Figure 1. The Hawkesbury, Campbelltown and Appin districts in the early nineteenth century.

THE DHARAWAL AND GANDANGARA IN COLONIAL CAMPBELLTOWN, NEW SOUTH WALES, 1788-1830

Carol Liston

Campbelltown, south-west of Sydney, was permanently occupied by Europeans from 1809¹. Like other parts of the County of Cumberland, it is usually assumed that with the arrival of the Europeans all information about the individual identities of the district's Aboriginal inhabitants was lost. Whilst the tragedy of the Appin massacre of 1816 irrevocably destroyed the traditional community life of the Dharawal, it did not destroy them as individuals. In Campbelltown a few settlers maintained close contacts with individual Aborigines. The records of these settlers, combined with scattered newspaper references, government correspondence and various lists compiled by magistrates allow individual biographies to be compiled for several Aborigines from c.1800 through to the 1840s. Despite conflicting evidence of recurring names and inconsistencies in ages, it is nevertheless possible to assemble enough detail to establish individual identities for some of the colonial Aborigines. This process cannot reconstruct their pre-invasion world but it at least uncovers more of their relationship with the Europeans in the earliest decades of colonial settlement.

Brief biographies of some colonial Dharawal and Gandangara follow a general account of European and Aboriginal relations in colonial Campbelltown.

Settlement at Campbelltown and the Cowpastures.

The Aboriginal people who lived in the Campbelltown region were called the Cowpastures tribe by the Europeans. Anthropologists have concluded that they spoke the Dharawal language and that their territory covered a region from Botany Bay south to the Shoalhaven River and inland to Camden. Their neighbours on the north were the Dharuk of the Hawkesbury district. To the south and south-west, in the mountain highlands, lived the Gandangara and eastward, on the coastal plain of the Illawarra, were the Wodi Wodi.² The Dharawal travelled widely through the country of the Hawkesbury-Nepean river system, (See Fig. 1) occasionally leaving their own territory to visit other Aborigines at Prospect, Parramatta and Windsor, east to Botany Bay and as far north as Broken Bay, west to Bathurst and south-west to Lake Bathurst.

The Dharawal left tangible evidence of their initial reaction to European settlement. Six months after the arrival of the First Fleet, two bulls and four cows, the colony's only source of fresh meat, disappeared from the settlement at Sydney Cove. The cattle wandered south, crossed the Cook and Nepean Rivers and established themselves on good grazing land in the

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¹ The research for this paper was undertaken as part of my work on the Bicentennial history of Campbelltown, a project commissioned by Campbelltown City Council.

² Capell 1970; Eades 1976.

Menangle-Camden area about ninety kilometres from Sydney. The Dharawal saw these strange creatures and sketched them on the wall of a sandstone shelter. The animals had no horns, having been polled to prevent injury during the voyage from Cape Town, but the Dharawal artist clearly depicted the characteristics of the bulls, so different in size to the soft-pawed kangaroo. A sense of terror is clear - the bull dominates the wall of the cave. The drawings in Bull Cave (See Fig. 1) date to the first years of European settlement as the colonial offspring of these animals had horns when rediscovered in 1795.³

The discovery of the large herd of wild cattle in 1795 gave the area its European name, the Cowpastures. Visits to the district remained rare until the early 1800s when attempts were made to domesticate the cattle. The fresh meat attracted European visitors and the governor appointed constables to prevent unauthorised travel into the area.⁴ Following severe flooding along the Hawkesbury in the winter of 1809, the colonial government encouraged new farming settlements away from the river in the open forest lands south-west from Parramatta in the Districts of Cabramatta, Bringelly and Minto. By November 1810, when Macquarie visited Minto and the Cowpastures, (See Fig. 1) the district was already under the plough with fields of wheat and grazing sheep and cattle.

The town of Campbelltown was formally established by Macquarie in 1820 and, until the mid 1820s, it was the southern limit of European settlement. It was a different frontier to the later male-dominated pastoral frontier of the 1820s-40s. The Districts of Airds, Appin and Minto were settled by family groups, mainly ex-convicts who brought with them their women and children and extended families of brothers-in-law, parents and other kin.

Among Campbelltown's settlers were some of the colony's most active explorers. As the convict stockman guarding the wild cattle, John Warby (1767?-1851) was the first European resident of Campbelltown, living there semi-permanently from about 1802. Warby explored the Cowpastures, the Burragorang Valley and Bargo area, establishing a close working relationship with the Dharawal. Knowledge gained from this relationship made Warby the premier European guide for the southern districts until the 1820s. Charles Throsby (1777-1828) was farming his grant at Glenfield by late 1810. A retired surgeon, Throsby was an active explorer in the southern highlands. His companions were always Dharawal men. Throsby was a persistent critic of European treatment of the Aborigines. Hamilton Hume (1797-1873) and his parents moved to their Appin land grant in 1812. Their neighbours were Elizabeth Charlotte Broughton (née Kennedy) and John Kennedy, relations of Hume's mother Elizabeth Kennedy. Almost immediately young Hume started exploring the district in the company of the Dharawal.⁵

There had been no reports of violence between the Dharawal and the few Europeans in the Campbelltown area before 1810 but intensive European occupation of Minto and Macquarie's newly declared Districts of Airds and Appin occurred during the next decade. With the drought years of 1814-16 came conflict between black and white. Though these battles were fought in the Campbelltown area, the Dharawal were more often observers than participants but few settlers were able to distinguish particular groups of Aborigines so throughout 1814-16 the Cowpasture Aborigines were considered hostile by the Europeans. The Aboriginal combatants were usually groups from the mountains and southern highlands who had come looking for food. These groups were more aggressive than the Dharawal. More feared by the settlers were the Aborigines from Jervis Bay who in 1814 had travelled

³ Sydney Prehistory Group 1983.

⁴ Liston 1988:4-5.

⁵ Liston 1988:14-9.

north to the Cowpastures, not for the corn but to kill all white men.⁶ Settlers were terrified by reports that the Aborigines would rise up and kill them on the night of the full moon, 3 June 1814. Armed settlers guarded the most southerly properties at Appin.

Several whites and blacks were killed in May and June of 1814. At first Macquarie urged forbearance, suggesting that the loss of some corn was a small price for peace. He had personally urged the Cowpasture Aborigines to refrain from violence and he recognised that most of the bloodshed had been caused by the murder of an Aboriginal woman and her children at Appin.⁷ However, the unrest continued and on 21 July 1814 Macquarie ordered a party of twelve armed Europeans (ex-convict and ticket of leave men from Campbelltown) to take four friendly Aboriginal guides to apprehend five 'wild mountain natives' (probably Gandangara) whom Macquarie held responsible for the murders of two European children. After three weeks on patrol, the hunting party returned empty handed.⁸ With spring, the mountain tribes retired to their own country.

During the 1814 conflict, Dharawal who knew European settlers took refuge with them. Their leader, Gogy, fuelled the settlers' alarm with stories of the cannibalism of the mountain people.⁹

Two years later, in March 1816, the Gandangara came again from the mountains in search of food. European servants were killed and about forty farmers responded to the magistrates' call to arm themselves with muskets and pitchforks and confront the Gandangara at Upper Camden. They took with them some of the more friendly Aborigines, such as Budbury of the Dharawal, as interpreters. Budbury warned them that the Gandangara would attack when approached. The settlers responded to the shower of spears with a volley of shots but the Aborigines had the advantage of high ground. Spears and stones rained down on the settlers who retreated in panic. The Aborigines had not been afraid of their firearms, simply dropping to the ground whenever the muskets were pointed and jumping up after the discharge.¹⁰ They did not pursue the fleeing farmers. Following this incident, isolated shepherds and settlers moved to the safety of more closely settled areas.

On 9 April 1816 Macquarie ordered the military to apprehend the trouble makers - the Aborigines of the Cowpastures and the mountain natives. Peaceful groups, such as the Five Islands (Illawarra) people were to be left alone. Any Aborigines whom the soldiers met in their search for the troublemakers were to be taken prisoner and sent to Parramatta or Windsor Gaol. Resisters were to be shot, the bodies of the men hung from trees as an example to others and the women and children buried. Eighteen good-looking, healthy children were to be chosen from the prisoners of war for the Native Institute at Parramatta.¹¹

Charles Throsby of Glenfield was concerned that the 'fears and aversions of the ignorant part of the white people' would lead to indiscriminate attacks against innocent Aborigines which, in turn, would provoke retaliation killings of isolated stockmen. Most Europeans could not distinguish individual Aborigines nor different clans. In 1814 Gogy of the

⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, 4 June 1814.

⁷ *Sydney Gazette*, 18 June 1814.

⁸ AONSW 4/1730, pp.213, 218, 224, 227.

⁹ *Sydney Gazette*, 4 June 1814.

¹⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 9 March 1816; Hallsall Correspondence, ML MSS 1177/4, f.619ff.

¹¹ HRA Vol. 9:54; AONSW 4/1734, f.149-169. By the close of 1816 there were eighteen children in the Native Institute. Ellis 1947:358.

Dharawal had been confused as a leader of the mountain people¹² and Budbury was wrongly identified as an assailant. Throsby believed that all the violence could be traced to specific cases of vengeance - the murders of two Gandangara families, the families of Bitugally and Yellooming, in 1814 and the subsequent revenge through the deaths of European families. Throsby was convinced that the aggression was not against Europeans in general. At the height of the troubles, his house guest John Wentworth, son of the Principal Superintendent of Police, spent days fishing with Gogy and other Dharawal on the George's River.¹³

The Dharawal turned to Throsby for protection. Gogy and Nighgingull with their families took refuge at Glenfield as early as February 1816, perhaps aware that the mountain tribes would be returning to Campbelltown, and they were joined in March by Budbury, Young Bundle and others, all clearly separating themselves from the mountain Aborigines who were determined to make trouble - and who would attack any group with soldiers in it.¹⁴

In response to Macquarie's order of 9 April 1816, two detachments of soldiers were sent to apprehend the Aborigines in the southern districts. Lieutenant Charles Dawes and his men went to Camden to capture the Cowpasture Aborigines. Macquarie had ordered a local settler, John (Bush) Jackson, and a Dharawal, Tindal, to guide the soldiers to the Aborigines but the soldiers were led to them by a stockman working for the Macarthurs. The Aborigines, probably Dharawal, fled and the soldiers opened fire, killing an unspecified number and capturing a fourteen-year old boy. Despite his lack of active participation, Tindal was later awarded an order of merit by Macquarie.¹⁵

Captain James Wallis commanded the detachment of the 46th Regiment sent to apprehend the Aborigines in the Airds and Appin Districts. Again Macquarie appointed guides, John Warby with Budbury and Bundle from the Dharawal. For a month Wallis and his soldiers marched back and forth from Glenfield to Appin in pursuit of rumoured sightings of Aborigines. Wallis reported his frustration at the considerable support, to the point of interference, that the European farmers of Airds and Appin gave to the Dharawal.

From the beginning, Wallis found Warby an unwilling and unco-operative guide. Gogy, alerted to Macquarie's orders probably by Throsby, fled Glenfield and took refuge with another settler at Botany Bay. Wallis wanted to pursue him but Warby argued that the Dharawal were friendly and should be left alone. Wallis reluctantly conceded that his priorities lay with capturing the Aborigines further south. Warby then refused to take responsibility for the two Dharawal guides, Budbury and Bundle, and allowed them to escape one night, taking their blankets with them.

Wallis marched the soldiers to the most southerly farms at Appin where he knew that friendly Aborigines had taken refuge at Kennedy's farm. He promised not to harm them but when he found that Kennedy had been sheltering two Aborigines whom Macquarie had outlawed, Yellooming and Bitugally, he wanted to take them prisoner. Kennedy argued that Yellooming and Bitugally had protected his and his brother-in-law's farms from attack. If they were arrested Kennedy feared that he would face reprisals and be forced to abandon his isolated farm. Rather than see the Aborigines taken away by the soldiers, Kennedy offered his personal bond to escort them to the governor and explain their innocence. Hamilton

¹² *Sydney Gazette*, 4 June 1814.

¹³ Wentworth Papers ML A752, f.183ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ AONSW 4/1735, f.1-29; Ellis 1947:358.

Plate 1. Dharawal and Gandangara at Camden Park.
Photo: W. Hertzner, c.1850.
Courtesy Macleay Museum (Historic Photograph Collection).

Hume, Kennedy's nephew, was able to convince Wallis that Macquarie had removed the names of Yellooming and Bitugally from the list of outlaws. This was certainly a bluff since Yellooming's name was among the list of outlawed Aborigines published two months later.

Warby, refusing to act as a guide any longer, disappeared for a few days. Wallis decided to follow up reported sightings of Aboriginal warriors in the more populated Minto area near Redfern's farm, Campbellfield, but found the overseer who had reported the sightings was absent. Wallis accused him of wanting to help the Aborigines and frustrate the military. For a few days Wallis and his men searched the rugged banks of the George's River at East Minto and Ingleburn. News then came that seven outlawed Aborigines were camped at Broughton's farm at Appin. Wallis marched his soldiers through the night. They were met by Thomas Noble, a convict, who led them to the camp.

Fires were still burning but the camp was deserted. A child's cry was heard in the bush. Wallis formed the soldiers into a line and pushed through the thick bush towards a deep rocky gorge. Dogs barked in alarm and the soldiers started to shoot. By the moonlight, the soldiers could see figures bounding from rock to rock. Some Aborigines were shot; some met their end by rushing in despair over the cliffs. Two women and three children were all who remained 'to whom death would not be a blessing'. Fourteen had died, among them Durelle, Cannabayagal a well-known mountain warrior whom Caley had met at Stonequarry Creek (See Fig. 1) in 1804,¹⁶ an old man named Balyin and some women and children. The bodies of Durelle and Cannabayagal were pulled up the cliff to be hung from trees on Broughton's farm as a warning to others. It was too difficult to recover any of the other bodies from the rocky gorge. Kennedy provided a cart so that the captured women and children could be taken to Liverpool.¹⁷

The Appin Massacre of 1816 is traditionally regarded as the annihilation of the Aboriginal people of Campbelltown and Camden. Durelle was probably a Dharawal but Cannabayagal was a Burragorang man. Their association in death suggests that some Dharawal, who had previously attempted to manipulate the Europeans against their traditional rivals, had when faced with indiscriminate European attacks sought new allies from among other Aboriginal groups.

Soldiers were left to guard the farms of Kennedy and Sykes. A few weeks later they captured Duall and Quayat of the Dharawal when they sought refuge on Kennedy's farm and sent them to Liverpool. After the massacre, Wallis and most of his men had marched north to Airds. A detachment lay in ambush for Budbury, their former Dharawal guide, while others patrolled the George's River searching for Gogy who they believed had returned from Botany Bay. A month after Macquarie's proclamation, their rations were exhausted and they returned to Sydney.¹⁸

Macquarie explained the military action and deaths as a necessary deterrent in consequence of three years of hostility. A proclamation in May 1816 forbade gatherings of armed Aborigines near European settlements. Two months later Macquarie outlawed ten Aborigines, including Yellooming, and settlers were forbidden to offer sanctuary to friendly Aborigines unless they gave information about the outlaws. The outlaw proclamation was

¹⁶ Gunson 1974:4, 316.

¹⁷ AONSW 4/1735, f.50-9; *Sydney Gazette*, 11 May 1816.

¹⁸ AONSW 4/1735, f.58-60.

withdrawn in November 1816 and amnesty offered to the surviving Aborigines to allow them to attend Macquarie's gathering of the tribes in December.¹⁹

After the conflicts of 1816 the Dharawal remained south of the Nepean River in the Cowpastures where the largest settlers were the Macarthur family. Although they had lost several employees during the violence, they made no attempt to remove the Dharawal from their land grants. In March 1818 James Meehan marked out some land on the Macarthur's Camden estate for Aborigines who wanted to live there under the protection of the Macarthurs.²⁰ (See Plate 1) A paddock on the Camden estate was always known as Budbury's.²¹ In the late 1820s the Dharawal on the Camden estate attended church dressed in European clothing. Occasionally Macarthur used them as a bodyguard, attending him liveried in red, blue and yellow and carrying spears.²²

There was little official interest in the Aborigines of Campbelltown. (See Plate 2) From the late 1820s the magistrates provided lists of local Aborigines who might be eligible for the annual distribution of blankets. Comparison of the lists of neighbouring police districts for the 1830s suggests that the surviving Dharawal and Gandangara moved between Campbelltown, the Cowpastures and Picton, rarely venturing to more populated Liverpool.

As settlement moved south and south-west, Campbelltown's magistrates became involved in the affairs of Aborigines from other districts. In September 1824 Throsby was concerned that the peaceful relationship between the Europeans and the Aborigines in Argyleshire, the pastoral district south of Camden, would be destroyed by the conduct of stockmen on the outstations. A sixteen-year-old Aboriginal girl from Lake George had been abducted by the servants of Richard Brooks, assaulted, raped and brought back to Brooks' Campbelltown estate, Denham Court. Throsby intervened as magistrate and summarily punished the convict servants but could not act against a free man who had similarly mistreated the girl's sister and threatened her friends with a gun when they attempted to rescue her. Throsby arranged for medical examination of the girl, left her in the care of the Cowpasture tribe and went to Lake George to find witnesses. The relations of the two girls had already gathered with spears looking for revenge and Throsby explained that the men would be punished.²³

Dharawal numbers were depleted by disease as well as warfare. Catarrh or influenza wiped out whole families but especially the elderly in 1820.²⁴ By 1845 the number of Aborigines in the Campbelltown Police District had dropped over the past ten years from twenty to none. Further south, Matthew McAlister of Picton reported that there were sixty-seven Aborigines in his district and a few others of mixed race, but numbers were falling. He blamed the decline on dissipation, lying on damp ground and consumption. This was the first official mention of alcohol as a problem in the area. McAlister reported that their food was inadequate, mainly possum and what they could beg from the whites because their traditional foods were disappearing with European occupation of their hunting grounds. They regarded the annual distribution of blankets as their right and were dissatisfied when the government ceased issuing them. The Aborigines found casual employment assisting

¹⁹ Wentworth Papers, ML A752, f.205; *HRA*, Vol. 9, p.141ff.

²⁰ Meehan Papers, ML C90.

²¹ Atkinson 1988:230.

²² Ellis 1955:510, 513.

²³ Leah 1984; AONSW 9/2734, No. 64.

²⁴ Cambage 1921:261; Buscombe 1982:38.

Plate 2. Dharawal at Campbelltown, January 1828 (John Scarr, 1828).
Courtesy Campbelltown and Airs Historical Society.

with reaping and maize husking, though the white farmers thought them lazy and paid them only in provisions, tobacco, old clothes and firearms. Mostly they were friendly and quiet.²⁵

Tribal life continued in a limited way. As late as 1845 the Cowpasture people still had their own 'carradgee' or doctor and did not require European medical assistance.²⁶ Corroborees were held at Camden Park and north of the Nepean at Denham Court until at least the 1850s, usually celebrated when other Aborigines were passing through the district so that attendances by more than 100 Aborigines were common.²⁷ In 1858 about 200 Aborigines were assembled at Campbelltown to celebrate the opening of the railway station. The little that is recorded of Dharawal language and customs was gathered by Europeans who met them in the late nineteenth century when their community had already been dispersed. John Rowley of Holsworthy who had explored with Dharawal guides in 1817 recorded some of their language in 1875 while R.H. Mathews (1841-1918) who was born at Narellan and grew up in the land of the Dharwal and Gandangara recorded some of their vocabulary and folklore in the 1890s.

Dharawal Men

Gogy²⁸

Gogy was the best known of the early Dharawal. He appears in the European records largely through accounts of his encounters with tribal justice, his experiences providing valuable evidence of the traditional practices of the County of Cumberland clans.

His first European acquaintance was probably John Warby. Ensign Francis Barrallier used Gogy as his guide for his explorations in 1802. Barrallier recorded that Gogy had been outlawed from his clan for a killing and had taken refuge with Goondel and his family in the south (probably Gandangara). After an exile of eight or nine months, Gogy was allowed to return to his own people. Gogy's gratitude for Goondel's hospitality did not last long. Some time later, Gogy and three companions caught a woman from Goondel's clan near Nattai, tied her to a tree and killed her, removing some flesh to eat. Gogy used Barrallier as a protector against Goondel's anger when they met during Barrallier's expedition.²⁹

In March 1805 Gogy was at Parramatta. Here he faced Benelong and Nanberry (both well-known to the European colonists) to suffer a punishment ordeal for having killed another Aborigine. Benelong and Nanberry threw spears at Gogy from a distance of four metres. One barbed spear lodged above Gogy's hip and another in his back below the loins. The European bystanders were unable to remove the second spear and feared that Gogy would die from his wounds. To their surprise, he survived for a week with the spear protruding from his back before it was removed. Gogy, despite his wound, then proceeded to the Hawkesbury to participate in a similar trial against another Aborigine charged by his people with murder. The Europeans admired the "stoic composure" which Gogy displayed.³⁰

²⁵ NSW Legislative Council 1845.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Onslow 1973:310-2, 450, 455-6; Atkinson 1988:231.

²⁸ Various spelt in surviving documents - Gogy, Goguey, Koggie, Cowgye.

²⁹ *HRA*, Vol.5, pp.587-8.

³⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 17, 31 March, 7 April 1805; Wiley 1985:144.

Gogy and his family - his wives Nantz and Mary and their children - were members of a group of Dharawal that Governor Macquarie met on his first visit to the Cowpastures in 1810.³¹

Seemingly an aggressive man in his youth, Gogy tried to avoid conflict in his old age. During the violence of May-June 1814, Gogy left Campbelltown to visit the Broken Bay Aborigines. His parting comments to the settlers that the Gandangara were cannibals added to the tension, though this was perhaps a tactic to manipulate the Europeans against traditional rivals.³² During the troubles of 1816, Gogy was one of several Dharawal men and their families who took refuge with Charles Throsby at Glenfield. While there, Gogy took John Wentworth, son of Principal Surgeon D'Arcy Wentworth, fishing on the George's River.³³ When the soldiers began an indiscriminate search for Aborigines, Gogy fled to Cunningham's farm at Botany Bay. His track was followed by the soldiers who traced him to the George's River and sighted Gogy's kangaroo dog but the country was too wild to give chase.³⁴ In June 1816 Gogy gave up his weapons in response to Macquarie's May proclamation forbidding armed gatherings of Aborigines but offering land, food and education to those who surrendered. Gogy, 'King of the George's River', later received one of Macquarie's gorget medallions.³⁵ Gogy disappears from the European records about 1820.

Bundle³⁶

Another Dharawal, Young Bundle or Bundle was also known to the Europeans because of his qualities as a warrior. He appeared near Parramatta in September 1809 with Tedbury, son of Pemulwoy, the Bidjigal warrior who had led a guerilla campaign against the Europeans in the 1790s. Tedbury had continued his father's tactics, attacking the settlers of the Cook and George's River areas in 1805 and again in 1809. These attacks were principally against stock and waylaying travellers to take their supplies.³⁷ In April 1816 Bundle was one of the unwilling Dharawal guides who accompanied John Warby and Captain James Wallis to apprehend Aboriginal outlaws. Aided by Warby, Bundle escaped from this unwelcome role.³⁸

In March 1818 he guided Meehan, Throsby and Hume on their search for an overland route to Jervis Bay. As interpreter to the Wodi Wodi of the Illawarra, Bundle explained Macquarie's regulations which forbade Aborigines carrying spears in the presence of Europeans. Familiar with European food, he ate salted pork.³⁹ On the recommendation of the Macarthurs, Bundle was briefly appointed a constable at Upper Minto in 1822. Though the appointment was not made permanent, Bundle regularly assisted the police throughout the 1820s.⁴⁰

³¹ Macquarie 1979:6-10.

³² *Sydney Gazette*, 4 June 1814.

³³ Wentworth Papers, ML A752; *Sydney Gazette*, 23 March 1816.

³⁴ AONSW 4/1735 f.50 ff.

³⁵ Ellis 1947:358; Bridges 1966:212.

³⁶ Young Bundle, Bundle, Bundell, Bundal.

³⁷ Wiley 1985:123-5, 168-70; *Sydney Gazette*, 3 September 1809.

³⁸ AONSW 4/1735.

³⁹ Cabbage 1921; Webster 1982.

⁴⁰ Atkinson 1988:229.

DHARAWAL AND GANDANGARA 1788-1830

Though there are several similarly named Aborigines, Bundle, aged 30, appears in the blanket returns for the Stonequarry Police District (Picton) in 1833 and 1834 and again, aged 35, in 1837.⁴¹ Known as the last Chief of the Cowpastures, recent work by Atkinson on Camden suggests that Bundle was alive into the 1840s.⁴²

Budbury⁴³

Budbury and his wife Mary were part of a group whom Macquarie met in the Cowpastures in 1810. The creek that flows through Campbelltown is known as Bunbury Curran Creek. Reputedly named after a naval officer, it could as easily have derived its name from 'Budbury's Current'.

Budbury was one of the Dharawal guides who accompanied John Warby in search of outlawed Aborigines in July 1814.⁴⁴ He guided Macquarie to the Nattai River in 1815.⁴⁵ In March 1816 when the Gandangara came down from the mountains, Budbury acted as interpreter for the settlers.⁴⁶ Though known as being friendly to the Europeans, he faced danger because of the inability of many settlers to identify individual Aborigines. Charles Throsby wrote to the *Sydney Gazette* in March 1816 of his concern that Budbury had been wrongly identified by a terrified settler as a member of a group of Aborigines who had attacked him. The following month, Budbury acted as an unwilling guide for Captain Wallis's expedition against the Cowpasture tribe until Warby assisted him to escape.⁴⁷ A few days later Budbury himself was the object of an unsuccessful military ambush.

By 1821 Budbury was regarded by the Europeans as the leader of the Cowpasture people.⁴⁸ From the earliest years of European settlement, Budbury was identified with the Macarthurs and Camden estate. In 1816 he was referred to as Mr Macarthur's Budbury.⁴⁹ He lived on the Camden estate where there was a paddock known as Budbury's.⁵⁰ Described by Sir William Macarthur as a fine warrior, 'a brave man and a quiet one too' Budbury may have lived until about 1860.⁵¹ Budbury, aged 45, was listed by the Stonequarry bench in 1833 and for the Cawdor district in 1834.⁵² Atkinson's work on the Camden estate records identified an adult baptism for John Budberry in the 1840s and found him listed on the electoral roll of 1859 as a labourer on the estate.⁵³

Dual⁵⁴

41 AONSW 4/6666.3; AONSW 4/1133.3.

42 Atkinson 1988: 21, 229.

43 Budbury, Bootbarie, Boodberrie, Boodbury.

44 AONSW 4/1730, p.231.

45 Atkinson 1988:228.

46 *Sydney Gazette*, 9 March 1816; ML MSS 1177/4.

47 AONSW 4/1735.

48 Gunson 1974:4.

49 *Sydney Gazette*, 16 March 1816.

50 Atkinson 1988:230.

51 Atkinson 1988:21.

52 AONSW 4/6666.3.

53 Atkinson 1988:230.

54 Dual, Duall, Dull, Dewel.

Duall was Hamilton Hume's Dharawal guide on his first exploration journey south to Berrima in 1814. During the months of conflict in 1816, Duall sought refuge at the farm of Hume's uncle, John Kennedy and was captured there by the soldiers in April 1816.⁵⁵ Four months later he was again arrested and sentenced to seven years transportation to Van Diemens Land for encouraging his people to rob the settlers.⁵⁶ Whether this sentence was carried out is not clear as a Dharawal named Duall guided Charles Throsby across the mountains from the Wingecarabee to Bathurst in 1819 and again guided Hume and Kennedy to Lake Bathurst and the Shoalhaven in 1821. On Throsby's recommendation he was given an inscribed medallion for his services to the explorers.⁵⁷ Duall, aged 40 with a wife and child, was listed on the return of the Cowpasture Aborigines for 1833.⁵⁸

GANDANGARA MEN

Bitugally⁵⁹

Following the death of a member of the Veteran Corps in a clash with Aborigines near Appin, the Europeans went searching for vengeance in May 1814. They murdered Bitugally's wife and two children while they slept. The woman's arm was cut off, her head scalped and the skull of one of the children smashed in with the butt of a musket. Their bodies were left unburied for their families to find.⁶⁰ The murder of Bitugally's family triggered widespread violence between the Aborigines and the Europeans in the winter of 1814. In July 1814 the children of a Bringelly settler were killed by Aborigines. Among the five Aborigines blamed for this was Bitugally who was outlawed by Macquarie. An armed search party was sent to capture him but returned empty-handed three weeks later.⁶¹

Charles Throsby did not believe that Bitugally had been involved in the murder of Daley's children, though he may have been involved in killing a stockman at Appin. Even if Bitugally had killed the children, Throsby could accept that the act was vengeance for the brutality his family had suffered at the hands of the Europeans.⁶²

Bitugally was again declared an outlaw by Macquarie in 1816. He was given refuge on Kennedy's farm at Appin. Kennedy and his nephew, Hamilton Hume, argued with the soldiers that Bitugally was not hostile to the Europeans and had protected Kennedy's and Broughton's farms from attack. Kennedy offered his personal bond to bring Bitugally before the governor but Hume then convinced Captain Wallis that Bitugally was not on the list of outlaws.⁶³ No mention has been found of Bitugally after 1816.

Yellooming⁶⁴

⁵⁵ AONSW 4/1735 f.60; Liston 1988:17.

⁵⁶ *Sydney Gazette*, 3 August 1816.

⁵⁷ Liston 1988:25.

⁵⁸ AONSW 4/6666.3.

⁵⁹ Bitugally, Bootagallie, Ballanyabbie.

⁶⁰ *Sydney Gazette*, 14 May and 18 June 1814; Wentworth Papers, ML A752.

⁶¹ AONSW 4/1730.

⁶² Wentworth Papers, ML A752.

⁶³ AONSW 4/1735.

⁶⁴ Yellooming, Yellaman.

Yellooming was named as an outlaw by Macquarie in July 1814.⁶⁵ Yellooming's child had been killed by Europeans.⁶⁶ During the conflicts of 1816, Yellooming took refuge on Kennedy's farm at Appin. Kennedy and Hume defended him from the soldiers, arguing that Yellooming was friendly to Europeans.⁶⁷ Yellooming was one of ten Aborigines listed as an outlaw in Macquarie's proclamation of 20 July 1816. Refuge, food and assistance was denied to them and a reward offered for their capture or death.⁶⁸ There is no mention of Yellooming after 1816.

Wollorong⁶⁹

Jacki Jacki or Jack Wollorong, a Burragorang man, was the best known Aborigine in Campbelltown in the 1830s where he was very active in assisting the police. He was not a local man of the Dharawal but Wollorong and his wives Kitty, Bidy and Hannah were, according to the Police Magistrate, the only Aborigines routinely in the town.⁷⁰ Wollorong collected blankets for his family from both Campbelltown and Stonequarry in 1834. He was probably about 30 years of age. Wollorong and his wives continue to appear on the magistrates' for 1837, 1838 and into the early 1840s.⁷¹

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⁶⁵ AONSW 4/1730, p.218.

⁶⁶ Wentworth Papers, ML A752.

⁶⁷ AONSW 4/1735.

⁶⁸ *Sydney Gazette*, 20 July 1816.

⁶⁹ Wollorong, Wallalang.

⁷⁰ AONSW 4/6666.3.

⁷¹ AONSW 4/1133.3; Atkinson 1988:230.

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