.

p.11.
413. Chap. 3, pp.261, 264 ff. (above).

defence or where it was impossible to capture Aborigines, and not to use firearms except where there was 'fair evidence that the natives belonged to the tribe criminally concerned in the outrages'. These instructions were referred to the Attorney General, who concluded that they were 'the best that can be given.' 'It is in my opinion utterly out of the question to suppose', he wrote, 'that we can deal with the natives in the Northern Territory as if they were civilized. I think however the case is hardly one of "law" but essentially one of policy'.⁴¹⁴

A third mounted constable was stationed in the Centre (at Alice Springs) in 1879 after two 'civilized' Aborigines travelling with one of the parties of Dr. Browne's expedition had been murdered by Eastern Aranda at Temple Bar Gap. A.J. Giles, leader of the party, and station-master Flint had immediately demanded police protection at the Alice. "'...if the blacks find they can murder civilized natives with impunity", Flint had written, "...they will not be long in directing their attention to the whites themselves."⁴¹⁵

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414. M.C.N.T.In 118/78. Cf. ibid 826/84, 898/84; G.R.In A7192/84; For evidence concerning the murder and shootings see, e.g., S.A. Register 30.1.78.
415. S.A. Chronicle & Weekly Mail 1.3.79, p.7. See also A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T. pp.106-7; S.A. Govt. Gaz. 28.8.79, p.694.

In 1884 and 1885, when Aranda and Unmatjera resistance was at its height, the Government responded to urgent pleas for more police protection from the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company and the owners of Bond Springs and Undoolya by sending a second mounted constable (Wurmbrand) to Alice Springs and by instructing Willshire (who had arrived at Alice Springs as a replacement in 1881) to organize a corps of Native Police along the lines of the Queensland Police: six or more 'native constables' officered by a European, recruited from tribes or communities other than those among whom they were to work and 'maintained solely for the purpose of dealing with offences committed by the natives.'⁴¹⁶ The idea that the Northern Territory should have such a corps had first been mooted in the Top End in the late seventies and, after the murder of four miners by Aborigines on the Daly River, had been put into effect by the Minister (R.C. Baker) in 1884 in the face of opposition, chiefly on the grounds that the Queensland Native Police were notorious for brutal treatment of Aborigines, from the Government Resident and the Inspector of Northern Territory Police. Willshire had been instructed to recruit six native constables in the Alice Springs District and take them to the Top

416. M.C.N.T. In 133/85 (memo by Qld. C.P.). See also Willshire, op. cit. (1891) p.7; C.S.O. In 1480/84, 2423/84; P.C.O. In 416/85; S.A. Govt. Gaz. 17.9.85, p.831; Port Aug. Desp. 29.9.84, p.2; N.A. Richardson, op. cit., p.96.

End. Within eighteen months of his arrival in Port Darwin in January 1885, if I may anticipate the course of events, the corps was disbanded: three of its members had died from colds and pulmonary complaints and the others were 'homesick', and its utility had scarcely justified its expense.⁴¹⁷ Arriving back in Alice Springs before this fiasco, Willshire organized a similar corps, according to instructions, 'to patrol the country from the Peake to Barrow's Creek'.⁴¹⁸ Meanwhile, a concerned Protector of Aborigines had asked the Hermannsburg missionaries whether it was a fact that Aborigines were brutally treated and shot in the Centre. When the missionaries replied that it was, he suggested that Aborigines might be 'treated with a little more justice and forbearance'.⁴¹⁹ if more police patrols were made; and was informed that steps had already been taken to ensure more frequent patrols, which would 'have the effect...of keeping the Europeans, as well as the Blacks in check'.⁴²⁰ Missionary Kempe replied, when this

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417. See N.T. Times 9.2.78 (p.2), 4.10.84 (Ed.); G.R.In A2868/78, A7261/84, A8874/86; S.A. Govt. Gaz. 22.9.87, p.653; M.C.N.T.Out 8/86; M.C.N.T.In 329/78, 832/84, 863/84, 872/84, 904/84, 926/84, 980/84, 1092/84, 1199/84, 133/85, 388/85, 895/85, 234/86, 240/86, 435/86, 438/86, 720/86, 13/87. M.C.N.T.In Telegr. 638/84; S.A.P.P. 53B/84, (p.13), 53/85 (p.10); Willshire, op. cit. (1891), p.7.
418. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 17.9.85, p.831 (annual report of C.P.). See also Willshire, op. cit. (1891), p.7; M.C.N.T.In 895/85.
419. Prot. Abos.In 360/84 (min. Prot. Abos. 30.12.84).
420. Ibid 360/84 (minutes 19.1.85, 26.2.85).

information was passed on to him, that 'The only difference will be, the natives are now shot down by police men whilst before that the other whites did it [sic].'⁴²¹ If he meant to imply that Willshire received explicit instructions to pacify the Aborigines with his corps, he was probably right. The Commissioner of Police in his report that year (1885) made the purpose of the corps manifest: 'to protect the settlers from outrages of the natives';⁴²² and we have already seen how Willshire subsequently boasted that he 'worked hard for ten months' after being 'told...off... to go out and do as the law provides in such cases.'⁴²³

The only difference between Willshire's corps and the Queensland Native Police was that it was not separate from the ordinary police force. In 1889, as a result of strong representations by Central Australian pastoralists, particularly the Tempe Downs Pastoral Association, Willshire was instructed to organize another corps, this time completely along Queensland lines: he was transferred from the South Australian Police Force and appointed, under the Minister, 'Officer in Charge of Police Patrol Party for the Interior' with instructions to form his own police station at Boggy Waters, close to Tempe Downs.⁴²⁴ A third mounted constable

421. Ibid 150/85.

422. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 17.9.85, p.831.

423. P. 412 (above).

424. M.C.N.T. In 49/89, 40/90, 167/90; P.C.O. In 822/88; S.A. Register 31/3.88. The corps consisted of 4 N.C.s from 1.2.89, 6 from 1.2.90.

had meanwhile been appointed⁴²⁵ - perhaps to help cope with an influx of prospectors,⁴²⁶ perhaps to meet the demands of pastoralists⁴²⁷ - at Alice Springs.

When cattle-killing broke out on Frew River in 1891 and the W.L.P.A. requested more police protection, four additional trackers were stationed at Barrow Creek and M.C. Daer was sent from Charlotte Waters to help cope with the emergency.⁴²⁸ Finally, in 1893, after the Tempe Downs country had been ineffectively patrolled from Alice Springs for two years following the removal of Willshire in 1891, and as a result of repeated demands by the Tempe Downs Pastoral Company, another four trackers were appointed in the Centre and mounted constables Daer and Cowle (the latter ex-Alice Springs) and six trackers were stationed at Illamurta, some thirty-six miles from Tempe Downs.⁴²⁹ With the exception of a few trackers, and of mounted constables and trackers appointed as replacements for those who resigned or were transferred, no other police appointments were made in the Centre during the period under survey.

425. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 13.9.88, p.690.

426. See Chap. 6 (below).

427. Cf. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 13.9.88, p.689 (C.P. to Chief Sec. 8.9.88); S.A. Register 31.8.88.

428. M.C.N.T. In 354/91, 143/92, 61/93, cf. 413/93.

429. See S.A. Govt. Gaz. 31.8.93, pp.573-4; M.C.N.T. In 354/91, 61/93, 463/03; C.S.O. In 82/93; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Daer to Besley 25.8.93, Besley to Sec. M.C.N.T. 7.4.93, Dalton to Chief Sec. 17.1.93, Lewis to do 19.1.93, Besley to C.P. 8.5.93.

In the various encounters police parties had with Aborigines it is probable that trackers or native constables did much of the shooting. That Aborigines should have been prepared to shoot other Aborigines will not surprise anyone acquainted with the way in which Aboriginal police were recruited, equipped and supervised. The officers who did the recruiting were always careful to take advantage of Aboriginal tribal and community ethnocentrism. Some of their men came from northern South Australia, most from the Alice Springs district, but probably none from the community in which they were destined to work.⁴³⁰ Furthermore, trackers and native police probably worked hard to please their officers, for they realized that if they were dismissed they would either be killed or be doomed to lead a restive life.⁴³¹ Finally, it is probable that the fact that Aborigines were suddenly given power without responsibility over their fellow Aborigines 'corrupted' them to some extent. Sometimes they were fitted out in colourful uniforms, always they were fully armed with rifles and revolvers; and they were said to 'look down on and despise their fellows to a

430. See Port Aug. Desp. 28.7.93; A.S. Pol. Journl., entries for 19.10.86, 5.1.87, 23.4.87, 30.9.87; M.C.N.T.In 143/98; Willshire, op. cit. (1896), p.15. Cf. G.R.In A2868/78; M.C.N.T.In 50/199, 204 & 212/78; N.T.Times 8.7.82.

431. Cf. Eylmann, op. cit. p.457.



PLATE 22

Mounted Constables Wurmbrand (left) and Willshire (right) and the Native Police pose for a photograph at Port Augusta, 1887.

By courtesy S. A. Archives

certain degree.⁴³² Occasionally their officers allowed them to go in pursuit of Aboriginal offenders alone.

Willshire rode out with his Native Police one day (probably in 1890) in pursuit of Aborigines who had attacked his camp, returned without his companions and subsequently noted with satisfaction that 'some of my lads came home the following day with a fine collection of spears and boomerangs - they had evidently been amongst them.'⁴³³ And M.C. Daer is known to have sent out two trackers alone in 1892 to arrest cattle-killers on Erldunda. '"Me no shoot 'em kangaroo"', tracker Tommy is reported to have replied to one of his 'prisoners' who requested food and whom he had committed to disarm, '"me shoot 'em blackfellow."' Whereupon (incidentally) he was wounded and his companion killed by spears.⁴³⁴

Further reason why settlers and police adopted a policy of pacification is to be found in difficulty of access to the machinery of justice and the inadequacy of British law

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432. Eylmann, op. cit. p.456. See also Wurmbrand to Besley 27.12.85 (loc. cit.); Luth.Kirchenbote 4/91, p.60; A.S. Pol. Jl., entry for 25.11.87; Port Aug. Desp. 24.1.88, p.2. Cf. M.C.N.T.In 105/89; Prot. Abos.In 360/84; N.T. Times 14.12.94, p.3. In 1898 trackers were forbidden to carry rifles, revolvers being deemed sufficient for self-defence (M.C.N.T.In 251/98).
433. Willshire, op. cit. (1896) p.20.
434. Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Daer to Besley 2.1.93, 14.11.92; Port Aug. Desp. 17.3.93, 28.7.93. See also M.C.N.T.In 40/90.

as a deterrent to Aboriginal crime. From 1875 to 1892 cases involving serious offences could be heard only 1,000 miles away in the Port Darwin Circuit Court; after 1892 they could be heard only in Port Augusta Circuit Court, which was almost as far removed.⁴³⁵ Cases involving minor offences could be heard in police courts at Alice Springs, but even these courts were often a hundred miles or more from the scene of crimes. Since attendance at court involved considerable expenditure of time and money, and could result in the loss to a stationhand of his billet, settlers were reluctant to lay informations against Aboriginal offenders⁴³⁶ as long as they were in a position to take the law into their own hands. Aware that for this and other reasons they might find it difficult to get convictions, police were tempted to shoot rather than to arrest, especially if they came upon Aboriginal offenders after a long and gruelling ride. They knew, moreover, that if they made arrests they

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435. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 4.11.75 (p.2032), 14.7.81 (p.92), 27.1.87 (p.162), 3.3.92 (p.527); Acts 15 of 1875, 532 of 1891 (s.4); S. Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 9.8.87. There is no evidence that any persons from Central Australia were tried in the Port Darwin Circuit Court. The one case which was heard in the Port Augusta Circuit Court before 1892 (Willshire's - see Appendix VIII and pp. 432-4 below) was improperly heard there.
436. Port. Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Marshall to Besley 6.2.93; Prot. Abos. In 66/93. Cf. M.C.N.T. In 150/98, 463/03.

would be condemning themselves to a further gruelling ride to court; and perhaps to the gaol at Port Augusta; and they feared that Aboriginal depredations would become as prevalent as ever in their absence.⁴³⁷

The inadequacy of the law as a deterrent perhaps acted as an even greater incentive for police and settlers to resort to force. In order to avoid the heavy expense of trials at the Circuit Court, Governments insisted that charges against Aboriginal offenders should be reduced whenever possible so that the cases could be heard in the local police courts. Thus all Aborigines apprehended for killing cattle before 1895 (or before 1911, for that matter) were charged with 'larceny of beef'⁴³⁸ (for which the maximum penalty was imprisonment for six months with hard labour), though they could have been charged with 'unlawfully wounding or maiming a beast' (maximum penalty four years with hard labour) or with 'killing cattle with intent to steal the carcase [etc.]'

437. Cf. Prot. Abos. In 150/85 (Kempe to The Editor /of Die Austr. Zeitung/ 30.6.85); P.C.O. In 44/87, 788/89; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, South to Besley 12.3.93; Cowle to Field 29.8.94; S.A. Register 10.1.90.

438. Six Aborigines were charged on 17th April 1893 in the Alice Springs Police Court with 'killing cattle', but on 19th April, the charge was reduced to 'larceny of beef' by order of the Commissioner of Police (Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Daer to Besley 25.8.93).

(maximum penalty eight years with hard labour).⁴³⁹ Most settlers and police and some authorities in the south believed, probably with some justice, that Aborigines regarded a short term of imprisonment as a 'holiday' and that ex-convicts were worse cattle-killers than other Aborigines;⁴⁴⁰ and this belief was probably largely responsible for the further widespread conviction that the only punishment Aborigines would take to heart was shooting and flogging, preferably 'on the spot'. Thus by the early nineties, by which time the fear of being arraigned for murder probably often deterred settlers from shooting Aborigines, we find the court at Alice Springs illegally ordering whippings or policemen flogging cattle-killers 'red_handed', with the tacit consent of the authorities.⁴⁴¹ We even find the Minister in 1893, in a desperate attempt to make the 'law' a more effective

439. See Appendix VIIIA; Act 38 of 1876 (ss. 117,140); M.C. N.T. In 214/99 (min. Field, n.d.); P.C.O. In 68/1900; Port Aug. Desp. 10.1.88, p.2. For the period after 1894 see also the sources indicated in reference 468 (below). There is no evidence that charges were ever reduced in deference to Aboriginal law or for humanitarian reasons.

440. See p. 409 (above); also, e.g., M.C.N.T. In 394/93 (Cowle to Besley 1.9.93), 150/98, 463/03; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, South to Besley 12.3.93; P.C.O. In 68/1900; Adel. Advertiser 2.12.98, p.5; cf. S.A. Govt. Gaz. 8.9.98, p.640.

441. See Appendix VIIIA; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Marshall to Besley 6.2.93, Daer to Besley 28.1.94, Cowle to Field 29.8.94; P.C.O. In 540/96; Prot. Abos. In 150/85 (Kempe to The Editor [of Die Austr. Zeitung] 30.6.85). Cf. Eylmann, op. cit. p.463; Sayce, op. cit. p.92.

deterrent without incurring additional expense, approving the detention in the south of two Aborigines who had been acquitted of a charge of murdering a tracker.⁴⁴² Fortunately for the Aborigines, illegal detention and illegal flogging were banned when they came to the notice of Attorney General Kingston late in the same year.⁴⁴³

Had the law given adequate protection to Aborigines, of course, a policy of pacification could never have been implemented. That it afforded them virtually no protection - as far as is known, only three Europeans were tried for offences against Aborigines before 1894⁴⁴⁴ - must be attributed chiefly to its own shortcomings and to Government policies. The law offered two convenient loopholes to those who shot Aborigines - the plea that they shot in self-defence or (for police or special constables) while Aborigines were resisting arrest - especially convenient in the Centre where, for reasons already outlined, no European dared incriminate another. Furthermore, although Aboriginal evidence theoretically carried equal weight with European evidence in court, no steps had been taken to ensure that it would do so in practice.⁴⁴⁵ Both the authorities responsible

442. M.C.N.T. In 143/93; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Besley to Hamilton 26.7.93 and n.d.

443. M.C.N.T. In 394/93; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, copy of Cabinet minute 3.10.94.

444. See Appendix VIII C.

445. Cf. The account of Willshire's trial (below); Port Aug. Desp. 28.7.93 (p.2), 22.11.95 (p.3), 16.7.97 (pp.2,3).

for initiating prosecutions and police were well aware that a conviction would be an extremely unlikely result of any prosecution for a major offence. Police officers were sometimes pressed, especially from the latter part of the eighties onwards, for an explanation of why they had shot Aborigines, but no inquest was ever held, no attempt, with one exception, ever made to confirm their account from Aboriginal evidence.⁴⁴⁶

The one exception, which occurred in 1891, clearly illustrates the difficulty of securing the conviction of Europeans who committed serious offences against Aborigines. Before dawn on 22nd February at Tempe Downs, two native constables, probably acting according to instructions from W.H. Willshire, shot two Aborigines (Donkey and Roger alias Eraminta) who had acquired a reputation for cattle-killing. The bodies were burnt at separate places on the same day. Four days later Willshire reported the shootings to the Sub-Inspector, alleging that the native constables had been instructed to arrest Donkey and Roger and to refrain from shooting them unless in self defence, and hinting that they probably acted from personal motives of vengeance. When this report reached Attorney General Homburg he evidently released it to the Press and ordered stationmaster

446. See, e.g., Prot. Abos. In 360/84; A.S. Pol J1., entry for 18.3.87; P.C.O. In 475/87.

Gillen, S.M., to make an inquiry. Willshire was arrested on 27th April on the advice of Gillen; two days later he was brought before Gillen on a charge of murder and committed to Port Augusta. On 23rd July he was tried in the Circuit Court and acquitted. Anyone reviewing the evidence today can scarcely doubt that he was guilty. His delay in reporting the shooting, the fact that he falsely claimed that he had warrants for the arrest of Donkey and Roger, the burning of the bodies and the evidence of Aborigines (other than the native constables) to the effect that he assisted in the burning of the bodies, the fact that Gillen (who was later to claim that he himself would shoot cattle-killers if he were a pastoralist) concluded on the basis of Aboriginal evidence that Willshire was guilty, and Willshire's previous record and subsequent reputation - all point to this conclusion. Above all, Willshire incriminated himself in the very report in which he announced the shootings. 'When I found, it was impossible to arrest them,' he wrote, 'I was compelled to resort to severe measures....there was one movement of mine they did not see, that was the last one....the natives are not afraid of death, if they were, those that remained would leave off cattle-killing.'⁴⁴⁷ The jury, however, could

447. M.C.N.T.In 254/91.

scarcely have returned any other verdict. Since the four native constables who were present at the shooting were technically accomplices of Willshire, their evidence, which was taken first, could not be accepted. It was, in any case, so confused as to be worthless. Roger's lubra, Nungoola, was called next; but counsel for the defence objected that her interpreter had been a native constable under Willshire, and her evidence was not taken. Apart from M.C. South the only other witness called was W.H. Abbott, a friend of Willshire, who simply stated that Aboriginal evidence given outside the court to the effect that he had been present at the burning of the bodies was not true. Despairing of extracting reliable evidence from Aboriginal witnesses, counsel for the defence declined to call any of the other seven Aborigines who had been brought down from the Centre and did not even bother to address the court on the evidence.⁴⁴⁸

448. See Adel. Observer 25.7.91 (p.32), 15.8.91 (p.27); S.A. Register 11.4.91, 28.4.91, 29.4.91, 30.4.91, 24.7.91; Port Aug. Desp. 15.5.91, 24.7.91, 31.7.91; Prot. Abos. In 211/91; M.C.N.T.In 781/89, 982/89, 167/90 (re Abbott), 40/90 (Willshire to Besley 9.1.90), 253/91, 254/91, 296/91, 121/95; Willshire, op. cit. (1895) pp.47-60; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entry for 24.3.01; Luth. Kirchenbote 7/91, p.109; cf. M.C.N.T.In 49/89. Willshire was reinstated as a mounted constable but was never again stationed in the Centre. He applied for the position of Protector of Aborigines in South Australia in 1907, only to see the man who arrested him in 1891 gain the appointment (Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Willshire to Besley 1.10.91; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 29.7.91, cols. 545-6; P.C.O.In 287/07).

Willshire's trial also illustrates how inconsiderable the protection afforded Aborigines in their relations with one another was. If Willshire was not guilty, it would seem to follow that the native constables who shot Donkey and Roger were; but no action was taken against them. As far as is known, no attempt was ever made to afford Aborigines living beyond the fringe of settlement the protection of the law in their relations with one another, or to make them amenable to it.⁴⁴⁹ Within the frontiers of settlement, British law was sometimes given precedence over Aboriginal law, but in each case Europeans seem to have been more intent on rendering Aborigines amenable to it than on affording them its protection. Of the nine occasions on which police are known to have taken action against Aborigines for offences inter se, the Aborigines concerned were suspected of the murder or attempted murder of 'civilized' Aborigines in the employ of, or closely associated with, Europeans - and hence of making an indirect attack on Europeans themselves.⁴⁵⁰ Of the seven Aborigines

449. Cf. the opinions of various judges recorded in Port Aug. Desp. 15.5.95, S.A. Pol. Gaz. 8.3.93 (p.37), M.C.N.T. In 125/01, Prot. Abos. In 101/95; and of Att. Genl. Kingston in Prot. Abos. In 467/97; cf. also Prot. Abos. In (unnumbered), Clode to Prot. Abos. 23.7.10.

450. See Appendix VIIIB and M.C.N.T. In 253/91, 40/90; Prot. Abos. In 266/84, 101/90, 37/94; A.S. Pol. Journal, entries for 24.3.87, 28.3.87, 2.4.87; S.A. Pol. Gaz. 25.6.79, (p.112), 29.10.84 (p.10), 27.4.87 (p.66); Port Aug. Desp. 19.9.84, 20.4.94; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) pp.33-34.

tried as a result of these actions, two were suspected of the murder of a 'black boy' working on Undoolya, two of the murder of a lubra who had lived for some years with a European, and three of the murder of a tracker and the attempted murder of another.⁴⁵¹ In the one case in which police are known to have shown some inclination to take action against Aborigines for the murder of one of their 'uncivilized' fellows the Attorney General instructed them to make no arrests, on the grounds that only Aborigines had witnessed the crime.⁴⁵²

Why did Governments not make greater efforts to render Aborigines amenable to and protected by the law in their relations with one another? Why did they not insist that Aborigines be given the full protection of the law in their relations with Europeans? Why did they not make the machinery of justice more accessible to police and settlers? Why did they not insist that Aborigines suspected of serious offences against Europeans be tried in courts competent to inflict the maximum penalty provided by the law? Why did they not provide more adequate police protection for settlers, thus removing some temptation for both police and settlers to take the law into their own hands? —————>

451. See Appendix VIII B.

452. Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, min. by Att. Genl. 16.12.92 and Cowle to Besley 2.1.93; P.C.O. In 1160/92.

Why did they give open or tacit support to settlers and police in pursuing a policy of pacification? It will perhaps be impossible to answer these questions satisfactorily until a detailed study of the policies of all South Australian Governments towards Aborigines throughout South Australia and the Northern Territory has been made. Meanwhile, tentative answers, some of which have already been hinted at, may be supplied. In the first place, Governments were reluctant to incur the considerable expenditure which the establishment of the rule of law would have involved, and their reluctance increased rather than diminished as South Australia entered depression in the eighties.⁴⁵³ In the second place, the magnitude of the technical problems involved probably deterred

453. See, e.g., Port Aug. Pol. Stn., Letterbook, Besley to Bennett etc. 17.9.92, Att. Genl. to Chief Sec. 11.11.92, Besley to South 2.1.93, C.P. to Besley 4.1.94 and 10.1.94; S.A. Govt. Gaz. 13.9.88, p.689; C.S.O.In 1480/84; P.C.O. In 281/87; S.A. Register 31.8.88; p. 429 and reference 438 (above). South Australia, be it noted, for some unknown reason (perhaps because most police officers in the Centre were members of the Far Northern Division, perhaps because South Australians tended to regard the Centre as part of S.A. proper) bore most of the cost of the police in the Centre. The N.T. paid small amounts (adjusted from time to time) towards their cost from 1884-5 to 1888-9, and from 1888-9 on it paid £900. Throughout the period under survey M.C.s were paid 70s. a week, N.C.s or trackers 7s. In addition, M.C.s received 27s.6d. and N.C.s or trackers 17s.6d worth of rations a week until December 1887, and 24s.6d. and 14s. (respectively) in lieu of rations thereafter. (See Reports of S.A. Cmmr. of Audit 1885-95); P.C.O.In 416/85, 77/87, 569/87; M.C.N.T.In 21/89, 343/90, 120/92; S.A.P.P. 28/89, p.16).

Governments from attempting to apply British law to Aborigines and predisposed them to favour resorting, where necessary, to the law of war. Finally, Governments too believed in progress, regarded the Aborigines as a doomed people and held them in some contempt. When Aborigines, therefore, seriously threatened the course of progress, few Governments hesitated to condone or resort to force.

By the late eighties, however, the attitude of public and authorities in the south to Aborigines was undergoing changes that resulted, among other things, in the establishment of a 'protectorate' in Central Australia in 1892. These changes are probably attributable chiefly to the cessation of frontier expansion in South Australia and the Centre, and to deterioration - occasioned by disease, depletion of indigenous food supplies and policies of pacification, and accompanied by a lessening of the threat presented by Aborigines to Europeans - in the physical condition of Aborigines living within the frontiers. The advent of drought in 1890 only served to worsen the desperate plight to which many of these people had been reduced. Such Aborigines no longer seemed a threat to life, property or progress, but pitiable creatures in need of protection and assistance.

Though the office of Protector of Aborigines in the Northern Territory (constituted, as we have seen, in 1873)⁴⁵⁴ theoretically included the Aborigines of the Alice Springs District, it had early become established practice for the Protector, whose headquarters were in Port Darwin, to regard that district as lying beyond his jurisdiction - a development which was probably due to the same causes which had led to the direct administration of the Centre from Adelaide in other respects. On the other hand, the Sub-Protector (Protector after 1882) of Aborigines in South Australia (E.L. Hamilton) in spite of the fact that his jurisdiction terminated at the 26th parallel and probably because of the fact that he was better placed to receive information from the Alice Springs District, early took a passing interest in the Aborigines of the Centre.⁴⁵⁵ He became even better placed to receive information when in 1884 B.C. Besley was appointed to replace J.P. Buttfield as Sub-Protector of Aborigines in the Far North.⁴⁵⁶ Besley, who was also Sub-Inspector of Police, handled most reports from police in the Centre and sometimes referred those that touched on the Aborigines to Hamilton.⁴⁵⁷ When, therefore, the Hermannsburg

454. Chap. 2, p. 182 (above).

455. Prot. Abos. In 338/75, 277/79, 361/84; S.A. Govt. Gaz. 6.4.76, p. 637.

456. C.L. & I. In 1357/84 in Prot. Abos. In 173/90.

457. See, e.g., Port Aug. Desp. 11.5.94, p. 2. (obit. Besley); M.C.N.T. In 254/91 (min. Besley 23.3.91); Prot. Abos. In 266/84, 256/89, 101/90, 117/91, 34/90, 363/92.

missionaries complained of atrocities committed by police and settlers in the Centre, their information fell on prepared ground. Hamilton recommended that action be taken and in February 1887 the Minister (Cockburn) promised to appoint a Sub-Protector 'if a suitable person can be found.'⁴⁵⁸ Cockburn lost office when the Downer Government fell four months later, and his immediate successors do not seem to have favoured the proposal. In May 1891, however, the Chairman of the Pastoral Lands Commission informed the Playford Government that, while in the MacDonnell Ranges, he had observed the 'necessity' for the appointment of a Sub-Protector, and suggested that Gillen, whose role in the Willshire affair had no doubt recommended him, be given the job.⁴⁵⁹ Gillen was appointed in October on a salary of £20 a year. His district was defined as the country between Charlotte Waters and Attack Creek to a limit fifty miles on either side of the overland telegraph. He was to interest himself in every way possible on behalf of the Aborigines in his district, to seek to promote friendly relations between them and the settlers, to present an annual report to the Minister (to whom he was directly responsible) concerning his activities and the condition and numbers of

458. Prot. Abos.In 330/86. See also ibid 360/84, 150/85; cf. M.C.N.T.Out 75/87.

459. S.A. Register 2.5.91; M.C.N.T.In 306/91. Cf. Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.127 (evidence of W.G. South).



as the Mission Station the Sub-protector after extracting
 some Anthropological data harangues the natives upon
 the evils of cattle killing & the importance of providing help
 with correct information about their habits & customs.

PLATE 23

F.J. Gillen and Aborigines at Hermannsburg Mission in the Nineties
 Like many bushmen the photographer (R.T. Maurice) was not impress-
 ed with the work of Sub-Protectors and anthropologists.



PLATE 24

Aranda Camp at Alice Springs in the Nineties

By courtesy S. A. Archives

Aborigines, and to report any extraordinary developments without delay.⁴⁶⁰ When ration depots were set up at the telegraph stations and Illamurta, Gillen was entrusted with their general supervision.

The practice of issuing government rations to Aborigines in the Centre was introduced piecemeal and from various motives. Governments supplied rations to the Hermannsburg missionaries as early as 1875 and regularly from 1879, less from a desire, it seems, to protect Europeans by deterring Aborigines from committing depredations or to relieve physical distress, than from a desire to play their accustomed role in helping to implement the policy of 'assimilation after segregation'.⁴⁶¹ In 1885 or 1886 the South Australian Protector established a depot at Charlotte Waters for the relief of Aborigines living between there and the Peake, and it is probable that some 'Northern Territory' Aborigines were served by this depot.⁴⁶² It took drought, however, and considerable pressure from some pastoralists and police in the Centre, the Board of Enquiry of 1890 and the Pastoral Lands Commission (all of whom argued that the issuing of rations would decrease the incidence of cattle-killing or

460. M.C.N.T. In 306/91; ⁵⁵⁶ Out, 309/91.

461. See Chap. 5, pp. 444, 492, 536 (below).

462. Compare Prot. Abos. In 171/86 with, e.g., ibid 313/84. See also M.C.N.T. In 101/94, 120/95, 222/07; Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.131.

that Aborigines were in desperate need of relief) to induce the Minister to establish other depots in Central Australia.⁴⁶³ By 1894 rations were being issued regularly by the station-masters at Alice Springs, Barrow Creek and Tennant Creek and by the police at Illamurta. They continued to be issued at these stations, and (from 1906) at Arltunga, until 1911.⁴⁶⁴

Meanwhile, there was a growing feeling in the south in the nineties that Aborigines, since they seemed doomed to extinction if contacted by Europeans, should be segregated in 'reserves'.⁴⁶⁵ This swing in public opinion was to result, in 1910 and 1911 respectively, in the adoption of a policy of segregation towards Aborigines in the Northern

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463. See S.A. Register 2.5.91; Adel. Observer 22.2.90, p.31; M.C.N.T.In 649/87, 936/87, 584/90, 354/91 (min. Besley 6.7.91), 136/92, 353/92, 51/93, 296/93, 370/93, 413/93; Prot. Abos.In 21/90, 101/90; Pastoral Lands Commission, Report (loc. cit.) pp.116,125,127; S.A.P.P. 93/91; Report of Swan and Taplin (loc. cit.) p.3.
464. See Appendix VI; M.C.N.T.In 98/94, 79/95, 71/96, 95/97, 151/98, 91/99, 109/00, 98/01, 154/02, 146-7/03, 109/05, 574/05, 113/06, 37/07, 143/08, 60/09.
465. See, e.g., Port Aug. Desp. 19.12.90 (Ed.), 8.5.91 (Ed.) 29.4.92 (Ed.); Pastl. Lands Comm., Report (loc. cit.), passim (the Commissioners frequently asked questions relating to reserves); M.C.N.T.In 742/90; S. Newland in Adel. Advertiser 29/7.87; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 29.10.90 (col. 1778), 3.12.90 (col. 2203), 9.6.91 (col. 16), 27.8.91 (col. 950); Report of Swan and Taplin (loc. cit.) p.3; Adel. Observer 4.1.90, p.20; S.A. Register 24.9.90 (Ed.). Government Resident Parsons was also a strong advocate of reserves (S.A.P.P. 53/88 (pp.16-17), 28/89 (p.14) 28/90 (p.9)).

Territory and South Australia;⁴⁶⁶ but in the nineties there was still too much opposition from pastoralists and from men who believed that Aborigines could not be induced to remain on reserves for the scheme to be adopted wholesale. In 1892 the Playford Government took the bit between its teeth and set aside eight small blocks of land in the Territory, including 156 $\frac{1}{4}$ square miles east of Tennant Creek and 200 square miles east of Charlotte Waters. Unfortunately for the Southern Aranda, the reserve at Charlotte Waters had been resumed from Crown Point cattle-station. Pressure from the owner of Crown Point and a new Government brought about its abrogation within nine months.⁴⁶⁷

The replacement of the law of war by the rule of law in the relations of Europeans with Aborigines in most of the occupied Centre may also be dated from the early nineties. It is probable that at about this time the incidence of ill-treatment of Aborigines sharply declined, and certain that the incidence of shooting of Aborigines did. From about 1892 most Aborigines who committed offences against Europeans found their way via the local police courts or the Port

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466. Acts 1024 of 1910, 1048 of 1911; Gale, op. cit. pp.105ff. Since South Australia handed the N.T. over to the Commonwealth in 1911, the Act applying to Aborigines in the N.T. was not put into effect. The Commonwealth, however, proceeded to implement a policy of segregation.
467. See S.A. Govt. Gaz. 28.4.92 (p.940), 8.12.92 (pp.1435-6); M.C.N.T. In 442/86, 652/86, 328/91, 645/91, 826/91; Adel. Observer, 20.6.91 (p.6), 11.7.91 (p.34); Pastl. Lds. Commn., Report (loc. cit.) pp.112,131; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 4.12.90, col. 2257; S.A.P.P. 17/99, p.99.

Augusta Circuit Court to gaol in Port Augusta or, after 1904, Alice Springs.⁴⁶⁸ This was probably due partly to the restraining effect which the trial of Willshire (in spite of its result), the public enquiry of 1890, and the appointment of a Sub-Protector had on the actions of settlers and police, and partly to a growing insistence on the part of the public and authorities in the south that Aborigines be made amenable to the law and be afforded its full protection. It was scarcely an accident, however, that it coincided with a marked diminution in the threat presented to Europeans as the frontiers of settlement ceased to expand and Aborigines within them became pacified. When the frontiers began to move once more, settlers and police in isolated areas, with or without the collaboration or tacit consent of the authorities in the south, were again to resort to the law of war.⁴⁶⁹

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468. See Appendix VIIIA; also, e.g., Register of Prisoners at Police Camp, Arltunga [1899-1901] (N.T.A., unnumbered); Arltunga Police Station, Register of Reported Felonies, 1899-1904 (N.T.A., unnumbered); Register of persons brought to the Common Gaol at Heavitree Gap in the Northern Territory of South Australia (N.T.A., unnumbered); M.C.N.T. In 395/98, 214/99, 240/99, 118/00, 98/01, 195/102, 40/03, 79/04, 110/05, 196/06, 102/07, 109/07; P.C.O. In 371/02; S.A. Govt. Gaz. 15.12.04 (pp.1089-90), 8.7.09 (p.40); S.A. Pol. Gaz. 19.8.96, p.135; Port Aug. Desp. 17.6.98 (p.2), 30.11.06 (p.2), 16.7.97 (p.2); Prot. Abos. In 301/99, 260/01, 272/06.
469. P.C.O. In 716/00; Hartwig, op. cit., p.13 and passim.

In 1894, it is probably true to say, settlers and Aborigines in most of the occupied Centre were pursuing policies of mutual 'intelligent exploitation'. It would be grossly misleading, however, to assign a date to the general adoption of these policies. The most that can safely be said is that they were usually adopted when the Aborigines in any one area had been finally pacified. Even then it must be borne in mind that on the fringes of some cattle-stations Aborigines (known to settlers as 'wild' or 'warrigal') continued to offer resistance or intelligent resistance while some of their fellows (known as 'station blacks') on the same runs became intelligent exploiters.

Intelligent exploitation on the part of Aborigines was a partly unconstrained, or voluntary, and a partly constrained utilization of European commodities, depending on the attitudes Europeans early displayed towards Aborigines. By adopting a policy of conciliation from the outset and giving Aborigines an opportunity to acquire European commodities at a time of plenty when livestock had scarcely begun to make inroads into indigenous supplies of food and water, the Hermannsburg missionaries afforded the Western Aranda an opportunity to choose freely between becoming intelligent exploiters and continuing to lead their traditional economic life. They chose to become exploiters.⁴⁷⁰ On most cattle-stations, on

470. See Chapter 5, pp. 499-501

(below).

the other hand, since settlers early adopted an unfriendly attitude and afforded the Aborigines few opportunities to acquire European goods, Aborigines naturally chose (if they may be said to have had a choice) to continue to lead their traditional economic life and, for reasons already outlined, sooner or later adopted a policy of resistance. Only when they were forced to do so by the settler policy of pacification and the depletion of indigenous supplies of food and water did they become intelligent exploiters. Had the settlers adopted a policy of conciliation from the outset, it seems reasonable to conclude, most Aborigines would have 'intelligently exploited' rather than have resisted them. Viewed in this light, intelligent exploitation appears as a logical extension of tentative approach, based less on 'the necessity for adaptation' than on a desire for European commodities. Perhaps Elkin had a similar consideration in mind when he coined the term 'intelligent parasitism'. 'It must be emphasized', he wrote in 1951 when presenting an analysis of Aboriginal reaction to contact with Europeans, 'that this [intelligent parasitism] is based on the necessity for adaptation, not on a desire for civilization, nor on a respect for the white man because of his possessions.'⁴⁷¹ In the same year, however, in his Introduction to R.&C.Berndt's

471. A.P. Elkin, art. cit., p.169.

From Black to White in South Australia⁴⁷² he presented a slightly, but perhaps significantly, different picture: 'The Aborigines realized that they could not successfully oppose the white man....They therefore worked out a type of adjustment which is best described as "intelligent parasitism". They planned to work for the settler or station manager. Indeed they made themselves indispensable to him, but on condition they received essential and desirable articles of food and clothing.'

By 1894 sizeable camps of Aborigines were attached to every cattle- and telegraph-station in the Centre except Frew River.⁴⁷³ Most camp-dwellers came and went according to the seasons but in many camps there was a continuously resident group of 'aged and infirm'. In his first annual report⁴⁷⁴ as Sub-Protector, Gillen noted that aged and infirm Aborigines, 'knowing they will be fed and cared for', were gradually coming in to the ration depots from places up to 100 miles distant, while E.C. Stirling in 1891 and 1894 observed that Aborigines tended to congregate in the neighbourhood of the cattle-stations 'where the natural food supply is materially, if intermittently, augmented'.⁴⁷⁵

472. Melbourne 1951, p.13.

473. The manager of this station refused to employ local Aborigines. There were, however, a number of 'boys' from Barrow Creek and the Finke River district and 8-10 local lubras at the station in 1893. (Adel. Observer 11.7.91, p.34). See Appendix VII.

474. M.C.N.T. In 101/94; cf. ibid 51/93.

475. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., IV, p.7.

Little is known in detail of the working of intelligent exploitation on these stations. Aborigines appear to have been quick to realize that they had two commodities which they could readily trade with Europeans for supplies, or additional supplies, of food, clothing tobacco and implements: labour and women. Sizing up the idiosyncracies of each 'boss', they aimed to secure a maximum of European commodities for a minimal outlay. Their needs, however, were simple: '...provided they get enough to eat', wrote Warburton of Erldunda in 1890, 'they are just as happy in their rags and dirt as any subjects in Her Majesty's dominions':⁴⁷⁶ and they were able to supplement the commodities they obtained from Europeans by traditional methods. By thus ensuring a steady supply of essential or desirable commodities, they were able, where their numbers were sufficient, to continue their traditional religious and social life with few interruptions. On most stations those who were not suffering from physical ailments were probably happy and contented. 'They are absolutely free from care', continued Warburton in the letter quoted above, 'without a thought of the morrow. Any man can see this for himself by taking an evening walk through their camps, which are always close to some white man's homestead. I only wish I was as happy and

476. Adel. Observer 5.7.90 (Vol. II, p.40).

free from care as they are; as for the children, life is one long holiday for them.' Many old Aborigines in the Centre today look back with nostalgia on these 'good times'.

Settlers for their part intelligently exploited the two commodities offered them. By 1891 D.J. Gordon could write '...gradually they [the Aborigines] are becoming of use to the settlers instead of as previously a great nuisance.'⁴⁷⁷ Desirous of availing themselves of Aboriginal labour and women and pleased that Aborigines had at last 'come in' from among their cattle and were willing to 'stay' in the 'place' in which they had been 'put', settlers were prepared to make a number of concessions - but like the Aborigines they kept them to a minimum. They supplied their 'boys' and the lubras who served them as cooks, stockmen or sleeping partners perhaps with a set of clothes yearly, a few sticks of tobacco weekly and a piece of meat and a little tea and damper three times daily, and pretended not to mind when these 'wages' were shared with kinfolk; and granted them and other 'camp blacks' title to discarded clothing, worn-out implements and the refuse of slaughter-yard and kitchen. They took pains not to interfere with the religious life of 'station blacks', and allowed their 'boys' to go 'walkabout' in order to take part in sacred ceremonies.

477. Ibid 25.7.91, p.34.

They had sexual relationships only with Aboriginal women offered to them, and concealed their resentment if this involved sharing a lubra with her husband...And so, by degrees, because the demands of settler and Aboriginal upon each other were small and each, in order to further his own interests, was prepared to make concessions to the other, a harmonious relationship was established between Europeans and Aborigines on many stations.⁴⁷⁸

'Half-castes' were in a less happy position. Though usually accepted by Aborigines as kinfolk, on the one hand they were never fully at ease in the Aboriginal world, and on the other they were disowned by their fathers and were the targets of considerable loathing and resentment on the part of Europeans. A few sentences from the pen of Willshire in 1896 afford a glimpse of the nature and origin of these attitudes. '...the mongrel half-caste', he wrote, '... inherits only the vices of civilization. If it is a male

478. I am indebted to A.P. Elkin (art. cit.) pp.167-70,174) for the frame-work of this analysis of intelligent exploitation. Apart from the sources already indicated, see Eylmann, op. cit. pp.47, 308, 457-9; W.B. Spencer (Ed.) op. cit., I (pp.34,40), IV (pp.34-35); S.A.P.P. 17/99, pp.97,98; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entry for 21.4.01; Adel. Observer, 11.7.91, p.34; Murif, op. cit., pp. 53-54, 56, 60; Willshire, op. cit. (1891) pp.12, 38-39; M.C.N.T.In 395/90 (Warburton to M.C.N.T. 22.5.90). Cf. M.C.N.T.In 39/94 (M.C. Bennett to the Sub-Inspector: 'N.C. Tom appointed today vice Jerry discharged latter to be made blackfellow'.)

he is born for the gallows or to be shot; if a female, she becomes a wanton devoid of shame....I hold out no gleam of hope for such a repulsive breed....Their mental capacity is not equal to their physical development....⁴⁷⁹ Perhaps only a sense of guilt or shame could give rise to attitudes so intemperate. Estimates of the numbers of part-Aborigines in the Centre by the early nineties vary. The Board of Enquiry of 1890 claimed that it saw no more than twelve in all its travels;⁴⁸⁰ perhaps settlers took steps to prevent it from seeing more. The missionaries, who were informed by the manager of Owen Springs in 1894 that they would soon be able to establish a school for 'half-caste' children at Hermannsburg, claimed that they were to be seen on every station.⁴⁸¹ Many were probably done away with in their infancy.⁴⁸²

Most of the important ascertainable effects of the pastoral industry on the Aborigines have already been explicitly or implicitly noted. The most obvious was considerable depopulation. '...the aboriginals encountered

479. Willshire, op. cit. (1896), p.35. See also ibid, pp.4,18; Eylmann, op. cit. p.65.

480. Report of Swan and Taplin (loc. cit.) p.2.

481. Kirch Mitteilungen 3/95, p.19; Luth. Kirchenbote 4.91, p.60; S.A. Register 10.1.90. Cf. Eylmann, op. cit. pp.158-9.

482. Cf. W.B. Spencer (Ed.) op. cit., IV p.129; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/83, p.205; Luth. Kirchenbote 4/88, p.52; Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung 18/99, p.190.

were singularly few', wrote Winnecke after visiting the Centre as leader of the Horn Expedition in 1894, '...they have greatly diminished in numbers during late years, and they are still passing away. Where not long ago they comprised hundreds they will soon be represented by units.'⁴⁸³ This steep decline was probably occasioned by an increase in the death-rate and by a decrease in the birth-rate. Undoubtedly the three most important factors affecting the death-rate were the introduction of disease, the introduction of livestock, and shootings and rough treatment. I have already given some indication of the number who fell before bullets. Here it is pertinent to remark that the period of 'clash', during which Aborigines developed a 'refugee outlook', probably increased the incidence of infant and foetal mortality. The introduction of livestock probably had no important direct effect in favoured areas in the MacDonnell Ranges and elsewhere, but there is reason to believe that in less favoured areas, especially south of the central ranges, its effect was considerable. The Southern Aranda population appears to have declined relatively more, by the early nineties, than that of the other Aranda communities. South of the ranges cattle rapidly 'ate out' country and destroyed

483. Winnecke, Journal of Horn Exped., p.65. See also, e.g., Eylmann op. cit., pp.158-9; Pastoral Lands Comm., Report (loc. cit.) p.131; M.C.N.T.In 150/96, 137/97.

Aboriginal vegetable foods in the vicinity of the few water-holes, thereby greatly reducing the numbers of game available to Southern Aranda and perhaps upsetting their dietary balance.⁴⁸⁴ Finally, since Aborigines had no acquired resistance to introduced infectious organisms and lived in the open without medical attention, it is probable that the death-rate was increased throughout the Centre by diseases such as influenza, tuberculosis and pneumonia.⁴⁸⁵ Probably the most important cause of the decline in the birth-rate was the introduction of syphilis and gonorrhoea, which were commonly said to have been widespread.⁴⁸⁶

That radical changes were effected in the nomadic economy and local organization of the Aborigines within whose territories pastoral settlement occurred should be apparent from my discussion of the Aboriginal policy of intelligent

484. See p. 405 and reference 377 (above); W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., IV p.19; Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1899) pp.7,50.

485. For evidence concerning the incidence of these and other diseases see Eylmann, op. cit. pp.437-40; W.B.Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., IV pp.127-9; Prot. Abos.In 120/95; N.T. Times 9.5.90; Hermannsb. Missionsblatt 5/81, p.78; H.Y.L. Brown, Reports on Arltunga Goldfield (loc.cit.)p.8.

486. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., IV p.127; S.A. Register 10.1.90; N.T. Times 9.5.90; Eylmann, op. cit. p.439; Prot. Abos.In 333/90, 120/95; Luth. Kirchenbote 9/89, p.138; L. Schulze, art. cit. p.218. Andreas Lommel ('Modern Culture Influences on the Aborigines' in Oceania, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (Sept. 1950) pp.14-24) has argued that a 'psychic disposition' was probably 'indispensable' for physical paternity among Aborigines, that contact (direct or indirect) with Europeans upset their emotional balance and that (therefore) the birth rate declined. Few anthropologists today, it seems, would accept this theory. (Cf. Ronald M. Berndt, 'Influence of European Culture on Australian Aborigines' in Oceania, Vol.XXI, No.3 (March 1951), pp.229-35.

exploitation. Less apparent from it are the changes produced in material culture. 'Some interesting notes might be written of the various adaptations to native purposes of the materials of civilization',⁴⁸⁷ wrote E.C. Stirling in 1894. Unfortunately, few such notes were ever penned. As far as can be ascertained from my sources, most items of the traditional material culture were still commonly used in 1894. Stone axes, however, had been virtually replaced by European hatchets and the Aranda were said to have ceased fashioning them; and metal knives and glass were being rapidly substituted for the stone knife. The woomera was still the most popular sort of chisel, but a flat piece of iron was sometimes attached to it instead of flaked quartzite. Spears were still in use - and it is interesting to note that the (Loritja) Matuntara were said to have developed a cruder and hence more expendable spear for killing cattle⁴⁸⁸ - but they were now sometimes tipped with porcelain.⁴⁸⁹ On the other hand, some European articles for which there was no equivalent in Aboriginal culture - notably clothing and tin cans (cooking pots) - were commonly used. Finally, European hatchets and knives continued to

487. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit. IV, p.95.

488. M.C.N.T. In 143/98 (Cowle to Field 14.4.98), 251/98 (Cowle to Gillen 5.5.98).

489. From discarded telegraph insulators.

find their way to Aborigines beyond the settled districts.⁴⁹⁰

It is difficult to ascertain from available sources whether depopulation and changes in material culture, economy and local organization - by themselves or together with other influences stemming from the presence of Europeans - had any important repercussions on the social and political organization and the religious life of Aborigines. It is probable that in most areas they did not. This conclusion is supported in the first place by the evidence of a few contemporary observers. 'In 1896...the Arunta were but little contaminated', wrote Baldwin Spencer in 1912, 'Such intercourse as they had had with the meagre and sparsely scattered white population had in no way affected them, so far as their customs and beliefs were concerned'.⁴⁹¹ In the second place, intelligent exploitation - so it has already been argued - necessarily involved only an 'external' adaptation to white settlement. Under the conditions of 'camp' life it was possible for the old men to continue to exercise their traditional authority, for the kinship system to operate as of old, for the initiated males to continue to perform the

490. See Chap. 3 p. 262 (above); W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit. I (p.91), IV (pp.95-98); Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1912) pp.234,291; _____, (1899) pp.41,570,575,588; Eylmann, op. cit. pp.317,378; S.A.A. 158/18 (R.T. Maurice to C. Winnecke, Oct. 1898).

491. Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1912) p.291. See also S.A.P.P. 17/99, p.101. Cf. Chap. 5, pp.521-3 (below)

sacred ceremonies associated with their totemic sites.⁴⁹² Finally, the 'norms of kinship and totemic religion' among the neighbouring Walbiri, according to Meggitt,⁴⁹³ have persisted in the present century in the face of pressures at least equivalent to the pressures from Europeans faced by the Aranda in the nineteenth century.

If Spencer and Gillen accurately described the process whereby contact with Europeans eventually effected changes in the political, social and religious life of Central Australian Aborigines, however, it is true to say that by 1894, though the changes actually produced were on the whole slight, conditions that would produce sweeping changes in the near future had been established. Since the young men, Spencer and Gillen argued in 1899, were attracted to the ways of the European, the old men declined to impart their ritual knowledge to them. This circumstance, together with an accelerating death rate, rapidly produced a situation in which it was 'too late to learn anything of the customs which once governed tribal life.' Already by the middle or late nineties this had happened to the Southern Aranda, they concluded, and it was likely to happen shortly to other Aborigines in the occupied

492. See Elkin, art. cit. p.170; p.448 (above).
493. Op. cit., p.331.

Centre.⁴⁹⁴ They might have gone on to argue, logically enough, as Elkin did in 1951,⁴⁹⁵ that since the young people were no longer being (or shortly would not be) entrusted with sacred knowledge and were not likely to be admitted fully into the world of the European they would one day be left with 'no spiritual retreat'.

As for the effects of the Aborigines upon the pastoral industry...'...there is no gainsaying the fact', wrote F.W. Albrecht⁴⁹⁶ in 1955, '[that] without the assistance of the Aborigines, the cattle industry could never have been developed.' This was probably true of the new pastoral industry (after 1894), but it would perhaps be found, if the matter could somehow be weighed, that during the period 1872-94 the Aborigines performed greater disservice to the industry than service. On the one hand they provided the settler with geographical information, women and labour (they were said to be indispensable on some stations by

494. Spencer & Gillen, op. cit. (1899) pp.7-8, 281. Cf. _____, op. cit. (1912) pp.186-7, 291, 300-1; _____, op. cit. (1927) pp.7-8; Eylmann, op. cit. pp.158-9; Gillen, Camp Jottings, entry for 16.6.01; W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., IV p.12; T.G.H. Strehlow, Aranda Traditions, pp.110, 121, 172.

495. Art. cit., pp.170-1.

496. 'Employment of Abos. on Cattle Stations', p.8.

the early nineties⁴⁹⁷); on the other, they speared and 'perished' thousands of cattle and were the direct cause of the abandonment of pastoral enterprise in the Reynolds Ranges and Frew River country and of the liquidation of the Tempe Downs Pastoral Association.⁴⁹⁸

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497. Pastl. Lands Commn., Report (loc. cit.) p.112,127; cf. Murif, op. cit. p.56.
498. See pp.335,393-403,419 (above); Eylmann, op. cit. p.462; Adel. Observer, 18.7.91, p.6; N.T. Times 7.2.90, p.3; C.P.P. 76/22, p.43; M.C.N.T. In 413/93; Murif, op. cit. p.104; Duncan, op. cit. pp.330-31. Cf. Spencer, op. cit. (1928), p.63; Port Aug. Desp. 19.5.93, p.2.

CHAPTER FIVEMISSIONARY ENTERPRISE, 1875 - 94

If they are to be helped spiritually they must also be afforded material assistance; that is, we must first try to convince them that it is necessary to work for a living, otherwise they will remain as of old.

———H. Kempe, 1880.

Hermannsburger Missionsblatt,

11/80, p.207.

Oh when will it be bright in their pitch dark hearts? God have mercy on this poor, poor people, and bless our weak efforts.

———H. Kempe, 1881

Ibid. 9/81, p.200.

One can only pray the Lord to grant that the people get at least a Christian burial.

———H. Kempe, 1885

Ibid. 6/85, p.104.

Missionaries Friedrich Adolph Hermann Kempe, son of a miner, and Wilhelm Friedrich Schwarz, son of a baker,

were thirty-one and thirty-three years of age, respectively, when first they set foot on Australian soil at Glenelg on 16th September 1875; to the north-east along short and well-worn roads Adelaide, Lobethal, Bethany, and the company of fellow Germans and Lutherans; to the north-west, exile and a few Aborigines on a small reserve one thousand slow miles of summer heat and faint tracks away.

Hermann Kempe,¹ as he invariably styled himself, was reared without the aid of much religion. As a boy he worked beside his father in Saxon coal-mines. When seventeen years of age he decided to become a blacksmith and, after completing an apprenticeship, set out to see the world as a journeyman. Guided by God, he later insisted, his feet brought him to the neighbourhood of Hermannsburg Mission Institute. Within three years he was converted and had determined to become a missionary. He entered the Institute in 1870, and there met Schwarz,² who from his youth had travelled about as a journeyman baker

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1. See Australian Lutheran, Vol.16, No.6 (23.3. 1928) pp. 68-70; Luth. Kirchenbote 14.3.28, pp. 18-19; F.A.H. Kempe, Lebenslauf (Handwritten MS. Copies made available by Mrs. M. M. Hoffmann and P.A. Scherer of Adelaide).
 2. See Australian Lutheran Vol. 8, No.11 (26.5.1920), pp. 82-86.

until he experienced a sudden conversion and made an immediate decision to become a missionary when, in a time of trouble, he recalled Paul Gerhardt's hymn:

Commit whatever grieves thee
 Into the gracious hands
 Of Him who never leaves the

Throughout their lives both men were to take Gerhardt at his word. But in many other respects they differed: Schwarz possessed a sense of humour and a slight fickleness of character quite lacking in Kempe, and experienced a certain sensuous joy in living; Kempe, with eyes ever aloft on the goal of hereafter, was at all times serious, and the full firm moon of his mouth betrayed a grim determination and steadiness of purpose. Both men were physically robust, and had early learnt to live the hard life in European conditions. Harms jokingly remarked that he had chosen them for mission work in Central Australia because, having worked as smithy and baker, they were already accustomed to heat. But it would have been wise, had it been possible, to send into the heart of Australia men with some experience of colonial conditions.

This sort of wisdom had yet to be acquired. At the time of the arrival of Kempe and Schwarz no serious physical difficulties in establishing the Mission were anticipated by members of the South Australian Lutheran community. Giles had recently written in glowing terms of

of the country on the upper Finke, the central and southern sections of the overland telegraph had been constructed with unexpected ease, and two stocking expeditions had already reached the MacDonnell Ranges. Preparations for launching the Mission were made in a spirit of high hope.

Arrangements for the direction and support of the new venture had been made already before the arrival of the missionaries. According to resolutions³ passed by an ELSA synod, Hermannsburg was to be responsible for financing it, ELSA congregations assisting with 'prayers and free-will offerings'. All property was to be owned jointly (in what proportion was not stated -- Lutheran pastors were not noted for business acumen), ELSA in effect lending its share in the old Mission property, and its future share in the new, to Harms. But if, and only if, 'mission work among the aborigines of this land [became] impossible', ELSA's share in the property was to be ceded to Hermannsburg. In 1882, however, when the Mission was incorporated, its Superintendent unconditionally transferred it, for reasons unknown, to Harms.⁴ Meanwhile, Harms had taken pains to ensure that he himself would be the

3. Brauer, op. cit., p. 232; P.A.Scherer, op. cit., p.4; Blaess, op. cit., p.40.

4. Luth. Kirchenbote 2/82, p.40; Brauer, op. cit., p.233; Blaess, op. cit., p.113.

real authority in matters⁴⁶³ of government and policy. At his insistence, a Mission Committee consisting of two clergymen (appointed by himself) and two laymen (appointed by ELSA) was constituted in South Australia. Decisions in Committee were by majority, but the Superintendent (one of the ministerial members) had the casting vote and Harms reserved to himself the right to veto any of its resolutions. The Committee, moreover, had no jurisdiction in doctrinal and liturgical matters, and both the Superintendent and the missionaries were directly responsible to Harms.⁵

The man Harms chose as Superintendent -- Georg Adam Heidenreich -- had more than a propitious name to recommend him for the job. Born in 1828 in Thuringia, he served for some time as a forest-ranger before entering the Hermannsburg Mission Institute at the age of thirty-one. But for the outbreak of the Civil War he would have been sent to America when he graduated in 1866. He came, instead, to South Australia, where he became the pastor of Bethany parish until his death in 1910. Conscientious to the point of distraction, he cut a tragic figure in the colony. As a theologian, he was less dogmatic and less sure of his position than most graduates of Hermannsburg, was never entirely satisfied with the teachings of any of the warring

5. Blaess, op. cit., pp. 35, 39; P. A. Scherer, op. cit., p.3.



PLATE 25
Theodor Harms



PLATE 26
G. A. Heidenreich

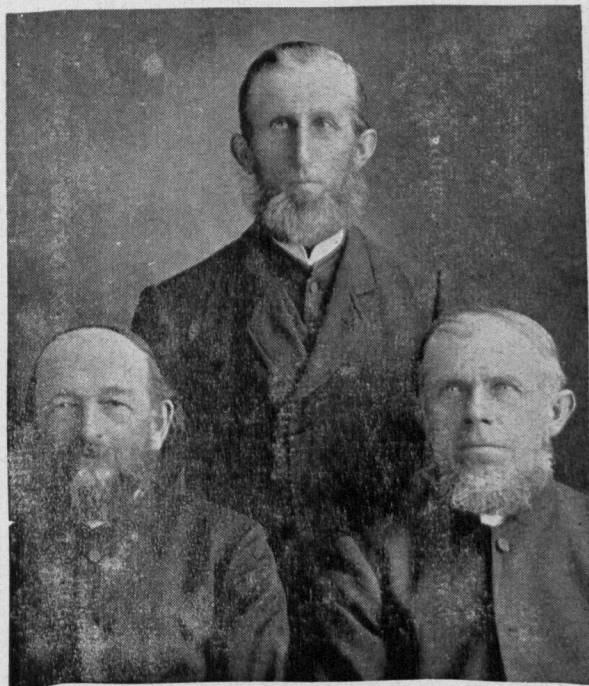


PLATE 27
W. F. Schwarz, L. Schulze, A. H. Kempe

By courtesy of U.E.L.C.A. Photo Library

Synods in South Australia, quested always for truth; as a pastor, he often felt that he was not devoting sufficient time to his congregation; as Superintendent of the Mission, he was frequently troubled by the conflicting interests of Hermannsburg and ELSA. His amazing energy, however, often freed him from the cobweb of his conscience, enabling him to perform the tasks he set himself thoroughly and with despatch.⁶

On 18th September 1875 a Commission, appointed by the old Committee to assess and divide Killalpaninna Mission property in a ratio of two to one between ELSA and the Immanuel Synod, completed its work. ELSA was to receive some 3,100 sheep, 20 horses, 80 goats, a few head of cattle and £100.⁷ Later that month the new Committee took over from the old. The Government was persuaded to enlarge the reserve on the Finke by 700 square miles and to provide three tons of rations for the Aborigines living on it;⁸ a wagon was crammed with provisions for eight Europeans; Kempe and Schwarz were formally dedicated to their work at a special service in Hahndorf. On 22nd October (at the

6. See P.A.Scherer, Transcript of interviews with J.H.S. Heidenreich, 1957-58; Heidenreich to A. Hensel 15.10.76 (copy in possession of P. A. Scherer); Brauer, op. cit., pp.208, 225, 237-8, 372-5; Blaess, op. cit., pp.27, 133.

7. Scherer, op. cit., pp. 4-7, 19-20; Blaess, op. cit., pp.41, 43-44.

8. Prot. Abos. In 350/75, 390/75; Scherer, op. cit., p.8; Blaess, op. cit., p.44.

beginning of summer) the two missionaries, with one assistant and no camels, started north from Bethany to the strains of the hymn 'Jesus, Lead Thou On'.⁹ A few days later Superintendent Heidenreich, hearing that the going was tough, hastened to join the small party, confident that he could lead it to its destination and be back in time to minister to his flock at Christmas.¹⁰ His calculations were astray by some seventeen gruelling months. But for their total dependence on God to see them through (though this caused them to make many mistakes), the missionaries would never have reached the Finke.

'The Lord our God help us,' prayed Kempe as the expedition rode north from Port Augusta into a desiccating wind, 'for He alone can.'¹¹ 'My soul lies in blood', wrote Heidenreich to Harms when it reached Strangways Springs, '... I, too, am now exhausted; spiritually and physically I am weak and overworked. In spite of this, I should be void of conscience, were I to give up the place without inspecting it. Even if I perish, I will go to see it (if God wills and leads the way), and then, if by His

9. Scherer, op. cit., pp. 8-10;
Blaess, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

10. Kempe, Lebenslauf;
Blaess, op. cit., pp. 45-46;
Scherer, op. cit., p. 10.

11. Quoted in Scherer, op. cit., p. 13.

grace I am still alive, shall write you the irrefutable truth.¹² He and other members of the party (some seven had joined it since it left Bethany) were still alive, when, in April and May 1876, they arrived at Stuarts Hole on the Neales River; but the carcasses of 900 sheep and several horses and bullocks were scattered along the waterless track to the south. And then it rained. God was praised, a number of European hands were dismissed in favour of Aborigines and in fourteen days the expedition reached the never-failing Dalhousie Springs — only to be held prisoner there by drought conditions further north.¹³

But where sheep and wagons could not yet go, a lightly equipped party could. Determined to keep his promise to Harms, Heidenreich now set out with Kempe and G. Haemmerling to inspect the reserve. Up the Finke then up the Hugh they went, 285 miles to Owen Springs station, meeting with few difficulties; then west to the reserve on 21st July. Breasting a spur that runs south from the MacDonnells, they had a magnificent view of an undulating thinly-wooded grass and spinifex plain some 200 square miles in area, bounded by the MacDonnells in the north, by the Krichauff Ranges in the south and the Gosses hovering pink in the west, and drained by the writhing Finke and its

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12. Quoted in Scherer, *op. cit.*, p.29 and —, 'Epic Journey of Faith and Fortitude' (*Lith. Herald*, 24.8.57), p.245.
13. See Scherer, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-41; Blaess, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-51; Heidenreich to Th. Harms, 8.12.75 (copy in possession of P. A. Scherer).

many tributaries. Singling out a gum-tree that towered above its fellows on the banks of the river, Heidenreich rode up to it and deep into its bark cut the sign of the cross 'in token that Jesus Christ was now Lord in this country and that henceforth His Name should become more glorious every day.'¹⁴ For nine days thereafter the small party criss-crossed the reserve : to the deep and beautiful gorges cut by the Finke through the MacDonnells, to Rudalls Creek and the springs that issue from the sandstone of the Krichauff Ranges, to the Gosses and the waterless north-west, and full circle back to the ancient river.¹⁵ '... its [the reserve's] like could scarcely be found in South Australia', the Superintendent reported to ELSA. Not only was 'everything the best' for the economic well-being of a Mission, but 'the heathen there are bigger, healthier, stronger, and live far more in family groups than southern ones' and ('according to reliable testimony') the reserve was the centre of the four chief tribes that inhabited the country stretching from north of the MacDonnell Ranges to the borders of Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia, and their last place of refuge in bad times.¹⁶ His confidence in the success of the Mission somewhat restored, Heidenreich headed south soon after he arrived back at Dalhousie Springs,

14. Quoted in Scherer, op. cit., p. 43.

15. See ibid, pp.42-46; Blaess, op. cit., p.52.

16. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/77, p.54. Cf. Scherer, op.cit., p.47.

taking with him an Aboriginal from the Peake as an example of 'the sort of people the Lord has in the north for our mission',¹⁷ and praying for 'a blessed entry of the Holy Gospel into the hearts of the heathen sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.'¹⁸

Rain fell at last at Dalhousie in January 1877, drowning 150 sheep and killing 250 more with wetness, but shortage of men and provisions delayed the missionaries for a further three months. Provisions arrived early in April and the missionaries were able to hire three European hands; the expedition moved off on the final stage of its long journey. Five weeks later the missionaries reached the reserve and spent several days wandering up and down the Finke searching for a site on which to build. On 7th June they discovered a likely location on the northern bank of the river just before it veers sharply to penetrate the Krichauff Ranges. Water lay for two miles along the southern bank, but the northern bank was dry. They therefore decided to dig for water on the morrow and to take success as a sign from the Lord that He favoured the site. Next morning they dug, and within an hour had struck a good supply. The Mission they established there was called Hermannsburg at the express wish of Theodor Harms. A Mission of the same name stands

17. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/77, p. 54.

18. Luth. Kirchenbote 1/77, p.8. See also Scherer, op. cit., pp. 47, 52-54.

stands on the same spot today.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Harms had decided to send three Colonisten to the Finke. They arrived in Adelaide in October -- Colonisten Holtermann, Juergens and Tuendemann -- together with the fiancées of Kempe and Schwarz, six pastors for work in Australia, and three missionaries for a new Hermannsburg in New Zealand. Having received a request from Kempe for an extra missionary, Heidenreich decided that one of the new pastors should go, boarded their ship as soon as it berthed and asked for a volunteer. Louis Gustav Schulze, lank blond twenty-six-year-old son of a Saxon miner, a fan of fair whiskers on the chin of his pear-pointed face, stepped forward. It had been his boyhood wish, carefully fostered by his mother, to become a missionary.²⁰ Within a few weeks the new personnel were on the track north of Port Augusta. 'May the good Lord ... accompany the travellers with His fiery steeds and chariots, and give them cheerful courage and joyful heart',²¹ prayed Heidenreich,

19. See Luth. Kirchenbote 2/77 (p.10), 7/77 (p.54), 9/77 (pp.70-71), 10/77 (p.77), 12/77 (p.90), 14/77 (p.106), 15/77 (p.117-8), 18/77 (pp.140-1), 12/78 (p.92); Scherer, op. cit., pp.47, 54-55, 57-63; Blaess, op. cit., pp.52-53.

20. See Luth. Kirchenbote, 10/77 (p.77), 20 & 21/77 (p.155), 24/77 (p.188); Australian Lutheran Vol.12, No.25 (3.12.1924), (pp.200-1); Blaess, op. cit., p.109; Scherer, op. cit., p.70.

21. Luth. Kirchenbote 24/77, p.189, quoted in Scherer, op. cit., p.72.

but horses knocked up, foul water brought on bouts of dysentery, Schulze came to know his 'wicked self' and 'the endless long-suffering of God'.²² Kempe hurried south to the rescue with fresh horses, and on 1st March 1878 was married to his betrothed at Dalhousie Springs before an altar of cases and casks bedecked with green branches. On 10th and 11th April the re-inforced party reached Hermannsburg.²³ Schwarz was married to his betrothed six weeks later, and in March of the following year the couple were blessed with a daughter, the first white child to be born in the Centre.²⁴ Juergens and Schulze set out for Adelaide in 1880 to fetch their brides, newly arrived from Germany, but, owing to drought conditions, were able to escort them across the thresholds of their new homes only in June 1881.²⁵

Harms at first intended to send no more personnel, but the failure of the missionaries to extract much work

22. Luth. Kirchenbote 6/78, p.45.

23. See Luth. Kirchenbote 24/77 (pp.188-9); 2/78 (p.14), 6/78 (pp.45-46), 9/78 (p.67), 12/78 (p.92); Scherer, op. cit., pp.72-77; Blaess, op. cit., pp.109-10; Kempe, Lebenslauf.

24. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80, p.6; A. V. Purvis in Centralian Advocate 25.2.55, p.6; Scherer, op. cit., p.80.

25. Luth. Kirchenbote 5/81 (p.55), 11/81 (p.127), 18/81 (p.208).

from Aborigines, the alleged immorality of, and the high wages demanded by, European labourers, and interruptions to the missionaries' task of evangelism occasioned by shortage of labour induced him to change his mind. When Kempe in December 1881 requested 'three or four tough Colonisten', he added by way of explanation that 'It isn't a paradise here, but a desert.'²⁶ This the four young men who arrived in South Australia in September of the following year — Eggers, Koch, Freiboth and Baden — soon learned to appreciate. Having taken a train to Farina, they were informed by the cameleer who had been engaged to transport them to the Finke that his beasts had no room for human cargo; whereupon they walked most of the 600 miles to the Mission.²⁷ Forty-four months later a bride from Germany for each of them arrived in a hooded wagon after experiencing few hardships other than drinking well-water fouled by decaying rats and witnessing a 'grog-up' on 'bum-boat' brandy at Crown Point.²⁸

Thus did Louis Harms's ideal of establishing whole Lutheran mission communities capable of achieving self-sufficiency become a reality in Central Australia. By 1887

26. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/82, p.69.

27. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 7/82 (p.125), 12/82 (pp.230-1, 234), 3/83 (Beiblatt, pp.45-47).

28. Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86 (p.143), 12/86 (pp.182-4), 1/87 (pp.4-7).

there were thirteen adults and seventeen children on the station.²⁹ Each adult worked for a pittance and was competent in a variety of skills. Above all, each was dedicated to the task of recreating Aboriginal society in the image of the community of which he formed a part, and to this end was prepared to raise his family and spend the remainder of his days in the Centre. The missionaries were the first Europeans to go to Central Australia to make a permanent home there. 'Only', wrote F. W. Albrecht,³⁰ a later missionary at Hermannsburg, 'something of the simple faith of Abraham could prompt and help them to do this.'

* * *

Accordingly, the buildings the missionaries erected, insofar as haste and available materials made it possible, were built to endure. Attention was first given to accommodation for sheep and a few precious fowls, but within thirty months of the arrival of Kempe and Schwarz most dwellings necessary for the moderate comfort of the Mission personnel and most shelters required for stores and implements had been erected : a slab hut, which served first as a dwelling and later (when partitioned) as a chapel and dining room; three slab shelters for wagons, wool, forge

29. Luth. Kirchenbote 4/88, p.52.

30. 'Into the Heart of a Continent' in Luth. Herald 11.11.1950, p.361.

and Colonisten; and a kitchen, a store, and a house of eleven rooms for the missionaries, all of stone.³¹ In 1880 a stone building thirty feet long and sixteen feet wide was erected and partitioned, twelve feet of its length serving as a church and sixteen feet as a school for Aborigines. The little church was consecrated on 12th November. Assembling for the last time in the log hut, all members of the staff recited Psalm 21 in unison, prayed, and, bearing the altar instruments, shuffled in procession across loose red sand to the new place of worship. There Kempe preached about Jacob at Bethel, naming the church Bethlehem and reassuring his audience that it was proper to build a House of God in the midst of a black and white heathen world far removed from any Christian; and declared that the chief message to be proclaimed from the pulpit (the hollow stump of a gum) was that 'we are saved by the grace of God, without works, by faith alone.'³² By 1882 fine cloths cut from the bridal outfit of an ardent Lutheran in Germany covered altar and pulpit and the rounded tones of a church-

31. Luth. Kirchenbote 18/77 (p.141), 19/77 (pp.147-8), 20 & 21/77 (p.159), 2/78 (p.13), 6/78 (p.46), 9/78 (p.67); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (p.10), 9/87 (p.174); M.C.N.F. in 10/80; Scherer, op. cit., pp.65, 67-69; H. Kempe, 'Die Mission in Central-Australien' in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/80, pp.172-4.

32. Luth. Kirchenbote 3/81.

bell daily sounded in the valley of the Finke.³³

After 1880 the missionaries were able to build more leisurely, and hence more spaciouly and substantially, with the result that, until its abandonment in the early nineties, Hermannsburg wore an air of permanence and stability that contrasted strongly with the aspect of all other stations in the Centre except the telegraph stations. When the Horn Scientific Expedition visited the deserted Mission in 1894 it found, apart from improvements for agricultural and pastoral purposes, four substantial stone dwellings and the ruins of another, six slab huts, a store and an oven or kitchen of stone and the church and school built fourteen years previously.³⁴ The whole settlement was neatly planned and the houses admirably suited to the climate, thatch of reeds and walls of stone guarding against summer heat, and huge open fireplaces against winter cold. All this was achieved, by an intelligent utilization of local building materials, at extremely low

33. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81, pp.73-74; Luth. Kirchenbote 2/81 (pp.18-23), 3/81 (pp.31-32), 4/82 (Beiblatt, p.91), 1/83 (p.3); H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 4/81, p.61. M.C.N.T. In 49/81; Prot. Abos. In 34/81; Chewings, art. cit., (1882), p.186.

34. Winnecke, J.L. of Horn Expedition, plan appended ('Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition: Survey of Hermannsburg Mission Station in the Northern Territory of South Australia'). See also Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/82 (p.198), 4/84 (p.55), 2/85 (p.26), 9/87 (pp.175-6); Luth. Kirchenbote 3/84 (p.38), 5/91 (p.75); M.C.N.T. In 357/83, 342/85, 108/89, 29/91, 223/94, 50/95; C.A.O., C.P.120, H.T.13/5922; Prot. Abos. In 34/81, 38/82, 356/83, 30/86, 54/87, 327/88, 521/92.

cost. During 1880-93 only £667 or 4% of total expenditure for the period was spent on materials for buildings, stockyards and wells (excluding appliances for wells), whereas in 1893 the missionaries estimated the market value of these improvements at £4,635.³⁵ Chiefly because of the location of the Mission, this estimate was, of course, (like others made prior to 1893) quite unrealistic. But to Kempe, Schwarz and Schulze: from the late seventies to the late eighties no sum would have been adequate compensation for the loss of Hermannsburg. 'Our station is our home', wrote Kempe after completing an arduous journey to and from Adelaide in 1886, 'and has become dear to us, especially because we have made everything in it with our own hands. We want to live, to die, and to work here until ... we enter our true home'³⁶

Apart from building shelters, the first concern of the missionaries after their arrival was to put the Mission on a sound economic basis. This was according to policy, as forcibly expressed by Heidenreich in 1880:

It seems to us wholly right that people engaging in such [missionary] undertakings direct all their energies first of all towards laying firm and unshakeable material foundations, and that they wisely trouble themselves about the most important matter only insofar as is necessary, instead of immediately and suddenly trying to civilize the savages by means of religion and education.³⁷

35. Appendix IX. No satisfactory figures are available for the period prior to 1880.

36. Luth.Kirchenbote 1/87, p.7.

37. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/80, p.45.

He went on to justify this approach by arguing that such 'material foundations', by presenting 'a great and gripping example' to the Aborigines, would help to prepare the ground in which 'spiritual seed' could flourish. An equally powerful reason for it, of course, was a realization of the fact that neither ELSA nor the Hermannsburg Mission Institute could for long continue a Mission that was not largely self-supporting.

The first attempts at laying sound material foundations were based on agriculture rather than on flocks and herds. This would doubtless astound anyone acquainted with modern estimates of the agricultural potential of the Centre and the means available in the nineteenth century of realizing that potential, but unacquainted with the missionaries' line of reasoning and certain events in South Australia in the seventies. Agriculture, the missionaries believed, would provide more employment for Aborigines than a pastoral industry, would sooner induce them to abandon their nomadic way of life, would better serve as the 'great and gripping example' Heidenreich spoke of. It was agriculture, furthermore, that had made the South Australian Lutheran communities largely self-sufficient; and the missionaries, confronted by a virgin reserve smiling with fair seasons, could see no reason to expect that it would not do the same for Hermannsburg. They knew, moreover,

that some form of agriculture would be required to ensure an adequate diet.³⁸ Above all, they were influenced by the great agricultural optimism in South Australia at the time, which was caused by a remarkable run of good seasons and by the extension in 1874 of credit selection to the twenty-sixth parallel and the rapid liberalization after 1874 of the terms on which it could be made. '... people are beginning to fancy that there is no natural limit for the extension of agricultural settlement northward', wrote the editor of the South Australian Register³⁹ shortly before Kempe and Schwarz arrived on the reserve, 'beyond that imposed by the cost of reaching a market [sic].' Almost four years later it was still possible for a newspaper columnist to write that 'We are very far south of the utmost limit of the wheat producing portion of this colony. Some of our young men may yet be speeding the plough on the banks of the River Finke, or on the plateaus of the MacDonnell Ranges in Central Australia.'⁴⁰

Even that optimistic columnist would have been astonished to learn that young men from Germany had already sped the plough on the banks of the Finke. Soon after their

38. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (p.11), 10/82 (p.199), 2/83 (p.21); Luth. Kirchenbote pp.170-1; M.C.H.F.In 10/80, 342/85. Cf. Prot. Abos.In 277/79.

39. 21.2.1877.

40. Port Aug. Disp. 5.11.80, quoted in Buxton, op. cit., p.73. See also S. A. Register 24.2.74 (Ed.); Meinig, op. cit., pp.41-77.

arrival in 1877 Kempe and Schwarz planted small plots of cereals and vegetables, but their efforts, though the seasons were fair, were attended with little success until 1879. In that year an extraordinary series of rains fell in the Centre. After the first fall the missionaries sowed the last of their seed wheat and a few handfuls of oats and barley. It grew splendidly, eventually producing a crop equivalent to about sixteen bushels from one acre. And watching it grow, the missionaries ordered a plough, fenced and prepared a field of fifteen acres, and planned to sow one hundred acres of grain in the following year.⁴¹ News of their success travelled swiftly. When in April 1880 the Minister was approached by Heidenreich with a request that the Government supply rations for Aborigines on the Mission, he recommended the proposal to Cabinet for approval on the grounds that 'the stores will be used exclusively for the natives and the station may be looked upon in the light of an experimental farm',⁴² and 'promised', wrote Heidenreich, jubilant that the problem of finding employment for Aborigines seemed about to be solved and the prosperity of the Mission ensured, '... that as soon as we grew enough grain on the station to need a mill he would present us with

41. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (pp.7-8, 10), 3/80 (p.40); Luth. Kirchenbote 9/78, p.67; M.C.N.T. In 10/80; Prot. Abos.In 277/79; S.A.P.P. 54/86, p.3.

42. M.C.N.T.In 215/80.

one -- the latest and best of the Melbourne models--and have it taken right to the station. I stopped breathing when he told me the last bit.⁴³ Meanwhile at Hermannsburg, however, rain had stopped falling, and maize, vegetables and fruit-trees recently planted had stopped growing, withered by summer sun and winds. The fifteen acres were never sown, the hundred never ploughed; the missionaries stopped hoping that conventional grains could be grown extensively.⁴⁴

Undeterred, Kempe, Schwarz and Schulze cast about for 'plants which can be profitably cultivated'.⁴⁵ In the late seventies Baron Ferdinand von Mueller, that enormously energetic Botanist to the Victorian Government, had enlisted Kempe's services as collector of 'Plants Indigenous to the Neighbourhood of Hermannsburg'.⁴⁶ Now he came forward with advice and parcels of seeds and slips of many species for the missionaries to experiment with. '... we are ... deeply indebted to him', Kempe subsequently wrote, 'for the

43. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/80, p.67.

44. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/80, p.40; M.C.N.T.In 49/81; H. Kempe, 'Die Mission in Central-Australien' in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 8/80 (p.158), 9/80 (p.170).

45. M.C.N.T.In 49/81. My italics.

46. H. Kempe, 'Plants Indigenous to the Neighbourhood of Hermannsburg, on the River Finke, Central Australia' in Trans. of Roy. Soc. S.A. Vol.3 (1879-80), pp.129-39; Vol. 4 (1881-82), pp.19-23.

endless pains he takes to make some edible and otherwise useful species of plants native to this place The highest recognition is due to this gentleman for his great efforts.⁴⁷ For a while the missionaries hoped that they would be able to grow extensively the Kaffir corn he sent them, but the hot winds of the dry summer of 1880-81 withered the corn and all hopes of growing anything on a large scale without irrigation.⁴⁸

The missionaries durst not cease hoping, however, that they could supply themselves with fresh vegetables and fruit. By this time experience had taught them that their chief enemies were hot winds and a high rate of evaporation in summer, and it is interesting to note the steps they took to combat them. In 1881 they planted smaller plots than usual, and watered them more heavily; but again the heat of summer reaped a premature harvest. When, however, they planted earlier and watered more heavily yet in the following year, they were rewarded for the whole of winter with more vegetables than they could use. Some of the surplus they salted for summer, but Sauerkraut and pie-melons were scarcely an adequate replacement for greens over a period of six months. In 1883, therefore, they threw economy to the winds,

47. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/82, pp.68-69. See also M.C.N.T.In 45/84 (or S.A.P.P. 237/83-4); Luth. Kirchenbote 3/84, p.39.

48. M.C.N.T.In 49/81; Luth. Kirchenbote 5/81, p.55; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.78), cf. 3/85 (Beiblatt, p.21).

ordered a number of pumps and a windmill, sank more wells, ran up brush fences against the evil east wind and irrigated heavily. That summer they were at a loss to dispose of their vegetables. The wells they sank — at least six were to be seen in their gardens by 1887 — bottemed on hard sandstone and were easily 'forked', but the missionaries overcame this problem by sinking more. During the years immediately following 1883 fresh vegetables were available in all seasons, and temperate and tropical fruits began to flourish. Each year sufficient grain was grown for porridge and the fowls, and each year the gardens were enlarged. In 1885 they measured three acres, in 1887 they were reputed to extend for half a mile along the Finke.⁴⁹ The fame of this oasis spread north and south across the continent. 'Before nothing would grow;' wrote Charles Chewings⁵⁰ after visiting Hermannsburg in 1885, 'now anything grows. The gardens reminded me of the Chinamen's gardens in Waterfall Gulley.... The success that has attended the efforts of the missionaries should be sufficient inducement for settlers in the Far North

49. See N.C.N.T. In 160/82, 72/83, 45/84, 342/85, 105/86 (in Prot. Abos. In 30/86), 87/87 (in Prot. Abos. In 54/87), 130/88; S.A.P.P. 34/87; Chewings, art. cit., (1886), Vol. 2, p. 90; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/81 (p. 198), 12/81 (p. 246-7), 10/82 (pp. 198-9), 9/82 (pp. 171-2), 2/83 (p. 20), 9/83 (p. 190, 191), 10/83 (p. 208), 12/83 (p. 236), 4/84 (p. 55), 3/85 (Beiblatt, p. 21), 9/87 (p. 177); Luth. Kirchenbote 18/81 (p. 208), 24/81 (p. 275), 3/84 (pp. 38-39), 4/85 (p. 53), 7/85 (p. 109), 11/85 (p. 170), 4/88 (p. 52).

50. Art. cit. (1886), Vol. 2, p. 90.

to give gardening a fair trial [sic].⁵¹ The dreams that men dreamed from Adelaide to Port Darwin of damming the gorges of the MacDonnell Ranges or of tapping vast underground supplies of water to irrigate a soil that would 'grow anything' were probably founded to considerable extent upon the products of the toil of the Hermannsburg missionaries.⁵¹

And then the gardens failed as suddenly as they had flourished. In 1888-89 a drought set in that was to last until 1894. For a while the missionaries continued to work the soil in the spirit of optimism bequeathed by their amazing successes in better times. More pumps and a second windmill were bought, and four swine were imported to cope with expected vegetable refuse and surplus. But there was little refuse and no surplus. Water in the wells, sweetened only once before 1894 by a flow of fresh water along the Finke, became brackish and unsuitable for irrigation. The two acres of garden beds soon became impregnated with salt, and it is possible that the soil, poor in humus, became exhausted. Soon the missionaries were harvesting fewer

51. Cf. Ibid; Charles Chewings, 'Central Australia' in R.G.S. and Monthly Record of Geog. (London), Proc., Vol. XIII (1891), p.346; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 18.7.89, col.276; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/87, p.177; Luth. Kirchenbote 3/84 p.39; N.C.M.T. In 45/84 (or S.A.P.P. 237/83-4), 105/86 (in Pret. Abos. In 30/86); Pret. Abos. In 277/79; N. T. Times 1.10.81, 10.9.87.

potatoes than they put into the ground, and by 1890 most of their fruit-trees and their hopes for a Mission self-supporting in agricultural products were dead. Had new gardens been prepared in virgin soil untainted with salt, some success might even then have attended their efforts after occasional rains; but after the departure of the last of the missionaries in 1891, the lay personnel who remained (and Louis Heidenreich and Friedrich Warber after October 1892)⁵² were more concerned to hold the fort than to make new attempts at self-sufficiency. Only G. A. Heidenreich made another effort: if alien flora could ^{not} be made to flourish in the valley of the Finke, perhaps something could be won from indigenous flora. But a swarm of bees he presented to the Mission suffocated in their hive on the way north, and when Hermannsburg was abandoned wild bees and Aborigines had a monopoly of the scanty honey resources of the reserve, and, except for a few date-palms, the little greenery that met the eye was afforded by flora uncultivated in any garden by the hands of men.⁵³

Meanwhile livestock had multiplied along the water-courses. Though early less in the forefront of the

52. See pp. 542-3 (below).

53. See M.C.N.T. In 108/89, 29/91, 43/93, 223/94; Luth. Kirchenbote 7/89 (p.106), 8/89 (p.124), 9/89 (p.137), 3/90 (p.43), 5/91 (p.75), 7/91 (p.109); L. Schulze, art. cit. (1891), pp.213-5; Adel. Observer, 1.2.90.

missionaries' hopes and less spectacular in its development than agriculture, the pastoral industry proved to be the most solid of the 'material foundations' laid at Hermannsburg. Kempe and Schwarz arrived with some 1,900 sheep (excluding an unknown number of lambs dropped between Dalhousie and the reserve), 25 cattle, 22 horses and 80 goats. The sheep were intended at first as the chief source of meat and, through the sale of wool, of station revenue; cattle and horses were to be bred chiefly as beasts of burden. This early emphasis on sheep was probably not deliberate: the ratio of sheep to cattle and horses was determined by Killalpaninna; and Kempe, after inspecting the reserve, expressed concern at the possibility of a huge freight and wages bill (which sheep would incur sooner than cattle and horses) and wished that the Mission had a few thousand pounds with which to buy cattle.⁵⁴ On the other hand, it occurred to no-one to try to exchange the sheep for cattle before bringing them to Hermannsburg. In 1881, however, it was decided to concentrate on raising horses and cattle for sale and to keep sheep mainly for eating purposes. Three reasons were advanced by Heidenreich for this change: the sheep were earning no income for the Mission, the missionaries were 'tired of looking after such large flocks', and the reserve

54. Appendix X; Scherer, op. cit., p.47.

was better suited to horses and cattle. '... another step', he wrote, 'has been taken to make the Mission self-supporting.'⁵⁵ His reasoning was not wholly sound, but subsequent events demonstrated the wisdom of his decision.

The reserve was, in fact, just as suitable for sheep as for horses and cattle. Available figures suggest that all livestock showed a fair rate of increase. By 1894 sheep, cattle and horses had increased to 2,300, 1,300 and 500 respectively, in spite of the fact that only some two sheep, fifty-five cattle and nine horses were bought, that 2,000 sheep and probably several hundreds of cattle and of horses were sold, that at least 6,200 sheep and 519 cattle (probably many more) were slaughtered on the station, and that there were few breeders in the herds of cattle and horses until the early eighties.⁵⁶ The quality of wool was poor, but this was because the missionaries began with inferior sheep and made few efforts to breed better ones.⁵⁷ A disease called 'Pleura' (probably pleuro-pneumonia) by Kempe and Schwarz killed two bullocks in 1877 and affected many others. 'But', wrote Kempe, 'we will thank the Lord for that too'⁵⁸ Within a few months the cattle had

55. Luth. Kirchenbote 18/81, p.208.

56. See Appendix X and the sources indicated therein; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (p.9), 11/81 (p.224), 9/82 (p.171); Luth. Kirchenbote 5/81 (p.55), 18/81 (p.208), 10/86 (p.143).

57. Cf. Appendix X; M.C.N.T.In 100/82, 29/91; S.A.P.P. 34/87, p.38.

58. Luth. Kirchenbote 18/77 (p.141), 24/77 (p.190).

all recovered, and henceforth all livestock at Hermannsburg were wholly free from disease. So well, indeed, did flocks and herds flourish that the missionaries grew concerned lest their country become over-stocked. By 1890 9,950 'small cattle' were grazing on the few square miles accessible to them from natural waters, and Heidenreich reported that the reserve was stocked to the limit.⁵⁹ Fortunately, the missionaries were able to secure from Grant and Stokes the use of 200 square miles of country on Ellerys Creek.⁶⁰ And in an effort to increase the area of accessible pastures they made their first attempts at water-improvements. A bore was sunk eighty-eight feet near the Gosses, where, it has since been discovered, the earth is dry for hundreds of feet, but a shallow bore at Ellerys Creek yielded a small supply of good water. More successful was an attempt to convert Gilbert Springs into a watering-point: they were blasted open until water sufficient for 1,400 cattle per day gushed from them.⁶¹

The wisdom of the decision of 1881 is borne out rather by the high rates of cartage which prevailed during 1877-94 and by returns of income from sheep, cattle and horses:

59. M.C.N.T. In 29/91; Appendix X.

60. Luth. Kirchenbete 5/91, p.75.

61. M.C.N.T. In 140/92, 43/93, 223/94.

TABLE 6Hermannsburg Mission : Revenue from Livestock 1880-93⁶²

	Cattle & Horses	Sheep	Wool	Total
£	c.3,122	c.1,000	619	4,741
% of Total Revenue	20	6	4	30
Yearly Average (£)	223	71	44	339

In spite of the fact that the missionaries began with such small numbers of cattle and horses, the sale of these animals, it will be seen, realized almost twice as much as the sale of sheep and wool, and it is probable that most of the income earned by wool found its way into the pockets of teamsters.⁶³ On the other hand, since more sheep were eaten than cattle, their relative worth to the Mission is somewhat misrepresented by income returns. It is improbable, however, that many more than the 2,000 sheep that were sold⁶⁴ — all on the very limited local market — could have been disposed of at a

62. To nearest £1. See Appendix IX. The missionaries unfortunately did not always indicate whether revenue from livestock was derived from sheep, horses or cattle. It is known, however, that 2,000 sheep fetched 10s. per head and that few, if any, more than this were sold. (Luth. Kirchenbote 18/81, p.208, 4/93 (p.64)).

63. See Appendix V; also, e.g., Luth. Kirchenbote 24/77 (p.189), M.C.N.T. In 29/91.

64. Appendix X; Luth. Kirchenbote 18/81 (p.208), 4/93 (p.64).

profit. Had the missionaries attempted to walk flocks to markets in the south they would have been fortunate to avoid disasters similar to those of 1875-77.⁶⁵

Revenue from the sale of both livestock and wool increased, in spite of the advent of depression, as the rail-head moved north and as numbers of cattle and horses swelled:

Table 7

Hermannsburg Mission : Revenue from Livestock 1888-93⁶⁶

	<u>Cattle & Horses</u>	<u>Sheep</u>	<u>Wool</u>	Total
£	2,371	400	497	3,268
% of total revenue	41	7	9	57
Yearly average (£)	395	67	83	545

Once herds of cattle and horses had been built up to a point at which there were surpluses for markets, it may therefore be said, the pastoral industry provided more than half of the income necessary for running the Mission. During the same period only £23 was used to purchase livestock, whereas more than £400 had been spent in the eight previous years.⁶⁷ In the two years before Hermannsburg was abandoned, moreover, the pastoral industry, by providing

65. See pp. 466, 468, above. Heidenreich estimated in 1879 that some 1,200 sheep perished between Killalpaninna and Hermannsburg in 1875-77 (M.C.N.T. In 8/79).

66. To nearest £1. See Appendix IX.

67. Appendix IX.

70% of total revenue (or 64% of expenditure), almost realized Harms's ideal of a self-supporting Mission.⁶⁸

Had the station been run as a purely pastoral concern many of the livestock slaughtered could have been marketed, thus adding a few thousand pounds to revenue. Such an income, however, could scarcely have supported a 'big' pastoralist of the eighties. The experience of the Hermannsburg missionaries, on the contrary, supports the conclusion reached in a previous Chapter: that the Centre was capable of supporting efficient 'small' squatters only; though it further suggests that a small man who was able to make a cheap or free beginning in the seventies could have been earning a moderately comfortable living by the late eighties, especially if he bred cattle and horses, and no sheep.

One disadvantage of cattle and horses was that they required less labour than sheep. Drought and summer heat often meant that they could be worked only once a year or less. In the early years, before Aborigines were recruited as labourers, shearers had to be hired and the missionaries themselves had to spend much time tending flocks.⁶⁹ Both these circumstances helped to bring about the change in policy in 1881. But already then a number of Aborigines were being used as shepherds, stockmen and labourers,⁷⁰ and

68. Ibid.

69. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80. H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/80, p.174; Luth. Kirchenbote 24/77 (p.190), 2/78 (p.13), 9/78 (p.67), 18/81 (p.208); Scherer, op. cit., p.68.

70. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.74), 9/82 (p.175); M.C.N.T.In. 49/81; Appendix XI.

discerning persons could see that the problem would soon become one, not of lessening work, but of providing it. '... we are becoming more and more convinced', wrote Kempe in December of that year, 'that stockraising is the only rewarding occupation here; the only unfortunate thing about it is that it provides a minimum of work for the Aborigines, and yet employment for them is a most important requirement for the success of mission work.'⁷¹ As the Aborigines became more adept at various sorts of work and the numbers of those willing to work increased, the problem became acute. It is probably true to say that from the time of the arrival of the four Colonisten in 1882 (though one was dismissed in 1887, together with the widow of Baden- who had died after falling from a horse) the Mission was overstaffed. By 1891 the missionaries had utterly despaired of providing adequate employment for Aborigines.⁷²

* * *

From where did the Mission draw its funds before the pastoral industry made it virtually self-supporting? Table 8 supplies the answer to this question for the period 1880-93.

71. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/82, p.70. Cf. ibid 10/82, p.199; H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/80, p.207.

72. See Luth. Kirchenbote 4/87 (pp.59-60), 4/88 (p.52), 7/91 (p.169); N.C.M.T. In 140/92. Cf. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/82 (p.70), 2/83 (pp.20-21).

Table 8Hermannsburg Mission : Revenue 1880-93.⁷³

	£	% of Total	Yearly Average (£)
Livestock and wool	4,741	30	339
Gifts from Australian Lutheran Congregations	4,453	29	318
'Gifts' from Hermannsburg Mission Institute	2,152	14	154
Government Subsidy	3,925	25	280
Other	332	2	24
Total	15,602	100	1,114

It will be seen that the purses of members of Australian (mainly South Australian) Lutheran congregations were the second biggest source of revenue during this period. It is probable, moreover, that it was largely the support of South Australian congregations that tided the Mission over the critical years 1875-79.⁷⁴ Contributions from this source tailed off appreciably only in the early nineties, when it was virtually certain that Hermannsburg would be abandoned. Not surprisingly, 'contributions' from the

73. Appendix IX. No satisfactory figures are available for the period prior to 1880.

74. Cf. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/77 (p.55), 24/77 (p.188), 12/78 (p.93); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/80, p.66; MC.N.F.In 8/79, 140/90.

owners of the Mission were considerably smaller. Having heavy commitments in Africa and elsewhere, Harms aimed to help put Hermannsburg on its feet and thereafter leave it to its own resources. His support, which early matched that of the South Australian Lutherans, consequently decreased after 1884 until in 1887 it vanished. Government contributions, made in the form of foodstuffs and clothing for Aborigines until 1883 and in cash thereafter, averaged more than £390 per year before dropping to £200 in 1888 and to £100 in 1892 and rising again to £200 in 1893.⁷⁵ In addition, the cost and cartage of stores supplied by the Government in 1875 amounted to more than £100.⁷⁶ Occasion will be found hereafter to discuss the causes of the fluctuations in Government subsidies.

In spite of many gifts, it is doubtful whether the Mission could have been continued had it not been so cheaply run. Heidenrich boasted in 1887 that it was 'cheaper than any other mission in the country';⁷⁷ and the returns of other Missions for the same year suggest that his boast was not empty.⁷⁸

75. See Appendix IX.

76. Prot. Abos. In 390/75.

77. Luth. Kirchenbote 4/87, p.61.

78. Prot. Abos. In 28/88. See also ibid 327/88, 346/89.

Table 9

Hermannsburg Mission : Expenditure, 1880-93.⁷⁹

	£	% of Total	Yearly Average (£)
Salaries and Wages	2,508	16	179
Livestock	404	3	29
Building Material	667	4	48
Implements and Machinery	1,281	8	91
Stores	5,429	36	388
Freight	3,900	26	279
Other	1,017	7	73
Total	15,205	100	1,086

The most striking feature of this statement is the smallness of the sum expended on livestock. Hermannsburg was extremely fortunate to be spared the usual initial heavy expenditure on this item. The inheritance of livestock apart, the biggest saving was made in staffing the Mission. Kempe, Schwarz and Schulze were paid only £6 per year before their wives joined them and £12 thereafter, while the Colonisten were receiving £6 each in 1880 and £10 in 1891. (Most of the sum indicated in Table 9 was paid to hired labourers, chiefly in 1880-84). Whenever the treasury was empty, moreover, the staff willingly

79. To nearest £1. See Appendix IX.

forwent their pittances. Heidenreich referred to their salaries as 'pocket money' and Krichauff was scarcely exaggerating when in 1885 he attributed the debt-free position of the Mission largely to the 'self-denial' of its personnel.⁸⁰ We have already seen how cheaply but substantially the missionaries built. Expenditure on implements and machinery was low by any standards. Most of it was probably accounted for by pumps, windmills and garden implements, and in view of the moderate success of agriculture must be regarded as an investment wisely made. Stores and freight, as might have been expected, constituted the biggest items of expenditure, together making up 62% of the total. Freight probably accounted for much more of this percentage than is indicated by Table 9, for the missionaries sometimes included it under 'stores' in their returns and a considerable amount of Government monies expended on 'stores' in 1880-82 was undoubtedly paid to teamsters.⁸¹

The assets of Hermannsburg Mission were estimated at £7,320 in 1893, and its liabilities were £30.⁸² It is clear from these figures (though the former is unduly high),⁸³ from returns of revenue and expenditure, and from the flourishing

80. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/80, p.66; M.C.N.T.In 105/86 (in Prot. Abos.In 30/86), 87/87 (in Prot. Abos.In 54/87), in 140/92.

81. Until the late eighties freight on stores usually exceeded their purchase price. (See, e.g., Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (p.11), 11/87 (p.206; M.C.N.T.In 49/81, 179/82).

82. Appendix IX.

83. Cf. C.A.O., C.P. 120, N.T. 13/5922.

state of its pastoral industry that the economic position and prospect of the Mission was no reason for its abandonment in the following year.⁸⁴

* * *

Far more valuable assets than works and buildings to the missionaries in 1887 were seven Aboriginal converts. Aged from thirteen to seventeen years, they were mere babes when the first European, Ernest Giles, passed through their country. According to estimates made by the missionaries, the Western Aranda south of the MacDonnell Ranges numbered 500 at the time, but Giles, though he sighted thirty or forty, contacted none of them.⁸⁵ When Heidenreich and Kempe visited the reserve almost four years later, they saw about four 'family groups' and another 'rather large' group, but all except an old man who could not run and an old woman who stayed to defend him made off as soon as they became aware of the presence of white men.⁸⁶ No other Europeans, with the possible exception of men from Owen Springs,⁸⁷ set foot in the reserve until Kempe and

84. Cf. Blaess, op. cit., p.129.

85. H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/80, p.200; S.A.Register 10.8.1901, p.9; E. Giles, Diary 1872, entries for 30.8.72 ff.

86. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/77, p.54.

87. Cf. Scherer, op. cit., p.59; Luth. Kirchenbote 18/77, pp.140-1. A cattle-station (Glen Helen) had probably been formed in the northern part of Western Aranda territory before Kempe and Schwarz arrived at Hermannsburg (see p.306 above), but, since the Finke Gorge is virtually impassable for stock, it is unlikely that the men who formed it passed through the Mission Reserve.

Schwarz came to stay in June 1877, and they were avoided completely, though smokes that puffed on the horizon showed that the Western Aranda were very much aware of their presence, for two months.⁸⁸ Like most other Aborigines in the Centre then, the Western Aranda reacted to Europeans at first with marked fear and avoidance.

For two years after the first of their number contacted the missionaries in mid-August 1877, the Western Aranda pursued a policy of tentative approach. Women and children were again conspicuous by their absence for a time, and curiosity and acquisition again appear to have been motives of the males who made approaches. They came in pairs at first, cautiously accepted gifts of food and clothing, and departed quickly. At the end of August they arrived in greater numbers, and Kempe, unbothered by the inappropriate image, prefaced his second report⁸⁹ to the South Australian 'Mission community' with the text, 'Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields; for they are white already to harvest.' By October seventy or eighty 'of all ages' had come and gone, but no females made an appearance until June of the following year, and then only after Schwarz had expressly invited the men to bring them along. Not until late in 1879 did women appear regularly and in any numbers. Meanwhile, males came and went in slowly increasing numbers, and a few stayed to perform

88. Luth. Kirchenbote 19/77 (p.148); Scherer, op. cit., p.66.

89. Luth. Kirchenbote 20 & 21/77, p.158.

small tasks in return for European commodities. In February 1878 there were seven on the station, five of whom were 'workers'; in March seventeen came and went. Eighteen months later Ernest Flint of Alice Springs found nine adult male Western Aranda at Hermannsburg, and learnt that their numbers fluctuated between three and fifty.⁹⁰

There followed the period of tentative approach a phase of reaction that could easily be mistaken for resistance. From mid-1879 until about 1884 the Aborigines on the reserve occasionally killed livestock and stole a variety of commodities from the missionaries. '...some of them are very forward and masters of the art of begging and stealing',⁹¹ wrote Kempe in 1880; and Schulze noted in 1887 that 'Earlier they used to steal like jackdaws: knives, hatchets, bread, meat, sugar, tea, sheep -- even cattle'.⁹² But there is no evidence that they attempted to drive the missionaries from the reserve. Only one or two ill-tempered individuals resorted to physical violence, and that after most Western Aranda had adopted a policy of intelligent exploitation. Thieving probably

90. See Luth. Kirchenbote 20 & 21/77 (p.159), 24/77 (p.190), 2/78 (p.13), 6/78 (p.45), 9/78 (p.67), 12/78 (p.92); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (p.9), 9/82 (p.175), 9/87 (p.178); M.C.N.T.In 10/80; Prot. Abos.In 277/79; Scherer, op. cit., pp.66-67.

91. H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/80, p.208.

92. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/87, p.180. See also Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81 (p.276), 3/84 (p.38), 4/85 (pp.53-54); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80, p.9; Prot. Abos.In 277/79, 360/84; M.C.N.T.In 45/84 (or S.A.P.P. 237/83-4), 342/85.

resulted less from a desire to damage the intruders or from hunger (it commenced in a year of exceptional plenty)⁹³ than from a desire to possess European goods. In short, resistance as experienced elsewhere in the Centre probably did not occur at Hermannsburg. If so, the explanation lies ready to hand. In the first place, it is unlikely that the Western Aranda had met with any rough treatment from Europeans before Kempe and Schwarz arrived in their midst.⁹⁴ Secondly, the missionaries implemented a careful policy of conciliation from the outset. On the one hand, they made no attempt to punish Aborigines who stole from them. 'A few sheep have been killed by the Natives and the Missionaries are reluctant to punish them,' noted Flint in 1879, 'as they very sensibly remark that should they resort to harsh measures and correction their Mission would then be ended.'⁹⁵ On the other hand, they supplied Aborigines, freely or in return for a little work, with many of the European commodities they wanted. Finally, because of good seasons, the bounty of the reserve by Central Australian standards, and the initial smallness of flocks and herds, the Mission livestock made no rapid inroads into indigenous supplies of food and water.⁹⁶ In these circumstances,

93. See p. 478 (above); M.C.N.T. In 10/80; Prot. Abos. In 277/79; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80, p.7; H. Kempe, 'Die Mission in Central-Australien' in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 8/80, p.156; Appendix I.

94. See pp. 495-6 (above). Cf. Prot. Abos. In 277/79.

95. Prot. Abos. In 277/79. See also Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81, p.276.

96. Cf. p. 523 (below).

the acquisitiveness displayed by the Western Aranda in the phase of tentative approach led early and directly to intelligent exploitation.

It would be superfluous to give an account of the working of intelligent exploitation at Hermannsburg, for it closely resembled the policy pursued by other Aborigines in the Centre.⁹⁷ The one considerable difference was that the Western Aranda were able to procure more European commodities more easily than other intelligent exploiters. On the one hand they were unable to trade their women (except, perhaps, occasionally with hired labourers) for European commodities, but on the other hand they were able to trade their attendance at classes of secular and religious instruction, and exploitable commodities were in far greater supply at the Mission (especially before the establishment of ration depots at the telegraph stations) than elsewhere in the Centre. The important point to be established here is that the policy was, more so than elsewhere in the Centre, a voluntary utilization of European commodities. Late in November 1879, when there were only about nine Aborigines at Hermannsburg, weary bullocks drawing two wagons loaded with Government rations -- the first to arrive since those sent in 1875 -- snorted to a halt outside the Mission store. 'Immediately', wrote Schulze, 'quite a crowd of heathen

97. See, e.g., Hermannsb. Missionsb. 2/85 (p.21), 2/86 (Beiblatt, p.13), 9/87 (pp. 179, 181); Luth. Kirchenbote 9/89, p.138.

settled in here -- when we counted them one day there were far more than a hundred.⁹⁸ Within eight months the heathen had exhausted all food-stuffs (including 8,000 lbs. of flour and 400 lbs. of sugar) contained by the wagons, and had become the happy recipients of 22 lbs. of tobacco, 63 blankets, 100 yards of blue serge, 50 pannicans and many other articles. Now, as already stated, 1879 was a year/^{of}exceptionally favourable seasons and the missionaries' livestock had scarcely begun to make inroads into Aboriginal supplies of food and water. It seems impossible, therefore, that intelligent exploitation at Hermannsburg, which must be dated, if at all, from the arrival of the two wagons, was 'based on the necessity of adaptation'¹⁰⁰ -- or that it was not based on Aboriginal acquisitiveness. The subsequent behaviour of the Western Aranda, moreover, points to the same conclusion. In 1880, and every year thereafter, they were supplied with rations similar in quantity and kind to those supplied in 1879.¹⁰¹ One result of this was that the numbers of those who resided more or less permanently in the vicinity of the Mission store steadily increased until in 1889 they reached (and thereafter remained at) about 100.¹⁰² This overall pattern of residence might

98. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/80, p.41.

99. M.C.N.T.In 5/80, 49/81, 52/81.

100. Elkin, Art. cit., p.169.

101. M.C.N.T.In 215/80, 49/81, 52/81, 72/83, 45/84 (also S.A.P.P. 237/83-4), 105/86 (in Prot. Abos.In 30/86), 87/87 (in Prot. Abos.In 54/87), 400/87, 130/88, 108/89, 41/90, 29/91, 140/92, 43/93, 223/94; Prot. Abos. In 304/84.

102. See Appendix XI and sources indicated therein.

well have been occasioned by depletion of indigenous food-supplies or other factors, but there were other and shorter patterns, one of which seems highly significant in this context. On the one hand, it is true that the attendance of Aborigines at the Mission was regulated to some extent by the seasons — with the exception of some schoolchildren and an ever increasing number of aged and infirm, they tended to leave the Mission in good seasons and to return in dry seasons, when, it may be assumed, they considered that the small amount of work demanded of them in return for European food would cost them less effort than securing a livelihood by traditional means.¹⁰³ On the other hand, they displayed an even more striking tendency to gear their attendance to the availability of European commodities. The annual supply of rations was usually exhausted some months before the arrival of further supplies. On such occasions, even in bad seasons and especially before station produce began to ensure a year-round supply of food, Aborigines tended to absent themselves, only to turn up in force as soon as the next loading arrived. And at Christmas time, when the missionaries' providence and eagerness to spread the Glad Tidings ensured that all would receive something for nothing, they were invariably present in large numbers.¹⁰⁴

103. M.C.N.T. In 10/80; 77/92; Prot. Abos. In 277/79; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/81 (p.198), 10/83 (p.207), 12/83 (pp.235-6); Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81, p.275.

104. Luth. Kirchenbote 18/81 (p.208); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.75), 9/81 (p.198), 11/81 (p.223), 5/82 (p.70), 9/83 (p.180); M.C.N.T. In 49/81, 100/82, 72/83, 45/84 (or S.A.P.P. 237/83-4).

* * * *

The reaction of the missionaries to contact with the Western Aranda was conditioned by attitudes and a policy inherited from the Hermannsburg Mission Institute and the South Australian Lutherans. The missionaries wanted to do two things for the Aborigines : to convert them to the Lutheran faith, thus ensuring the eternal welfare of their souls; and, through segregation and instruction in the arts of European civilization, to prepare them for assimilation into the extra-Mission community. As already indicated,¹⁰⁵ however, temporal salvation was not so much an end in itself as a means of furthering the one great aim of eternal salvation. A part of the program, by which they hoped to achieve these aims has already been outlined, but it is relevant to recapitulate here and add detail. In the first place, the Mission was to be placed on a sound economic basis by the establishment of local industries. Secondly, Aboriginal nomadism was to be abolished. This, it was hoped, would be accomplished by the implementation of the first stage of the program: if local industries were successfully established Aborigines would probably come to see the advantages of European civilization, accept regular employment, and become a resident people; and its

105. Chapter 2, p. 166 (above).

accomplishment would in the long run enable Aborigines to become assimilated into the extra-Mission community and, by bringing them under the continual influence of the missionaries and the Word and inculcating industry, cleanliness and other habits considered requisite for Christian living, would greatly enhance their chances of being converted.

Thirdly, the missionaries were to study the local language, teach Aborigines to read and write it, and make investigations into other aspects of Aboriginal culture. Aborigines, it was believed, would become literate in their own language much more quickly than they could master a new one, and, even if they acquired fluency in the relevant tongue, would more readily listen to, and appreciate the truth of, the Christian message in accents native to themselves than they would if it was delivered in German or English. Investigations into other aspects of Aboriginal culture might incidentally discover habits or principles compatible with a Christian way of life, or lead to an important contribution to anthropology, but it was chiefly hoped that they would reveal weak points at which that message could be directed and all elements of Aboriginal life abominable to God. Finally, as soon as the missionaries had acquired a smattering of the new tongue 'real' mission work was to be put in hand. Regular religious and secular instruction was to be given in their own language to young and old, male and female. Secular instruction, which was to embrace most of the subjects on the primary school curricula

of the day, would help to effect the assimilation of Aborigines, but it would above all prepare their minds for the reception of Christian truths. All Aborigines were to be encouraged to attend Church services, which were to be performed regularly in the vernacular, but none were to be received into the Congregation of Saints through baptism (let alone through confirmation) until they came to a thorough understanding of the principal Lutheran doctrines and provided evidence that they intended to live faithfully according to the teachings of Christ and His apostles.¹⁰⁶

Most of the important attitudes inherited by the missionaries towards Aborigines contrasted strongly with those displayed by settlers in the Centre, though with the passage of time all underwent considerable modification, some of the contrasts disappearing in the process. Unlike the settlers, the missionaries did not believe that the Aborigines were doomed to extinction or that they were unduly treacherous and murderous. Moreover, they did not have much contempt for the capacity and persons of Aborigines. On the contrary, they were convinced of their capacity for moral and intellectual improvement and for the receipt of God's grace,

106. Luth. Kirchenbote 24/77 (pp.189-90), 2/78 (p.13), 2/82 (p.40), 3/84 (p.38), 11/85 (pp.170-1); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (pp.9,11), 11/81 (p.224), 5/82 (pp.69-70), 2/85 (p.22); P. A. Scherer, op. cit. p.47; H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/80, p.207; Heidenreich to Th. Harms, 12.6.78 (copy in possession P.A.Scherer); M.C.N.F. In 8/79, 10/80, 342/85, 29/91. Cf. Luth. Kirchenbote 24/77, p.190; Blaess, op. cit., p.44.

and were quick to admire the fine physique of the uncontacted Aborigines they met. They were, however, convinced of the superiority of their own culture. But they saw this superiority as stemming less from the material achievements of Western civilization than from spiritual benefits conferred on it by God and from the snares cast over the minds of Aborigines by Satan. All men, it is true, had fallen from the image in which God had created them. But on the one hand, the Christian, especially the Lutheran, religion afforded the only path to heaven and the image had begun to be restored in the many citizens of the West who had embraced it. On the other, primitive peoples seemed to have fallen further than civilized peoples and the image had begun to be restored in none of them.¹⁰⁷

We have already seen how the missionaries implemented the first two stages of their program, and with what success. For the moment we are concerned to observe their reaction to the various responses they obtained from the Western Aranda. They regarded fear and avoidance as "probably a good thing"¹⁰⁸ on the grounds that it enabled them to concentrate on placing the Mission on a sound economic basis. Indeed, Aborigines

107. See Luth. Kirchenbote 20 & 21/77 (p.159), 24/77 (p.190), 2/78 (pp.13-14); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/80, p.41; G. A. Heidenreich, Letter to Th. Harms 8.12.75 (copy in possession of P. A. Scherer); P.A.Scherer, art. cit. in Luth. Herald 14.9.57, p.266. Cf. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 12/83, p.235.

108. Luth. Kirchenbote 19/77, p.148.

probably began to make tentative approaches sooner than they wished. Two months after the first Western Aranda appeared they were still desperately 'trying to complete all necessary external work ... so that we can begin the real mission work'.¹⁰⁹ On the other hand, they seem to have counted to some extent on the early assistance of Aborigines in their 'external' work. Already in November 1877 Schwarz complained that the heathen 'came and went so much that we often scarcely had the necessary shepherds.'¹¹⁰ And as the phase of tentative approach wore on they began to doubt whether it would ever be possible to begin 'real' missionwork among a people who lived 'like vagabonds'.¹¹¹

Intelligent exploitation soon stilled some of these doubts, but on the whole the missionaries were bitterly disappointed with the policy. They clearly expected that opportunities for regular work and for the acquisition of European commodities would quickly abolish nomadism. Instead, as we have seen, the Aborigines never became a wholly resident people. Moreover, fearful of creating a community of parasites, the missionaries deeply resented the attitudes now displayed by Aborigines that it was better to receive from Europeans than to give and that only the material possessions

109. Ibid 24/77, p.190.

110. Ibid 6/78, p.45. See also Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80, p.9.

111. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80, p.9. Cf. H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/80, p.207.

of the white man were worth exploiting. And their exasperation increased as they came to realize that they would never be able to create suitable and adequate employment opportunities for the potential Aboriginal work-force.¹¹² By the exercise of much patience and some ingenuity, however, they contrived both to have a small contingent of workers on the station at all times during the eighties and to provide them with work that could be regarded as having a useful purpose. Able-bodied men worked as stockmen, builders or gardeners, women busied themselves with needles, brooms or milk-pails, children watered the gardens or broke cabbages and peeled melons, and old people (after 1886) spun wool and knitted it into blankets. By the late eighties the missionaries were able to trust some of the young people to perform various tasks without supervision, and their stockboys had won a good reputation with neighbouring cattlemen.¹¹³

The nomadic habits of the Aborigines at first greatly interfered with the implementation of the third stage of the missionaries' program. Though by 1880 a primer

112. See Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81 (p.276), 7/91 (p.109); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80 (p.9), 5/82 (p.70), 10/82 (pp.198-9), 9/82 (p.173), 10/83 (p.207), 12/83 (p.235), 2/85 (p.23); M.C.N.T. In 10/80; L. Schulze, art. cit., p.223.

113. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.75), 10/82 (pp.198-9), 9/83 (p.191), 12/83 (p.236), 4/84 (pp.55,59), 12/85 (Beiblatt, pp.94-96), 2/86 (Beiblatt, pp.11-13), 9/87 (pp.177,180); M.C.N.T. In 10/80, 4/81, 72/83, 45/84 (or S.A.P.P.237/83-4), 342/85, 105/86 (in Prot. Abes. In 30/86), 87/87 (in Prot. Abes. In 54/87), 130/88; Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81 (p.276), 4/85 (p.53), 7/85 (p.110), 11/85 (p.171), 10/86 (p.143), 4/88 (p.52).

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(Aldolinga Angaxa) had been prepared, a 'pretty large vocabulary'¹¹⁵ (sufficiently large to enable the missionaries to commence teaching in the Aboriginal language) collected, and an outline of a grammar completed, Kempe later confessed that the 'real' work of learning the Western Aranda dialect had scarcely begun.¹¹⁶ Intelligent exploitation made the task easier, but progress remained slow, for a number of reasons. The language, as we have already noted,¹¹⁷ is inherently difficult to learn, and the missionaries had little linguistic training. Once they had mastered the elements of the language, moreover, they were confronted by the problem of using it, deficient in abstract nouns as it was, as a vehicle of expression for concepts foreign to Aranda thought. Until they discovered that it was possible to form abstract nouns from most Aranda verbs they were able to overcome this problem only by inventing words or borrowing from Latin.¹¹⁸ The Aborigines, moreover, traditionally reluctant to satisfy inquisitive outsiders, became quite unco-operative -- and

114. S. A. Goyt, Printer, 1880. See also M.C.N.T. Out, Minister to Kempe 19.1.80, 20 to Krichauff 5.7.80; M.C.N.T. In 123/80, 318/80; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/80, p.9.

115. M.C.N.T. In 10/80.

116. Luth. Kirchenbote 11/85, p.170. See also M.C.N.T. In 10/80; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.79); Luth. Kirchenbote 3/81, p.32.

117. Chapter 1, pp.33-34 (above).

118. See Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 2/81 (pp. 30-31), 3/81 (pp.45-47); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.79), 10/83 (pp.202-3), 2/85 (pp.22-23), 3/85 (Beiblatt, pp.19-20), 1/88 (pp.16-17); Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81 (p.276), 11/85 (p.170); P.A.Scherer, 'The New Testament in Aranda: A Linguistic Appraisal', Lutheran Herald 24.11.56, p.347.

even, perhaps, untruthful -- once they had grasped that the missionaries intended to use any information they might give them to ridicule or destroy their beliefs.¹¹⁹ The problem of non-co-operation was overcome, however, when the children of 1877 reached their teens. By 1891, 'with the help of boys grown up on the station and who have become less nomadic than their elders',¹²⁰ the missionaries had collected more than 2,000 words and had published an enlarged edition of Aldolinga Angaxa, a Grammar and Vocabulary of the Western Aranda dialect, and translations of Luther's Small Catechism and various Scriptural passages and hymns.¹²¹

The missionaries' youthful informants were able to supply much slighter and less accurate information concerning most other aspects of Aboriginal culture. Various reports by Kempe and Schulze¹²³ in the eighties, answers by Kempe to a list of questions sent by the Protector of Aborigines,¹²⁴ and

119. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 2/85 (p.22), 3/85 (Beiblatt, pp.19-20); Luth. Kirchenbote 11/85, p.170; Kempe, Lebenslauf.

120. H. Kempe, 'A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Language spoken by the Aborigines of the MacDonnell Ranges, South Australia' in Trans. of Roy. Soc. S.A., Vol.XIV, Part I (1891), p.1. Cf. Luth. Kirchenbote 4/88, p.52.

121. Kempe, 'A Grammar and Vocabulary etc.' (loc. cit.); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/88, p.16; Luth. Kirchenbote 8/89, p.125; M.C.N.T.in 29/91; Adel. Observer 1.2.90.

122. Art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/80 (pp.202-8), 2/81 (pp.21-31), 3/81 (pp.45-48), 4/81 (pp.54-61).

123. Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86 (pp.142-4), 6/89 (pp.87-89), 7/89 (p.106); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/83 (pp.201-8), 9/87 (pp.178-83).

124. Prot. Abos. In, unnumbered (dated 9.3.81).

a general account by Schulze in 1891 of 'The Aborigines of the Upper and Middle Finke River'¹²⁵ reveal that the missionaries acquired a fairly detailed and accurate knowledge of these aspects of Aboriginal life easily observable, but also that they sojourned only on the fringes of Aboriginal culture. In failing to win the confidence of the older generation, especially of the old men or elders, they failed to win the confidence of the only persons who could have led them to more profound knowledge. As late as 1891 none of them had seen a circumcision ceremony, and Schulze had only recently learnt a few details of Western Aranda beliefs concerning birth.¹²⁶ Only a man almost wholly ignorant of Aboriginal ritual could write, as Schulze did in that year, that 'Popular songs they have none, for the simple reason that they are deficient in popular sentiment; nor heroic songs, because there are no heroes among them.'¹²⁷ It may also be that the missionaries often allowed wishful thinking to cloud their judgement when evaluating the information that they did obtain. They evidently wanted to believe, for example, that the Aborigines possessed no deeply satisfying personal religion, or no religion at all, and that 'each is a free-born gentleman and

125. Loc. cit. See also F.E.H.W. Krichauff, 'The Customs, Religious Ceremonies etc. of the 'Aldalinga' or Mbenderinga' Tribe of Aborigines in the Krichauff Ranges, South Australia' in R.G.S.A., S.A. Br., Proc., Vol. 2 (1886-87), pp. 33-37.

126. L. Schulze, art. cit., pp. 237, 244; Luth. Kirchenbote 6/89, p. 87.

127. L. Schulze, art. cit., p. 221.

does what he pleases',¹²⁸ for it could be expected that such people would readily see the advantage of the Christian faith and of an ordered Christian life. Thus Kempe could admit in 1880 that it was 'by no means the case' that the Aborigines were without a religion,¹²⁹ and yet assert in 1885 that 'even the rudest fetish worshippers of West Africa stand much higher than these heathen. The only trace of religion still with them is fear'¹³⁰

Two significant changes occurred in the missionaries' attitudes to Aborigines as they investigated Western Aranda culture: their contempt for Aboriginal culture increased and their faith in the capacity of Aborigines for temporal and especially for eternal salvation was shaken. 'If one observes these people only superficially', wrote Schulze in 1882, 'they seem to be the happiest of people. But if one looks closely he soon recognizes their physical and spiritual wretchedness.'¹³¹ All three missionaries sooner or later discovered, or imagined that they had discovered, that the Western Aranda were sexually promiscuous, that they practised infanticide

128. H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 2/81, p.23. Cf. Prot. Abos.In., unnumbered (dated 9.3.81).

129. Art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 4/81, p.55.

130. Hermannsb. Missionsb. (Beiblatt) 3/85, p.22. See also ibid 9/82, p.173; Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86 (p.142), 7/89 (p.108), 8/89 (p.124).

131. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/82, p.199.

and cannibalism, that they were cowardly and cunning in dealing with their enemies, that they went in abject terror of death and the dead.¹³² One result of these and other discoveries was that they became more firmly convinced than ever that no compromises should be made with the heathen culture, that all adaptation should be on the part of the Aborigines. Another was that they found it necessary to remind themselves repeatedly that God had included the Western Aranda in His plan for the salvation of men. '... the devil, the world, and our own reason', wrote Schwarz, '... would constantly whisper to us that these heathen are far too deeply degraded ever to become true Christians and children of God. But our hope is in the Lord ... His promise shall remain true'¹³³

'Real' mission work was put in hand at Hermannsburg when the Aborigines adopted a policy of intelligent exploitation. Four days after the arrival of the Government rations in 1879 the missionaries gathered a number of boys

132. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.79), 9/81 (p.199), 9/82 (p.177), 10/82 (pp.199-200), 2/83 (pp.18-20), 9/83 (p.182), 10/83 (pp.205-6), 12/83 (p.239), 2/85 (pp.22-25), 3/85 (Beiblatt, p.22), 1/88 (p.15), 7/91 (p.108); H. Kempe, art. cit. in ibid 2/81, pp.25-26, 29-30, 58-59; L. Schulze, art. cit., pp.221-3, 234, 236; Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86 (p.143), 4/88 (p.52), 6/89 (p.89); M.C.M.F. in 108/89; Prot. Abos. In, unnumbered (dated 9.3.81). Cf. Luth. Kirchenbote 6/78, p.46.

133. Luth. Kirchenbote 6/78, p.45. See also Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsburg Missionsb. 4/81, p.59; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/85 (Beiblatt, pp.21-22); Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86 (p.143), 7/91 (p.108).

and girls together and began to teach them reading, writing and religion every morning before rations were distributed. Singing and geography ('God who made it all must be a mighty creature',¹³⁴) were soon added to the curriculum, and 'the children, contrary to all expectation, ... made good progress in all these things',¹³⁵ and on Christmas Eve 1880 sang two carols and were rewarded for their efforts with a new frock or shirt and five small cakes and five nuts each.¹³⁶

The first adults were induced to attend religious classes early in 1880. The result was 'very disheartening',¹³⁷ and continued so. In trying to convert them the missionaries' methods were simple and traditional; first apply the law, then the Gospel; first convince them of their sinfulness before a righteous God, then tell them that Christ had died to save them from their predicament. But these were initiates perfect in Aboriginal law, with no sense of sin, reincarnations of the 'dream-time' heroes; men whose spiritual desires were all fulfilled, men reconciled with death. By the mid-eighties almost all hope of converting adults had

134. H. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 4/81, p.61.

135. Ibid., p.61.

136. See ibid; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/80 (pp.41-42), 5/81 (pp.72-76); Luth. Kirchenbote 5/81 (p.54); M.C.N.T. In 49/81. 'English language' was added to the curriculum in 1887 (M.C.N.T. In 130/88; Luth. Kirchenbote 4/88, p.51).

137. Kempe, art. cit. in Hermannsb. Missionsb. 4/81, p.60. See also Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/82 (p.70), 2/85 (p.25).

been abandoned. 'One can still place a little hope only in the younger generation' wrote Kempe, '... the old ones are so fallen and degraded in sin, the Father of Lies has ensnared them in such a net of lies, that they much prefer to regard their naive, silly fables as the truth -- fables which are so naive and absurd that every child must recognize them for what they are, namely, nothing but lies -- than to believe what we tell them. Yes, they hold so firmly to their fables that they have already told us straight out that we tell them nothing but lies.' And added, 'Humanly speaking, it seems impossible that these should come to a knowledge of the truth.'¹³⁸

Reluctant to rely on miracles, the missionaries increasingly turned their attentions and hopes to the young. And as their doubts concerning the capacity of adults for eternal salvation grew, and as they came to appreciate the extent and nature of the power wielded by old men in Aboriginal society, they adopted a policy of driving a wedge between the young and the old generations, of segregating children from the influence of adults, especially of the old men.¹³⁹ Progress in the school slowed once novelty had faded, attendances fluctuated with the seasons, and the

138. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/85 (Beiblatt) pp.21-22. Cf. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/89, p.108.

139. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 2/85 (p.25), 6/85 (p.104); Luth. Kirchenbote 4/85 p.54.

missionaries' preoccupation with other work sometimes caused interruptions.¹⁴⁰ But by 1885 Heidenreich could claim that forty children had completed an education that would be of some use to them,¹⁴¹ and after 1886 the average daily attendance was never lower than twenty-nine.¹⁴² In secular subjects, the missionaries often asserted, Western Aranda children progressed as fast as, if not faster than, German children of the same age; and they seem to have been equally pleased with the 'moral improvement' of many.¹⁴³ The 'big' girls, however, disappointed them in that they were prone to 'chase after whites',¹⁴⁴ or to be 'decoyed away by the whites and ... spoiled forever.'¹⁴⁵ Kempe wrote to the Protector of Aborigines in 1886 to ascertain, among other things, whether he and his colleagues could legally 'bring back to our station all girls and women belonging to this reserve, who are used now on the surrounding stations for prostitutes, thus perishing on body and soul [sic]', but the

140. Appendix XI; Luth. Kirchenbote 11/81 (p.127), 24/81 (p.276), 3/84 (p.38); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/81 (p.198-9), 11/81 (p.223), 12/81 (pp.246-7), 5/82 (p.69), 9/82 (p.173), 2/83 (p.19), 9/83 (p.180), 10/83 (p.207); M.C.N.T.In 100/82, 45/84, 342/85.

141. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 6/86, p.92; M.C.N.T.In 105/86 (in Prot. Abos. In 30/86).

142. Appendix XI.

143. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (pp.72-73), 9/81 (p.199), 2/85 (p.25), 9/87 (p.182); Luth. Kirchenbote 5/81 (p.54), 4/85 (p.54), 7/85 (p.110); M.C.N.T.In 45/84, 87/87 (in Prot. Abos. In 54/87), 29/91.

144. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/83 (p.206).

145. Prot. Abos. In 150/85. See also ibid 330/86; Luth. Kirchenbote 7/85 (p.110), 9/89 (p.138); M.C.N.T.In 87/87 (in Prot. Abos. In 54/87).

answer was in the negative.¹⁴⁶ Despairing of the possibility of enforcing segregation, the missionaries came to place their hopes mostly on boys.¹⁴⁷

At the same time, however, Kempe, Schwarz, and Schulze were becoming 'more and more convinced that it is best if we teach them only the truths of God's Word, for all worldly education is of little or no use to them.'¹⁴⁸ This conclusion was reached partly from observations that employment opportunities on the Mission and elsewhere in the Centre were limited, that educated Aborigines received no higher wages on cattle-stations than uneducated ones, and that, indeed, there was a distinct prejudice against Mission blacks amongst cattlemen. It seemed, moreover, to be the destiny of black people throughout the world, especially in Australia, to be subjected to the white man. Kempe, at least, became convinced that the curse of Noah lay upon the Aborigines, that they were fated to remain servants forever of the children of Shem.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, the missionaries had now come to believe, for reasons we shall shortly discover, that the Western Aranda were doomed to extinction, and it seemed

146. Prot. Abos. In 330/86.

147. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/85 (p.110), 10/86 (p.143).

148. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/91 p.108; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 6/85, pp.103-4.

149. Luth. Kirchenbote 1/90 (p.81), 7/91 (pp.107-8).

absurd to attempt to make useful citizens of a dying people. And so the goal of assimilation was abandoned and the missionaries held it their duty merely to preach the Gospel to creatures in the twilight of their existence, isolating them from evil influences until night should fall.

But though the path to acceptance in the white community was closed to the Canaanites, the path to heaven lay open ever, and the missionaries knew for certain in April 1888, when a baptized infant died and was the first to be planted as a seed in the tiny Mission cemetery to spring to life at the Resurrection, that at least one had succeeded in reaching the end of it.¹⁵⁰ The first converts were won only in 1887. Through all the long waiting the missionaries comforted themselves with the thought that God had promised that His Word would not return empty and that they themselves had done what was expected of them : the 'little people' would no longer have any excuse on Judgement Day, and some of them knew what was necessary for salvation.¹⁵¹ Nor did they yield from the exacting demands they had early made on prospective converts. '... if we wanted to do as the Catholics do we could have baptized a number long ago',¹⁵²

150. Luth. Kirchenbote 9/88, p.138.

151. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/83 (p.189), 12/83 (p.239), 4/84 (p.59), 2/85 (p.20), 9/87 (p.182); Luth. Kirchenbote 7/85 (p.110), 11/85 (p.171), 6/86 (p.84).

152. Luth. Kirchenbote 11/85, p.171. See also ibid 7/85, p.109.

wrote Kempe in 1885. When, early in the following year, several youths expressed a secret desire to be baptized, they were considered to be 'too much under the sway of the old ones'¹⁵³ and were given special instruction twice a week. After a few months they finally convinced the missionaries of their fitness for baptism, but none could be induced to announce themselves publicly for the rite. If but one would dare to oppose the old men and renounce heathendom, Kempe, Schwarz and Schulze now told themselves, others would follow.¹⁵⁴

Andreas alias Kalimala and Thomas alias Tekua, orphans born in the early seventies, attended school at the Mission for some months before leaving the reserve to work and wander on neighbouring cattle-stations. Both returned on a number of occasions, and in 1885 volunteered to accompany Kempe on a trip to the south. At Maree Kempe caught a train to Adelaide and sent his companions to Bethesda (Kilalpaninna) Mission to await his return. There the two Western Aranda came under the influence of a group of Christian Dieri, decided themselves to become Christians, and, upon their return to Hermannsburg in August 1886, announced themselves for baptism. Seven other boys and two girls immediately followed their lead. All were given a special course of instruction, but four were excluded after a time : two boys

153. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 9/87, p.182. Cf. Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86, p.143.

154. Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86 (p.143), 4/87 (p.60), 4/88 (p.51). Cf. ibid 11/85, p.171.

because of bad conduct, another because he was too young, and one girl because she refused to break her betrothal to a married man. On 30th May 1887 the little Church overflowed with curious heathen, seven young Aranda renounced the devil, the world, and their sinful flesh, tears welled in the eyes of the missionaries, and all the heathen wept. Kempe preached a sermon on Acts 10:34: 'God is no respecter of persons: But in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of Him.' And on the same day seventeen others declared that they wanted to be baptized.¹⁵⁵ Twenty-five more Western Aranda (including several infants) received baptism before the last of the missionaries left Hermannsburg in 1891.¹⁵⁶

The feet of many, however, soon faltered on the path. Kempe wrote in 1888, in the same report in which he announced the baptism of the seventeen, that all joy occasioned by the conversion of heathen was 'an uncertain joy': for they continued to be influenced by their pagan past and their pagan surroundings, and they had no inkling of the sanctity of marriage.¹⁵⁷ So often did Christians lie with heathen or with Europeans that the missionaries resorted to force (in full knowledge of the illegality of

155. See Luth. Kirchenbote 10/86 (p.144), 4/88 (p.51); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/87, pp.204-8; Kempe, Lebenslauf; M.C.M.F. in 130/88; Scherer, op. cit., p.84.

156. Appendix XI; Luth. Kirchenbote 7/91, p.109.

157. Luth. Kirchenbote 9/88, p.138.

their actions)¹⁵⁸ in an effort to prevent their flock from dispersing. If Christian parents found it necessary to hold their children 'constantly under the rod', they reasoned, how should it not be necessary to punish heathen Christians who would always remain 'children in understanding'?¹⁵⁹ On a number of occasions they drove Aborigines who set a bad example to Christians from the reserve, rode Christian absconders to earth and fetched them back, and flogged Christians who committed misdemeanours; and on at least one occasion they placed two women in chains in order to prevent them from 'seducing whites'.¹⁶⁰ In spite of their efforts, however, six Christians fell from grace in four years, and four others died; so that in 1891 twenty-two Christians remained on Hermannsburg Mission.¹⁶¹

* * * *

Did these converts represent the crack in the cultural

158. See pp. 515-6 (above) and Prot. Abos. In 330/86.

159. Luth. Kirchenbote 8/89, p.124; cf. ibid 4/85, p.54.

160. See Luth. Kirchenbote 4/88 (pp.52-53), 9/88 (p.138), 7/89 (pp.106-7), 1/90 (p.8), 3/90 (pp.43-44), 4/91 (p.61); P.C.O. In 737/90. Corporal punishment of a light nature was practised on children from an early date (see, e.g., Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81, p.276; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 12/85 (Beiblatt, p.95), 9/87 pp.181-2).

161. Luth. Kirchenbote 9/88 (p.138), 7/89 (p.106), 1/90 (p.7) 3/90 (pp.40-44), 7/91 (p.109).

monolith of the Aranda that the missionaries had at first hoped for? A good deal of evidence suggests that they were mere flakes shed by the monolith. Of the converts of 1887, none of the males were more than seventeen years of age, and all were orphans. The only female was a sickly child of thirteen years. All except Thomas were unmarried, and most had been reared on the Mission.¹⁶² No personal statistics are available for the converts won after 1889, but of nineteen baptized in 1888-89 three were infants, nine were 'children', and the remainder were young men and young women.¹⁶³ The true custodians of Aboriginal culture, the old men, remained aloof and unimpressed with the new doctrines and continued to exercise considerable influence over all Western Aranda who turned Christian: it is probable, for example, that all male 'heathen Christians' were at some time initiated partly, if not wholly, into the sacred lore of their local groups.¹⁶⁴ On the other hand, some minor changes may have occurred in the religious practices of those unconverted Western Aranda in contact with Hermannsburg. The missionaries, at any rate, claimed that the heathen shortened and softened the death-wail, that they held their ceremonies further from the Mission than at first,

162. Luth. Kirchenbete 4/88 (p.54), 9/88 (p.138); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 11/87, pp.206, 208; Scherer, op. cit., p.84.

163. Luth. Kirchenbete 9/88 (pp.138-9), 8/89 (p.124).

164. T. G. H. Strehlow, personal communication; Kempe, Lebenslauf. Cf. Eylmann, op. cit., p.199.

territory.¹⁶⁸ None of the scanty evidence bearing on the kinship system and the systems of government and law suggests that there were any important changes in these aspects of Aboriginal culture.¹⁶⁹ Finally, the Aboriginal population of the reserve, unlike that of other parts of the occupied Centre, probably remained fairly stable. The figures supplied in Appendix XI are suspect in that not every birth or death came under the notice of the missionaries, and the number of Aborigines among whom births and deaths were recorded fluctuated considerably. Yet there seems no reason to disbelieve what they miraculously reveal, namely, a fairly high birth-rate and a slightly lower death-rate. Because of the presence of the Mission few Western Aranda south of the MacDonnell Ranges acquired a 'refugee outlook' or were shot by settlers and police. The reserve, moreover, is one of the most favoured areas of Central Australia, and it is probable that the Mission livestock, to which only a fraction of it was accessible, decreased its capacity for supporting Aborigines to lesser extent than did livestock elsewhere in the Centre.¹⁷⁰ Those Western Aranda who spent

168. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 4/84 (pp.57-59); L. Schulze, art. cit. (1891), p.236.

169. See Hermannsb. Missionsb. 12/83, p.235; Luth. Kirchenbote 6/89, pp.87, 89.

170. Cf. T.G.H. Strehlow, Aranda Traditions, pp.59-60; Prot. Abos. In 277/79; R.A. Perry, art. cit. in C.S.I.R.O., op. cit., pp.263-5.

long periods at the Mission perhaps suffered at times from dietary deficiencies, but in most seasons their diet of meat, flour, milk, vegetables, tea and sugar (supplemented at times by 'bush' foods) was probably more than adequate and far superior to that of other Aborigines who practised intelligent exploitation.¹⁷¹ And even, if nutritive unbalance was occasioned by the advent of the missionaries, it was probably offset by the medical services of the Mission, which the Aborigines quickly appreciated.¹⁷² Disease, though its incidence was probably as frequent as elsewhere in the Centre, took no heavy toll.

And yet by the late eighties the missionaries were convinced that the Western Aranda would shortly become extinct.¹⁷³ There are a number of likely explanations for this change in opinion. In the first place, until it occurred the missionaries were virtually alone in Australia in their belief that the Aborigines were not a dying people. The incidence of disease among the Western Aranda in contact with their Mission, moreover, appears to have risen sharply

171. See e.g. M.C.N.T. In 45/84, 105/86 (in Prot. Abos. In 30/86), 77/92; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/83, p.208; Luth. Kirchenbote 3/84, p.89; Appendix X. For lists of Government rations distributed at Hermannsburg to Aborigines see the sources indicated in reference 101 (above).

172. Luth. Kirchenbote 24/81, pp.276-7; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 4/84, p.57; L. Schulze, art. cit., p.238.

173. Luth. Kirchenbote 9/87 (p.137), 1/90 (p.8), 3/90 (p.44), 7/91 (p.108); L. Schulze, art. cit., p.218; H. Kempe, 'A Grammar and Vocabulary etc.' (loc. cit.), p.1. Cf. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 10/83 (p.202), 6/85 (pp.103-4).

after 1887. In the summer of 1888-89 a mysterious illness (probably influenza) affected almost every Aboriginal on the reserve 'so that the whole station resembled a hospital',¹⁷⁴ three Aborigines died during a typhoid epidemic in the following summer,¹⁷⁵ and the incidence of syphilis, frequent from an early date, increased until Schulze declared that 'all suffer[ed] more or less'¹⁷⁶ from the disease. Finally, and perhaps more important, the missionaries became increasingly convinced from the early eighties that settlers and police in the Centre wanted to exterminate the Aborigines and were taking action accordingly.¹⁷⁷

* * * *

Chiefly because of differences in their attitudes and policies towards Aborigines, missionaries and settlers early adopted hostile attitudes towards one another.¹⁷⁸ The

174. Luth. Kirchenbote 8/89, p.124.

175. Luth. Kirchenbote 3/90, pp.42-43.

176. Luth. Kirchenbote 9/89 (p.138), 3/90 (p.44). See also ibid 1/90, p.8; M.C.N.F. In 108/89; L. Schulze, art. cit., p.218.

177. See, e.g., Hermannsb. Missionsb. 6/85, pp.101, 103-4; Prot. Abos. In 360/84, 150/85.

178. See generally Prot. Abos. In 277/79, 360/84, 150/85, 330/86; M.C.N.F. In 342/85, 105/86, 87/87 (in Prot. Abos. In 54/87); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/80 (p.43), 5/82 (p.68), 2/83 (p.19), 10/83 (pp.202, 205), 6/85 (pp.101-4); Luth. Kirchenbote 8/84 (p.120), 4/85 (p.53), 7/85 (p.110), 4/88 (p.52), 9/89 (p.138).

settlers might have been prepared to tolerate the missionaries had the missionaries been prepared to tolerate them. But to the missionaries shooting of Aborigines and the extra-marital sexual relationships some settlers had with Aboriginal women were not only heinous crimes and mortal sins, but also activities calculated to undermine the work of the Mission, and they were mercilessly condemned as such. At first this produced no violent reaction among the settlers. Those of the missionaries' complaints against them that found their way to the south were mostly confined to German print, and the number of South Australians who were prepared to listen with sympathy to the few that found expression in the English tongue was small. By the late eighties, however, the forces of those in the south concerned for the welfare of Aborigines had swollen considerably,¹⁷⁹ and the forces of those who favoured the pacification of the Aborigines had marshalled to oppose them. Open hostilities commenced when a friend of the Aborigines accused a trooper of brutally treating an Aboriginal he had brought to Adelaide from Bethesda (Killalpaninna) Mission to face a charge of murdering a white stockman and a friend of the settlers retorted that the Aborigines on the Mission were slaves.¹⁸⁰

179. Cf. Chap.4, pp. 438ff. (above).

180. See Pert. Aug. Desp. 20.12.89; S.A. Register 16.12.89, 17.12.89, 7.5.90; Adel. Observer 15.2.90 (1, 303); Adel. Advertiser 20.2.90; Luth. Kirchenbote 4/91, p.58; Prot. Abos. In 383/89, 102/90.

At the height of the battle a disillusioned and exhausted Wilhelm Friedrich Schwarz arrived in Adelaide and, in an address to a meeting convoked by Missionary C. Eaton Taplin of the Aborigines' Friends' Association on 9th January 1890 to urge a complete change in policy towards Aborigines upon the Government, aimed wild blows at Central Australian settlers. '... many of the actions which were taken against the blacks', he began through an interpreter, speaking his mind freely to an 'English' audience for the first time, 'were so taken with the object of exterminating them, especially the men.' He himself knew of many occasions on which settlers had shot Aborigines. One police officer [Wurmbrand] had even informed him that 'if he ... had behaved as the blacks had he would have been shot too.' Furthermore, Aboriginal women were kept for 'shameful purposes' on almost every station, syphilis was widespread, and whenever the missionaries had young girls in their charge 'they were generally led astray by white men.' Some steps should be taken, he concluded, to protect Central Australian Aborigines. A number of clergymen immediately called for an enquiry, and the meeting resolved to 'bring the matter before the Aborigines' Friends' Association'.¹⁸¹

Twenty-four hours earlier Mounted Constable Willshire, tired from chasing a mob of blacks on Tempe Downs who had run 400 cattle up a red-rugged gorge and begun killing them indiscriminately, had ridden the rough track to Boggy Water

and penned from his greenhide bunk an urgent request for additional trackers. 'It is not all Tempe Downs blacks that are doing so much killing,' he added, half in explanation, 'it is blacks from the Mission Station with them, which are the very worst cattle killers in this large district, and the most knowing'¹⁸² That evening he began another report, repeating his request, then laid it aside and slept. And was startled some hours later when Roger alias Eraminta crept from the dark silence with Donkey, Chookey Chook and Dick alias Longuntra and murdered old man Namia, his water-drawer. And at dawn found himself dramatically 'writing to the Inspr. for more protection for myself and every white man in the West' The cattle-killers, he wrote, 'think nothing if one or two of their clique are shot dead, they come again worst of all these demons seek refuge at the Mission Station when pursued hotly, it is the refuge of all the outlaws in the whole district.'¹⁸³

Without pausing to consider that the Mission could not possibly act as such a refuge unless by deterring the police from acting illegally within its borders, J.H. Gordon, solicitor, Minister Controlling the Northern Territory, and pastoralist with an interest in Bond Springs Cattle-station and a

182. M.C.N.T. In 40/90 (Willshire to Besley, 8.1.90).

183. Ibid (Willshire to Besley 9.1.90).

previous interest in Crown Point, ('One would imagine that Mr. Gordon was a pastoralist', commented the editor of the Advertiser subsequently, 'He certainly looks at the matter from the pastoralist standpoint.¹⁸⁴') unconditionally accepted Willshire's remarks concerning it and quoted them to a deputation that urged him to provide more police protection for Tempe Downs. In his own opinion, he told the deputation, mission stations did 'more harm than good' and were 'the means of protecting a lot of black scoundrels'. It was to be hoped, he added, that 'with this exposure of the causes of the trouble the missionaries would use their efforts to direct the blackfellows into a more honest course, and teach them more abstract and less useful knowledge.'¹⁸⁵ '... you spoke the mind of every white settler in the district', a prominent Central Australian settler later informed him.¹⁸⁶

One result of this outburst was that the Advertiser¹⁸⁷ wondered 'whether our ... Minister of Education has a proper

184. Adel. Advertiser 20.2.90. Compare Gordon's behaviour on this occasion with his behaviour at the time of the Barrrow Creek 'outrage', before he became a pastoralist (Chapter 3, p. 273 (above)).

185. Adel. Advertiser 20.2.90. Undoubtedly a more accurate account than the Register's, according to which Gordon concluded his remarks by expressing the hope that 'the missionaries would realize the position, and do their best to bring about a better state of things.'

186. M.C.N.T. In 395/90 (R.E. Warburton to Gordon 22.5.90).

187. 20.2.90 (Ed.).

sense of the responsibility of his office'; another, that any chance there might once have been that Schwarz's remarks of 9th January would pass unheeded by the majority of the public disappeared. As soon as they received a copy of the Minister's speech Kempe and Schulze penned a letter to Taplin, who translated it into good English and published it in the Register.¹⁸⁸ It attempted to refute all charges made by Willshire and Gordon, and in so doing inflated charges already made by Schwarz : the Aborigines were 'shot like wild dogs' and 'immorality' was universal in Central Australia. And it placed Gordon in an unenviable position. 'Police-trooper Willshire', ran the Register¹⁸⁹ editorial, 'is distinctly placed upon his defence by the letter from the German Missionaries ..., and the only atonement the Minister can make for his harsh strictures upon the mission stations is to call upon him to make good his statements, or to submit to the penalty properly attaching to the person who bears false witness against his neighbour.' Not surprisingly, Gordon chose the former course. But Willshire needed no urging. Not only, he wrote, did the missionaries harbour cattle-killers and cause Aborigines to become cattle-killers, but they tied Aborigines up, threatened them with firearms and fetched young absconders back to the Mission by force.¹⁹⁰ Soon Central Australian settlers were taking up rusty pens in

188. 1.4.90.

189. Ibid.

190. M.C.N.T.In 253/90 (Willshire to Besley 8.4.90, 5.5.90).

support of his statements and in defence of their way of life, and two went to the trouble of writing to the Minister in an effort to belittle the Mission : '... the whole thing', wrote Warburton of Erldunda, 'is a sham and a fraud -- and wholly unnecessary'.¹⁹¹

Long before receiving these missives Gordon, who had 'already in an impulsive fit made himself a strong partisan in the matter',¹⁹² had decided that Willshire's strictures against the Mission should be investigated. But since Willshire had refuted none of the missionaries' allegations and some South Australians thought that 'so far the missionaries have the better of the correspondence'¹⁹³ he was easily persuaded that the missionaries' criticisms of the settlers should be investigated too. Three civil servants were appointed a Board of Inquiry on 8th May.¹⁹⁴ Such an inquiry would have been cheap, and economy may have been one reason why none but civil servants were appointed to conduct it;

191. M.C.N.T. In 395/90. See also S.A. Register 2.4.90, 30.5.90; Adel. Observer 31.5.90 (I, 1030), 5.7.90 (II, 40).

192. Adel. Observer 10/5/90 (I, 889).

193. Ibid. Cf. S.A. Register 1.4.90, p.4.

194. See S.A. Register 17.5.90; Luth. Kirchenbote, 4/91, p.58.

another may have been that the Government, with but a frail grip on power and a Minister already deeply committed in the controversy, feared the consequences of an independent investigation. Only after considerable pressure had been brought to bear on him by Heidenreich, two influential German M.P.s and sections of the press, after Heidenreich had promised that the Mission would pay the salary of any Mission representative, and after he himself had sworn to close the Mission if Willshire's allegations against it were proved true, did Gordon agree to a new Board consisting of two members, one (H. C. Swan, S.M.) disinterested, the other (C. Eaton Taplin) nominated by Heidenreich.¹⁹⁵

On 13th June Swan and Taplin were instructed to 'make a complete investigation' into the allegations made against each other by missionaries, settlers and police and to inquire, with particular reference to the question of reserving land, what measures should be taken for the better protection of Aborigines.¹⁹⁶ Three months later, after paying a hurried visit to the Centre, they completed their report. They found¹⁹⁷ that there was no truth in any of the

195. Adel. Observer 10.5.90 (I, 889); S.A.Register 17.5.90, 19.5.90; M.C.N.T.In 324/90; Luth. Kirchenbote 4/91,

196. M.C.N.T.Out 145/90; 'Report of Messrs. Swan and Taplin on their Visit to Finke, &c., Mission Stations' (S.A.P.P. 148/90), p.1.

197. 'Report of Messrs. Swan and Taplin' (loc. cit.), pp.1-2.

accusations, except that a few settlers had practised 'immorality' and that the missionaries had chained and thrashed Aborigines (thus displaying 'lack of judgement') and, on one occasion, harboured cattle-killers. And their recommendations¹⁹⁸ were that Willshire, since he and the missionaries were 'at variance', should be posted at a greater distance from Hermannsburg; that the Government subsidy to the Mission should be discontinued after two years (by which time the Mission would, with proper management, be self-supporting), or, if the missionaries did not encourage more aged and infirm to live on the station (by issuing more rations), clothe their Aborigines decently and provide dormitories for school-children, immediately; and that Aborigines should be gathered together on a series of reserves from Adelaide to Port Darwin and made to sit at the feet of stern schoolmasters and to engage in agricultural and pastoral pursuits under the supervision of a manager with extensive powers -- a scheme long since advocated by Taplin.¹⁹⁹

None of these recommendations were ever fully implemented. We have already seen to what extent the movement for reserves affected Government policy.²⁰⁰ Willshire remained at Boggy Waters until his arrest in May 1891, but his successors were sent to Illamurta.²⁰¹ The Government subsidy was not

198. Ibid, pp.2-3.

199. See, e.g., Mel. Observer 4.1.90, p.20; S.A.Register, 10.1.90.

200. Chap.4, pp.442-3 (above).

201. Ibid, pp. 425.

discontinued, though it dropped by £100 in 1892.²⁰² The Mission provided 'dormitories' for schoolchildren, induced Aborigines to construct a number of unusually substantial wurlies, and issued more shirts and serge, but there was no increase in the quantity of rations supplied and the 'dormitories' were without roofs.²⁰³

Asked in the House 'what reliance' the Government placed on the findings of the Board, D. Bews, successor to Gordon, replied that 'he did not place much value upon the report. He believed the gentlemen ... carried out their duties faithfully, but they seemed to be successful in letting everybody down easily ... So far as the report was concerned it left matters very much as they were before.'²⁰⁴ We have seen elsewhere to what extent the allegations made by the missionaries and by Willshire and the settlers against each other were true. Whether or not the Board deliberately found contrary to the truth will unfortunately never be known for certain, for the transcript of its evidence has been lost.²⁰⁵ It can scarcely be doubted, however, that it deliberately

202. Appendix IX.

203. M.C.N.T.In 29/91, 140/92, 43/93, 223/94; W. B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., IV, p.41.

204. S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 14.10.90, cols. 1535-6. Cf. Luth. Kirchenbote 4/91, p.61; S. A. Register 24.9.90 (Ed.).

205. Exhaustive inquiries in S.A.A. and elsewhere, at any rate, have failed to locate it. It occupied more than eighty foolscap pages (S.A. Register 7.9.91 and M.C.N.T.In 375/90) and was originally contained in M.C.N.T.In 324/90 (see Index to M.C.N.T.In and the present shape of the docket).

played a mediatory rôle, that the Government that appointed it was more concerned to hush an outcry than to discover the truth regardless of the consequences. Perhaps this was best for all parties concerned. A more thorough investigation, since any criminal proceedings against the settlers that might have arisen from it would doubtless have ended in failure,²⁰⁶ would probably have done little more than Swan and Taplin to induce the settlers to abandon their policy of pacifying the Aborigines;²⁰⁷ and it would have embittered relations between missionaries and settlers. Not that the Board did anything to sweeten these relations. As long as there was an Aboriginal in the Centre to resist the settler and a dearth of the amenities and women of civilization the settlers were bound to perform deeds which missionaries, and through them, the outside world would mercilessly condemn.²⁰⁸

* * * *

The missionaries' complaints against the settlers, as we saw in the previous Chapter, helped to bring about the

206. Cf. Chap. 4, pp. 431-4 (above); Luth, Kirchenbote 4/91, p. 61.

207. See Chap. 4, pp. 444 (above).

208. Relations between missionaries and settlers continued unfriendly at least until the early thirties — see, e.g., Sayce, op. cit., passim; Hartwig, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

establishment of a 'protectorate' in Central Australia. This apart, the Mission had little or no impact on Government policies towards Aborigines. Indeed, it fitted early and easily into the pattern of those policies, which, as we have seen,²⁰⁹ changed but little after the late fifties until 1911. Throughout the period under survey (except during 1876-78, when the missionaries requested no assistance) Parliament voted subsidies to the Mission for the purchase of food and clothing for Aborigines almost as a matter of course. Some M.P.s favoured the grants chiefly because they regarded the Mission as a valuable agricultural and pastoral experiment, but most probably believed that they were assisting Governments to do all that could justly be expected of them towards implementing their faintly declared policy of assimilating Aborigines after segregation and their more emphatically declared policy of relieving physical distress.²¹⁰ In return for the subsidy and free use of the reserve Governments demanded a detailed annual report²¹¹ on the Mission, but,

209. Chapters 2 (pp.175-83), ~~about~~ (), ~~Notes~~.

210. See, e.g., S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 10.10.79 (cols.1383ff.), 19.10.80 (col.1527), 25.10.81 (col.1225), 19.9.82 (col.952), 27.11.89 (col.1708), 18.12.90 (col.2547), 1.12.92 (col.1898).

211. M.C.N.T.In 8/79. In addition, monthly returns of rations issued to the Aborigines were demanded until 1892 (cf. M.C.N.T.In 2,137A, 204,340,553,593,673,782 & 840/1891, e.g., with ibid 77/1892). The annual reports may be found in M.C.N.T.In 49/81, 100/82, 72/83,45/84 (or S.A.P.P.237/83-4), 342/85,105/86 (in Prot.Abos.In 30/86 or S.A.Register 26.1.86), 87/87 (in Prot.Abos.In 54/87 or S.A.Register 1.2.87), 130/88, 108/89, 29/91, 140/92, 43/93, 223/94; S.A.Register 30.1.90.

apart from requesting the missionaries to perform occasional welfare services for Aborigines on neighbouring cattle-stations,²¹² they made few attempts to use their support as a lever of control. Fluctuations in the size of the subsidy probably reflected fluctuations in the financial position of Hermannsburg. more than any changes in attitude in political circles to the work of missions. Thus after 1887, when more than half of the income necessary for the maintenance of the Mission was won from the reserve, it averaged less than £200, whereas during the eight previous years it had averaged £360.²¹³ But the fact that politicians, like most other South Australians, became increasingly sceptical of the utility of mission work as they became more and more firmly convinced of the imminent extinction of the Aborigines was probably not without its influence. 'The utility of so doing', wrote the Minister in 1889, refusing a request to have two books printed in Aranda for the Mission, 'considering the so called language is merely a dialect of a scattered tribe of a fast disappearing race appears to me extremely problematical.'²¹⁴

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212. Prot. Abos. In 171/86, 34/90.

213. Appendix IX. Cf. M.C.N.T. In 8/79, 79/79, 215/80, 52/81.

214. M.C.N.T. In 109/89.

Owing to the extremes of climate and a rough diet (especially after the gardens failed) the missionaries themselves, in fact, were in more danger of becoming extinct than the Western Aranda. Already in 1883 Kempe informed Harms that the climate was quickly robbing them of their strength, and requested in vain that they should be allowed to go south every four or five years to recover.²¹⁵ Every summer brought bouts of dysentery and inflamed eyes, and the common cold virus and pulmonary infections often prevented winter from serving as a time of recovery.²¹⁶ When in 1888 and 1889 an influenza epidemic was rapidly succeeded by a typhoid epidemic the missionaries felt sapped of the last of their strength.²¹⁷ Schwarz left for the south and resigned, partly, perhaps, because he had fallen out with Kempe and Schulze, but chiefly from physical exhaustion.²¹⁸ During the next two years the other two missionaries were frequently thrown upon a sick-bed by 'any small oversight',²¹⁹ and when they wrote to

215. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 12/83, p.239.

216. Luth. Kirchenbote 9/78 (p.67), 12/78 (p.93), 3/84 (p.39), 7/85 (p.109); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/80(p.40), 5/81 (pp.72,78), 10/83 (p.208), 12/83 (p.239), 4/84 (p.54), 2/85 (pp.26-27), 9/87 (p.183); L. Schulze, art. cit., p.212; M.C.N.T.In 49/81, 108/89.

217. Luth. Kirchenbote 8/89 (p.124), 1/90 (p.8), 3/90 (pp.42-3); Kempe, Lebenslauf.

218. Luth. Kirchenbote 1/90 (p.7), 5/91 (p.75); Heidenreich to Kempe and Schulze (n.d., copy in possession of P. A. Scherer).

219. Luth. Kirchenbote 3/92, p.45. See also Kempe, Lebenslauf; M.C.N.T.In 29/91.

Heidenreich and Harms asking to be replaced by younger missionaries they received no reply.²²⁰ Schulze finally became so weak that in October 1891 Kempe, though ailing himself, insisted on his departure. A few weeks later Kempe's wife and mother of five young children died, and the last of the missionaries reluctantly shook off the dust of the valley of the Finke from his feet.²²¹

Physical exhaustion alone sufficiently explains why Kempe, Schwarz and Schulze abandoned their posts; they were, however, suffering also from a kind of mental and spiritual exhaustion. Receiving no salaries and feeling their strength waning, they were increasingly beset by a sense of insecurity and by concern for the future of their wives and children. Harms refused to give them any assurances on this score, and being Hermannsburg missionaries, they expected none from ELSA.²²² Moreover, as we have seen, they had become considerably disillusioned by the late eighties concerning the value of their work among the Western Aranda. Finally, it had become plain to them before they left the Finke²²³ that the working

220. Luth. Kirchenbote 1/92 (p.12), 3/92 (p.45); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 1/91, p.3.

221. Luth. Kirchenbote 1/92 (p.12), 3/92 (p.45), 14.3.28, p.19; Kempe, Lebenslauf; M.C.N.T. In 140/92; Blaess, op. cit., pp.129-30.

222. See Kempe, Lebenslauf; Blaess, op. cit., p.30.

223. Kempe, Lebenslauf.

relationship between the Hermannsburg Mission Institute and ELSA would shortly be terminated.

The first signs that this would happen appeared in 1880. In that year a controversy concerning the doctrine of election flared up among Lutheran Synods in America. When theologians of the Ohio and other Synods declared that in each man elected by God there was cause why God had elected him, Dr. Carl Walther, theologian of the Missouri Synod (affiliated with Ohio and the Hermannsburg Mission Institute) and his followers, taking their stand on an article of the Formula of Concord (1580), insisted that man's conversion and salvation depended solely upon God. Soon Missouri theologians were accused of being Calvinistic, Ohio theologians of being un-Lutheran. In 1881 Ohio separated from Missouri, with the support of most Lutheran theologians throughout the world, including Harms of Hermannsburg. Strongly confessionalist ELSA, however, had sided with Missouri from the outset, and when Harms vigorously attacked the Missouri doctrine in 1881 the editors of the Kirchenbote declared that he could not have studied Walther's writings properly.²²⁴ Harms, however, continued to condemn the doctrine, and when in 1885 he was

224. Luth. Kirchenbote 15/81, p.174. See also ibid 1/89, p.15; Hermannsb. Missionsb. 6/81 (p.82), 10/81 (pp.202-4), 12/82 (p.233); Erwin L. Lueker (Ed.) Lutheran Cyclopedia (Concordia Publishing House, Saint Louis, Missouri, 1954), pp.626-7.

succeeded by his brother Egmont, a more liberal theologian and an even more ardent opponent of Missourianism, who immediately began to campaign for the support of the Prussian State Church, relations between ELSA and the Institute rapidly deteriorated.²²⁵ The denouement came five years later, when the Institute entered into an altar and business fellowship with the State Church, thereby becoming to ELSA and a subsequent ELSA historian 'virtually a mere appendix to the un-Lutheran state-church.'²²⁶ By 1893 ELSA had cut all ties with the Institute, and the Institute, reluctant to continue any mission without a local supporting Church, had decided to sell Hermannsburg on the Finke at public auction.²²⁷

Heidenreich, who had done his best to avert this decision, now tried to persuade ELSA to purchase the Mission; but that Synod, having cut itself off from its source of missionaries and pastors, was anxious to devote

225. Hermannsb. Missionsb. 3/85, p.34; Luth. Kirchenbote 1/87, p.14; Blaess, op. cit., pp.116-7, 136-7; Brauer, op. cit., p.236.

226. Blaess, op. cit., p.137. See also Luth. Kirchenbote 2/90 (p.29), 4/90 (p.62), 11/91 (p.175), 3/92 (pp.42f.); Warneck, op. cit. (1913), p.151; Brauer, op. cit., p.236.

227. Luth. Kirchenbote 3/92 (pp.42f.), 10/92 (p.159), 4/93 (p.53); Blaess, op. cit., pp.137-43; Brauer, op. cit., p.237; M.C.N.T. In 223/94; C.A.O., C.P. 120, N.T. 13/5922; S.A. Register 26.4.94.

the whole of its small funds to 'home' mission work and to its recently established college and seminary, and it was Heidenreich himself and Christian Klicke (treasurer to the Mission Committee) who came forward at the auction on 25th May 1894 to prevent Hermannsburg from falling into 'undesirable' hands.²²⁸ They paid £1,580 for the improvements and livestock on the reserve, and then offered the improvements and one-third of the livestock to ELSA for £500.²²⁹ Even this offer was rejected, however; and when a Mission Society that was subsequently formed by a few enthusiastic members of ELSA to acquire Hermannsburg failed to discover a likely missionary/^{OR} to raise £500 Heidenreich and Klicke announced (in August 1894) that they would offer the Mission to the Immanuel Synod.²³⁰

Meanwhile, in spite of efforts made by Heidenreich, much of the work of Kempe, Schwarz and Schulze among the Western Aranda had been undone. In 1892 Heidenreich had sent his son Louis to the Finke, together with Friedrich

228. Luth. Kirchenbote 6/94 (pp.90-92), 7/94 (p.124); M.C.N.T. in 223/94; Blaess, op. cit., pp.143-5.

229. Blaess, op. cit., pp.145-6.

230. Luth. Kirchenbote 7/94 (p.124), 9/94 (p.135); Blaess, op. cit., pp.146-7. Heidenreich continued to support the Mission after the Immanuel Synod had bought it, with the result that he was expelled from ELSA in 1902 (Blaess, op. cit., pp.149-51; Brauer, op. cit. pp.372-3).

Warber, a missionary whom he had persuaded Harms to send out, but the newcomers, unable to teach or preach in Aranda, had achieved little.²³¹ When the Horn Scientific Expedition visited Hermannsburg in July 1894, E. C. Stirling found no evidence among the Western Aranda of 'an abiding improvement either mentally, morally or physically'. Indeed, there were 'abundant signs of relapse from ways of grace', and 'almost the only evidence ... that testified to the former missionary influence' was provided by scraps of clothing and 'the predominance amongst the natives of scriptural names'.²³² Similar observations moved Baldwin Spencer, another member of the Expedition and subsequently a famous anthropologist and the mainspring of Commonwealth policy towards Northern Territory Aborigines after 1910, to record for the first time his views concerning Missions and Government policies: 'To attempt as has been tried at Hermannsburg and elsewhere to teach them [the Aborigines] ideas absolutely foreign to their minds and which they are utterly incapable of grasping simply results in destroying their faith in the precepts which they have been taught by their elders and in giving them in return nothing which they can understand. In contact with the white man the

231. M.C.N.F.In 43/93; Luth. Kirchenbote 6/94, p.91; Kirchen- und Missions-Zeitung 24/94, p.190; Kirchliche Mitteilungen 3/95, col.19.

232. W. B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., IV, pp.40-41. Cf. Kirchen- und Missions Zeitung 20/94 (pp.155-6), 24/94 (pp.189-90); Kirchliche Mitteilungen 3/95, col.19.

aborigine is doomed to disappear : it is far better that as much as possible he should be left in his native state and that no attempt should be made either to cause him to lose faith in the strict tribal rules or to teach him abstract ideas which are absolutely beyond the comprehension of the Australian aborigine.²³³ The Western Aranda, however, were already irrevocably in contact with the white man, and, if to be helped to survive is something to be thankful for, they might well have been thankful, as subsequent events were to prove, that many members of the Immanuel Synod in South Australia were less pessimistic than Spencer.²³⁴

The Immanuel Synod purchased Hermannsburg Mission for £1,500²³⁵ in September 1894, and in October obtained a permit²³⁶ for the reserve for twenty-one consecutive years 'provided that the country be used bona fide for aboriginal mission purposes' and on the understanding that all improvements were to be kept in good repair and were to revert to the Crown upon expiration of the permit or in the event of the abandonment of the Mission. Carl Strehlow of Bethesda Mission was appointed chief

233. W. B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I, p.111.

234. F. G. H. Strehlow, Dark and White Australians, pp.32-33; information gleaned on fieldwork.

235. Luth. Kirchenbote 10/94, p.157; Kirchen-und Missions Zeitung 17/94, p.130.

236. C.A.O., C.P. 120, N.T. 15/402.



PLATE 28

C. T. F. Strehlow

Missionary at Hermannsburg, 1894 - 1922

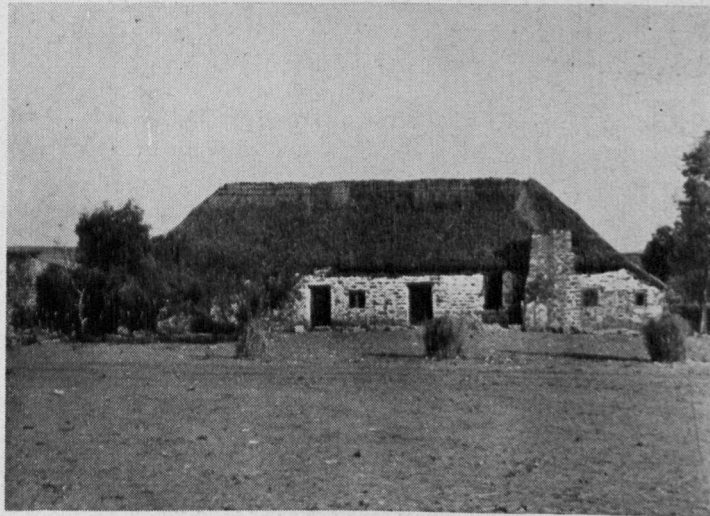


PLATE 29

First Missionaries' Residence at Hermannsburg

Photo: C. T. F. Strehlow, c. 1895

By courtesy T. G. H. Strehlow and U.E.L.C.A. Photo Library

missionary, and J. G. Reuther of the same Mission and two lay members of the Synod were detailed to see him safely to the Finke and inspect the reserve.²³⁷ On the Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity Reuther preached a memorial sermon for Strehlow based on Saul's words to David when he set out to slay Goliath, and the two missionaries farewelled the Bethesda Aborigines. At Hergott they met the two laymen, then spent thirteen hours in a swaying railway carriage to Oodnadatta. From there they went by coach over the brown and stony country to Macumba Station and Bloods Creek Eating House with its pitchi for a wash-basin and lubra and 'half-caste' child in the kitchen, to Charlotte Waters and an excellent meal served by a Chinese cook; then on into the red and sandy country, where Reuther learnt more fully to understand Israel's wanderings in the desert and why Abimilech wanted to appropriate Abraham's wells, to Horseshoe Bench, a mail-changing place and a store of boards from boxes nailed to posts. 'Now it was sufficiently clear to me that the world must soon come to an end',²³⁸ wrote Reuther. The new driver cursed almost insanely through the sandhills to Alice Well, but at Owen Springs Station the manager, renowned for his command of expletives, was remarkably temperate in his speech. There they were met

237. Kirchen-und Missions-Zeitung 19/94, p.152; Kirchliche Mitteilungen 2/95, col.11.

238. Kirchen-und Missions-Zeitung 24/94, p.187.

by Louis Heidenreich with horses. As they rode into Hermannsburg Mission on 12th October 1894 they were greeted by no hymns or gay Christian voices, only by the vacant stare of two aged and naked heathen Aranda lounging on loose sand. The sharp outline of buildings and the greenery of palm trees alone reminded them of the labours of the Hermannsburg missionaries; and the walls of the church and the school were slowly tumbling to earth.²³⁹

239. Ibid, 20/94 (pp.155-6), 23/94 (Extra-Blatt, p.3), 24/94 (pp.185-92); Kirchliche Mitteilungen 2/95 (cols.11-13), 3/95 (cols.17-19).

CHAPTER SIX'RUBIES', GOLD AND THE FIRST TOWNSHIP, 1887 - 1894

... is an Australian Chicago impossible somewhere near the centre of the continent?

— J. L. Parsons, 1887
The Northern Territory with a Glance at the East

The mail leaves today, and if all's well we ought to have another mail in March. Development in the Northern Territory is slow.

— Anon., Report from Arltunga, 1st February 1895
Port Augusta Despatch, 15th February 1895

When David Lindsay, following the directions of an Aboriginal, entered Glen Annie Gorge (some eighty miles east of Alice Springs) on 8th March 1886, he found the yellow bed of the Hale River studded in places with small red stones. Greatly excited — for he had already noted signs of gold in the surrounding country — he 'hooshed' his camels down, examined a few pebbles, and pronounced them rubies.¹ The discovery of 'rubies' led directly to the discovery of gold and mica in the eastern MacDonnells and the Harts Ranges and to the virtual exclusion of Chinese from the Centre. The 'rubies' proved to be garnets of small value, the goldfield produced little wealth, and

1. D. Lindsay, 'Explorations in the N.T. of S.A.' (loc. cit.), pp.7-8; —, 'Report of an Exploring Expedition across Aust.' (loc. cit.), entry for 8.3.86; H. A. Lindsay, art. cit., p.39.

no-one made a profit from mica; but garnets, gold and mica stimulated the development of the 'new' pastoral industry, gave rise to the Centre's first township, and together did more to place Central Australia on the map for the Australian (especially the South Australian) public than anything since the construction of the overland telegraph.

* * * *

Conditions in South Australia in 1886 were extremely favourable for mining enterprise. The colony was in the throes of depression, and if, as Blainey² has suggested, men and capital tended to flow to gold mines 'when the economy was depressed or just recovering', they were likely to flow to ruby mines in 1886. Furthermore, probably more from their 'adherence to Methodism and the dissenting churches' than from their 'copper mines and Cornishmen', South Australians were 'always eager to speculate in mining shares';³ and they were doubly eager if the mine was located in their own territory. Envious of eastern neighbours who had grown rich on gold, and anxious for the wealth and power, not only of themselves, but also of their State, most South Australians seem to have been incapable of

2. Geoffrey Blainey, The Rush That Never Ended : A History of Australian Mining (M.U.P., 1963), p.74.

3. Ibid, p.181. Cf. H.Y.L.Brown, A Record of the Mines of South Australia (Adelaide, 1887) p.viii; Harms (Ed.), op. cit., p.90.

believing that large deposits of metals more precious than copper did not exist somewhere in a colony that occupied a third of a continent and gave promise of gold from Echunga to Teetulpa to the Peake, from the western MacDonnells to Tennant Creek and the Arafura Sea. Hundreds of gold mines and alluvial workings had been opened under promising circumstances in South Australian territory by the late eighties. All were quickly exhausted, and all whetted the appetite of the public for further speculation. To South Australians there seemed a good chance that every new discovery would prove an El Dorado.⁴

Immediately after discovering the 'gems' of Glen Annie, David Lindsay passed on to the north to carry out the survey work he had contracted for, vowing, as he did so, to return, stake out the first claim and take a few camel-loads of 'rubies' to Adelaide. Before he had finished his work in the Top End, however, four members of his party, including a young Adelaide agent named Richard Pearson, slipped away and headed for Glen Annie. Pearson staked out four forty-acre claims and collected several thousand rubies early in 1887, then set out for Adelaide, Colombo, Amsterdam and London to register the claims and prove the value of the stones.⁵ At Emily Gap one of his companions

4. See H.Y.L. Brown, A Record of the Mines of South Australia (Adelaide, 1887), p.viii, (Adelaide, 1890), p.vii; Port. Aug. Desp. 18.2.98; Harcus (Ed.), op. cit., pp.18,86,88; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 12.8.85, p.520. Cf. Adel. Observer 28.2.03, p.36 (ed.); Pike, op. cit., p.442.

5. H.A.Lindsay, art. cit., p.39; D. Lindsay, 'Explorations in the N.T. of S.A.' (loc.cit), p.7; N.T. Times 30.7.87, 17.9.87; M.C.N.T. In 275/87.

showed a ruby to a water-drawer 'on the quiet', and soon two rival parties formed by the locals were racing east to the Hale : 'all the whitefellows on horseback tearing through the scrub yelling and making an awful noise, and the boys [Aborigines] coming up full-steam behind, with the packhorses.'⁶ Glen Annie greeted them in darkness, but some of the men 'were so anxious, that they were searching about in the creek, with firesticks to show a light, looking for those precious gems.'⁷ '... I scratched', wrote one of them, 'for what I thought at the time was going to be a fortune, till I wore all the skin and finger nails away.'⁸

He would have done well to spare his nails; but so well did the garnets cut and so brilliantly glow that they fooled even experts for a number of months -- or perhaps some experts wanted to be fooled. Pearson and his companions registered their claims in Adelaide on 4th April, and David Lindsay, who had at last realized what had happened, applied for three claims two days later.⁹ In the next three months only five applications¹⁰ were made, probably because no-one had yet 'demonstrated' that the stones were precious. There was a small rush for

6. N. T. Times 21.2.90.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. M.C.N.F.In 269/87, 275/87.

10. Ibid. 454/87.

claims in July, when several thousand of Pearson's rubies went on display at the Adelaide Exhibition and a Melbourne lapidary declared that many of them were 'pure', but it eased when experts began to differ.¹¹ Towards the end of the year, however, telegrams came from Pearson in London to say that the 50,000 carats of rubies he had taken with him were worth £50,000, then that he was being offered £6 to £20 a carat for some of the stones.¹² Within several months some 800 claims (32,000 acres) had been taken out on the Hale and its tributaries,¹³ some twenty-two ruby companies had been floated, mostly in Adelaide,¹⁴ and the Central Australian Prospecting Association, formed by members of the Victorian and South Australian Branches of the Royal Geographical Society, had despatched an expedition (to which trooper J. J. East was attached by the South Australian Government as geologist and mineralogist) to secure ruby claims and rumoured lodes of gold, copper and silver.¹⁵ In March 1888 Pearson induced a London

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11. N. T. Times 30.7.87, 28.7.87; M.C.N.T.In 551, 553-5, 558-9, 564/87.
 12. Port Aug. Desp. 1.11.87; N.T.Times 10.12.87. Cf. Port. Aug. Desp. 2.3.88, 27.3.88.
 13. See M.C.N.T.In 632, 847, 863, 935, 951, 990, 999/87, 40, 46, 208-9, 554, 705/88; M.C.N.T.Out 386/88; H.Y.L.Brown, 'Report on a Journey from Adelaide to Hale River' (S.A.P.P. 24/1889), p.7; --- A Record of the Mines of South Australia (Adelaide, 1890), pp.136-7.
 14. See H.Y.L.Brown, A Record of the Mines of South Australia (Adelaide 1890) pp.136-7; M.C.N.T.Out 160-7/88; Port Aug. Desp. 9.3.88, 20.3.88; N.T.Times 23.6.88; S.A.Govt. Gaz. 15.12.87, p.1227.
 15. M.C.N.T.In 261/88, 800/88, 1001/88; Central Australian Exploring and Prospecting Association, Prospectors. Adelaide, 13th March 1888 (Mitchell Library).

syndicate to offer his 'MacDonnell Range Ruby Company' £200,000 for its claims and gems,¹⁶ a committee was formed in Adelaide to regulate the marketing of Australian rubies in London,¹⁷ and it was announced that South Australia's silver wedding present to the Prince and Princess of Wales would be studded with rubies from the Centre.¹⁸ The inevitable South Australian bonanza, it seemed, had at last been located.

Few men visited the ruby fields after the first mad rush by the locals until Pearson's good news began to arrive from London. By early December 1887 some sixty were gathering rubies, by March 1888 some 150-200.¹⁹ A few came from Queensland, the Top End, and the fast failing diggings in the Kimberleys. Lewis Harold Bell Lasseter, sailor, jumped his ship at Cairns when he heard of the ruby discovery, hurried to the fields, and was disappointed to find only garnets; but survived to concoct a yarn about how he discovered a gold-studded reef in the Petermanns and to become a legend of the thirties.²⁰ Sandy 'Myrtle' MacDonald, a jovial nineteen-stone bootlegger who had

16. Port. Aug. Desp. 23.3.88. Cf. M.C.N.T.In 200/88.

17. Port. Aug. Desp. 27.3.88.

18. Ibid and 8.5.88.

19. M.C.N.T.In 923/87, 36/88, and 206/88; P.C.O.In 169/88; Port. Aug. Desp. 29.5.88.

20. See Ion L. Idriess, Lasseter's Last Ride: An Epic of Central Australian Gold Discovery (Sydney, 1931); Errol Coote, Hell's Airport: The Key to Lasseter's Gold Reef (Sydney, 1934); Blainey, op. cit., p.318 (but his dating is incorrect).

ridden with 'The Ragged Thirteen' to Halls Creek, ran a 'bum-boat' from Katherine to the ruby fields and became one of the Centre's most colourful personalities.²¹ But few men from the north were prepared so to gamble with distance and red stones, and most of the hundreds of disappointed Kimberley miners preferred to follow the anti-clockwise march of prospectors to the gold fields of Pilbara and beyond. The majority of ruby gatherers came from South Australia -- men from the railway construction works north of Hergott Springs, disappointed diggers from the Peake and Teetulpa, and 'Afgan' cameleers, who had experienced the wealth and prestige bestowed upon men by the ruby in the orient. It did not matter to most that they were trespassing on the claims of companies, and the police who patrolled the fields monthly from Alice Springs thought it best to make no efforts to assert the rights of claim-holders.²² Soon rubies were changing hands freely as articles of commerce. Some ten tens of the stones were sent off the fields, and more were hoarded by men who believed that their fortunes had suddenly been made.²³

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21. Information gleaned on fieldwork; Ernestine Hill, The Territory (Sydney, 1951) p.191. See also A.S. Pol. Jl., entries for 22.3.86, 18.4.87; M.C.N.T.In 918/86, 206/88, 489/96, 241/06, 469/07; Blainey, op. cit., p.165; Port. Aug. Desp. 10.3.05, 30.9.10.
22. Port. Aug. Desp. 29.5.88; M.C.N.T.In 1074/88; A.S.Pol. Jl., entries for 8.7.87ff.
23. M.C.N.T.In 914/88, 1074/88 (J.J. East to Minister 14.11.88, p.20); N.T. Times 7.4.88.



PLATE 30

Ruby Gap (Glen Annie) from the south

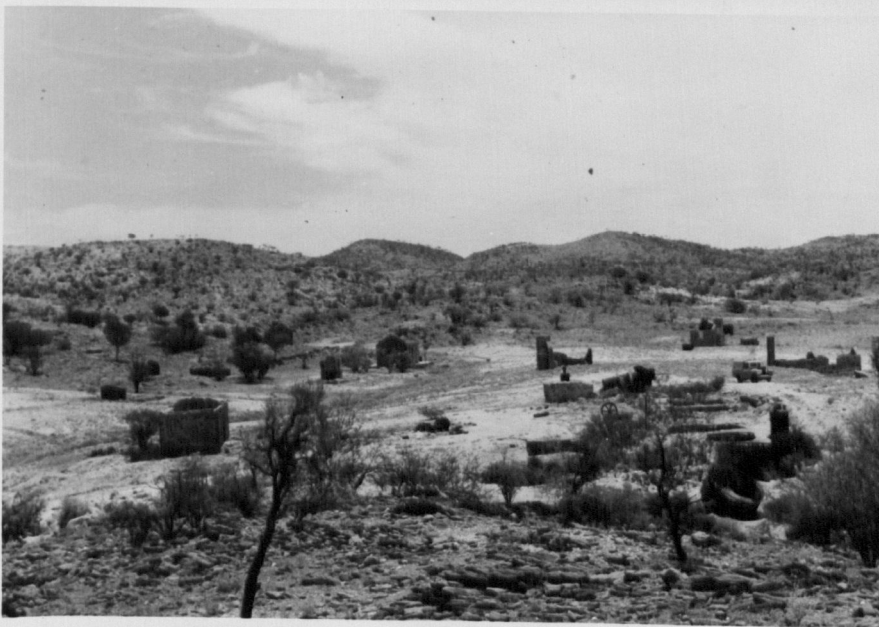


PLATE 31

Scene at the Star of the North Well
A Government Battery and Cyanide Works was established here in 1898. It treated 11,672 tons of ore for a return of 14,912 ounces of gold before closing in 1916.

By May 1888, however, so many experts were agreed that the rubies were merely superior garnets, and so many pounds of the stones had been sold, that the price of ruby shares plunged heavily on the Adelaide Stock Exchange.²⁴ The London syndicate declined to carry out its purchase agreement with the MacDonnell Range Ruby Company, and Pearson, having found 'salt go down better than rubies in London', floated the Coorong Salt Company in October and tried hard to forget the ruby chapter in his life.²⁵ The Central Australian Prospecting Association recalled its expedition when J. J. East dubbed the 'alleged discoveries' the 'most hollow sham imaginable',²⁶ the twenty-two companies were wound up or moved into other lines of business, men ceased to scratch for rubies on the Hale and its tributaries, and the store-keeper on the field 'shot himself dead by blowing his skull nearly away'.²⁷ When East visited the field in September the scene was a desolate one.

The channel bottom [he wrote] was a most striking sight. Not a soul was to be met with, but the numerous mia-mias, tent-poles, broken tools, remnants of worn-out clothing, & thousand & one odds & ends ... coupled with the sight of furrowed and upturned shingle of the channel bed attested the site of busy haunts where diggers had worked and delved in the excited search for rubies and precious stones. Mile after mile ... the

24. N.T. Times 21.4.88; Port. Aug. Desp. 20.3.88, 8.5.88, 26.6.88 (Ed.), 3.8.88.

25. Port. Aug. Desp. 26.6.88 (Ed.), 9.10.88.

26. M.C.N.T. In 1001/88. See also M.C.N.T. In 914/88, 1074/88.

27. A.S. Pol. Jl., entry for 19.8.88; Port. Aug. Desp. 21.8.88.

same sight met us & so complete was the abandonment that a small party of prospectors might have equipped themselves with a fair supply of tools, rope ends, & other unconsidered trifles which the original owners or rather users did not deem worthy of removal.²⁸

Only a few lucky speculators, professional boomsters and men who sold early made a profit from rubies, none made a fortune. Those who had hoarded them and who were of a practical turn of mind -- though it was reported as late as 1893 that some had passed off small quantities of them in the East as oriental rubies and were still doing so²⁹ -- used them 'as we sometimes use shot, to wash bottles with'.³⁰

The ruby rush led inevitably to the discovery of gold and mica.³¹ Like South Australia proper Central Australia early induced men to imagine El Dorados. Stuart³² noted indications of gold near Tennant Creek, Ross³³ and Lindsay³⁴ saw quartz in the vicinity of the ruby fields littered about the countryside like hailstones, and the men of the overland telegraph, travellers up and down the line, and explorers of the seventies discovered rocks in many places that gave promise of

28. M.C.N.T.In 1074/88 (J. J. East to Minister, pp.14-15). Cf. H. Y. L. Brown, 'Report on a Journey from Adelaide to Hale River' (loc. cit.), p.4.

29. Port Aug. Desp. 25.8.93.

30. Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.99.

31. Cf. M.C.N.T.In 990/89 (D. Lindsay to Chief. Sec. 9.12.89).

32. Mona Stuart Webster, op. cit., p.145; J.L. Stapleton to his wife 19.8.73 (S.A.A.D.3409).

33. Diary 1870-71, entries for 20 & 21.12.70.

34. 'Explorations in the N.T. of S.A.' (loc. cit.), pp.8-9.

gold.³⁵ Even before visiting the Centre the Government Geologist concluded that a payable goldfield would be found there,³⁶ and the Government in 1886, in an effort to lift South Australia from depression, very nearly subsidized a party to search for gold in the MacDonnell Ranges -- instead, it subsidized parties to search in the Top End and in the northwest of the colony.³⁷ The indications were that large deposits of gold would some day be found in the Centre, but the truth was that few payable deposits existed. The only real bonanza was to lie hidden in ironstone at Tennant Creek until 1932 and another depression.³⁸

But it was not so much an absence of deposits as an absence of skilled prospectors that prevented gold from being discovered until 1887. Men who came from South Australia were usually inexperienced in seeking gold, and it took rubies to attract a small contingent to the Centre of that army of seasoned prospectors that marched from Queensland to the Top End and the Kimberleys. Most prospectors from the north were, as Blainey has put it,

35. J. L. Stapleton to his wife 17.8.73, 16.11.73 (S.A.A. D.3409); Ferdinand von Mueller to Sir Henry Ayers 19.2.73 (S.A.A. D3141); N. T. Times 1.10.81; Port Aug. Desp. 18.1.86; Todd, Notebook 1872, entry for 28.7.[72]; G.R.In A9235; M.C.N.T.In 75/86, 584/86, 1074/88 (J.J. East to Minister 14.11.88, p.25), 713/90, 335/94; S.A.P.P. 34/87, pp.2,62; Report of N.T. Comm. (loc. cit.), p.90; H.J.Scott, op. cit., p.186.

36. Port Aug. Desp. 18.1.86.

37. M.C.N.T.In 76, 541, 565, 579, 583-4, 601, 605, 622, 773/86; G.R.In A9235.

38. See, e.g., Blainey, op. cit., p.321.

'a distinct breed from the prospectors who had blazed the gold trail along the mountains of eastern Australia. These men employed blackboys to tend their horses, to guide them to water, and to look for gold This new breed of prospector could endure dust and intense heat; he often preferred them. He was adept at prospecting without water, a master of dry-blowing and specking. Often he liked native women and so he prospected for long periods in the one area. He succeeded where other gold-seekers had failed.'³⁹ Such a man was Alec Paterson who came down the line to the ruby fields early in 1887 and located a gold-bearing reef near Paddys Hole, some seventy miles east-north-east of Alice Springs.⁴⁰ Another was Jimmy Woodford alias Woodroffe of 'The Ragged Thirteen' (his real name was probably Woolford) who met Pearson's party at Horseshoe Bend, secured the services of their blackboy to guide him to Glen Annie and soon obtained 'colours' and a 3 dwt. nugget near Paterson's reef.⁴¹ By July 1887 rumours were strong in Alice Springs that gold had been discovered, and men were pestering Mounted Constable Willshire at Heavitree Gap for miner's rights.⁴²

There was no gold rush as such, only a drifting away from the ruby fields, and a trickle of men from the south

39. Blainey, op. cit., p.173, cf. p.167.

40. M.C.N.T.In 1074/88 (J.J.East to Minister, 14.11.88,p.7).

41. Port Aug. Desp. 27.4.88; Ernestine Hill, op. cit.,p.190.

42. M.C.N.T.In 512/87. Cf. A.S.Pol. Jl., entry for 22.8.87; P.C.O. In 566/87.

at times. The alluvial gold occurred sporadically in pockets that were quickly worked out, and no sensational nuggets were found; the largest unearthed before August 1892 did not exceed three ounces,⁴³ Reefs had to be tested before prospectors would rush to them; early assays of their ore did not promise phenomenal yields, and the machinery required to work them was slow in reaching the field. In December 1887 there were about twenty men prospecting for gold or working claims, and a year later gold had induced only about sixty ruby seekers to remain in the Centre.⁴⁴ The first quartz claims were applied for only in December 1887, and three months later only about twenty had been registered.⁴⁵

In spite of these small beginnings the Government acted promptly to create the machinery necessary for administering the new field. When Willshire informed the Minister that men were applying to him for miner's rights he was immediately appointed Warden (without remuneration) and instructed by telegraph to issue receipts in lieu of the usual forms.⁴⁶ Four months later *Gold Mining District C* was proclaimed east of Alice Springs.⁴⁷ In March 1888

43. M.C.N.T. In 379/92. Cf. Tietkens, Journal, p.1.

44. M.C.N.T. In 36/88, 914/88.

45. M.C.N.T. In 27/88, 36/88, 206/88; M.C.N.T. But 19.1.88. The first applications were made late in October 1887 (M.C.N.T. In 846/87).

46. M.C.N.T. In 512/87, 923/87.

47. G.R. In A 10/490; M. T. Times & Govt. Gaz. 12.11.87.

Willshire resigned after vainly requesting a salary, and Mounted Constable W. G. South of the Peake, 'an intelligent and less independent man', was sent to replace him, not only as Warden (with a salary of £52 per annum), but also as senior officer of police at Heavitree Gap.⁴⁸ Since competent men for a mining board were not at first available the regulations of the mining board of District A in the Top End were simply gazetted as applying to District C.⁴⁹ A board was finally appointed in November 1888, but at its first and last meeting it made no changes in the regulations.⁵⁰

Warden South ruled the fields leniently from the outset. He readily granted suspensions of the working conditions for quartz claims and rarely collected business licence fees or water rents. When S. Dyke, a Government well-sinker, arrived on the field in 1890 he was horrified to learn that all reefs but three were being dummied, and reported that South's policy was impeding the development of Gold Mining District C.⁵¹ But South was probably right when he argued that, because of a dearth of water and machinery, a rigid enforcement of the working conditions would compel most miners to abandon their claims and that long suspensions were necessary in order to allow the miners to leave the field and raise

48. P. Q. C. In 169/88; M. C. N. T. In 206/88.

49. M. C. N. T. In 34/88; N. T. Times and Govt. Gaz. 18.2.88.

50. M. C. N. T. In 1037/88, 169/89; N. T. Times and Govt. Gaz. 24.11.88.

51. M. C. N. T. In 87/90, 266/90, 471/90.

capital.⁵² The Minister agreed, and in 1891 the Warden was empowered to grant suspensions for six months instead of for thirty days, as previously.⁵³

Because most of the claimholders were small men who met with no bonanzas they early turned to the Government with requests for adequate water-supplies, roads to Alice Springs and beyond, a mail-service, and subsidies for prospecting, deep sinking and machinery.⁵⁴ The Government had a well sunk at Paddys Hole in 1888, then decided to send its geologist (H. Y. L. Brown) to the field to ascertain whether further expenditure was warranted.⁵⁵ Brown reached Paddys Hole in November, and a few weeks later completed his report : the best reefs could be expected to yield 1 to 3 oz. per ton in bulk, would 'doubtless pay' with machinery, and would perhaps be found to contain richer stone at depth, but there was 'no reason to expect phenomenal yields'; 'a good alluvial goldfield', on the other hand, would probably be discovered.⁵⁶

It was undoubtedly Brown's report and the discovery

52. M.C.N.T. In 949/88.

53. N. T. Times and Govt. Gaz. 4.9.91.

54. M.C.N.T. In 932/88, 339/89, 589/89, 919/89, 8/91, 402/91, 632/91, 441/92, 477/92, 507/92, 3/93, 5/93, 150/95; Port Aug. Desp. 12.1.94, 22.3.94, 18.5.94; N. T. Times 23.11.91.

55. H. Y. L. Brown, 'Report of Geolog. Examination of the Country in the Neighbourhood of A.A.' (loc. cit.), p. 4.

56. H. Y. L. Brown, 'Report on a Journey from Adelaide to Hale River' (S.A.P. 24/89), pp. 4, 7. Cf. M.C.N.T. In 914/88.

of a few seemingly rich reefs that induced Parke of Henbury, Benstead of the Barrow Creek Pastoral Company, and three Adelaide capitalists to form the Wheal Fortune Gold Mining Company and send a small Huntingdon mill to Claraville on the Hale River in 1889.⁵⁷ The mill started crushing in August and 100 miners awaited the result with great eagerness, some in the hope that it would begin to prove the field to be 'one of if not the Greatest gold reefing district in the Colonies [sic]'.⁵⁸ Only seventeen ounces of gold were won from the first parcel of twenty tons, however, and though it might have paid well to crush ore like that on the seaboard, no-one could believe that it would pay in the Centre. Many of the best miners lost confidence and left the field, and two smaller mills that had meanwhile been brought up by a few enterprising locals were allowed to rust in the sun.⁵⁹

Some miners, however, claimed that the mill 'lost' much of the gold (which was remarkably fine), and Government Geologist Brown may have had the Centre particularly in mind when he contended in 1890 that South Australia and the Northern Territory would rank high among the gold-producing countries of the world when 'cheap and effective appliances' for extracting fine gold from rocks were invented.⁶⁰ Far

57. Port Aug. Desp. 26.4.89; M.C.N.T.In 1074/88, 914/89, 690/90.

58. M.C.N.T.In 654/89.

59. M.C.N.T.In 90/90, 814/91; H.Y.L.Brown, 'Report of Geolog. Examination of the Country in the Neighbourhood of A.S.' (loc. cit.), pp.6-7; Adel. Observer 11.1.90, p.84; N. T. Times 14.3.90; Port Aug. Desp. 25.7.90.

60. H.Y.L.Brown, A Record of the Mines of South Australia (Adelaide, 1890) p.vii. See also Port. Aug. Desp. 17.10.90, 4.1.95; M.C.N.T.In 8/91.

from abandoning its reef, the Wheal Fortune Company induced the Government to provide a monthly mail-service between Alice Springs and Paddys Hole, where a post office named Arltunga was opened in January 1891, and to send well-sinker Dyke to the fields.⁶¹ Dyke deepened Paddys Hole well with good results, but when he failed to strike much water at ninety feet at Claraville the Government recalled him and decided that no more wells should be sunk until Brown had reported on suitable sites.⁶²

The Government Geologist arrived on the field for the second time in June 1890, chose sites for two wells, then set out to examine the reefs and alluvial workings. Since no reefs had yet been tested adequately — the Huntingdon mill was capable of crushing only one ton in eight hours and required three men to work it and £2 per ton to cover expenses, and had, moreover, been idle for long periods for want of water — he merely repeated the observations he had made in 1888 concerning reefing prospects and pointed to the need for better machinery. This time, however, he was less optimistic about the alluvial field : seventeen gullies had been worked so far, and none of them was known to have produced more than forty-two ounces of gold. On the other hand, he pointed out, because of inadequate water supplies and because most

61. Port Aug. Desp. 9.1.91; M.C.N.T.In 914/89, 933/89, 87/90, 90/90, 540/90, 625/90.

62. M.C.N.T.In 87/90, 165/90, 182/90, 242/90.

prospectors, being poor, preferred to stick to a small certainty rather than risk loss of time, only the ground in the immediate vicinity of Paddys Hole had been worked.⁶³

The Wheal Fortune Company had meanwhile begun tunnelling on its reef, but when it intersected the lode at a perpendicular depth of eighty feet only a little gold was showing and all its capital (£2,500) had been expended. The Government was thereupon persuaded to provide a subsidy of £500, to no avail: the lode proved unpayable, the company was wound up, and the Huntington mill passed into the hands of M. C. Vilkinson and H. E. Luce, two veteran miners on the field.⁶⁴ The new owners reduced the charge for crushing to 30s. per ton, but with dry times the mill was forced to remain idle for long periods and the only brightness on the fields at the end of 1890 was afforded by a little alluvial gold in newly discovered Christmas Gully.⁶⁵

Largely because of pressure brought to bear upon the Cockburn Government by those in the south who thought that it was proceeding too hastily with plans for a railway to Alice Springs,⁶⁶ two Government parties under G. P. Deane

63. H.Y.L.Brown, 'Report of Geol. Examination of the Country in the Neighbourhood of A.S.' (*loc. cit.*), pp.3-7. See also *Port. Aug. Desp.* 20.6.90, 15.8.90; M.C.N.T.In 339/90.
64. M.C.N.T.In 87/90, 239/90, 690/90, 150/95; S.A.P.P. 28/90, p.3.
65. *Port Aug. Desp.* 12.12.90, 9.1.91, 20.3.91; Report of N.T. Comm. (*loc. cit.*), pp.82, 86.
66. See p. 577 (*below*); S.A.P.D. (I.C.) 24.7.89 (cols.306-7), 15.8.89 (cols.610-11), 20.8.89 (cols.629-31), (H. of A.) 23.10.89 (col.1311), 30.10.89 (col.1381).

and H. J. Masson were despatched from Adelaide in December 1890 to prospect the MacDonnell Ranges from end to end; but their efforts likewise ended in failure. Masson obtained encouraging results at Redbank Creek, where swagman Charlie Beattie and James MacDonald of Glen Helen had caused a little excitement in 1888 by mistaking copper pyrites for gold and silver,⁶⁷ but was demoted in October 1891 for failing to control his men. Deane, who had meanwhile prospected mostly in known country, was thereupon appointed leader of both parties; and when he reported in December that Masson's opinion of Redbank was without foundation the expedition was recalled. Many of the holes sunk by Deane and Masson were subsequently bottomed and found to contain gold. The locals heartily derided the 'puny' efforts of the Government men and became more convinced than ever that Governments should employ only those who lived in the country to search for gold.⁶⁸

The year 1891 was mica's year. This mineral was first discovered in 1888 on the southern side of Harts Range. Its discoverers mistook it for talc, others

67. A.S. Pol. J., entries for 13.5.88, 22.5.88; Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.40.

68. See S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 17.9.90 (cols. 1223-4), 24.9.90 (cols. 1307-8), 17.6.91 (col. 114), 7.7.91 (col. 281), 1.10.91 (col. 1378), 12.11.91 (col. 1984); M.C.N.T. In 511/90, 579/90, 762/90, 788/90, 145/91, 295/91, 583/91; M.C.N.T. Out 326-7/90; Port Aug. Desp. 20.2.91, 20.3.91, 14.10.92 (Ed.); N. T. Times 5.9.90; Adel. Observer 25.7.91, p.33; Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.), pp.83, 85, 87.

thought it asbestos, and though the deposits were small some excited prospectors concluded that the whole of Harts Range was 'one mass of minerals of different kinds and in sufficient quantities and value as to benefit the present and future generations'.⁶⁹ More excitement was caused in 1890 when richer deposits in large and beautifully transparent sheets were discovered on the northern side of the range, but it died down when only 5% of a small consignment, damaged in transit, proved marketable in London.⁷⁰ Then, in December, Billy Benstead visited Adelaide and induced some capitalists to form the Benstead Mica Company; and it was reported that mica was worth from £⁵00 to £2,000 a ton in various world markets.⁷¹ Immediately there was a rush for claims.⁷² By May the goldfields were 'the same deserted appearance as they did when the ruby boom was on',⁷³ and a number of mica mines were being worked energetically. But in November news came that a trial shipment of twenty-seven hundredweight of mica sent to London by the Benstead

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69. Port Aug. Desp. 29.5.88. See also ibid 28.8.88, 4.9.91; M.C.N.T.In 741/88, 478/88, 1074/88 (J.J.East to Minister 14.11.88, p.17), 1166/88, 109/89, 576/91; H.Y.L.Brown, 'Report on a Journey from Adel. to Hale R.' (loc. cit.), p.4.
70. Charles Chewings, 'Central Australia' (loc. cit.), p.349; N. T. Times 11.7.90.
71. Port. Aug. Desp. 19.12.90.
72. M.C.N.T.In 96, 104, 128, 142, 187, 191, 197, 203, 209, 248, 271, 287, 288, 290, 312, 345, 346, 513, 514, 582-3, 783/91.
73. Port Aug. Desp. 15.5.91. See also ibid 20.2.91, 20.3.91, 24.4.91, 7.8.91, 22.8.91; M.C.N.T.In 145/91.

Company had barely realized the cost of putting it aboard ship at Port Adelaide.⁷⁴ The manager reported all the remaining mica worthless, the company was wound up, and many claims were forfeited.⁷⁵

Mica mining received another stimulus late in 1893, when several English buyers arrived on the field.⁷⁶ Six tons of the mineral was exported in that year and more than thirteen in 1894.⁷⁷ Early in 1895, however, the industry was 'almost dead',⁷⁸ and the chances that it would come back to life were small. Markets were uncertain, prices were low, miners were unskilful, freight charges were high, the means of communication were primitive (mica is easily damaged on the back of a camel), and capital was scarce. Nothing short of a railway and a large influx of capital could have made mica pay in the nineties.⁷⁹

After the mica fever of 1891 most miners drifted back to the local goldfield, partly because there was little else to turn to, partly because they occasionally heard

74. See Adel. Observer 28.11.91, p.29; Port Aug. Desp. 24.4.91.

75. Adel. Observer 9.5.91 (pp.38-39), 28.11.91 (p.29).

76. Port Aug. Desp. 3.11.93. See also ibid 17.11.93, 12.1.94, 23.2.94, 17.8.94, 4.1.95; M.C.N.T.In 352/93.

77. M.C.N.T.In 41/94; S.A.P.P. 45/06, p.42 ('6 cwt.' should read '6 tons'). Cf. Port Aug. Desp. 3.11.93.

78. Port Aug. Desp. 15.2.95. See also ibid 22.3.95; M.C.N.T.In 436/95.

79. See Report on N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.), pp.82, 87; M.C.N.T.In 436/95, 69/96; H.Y.L. Brown, 'Reports on Arltunga Goldfields etc.' (loc. cit.), p.5; J. J. Waldron, op. cit., p.25.

reports that another 'rich' reef or 'rich' alluvial gully had been discovered; and there -- apart from a few who left for more exciting discoveries in Western Australia⁸⁰ -- they remained, sometimes 'making wages', mostly 'making tucker', until at least 1894.⁸¹ A third public well, subsequently to become of central importance to the field, was sunk at the Star of the North reef in 1892,⁸² several Broken Hill syndicates tested a few reefs in 1893,⁸³ and in the following year, when the first good rains in half a decade visited the Centre, a little new country was prospected,⁸⁴ chiefly with Government assistance, and several hundred tons of ore (which yielded a little more than one ounce per ton) were crushed by the Huntingdon mill.⁸⁵ But nobody could say at the end of 1894 that the field had yet had a fair trial. None of the reefs, with the exception,

80. Port Aug. Desp. 12.1.94; M.C.N.T.In 69/96. Cf. S. A. Register 13.8.96.

81. See Port Aug. Desp. 30.10.91, 16.9.92, 14.10.92, 3.11.93, 8.12.93, 12.1.94, 23.2.94, 4.5.94, 11.5.94, 17.8.94, 21.9.94, 4.1.95; M.C.N.T.In 118/92, 378/92, 401/92, 163/94; Report of N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.), p.82.

82. S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 16.8.92, col.595; Report of N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.), p.82; M.C.N.T.In 118/92.

83. Port Aug. Desp. 3.11.93, 12.1.94; M.C.N.T.In 374/93, 52/94.

84. M.C.N.T.In 130/94, 335/94; Port Aug. Desp. 18.5.94, 13.7.94.

85. Port Aug. Desp. 17.8.94, 21.9.94, 4.1.95; Report of N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.) pp.84, 86.

perhaps, of the Wheal Fortune, had been adequately tested and only the country in the immediate vicinity of Paddys Hole and various wells and soakages had been thoroughly prospected.⁸⁶ Who was to say what might be the result when less South Australian capital flowed to the Western Australian and more to the Central Australian goldfields, who to say what gold lay hidden in the big white range⁸⁷ east of the Star of the North? The forty or fifty miners patiently waited for the answers, and hoped.⁸⁸

* * * *

The discovery of minerals in the Centre did more to create outside interest in the country than anything since the building of the overland telegraph. For the first time since 1872 the Centre featured regularly in the southern press, the gold, rubies and mica exported conjured up visions of vast mineral wealth, and men bearing tales of strange flora, fauna and Aborigines regularly arrived in the settled districts of South Australia.

This re-awakening of interest culminated in the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition of 1894. Various scientists

86. Cf. Port Aug. Desp. 11.5.94; Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.), p.84; H.Y.L. Brown, 'Reports on Arltunga Cold-fields etc.' (loc. cit.), p.2.

87. Gold was shortly discovered in this range, and a Government Battery and Cyanide Works was established at the Star of the North Well.

88. Cf. Port Aug. Desp. 4.5.94, 11.5.94; Report of N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.) pp.82-85; M.C.N.T. In 3/93; S.A.P.P. 28/91, p.2.

had long held that the MacDonnell Ranges had existed as an island in the Ordovician era and that they might therefore still be supporting a flora and fauna extinct elsewhere; and the discovery of a few unique floral and faunal species, together with reports of Central Australian oases, seemed to lend weight to their theory. Rubies, gold and mica increased their interest in the Centre and aroused in other scientists an interest in the geology and mineral resources of the country. And so in 1893 or 1894 'a few scientific friends'⁸⁹ of W. A. Horn, broken South Australian squatter but wealthy owner of copper mines and shares in Broken Hill,⁹⁰ suggested that he equip an expedition to the Centre. Horn invited the Premiers of South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales to nominate scientific representatives, and by early May 1894 a party consisting of Charles Winnecke (leader, surveyor and meteorologist), Dr. Edward Stirling and Professor Ralph Tate of the University of Adelaide (anthropologist, and geologist and botanist, respectively), Professor Baldwin Spencer of the University of Melbourne (zoologist and photographer), J. A. Watt of New South Wales (geologist and mineralogist), two collectors and taxidermists, four cameleers, and a blackboy was heading north of Oodnadatta to make a scientific examination of the country

89. W. B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I, p. iv.

90. Australian Encyclopaedia (NE), Vol. 4, p. 535a; W. A. Horn, Bush Echoes and Ballads on a Warrigal Pegasus (London, 1901).



PLATE 32

Members of the Horn Expedition En Route

By courtesy S. A. Archives



PLATE 33

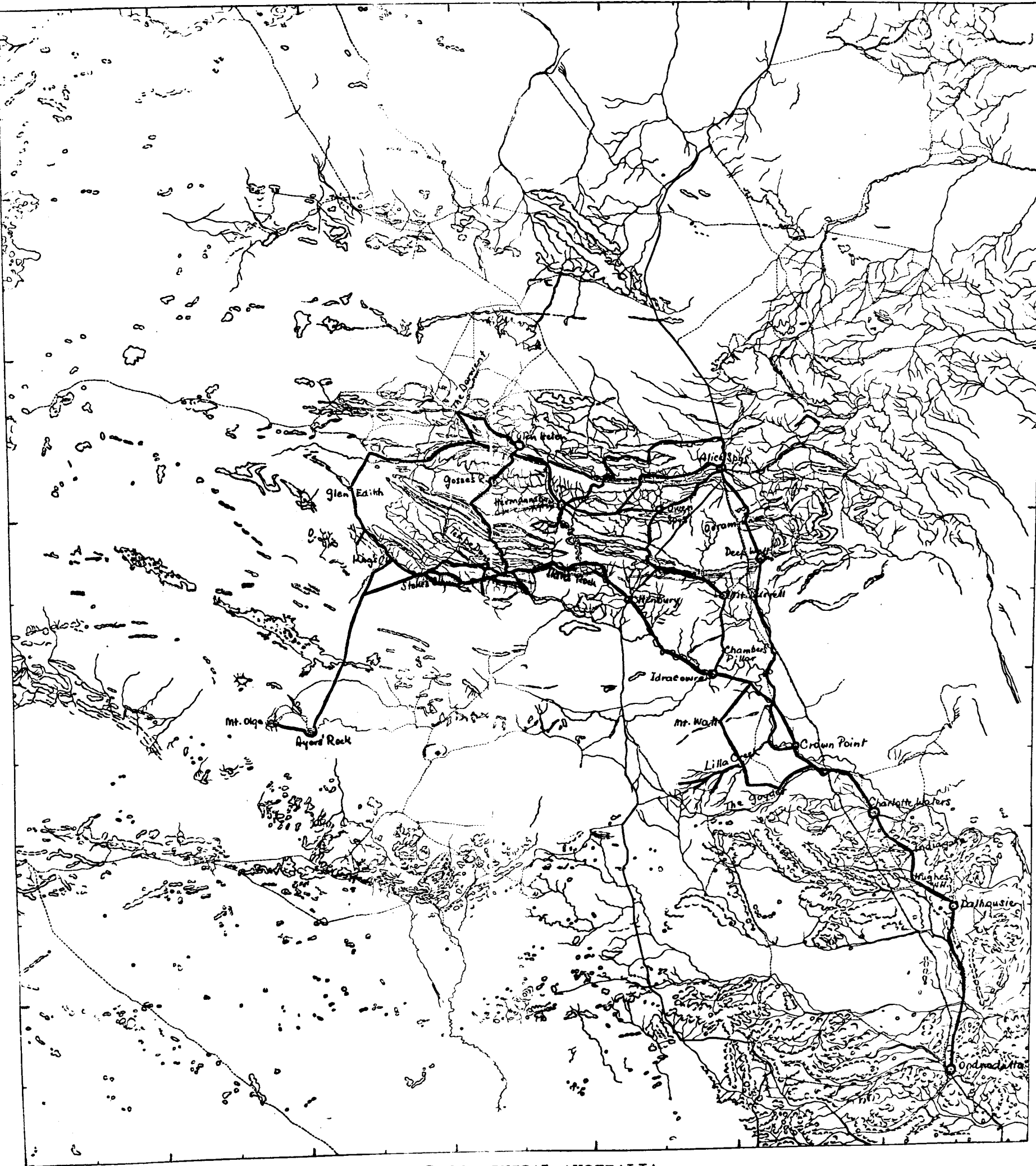
Horseshoe Bend Mail Station and 'Eating House' in the Nineties

By courtesy S. A. Archives

as far as the MacDonnell Ranges and to collect information concerning Central Australian Aborigines. Horn accompanied it to Idracowra 'old station', and two prospectors from Arltunga, whose wages were paid by the South Australian government, joined it at Henbury.⁹¹

The expedition was three months out from Oodnadatta. Map 7 illustrates the route it (or various detachments from it) took. Its Report⁹² was published in 1896, and in 1897 Winnecke published his Journal,⁹³ together with maps and charts. The Report summarized existing knowledge concerning the flora, fauna, geological structure and Aborigines of the Centre and showed how the expedition added to it. One hundred and seventy-one new zoological specimens and one hundred and twelve species of plants new to the Centre were collected.⁹⁴ Tate and Watt declared that the geological composition of the MacDonnell Ranges was favourable to the occurrence of minerals,⁹⁵ and Stirling's report⁹⁶ on anthropology was a

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91. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I (pp.v-viii); Winnecke, Journal of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition; entries for 30.4.94, 5.5.94, 12.5.94, 27.5.94 and p.62; M.C.N.T.In 144/94. For a brochure indicating the aims etc. of the Horn Expedition see S.A.P.L. Z 994.2t.
92. W.B.Spencer (Ed.), Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia. London, 1896 (Previously cited).
93. C. Winnecke, Journal of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition, 1894, together with Maps and Plans. Adelaide, 1897 (Previously cited).
94. W. B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I (pp.140,159),IV (p.136).
95. Ibid, III, p:76.
96. Ibid, IV, pp.1-157.



VII. MAP OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA
Showing Route of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition
commanded by C. Winnecke, F.R.G.S.
-1894

useful summary of previously existing knowledge and an intelligent commentary on the condition of Central Australian Aborigines in 1894. On the whole, however, the results of the expedition were disappointing to contemporaries with an interest in the Centre. Unlike many previous visitors the scientists of the Horn Expedition did not allow the land to deceive them, the more so because they saw it at a time of drought. They made no new mineral discoveries, and the little new pastoral country explored by Winnecke north-west of Charlotte Waters was declared incapable of being stocked until expensive water improvements had been made.⁹⁷ Though they were struck by the 'beauty and even grandeur'⁹⁸ of some parts of the Centre, they did not find anything approximating to the wonderland they had been led to expect. By the time they had reached Illamurta, according to Spencer, they were

completely disillusioned with regard to the idea with which we had started -- that we should find these central ranges of the continent an oasis in which had been preserved relics elsewhere lost of a more or less primitive fauna and flora.

.... The fact probably is that travellers, struck with the beauty of certain spots, after passing for long weary weeks or even months over desert country, have unconsciously exaggerated their beauty and fertility. In reality the ranges ~~form~~ bare and often narrow

97. See Winnecke, Journal of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition, entries for 16-20.5.94 and pp.61, 65.

98. W. B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I, p.67.

ridges separated from one another by dry and sandy, scrub covered flats ... and there is nothing like a great mountain mass with sheltered, well watered and fertile valleys such as we have pictured or imagined.⁹⁹

Only when he saw the Centre lush after rains did Spencer realize that it had more powerful methods of deceiving men than mere contrast with the 'desert' south of it.¹⁰⁰

Apart from checking prevalent wild imaginings about the potential of the Centre the most important result of the expedition, perhaps, was that it brought together Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, the telegraph station-master at Alice Springs. A genial Irishman, Gillen had lived in Central Australia since 1876, first at Charlotte Waters and then at Alice Springs, and had early taken an interest in the Aborigines. In 1891, as we have seen, he had won the utmost confidence of the Aranda for the part he played in bringing about the arrest of M. C. Willshire. When the Horn Expedition arrived at Alice Springs to prepare for its homeward trip Baldwin Spencer, who had acquired an interest in anthropology at Oxford, decided to remain there for a few weeks in order to obtain additional specimens of a new marsupial and to study the habits of a spider that was said to 'bark'. Gillen, one of the few married men in the Centre, was kind enough to offer him

99. Ibid, p.66.

100. Ibid, pp.23-24; W. B. Spencer, op. cit., (1928), p.130.

accommodation, and in the evenings the two found themselves having 'long talks and discussions on anthropological subjects'.¹⁰¹ So impressed was Gillen with Spencer's ability that he suggested that they should work together. The result was a partnership unique in the history of anthropology, Gillen supplying most of the information and Spencer the necessary methodological and literary ability.¹⁰² In 1896-97 and 1901 the pair made field excursions to the Centre and by 1904 had published two large volumes¹⁰³ that made their authors, their subject (the Aranda and neighbouring tribes), and the Centre world-famous. The Native Tribes of Central Australia (1899), which dealt chiefly with the Aranda and proved to be the most complete and detailed study of an Australian tribe published in the nineteenth century¹⁰⁴ (though it can be seen today to have serious shortcomings), astounded the anthropological world with its revelations concerning the totemism and kinship system of the Aranda.

101. W. B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I, p.135.

102. See ibid, pp.130-5; Spencer and Gillen, op. cit. (1899), p.vii; R. R. Marrett and T. K. Penniman (Ed.), Spencer's Scientific Correspondence with Sir J. G. Frazer and Others (Oxford, 1932), pp.viii-ix, 3, 10, 21; Winnecke, Journal of the Horn Scientific Exploring Expedition, entries for 15.7.94, 16.7.94.

103. W. B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, The Native Tribes of Central Australia (London, 1899) and The Northern Tribes of Central Australia (London, 1904).

104. Cf. A. P. Elkin, 'The Development of Scientific Knowledge of the Aborigines' in Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, op. cit., p.12; Marrett and Penniman (Ed.), op. cit., p.133.

The great^{Cambridge} anthropologist, Sir James Frazer, forgetting the rôle Gillen played in the partnership, even went so far as to say of Spencer that he 'laid the foundations of the science of man in a series of exact observations'.¹⁰⁵

By the late eighties some South Australians were convinced that the colony had made a mistake in annexing the Territory and argued that it should be disposed of; but, chiefly because of the alleged mineral wealth of the MacDonnell Ranges, most of those who took this line favoured the retention of the Centre — favoured the proposals of the Emigration Commissioners in 1862. After visiting the Top End in 1888 the Minister (J. C. F. Johnston) convinced the Playford Government that it was advisable to get rid of the Northern Territory, but only after the northern boundary of the colony had been shifted north to include the MacDonnell Ranges.¹⁰⁶ Governor Kintore in 1891, after travelling overland from Port Darwin to Adelaide, recommended to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that the territory north of the twentieth or twenty-first parallel should be separated from South Australia; but added: 'The extreme southern portion of the Northern Territory,

105. Sir James George Frazer, Creation and Evolution in Primitive Cosmogones and Other Pieces (London, 1935) p.66. Cf. Frazer's Preface to the (London) 1938 edition of The Native Tribes of Central Australia.

106. See Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.), p.46; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 30.6.91 (col.213), (L.C.) 9.6.92 (col.3).

comprising the MacDonnell Ranges, must ... be retained for South Australia. My visit to that portion of the country led me to share the hopes that are universally entertained that the exploitation of that district will handsomely repay South Australia for the money expended on it.¹⁰⁷ The Downer administration of 1892-93 also adopted a policy of annexing the MacDonnell Ranges and of ceding the rest of the Territory to the first taker.¹⁰⁸ But there were no takers, and the Kingston Government, which held office from 1893 to 1899, did not favour ceding any of the Territory.¹⁰⁹ When the whole of the Territory was transferred to the Commonwealth in 1910 only the unwillingness of the Commonwealth to accept the Top End on favourable terms prevented South Australia from retaining the Centre.¹¹⁰ To this day South Australians tend to regard the MacDonnell Range country as part of their own State.

By 1894 most miners of Gold Mining District C had concluded that the field could never go ahead without a railway from the south.¹¹¹ Perhaps it was unlucky not to

107. Adel. Observer 8.8.91, pp.34-35.

108. Report of N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.) p.44; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 10.10.94, col.1771. See also ibid 24.8.92 (cols. 696-7), 14.9.92 (cols.935-8).

109. S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 5.9.94, col.1221.

110. See S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 21.8.01 (pp.66-68), 4.12.01 (p.329), (H. of A.) 6.11.01 (pp.713-7), 18.10.05 (pp.509-15), 26.7.10 (p.174).

111. See, e.g., Report of N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.), pp.83-87.

have one by that year. Ever since the acquisition of the Northern Territory and the construction of the overland telegraph most South Australian politicians had wanted a transcontinental railway, but they had been sharply divided on the question of how to build it. Some were 'non-alienators' who believed that the State should build it, others were 'alienators' who favoured its construction by private enterprise on the land-grant system. Until 1887 the non-alienators had won the day and the line had been gradually pushed north from Port Augusta and south from Port Darwin on borrowed money. Early in 1887 a Transcontinental Railway Commission recommended that the line should be completed on the land-grant system,¹¹² but later in the same year, partly because of growing optimism concerning the mineral potential of the Centre, the Playford Government succeeded in steering through Parliament a Bill authorizing the extension of the line from the Peake to Angle Pole (Oodnadatta),¹¹³ and sent engineer Graham Stewart and his brother to make a flying survey for a further extension to Burt Creek.¹¹⁴ Stewart reported no

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112. 'Report of Commission on Transcontinental Railway; Together with Minutes of Proceedings, Evidence, and Appendices' (S.A.P.P. 34/87), p.IV; 'Final Report of Commission on Transcontinental Railway; Together with Minutes of Proceedings and Appendices' (S.A.P.P. 34A/87), p.3.
113. See S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 10.11.87 (col.1436), 22.11.87 (cols.1570-1), 23.11.87 (cols.1595-6f.).
114. 'Plan and Report of Preliminary Examination of Route for Proposed Extension of Transcontinental Railway from Angle Pole to Alice Springs' (S.A.P.P. 204/90).

great difficulties for railway construction north of Oodnadatta,¹¹⁵ and in 1889 the Cockburn Government announced that it would extend the line to Alice Springs.¹¹⁶ It temporarily dropped its plans when a motion was passed in the Legislative Council that no Bill for the extension of the railway should be submitted to Parliament until the MacDonnell Ranges had been thoroughly prospected,¹¹⁷ but took them up again in the following year and made arrangements for a permanent survey to Alice Springs -- only to be defeated in the House on the issue by one vote.¹¹⁸ In August it fell, and in November the House easily carried a motion calling for the implementation of the Transcontinental Railway Commission's recommendation.¹¹⁹ With hard times and accumulating interest payments on railway loans there had been a revulsion against the cause of the non-alienators. The Centre had to wait thirty-nine years for a railway, but it is probable that, had the goldfields shown the promise they were later to show,¹²⁰

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115. Ibid. 116. Port Aug. Desp. 15.3.89.
 117. S.A.P.D. (L.C.) 24.7.89 (cols.306-7), 15.8.89 (cols. 610-1), 29.8.89 (cols.629-31). See also ibid (H. of A.) 30.10.89, col. 1381.
 118. S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 5.6.90 (col.144), 10.6.90 (col.26), 11.6.90 (col.52), 25.6.90 (cols.238-45), 2.7.90 (cols. 336-43), 30.7.90 (cols.666-75).
 119. Ibid 6.8.90 (cols.759-62), 17.9.90 (col.1246), 26.11.90 (cols.2159-63).
 120. See, e.g., M.C.N.T.In 34/98, 34/01, 161/02, 408/02, 437/02, 47/03, 83/03, 133/03; Port Aug. Desp. 22.4.98, 6.5.98, 13.5.98, 13.2.03, 20.2.03; Adel. Observer, 28.2.03, pp.35, 36; H.Y.L.Brown, 'Report on the White Range Gold Mines' (S.A.P.P. 76/1902), p.4.

Cockburn's intentions would not have been thwarted in 1889 and 1890.

* * * *

Because of Stewart's flying survey the Centre's first township had a 'Railway Terrace' over forty years before a railway reached it. The founding of the Town of Stuart, now Alice Springs, on a small plain on the western bank of the Todd between Heavitree Gap and Alice Springs Telegraph Station, was the direct result of the discovery of minerals in the Centre.

Some time in the eighties teamsters cut a track, shorter by fifty miles than the old track along the telegraph line, from Alice Well via Ooraminna Rockhole and Heavitree Gap to Alice Springs Telegraph Station; but, since many miles of it were waterless, those without camels were able to use it only in favourable seasons. When rubies were discovered the weather was kind and most miners from the south travelled along the new track and pitched their tents on the Todd north of Heavitree Gap while they took in provisions or waited for the mail and news from the ruby fields. When the Government had a well sunk south of Ooraminna in 1888 the traffic through Heavitree Gap became even heavier, and miners coming in from the field for provisions and mail added to the array of tents. By April 1888 men were camped all the way along the Todd from the

gap to the telegraph station, and the Government had decided to convert the area into a town.¹²¹ In July David Lindsay, who was about to visit the ruby fields for the third time, was hired as surveyor, and in November 'a new town, to be called the Town of Stuart'¹²² was proclaimed. But to the locals anything north of Heavitree Gap had always been, and continued to be, 'The Alice', so that today the town is officially known as Alice Springs. In January 1889 ninety-six of 104 half-acre allotments pegged out by Lindsay were offered at auction at the upset price of £20 an acre (the prevailing price in the Northern Territory), but only five were sold, four of them to locals.¹²³ Central Australians immediately petitioned for a reduction in the upset price, but when it was reduced to £5 for ordinary blocks and £7.10.0 for corner blocks for the other three auctions held before the end of 1894, a total of only fourteen allotments were bought, all by locals.¹²⁴

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121. P.C.O.In 314/88; A.S.Pol. Jl., entries for 4.4.88ff; M.C.N.T.In 477/88; M.C.N.T.Out 212/88; S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 22.8.88 (col.686), 16.8.92 (col.595); A.V. Purvis, 'The Township named Stuart' (loc. cit.) p.61.
122. S.A.Govt. Gaz. 29.11.88, p.1293. See also A. V. Purvis, 'The Township named Stuart', (loc. cit.) pp.59-60.
123. See 'N. T. Plans Deposited in Land Office' (C.A.O., N.T.A., unnumbered); S.A.O., C.P.499, Misc.2181; M.C.N.T.In 85/89; N. T. Times 12.1.89.
124. M.C.N.T.In 340/89, 586/89, 760/89, 440/91, 577/91, 220/94; C.A.O., N.T.A., unnumbered ('Daily Journal of Documents Registered').

Few men set up in business in the town. Wesley Turton opened a licensed store and a brewery in 1887, and in 1889 Billy Benstead built the Stuart Arms Hotel and F. B. Wallis opened the town's second store.¹²⁵ Three stores, a hotel, a saddlery, a butcher's shop and a number of private dwellings were to be found in Alice Springs in 1894.¹²⁶ Thanks to the foresight of Mounted Constable Smith the beautiful gumtrees on the Todd and its small plain were not used to build them.¹²⁷ When J. J. Murif, the first person to cross the continent from south to north on a bicycle, peddled into Alice Springs in 1896 he found two clusters of buildings, both

snugly ensconced, hidden among the very numerous gum trees with which the whole flat is dotted; between them [wrote Murif] some particularly high and shady trees give shelter to the township stock. Cattle are ever to be seen reposed fully cud-chewing during the hotter portions of the semi-tropic days.

All shade and silence and tranquility! It seemed as I came upon it to be the veritable "Sleepy Hollow" of romance, with appropriate Catskill-y surroundings¹²⁸

The influx of men into the Centre in the late eighties

125. See Port Aug. Desp. 11.9.88, 18.12.88, 15.3.89, 14.6.89, 21.3.90, 12.9.90; M.C.N.T.In 477/88, 604/88, 230/89, 586/89.

126. See Port Aug. Desp. 16.3.94; M.C.N.T.In 276/93.

127. M.C.N.T.In 116/88. Cf. Port Aug. Desp. 8.6.94.

128. J. J. Murif, op. cit., pp.69-70.

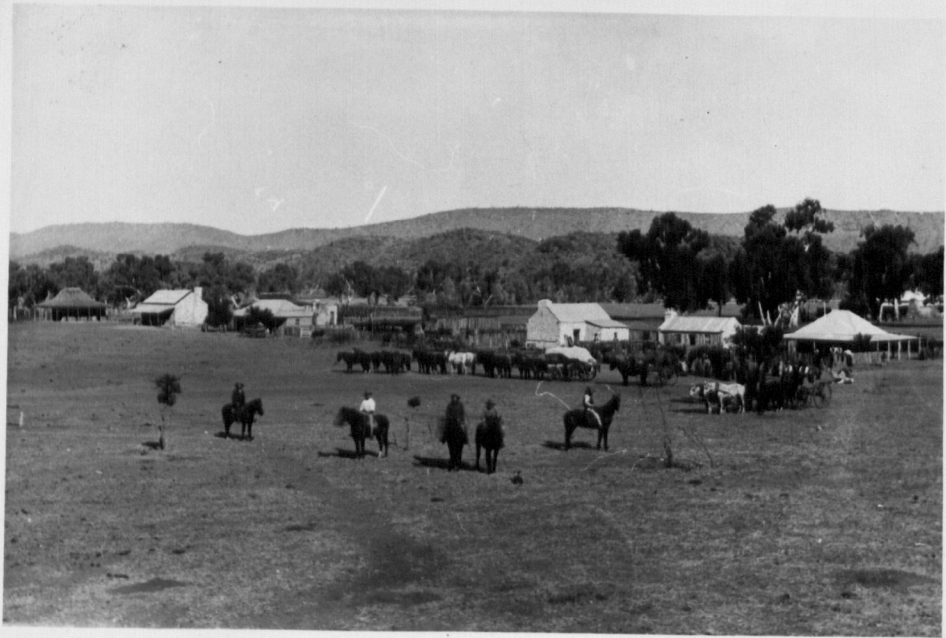


PLATE 34

The Town of Stuart in the Nineties

By courtesy S. A. Archives



PLATE 35

The Stuart Arms Hotel

By courtesy W.O. Bailes

also resulted in the establishment of a Local Court at Alice Springs in 1892¹²⁹ and in the provision of a few amenities for travellers on the track north of Oodnadatta. A store was opened at Bloods Creek in 1887. E. H. Sargeant opened another at Horseshoe Bend at about the same time, and soon got himself convicted for selling sly-grog. And in 1890 F. W. Marsh opened yet another at Alice Well.¹³⁰

* * * *

In the nineties Central Australians became for the first time a voting force to be reckoned with. Territorians had been given the vote in 1882 when the Territory was annexed to the electorate of Flinders, but, largely owing to the absence of voting facilities, few Central Australians had bothered to exercise their right.¹³¹ In 1888 the Territory was given separate political representation in the South Australian Parliament, and in 1889* the country south of Barrow Creek became an electoral district of the Territory and polling places were proclaimed at Barrow Creek, Alice Springs, and Charlette Waters; but at the election of 1890 and a bye-election of 1891 most Central Australians were unable to vote because forms of application for registration

129. See S.A.P.D. (H. of A.) 27.7.92 (col.436), 3.8.92 (col. 515), 13.9.92 (col.900), (L.Q.) 17.8.92 (col.606); N. T. Times and Govt. Gaz. 14.10.92.

130. See S. Newland, art. cit. in Adel. Advertiser 2.7.87, 15.7.87; Port Aug. Desp. 13.12.89, 30.1.91; M.O.N.T. In 628/90, 276/93.

131. Act 278 of 1882; Port Aug. Desp. 21.5.84.

failed to arrive in time.¹³² In 1892, however, Arltunga was proclaimed a polling place and Griffiths, a candidate for election in the following year, visited the Centre and its goldfields. Immediately, an Arltunga Progress Association and an Alice Springs Election Committee were formed to back Griffiths and his running-mate Solomon on the grounds that they had a thorough knowledge of the whole of the Northern Territory, not just part of it; while those who campaigned in the Top End for the only other candidate of importance (Stow) warned voters: 'Do not be dictated to by the Alice Springs District ...'¹³³ At the election Stow polled almost twice as heavily as Griffiths in Palmerston but was defeated when the whole of the vote at Arltunga (39) and most of the vote at the telegraph stations in the Centre (26 out of 30) went to Griffiths.¹³⁴

Griffiths won because most miners, like other Central Australians, had become proud of their adopted home and convinced that only those who had lived in it for some time or who had at least seen it could come to a true realization

132. Act 450 of 1888; S.A.F.D. (H. of A.) 28.6.88 (col.437), 28.8.89 (cols.752-3), (I.C.) 28.8.88 (col.735); M.C.N.T. In 562/89, 658/89; M.C.N.T. Out Electr. 50/89; Census Register of the Northern Territory (G.A.O., unnumbered); N. T. Times 21.2.90, 14.3.90, 29.5.91.

133. N. T. Times 5.9.93. See also S.A.F.D. (H. of A.) 2.11.92 (col.1461), 15.11.92 (col.1642).

134. N. T. Times 7.4.93.

of its 'great' potential and its many requirements. We have seen how heavily miners relied on the State for assistance : they never combined in order to provide water facilities, for example, and their only collective actions were efforts to obtain assistance from the Government. Little else is known of their political views, but it is probable that most favoured the completion of the Trans-continental Railway by State enterprise, direct taxation, the vote for women ('The diggers rejoiced to learn', wrote a correspondent from Arltunga in February 1895, 'that the Women's suffrage Bill has passed. The probabilities of some non-progressive politicians being sent bush for a spell is considered likely [sic].'),¹³⁵ and continued restriction of Chinese immigration.¹³⁶

The South Australian Government placed a prohibition on the entry of Chinese into the Centre in 1888, and the immediate cause of its action was the ruby rush. In the first few weeks of 1888, when anti-Chinese feeling was running high in Australia, especially in the Top End, and shortly after two visiting Chinese Commissioners had seemed to imply that China would resort to force unless the colonies removed restrictions against the immigration of Chinese, over a thousand Chinamen arrived in Palmerston

135. Pert. Aug. Desy. 15.2.95.

136. See ibid 4.1.95; N. T. Times 25.4.90; Report of N. T. Coman. (loc. cit.), p.85. Cf. M.C.N.T. In 460/97, 176/99, 309/99.

with the intention (so it seemed to the citizens of that town) of invading the ruby fields.¹³⁷ When a notice inviting applications from experienced bushmen for the job of leading '500 or more Chinese to the Ruby Fields at MacDonnell Ranges [sic]' appeared in the Northern Territory Times on 18th February Government Resident Parsons immediately urged the South Australian Government to take action to prevent Chinese from entering the Territory and to prevent those in the Territory from going to the ruby fields: 'Once landed in the centre of Australia,' he warned the Premier, 'they spread over all the Colonies.'¹³⁸ Seven days later a rowdy anti-Chinese meeting was held in Port Augusta, one speaker informing it that

... the Chinese meant to invade the MacDonnell Range ruby fields, and if they once get fairly into the centre of the continent, it would be impossible to prevent their spreading thence into all the colonies. They were like grasshoppers who ate up everything before them; and the probability of 50,000 or 100,000 Chinese entering the Territory ... before June (when Parliament would assemble) was alarming.¹³⁹

Parsons's panic was soon transmitted to the eastern colonies, whose Governments brought considerable pressure to bear upon

137. See N. T. Times 14.1.88, 11.2.88, 15.2.88, 24.3.88 (Ed.); Port Aug. Desp. 23.3.88; M.C.N.T. In 140/88, 147/88; S.A.F.P. 28/89, p.13; M. A. Rendell, op.cit., pp.131, 137-9.

138. M.C.N.T. In 147/88. See also ibid 155/88; Rendell, op. cit., pp.139-40.

139. Port Aug. Desp. 28.2.88.

upon South Australia to take drastic action.¹⁴⁰ On 29th February the harassed South Australian Government issued a proclamation¹⁴¹ declaring numerous ports in the East infected and imposing a £10 poll-tax (subject to Parliamentary sanction) on all Chinese arriving in the Territory and on all Chinese in the Territory who crossed a line 200 miles south of Port Darwin; and instructed the Government Resident to inform the Chinese that even if the poll-tax were paid 'in no case will any Chinese be permitted to go to the MacDonnell Range ruby field [sic]' and that 'in case any should succeed in penetrating the interior in defiance of prohibition the Government cannot undertake to protect their lives.'¹⁴² As a result, no more than a dozen Chinese found their way to the Centre prior to 1894, and there were never at any one time more than half a dozen living between Tennant Creek and Charlotte Waters.¹⁴³

Gold in the eastern colonies in the fifties, according to Blainey¹⁴⁴ 'checked and for a time reversed Australia's tendency to become a land that favoured the big man.' In

140. Rendell, op. cit., pp.141-2; N. T. Times 3.3.88; Port Aug. Desp. 2.3.88.

141. N. T. Times and Govt. Gaz. 3.3.88; M.C.N.T. In 147/88; Rendell, op. cit., p.145.

142. G. R. In A10750.

143. See Rendell, op. cit., p.232; M.C.N.T. In 417/93, 10/95; Kirchliche Mitteilungen 24/94, p.186; Report of N. T. Commn. (loc. cit.) p.83.

144. Op. cit., p.62.

the Centre there was a similar tendency in the seventies and eighties, but when gold and rubies were discovered it was already being reversed by the land itself.¹⁴⁵ Gold and rubies merely quickened this process. They greatly swelled the ranks of the individualistic, horse-owning 'petty bourgeoisie' in the Centre, and by 1894 many miners were running their own livestock east of Alice Springs and some were later to set up as pastoralists in their own right.¹⁴⁶ Until the nineties Central Australian society consisted chiefly of telegraph and pastoral employees; thereafter, independent 'small men' predominated.

Individual diggers, in spite of their reliance on the State, displayed considerable resourcefulness. When a supply of grease failed to arrive with a leading Vilksen lubricated his Huntington mill with castor oil. One miner made himself a bath-tub from a hollow tree-trunk by lining it with deal; another made a dryblower when the first of those machines arrived on the field early in 1895: 'It is marvellous to view the handicraft of the true bushman', wrote an observer, 'the ingenuity displayed in raking together material for the work, and the manner in which the brain guides the hand.'¹⁴⁷ But perhaps the miners'

145. See Chapter 4, above.

146. M.C.N.T. In 401/92, 262/01, 268/01, 438/01, 404/02; H.Y.D. Brown, 'Reports on Arltunga Goldfields etc.' (loc. cit.), p.2; ---, 'Report on a Journey from Adelaide to Hale R.' (loc. cit.), p.3; Report of M. T. Comm. (loc. cit.), p.85.

147. Port Aug. Desp. 9.8.95. See also ibid 11.5.94, 18.5.94, 31.5.95; M.C.N.T. In 289/95.



PLATE 36

Central Australian Prospector and Dryblower
1895+

By courtesy W.O. Bailes

most useful weapon in their battle with a hostile environment was the solidarity of their opinions and their acceptance and enforcement of the 'new' morality. In the early nineties there was a big increase in horse-thieving in the Alice Springs District, probably caused mostly by miners.¹⁴⁸

Like some stationhands and teamsters, miners regarded it as a respectable occupation and brought pressure to bear upon those who refused to believe it so: one horse-thief told a mounted constable that he had always tried to act straight until people said that he was 'in' with the police or spying on them.¹⁴⁹ As might have been expected, there was a brisk traffic in sly-grog on the goldfields and the tracks leading to them. In June 1890 'Nemo' wrote a letter to the Port Augusta Despatch¹⁵⁰ claiming that sly-grog could be bought 'at any time and place' and that it seemed 'a very remunerative business' at the goldfields. The police experienced great difficulty in obtaining convictions, for men supplied with sly-grog declined to enter the witness box and sly-grogsters, by 'selling' glasses of water and 'giving away' glasses of beer, for example, easily found loopholes in the law.¹⁵¹ It is significant that 'Nemo'

148. S.A. Pol. Gaz. 18.1.93 (p.11); Port Aug. Desp. 28.7.93, 31.5.95, 12.7.95, 9.8.95, 4.10.95, 18.10.95, 1.11.95, 22.11.95, 27.3.96. Cf. N. T. Times 28.2.90; Eylmann, op. cit., pp.13*, 453-4.

149. Port Aug. Desp. 9.8.95.

150. 20.6.90. See also N. T. Times 28.2.90; M.C.N.T. In 707/90, 387/91; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Besley to [O.P.] 22.8.92.

151. N. T. Times 28.11.02. Cf. Port Aug. Desp. 12.9.90, M.C.N.T. In 707/90.

did not reveal his identity: 'a known informer', wrote Sub-Inspector Besley after visiting the Centre in 1890, 'would be forced to leave that part of the country'.¹⁵² Finally, living with Aboriginal women was regarded as quite respectable and was practised openly.

* * * *

The Eastern Aranda have been studied but little by anthropologists, and miners left very few records of their relations with them. Until early December 1887, when about one hundred turned up in a few days,¹⁵³ the Aborigines of Glen Annie appear to have avoided the ruby-gatherers. For some time thereafter they came and went at intervals, but by May of the following year about seventy-five camped regularly at the diggings and collected rubies in return for food and cast-off clothing.¹⁵⁴ This adoption of intelligent exploitation could scarcely have been caused by a decrease in their indigenous supplies of food, for 1888 was a favourable season and the number of livestock grazed east of Loves Creek by Undoolya Station and miners was small. There is no evidence that the Eastern Aranda

152. M.C.N.T. In 707/90. Cf. Port Aug. Desp. 12.9.90.

153. M.C.N.T. In 36/88.

154. Port Aug. Desp. 29.5.88; N. T. Times 11.2.88.

adopted a policy of resistance to miners.¹⁵⁵ A probable explanation of their failure to do so is that miners usually worked in larger groups than other Europeans in the Centre : it has been shown elsewhere in this thesis that as a rule the smaller the group of white men the more likely it was that the Aborigines would attack it; another is that many Eastern Aranda had been 'pacified' during the heyday of Undoolya cattle-station and of Mounted Constables Wurmbrand and Willshire, before rubies and gold were discovered.

Miners appear to have adopted a policy of intelligent exploitation much more quickly than settlers, partly because they obtained a more peaceful response from Aborigines, and partly, perhaps, because they stood to gain more from the policy than settlers. Stationhands probably regarded Aborigines as potential rivals for their billets, miners regarded them as indispensable assistants. In selecting Aboriginal employees ruby-gatherers showed a distinct preference for women: 'As a general rule a "ruby picker" ... furnished himself with a helpmate and companion in the form of a black lubra', wrote J. J. East in 1888, 'whose rations were as a matter of course an additional charge on the funds of the company for whom he was employed. Arrived at the scene of operations the man dug or shovelled up the creek shingle into a small sieve and after sifting out the smaller particles scattered the remaining larger

155. For some evidence that they did not, see M.C.N.T. In 36/88.

particles in front of the squatting form of his sable partner. Some of these 'gins' developed surprising acumen in distinguishing the better class from the inferior quality of stones ... [sic].'¹⁵⁶ When men moved from rubies to gold and mica they probably maintained this preference for women. Claraville was said to have been named after lubra Clara, 'the inevitable dusky spouse'¹⁵⁷ of the miner. On the whole, though every miner who owned a horse sooner or later acquired a 'horse boy', proportionately fewer men were employed by miners than by those settlers who adopted a policy of intelligent exploitation, perhaps because Aborigines traditionally regarded all digging in the ground as 'women's business'.

Except in the sphere of local organization and economic activities, mining probably produced fewer changes in the pattern of Aboriginal life by 1894 than the pastoral industry: it was a younger industry, it introduced fewer livestock, it led to no known punitive expeditions. But there was no bright future in store for the Eastern Aranda of Gold Mining District C. When miners began to gouge deeper for ore to feed a Government Battery and Cyanide Works established at the Star of the North Well in 1898, many Aborigines, according to one observer, were 'sweated ...

156. M.C.N.T.In 1074/88 (J. J. East to Minister 14.11.88, p.16).

157. Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.39; Cf. Eylmann, op. cit., p.19.

to such an extent that I feel sure is not equalled in any other part of the world.*¹⁵⁸ Fine gold dust probably induced phthisis in some Aboriginal miners as it did in many of their white masters,¹⁵⁹ and other diseases, especially after 1903, when hundreds of diggers rushed to a new 'find' at Winnecke's Depot, probably took no light toll.¹⁶⁰ Some thirty of about one hundred Eastern Aranda who had attached themselves to miners' camps qualified for the receipt of rations when a depot was established at Arltunga in 1906 by being 'old and infirm',¹⁶¹ and the number of such Aborigines receiving rations in 1908 was forty-nine.¹⁶²

158. M.C.N.T. In 470/09. Cf. Ibid, 574/05; Port Aug. Desp. 6.4.06; C. Chewings, 'A Journey from Barrow Creek to the Victoria River' (loc. cit.),, p.7; Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.39; C.F.R. 76/22, p.230.

159. See, e.g., C.F.R. 76/22, pp.28, 32, 36, 39.

160. See M.C.N.T. In 80/00, 60/09, 770/09; Port Aug. Desp. 10.2.99. Cf. Spencer and Gillen, op. cit. (1912), p.291.

161. M.C.N.T. In 574/05, 102/07.

162. Ibid 60/09, cf. 143/08. This is the latest figure available.

CONCLUSION

...the country is as desolate and man's life in it as primitive as ever.

———— Conrad H. Sayce, 1920
Golden Buckles

...the one certain judgement of value that can be made about history...is the idea of progress.

———— J.H. Plumb, 1964
Crisis in the Humanities

All in all, land triumphed over man in the Centre in the nineteenth century, so far as European settlement was concerned. Fickle and deceptive, it easily led men anxious for personal wealth and progress and the power and glory of their State to entertain great expectations of it. The big squatter, lured inland by reports of fabulous pastoral country, invested heavily in the seventies and eighties only to cut his losses and vanish from the land in the nineties. The missionary came to believe that he could establish a self-supporting Mission, only to be deprived of his strength and will to work. The prospector beheld a golden mirage for a generation, lived on goat-meat

and damper when he entered the country and refused to be undeceived: there may still be found men who believe in Lasseter's reef. No-one could truthfully say in 1894 that the pioneering days of the Centre were over.

And yet it is not so much the triumphs won by the land that seem memorable as the measure of achievement won by men in their unequal battle with it, and the spirit in which they did battle. The construction of the overland telegraph in the seventies was a remarkable achievement by any standards. The small resources of the State, together with the failure of politicians to understand the country and the mistakes they made elsewhere, thereafter allowed it to assist private enterprise in the Centre only minimally. But the big pastoralist had his season of triumph before being forced to retreat with heavy losses, and he laid the foundations for a new pastoral industry which was developed by small men who had come to see that to acquire any sort of mastery over their new environment it was imperative that they should make adaptations to it. By 1910 the new pastoral industry had been securely established; by the mid-fifties it was responsible for more than half of the value of cattle exports and more than a quarter of the value of total exports from the Northern Territory.¹ Most miners who came to the Centre

1. R.A. Perry, art. cit. in C.S.I.R.O., op. cit., p.275.

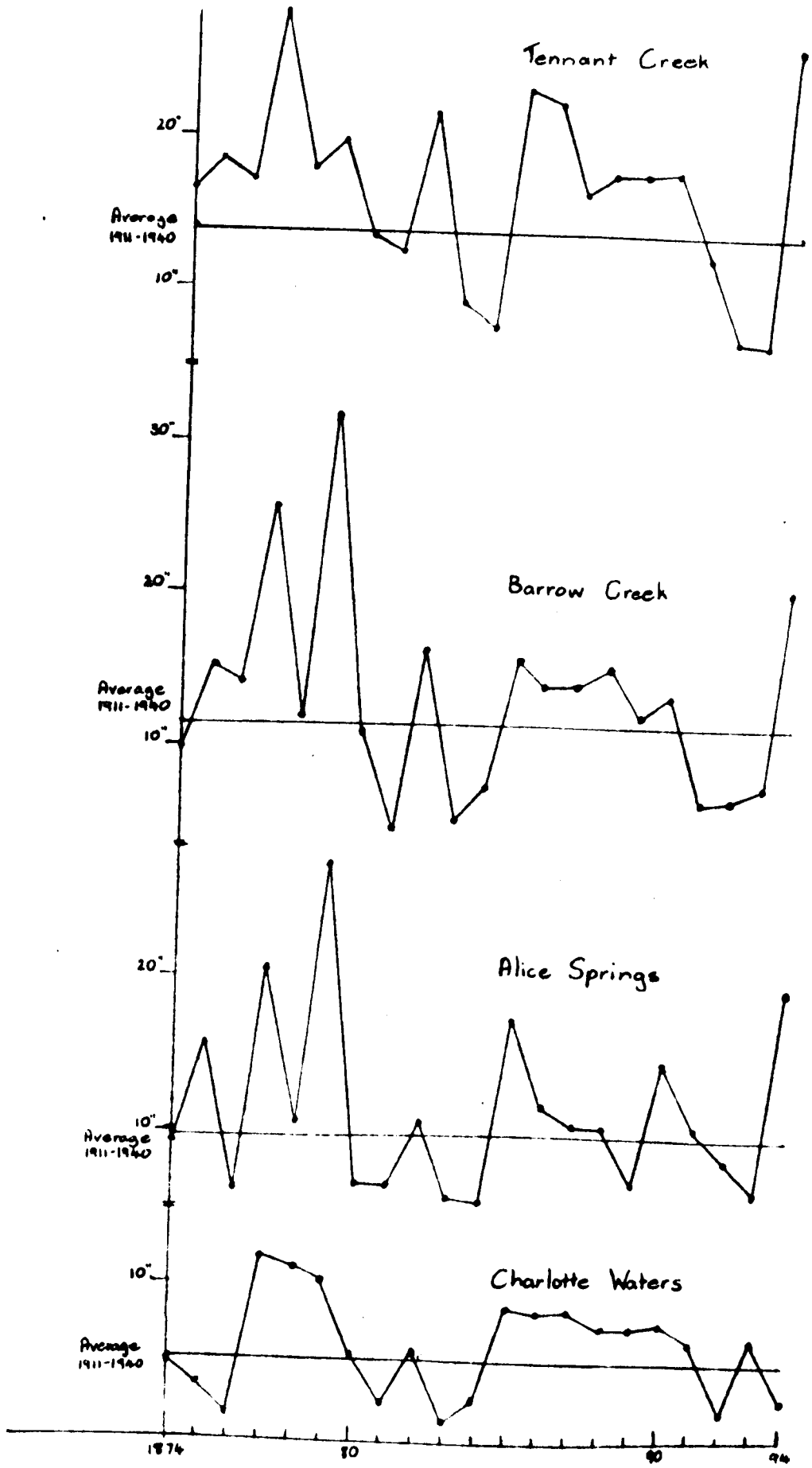
had learnt elsewhere to adapt their lives to harsh frontier conditions. By living close to nature forty or fifty of them - more at times - contrived, with a little State aid, to support themselves for twenty years after 1894 on a goldfield where investment on a large scale would have been sure to fail. The subsequent discovery of gold at the Granites and Tanami and Tennant Creek, moreover, was probably in no small measure a legacy of their refusal to be undeceived. The missionary did well to reach the country, let alone survive in it for fifteen years and come close to realizing his ideal of a self-supporting Mission; and it was largely his experience that enabled the Immanuel Synod to establish the successful Mission of today. The history of European settlement is in many respects a story of achievement in the face of tremendous odds, of achievement where achievement now seems to have been impossible.

The difficulties standing in the way of a peaceful sharing of this land by Europeans and Aborigines, though slighter than in more favoured areas of Australia, were at least as great as those presented to the progress of settlement by the land itself. An inevitable conflict in interest and vast differences in outlook led almost everywhere to a period of 'clash', but geographical and other

factors often enabled the Aboriginal and much of his culture to survive the impact of settlement, the European came to see that he would have to make adaptations to the land and its people in order to survive, and together Aboriginal and European worked out a means of living to their mutual advantage. The new pastoral industry was developed largely by Aboriginal labour, the miners of Gold Mining District C survived until the gold gave out in the second decade of the twentieth century only by virtue of 'aboriginal assistance',² and the new Mission eventually adopted a more tolerant attitude to Aboriginal culture and white Central Australians and reaped its reward in souls. The numbers of Aborigines continued to decline after 1894 and sweeping changes occurred in their traditional life, but their numbers today, though only half (or less) as great as when Stuart first entered their country, are fast increasing and their long-term prospects for 'assimilation' or 'integration' seem bright.

2. A favourite phrase of 'Springheel Jack' (John Smith), a member of the Ragged Thirteen and subsequently a miner at Claraville (Adel. Observer 23.4.04, p.39).

APPENDIX I: RAINFALL, 1874-1894



Sources

Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology. Results of Rainfall Observations made in South Australia and the Northern Territory, 1839-1950. Canberra, n.d.

Commonwealth of Australia, Meteorological Branch. Book of Normals - No.1: Rainfall. Canberra, n.d.

Note

Figures of average rainfall as supplied by the Commonwealth Bureau of Meteorology are based on the internationally recognized Standard Normal Period of thirty years, in this case 1911-1940.

APPENDIX IIPASTORAL LANDS APPLIED FOR, HELD UNDER APPLICATION AND LEASE, DECLARED STOCKED AND FORFEITED, 1872-1894.Note

The general trends indicated in the following table are probably fairly accurate, but many individual figures are approximate only. Since no separate pastoral records were kept for the Centre, all figures have been arrived at by the addition of figures for individual applications, forfeitures, etc., which are not always complete or precise. A blank space indicates that the relevant information is, to the best of my knowledge, unobtainable.

Abbreviations

AR	Annas Reservoir, Stirling and Murray Downs
BS	Bond Springs
CP	Crown Point
DW	Deep Well
FR	Frew River
ER	Erlunda
GH	Glen Helen
H	Henburg
I	Idracowra
MB	Mount Burrell
OS	Owen Springs
TD	Tempe Downs
U	Undoolya

Year	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
1872	1,500	1,500	<u>OS,U</u>	1,500	nil	nil
1873	1,400	1,400	OS,U	2,900	nil	nil
1874	800	nil	nil	3,700	600	nil
1875	8,569+	4,791	<u>GH,H,I,MB</u>	c.7,559	1,500	c.3,370
1876	6,760	2,950	GH,H,U	15,789 (30.1.77)	2,300	nil
1877	c.37,785	c.4,740	GH,H,MB,U	c.51,374	2,300	c.700
1878	c.18,000	c.2,275	GH,H,U		3,230	c.5,020
1879	2,155	300	H		3,230	c.33,696
1880	5,221	2,900	<u>CP,H,I</u>	c.46,635 (30.3.80)	3,230	c.17,749
1881	c.154,741	c.36,790	<u>AR,BS,CP, ER,H,TD</u>			c.3,016
1882	150	nil	nil	215,566 (4.8.82)		c.2,800
1883		nil	nil			c.5,080
1884		nil	nil			c.70,000
1885	some	some	BS			c.15,000
1886				c.62,800	40,372	c.36,000
1887		nil	nil			c.10,000
1888	800+	800+	<u>FR</u>			c.19,000
1889						c.17,000
1890	c.10,000	some				c.6,000
1891	some	some	FR			
1892	374+	374+	<u>DW</u>	c.40,000	c.21,500	c.8,550
1893	120+					c.3,300
1894		nil	nil			c.8,100

(a) Area successfully applied for (sq. mls.).

(b) DO by pastoralists who subsequently demonstrated that they were bona fide.

(c) Runs formed or added to from land applied for. The names of new runs are underlined.

(d) Area held under application and lease (sq. mls.).

(e) Area declared stocked (sq. mls.)

(f) Area forfeited (sq. mls.).

Sources
[over]

Sources

M.C.N.T. In 132/72, 312/74, 401/74, 450/74, 347/75, 422/75, 129/76, 334/76, 361/76, 443/76, 86/77, 160/77, 183/77, 321/77, 445/77, 651/78, 630/80, 778/82, 1175/84, 1072/86, 1195/86, 49/88, 243/88, 327/89, 655/90, 161/91, 413/93; M.C.N.T. Out 24.8.76, 470/85; S.A.P.P.s 80/80 (p.1), 80/81 (p.1), 119/82 (pp.12-6), 53/87 (pp.1-2), 28/91 (p.26), 33/91 (p.58), 182/92 (p.17), 293/93, 315/93; G.R. In A146/74, A651/75, A684/75, A685/75, A833/75, A977/75, A1132/75, A1170/75, A/1175/75, A1300/75, A1303/75, A1320/75, A1329/75, A1388/75, A1344/76, A1420-2/76, A1659/76, A1911/76, A2431/77, A2433/77, A2480/77, A2631/78, A2647/78, A2656/78, A2667/78, A2669/78, A2925/78, A2991/78, A3072/78, A3077/78, A3102/78, A3165/78, A3808/79, A3851/80, A3898/80, A4065/80, A4195/80, A4330/80, A4443/81, A4712/81, A4747/81, A4757/81, A4805/81, A4813/81, A4824/81, A4825/81, A4826/81, A4827/81, A4828/81, ~~A4830/81~~, A4830-5/81, A4869/81, A4874/81, A4875/81, A4877/81, A4879/81, A4881/81, A4961/81, A4963/81, A5005/81, A5006/81, A5015/81; N.T. Times and Gov. Gaz. 24.7.75 (p.1), 12.2.76 (p.3), 10.2.77 (p.2), 17.11.77 (p.1), 17.8.78 (p.1), 2.11.78, 21.12.78, 8.2.79, 31.5.79, 28.6.79, 5.7.79, 28.2.80, 6.3.80, 5.6.80, 7.8.80, 12.2.81, 7.5.81, 6.8.81, 5.11.81, 4.2.82, 16.9.82, 3.11.83, 11.5.84, 16.8.84, 14.3.85, 25.4.85, 20.2.86, 13.3.86, 21.8.86, 7.1.88, 21.4.88, 18.8.88, 29.11.88, 5.8.92, 11.11.92, 28.4.93, 27.4.94, 9.5.94, 27.6.94, 26.9.94, 2.11.94; Nth Australian and N.T. Gov. Gaz. 5.2.90; C.A.O., CP811, N.T. Dr. 1 and NTR 1A, 1B; H.J. Scott, South Australia in 1887: A Handbook for the Adelaide Jubilee International Exhibition (Adelaide 1887), p.184.

APPENDIX IIIBEEF PRICES, 1872-1894

Note A blank space indicates that the relevant information is unobtainable.

Year	Prices for Second Class Fat Bullocks in the Adelaide Market	Retail Beef Prices in Adelaide, expressed in pence per lb.
1873	£20 - £29.15s. ^(a)	
1874		
1875	£6 - £12	
1876	£7 - £13.10s.	
1877	£5.15s. - £13	3 - 9
1878	£7 - £11	3 - 9
1879	£6 - £12	3 - 8
1880	£4 - £8.12s.	2 - 8
1881	£3 - £9.10s.	3 - 8
1882	£4 - £12	2 - 7
1883	£7 - £11	2 - 7
1884	£7 - £12.10s.	2½ - 8
1885	£5 - £9	
1886	£6 - £14	2½ - 9
1887	£6 - £11	2½ - 8
1888	£6 - £9	2½ - 8
1889	£4.10s. - £12	2½ - 9
1890	£4.10s. - £7	2 - 7
1891	£4 - £7.10s.	2 - 7
1892	£5 - £8	2 - 7
1893	£4 - £8	2 - 7
1894	£3 - £5.10s.	

Sources

All figures save those for 1873 (S.A. Register 11.6.73, p.5), 1875 (Statistical Register of S.A. 1876, II, p.107), 1876 (ibid. 1880, III, p.58) and 1894 (ibid. 1896, III, p.75) have been taken from R. Duncan, op. cit., Appendix B (pp.473-4).

(a) For first-class fat bullocks.

APPENDIX IVNUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK, 1872-1894Note

The tables that follow are intended to indicate general trends only. Few estimates, official or otherwise, were made during the period under survey of numbers of livestock in Central Australia, and those that were made were often based on slender evidence. Where an estimate is obviously inaccurate I have not hesitated to alter it. For example, it was estimated by a telegraph official in 1890 (S.A.P.P. 28/90, p.3) that there were 6,600 sheep in the Centre (1,600 at the telegraph stations and 5,000 on Hermannsburg Mission), but the missionaries themselves (M.C.N.T. In 29/91, Prot. Abos. In 30/91) indicated that there were in fact only 3,000-3,200 on Hermannsburg and the Pastoral Lands Commission (Report [loc. cit.], pp.128-9) indicated that there were 'a few' on Crown Point - probably about 500 (S.A.P.P. 45/96, p.13). I have therefore substituted 5,300 (~~1,600 + 3,200~~) (1,600 + 3,200 + 500) for 6,600. Where no estimates for the whole of the District are available I have made my own from figures for individual stations. According to Ross Duncan (op. cit., p.90), livestock statistics for the Northern Territory (1880ff.) supplied in S.A. Statistical Registers refer to the whole of the Territory, while those supplied in the Reports of the Government Resident refer only to that portion of the Territory north of Barrow Creek. Unfortunately, the subtraction of the latter figures from the former for any one year gives entirely unlikely results for Central Australia: to take an extreme example, anyone using this method would have to conclude that in 1890 the portion of the Territory north of Barrow Creek was carrying more sheep than the whole of the Territory.

The figures supplied below are inclusive of most livestock on Hermannsburg Mission (Appendix X) and at the telegraph stations, but exclusive of police horses, of livestock kept by some police, telegraph officials and miners for their own profit or use, and of a considerable number of goats (commonly kept for 'mutton' and milk), for which few figures are available. Rates of increase, exports and imports have been indicated where possible. A blank space indicates that the relevant information is unavailable.

A. NUMBERS OF CATTLE

Year	Number	% ^(a) Increase(+) Decrease(-)	Known Imports	Known Exports	% ^(b) Increase(+) Decrease(-)
1872	20		c.20	nil	
1873			(in two years (2,000+	nil	
1874	2,940			nil	
1875	3,550	21+	nil	100	24+
1876	4,560	28+	400	104	20+
1877	6,195	36+	800	nil	18+
1878	8,516	37+	400	a 'mob' [100]	33+
1879	10,622	25+	500	nil	19+
1880	13,243	25+	500	nil	20+
1881	14,463	9+	nil	nil	9+
1882	18,329	27+	nil	nil	27+
1883	21,180	16+	c.3,300	nil	2-
1884	26,763	26+	nil	nil	26+
1885	34,850	30+	c.6,000	(c.870	
1886	41,900	20+	nil	(in (1887	
1887	41,130	2-	nil	(and at	
1888	49,210	20+	1,800	(least	
1889	52,380	6+	nil	(four	
1890	52,300	-	some	(other 'mobs' (including (1,440 in (1889	
1891	52,000	-	600	75+	
1892	41,200	21-		514	
1893	41,700	1+		some?	
1894	36,400	13-		some?	

(a) Regardless of exports and imports.

(b) After imports are deducted and exports added.

B. NUMBERS OF HORSES AND SHEEP

Year	HORSES			SHEEP	
	Number	Known Imports	Known Exports	Number	Known Imports
1872				197	
1873	170			1,800	(A few 100 at (each telegraph (station
1874	330			800	
1875	380			3,600	C.2,800 (telegr. stns.)
1876	460			3,600	
1877	590		Occasionally sold to	5,500	1,900 (Hermannsburg)
1878	770		exploring	5,500	
1879	870		and over- landing	5,530	
1880	1,260		parties throughout this period	6,860	(c.1,500 (Mt. Burrell)
1881	1,290			6,860	(
1882	1,360			7,700	(
1883	1,740	c.100		8,400	'a flock' (telegr. stns.)
1884	2,170			8,400	
1885	3,150	c.800		8,400	
1886	4,150			10,000	c.3,000 (Murray Downs)
1887	4,350			10,000	
1888	4,480			10,000	
1889	4,820	c.100		7,850	
1890	5,760		'a mob'	5,300	
1891	6,460			5,100	
1892	6,360			4,400	
1893	6,000			4,400	
1894	5,500			4,400	

Sources

M.C.N.T. In 401/74, 467/79, 477/79, 292/80, 441/82, 601/84, 686/84, 960/85, 1113/85, 1175/85, 538/89, 40/90, 588/91, 479/92, 413/93, 111/94, 337/01; S.A.P.P.s 53A/83-4 (p.2), 53B/83-4 (p.1), 54/86 (p.3), 34/87 (pp.7,38), 28/90 (p.3), 28/91 (p.9), 45/96 (p.13); Report of N.T. Commn. (loc. cit.), pp.85, 90; Pastoral Lds. Commn. Report (loc. cit.), pp.58, 111, 115, 116, 121, 122, 124, 128, 129, 141,¹⁴⁴166; Port Aug. Desp. 17.2.83, 28.6.87, 2.8.87, 23.8.87, 16.1.91, 8.6.94; N.T. Times 25.3.76, 24.6.76, 8.7.76, 8.1.87, 7.2.90, 14.2.90, 28.2.90, 14.3.90; Adel. Observer 11.7.91 (p.34), 8.8.91 (p.33), 22.8.91 (p.34), 23.4.04 (p.39); S.A. Register 5.10.75, 2.5.91; Adel. Advertiser 15.7.87; Tietkens, Journal 1889, entry for, 2.8.89; G.R.In A3570/79; S.A.P.D. 22.9.80, col.1094, 12.8.85, col.514; Duncan, op. cit., pp.471-2; C.P.P. 76/22, pp.24, 187; Murif, op. cit., p.63; S.A.A. 1297; A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., pp.8, 28, 31, 32, 103; Willshire, op. cit., (1888), p.5; Willshire, op. cit. (1891), p.10; Todd, Note Book 1872, (n.p.); Todd, Report 1884, p.152; S. Newland, Memoirs, p.149; Luth. Kirchenbote 5/9, p.76.

APPENDIX V
SOME RATES OF CARTAGE, 1872-1894
 (expressed in £s per ton)

Year	Rail-head ¹	From railhead to						
		C.W.	A.S.	B.C.	I.C.	Hb.	O.S.	Other
1872	P. Aug.	26 ²	75 ^{1/2} ²	102 ^{1/2} ²	130 ^{1/2} ²			
1873	do.							48 to Junction ²
1874	do.				50+ ³			
1875	do.							
1876	do.	36-8 ⁴ (av. 1876-81)	56-8 ⁴ (av. 1876-81)	72-4 ⁴ (av. 1876-81)	86-8 ⁴ (av. 1876-81)			
1877	do.							
1878	do.		70 ⁵			60 ⁶		
1879	Quorn	40 ⁷	60 ⁸ ('never less')			60 ⁹	60 ¹⁰ ('never less')	
1880	Hawker		80 ¹¹					
1881	Beltana					58-60 ¹²		
						60 ⁹	60 ⁹	(47 to Horseshoe Bend ⁹ (100 for 1000 mls. ¹³
1882	Farina		60 ¹⁴					
1883	do.					47-65 ¹⁵		
1884	Marree			65 ¹⁶				
1885	do.					45 ¹⁷		
1886	do.		42 ¹⁹			42 ¹⁸		
1887	do		23 ²¹					'as high as £56' to Idracowra ²⁰
1888	Coward							15 to Idracowra ²²
1889	William Creek					20 ²³		
1890	Warrina							c.50 to Frew R. ²⁴
1891	Oodnadatta		18 ²⁶			33 ^{1/5} ²⁷		45 to Arltunga ²⁵
1892	do.		20 ²⁸	24 ²⁸				(16 to Mt. Burrell ²⁶ (64 to Arltunga ²⁶
1893	do.							
1894	do.		(16 ^{1/3} ²⁹ (21 ^{1/8}	21 ^{1/2} ²⁹		33 ^{1/5} ²⁹		

Abbreviations

A.S.	Alice Springs
B.C.	Barrow Creek
C.W.	Charlotte Waters
Hb.	Hermannsburg
O.S.	Owen Springs
P.Aug.	Port Augusta
T.C.	Tennant Creek

Sources

1. S.A.P.D. 7.10.02, p.273; Holmes, op. cit., p.399.
2. Todd, Report 1884, p.143.
3. S.A. Register, 27.2.74.
4. S.A.P.P. 76/81 [n.p.].
5. A. Giles, The First Pastoral Settlement in the N.T., p.111.
6. M.C.N.T.In, 8/79.
7. Ibid. 194/79.
8. Duncan, op. cit., p.343.
9. M.C.N.T.In 295/81.
10. Ibid. 190/79.
11. N.T. Times 1.10.81; S.A.P.D.(H. of A.)
12. M.C.N.T.In 239/80; Hermannsburcher Missionblatt 8/80, p.155.
13. M.C.N.T.In 122/81.
14. Chewings, art. cit.⁽¹⁸⁸²⁾ p.282.
15. Hermannsburcher Missionsblatt 10/83, p.201.
16. M.C.N.T.In 686/84.
17. Ibid. 334/84
18. Luth. Kirchenbote 4/86, p.49.
19. A.S. Pol. Journal, entry for 20.3.86.
20. M.C.N.T.In 91/86.

21. A.S. Pol. Jl., entry for 1.12.87.
22. M.C.N.T.In 936/87.
23. Luth. Kirchenbote 4/88.
24. M.C.N.T.In 327/89.
25. Ibid. 690/90.
26. Pastl. Lands Commn., Report (loc. cit.), pp.114,121.
27. M.C.N.T.In 80/91.
28. Ibid. 159, 160/92.
29. Ibid. 51/93.

APPENDIX VIGOVERNMENT RATIONS DISTRIBUTED TO CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN
ABORIGINES, 1872-1894

<u>Year</u>	<u>Value (nearest £)</u>
1881	29 ¹
1887	34 ²
1888	28 ³
1890	62+ ⁴
1891	104 ⁵
1892	102 ⁶
1893	149 ⁷
1894	161 ⁸
<u>Total</u>	<u>669+</u>

Note

These figures are exclusive of cartage, which was relatively considerable: in 1892 it is known to have amounted to £61 (M.C.N.T.In 51/93) and in 1894 to £136 (ibid. 382/94, 79/95). They are also exclusive of rations issued at the depot established in 1886 or earlier (Prot. Abos.In 171/86) at Charlotte Waters, which was controlled by the Protector of Aborigines (all depots in the Centre other than Charlotte Waters were controlled by the Minister, and the cost of rations issued at them was debited to Northern Territory accounts), and of those issued at Hermannsburg Mission (see Chapter 5, above). In 1881, 1887 and 1888 rations were issued at Alice Springs only; in 1890 at Tennant Creek only; in 1891-1893 at Alice Springs, Barrow Creek and Tennant Creek; in 1894 at Alice Springs, Barrow Creek, Tennant Creek and Illamurta. They continued to be issued under the supervision of the Minister at these depots and (from 1906) at Arltunga until 1911. The chief items issued were flour, sugar and tea. Other items included rice, tobacco, tomahawks, butcher-knives, blankets, blue shirts, clay pipes and quart pots. (Anyone desiring fuller details should consult M.C.N.T.In 463/81, 469/87, 80/90, 66/92, 353/92, 51/93, 370/93, 98/94, 382/94, 79/95, 95/97, 151/98, 91/99, 109/00, 98/01, 154/02, 146/03, 147/03, 109/05, 113/06, 37/07, 143/08, 60/09).

Sources

1. M.C.N.T.In 463/81
2. Ibid. 649/87
3. Ibid. 606/88
4. Ibid. 80/91, 296/93
5. Ibid. 51/93
6. Ibid. 66, 159-60/92
7. Ibid. 98, 382/94
8. Ibid. 382/94, 79/95

APPENDIX VIIMISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION CONCERNING ABORIGINES AT
TELEGRAPH, POLICE AND CATTLE STATIONS

Year	ALICE SPRINGS TELEGRAPH STATION	
1885	c.200 camped near Heavitree Gap ¹	
1887	'many sick blind and crippled' ²	
1888	'15 old and infirm' ³	
1892	('Great number' aged, ⁴ (infirm and destitute)	
1893	()	No births, 3 deaths ⁵
1894	2 births, 3 deaths ⁶	
1895	2 births, 6 deaths ⁷	
BARROW CREEK TELEGRAPH STATION		
1891	8 receiving rations, 100 'in district' ⁸	
1892	8 receiving rations ⁹	
1894	6 births, no deaths ¹⁰	
1895	3 births, 1 death ¹¹	
CHARLOTTE WATERS TELEGRAPH STATION		
1891	14 ¹² , 'sometimes 30-40', ¹³ receiving rations; 46 ¹² 'in district', few children ¹³	
1894	15 receiving rations, 90 'in district', ¹⁴ ; no births, 1 death ¹⁵	
1895	1 birth, no deaths ¹⁶	
TENNANT CREEK TELEGRAPH STATION		
1890	10 aged receiving rations ¹⁷	
1891	10 receiving rations, 100 'in district', ¹⁸	
1894	1 birth, 1 death ¹⁹	
1895	no births, 1 death ²⁰	
ILLAMURTA POLICE CAMP		
1893	Some blind and many with sore eyes and venereal disease ²¹	
1895	Aged and infirm 'very numerous', ²² ; no births, 1 death ²³	

Year	CROWN POINT CATTLE STATION
1891	'numerous' Aborigines camped there ²⁴
1894	'a considerable number' camped there ²⁵
ERLDUNDA CATTLE STATION	
1887	sick and infirm 'more numerous' than on Idracowra; ²⁶ 'a few' working. ²⁷
FREW RIVER CATTLE STATION	
1892	3 or 4 employed (from the Finke and from Barrow Creek); no Frew River Aborigines employed. ²⁸
1893	'8 or 10 lubras' ²⁹
GLEN HELEN CATTLE STATION	
1886	6 blind, 4 crippled, 13 aged and infirm ³⁰
1889	40 (3 blind) ³¹
HENBURY CATTLE STATION	
1894	'a number' ³²
IDRACOWRA CATTLE STATION	
1887	20-30 aged and infirm ³³
1891	'numerous' ²⁴
MT. BURRELL CATTLE STATION	
1891	'numerous' ²⁴
TEMPE DOWNS CATTLE STATION	
1887	20-30 aged and infirm ³³
1894	'a good number' ³⁴
1894	'a considerable number' at all cattle and telegraph stations, 'relatively few' children ³⁵

Sources [over]

Sources

1. Willshire, op. cit. (1888), p.5.
2. M.C.N.T.In 649/87.
3. Prot. Abos.In 161/88.
4. M.C.N.T.In 51/93.
5. Ibid. 101/94.
6. Ibid. 127/95.
7. Ibid. 150/96.
8. S.A.P.P. 93/91.
9. M.C.N.T.In 159/92.
10. Ibid. 127/95.
11. Ibid. 150/96.
12. S.A.P.P. 93/91.
13. Report of Pastl. Lds. Commn. (loc. cit.), p.131.
14. Prot. Abos.In 120/95.
15. M.C.N.T.In 120/95.
16. Ibid. 150/96.
17. Ibid. 80/91.
18. S.A.P.P. 93/91.
19. ~~M.C.N.T.~~ 127/95.
20. Ibid. 150/96.
21. Ibid. 37/93.
22. Ibid. 382/94.
23. Ibid. 150/96.
24. S.A. Register 2.5.91.
25. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I, p.34.
26. M.C.N.T.In 936/87.
27. Ibid. 291/87
28. Adel. Observer 11.7.91, p.34.
29. M.C.N.T.In 353/92.
30. Prot. Abos.In 171/86.
31. W.H. Tietkens, Journal, entries for 1 and 7.4.89.
32. Winnecke, Journal of Horn Expedition, entry for 27.5.94.
33. M.C.N.T.In 936/87.
34. W.B. Spencer (Ed.), op. cit., I, p.69.
35. Ibid., IV, p.82.

APPENDIX VIIIABORIGINES AND BRITISH LAW, 1872-1894Note

To the best of my knowledge the lists supplied in this Appendix are complete. Prison sentences usually included hard labour.

Abbreviations

AS	Alice Springs
BC	Barrow Creek
C	Committed
D	Discharged
ERLD	Erlunda
G	Guilty
NG	Not guilty
R	Remanded
SC	Summarily convicted
TD	Tempe Downs
UND	Undoolya

A. ABORIGINES TRIED FOR OFFENCES AGAINST
NON-ABORIGINES

Name	Date of Hearing	Court	Charge	Where offence Committed	Finding	Sentence
(Toombana ¹ (Tommy)	1887	AS	Felonious assault?	ERLD	C	
(Nitrinitrinia (Gob)	do.	do.	do.?	do.	C	
(Toombana ² (Nitrinitrinia	1888	P. Aug.	Common assault	ERLD	SC	2 mths.
(Nitrinitrinia	do.	P. Aug.	do.	ERLD	SC	2 mths.
(Tom Cribb ³ (Boco George	1889	AS?	Larceny of goods	Burt Well	D	
(Tommy ⁴ (Purninga (Charley Marsh)	1891	AS	Maiming a bullock	Near AS	D	
(Purninga (Charley Marsh)) ⁵	1891	AS	Larceny of goods	AS	SC	48 hrs. & whipping
(Coota Coota	do.	AS	do.	do.	SC	do.

Name	Date of Hearing	Court	Charge	Where Offence Committed	Finding	Sentence
Jack Chapincharra ⁶	1892	AS	Common Assault	AS?	SC	3 mths.
(Tongalla ⁷	1893	BC?	?	BC	SC?	Whipped
(Ragurra (Peter)	do.	BC?	?	do.	SC?	Whipped
(Peter ⁸	1893	BC?	Larceny of goods	BC	SC	Whipped
(Alick	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	Whipped
(Willy	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	Whipped
(Friday ⁹	17 & 19.5.93	AS	Killing	TD	SC	6 mths.
(Frank	do.	do.	cattle	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Blue Peter	do.	do.	(17th)	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Arrabi	do.	do.	Larceny of	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Dick	do.	do.	beef (19th;	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Jimmy	do.	do.	by order)	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Moorekoopeta ¹⁰	1893	AS	Larceny of beef	GH & TD	SC	6 mths.
(Racehorse)	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Pollyingara	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Jimmy Ducks)	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Jado	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Tartaka	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	6 mths.
(Bulldog Jimmy)	do.	do.	do.	do.	SC	6 mths.

Name	Date of Hearing	Court	Charge	Where Offence Committed	Finding	Sentence
Cartawurna ¹¹ (Peter)	1893	AS	Larceny of goods	AS	SC	6 mths.
do. ¹²	do.	do.	Escaping legal custody	do.	SC	4 mths. (concurrent)

Sources

1. A.S. Pol. Jl., entry for 24.11.87; cf. P.C.O.In 277a/88.
2. Port Aug. Desp. 10.1.88.
3. S.A. Pol. Gaz. 18.9.89, p.151.
4. M.C.N.T.In 156/92 (min. Besley 9.3.92).
5. S.A. Pol. Gaz. 7.10.91, p.159; M.C.N.T.In 156/92 (min. Besley 9.3.92).
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7. S.A. Pol.Gaz. 1.11.93, p.176.
8. Ibid. 8.1.93, p.12.
9. Ibid. 14.6.93, p.95; M.C.N.T.In 101/94; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Daer to Besley 25.8.93.
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11. Ibid. 3.5.93, p.72; M.C.N.T.In 101/94.
12. Ibid. 7.6.93, p.91.

B. ABORIGINES TRIED FOR OFFENCES
AGAINST ABORIGINES

Name	Date of hearing	Court	Charge	Where offence committed	Finding	Sentence
(Legs ¹	1887	AS	Murder	UND	D	
{ (Jacky	do.	do.	do.	do.	R(then shot after escaping)	
(Endunderinga ²	1890	AS	Murder	BS	D	
{ ((Charley)						
{ (Laachna	do.	do.	do.	BS	D	
(Chapincharra ³	1893	AS	Murder and	ERLD	C	
{ (Chingoonya	do.	do.	attempted	do.	C	
{ (Milyarrie	do.	do.	murder	do.	C	
(Chapincharra ⁴	1893	Port	Murder and	ERLD	G.man-slaughter	3 yrs.
{ (Chingoonya	do.	Aug.	attempted	do.	NG(by order)	
{ (Milyarrie	do.	Circuit Court	murder	do.	NG(by order)	

Sources

1. A.S. Pol. Journal, entries for 13.3.87, 14.3.87, 15.3.87, 18.3.87.
2. Port Aug. Desp. 25.7.90; S.A. Pol. Gaz. 2.7.90, p.107; M.C.N.T.In 473/90.
3. Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, South to Besley 12.3.93.
4. Port Aug. Desp. 28.7.93; Port Aug. Pol. Stn. Letterbook, Besley to Prot. Abos. 26.7.93.

C. NON-ABORIGINES TRIED FOR OFFENCES AGAINST
ABORIGINES

Name	Date of hearing	Court	Charge	Where Offence Committed	Finding	Sentence
J. Reid ¹	1887	AS	Using threatening language	near AS	SC	£1 & costs
R. Davies ²	1890	AS	Common assault	near AS	SC	£3 & costs
(W.H. Willshire ³	1891	AS	Murder	TD	C	
(do. ⁴	do.	P.Aug. Circuit Court	do.	do.	NG	

Sources

1. Alice Springs Police Journal, entries for 11 & 12.12.87.
2. Port. Aug. Desp. 9.1.91.
3. Ibid. 15.5.91.
4. Ibid. 24.7.91.

APPENDIX IXHERMANSBURG MISSION: FINANCE, 1880-1893Note

No satisfactory figures are available for the period prior to 1880. Sums of money are expressed to the nearest £1, percentages to the nearest 1%

A. REVENUE

Year Ending	Station Produce (a)						Gifts(A) (b)		Gifts (Hb) (c)		Govt Sub. (d)		Other		Total (e)
	Livestock		Wool		Total		£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£
	£	%	£	%	£	%									
9.1880	39	3	20	2	59	5	379	32	361	31	(367)	31	nil	nil	1,166
11.1881	60	5	nil	nil	60	5	370	32	346	30	(367)	32	4	nil	1,148
9.1882	652	38	20	1	672	39	369	21	324	19	(367)	21	nil	nil	1,732
12.1883	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	333	31	326	31	399	38	nil	nil	1,057
12.1884	437	25	nil	nil	437	25	536	30	399	23	300	17	88	5	1,760
12.1885	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	472	40	293	25	425	35	nil	nil	1,190
12.1886	60	6.5	62	6.5	122	13	372	40	103	11	300	32	40	4	937
12.1887	103	12.5	20	2.5	123	15	385	47	nil	nil	300	37	10	1	818
12.1888	695	64	nil	nil	695	64	192	18	nil	nil	200	18	3	nil	1,090
12.1889	366	37	60	6	426	43	312	32	nil	nil	200	20	53	5	990
12.1890	562	49	68	6	630	55	278	24	nil	nil	200	18	28	2	1,136
12.1891	127	19.5	43	6.5	170	26	259	40	nil	nil	200	31	19	3	648
12.1892	499	52	170	18	669	70	139	14	nil	nil	100	10	52	5	960
12.1893	522	54	156	16	678	70	57	6	nil	nil	200	21	35	4	970
Total	4,122	26	619	4	4,741	30	4,453	29	2,152	14	3,925	25	332	2	15,602
Yrly. Av.	294	26	44	4	339	30	318	29	154	14	280	25	24	2	1,114

- (a) Exclusive of the estimated value of livestock and vegetables produced on the station and used as 'food for natives' which were sometimes included in the Mission returns.
- (b) Gifts from Lutheran congregations in Australia.
- (c) 'Gifts' from the Hermannsburg Mission Institute.
- (d) Government subsidies. The sums in brackets were not included in the Mission returns, for until 1883 subsidies were paid in kind. It is known from other sources, however, that a total of £1,200 was voted for the Mission for the period 1879-80 to 1881-82, £1,101 of which was expended. Since it is not known how much of this sum was spent in each year, and in order to preserve the balance of the table, I have apportioned it equally among the three years. Over £1,000 worth of stores were supplied to the Mission by the Government prior to the year ended 30th September 1880.
- (e) Exclusive of monies borrowed and repaid, the value of livestock and vegetables used 'as food for natives', stores sold on the station and gifts for the Mission in New Zealand, which were sometimes included in the Mission returns.

B. EXPENDITURE

Year Ending	Salaries (a)		Livestock (b)		Building Mat. (c)		Machinery (d)		Stores (e)		Freight (f)		Other		Total (g)
	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£	%	£
9.1880	139	20	nil	nil	70	10	19	2	(438)	62	26	4	17	2	709
11.1881	108	9	90	8	25	2	126	10	(608)	118	192	15	106	8	1,255
9.1882	182	12	45	3	110	8	489	33	(367)	25	265	18	7	nil	1,465
12.1883	421	29	67	5	144	10	90	7	391	26	329	22	33	2	1,476
12.1884	377	28	nil	nil	nil	nil	7	1	563	42	315	24	74	6	1,336
12.1885	86	11	39	5	7	1	222	27	nil	nil	432	53	26	3	812
12.1886	nil	nil	75	7	105	10	24	2	409	39	270	26	154	15	1,037
12.1887	208	26	65	8	17	2	9	1	208	26	264	33	37	4	808
12.1888	111	9	nil	nil	nil	nil	125	10	560	43	478	36	29	2	1,302
12.1889	nil	nil	23	2	nil	nil	nil	nil	515	51	304	30	175	17	1,017
12.1890	192	16	nil	nil	96	8	nil	nil	442	38	330	28	125	10	1,185
12.1891	nil	nil	nil	nil	35	5	72	10	423	62	127	18	30	4	687
12.1892	404	38	nil	nil	58	5	70	7	271	25	197	18	77	7	1,076
12.1893	280	27	nil	nil	nil	nil	28	2	234	23	371	35	127	12	1,040
Total	2,508	16	404	3	667	4	1,281	8	5,429	36	3,900	26	1,017	7	15,205
Yrly. Av.	179	16	29	3	48	4	91	8	388	36	279	26	73	7	1,086

- (a) Salaries and wages paid to Europeans, including occasional labourers. Salaries were sometimes held over.
- (b) For some unknown reason the cost of fifty heifers and two mares (£335 - See Luth. Kirchenbote 18/81, p.208) bought from Owen Springs in 1881 did not appear on the Mission returns.
- (c) Building material, for new buildings and stockyards, and for repairs.
- (d) Machinery, implements, water-drawing appliances, harness, etc.
- (e) Exclusive of the value of stores sold on the station. The sums in brackets include the value of stores supplied in kind by the Government (see Part A, reference (d), above).
- (f) Exclusive of the (unknown) cost of freight on stores supplied by the Government in 1880-82, inclusive of travelling expenses in 1883 and 1887 and of commission on the sale of wool in 1892, which were not itemized separately.
- (g) Exclusive of the estimated value of livestock and vegetables produced on the station and used 'as food for natives', of monies sent to the Mission in New Zealand, of loans repaid or made, and of the value of stores sold on the station, which were sometimes included in the Mission returns.

C. ASSETS AND LIABILITIES (£)

Year Ending	ASSETS						Total	LIABILITIES
	Live- stock	Wool & Hides	Crops	Works & Build- ings	Imple- ments & Mach- inery	Other ^(a)		
9.1880	2,002	nil	nil	1,500	138	150	3,790	500
11.1881	2,590	228	nil	3,000	nil	260	6,078	400
9.1882	2,736	20	nil	3,600	240	300	6,896	650
12.1883	2,910	nil	nil	3,600	330	170	7,010	816
12.1884	3,032	nil	80	3,800	240	200	7,352	200
12.1885	3,151	50	9	3,800	279	350	7,639	nil
12.1886	3,825	10	15	4,120	303	320	8,593	86
12.1887	3,950	20	3	4,220	303	208	8,704	nil
12.1888	4,350	60	nil	4,270	428	300	9,408	nil
12.1889	4,925	60	nil	4,270	466	450	10,171	119
12.1890	4,925	27	nil	4,270	486	746	10,453	nil
12.1891	4,115	63	nil	4,295	558	647	9,676	75
12.1892	4,734	nil	nil	4,295	628	417	10,074	140
12.1893	2,005	nil	nil	4,635	600	80	7,320	30

(a) Except for £296 in cash in 1890, £100 in cash and £67 on loan in 1891 and £100 in cash in 1892, the figures in this column represent the estimated value of 'stores on hand'.

Sources

Prot. Abos.In 34/81, 38/82, 356/83, 304/84, 28/88, 327/88, 346/89, 30/91, 521/92, 53/93; M.C.N.T.In 52/81, 111/81, 179/82, 357/83, 8/84, 105/86 (in Prot. Abos.In 30/86), 87/87 (in Prot. Abos.In 54/87), 140/92, 223/94, 261/82; Reports of S.A. Commr. of Audit, 1880-93; Luth. Kirchenbote 12/83, 3/84, 4/85, 5/86, 4/87, 5/88, 8/89, 3/90, 4/92, 4.93; S.A. Register 31.1.90.

APPENDIX X

HERMANSBURG MISSION: NUMBERS OF LIVESTOCK

Date	CATTLE				SHEEP				HORSES		GOATS	TOTAL 'SMALL' CATTLE (c)	
	No.	Sold (a)	Eaten (b)	Bought (a)	No.	Sold (a)	Eaten (b)	Bought (a)	No.	Sould (a)	Bought		No.
11.75	17	nil		nil	3,100	nil		nil	33	nil	nil		3,350
5.76	24	nil		2	2,420	nil		nil	33	nil	nil		2,705
6.77	25	nil		nil	1,900	nil		nil	22	nil	nil	c.80	2,215
11.78	36	nil		2	2,000	nil	800	nil	40	nil	7		2,380
12.79	32	nil		nil	2,530	nil	900	nil	52	nil	nil	100	3,050
9.80	43			nil	3,360		'more than usual'	nil	66		nil	100	4,505
11.81	53			50	3,860			nil	81		2	150	4,680
9.82	172			nil	2,200	1,000	500	a few rams	96		nil	220	3,760
12.83	250	nil	11		2,500	nil	400	nil	110	nil		300	4,600
12.84	280		10	nil	2,500		400	nil	120	16 ^(d)	nil	200	4,700
12.85	405	nil			2,700	nil			136	nil		400	5,805
12.86	500				3,000				150			300	6,550
12.87	800			1	3,000		'Many'	nil	160			400	8,200
12.88	1,000		50	nil	3,000		650	nil	200		nil	400	9,400
12.89	1,000		85		3,200		925		250			500	9,950
12.90	1,000	nil	75	nil	3,200	nil	600	nil	250	(562)	nil	500	9,950
12.91	1,300		48	nil	3,000		300	nil	350		nil	250	11,500
12.92	1,300		100	nil	2,300	1,000	350	nil	500		nil	200	11,500
6.94	1,300		140	nil	2,300		400	nil	500		nil	100	11,400

- (a) Blank spaces indicate that some livestock (usually only a few) were bought or sold, but that it is not known whether they were cattle, horses or sheep. The returns for these years merely indicate the sum of money (see Appendix IX) for which 'livestock' were bought or sold.
- (b) Blank spaces indicate that the relevant information is unobtainable. It is probable that few cattle were slaughtered for food until the late eighties and that an average of at least 500 sheep per year were slaughtered during the period under survey.
- (c) Calculated upon the common assumption that one bullock or one horse is equivalent to five sheep or five goats.
- (d) Sold in 1883, but included in the financial returns for 1884.

Sources

F.W. Albrecht, art. cit. (1950), p.360; P.A. Scherer, op. cit., pp.37, 68; Heidenreich to Harms 12.6.78 (loc cit.); M.C.N.T. In 8/79, 10/80, 52/81, 357/83, 45/84 (or S.A.P.P. 237/83-4), 342/85, 105/86 (in Prot. Abos. In 30/86), 87/87 (in Prot. Abos. In 54/87), 130/88, 108/89, 29/91, 140/92, 43/93, 223/94; Prot. Abos. In 34/81, 38/82, 30/83, 304/84, 28/88, 327/88, 346/89, 30/91, 521/92, 53/93; Luth Kirchenbote 7/77 (p.54), 6/78 (p.46), 18/81 (p.208), 12/83, 8/84 (p.120), 4/85 (pp.54-5), 4/88 (p.52), 5/88 (p.80), 5/91 (p.36), 4/93 (p.64); S.A. Register 31.1.90.

APPENDIX XIHERMANNSBURG MISSION: NUMBERS OF ABORIGINES

Note. A blank space indicates that the relevant information is unobtainable. Figures preceding dashes are minimal; those preceded by dashes are maximal.

Year	Number at Mission, etc.	Births	Deaths	Average School Attendances	Baptisms
1877	Came and went (August ff)				nil
1878	Came and went				nil
1879	3 - 50				nil
1880	30 (average); -60; 6 'workers'	7	3	15	nil
1881		5	1	12	nil
1882	44 (average) received rations; - 100+	3	8	10	nil
1883	'few' - 60; 8 'workers'; 11 aged & infirm	6	4	'fewer'	nil
1884	25 (average) received rations				nil
1885	12 - 20 'workers'	4	5	18	nil
1886	- 70; 13-14 aged & infirm; 25-29 receiving rations	3	3	20	nil
1887	c.50 receiving rations; - 80	8	8	30	7
1888		5	4	37	18
1889	C.100 'on station'	3	5	34	1
1890	112 'on station'	2	5	29	nil
1891	100+ 'on station'	10	2	29	6
1892	c.100 'on station'; 50 receiving rations	2	nil		nil
1893	80 - 120 'on station'	?	3		nil

Sources

M.C.N.T. In 215/80, 49/81, 100/82, 72/83, 45/84 (or S.A.P.P. 237/83-4), 342/85, 105/86 (in Prot. Abos. In 30/86), 87/87 (in Prot. Abos. In 54/87), 130/88, 108/89, 41/90, 29/91, 140/92, 43/93, 223/94, 50/95; Luth. Kirchenbote 19/77 (p.148), 20 & 21/77 (p.159), 24/77 (p.190), 2/78 (p.13), 6/78 (p.45), 9/78 (p.67), 12/78 (p.92), 5/81 (pp.54-55), 6/86 (p.84), 4/87 (p.59), 7/88 (p.103), 9/88 (pp.138-9), 7/89 (pp.106, 124), 1/90 (p.7), 3/90 (pp.40-44), 7/91 (p.109); Hermannsb. Missionsb. 5/81 (p.75), 9/83 (p.184), 4/84 (p.59), 9/87 (p.177); Prot. Abos. In 277/79; S.A. Register 31.1.90; S.A.P.P. 93/91; Scherer, op. cit. pp.66-67; Brauer, op. cit., p.236.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources have been arranged according to topic:

1. THE LAND
2. ANTHROPOLOGY AND 'RACE' RELATIONS
3. THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN BACKGROUND
4. THE OVERLAND TELEGRAPH
5. EXPLORATION
6. THE PASTORAL INDUSTRY
7. MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE
8. MINING
9. ADMINISTRATION
10. GENERAL

Those sources that are important for several topics have, as a rule, been listed several times, but with the exception of important individual documents public records that relate to most topics have been listed only in Section 10.

The following abbreviations have been used:

- | | |
|--|---|
| C.A.O. | Commonwealth Archives Office. |
| C.A.O., N.T.A. | Commonwealth Archives Office, Northern Territory Archives. |
| M.C.N.T. In | Minister Controlling the Northern Territory, Incoming Correspondence. |
| M.C.N.T. Out | Minister Controlling the Northern Territory, Outgoing Correspondence. |
| R.G.S.A.,
S.A.Br.,
<u>Procs.</u> | Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch, <u>Proceedings.</u> |
| S.A.A. | South Australian Archives. |
| S.A. Govt.Gaz. | South Australian Government Gazette. |
| S.A.P.P. | South Australian Parliamentary Paper(s). |

1. THE LAND

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(ii) ARTICLES

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2. ANTHROPOLOGY AND 'RACE' RELATIONS

(a). PUBLIC RECORDS

(i) STATUTES

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|-------------------|
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| Ordinance 4 of 1849 | An Ordinance to Amend Ordinance No.3 of 1848. | |
| Act 11 of 1853 | An Act to make Further Provision for the Administration of Justice in Respect of Offences Committed by the Aboriginal Natives of South Australia. | |
| Act 6 of 1867 | The Dog Act, 1867. | S.3 |
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MAP VIII HISTORICAL MAP OF THE ALICE SPRINGS DISTRICT, 1860-1910.