

6 The Kamberri regroup as the 'Canberra, Queanbeyan and Murrumbidgee Blacks', 1860s–1880s

By the mid-1860s, notable Kamberri elders such as Onyong, Noolup (Jimmy the Rover) and Jimmy Taylor had passed away (see Part I). The younger generation of Kamberri who had never known a time when there were no 'whites' in the district, was left with few choices to ensure their survival as a group. They faced the arrival of ever-increasing waves of European free settlers at that time, few of whom were sympathetic to the dispossessed (and uncompensated) Aboriginal people in this district.

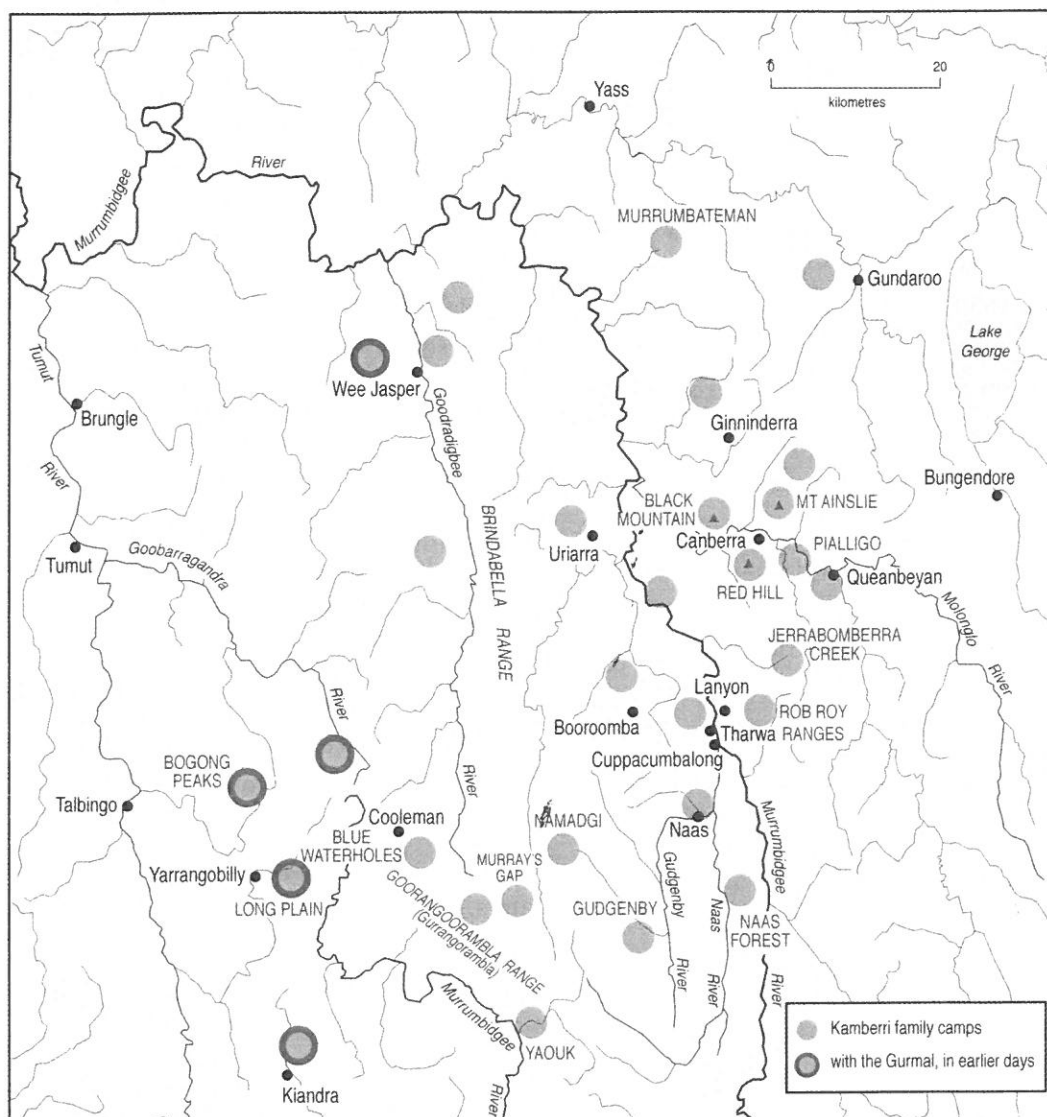
At first, the choices Kamberri individuals and small family groups made continued to reflect those made by earlier generations when the Europeans first arrived in Kamberri country in the 1820s and 1830s. As explained in the previous chapter, some left to join larger surviving groups in friendly neighbouring areas. Some put their faith in their European employers, the former large 'landholders', among whom were those who were, themselves, forced to move on to areas less populated or dominated by the owners of smaller selections. Some of their Aboriginal employees accompanied them further afield as stockmen or domestic servants. A significant number remained in their ancestral country, however, and continued to work for local 'property owners' with whom their community had forged friendships in the early days of European settlement. They did not so much camp on those properties as around them. They also maintained camps in the mountains, close to where the station owners had runs (see Map 14). It seems they continued some elements of their traditional life, including entertaining visitors from other areas – with such visits being reciprocated by Kamberri members.

The blanket distribution lists from 1857 to 1861 for the Queanbeyan and surrounding region hint at the movement of people away from the Queanbeyan district and the areas to which they might have gone, however briefly:

1857: Cooma, 100; Queanbeyan, 0; Yass, 50; Tumut, 25

1858: Cooma, 50; Queanbeyan, 27; Yass, 25; Tumut, 0

1859: Cooma, 0; Queanbeyan, 27; Yass, 25; Tumut, 50



Map 14: Locations of main Kamberri family camps from the 1860s to the 1880s
 Compiled by Ann Jackson-Nakano. Map reproduced courtesy of the Cartography Unit,
 RSPAS, Australian National University.

1860: Cooma, 0; Queanbeyan, 27; Yass, 25; Tumut, 50

1861: Cooma, 100; Queanbeyan, 12; Yass, 25; Tumut, 100¹.

It is not clear how accurate these figures are because the local police, who conducted the census, did not always know where all the local Aboriginal people were in the 'Queanbeyan district'.² Together or as individuals, the Kamberri visited neighbouring groups quite frequently, particularly those in the Cooma and Tumut districts. Perhaps they were visiting other areas when the 1857 census was conducted. From the 1850s onwards, they had become friendly also with the Wallabalooa community between Yass, Boorowa and Gunning as well as with the 'Yass Blacks', groups with whom they had been traditionally hostile.

The major drop in population was in 1861, which was around the time major changes were happening for the younger generation of Kamberri. As noted above, a number of their Elders passed away around that time and others moved on to Cooma or Tumut where they had kin. Clearly, also, a number of Kamberri stayed in their traditional country. Twelve is a small number considering how many Kamberri there had been at the time of early European settlement, but, nevertheless, as long as even one remained, the Kamberri presence was kept alive.

From the 1860s to the 1880s, Kamberri families survived by publicly splitting up and working on various properties in the Canberra, Queanbeyan and upper Murrumbidgee regions. It is difficult to know whether this was a planned strategy or merely a continuation of earlier times when the Kamberri broke up into smaller family groups to hunt and forage across their lands. They would have been aware of how nervous the local Europeans were of large gatherings of Aboriginal groups, the last of which took place, according to Shumack, in 1863.³ Even those Europeans who professed to be friends of the Kamberri were waiting, along with other contemporary Europeans, for every sign of their demise.

Contemporary European attitudes towards the Kamberri

The 'philanthropic' or 'humane' gestures of the property owners who continued to employ Kamberri workers in those days should be acknowledged, but not overstated. First of all, it must be borne in mind that the properties they 'owned' had been uncompensated Kamberri land. Secondly, the continued employment of Kamberri workers was due to the high regard the station owners had for their stock, horse-breaking, and various other skills, not least of which was their ability to track lost stock – as well as bushrangers and other European lawbreakers – in the mountain regions. Since they were paid in cash and/or provisions on a par with non-Aboriginal

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1. Extracts from the *VPNSWLA* 1862, published 1863.
 2. This refers to the Queanbeyan Police District, which then still included the Canberra, Queanbeyan and upper Murrumbidgee areas.
 3. Shumack, Samuel, 1977, pp 150–51.

co-workers in the Canberra district and surrounds,⁴ only the larger station owners could afford to employ them. Good business, therefore, as much as philanthropy, played a large role in the decision by station owners to employ Kamberri workers.

While individual Kamberri workers were treated with some respect at that time, contemporary Europeans, including the station owners, continued to treat Aboriginal groups with a mixture of fear, contempt and ridicule, which was reflected in the tone of articles concerning local Aboriginal peoples that were published in the local press.

In 1859, the *Goulburn Herald*, for example, reported on a 'theatrical performance of a corrobberre [sic] at Queanbeyan by a 'tribe of Aborigines' from Braidwood and the South Coast.⁵ In 1862, the newly established regional Queanbeyan-based newspaper, the *Golden Age*, founded by a relatively recent arrival, John Gale, a former Methodist Minister, reported:

The remnant of the tribe of native blacks who regard the district of Queanbeyan as their home are now paying their annual visit to the town — a motley group of grotesquely clad men, women and children, the latter principally half-caste.⁶ They will probably hang around the neighbourhood until they get their bounty from the Queen, in the form of new blankets. They expect to be shortly joined by other distant tribes when they will engage in a series of grand corrobories [sic].⁷

When the 'distant tribes' did arrive, Gale's *Queanbeyan Age* complained that Queanbeyan was 'invaded' by a tribe of 400 blacks,⁸ which is an ironic description considering the events in reverse of 1788. Samuel Shumack⁹ said this 'tribe', from the 'South Coast', camped near his house at Emu Bank.¹⁰

The chief and his lubra and another gin came in and had tea with us and mother had a long talk with them on tribal customs. I regret that no record was kept; however, I remember them saying that death was the penalty for some breaches of tribal laws.¹¹

It may be that, even if a record of this discussion had been kept, Shumack's family would not have understood the cultural worldview of their guests. It would have been almost impossible to measure the impact that change had had on this and local groups without a study being conducted just before the Europeans arrived on the Weereewaa horizon, which then could be compared with a second study almost half a century later.

One wonders how the Kamberri felt about the arrival of visiting groups at that time when they, themselves, were quite clearly trying to keep a low profile and, at

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4. See, for example, Brooks' station on the Monaro and De Salis's various stations in the Tharwa district. Details of payments and employees are in the stock and station records in the Brooks family collection, NLA Manuscripts MS 7207, and in similar records that appear in the diaries of George De Salis, NLA Manuscripts G20, 727-733.
 5. *Goulburn Herald*, 11 June 1859. This would have been a reference to groups friendly with the Kamberri who traditionally arrived around this time to attend Kamberri-hosted ceremonies.
 6. This is a curious description of the local Kamberri which does not agree with the accounts of Kamberri survivors gleaned from other contemporary descriptions.
 7. *Golden Age* 5 April 1862.
 8. Recorded in Shumack, 1977, p 150.
 9. *Ibid*, pp 150-51.
 10. Emu Bank was once part of the Ginninderra estate.
 11. Shumack, 1977, p 150.

least in view of the Europeans, remain in small groups. Were their decisions about where and how to live conscious choices, made by the new leaders at secret meetings in the mountains, or merely instinctive responses to the changes thrust upon the Kamberri survivors – most or all of whom had been affected and influenced by European culture and society? It had become dangerous for the Kamberri to congregate publicly in large groups as their forefathers had once done. By the 1860s, they were greatly outnumbered by Europeans. Wisely, they maintained their main camps in areas rarely visited by Europeans and it was only at such camps that they continued to host relatives and friends in larger numbers.¹² This suggests that, as in Onyong's time, the Kamberri secretly may have joined Walgalu groups from the Tumut and Tumbarumba districts in the mountains and continued some of their traditional ceremonies.¹³

As in earlier times, contemporary historical records tended to focus on Aboriginal groups with whom the Europeans had regular contact, but the actual numbers of surviving Kamberri can only be guessed at through these scanty, but still useful, records.

As the main thrust of this work is to prove, through the extant European historical records, that, contrary to previous suggestions, some of the Kamberri certainly did survive European contact, I am not too concerned with exactly how many Kamberri families lived in each particular area of their country. We must always bear in mind, however, that there were certainly far more members of the core Kamberri group than the records will ever accurately reveal. Did the survivors remain true to the culture and teachings of their Elders? Probably not. On the other hand, the same is true of the Europeans. Europeans who came to or were born in Australia carried with them some of the culture and teachings of their motherland but they discarded the traditions that were totally irrelevant to their own experiences in Australia. In this context, the condemnation by Europeans of Aboriginal people who were forced to abandon some of their cultural practices in order to survive the experiences with which they were confronted when their lands were taken over by invading forces from another continent is unconscionable.

Even in the mid-1860s, it is unlikely that the younger generation of Kamberri, who had been trained and educated by their Elders while they worked for Europeans, completely capitulated to European dominance. While Bobby Hamilton, Johnny Taylor, 'Black Harry' Williams and 'Black Dick' Lowe maintained their friendships with the European 'property owners' who employed them, it is quite probable that they harboured, simultaneously, a wariness of those who were, after all, their enemies. They could not have been blind to the behavioural clues exhibited even by those station owners who helped them that the Europeans were waiting for the day when the Kamberri or any other 'aboriginals' in New South Wales would 'die out' or 'disappear'.

12. Examples of this are given in later sections of this chapter.

13. George De Salis makes reference to these camps in his diaries. See, for example, De Salis mfm G20-727, NLA Manuscripts.

William Davis Junior of *Ginninderra*, for example, certainly took an interest in his Aboriginal workers, particularly if they could play a good game of cricket, but he took full advantage also of the dwindling numbers of Aboriginal people in the district by conducting annual native game shoots. Some Kamberri survivors may have continued to hunt a few kangaroos and wallabies for food but they would have been provided with European-style rations, including meat and flour, so the populations of 'native game' increased and were eventually considered as pests by the Europeans. From 1869 onwards, Davis led game-shooting parties out to the Naas and Booroomba mountain ranges where members of his party shot hundreds of kangaroos, wallabies, wallaroos, eagle-hawks and snakes. In 1876, the *Goulburn Herald* reported that Davis's group had taken 1806 wallabies, 23 wallaroos, one snake, several eagle-hawks and other animals.¹⁴

Meanwhile, a Bungendore game-shooting group had been formed earlier that year and took 37 ducks, 2 swans, 14 brace of snipe and several large snakes in one day's shooting at Lake George.¹⁵ The European settlers constantly tried to recreate a European landscape in this far-flung place¹⁶ and seemed as keen to see the demise of the Indigenous peoples as they were to destroy the native flora and fauna. By 1887, the *Goulburn Herald* was reporting with horror that wallabies were almost extinct in Queanbeyan and that game of all description was scarce.¹⁷ For almost a decade they had been saying the same thing about the Aboriginal people in the district – although with less concern.

Survival was, naturally, the paramount objective for the small number of seemingly scattered Kamberri individuals and groups in the Queanbeyan, Canberra and upper Murrumbidgee regions from the 1860s. They were observed closely by local Europeans for signs of their demise, particularly as the 19th century drew to an end. Arguing that the local 'tribe/s' had been decimated by 1872, European observers constantly waited anxiously for the passing of surviving individual 'pure-bloods' so that the total extinction of the 'Aborigines' local to the Canberra-Queanbeyan district could be declared.

Those who lived in the township of Queanbeyan knew only Nanny and Bobby and Nellie Hamilton by sight as other Kamberri rarely visited the town at that time.¹⁸ Therefore, from the 1870s, they were the three best, perhaps the only, known local Aboriginal identities and were referred to as the 'Queanbeyan Blacks', a reference to the township rather than the Queanbeyan district. According to the Europeans, once Nanny, Bobby and Nellie had passed on that would be the end of the local 'Aborigines'.

14. *Goulburn Herald* 12 July 1876.

15. *Goulburn Herald* 22 March 1876.

16. For a more detailed account of how Europeans did this, see Bernard Smith, 1989.

17. *Goulburn Herald* 7 June 1887.

18. Members of the Lowe and Williams family did visit, sometimes fleetingly and sometimes for a few days, but they were not as well known by the townsfolk as they were by the station owners in the Queanbeyan district. References to their visits can be found in the sections on the Lowe and Williams families below.

When Bobby Hamilton got sick in November 1872, the *Queanbeyan Age* declared him to be the 'last of his tribe':¹⁹

The Last of His Tribe: The once numerous tribe of aboriginal proprietors of the Queanbeyan district for some time past has been reduced to one blackfellow — Bobby, the well-known cricketer, his gin, Nelly, with two or three piccaninnies of doubtful paternity, and an old widowed gin called Nanny. On Tuesday, Mr A Gibbes of *Yarralumla* performed the part of the good Samaritan to poor Bobby, who is stricken down by consumption, and brought him to the Queanbeyan hospital for medical treatment, and kindly nursing; and although his days are numbered, it is well, since nothing more can be done for him, that his passage to the grave should be rendered as smooth as skilled humanity can make it; nor would it be more than his duty if some Christian minister or private Christian philanthropist were at the eleventh hour to labour to light up the dark valley for poor Bobby by directing him to the way to a better inheritance than fell to his lot in this life.

When Bobby died in early 1873, the *Queanbeyan Age* took every opportunity to declare that the Queanbeyan 'tribe' was extinct, 'except for Nelly, her children and 'an old black gin called Nanny'.²⁰ Others had been 'dead for years'.²¹ Nanny was not considered by Europeans to be a true Aboriginal as her father was allegedly a white man, James Ainslie (see Part I), and her 'eleven' children were declared to be 'three parts white'.²² Both 'Black Harry' Williams and 'Black Dick' Lowe were referred to in most contemporary records as 'half-caste', but even if this were true, why would that be an issue if they had been raised as Aboriginal and maintained their Aboriginal identities?²³ It was probably Nanny's children, visiting Uncle Bobby with Auntie Nellie, who were declared to be 'of doubtful paternity' in the newspaper article quoted above. Even if they were, so what? It appears that in the minds of most contemporary Europeans in the Queanbeyan district, declaring the children of the so-called 'last (members) of the Queanbeyan tribe' to be of 'doubtful paternity' or 'three parts white' effectively rendered those children ineligible, in their view, for the status of 'true Aboriginality'. This then permitted Europeans to declare the local Aboriginal people 'extinct'.

Contemporary Europeans in the Canberra-Queanbeyan district were, like their contemporaries in other areas of New South Wales, constantly inventing reasons why Aboriginal people local to their district were 'dying out'. Some placed the blame for their

19. *Queanbeyan Age* 11 September 1873.

20. Nanny was then only 48!

21. *Queanbeyan Age* 11 September 1873.

22. Shumack, 1977. Sarah, Nanny's daughter, had eleven children (see below). Perhaps Shumack was confused about this. He often gets his facts wrong, perhaps because he was writing so many years after some of these events and because he so often depends on hearsay.

23. A Wiltshire labourer, Richard Lowe, lived and worked in the Cooma district for 24 years before passing away at nearby 'Nimitabelle' in 1857. With another English labourer, Henry Williams, he worked at Lake George in the 1830s (see Part I) and both men moved on to the Monaro to work on stations or runs in that district. Richard Lowe senior is named as the father of 'Black Dick' in the latter's death certificate, dated 30 March 1916, *Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, New South Wales*, No 9357. While it is not confirmed that Henry Williams fathered 'Black Harry', since Harry senior's workplace at the time of Harry Junior's birth matches the location of one of the main Kamberri camps, it seems highly likely. It is possible that Black Harry's mother was killed when he was a small child and that he was raised by the Kamberri (see Profile on 'Black Harry' Williams, Chapter 7).

demise on Aboriginal people themselves, for example by claiming they had become addicted to alcohol and thus hastened their own deaths. When Nanny died in September 1873, the *Lanyon* correspondent for the *Queanbeyan Age* recalled when the 'tribe' numbered 700–800 and commented: 'It wasn't famine, pestilence or bloodshed that killed them, but drink'.²⁴ The correspondent claimed there was 'only one left now' (meaning Nellie Hamilton) and blamed 'the whites' for introducing drink. To suggest that 'drink' alone was responsible for the plight of contemporary Aboriginal people was naive and inaccurate, to say the least. While it is true that Nanny appeared regularly before the Magistrate's Court in Queanbeyan for charges relating to public drunkenness from 1856,²⁵ her actual cause of death, according to Shumack, was measles.²⁶

It was also erroneous, of course, to imply that only Aboriginal people had a drinking problem. The local Queanbeyan record books of trials, coroners' inquests and magisterial inquiries from the 1840s to the 1880s demonstrate that alcohol was a major factor, directly or indirectly, in the deaths of many non-Aboriginal Queanbeyan residents during this period.²⁷

When Nellie herself passed away on 1 January 1897, local newspapers felt they could finally declare 'the Queanbeyan tribe' extinct. Such newspaper articles, written as they were by writers who knew very few, if any, local Aboriginal people, fuelled fiery arguments for over a century regarding the fate of the Aboriginal people of the Canberra–Queanbeyan district. Following the publication of Norman Tindale's *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* in 1974, which included Queanbeyan in the 'territory' of the 'Ngunawal', Nellie Hamilton was subsequently referred to (erroneously) by (misinformed) modern writers as 'the last of the Ngunawal'.²⁸ Thus the enduring extinction myth was reconstructed to suit modern times and, consequently, obstructed local Aboriginal political assertions in the Canberra–Queanbeyan region in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

Core Kamberri individuals

The stations that continued to employ Kamberri individuals from the 1860s to the 1880s included, but were not restricted to: *Ginninderra*, *Glenwood*,²⁹ *Uriarra*, *Naas*, *Gudgenby*, *Lanyon*, *Cuppacumbalong* and *Booroomba* stations (see Map 14). Before the formation of the Federal Capital Territory, these properties were in the counties of Murray or Cowley but long-time residents still referred to the area as 'the Queanbeyan district'.

In 1861, the core Kamberri group consisted of the aforementioned local Aboriginal identities who appeared in the records as well as others who were lesser known to

24. *Queanbeyan Age* 25 September 1873.

25. Minute Book, Queanbeyan, Colonial Trials and Court Records, Roll 676, AONSW.

26. Shumack, Samuel, 1977, p 151.

27. Register of Coroners' Inquests and Magisterial Inquiries, 1834–1859, and Queanbeyan Minute Books, Colonial Trials and Court Records, AONSW, Sydney.

28. See, for example, Gillespie, Lyall, 1984, p 56.

29. The exact location of *Glenwood*, on the Ginninderra estate, is not confirmed.

the Europeans. There were clear links between the known identities. Between 1861 and 1871 they included:

- Noolup (Jimmy the Rover)
- Jimmy Taylor and his son, Johnny
- Kangaroo Tommy and his wife, Jenny
- Bobby Hamilton, his wife Nellie and their two children³⁰
- Nanny and at least three of her children, Charley, William and Sarah,³¹ and
- Dick Lowe and his close friend and workmate, Harry Williams.³²

This is a total of 12 adults (including Charley, William and Johnny, then young adults), as indicated in the Aboriginal Census of 1861 mentioned above, plus at least three children. Together or separately, members of this group worked for and were closely associated with the estates listed above. On the other hand, Kangaroo Tommy and Jenny, Nanny, Johnny Taylor, Bobby Hamilton and, while Bobby was still alive, Nellie Hamilton, and their children, Eddie and Millie, were most closely associated with Ginninderra. Along with Jimmy Taylor before his demise circa 1864 (see Part I), these individuals were collectively referred to as the Ginninderra Blacks. Nanny, Bobby and Nellie were also frequent visitors to Queanbeyan, where they were referred to as the 'Queanbeyan Blacks', of whom Nellie was considered to be the only survivor after Bobby's and Nanny's deaths in 1873. Black Dick Lowe and Black Harry Williams were, with Noolup before his demise circa 1862 (see Part I), referred to as the 'Murrumbidgee Blacks'. In fact, they all belonged to the same group, the Kamberri, but were not referred to as such by local Europeans from the 1860s.

The Ginninderra and Queanbeyan 'Blacks'

Kangaroo Tommy and Jenny

A number of contemporaries of Onyong adopted or were given the name 'Tommy', at least two of whom had the nickname 'Kangaroo Tommy'.

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30. John Gale and others who did not always get their facts right claimed Nellie and Bobby originally had three children, the third being a boy who had passed away as an infant. See Gale's obituary on Nellie in the section on her, below. Most of the other information in the obituary is inaccurate. I have yet to find much evidence confirming Gale's claim, but have not yet rejected it. Clearly, however, all of the Hamilton children had passed away before Nellie's death and all had died in childhood.
 31. Nanny's eldest son, Charley, also spelled in the records 'Charlie', was born circa 1843 when Nanny was 18. Charley would have been 18 in 1861. Nanny was still one of Onyong's wives at the time of his birth, so perhaps he had fathered Charley. Both Nanny and Charley were frequently brought before the local Magistrate in the late 1850s and early 1860s for public drunkenness (see Queanbeyan Minute Book, Colonial Trials and Court Records, Roll 676, AONSW). William was born a couple of years after Charley and would have been 16. Both Charley and William would therefore have been included as adults in the 1861 list. Sarah was born circa 1848 and would have been about 13 years old in 1861. Nanny's descent line will be published separately from this volume in the near future.
 32. For further information, see the profiles of these families in subsequent chapters. Kamberri descent lines will be published in the near future for selected distribution.

The first Kangaroo Tommy appears as part of Onyong's and Noolup's group on the blanket distribution list for Queanbeyan in 1841.³³ That particular Kangaroo Tommy was aged about 30, wore a breastplate, had a wife, Ellen, who was then 17, and whose native name was recorded as 'Monijary'. The Kangaroo Tommy that George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector of Aborigines, recorded with Onyong's 'Limestone Blacks' at *Yarralumla* three years later was only 19 years old and his native name was written phonetically as 'Murer.dun.min'.³⁴ According to Robinson, Tommy's place of closest identification was recorded as 'Yar.ing guber le at Kennedy, 50 miles'.³⁵ These are references to Yarrangobilly and Kennedy Ridge, about 50 miles or more from *Yarralumla* (see Map 12). Kitty, aged 17, was then his wife. This Kangaroo Tommy would therefore have been born around 1825 and was about the same age as Nanny and Jimmy Taylor.

Samuel Shumack remembered Kangaroo Tommy as one of a few males in the 'Pialligo tribe' in 1860³⁶ and that he was a black tracker who helped in tracing thieves.³⁷ Until 1869, the Shumacks lived at Emu Bank, then an outstation on the Ginninderra Creek. This was north of the junction of the Molonglo and Murrumbidgee rivers (see Map 14). He wrote mostly of the Aboriginal identities he knew who visited or occasionally resided in this district.³⁸

We do not know if Kangaroo Tommy had a family with either Kitty or Jenny. He would still have been quite a young man, only in his forties, when he passed away in the mid-1860s. Shumack said Kangaroo Tommy and his wife, Jenny, were interred in the 'native burial ground' at *Glenwood*, a property owned by William McCarthy on the Ginninderra Estate where Tommy, Jenny and Nanny had always been welcome.³⁹ According to Shumack, Kangaroo Tommy died at a camp near his residence at Emu Bank, which was close to the McCarthy property. This means Kangaroo Tommy and Jenny must have died before 1869, when Shumack moved permanently onto his own station, *Springvale*, in the Weetangera district. His report of Kangaroo's burial is as follows:

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33. Return of Aborigines to whom Blankets were Distributed at Police Office, Queanbeyan, 5 May 1841, in Blankets for Aborigines, AONSW 4/1133.3.
 34. Clark, Ian (ed.), 1998. One is never sure with Robinson whether he is recording the native names of individuals or the places with which they most closely identified. Sometimes, these would have been one and the same.
 35. *Ibid.*
 36. Shumack, 1977, chapter XI. Shumack was one of the many contemporary observers who insisted on referring to the local group as the 'Pialligo'. As I explained in Part I, Pialligo was only one area included in Kamberri country and was the Kamberri name for the plains one can see stretching eastwards towards Fyshwick and Queanbeyan from the top of Mt Ainslie, as well as the area on which Duntroon house is now located. A small suburb near Canberra airport still continues the name of Pialligo.
 37. Shumack, Samuel, writing under the pseudonym, 'Old Identity', 1932, 'True stories of old Canberra', *Queanbeyan Age* 10 May.
 38. Eric Brown, a long-time resident of Canberra, whose father knew the Shumack family well, told me in an interview that Samuel Shumack was not familiar with any of the families, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, who lived south of the Molonglo River. Jackson-Nakano, Ann, 1998b, telephone interview with Eric Brown, Canberra.
 39. Shumack, Samuel, 1932, Letter to the Editor, *Queanbeyan Age* 26 February. Ginninderra is a European corruption of the Kamberri name for the place, which would have been rendered into English as Gin-nin-gin-nin-de-ri.

A grave was dug about four feet six inches deep, but less than four feet in length. On the western end the grave was undermined for about a foot and a half. The camp where Kangaroo died was situated about 200 yards from the grave. The corpse, as soon as the breath was out of his body, was bent into a sitting position, before rigor mortis set in. When every preparation had been completed for the funeral ceremony, one of the blackfellows named Bobby lifted the dead man on to his head, no one assisting him in this somewhat difficult task, though a number of the males of the tribe were standing by. Steadying the corpse with one hand, the funeral procession moved on, Bobby in the lead. Half-way to the grave was a four-rail fence. When this obstacle was reached, Bobby sat his burden on the top rail, steadying it with one hand until he himself got over. Then he again took it on to his head, and carried it to the grave. Without assistance he then placed the corpse down in the grave in a sitting posture, and well back to the western side. When the body was fixed to Bobby's satisfaction, he took the dead man's spear and broke it in two, carefully placing it in the grave, together with his heilaman (shield), nulla-nulla, boomerang and a few more articles which had belonged to the deceased. This done, Bobby carefully filled in the grave, and Kangaroo was left to repose with his forefathers. It seemed strange to me, an onlooker, that the one man did all the work while the others quietly looked on. The reason I could never ascertain. While the funeral rites were in progress the gins and lubras, who were present, kept up the most discordant noise — enough to make one's blood run cold. This ceased as soon as the grave was filled in.⁴⁰

If Shumack's description of this burial is correct, then Bobby Hamilton must have been the chief mourner and a close relative of Kangaroo Tommy. They had sat close together at the *Yarralumla* camp when Robinson visited in 1844, along with Neddy, Noolup (Jimmy the Rover) and Harry — probably the same Harry who had befriended Stewart Mowle when he first arrived in the district. All members of this group claimed a close identification with the mountain areas stretching from Yaouk across the Namadgi and Brindabella Ranges as far as Wee Jasper and the southern Yass Plains. One wonders who the 'many males' were who stood around and watched.

According to Shumack, Jenny (also known in contemporary records as 'Ginnie') died a few weeks later and was buried alongside Kangaroo: 'Over the remains of the lubra the rites were somewhat similar (to those of Tommy's burial), but there was not so much din as was made over Kangaroo'.⁴¹

Nanny

Nanny was arguably the first member of the Kamberri group with a mixed heritage. Contemporary European observers claimed she was the daughter of James Ainslie and an Aboriginal woman sent by her camp to guide Ainslie to Pialligo, where there was good land (see Part I).

Nanny closely identified with the Ginninderra district all her life. We do not know for sure if Nanny's mother was originally a member of the Kamberri group. She may have been a 'stolen wife', perhaps after the Kamberri were engaged in a fight

40. Shumack, Samuel, 'An Aboriginal burial rite', in Gale, John, 1927, pp 122-123.

41. *Ibid.* Perhaps Jenny received a more low key ceremony than her husband because she was not originally from the district and not just because she was a mere woman? Shumack claimed he witnessed both funerals.

with the Wallabalooa in earlier times. According to Jack Cotter, a descendant of Garrett, oral history in the Cotter family suggested that the Kamberri used to 'steal gins' from the Yass area.⁴² He claimed there were serious clashes between the two groups and 'Yass people used to come over and kill local "Aborigines"'.⁴³ It seems more likely that Nanny's mother was originally a Kamberri woman who was 'stolen' by the Wallabalooa and was sent by the Wallabalooa back to the Kamberri to guide Ainslie and his men and stock into the country of their traditional enemies.

A number of Nanny's children and some of her descendants certainly identified with the Wallabalooa, perhaps through Nanny's step-siblings who might have been born from the union between her mother and her 'Wallabalooa' husband before her mother returned to the Kamberri. Some of Nanny's children were placed with Australian families of European descent in the Ginninderra and Yass districts, so perhaps she felt close to them as well as any possible Wallabalooa step-siblings by living at Ginninderra. Nanny herself identified with the Ginninderra district more than any other place in Kamberri country. Ginninderra is located quite close to the southern Yass Plains.

Nanny was born in 1826, about nine months after Ainslie arrived in the Canberra district. By 1841, at the (estimated) age of 16, she was listed as one of two consorts of Onyong, the 'chief' or 'fighting man' of the Kamberri. Onyong's other wife, Mary, was then 28.⁴⁴ With Eliza, who had replaced Mary as Onyong's second consort three years later, Nanny was still with Onyong when George Augustus Robinson, the contemporary Chief Protector of Aborigines, arrived at Yarralumla station during a journey around southeast Australia in 1844. Robinson recorded her 'native' name phonetically as Jun.in.mingo.⁴⁵

It is not yet known for sure if Nanny had any children with Onyong, although it is highly likely that her eldest son, Charley, was Onyong's son (see above).⁴⁶ She may have taken care of some of the younger orphaned children who were attached to Onyong's group from the late 1830s,⁴⁷ the parents of whom might have died following skirmishes with neighbouring groups. These included Bobby and Nellie and Tommy Chippendale.

Nanny may have taken a liking to drink and may have had relationships with one or more European men even before Onyong died circa 1852. She made one of her first of many Queanbeyan court appearances on 7 February 1856. She was summoned before Henry Hall, then presiding in the Magistrate's Court, for being drunk in Mon-

42. Jackson-Nakano, Ann, 1995a, Interview with Jack Cotter, Canberra.

43. *Ibid.*

44. Blankets for Aborigines, 1837-43, AONSW 4/1133.3.

45. Clark, Ian (ed.), 1998. A 'Nanny', 'native' name Nyambah, was also recorded on the Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Queanbeyan, 8 May 1844, AONSW 4/7092, 44/3804, but unless Nanny looked ten years older than her actual age, this must have been a different Nanny, whose age was recorded as 28.

46. Onyong was then in his forties. Further research might produce more evidence on Nanny's earlier life.

47. Blankets for Aborigines, 1837-43, AONSW 4/1133.3.

aro Street, Queanbeyan, the night before. She had already spent 24 hours in prison so she was discharged with a warning.⁴⁸ A year later, 'Lizzie', also designated a 'half-caste', who may have been one and the same woman as Onyong's second consort, Eliza, was killed by a 'gunshot wound', which the local Coroner declared was 'probably an accident'.⁴⁹ Many Australian men of European descent preyed on Aboriginal women in their districts, particularly Aboriginal women of mixed heritage such as Nanny.

Nanny's children

We have seen how contemporary observers such as Samuel Shumack claimed Nanny had eleven children, 'all of whom were three parts white'.⁵⁰ Presumably, the latter reference was to the fact that Nanny herself had a mixed heritage and that her children were all allegedly fathered by white men — although we do not know for sure that Nanny had a total of eleven children, as Shumack claimed, nor that all of her children were fathered by white men. Nanny's daughter, Sarah, had eleven children with her husband, Black Dick Lowe, so perhaps Shumack confused the two families.

From the historical evidence I have found so far, Nanny's known children all used the surname 'Duncan',⁵¹ which was the surname of the acknowledged father of at least one of her elder children, William. From evidence I have unearthed so far, William was the second eldest of Nanny's children. Her eldest son Charles, nicknamed Charley (also spelled Charlie), was born in July 1843 when Nanny was still Onyong's consort, so it is possible he was the son of Onyong but Charley also used the surname Duncan as well as McCarthy (also spelled McCarthie).

According to the baptism records of St Augustine's Roman Catholic Church in Yass, which also then served the Canberra-Queanbeyan districts, the McCarthy family, William and Kate (*nee* Galvin), adopted or fostered a number of Aboriginal children of various ages over the years, including at least two of Nanny's children. St Augustine's Roman Catholic Church was founded in 1838 and, for many years, was the only church of that denomination for a parish that included Tumut, Cooma, Goulburn and Boorowa as well as the Yass and Queanbeyan districts. A number of 'orphan'⁵² Aboriginal children appear in the registers of St Augustine's with non-Aboriginal families as sponsors.

The extended McCarthy family was highly regarded by contemporary Europeans and Aboriginal people alike for their numerous acts of kindness and generosity. William McCarthy had two sons, William and James, and William and Kate also had

48. Minute Book, Queanbeyan, Roll 676, mfmn401, volume 4/5634, AONSW. There is also a copy of the microfiche in the National Library of Australia.

49. Register of Coroners' Inquests and Magisterial Inquiries, Queanbeyan, AONSW 4/6611-1-6613, mfmN229, 23 October 1857.

50. Shumack, 1977, chapter XI.

51. Not to be confused with other numerous unrelated New South Wales Aboriginal families by the name of Duncan.

52. I am placing inverted commas around the word 'orphan' because many of the Aboriginal children who were adopted were not orphans.

two sons whom they named William and James: William Ralph McCarthy was born on 26 March 1872 and James was born on 28 August 1875. It is therefore difficult, at times, to work out which generation of the McCarthy family actually did the adopting or fostering. Charles Duncan-McCarthy may have been adopted by one generation of the McCarthy family and then another generation acted as witnesses to his sister Sarah's conversion to Catholicism.⁵³

Charlie McCarthy was received into the Catholic Church at Yass on 12 January 1875.⁵⁴ By then he was 32 years old and had been moving up and down the Murrumbidgee like many Aboriginal people of his generation, also travelling the circuit between Brungle station, Cummeragunja Reserve, Warangesda Mission and Yass camps in the late 19th century⁵⁵ (see Map 13). He kept in touch with the McCarthy family and so, by extension, he probably kept in touch with his mother, Nanny, since she was a regular visitor to the property. It was under the name of Charles McCarthy that his death was recorded at Wilcannia in 1897.⁵⁶ His parents were both declared 'unknown' by those who registered his death.

Henry Duncan⁵⁷ was recorded as the father of William Duncan, Nanny's second son, in the register of William's baptism at St Clement's Anglican Church, Yass, in August 1854 when William was nine years old (he was born circa 1845). William's mother was identified only as 'Aboriginal',⁵⁸ but this was almost certainly Nanny. In later years, predominantly Yass-based Aboriginal individuals with the name of Duncan, including William and Sarah, Nanny's second youngest daughter, were recorded as witnesses to each other's baptisms, marriages and deaths as well as to those of other Kamberri families, such as the Williams and Lowe families.⁵⁹ This proves they maintained their connections to each other and their identity.

William Duncan may have been named for William McCarthy. William Duncan fathered a son he named Charles, who had a son he named William.⁶⁰ The original names of these siblings are repeated down through the generations, making it difficult at times to compile an accurate genealogical chart.

Sarah McCarthy, who also used the surname Duncan, was received into the Catholic Church at Yass on 24 December 1871. The register recorded that her parents were 'unknown', but this is not quite correct. We know for sure that Sarah was Nanny's second youngest daughter.⁶¹ Judging by a contemporary photograph of

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53. Register of Baptisms, Burials and Marriages, St Augustine's Roman Catholic Church, Yass, 24 December 1871.
 54. *Ibid.*, 12 January 1875.
 55. Warangesda Mission manager's diary, NLA Manuscripts.
 56. Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW, No 3180.
 57. I have not yet found any further information about this man.
 58. Register of Births, Deaths and Marriages, St Clement's Anglican Church, Yass, Reference No 1052.
 59. The births, deaths and marriages of Nanny's descendants will be included in a separate volume to be published in the near future for limited circulation.
 60. I will publish separately and for limited circulation a genealogical record of Kamberri families.
 61. Shumack, 1977, chapter XI.

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61. Shumack, 1977, chapter XI.

Sarah (she is the young woman seated and nursing an infant in Plate 1), Sarah's father might have been Aboriginal as she is quite dark. She married 'Black Dick' Lowe and had 11 children. She maintained contact with her mother, as did Nanny's other known children. Most certainly, Sarah maintained her contacts also with her mostly Yass-based siblings before and after her mother died. Another son, Edward (Ted), and another daughter, Rebecca, who also settled in the Yass district, were possibly, with Charles, William and Sarah, five of the alleged eleven children of Nanny.⁶² Some of Nanny's other children may have died or been adopted anonymously. Maybe Samuel Shumack was confusing the number of children Nanny had with the number her daughter, Sarah, had. Further research might turn up more information on other possible children.

All the Duncans identified above also maintained their contacts with Kamberri families. Edward Duncan, for example, was a witness to the baptism of Harold Williams, son of 'Black Harry' Williams and Ellen Grovenor (*nee* Howe), at Yass in 1891.⁶³ There are many other examples.⁶⁴

Nanny may have been unable to care for her children for various reasons. Clearly, she had a very difficult life. Six months before her death, in September 1873, she, like Nellie Hamilton, had just become a widow (her then husband is not named). Through her known children, Nanny had hundreds of descendants, most of whom continue to identify as Aboriginal. Sarah was the only one of her children to maintain her identity with the Canberra-Queanbeyan district, although she did eventually move to Yass. It is quite possible that Nanny had kinship networks with the Wallabalooa through her mother. In Part I, I discussed the possibility that Nanny's mother was originally from the Kamberri group but was 'stolen' by the Wallabalooa as a wife – or vice versa. Either way, Nanny's mother may have had a Wallabalooa husband with whom she had children before she was forced to guide James Ainslie to Pialligo (see Part I). Nanny was allegedly the result of a liaison between her mother and Ainslie. Perhaps most of Nanny's children were taken care of by relatives in the Yass district or maybe they were adopted or fostered by white Catholic families in the general area surrounding Yass. More research is required to track down further information on Nanny's progeny.

Nanny died of measles at *Glenwood* in 1873 and was buried alongside Kangaroo Tommy, Jenny, Bobby Hamilton and Bobby's and Nellie's two children, Eddie and

62. They were witnesses to each other's marriages and the births of each other's children. Ted settled at Pudman Creek. Elma Pearsall, *nee* Russell, who is related to Ted through marriage, recalls him as very dark, a 'full-blood' and claims Ted came from Condobolin, yet Ted, like other members of the Duncan family, was a witness to the birth of other Kamberri children, but perhaps this was a coincidence. I am still pursuing further proof that both Ted and Rebecca were the children of Nanny. Jackson-Nakano, Ann, 1997b, Interview with Elma Pearsall, Goulburn.

63. Register of Baptisms, Burials and Marriages, St Augustine's Roman Catholic Church, Yass, 1891. Ted settled at Pudman Creek. He will feature in volume II of the Weereewaa History Series.

64. Further examples will be detailed in the family genealogies, which will be published for limited circulation in the future.

Millie, at the 'Aboriginal burial ground' at *Glenwood* — which was located near the modern day suburb of Hall.⁶⁵ It seems there may have been an epidemic of this disease, as Nanny and the two Hamilton children died of measles. Sarah and her descendants continued Nanny's Kamberri family line into the 20th and 21st centuries. Sarah became the wife of 'Black Dick' Lowe and is featured in the Lowe section below.

Johnny Taylor

Johnny Taylor was born in 1845. He went to live at *Ginninderra* in the 1850s with his father, Jimmy, and his 'tribal' uncle, Bobby Hamilton. Nothing yet is known about his mother. Jimmy, Johnny and Bobby played cricket for William Davis's *Ginninderra* Cricket Club. Jimmy was allegedly a 'splendid bat and could field in any position'.⁶⁶ Jimmy, Johnny and Bobby played for the club at *Yass*, *Goulburn*, *Gundaroo*, *Queanbeyan*, *Braidwood* and other parts of the district.⁶⁷

These two men and the young Johnny stayed at *Ginninderra* until Robertson's Land Act (1861) forced William Davis to parcel up and sell most of his estate.⁶⁸ He bought a neighbouring selection and built a fine house there, which he named 'Gungarleen' (*Gungahlin*).⁶⁹ Jimmy, Johnny and Bobby moved there with him for a time, occasionally joined by Nellie and Nanny.

When Jimmy died in 1864, his son Johnny was only a teenager. Johnny stayed for a while in the *Canberra* district and then accepted a job as head stockman for Mr EG Brown at *Blowering*.⁷⁰ This was the same EG Brown who had employed Hamilton, who had been a regular visitor to the Kamberri from *Tumut* in earlier days. This strengthens the argument that the Kamberri had strong links with the people Fred Freeman had referred to as the 'Gurmal' (*Walgalu*).⁷¹ Hamilton may have been Bobby's father, hence his frequent visits. Hamilton may also have been kin to Johnny. Johnny became the resident star of the *Tumut* Cricket Club and was frequently honoured at the Club's gatherings as its highest scorer. He also succumbed to measles, in 1875, at the age of 30, and was buried at the *Pioneer Cemetery*, *Tumut*.⁷² He was so highly regarded in the *Tumut* district that 50–60 non-Indigenous well-wishers joined the 'solitary representative of the male aboriginals in the district' who acted as chief mourner.⁷³

65. Papers of Samuel Shumack, NLA Manuscripts MS 1643. Contemporary newspaper reports confirm that Nanny died around this time.

66. Shumack, 1977, chapter XI.

67. Wright, WD, 1923.

68. These Acts required the 'landowners' with large stakes to release some of their land for small farm selection by the less privileged.

69. Wright, 1923, p 14. This now houses part of the CSIRO *Gungahlin* research facility.

70. Information taken from obituary notices in the *Queanbeyan Age*, 7 July 1875 and 17 July 1875.

71. It is quite possible that, like *Ngoonawal*, both 'Gurmal' and 'Kamberri' were pronounced with the 'ng' sound — that is, *Ngurmal* and *Ngangbri/a*.

72. I visited this cemetery recently but found no grave marking Johnny's last resting place.

73. *Queanbeyan Age* obituaries, op.cit. This is a curious statement since there were large numbers of Aboriginal families living in the *Tumut* district at that time. Perhaps these were mostly the *Wiradjuri* families who displaced the *Gurmal* in the *Tumut* district?

Johnny's death was reported in every contemporary major newspaper in New South Wales. One report claimed with some pride that Johnny always worked as a servant and stockman and 'never frequented the camps of his race'.⁷⁴ This may have been so in the Tumut area due to the incursions by the Wiradjuri whom Johnny might have wanted to avoid. A poem was written in his memory by 'Whitefellow', who believed, no doubt, that he was paying his greatest tribute with the final verse:

*Within the many-mansion'd hall
I feel there is a place for thee:
Blackfellow of the white man's fall
Thou'lt rise as sure and fair as he.*⁷⁵

As indicated above, Kangaroo Tommy and Jenny, Nanny, Johnny Taylor and Bobby and Nellie Hamilton spent most of the 1860s and the early part of the 1870s on the Ginninderra Estate. They were then quite happy not to 'rise as Whitefellers' but to retain their Aboriginality.

Bobby Hamilton

Bobby may have been the son of Hamilton who belonged to the group Fred Freeman referred to as the 'Gurmal'.⁷⁶ Hamilton senior was born in 1805⁷⁷ and was a regular visitor to the Kamberri district in the early years of European settlement. Although based in Tumut, he became a close friend of, and guide for, Terence Aubrey Murray and Stewart Marjoribanks Mowle and made extensive visits between Tumut and Murray's Lake George properties. This Hamilton may have been related to Noolup, with whose group he most frequently camped.⁷⁸

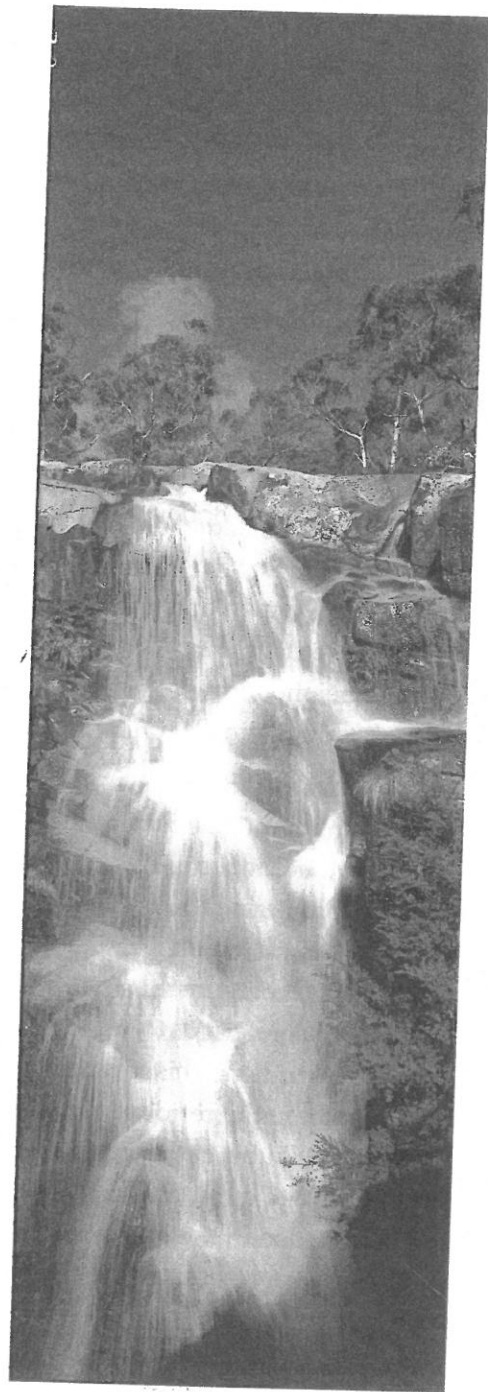


Plate 12: Ginninderra Falls

Photo courtesy of Canberra Tourism and Events Corporation.

74. *Gundagai Times* 3 July 1875.

75. *Queanbeyan Age* 17 July 1875.

76. See Part I.

77. Blankets for Aborigines, 1834, AONSW.

A 14 year-old boy by the name of Bobby, whose 'native' name was Minyerne, was also camped with Hamilton, Wellington, Kangaroo Tommy, Noolup, Neddy and members of Onyong's group at the time of the visit of Chief Protector Robinson to Yarralumla in 1844 (see Part 1). According to Robinson's field notes, both Bobby and Hamilton had close connections to Yaouk, where the Kamberri often camped (see Maps 11 and 12). Perhaps Bobby was Hamilton's son by a Kamberri mother and remained with Noolup's group even when his father went back to Tumut? A young 'orphan' boy, Bobby, aged about eight, was recorded on the blanket distribution list at Queanbeyan in 1838,⁷⁹ which lends weight to the theory that this was one and the same 14 year-old boy recorded by Robinson in 1844. Bobby was therefore born in 1830. His mother may have passed away by 1838 but he maintained his connection with the Kamberri group, although he was not an orphan. Hamilton senior died, aged 50, in 1854.

A total of eight 'orphan' children were identified on the 1838 blanket distribution list, including a four year-old, Nellie. Was this the same young girl recorded by Robinson with the 'Molongler' group in 1844? If so, then she may have originally had kinship connections to 'King Bob's' upper Molonglo River group, which shared the Ngarigo dialect with Monaro groups. In later life, Nellie did maintain connections with Ngarigo groups in the Cooma district as well as with Braidwood groups, who had been joined by some of their upper Molonglo River kin in historical times. Research conducted by Edward Curr also suggested Nellie was a Ngarigo speaker. Curr used [European] informants from various regions to provide him with information on each of their local Aboriginal communities. One of his informants on the Monaro was Charles du Ve. Du Ve compared the vocabulary on the Monaro with that spoken by Nellie – who must have been the old woman that the Queanbeyan Police Magistrate claimed was then the only remaining survivor of the local 'tribe' – and declared the 'languages' were the same.⁸⁰ Growing up with the Kamberri, Nellie would have used both Walgalu and Ngarigo words. The upper Molonglo community probably once shared the area east of the Queanbeyan River with the Kamberri and this was most certainly Nellie's most favourite place of identification. As we will see in her own profile, Nellie never ventured much beyond the western Murrumbidgee districts in later life.

Bobby and Nellie eventually married and had two children: Edward, born 1856, and Millie, born circa 1860. According to Gale, there was a third boy who also died in

78. *Ibid.* In the 1834 blanket list, Hamilton appears with his wife and children (one son and a one daughter). Perhaps his wife was Kamberri.

79. Blanket distribution list, Queanbeyan, 1838, AONSW.

80. Curr, Edward M, 1886. Tindale used Curr's findings as one of his sources for his 'Tribal map of Australia' in 1974. Historical evidence suggests Ngarigo, like Walgalu and Ngoonawal, was not a language but a distinct dialect derived from the Gundungurra language. The Ngarigo vocabulary and even pronunciation may have been slightly different from Walgalu and Ngoonawal but not the grammatical structure and core language. Similarly, in England, the people of Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire and Lancashire all have different dialects, which each group tends to use more when they are talking among themselves than when they are talking to each other, at which time a more standard English is used.

childhood.⁸¹ Both Edward and Millie died of the same disease, measles. Edward passed away in 1871 aged 15, but the actual year of Millie's death is unsure. She may have also predeceased her father. Both children were buried on *Glenwood*, as were Bobby and Nanny.⁸² Bobby died of consumption at Queanbeyan Hospital in January 1873.

For many years, it seems Bobby's identity got confused by some contemporary Queanbeyan residents with that of Bobby Deumonga. While it may be true that the death registration for Bobby Hamilton identified him as Bobby Deumonga,⁸³ it might also be true that contemporary Europeans mistakenly merged the identities of two individuals and made them one and that Bobby himself never corrected this mistake. Queanbeyan residents similarly confused local Aboriginal identities a few decades later when they gave the title of 'King Billy' to various Aboriginal men in the Canberra-Queanbeyan district, including Jimmy Clements – the Wiradjuri man photographed on the steps of the provisional Parliament House at its opening in 1927. We will meet him later.

The name Deumonga suggests this individual originated in the Braidwood district. Like many Aboriginal people in southeast Australia, he was probably named after the area where he was born. Deua National Park is located in the Upper Shoalhaven district (see Map 4). The Deua River meets the modern Monga State Forest between Braidwood, Araluen, Moruya and Batemans Bay. A man by the name of Bobby Deumonga occasionally turned up for the blanket distributions in the Braidwood district in the 1830s and 1840s, but notes by the distributors suggest he was originally from the (upper) Molonglo district.⁸⁴ This man was about 20 years older than Bobby Hamilton, being about 26 years old in 1834, which places him in Onyong's and Noolup's age group. He was about the same age as 'King Bob' of the Molonglo group who appeared at Yarralumla in 1844 (see earlier chapters); King Bob and Deumonga might have been one and the same person.

Bobby Deumonga was the Braidwood 'Aborigine' Noolup thought he had killed, and for whose murder he was being hunted by police. Bobby Hamilton, on the other hand, was kin to Noolup and was certainly not a 'Braidwood Aborigine'. Fortunately for Deumonga, but not for Noolup (who died thinking he had killed Deumonga), far from being murdered he turned up at Queanbeyan the day after Noolup allegedly killed him.⁸⁵ Bobby Deumonga was a regular visitor to Queanbeyan but Bobby Hamilton was not. Nellie might have been seen with Deumonga frequently because she was kin to him and so, since the Queanbeyan residents knew she was married to a man named Bobby, they could have confused the two identities. Nellie herself tended

81. See Nellie's obituary in her profile below.

82. Shumack, Samuel, 1977, p 151.

83. In his various publications, Lyall Gillespie claims to have seen the death registration of Bobby Deumonga Hamilton and always refers to him as such, but the details on the registration might not have been correct. I have not sighted it myself.

84. Blankets for Aborigines, 1837-43.

85. *Golden Age* 26 April 1862.

to stay in the Queanbeyan district even when she was married to Bobby and he was living at Ginninderra. Certainly, Bobby Deumonga and Bobby Hamilton were not the same person.

We have already seen how well regarded Bobby had been for his horse-breaking and cricket skills. Other contemporary reports also suggest he was regarded highly by all those who knew him, both black and white. It is a pity he had to pass away at such a relatively young age, 43, to be buried in an unmarked grave and to have his death registration confuse his identity with that of another person. There is no record of the details of his burial so it is unclear if he was buried in the traditional way, as he ensured Kangaroo Tommy was, or whether his mourners were other than his widow, Nellie.

Bobby and Nellie were each declared by Queanbeyan residents on their deaths to be the last of their 'tribe' but, as we have seen, the Queanbeyan residents did not have a good track record of accuracy regarding the Aboriginal people in their district.

Nellie Hamilton

Nellie Hamilton lived a long life, straddling quite different worlds. She maintained her extensive connections with the Kamberri's neighbouring groups and was constantly employed by local European families as a domestic or a nursemaid. What tales she could have told if someone had been interested enough to ask and patient enough to learn to understand the cultural context of what they were being told!

In earlier days, as their numbers diminished, some surviving members of the upper Molonglo community had joined the Kamberri while others joined Monaro or Braidwood communities, depending on their kinship networks. Both the Kamberri and the upper Molonglo communities had once been Weereewaa communities.⁸⁶ Nellie demonstrated in later years that she had close kinship networks with Monaro and Braidwood groups as well as with the Kamberri. She was probably the little girl, 'Nelly', who Robinson recorded as being with King Bob's upper Molonglo community in the 1844 muster at *Yarralumla*. Perhaps, like her husband-to-be, Bobby, she had a dual identity — possibly a father from the Molonglo Plains (in the upper Molonglo area of Captain's Flat) and a Kamberri mother. She was listed as one of eight orphans in the Kamberri group in the 1838 blanket distribution list alongside Bobby, but, also like Bobby, perhaps it was her Kamberri mother who had died so she stayed with the Kamberri while maintaining contact with her non-Kamberri father? Nellie and Bobby probably had a lot in common.

Although Nellie grew up with the Kamberri and no doubt looked up to Onyong as a 'tribal' father, William Bluett would have us believe she was not always loyal to him. Bluett claimed that although 'Hong Kong's' authority was recognised at the Queanbeyan Police Station, Nellie disputed his 'royalty'.⁸⁷ We do not know the con-

86. There is little doubt that all Weereewaa communities had been dispossessed of their rights to the lake by the 1850s.

87. Bluett, WP, 1954.

text of this discussion. Did Bluett mean that Nellie disputed Onyong's 'authority' or his 'royalty' or both? Bluett is unclear on this. Perhaps this was hearsay? Either way, Bluett gave the impression that Nellie was hostile to Onyong. Yet Nellie might have been disputing Onyong's authority to the east of the Queanbeyan River, which Nellie may have jealously guarded for her upper Molonglo community, or she might have been disputing the fact that Aboriginal communities had kings.

Nellie was certainly not hostile towards Onyong. Samuel Shumack, who knew Nellie, recalled a time Nellie took on 'a prominent resident' of the Queanbeyan district on the subject of 'Hong Kong' being shot for spearing a calf. This was long after Onyong's death. The 'prominent resident' was probably Henry Hall, a local magistrate in Queanbeyan who had numerous properties in the district, including a run at Yaouk where the shooting of Onyong may have taken place. It was Henry Hall himself who shot Onyong.⁸⁸ Clearly, from the conversation between the 'prominent resident' and Nellie, the former was explaining himself to the latter. Shumack rendered the exchange as follows:

[Prominent Resident]: We white fellows don't allow of thieving; our law punishes thieves. 'Yah, yah,' retorted Nellie. 'Your law! I no tink much of your law. You come here and take my land, kill my 'possum, my kangaroo; leave me starve. Only gib me rotten blanket. Me take calf or sheep, you been shoot me, or put me in jail. You bring your bad sickness 'mong us. And what is that, over there?' pointing to the Queanbeyan jail. 'That,' replied the white man, 'is our jail to put bad people in.' 'Yah,' again exclaimed Nellie, 'blackfellow have no jail; bail he want 'em.'⁸⁹

As noted, Nellie was always drawn to Queanbeyan — a frontier her upper Molonglo River ancestors once shared with the Kamberri — and identified closely with this district all her life. She was the only one of the three so-called 'Queanbeyan Blacks' (the other two were Bobby and Nanny) to be buried at Queanbeyan.⁹⁰ She was also on good terms with Bobby Deumonga and other Braidwood and south coast 'blacks' who continued to visit Queanbeyan on a regular basis even after the larger groups of earlier days were, in various ways, dispersed. After her husband Bobby died in 1873, she spent a good deal of time in the Braidwood district and had at least two partners from that region.

After Bobby died of consumption at Queanbeyan hospital in January 1873, the grief-stricken Nellie went on a drinking binge with Nanny, who had also become a widow that year.⁹¹ They were both sent to jail for seven days for being found drunk and disorderly and were fined for using obscene language in a public place.⁹² Later that year, Nellie's friends (or kin?), Mary Ann, Boney Jack and Old Solomon, who had all visited the Kamberri in 1841 as part of King Jamie Gilbee's party from Delegate

88. Wright, 1923.

89. Samuel Shumack in Gale, John, 1927, pp 123–24. I don't fully understand 'bail he want 'em' in this context.

90. Members of the Lowe family were baptised and buried at Queanbeyan but were rarely included, as such, in the group the local residents in Queanbeyan referred to as the 'Queanbeyan Blacks'.

91. Her husband's name was not recorded.

92. *Queanbeyan Age* 27 March 1873.

back in 1841⁹³ and still lived in Cooma, must have empathised with their sorrow. They managed to dictate a letter to an obliging non-Indigenous friend who relayed the contents to Nellie and Nanny (and, incidentally, to the world via the *Queanbeyan Age*). They invited Nellie and Nanny to visit them and to look for new husbands in the Cooma district.⁹⁴ Nanny was then 48 and Nellie 36 years old. As Nellie, Nanny and Nanny's younger children were refused seats on the coach, they had to walk all the way.⁹⁵ They came back without husbands.

By the end of 1873, Nellie had lost her children, her husband and Nanny — who had been her best friend and foster mother and died in September that year. A local man named Theodore Zyball had also maliciously wounded her. He was charged with the offence. Nellie represented herself in the case and the judge found Zyball guilty.⁹⁶ This must have given her little cheer.

Nellie maintained her contacts with Nanny's daughter, Sarah, and her family and with their mutual friend, Harry Williams, but she rarely ventured across the Murrumbidgee after Bobby's death, preferring to remain in Queanbeyan. She lived for a time on the 'Queanbeyan reserve'⁹⁷ with Jemmy Parker from Dubbo. Parker had worked for JB Thompson, a surveyor who later became a Queanbeyan politician, for the previous four years and had arrived in the Queanbeyan district looking for work as a stockman. He was allegedly quite violent and it seems that Nellie soon left him.

It was said by contemporary Europeans⁹⁸ that Nellie refused to 'go with the wild tribes of blacks' and had, by 1873, resided in the township of Queanbeyan for about 12 years.⁹⁸ This suggests that even while she was married to Bobby, who was mostly living at Ginninderra, she lived and worked in Queanbeyan. By that time contemporary Europeans were referring to her, erroneously, as the 'last of the Queanbeyan tribe' — possibly because, as noted earlier, Nellie's other Kamberri contemporaries, the Lowe and Williams families, were not considered by Europeans to be 'true Aborigines' (or were not as well known in the Queanbeyan township).

The last of the 'Queanbeyan tribe'?

I explained in Chapter 5 how the *Aborigines Protection Act (NSW) 1909*, and its 1918 amendments legislated who could and could not refer to themselves as 'Aboriginal'. Both by the Government and the people, only Aboriginal people who had no 'admixture' of other 'blood' were considered 'true Aborigines' — the rest lived almost in a no-man's land, often discriminated against by Aboriginal people because they were white and by Europeans because they were black. One hundred years after Federation, we live in slightly more enlightened times.

93. Blankets for Aborigines, 1837–43.

94. *Queanbeyan Age* 15 May 1873.

95. *Ibid.*

96. *Queanbeyan Age* 11 September 1873. This might have been a misprint for 'Dyball'.

97. Since the official Queanbeyan reserve in the Naas district was not granted until 1895, this must have been a reference to a common Aboriginal camp near the town of Queanbeyan.

98. *Queanbeyan Age* 11 September 1873.

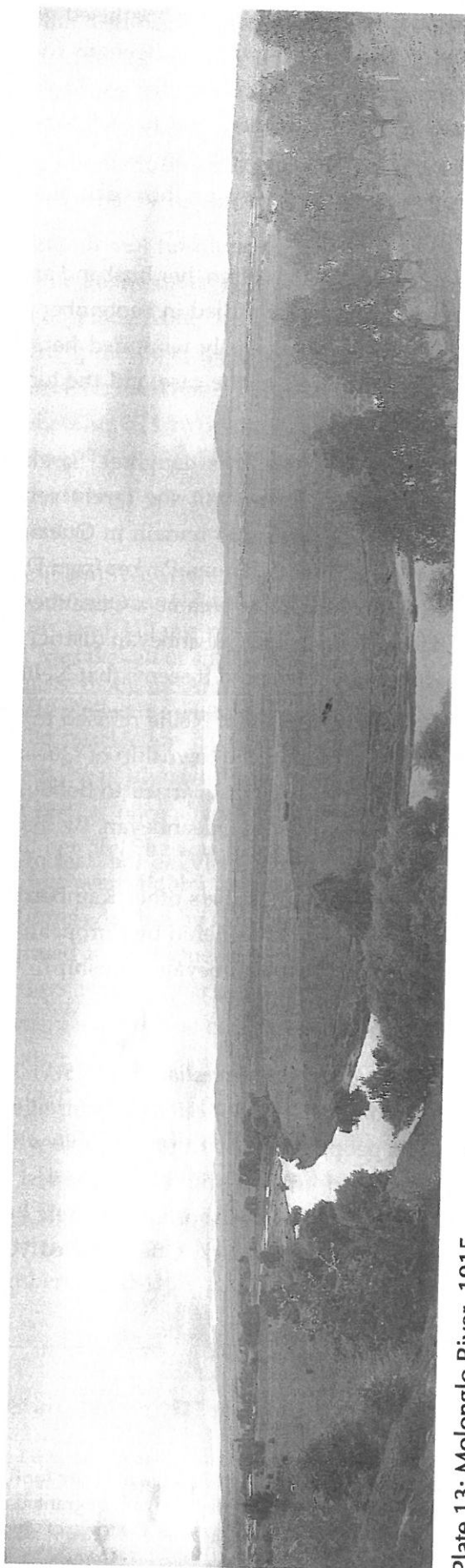


Plate 13: Molonglo River, 1915

Source: The Humphery Collection, reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Australia.

In the 21st century, the definition of Aboriginality has been amended. It is now defined in three elements in current Commonwealth legislation: firstly, that a person is of Aboriginal descent; secondly, that s/he identifies as an 'Aborigine'; and thirdly, that s/he is accepted as such by the Aboriginal community with which s/he is associated.⁹⁹ This is not necessarily a definition that is accepted by all Aboriginal (or Torres Strait Islander) Australians, but it will suffice for the purposes of reviewing 19th century historical evidence from a 21st century perspective.

Although contemporary European residents of the Queanbeyan district in the last part of the 19th century may have been convinced that only Nellie Hamilton remained of the 'once numerous Queanbeyan tribe' by 1880, they were wrong. Clearly, other Aboriginal people lived in the district – such as Nanny, her daughter Sarah, Sarah's husband Dick Lowe and their children and Harry Williams and his family – but they were classified as 'half-caste' or worse.

Was there a distinct 'Queanbeyan tribe', then, of which Nellie was supposedly the last member? There was, of course, no Aboriginal group that identified as 'the Queanbeyan blacks'. As we have seen in previous chapters, a number of surrounding groups clearly had visiting rights to Queanbeyan but the contemporary historical evidence (albeit provided by Europeans) strongly supports the theory that the area was well within the ambit of the Kamberri. Including what later became the Federal Capital Territory, the Queanbeyan district incorporated most of the Kamberri's former territory. The residents of the town of Queanbeyan may have referred to Nanny, Bobby and Nellie as the 'Queanbeyan Blacks' because they were the three most visible Aboriginal identities who frequented the town, but this term was a construction by Europeans. In fact, Nellie maintained her associations with other Aboriginal people in the district, both residents and visitors. Her close friends and extended family members were her fellow Kamberri survivors, the Lowe and Williams families, though she may have enjoyed the unique status of 'Queen of Queanbeyan' that the European residents of this town had bestowed upon her. She worked as a domestic for a number of Queanbeyan families after Bobby died and it seems her employers liked to think she never went 'with the wild tribes of blacks', whoever they were. She was awarded 'a brass plate' in 1888 on the recommendation of Harold Davis (brother of William),¹⁰⁰ which proved she was well liked and highly regarded by the Europeans, but her husbands were all Aboriginal, which suggests (but does not confirm) that she preferred to conform to culturally acceptable 'tribal' marriages.

99. *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission Act 1989.*

100. *Queanbeyan Age* 15 September 1888. The whereabouts of this brass plate is unknown.

Nellie's later husbands

Parson Williams

Following Parker, Nellie's next partner was 'Parson Williams', who died in Braidwood in 1881.¹⁰¹ Nellie's only known public appearance with 'Parson' was when she crossed the Murrumbidgee with him in the company of John Smith, a white man known by the nickname Jack the Sailor. They intended to visit Cotter's Hut, where Jack had set up residence, but were unable to reach the Cotter because of snow.¹⁰² There are very few other historical records that reveal much about Parson Williams.

Who was he? It is frustrating trying to piece together the genealogies of New South Wales Aboriginal families by the name of Williams because there are so many of them in so many different areas who are totally unrelated to each other. The first option might be that Parson Williams was related to 'Black Harry' Williams, but 'Black Harry' was not from Braidwood. The fact that they had the same surname was probably coincidence. A number of 'whites' named Williams settled in the Braidwood district as well as on the south coast from the early 19th century and a few Aboriginal families from those areas appear to have adopted the name. Additionally, a convict by the name of William Williams had been assigned to Cornelius O'Brien at his property in Ulladulla before he moved on to Yass with Cornelius.¹⁰³ Perhaps William was friendly with local Aboriginal people in the Ulladulla district. A number of Aboriginal people living in the Ulladulla district may have adopted his name, including a Billy Williams.

Parson Williams may have been related to the Shoalhaven Williams family. A Billy Williams was camped out at Shoalhaven with other Aboriginal people in 1891, according to the New South Wales Census conducted that year.¹⁰⁴ His household consisted of two males and one female. In the same camp were Daisy Parsons and Dan Parsons, whose respective households also consisted of two males and one female. This was 10 years after Parson Williams' death, but both these families could have been relatives of Parson Williams. The Shoalhaven River would have connected this group easily to the Braidwood district, where Parson Williams allegedly died in 1881. It seems certain that Parson Williams was from the south coast. The Kamberri, like other Weereewaa communities, were on very good terms with the Wodi Wodi Aboriginal communities from Wollongong to Nowra and with the Wandandian communities from Nowra to Ulladulla. No doubt the Shoalhaven River had been a trading route between them. Braidwood groups also accompanied the Shoalhaven groups on their visits to Queanbeyan and surrounds for ceremonies.¹⁰⁵ Upper Molonglo and Monaro groups often joined them.

101. *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* 8 March 1881.

102. Diaries of George De Salis, entry for 20 July 1880, NLA Manuscripts mfm G20727 [restricted].

103. Jackson-Nakano, Ann, 1994b.

104. Census of New South Wales, 1891, NLA G22624-G22626.

105. See, for example, *Goulburn Herald*, 11 and 29 June 1859, which claimed south coast and Braidwood groups were paying their annual visit to Queanbeyan to participate in a *corroboree*.

King Billy

King Billy was considered by contemporary Europeans to be the third and last husband of Nellie Hamilton (clearly, they did not count Jimmy Parker as one of Nellie's official husbands). King Billy appears to have originated from the same southeast coastal area as Parson Williams and may have been related. Since we do not know his last name it will take some additional research to track his origins. The photograph in Plate 1 shows King Billy and Nellie in the same photograph, which was taken at *Lanyon* by George De Salis, circa 1896, in the last months of Nellie's life.¹⁰⁶ At some stage King Billy had been awarded a breastplate, which he is wearing in the photograph.

Samuel Shumack claimed that Nellie and Billy were constantly quarrelling, recalling the time Nellie publicly upbraided Billy for selling a foal belonging to her small daughter, Millie, who, Shumack claimed, was then about ten years old.¹⁰⁷ Shumack knew both Nellie and King Billy, but, since he was writing his memoirs in retrospect many years after the event, he must have got his information mixed up.¹⁰⁸ This quarrel must have taken place long before Nellie and King Billy became a couple, since Millie passed away circa 1873, about the same year as her father. Millie was about ten years old at the time of her death. Perhaps this quarrel took place soon afterwards, at which time Nellie would still have been grieving for Millie and so her fury at Billy for selling Millie's foal is understandable. Nellie and King Billy did not become a couple – at least officially – until after the death of Parson Williams in 1881.

Nellie and King Billy, like Nellie and Bobby, were not inseparable. When details for the New South Wales census of 1891 were collected, Nellie was living alone in a house in Morrisset Street, Queanbeyan.¹⁰⁸ It is tempting to think that King Billy and Billy Williams, who was camped at Shoalhaven during the time of the census, were the same person. It is not inconceivable that Nellie could have become the wife of a relative of Parson Williams.

Some modern interpretations of the historical evidence concerning Nellie's and King Billy's relationship suggest that Nellie moved to Braidwood when she became King Billy's wife.¹⁰⁹ This is not necessarily so. Another Aboriginal man named King Billy lived in Braidwood and his partner was also called Nellie.¹¹⁰ It appears that some researchers may have confused this couple with Nellie Hamilton and her partner, King Billy.

106. It was in the De Salis collection NLA Manuscripts MS 7989, captioned 'A group of Queanbeyan Aborigines'. I have re-captioned the photograph to give back to its subjects their obvious identity. My grateful thanks to Graeme Powell, Manuscripts Librarian at the NLA, and to Dr Eric De Salis for permission to reproduce this photograph.

107. Papers of Samuel Shumack, NLA Manuscripts MS 1643.

108. Census of New South Wales, 1891.

109. There is no actual evidence that she married him in the western sense. Perhaps contemporary observers were being coy about the nature of her relationship or they were referring to 'tribal' arrangements, or maybe Nellie had introduced King Billy publicly as her husband. Shumack refers to Nellie as King Billy's 'lubra', which, like 'gin', has become an offensive term when used by Europeans but may have been an original Aboriginal word for 'wife' or 'woman'.

110. Ellis, Netta, 1989.

Nellie and the 'Murrumbidgee Blacks'

In 1893, when she was in her mid-fifties, Nellie Hamilton went to the Cotter with 'Black Dick' Lowe and 'Black Harry' Williams to look for some gold she claimed she had seen on an earlier visit.¹¹¹ Both Black Dick and Black Harry belonged to the contemporary group known by local Europeans as the 'Murrumbidgee Blacks', but in fact they were still part of the Kamberri group. Many of the mountain families who had established themselves in the upper Murrumbidgee district at that time have passed down stories to their modern descendants about Nellie Hamilton looking for that gold. Laurie Tong, who grew up at Naas in the 1920s, remembered one such story of 'Queen Nellie and her gold'. He told historian Matthew Higgins he had heard from Ted Oldfield that 'Queen Nellie' had found a large piece of gold and buried it at her camp near the Gudgenby River, close to the toilet block in the vicinity of the old Glendale ranger station, but it had been stolen.¹¹²

Another story involving Nellie, Black Harry and Black Dick, that is still told today by descendants of families who settled in the upper Murrumbidgee district from the 1830s, centres around the Aboriginal stockman who broke his back when he was thrown off a horse at Murray's Gap (see Map 15), near the Cotter Falls. Granville Crawford, who once lived at the Cotter, heard this story from Herbert Oldfield and related it to Matthew Higgins thus:

The stockman had been leading a mare and colt when the colt played up and the mare kicked – striking the Aborigine. He was found by 'Gundaroo' Harry Oldfield (not to be confused with 'Cotter' Harry or other Harry Oldfields). Thomas Oldfield knew that two Aboriginal men were in the area on their way to Rotten Swamp to do some gold prospecting and he asked them to care for the badly injured man. They in turn sent word to Queen Nellie in Queanbeyan and the three nursed the man for several days at Cotter House before suddenly leaving. The man died shortly afterwards – perhaps his helpers had realised that he was going to die.¹¹³

The two Aboriginal men who were prospecting for gold were probably Black Harry Williams and Black Dick Lowe. Nellie would have been 59 years old when she made that trip to care for the injured man, whose name was Christy Goody according to the newspaper account. Christy passed away at Thomas Oldfield's residence at Cotter Falls.

In 1895 the NSW Board for the Protection of Aborigines granted 270 acres of land at Cuppacumbalong to be set aside for the use of 'Aborigines' of the Queanbeyan District, 'to enable them to carry on cultivation and make homes for themselves'¹¹⁴ (see

111. Diaries of George De Salis, NLA Manuscripts mfm G20727 [restricted].

112. Higgins, Matthew, 1990, p 174. The Oldfield and Tong families are long-time residents of the upper Murrumbidgee district. It is a surprise to hear that Nellie had a camp near the Gudgenby River. Perhaps this was a one-off rather than a permanent camp.

113. *Ibid*, p 14.

114. Report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, 1895, VPNSWLA 1896, vol III. This reserve was self-managing and consisted mainly of a piece of land for local Aboriginal people to use for growing their own food and for camping. As far as I know, only the Lowe family used it but 'Black Dick' hosted many a rowdy party on the land according to the diaries of George de Salis [NLA]. George, who lived next door, frequently complained about the noise.

Map 16). The Lowe and Williams families took up residence there for a time and Nellie may have visited them occasionally but probably never lived there.

Nellie's final years

The 'Queanbeyan Aborigines' had lived quite independently of the funding of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines until the 1890s. In 1894 only two adults and three children in Queanbeyan received rations and clothing from the Board, one of whom was probably Nellie – although she did not receive much help. In 1889, the Board declined to erect a hut for Nellie at Queanbeyan 'as she can find food and shelter at Mrs Graham's house near Queanbeyan Railway Station and is constantly wandering'.¹¹⁵

If Nellie ever did depend on the public purse, it was not for long. She passed away at the Queanbeyan Hospital, allegedly on 1 January 1897. Her death was not officially registered. There were no official reports of her funeral service, if she had one. The records state only that she was buried outside consecrated ground at the Queanbeyan cemetery on Riverside Drive.¹¹⁶ Her grave is not marked. A short newspaper report announced her passing:

In the Queanbeyan Hospital, where she had been a patient for some weeks past, on New Year's Day died poor old Nellie Hamilton, Queen of the Aborigines of Queanbeyan and last remnant of her tribe. She was about sixty years of age¹¹⁷ and saw her subjects one by one including her two sons and a daughter pass away before her.¹¹⁸ Nellie was thrice a widow marrying a king on each occasion.¹¹⁹ For some years past she has been a pensioner of the Government who provided her for her wants,¹²⁰ and at hospital she received as much care as would any other patient.¹²¹

This was an unremarkable end for a great woman and a gross understatement about, and a mostly inaccurate account of, her life.

It is unlikely that Nellie Hamilton died unlamented by surviving members of her community in 1897 (it is not clear whether King Billy survived her). Nellie looks quite comfortable, even serene, in the photograph taken with members of her community in the 1890s (see Plate 1). It is ironic that some of the same Europeans who were so anxious to vacuum Aboriginal people from the Canberra–Queanbeyan landscape nevertheless kept their images alive through photographs and pen portraits, ensuring

115. *Goulburn Evening Penny Post* 11 June 1889.

116. Lea-Scarlett, Errol, 1965. Lea-Scarlett's notes say: No. 86: Nelly Hamilton (Queen Nellie), Queen and last of the Queanbeyan aborigines, died District Hospital 1 January 1897 aged about 60. Death not registered.

117. She was 63.

118. Some contemporary reports do suggest she had two sons and a daughter, but if this was really the case then I can find no registration for the second son. He may have died as an infant. John Gale, the proprietor of this newspaper, certainly knew her and may have heard this information from Nellie herself.

119. John Gale, the founder of this newspaper, said the same thing in his memoirs, but this was European fancy because Aboriginal communities never had individual 'kings' or even 'chiefs', they had Elders and 'fighting men' as well as 'medicine men' and 'clever men'. Evidence suggests that the Kamberri was a patrilineal group but it may have been the European men rather than the Kamberri who did not pay much attention to the important role of women in this group.

120. This is not strictly correct. As noted previously, the Government refused to build her a 'shanty', claiming she could always stay with 'Mrs Graham'.

they would never be forgotten. Unwittingly, perhaps, Europeans had begun chronicling Nellie's life from the time she was a tiny orphan running barefoot around the Kamberri and Pialligo plains with her future husband. While members of her extended family would have lamented loudly the passing of Nellie's spirit, it was the Europeans who had so impatiently waited for her demise that, ironically, ensured that Nellie would live on in the communal memory of her country for a long time to come.

Unlike Nellie, Sarah and Dick Lowe and their family and Harry Williams and his family lived through the turn of the century.

The Murrumbidgee 'Blacks'

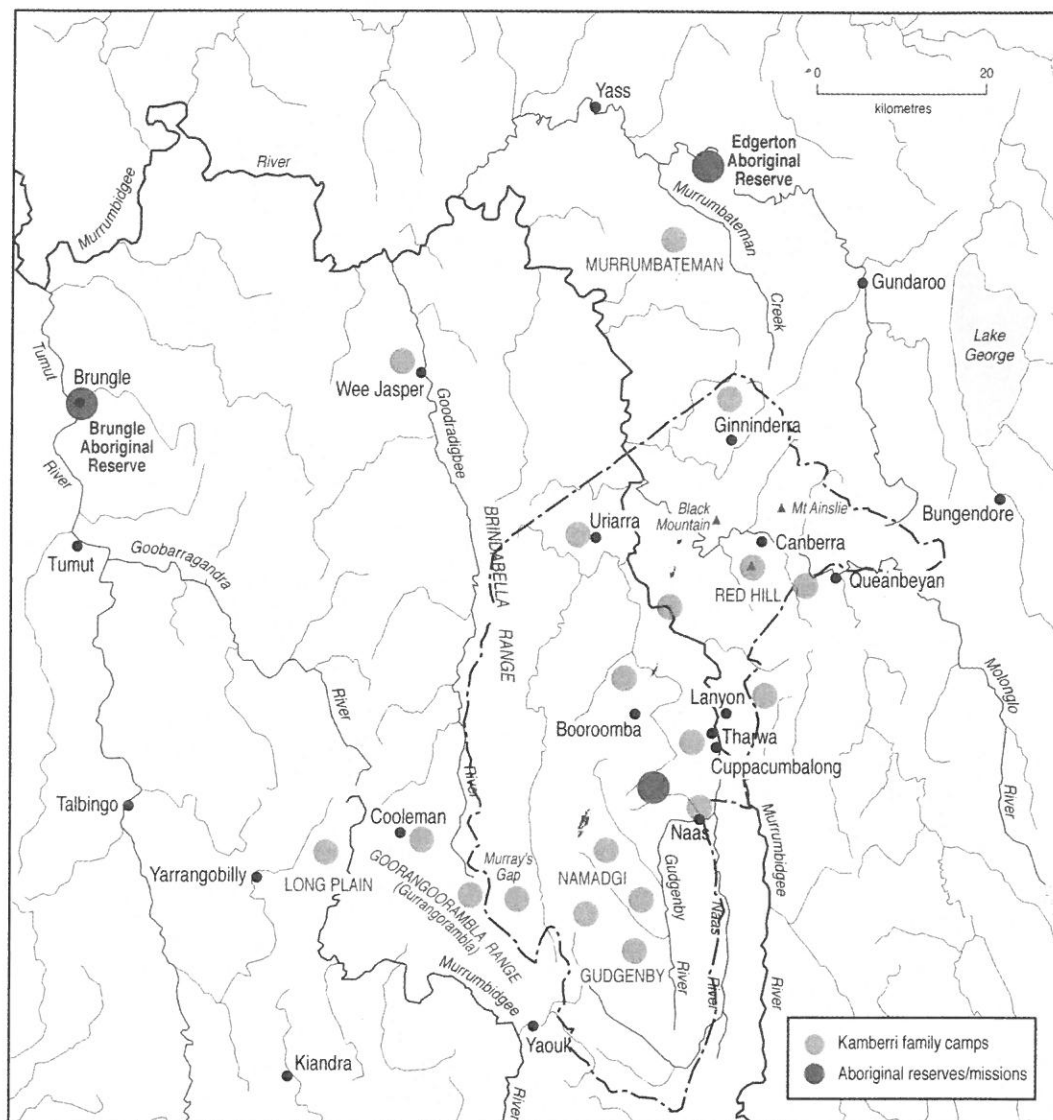
'Black Harry' Williams and 'Black Dick' Lowe enter the historical records of the country southwest of Weereewaa via the diaries of young George De Salis, who was promoted by his father, Leopold, to Superintendent of the family stations, *Cuppacumbalong* and *Naas*,¹²² in 1870 when he was about 19 years old.¹²³ Harry and Dick were then about 33 and 25 years old respectively. 'Black Dick', 'Black Harry' and their descendants would represent the continued Kamberri presence in their traditional country into the 20th and 21st centuries.

George De Salis mentioned 'Black Dick' and 'Black Harry' from 1869, when his extant diaries commenced, to the 1890s, when the De Salis family lost *Cuppacumbalong* and other properties. According to George's diaries, both Dick and Harry offered a variety of services for De Salis on the *Cuppacumbalong*, *Spring* and *Naas* stations and also on the Cooleman, Goorangorambla (Gurrangorambla) and other runs in the mountains. They brought back stray stock, chased runaway horses, put up fences, built yards, cleared land, pruned grape vines, ploughed the paddocks, broke in horses, sheared and drove both cattle and sheep. They also did any other odd jobs that needed doing. The station records show they were paid in cash and provisions, that both were smokers, and that Dick preferred to receive implements for his labouring work while Harry's preference was for items for his horses. Both Harry and Dick would catch brumbies, break them in and then sell them. In modern times they would be regarded as self-employed contractors rather than employees, because they worked for a number of stations in the Tharwa and other neighbouring districts.

121. *Queanbeyan Observer* 5 January 1897. Lyall Gillespie has referred to Nellie Hamilton erroneously in his various publications as the 'last of the Ngunawal'. This is an assumption Gillespie may have made after reading Tindale's 1974 publication, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, which included Queanbeyan and Lake George in the country of the 'Ngunawal tribe'. Gillespie, among others, appears to have accepted Tindale's map without questioning the sources on which the boundaries he drew were based. See Part I, Chapter 1, for a critique of these sources and Tindale's conclusions. No contemporary of Nellie's ever referred to her as the 'last of the Ngunawal'.

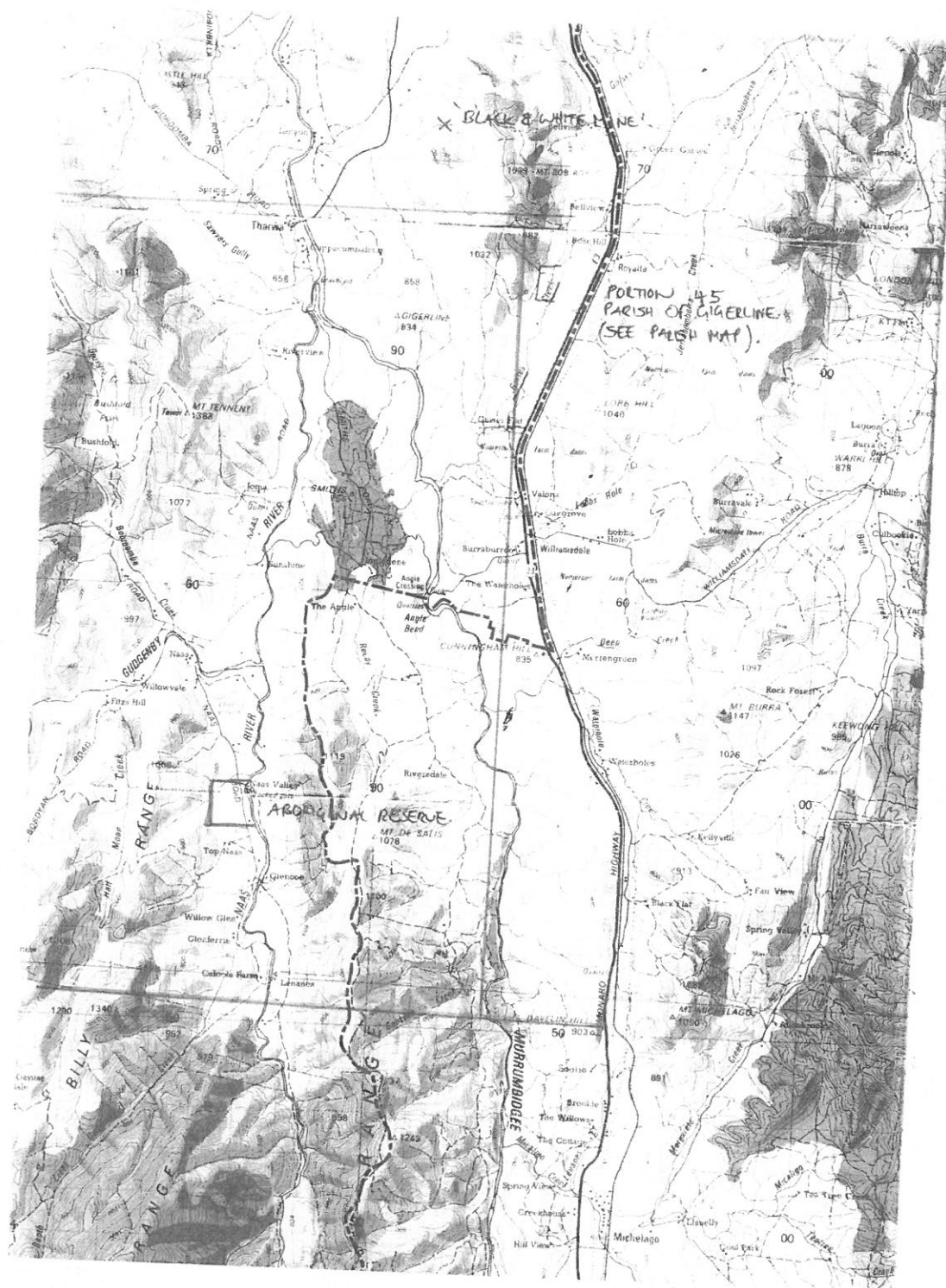
122. The De Salis family purchased these properties circa 1856 and 1860 respectively.

123. Diaries of George De Salis, NLA Manuscripts mfm G20727 [restricted]. Utilised with grateful thanks with the permission of Dr Eric De Salis.



Map 15: Main Kamberri family locations from the 1880s to the 1920s

Compiled by Ann Jackson-Nakano from contemporary historical sources. Map reproduced courtesy of the Cartography Unit, RSPAS, Australian National University.



Map 16: Cuppacumbalong Aboriginal Reserve (approximate location on a modern map)