
# Season 2 - Episode 1
# The Mark's Murders
# What is the truth?

Greg: 00:10 From 'Today's Stories'…… This is 'The Mark's Murders'…. A story of murder and mayhem told over several episodes by myself, Greg and by Peter.

This is Episode 1.

Also, a warning. This series of podcasts discusses the murders of indigenous and non-indigenous people. It contains the names of Aboriginal people who have died. Whilst quoting original historical material, this series also contains:

• racist language,

• some language that would be seen as inappropriate today, and

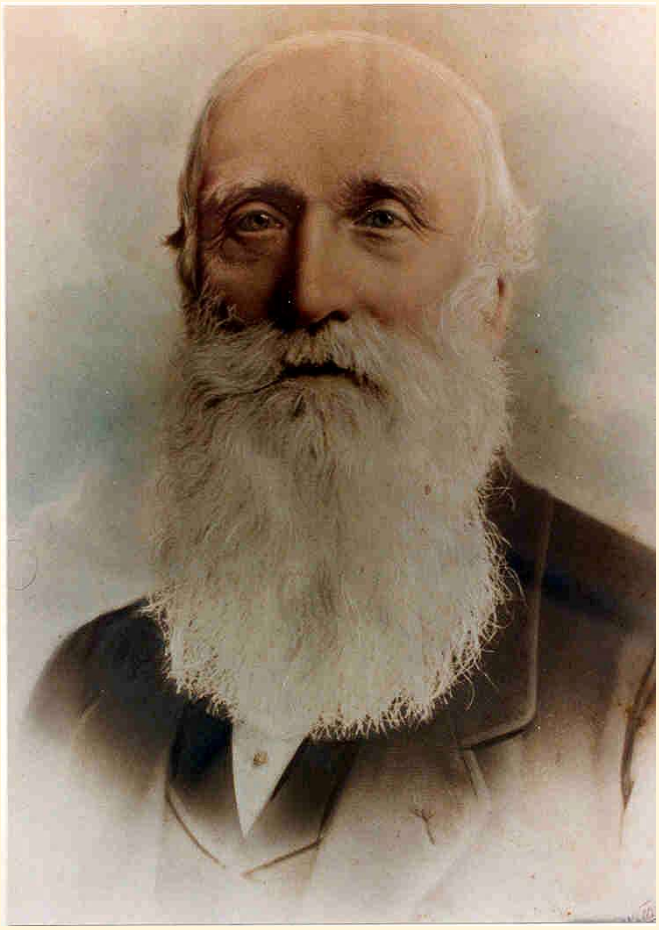
• historical ideas that are offensive.

Peter: 00:55 It's 1847 – about 50 km north-west of modern-day Goondiwindi. The following are the words of John Watts, an early squatter on the Darling Downs.

John Watts: 01:09 *"Marks was a splendid shot, and the blacks were very much afraid of him, and from information I obtained from the Beebo people, they had long been watching to kill him, but he never let his rifle go out of his hand; so after waiting several days and not being able to kill the father, they made up their minds to kill the boy. So, on this day, so soon as the father left him, they stole up and killed the boy, and having done so cut him to pieces with their tomahawks and placed the remains all along the log where he had been seated".*[1]

Greg: 01:51 That sounds gruesome. I haven't heard of Aboriginal people dismembering a body before. I wonder if that story is true. Do you know?

Peter: 01:57 Well, that's what we need to explore – but the story doesn't end there. John Watts' story continues….



John Watts, aged 80 (1901)

John Watts: 02:06 *"For a time, the father did not discover the remains of his son, and when he did, one cannot wonder his vowing vengeance against every black he came across. In a few days, he managed to get up a party to follow on the tracks, but before this he had managed to recover his sheep which the blacks had found it difficult to move. They followed the tracks with the assistance of a black tracker, and on the third evening came up to them at Callandoon, not far from Goondiwindi, which station was owned by Mr. Morris. Not waiting until morning, they fired into the camp, and the only one that was killed was a black gin[2] which had been shepherding for Mr. Morris. This caused a great trouble and warrants were taken out for the murder of this gin, and although there could be no justification for their action, it caused a very bad feeling in the Colony. It was a most foolish thing to do to fire into a camp in which there were many who had taken no part in the murder of Mark's son. At the same time, one can understand their action, and the more so as the father was smarting under the pain of his great loss, and anxious to be revenged on these murderers, and as up to this date there had been no protection to the settlers, they had to defend themselves."*

Greg: 03:38 This story just gets worse – the murder[3] and mutilation of a boy followed by the subsequent murder of an innocent Aboriginal woman.

Peter: 03:45 Yeah – perhaps more gruesome than it sounds. But first, I need to explain where this story comes from. I'm currently the custodian of a special family document. It's the *Personal Reminiscences*[4] of my great-great grandfather – John Watts. In 1901, when he was 80 years old, John sat down and wrote his life story – a story that started in England in 1821 - then moved to Australia in 1842 before he returned to England in

later life to retire. John was an early squatter on the Darling Downs in Queensland, a magistrate[5] known as Honest John[6], a member of the first Queensland parliament[7] and ultimately a Government minister.

John Watts, Esq. (c. 1855)
(taken from *Personal Reminiscences*)

Greg: 04:30 Yeah. I've seen that document. It is a special heirloom.

Peter: 04:33 Yes indeed. John's *Personal Reminiscences* has been passed down through the family for over a century now. I've had this document in a back cupboard for a long time and I've roughly known John's story. However, in recent years, I've started to read this document with more insight as I've learnt a lot more about the early history of Queensland, particularly the frontier conflicts with the Aboriginal people. While I now know that John had some enlightened views about his role as an employer, as a magistrate and even as a politician, he had a view about the indigenous people of Australia that, at best, indicates that he was a man of his times. We need to remember that John's life paralleled that of Queen Victoria – this was the era of British imperialism - that policy of extending England's power and influence through colonization, use of military force, or other means.

Greg: 05:29 Yeah. To understand the murders, we need context. Context is always so important in understanding a story. There often can be a lot of meaning behind just a few words.

Peter: 05:40 Yes. So, this brief section within John's story – it's a mere 520 words – just raises a whole bunch of questions for me.

Did this episode really happen?

If so, how accurate is John's account?

Is this the full story?

So, why did the Aboriginal people want to kill Marks and then kill his son?

Did the Aboriginal people really cut the boy up into pieces with tomahawks?

Now, after his vowing vengeance against every Aboriginal person he came across, what did Marks do?

With my current understanding of our history, I've got to wonder if Marks participated in a massacre of Aboriginal people. John Watts notes that warrants were taken out against Marks for the murder of the Aboriginal woman. This sounds a lot like the Myall Creek Massacre where European people were charged, convicted and executed for the murders of Aboriginal people. Is this so?

John Watts seems to have some sympathy for Marks. Is this so? Should we really have sympathy for Mr Marks?

Greg: 06:47 Yeah, you're right. There are a lot of unanswered questions here. We should look into this event and look for the truth. So, where to from here?

Peter: 06:55 Well, with very little effort, I found that the bones of this incident have been already published elsewhere. Here's one example of the reporting of the story. This is taken from *Remembering the Myall Creek Massacre* - a book which discusses that notorious incident which happened in 1837.

Denise: 07:16 *"In 1847-48, there were several violent interactions that led to a mass killing of Bigambul people on Umbercollie Station, on the Macintyre River about 200 km north of Myall Creek. Margaret Young of Umbercollie described the succession of events in her journal.[8] First a Bigambul boy was killed when taking meat to squatter James Marks on Goodar Station; then Marks's son was murdered. Young described Marks's frenzied response, calling him 'a hater of all Aboriginals', 'shooting every native in sight', including the people working on the station run by her and her husband. Margaret reported that 'Jonathon [her husband] flatly refused to take part in this organised massacre, as he considered Mr Marks had brought this tragedy upon himself, by his own ruthless shooting'. Jonathon reported Marks and the other whites to the police, and some of the killers, but not the landholder Marks, were arrested and charged with murder. They were brought to trial in Maitland on 12 February 1849 but were not convicted, due to perjury by one of the hut-keepers.[9]*

Greg: 08:46 OK, well that was Margaret Youngs' version. How does it compare with John Watts' version of the same story?

Peter: 08:51 Well, there are some common aspects. I mean, both say that Mark's son was murdered. Both say that Marks took revenge with other people assisting him, and both say that there were charges were issued for murder but there was no conviction. However, both versions don't include answers to the questions I've raised. The problem I have here is, not what is said, but is what's NOT said.

Greg: 09:17 Fair enough. Where to from here then?

Peter: 09:20 Well, before we start exploring the truth of this matter, I need to point out that, later on in his *Reminiscences*, John Watts continues. He says:

John Watts: 09:33 *"Marks declared he would never be taken alive, and when I saw him, I asked him how he managed to escape service of this warrant, and he said, "I have friends all over the country who let me know when Mr. Walker is in the neighbourhood, and I never leave my rifle out of my reach, and whoever tries to take me must kill or be killed, and I retire into the scrub and my people supply me with food until all is clear again." I saw him some years after in Brisbane, and the warrant was never executed, and I expect the Government, after the trial of the two who were taken being acquitted, thought it was no use to try any more. The Native Police put such fear into the tribes in this district that there was no more trouble, and the country began to settle down and progress".*

Greg: 10:32 OK. Well John mentions Captain Frederick Walker, fairly notorious commander of the Native Police. He also says that, even though a warrant was issued for Marks, it was never executed, and Marks was not punished for his actions. That doesn't sound right. And you've also said previously that John became a magistrate. If he was a representative of the legal system, shouldn't he have notified the police when he met with Marks?

Peter: 10:56 Yeah. Potentially, yes. But I guess it depends on where and when John met Marks. We need to find out when that meeting happened and why "Honest John" didn't inform the police about Marks' whereabouts.

Greg: 11:11 OK - So we have two summaries of a number of murders that occurred in 1847 on the frontier of the European occupation around Goondiwindi but these stories leave more questions than answers. How do you find the truth – get the full story?

Peter: 11:27 Well, I think we need to undertake our own true-crime investigation into the murders and find every detail we can about the incident. Without all the details – and, in particular, the back story of the participants and the aftermath – we'll never have any chance of finding the truth of this incident on the frontier.

Greg: 11:47 Agreed – but is there any reason to suspect that the versions you've found aren't a true and complete account?

Peter: 11:54 Well, a great truism is that history is written by the victors. In this story, John Watts – who represents the early squatters - is clearly the victor, so his version of the story – even if his words are true – may be distorted by what he omits to say and how he says it. Well, I did say that John was a Victorian-era, British imperialist. I think it's best for John to speak for himself. This is what he says in his *Personal Reminiscences*.

The Hon. John Watts (c. 1867)
Minister for Works
(taken from *Personal Reminiscences*)

John Watts: 12:27 *"Some may say we had no business to take this country from the natives, and therefore it was natural they should try to drive us out of it. If that is so, then it was equally wrong of the Government to grant licenses to occupy, and then leave the settlers to protect themselves. I am one of those who think this fine country never was intended to be only occupied by a nomad race who made no use of it except going from place to place and living only on the wild animals and the small roots of the earth, and never in any way cultivating one single inch of ground."*

Greg: 13:09 Wow. That sounds a lot like a "*terra nullius*" statement. He clearly doesn't see any issue with the English taking over the land from the Aboriginal people. I can see what you mean about him being a man for his times.

Peter: 13:22 Yeah and we'll discuss *terra nullius* in our next episode but there's more. Here is his view on the role of English as colonists.

John Watts: 13:34 *"It will be seen that a pioneer's life was no easy one, but the pluck of the Anglo-Saxon race is such that they overcome all difficulties, and I think there is no question that they have proved themselves to be the best colonists in the world, to prove this we have only to look at Australia, New Zealand, the Cape of Good Hope."*

Greg: 13:57 OK. I can see John's telling of his story must be from the view of the Brits!

Peter: 14:03 Yep. I should add that there is a bit more information about Marks from John Watts' story. The background to this extract is that it follows a section where John is describing the introduction of Captain Frederick Walker and the Native Police into Queensland – now, that's a whole other story and we will discuss this in later episodes! He's just described the Native Police's first action in Queensland. He then describes an incident that occurred in about 1846. He starts by saying…

John Watts: 14:34 *"Just before this, Mr. Marks, who had taken up a station, which he called Yelloroy, was attacked by the blacks, lost some of his shepherds and sheep, and was obliged to abandon his station, came in and brought his stock to the station that Capt. Scott's people had left."*

Peter: 14:52 So, this is John's first mention of Marks. He notes that Marks was driven off one station called Yelleroy by the Aboriginal people there and then moved to another station. I now know that the second station was Goodar, which is about 40 km north-west of Goondiwindi. John then goes on to say:

John Watts: 15:12 *"Not being able to obtain a shepherd he had to go out with them himself. He had only one flock left, and every morning he went out to follow his flock and brought them back to camp within reach of his hut by middle day, when his son, only a lad, came out to be with them during his father's absence at dinner. When one day, about a month after being at this station, he had as usual brought his sheep to the usual camping ground, and his son came out to take charge, and as there is nothing to do when sheep camp, the lad sat down on a log, where his father left him. On his return, he could see neither sheep nor son."*

Eton Vale Head Station (1860)
(taken from *Personal Reminiscences*)

Peter: 15:58 This is all that John provides as back story to the Mark's Murders. So, these small sections of John's long story – just 700 words in total now - seem to have quite a lot hidden behind them. We should take up the challenge – conduct our own true-crime investigation – and find the truth of these murders.

Greg: 16:22 Well, that sounds like a bit of a challenge or two.

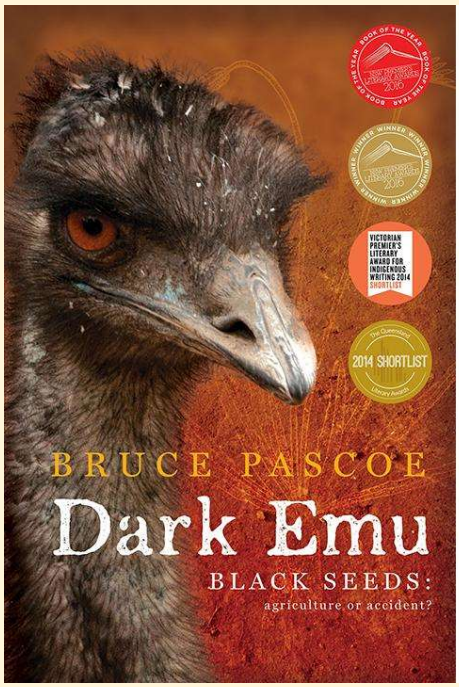
Peter: 16:25 Yes, it is quite a challenge – and for several reasons. Firstly, we need to be careful that our investigation is not tainted by the personal spin of those reporting on the story – and, yes, I do mean journalists and historians and even politicians like John Watts. They have a habit of putting a spin on everything.

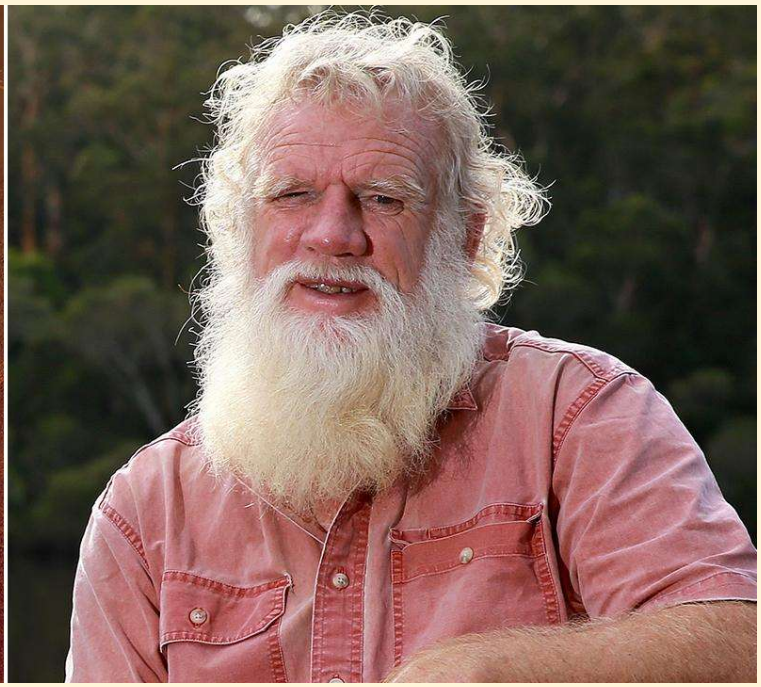
Greg: 16:46 Yeah. I agree. We should search for the untainted truth but how much untainted information is going to be out there? After all, we're talking about 150 years ago out on the frontier. How are we going to find sound information?

Peter: 17:01 Well, there've been many histories written of the frontier times in Australia – some recent, well-researched books and several older books that have quite an imperialist spin. I think we should stay away from all of them. We need to find contemporaneous records. I think that *Dark Emu*[10] is a good model for us to follow.

Greg: 17:22 Now, I have heard of the term – *Dark Emu*. What is it?

Peter: 17:27 *Dark Emu* is a recent book written by Bruce Pascoe. In 2007, he wrote a book about frontier encounters called *Convincing Ground: Learning to Fall in Love with Your Country*. These are the opening lines of *Dark Emu*.



Bruce Pascoe: 17:45 *"After my book on the Australian colonial frontier battles, Convincing Ground, was published in 2007, I was inundated with more than 200 letters and emails – many of them from fourth generation farmers and Aboriginal people. Farmers sent me their great grandparents' letters and documents about the frontier war and*

*Aboriginal people sent new information on many of those same battles. I already had a pile of information collected from research conducted too late to make it into Convincing Ground and after following the leads from correspondents I discovered much more. I began to see a consistent thread running through the material; not only that the frontier war had been misrepresented in what we had been taught in school but also that the economy and culture of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people had been grossly undervalued".*

Peter: 18:46 What Bruce Pascoe found is there **IS** a lot of contemporaneous information out there – lots of journals and letters and diaries. They often accurately tell the story of what was happening but then go on to put the Victorian imperialist spin on those facts. In *Dark Emu*, Bruce looks at what the early explorers and squatters saw, and said, and then he avoids their British interpretations. Instead, he looks at what they said and re-evaluates the information without a filter. *Dark Emu* is a book that describes the agricultural and pastoral management activities of indigenous people. Many earlier historians couldn't see that Aboriginal people could participate in agriculture – after all, everybody knew for a fact that Aboriginals were just primitive hunter-gatherers, not settled agricultural people.

Greg: 19:40 OK. I agree about "the well-known facts" idea. It's the right approach but we need to find contemporaneous reports and re-evaluate the information anew. Won't that be a little difficult?

Peter: 19:53 Well, like Bruce Pascoe found, 20 and 30 years ago, yes, it would have been very difficult. It would have required finding hard copies of diaries and letters. This would mean being in the bowels of various state archives and university libraries for months on end. But, in recent years, many of these documents have been digitised and are now available on-line. Better than that, we now have Trove[11] run by the National Library of Australia. With this on-line resource, we can quickly search books, newspapers, government gazettes, all sorts of stuff published at the time. It's just a fantastic resource. Rather than spending hour upon hour, buried in the basement of a library, it's now possible to get access to lots of information. So, we can use lots of good sources to research this story.

Greg: 20:44 Well, it sounds good. Where to from here?

Peter: 20:47 Well, there's another problem. I've always thought of John Watts' *Personal Reminiscences* as a contemporaneous source. After all, he was there on the frontier and he had actual experiences of some of these events. In his *Personal Reminiscences*, he says that, at one stage, he actually spoke directly to Mr Marks and he details what was said. But, in reality, the *Personal Reminiscences* were written over 50 years after the events. It is based, to some degree, on his memories and memories are not perfect. Similarly, I know that Margaret Young's journal was also written many years after the event.

Greg: 21:29 Yeah – we all get forgetful with age! Are you suggesting that we can't use his *Personal Reminiscences* and those of Margaret Young's because they're not contemporaneous?

Peter: 21:40 Well no – but we're not trained historians. I think it's time to get some advice from an expert. Let's go and talk to Maurice. He's a local historian who's

extensively researched the early days of British occupation on the Darling Downs. He must have encountered these types of issues before.

Greg: 21:56 That sounds like a good idea.

Peter: 21:58 Maurice, as you're aware, we're embarking on a journey to find out the truth about the Mark's Murders down at Goondiwindi. This is a similar work to what you've done on the Darling Downs. So, we're after your advice. Firstly, we have two important journals written by people who were in the area at the time, but these journals were written many years after the event, in John Watts' case, 50 years after the event. So, in some ways these journals that are a bit like recording an oral history, they're not recorded on the day. They're based on memory. They must have relied on their memories of the events and memories are never perfect. Certainly, as an historian, you must have encountered this before. So, what's your experience and advice here about oral history?

Maurice: 22:48 Well, there are three types of oral histories really. Firstly, there's oral tradition, which is characteristic of pre-literate societies where there's no system of writing except perhaps pictographic writing. And this is, of course it's germane to indigenous societies wherever they might be and where the oral tradition is inculcated, memorized, learning in order to explain the universe and so on. In that case, the memory is well trained, but it's very well trained in general matters rather than specific matters. The second type of oral history is the one you've just mentioned, which is the elderly gentlemen writing down his autobiographical memoir several decades after the things occurred, and the third is oral history as practiced by many academic historians from just after the Second World War when oral history became an academic study. This was largely begun in England where people wanted to know about the life of the ordinary people, the working classes or the people not in the mainstream story. And it mainly involved interviews using tape recorders and more recently other digital devices. The oral historians in that third category have done quite a lot of work on memory and their findings have been that people are very, very good at remembering general patterns that is, the way things were done on the farm 50 years ago or in a factory 60 years ago, but they're not very good on a specific date, time or place for anything unless it really impacted them or affected them personally as in having a farm injury or factory injury or so on. So, they're good on generalities on the patterns of life, but not very good on specific times and places and dates. It's rather like witnesses in a crime. Ask five witnesses, why a traffic accident occurred, and you'll get five different versions of it and the poor police detective and the jury and judge have to make up their mind on the balance of probabilities. So, the category in which you're talking about, the memoirs written several decades after the event, are simply an oral history written down basically. Some of those, however, do have the advantage of consulting diaries or journals that they may have kept, or letters they may have written home to jog their memories. In the case of John Watts where he does mention specific times and places at least to the month and year if not the day. So, he may have been consulting something or he may have had a very good memory.

Peter: 25:29 I think having read a fair bit of it, as you said, he remembers activities. So, he remembers herding sheep across the Condamine River when it was in flood and he remembers going down to *Beebo* and you know, he remembers in particular, a voyage back to England around Cape Horn where he almost drowned. But I do think that

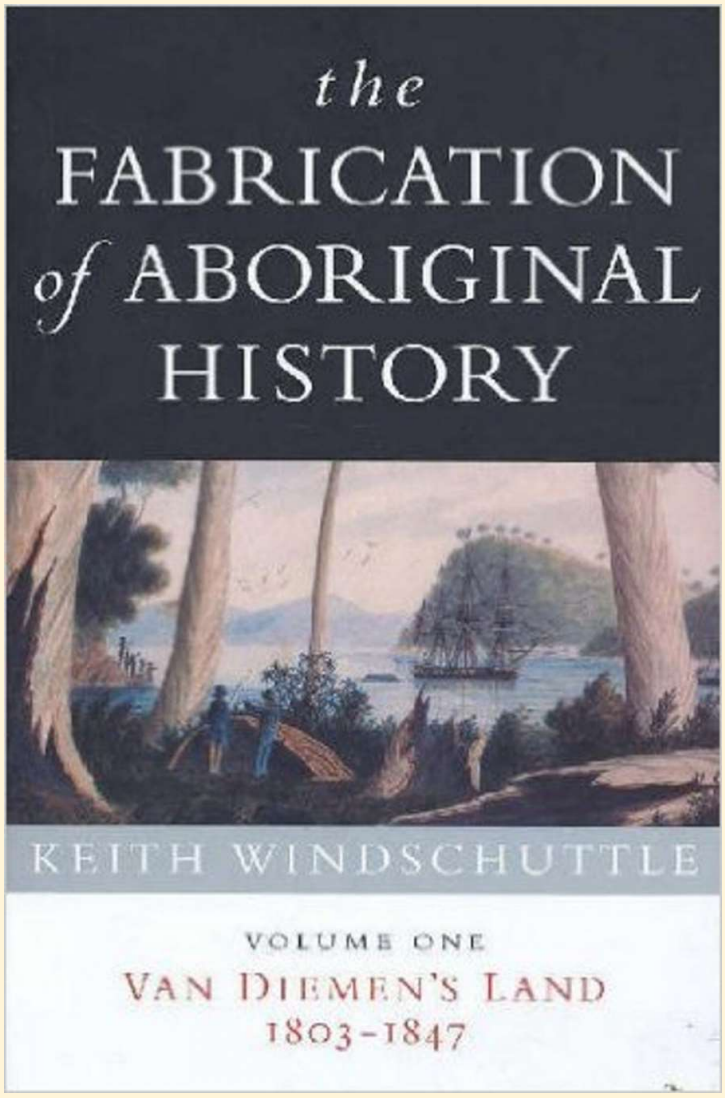
sometimes his dates are a little blurry as to when it happened, but he remembers very clearly that a certain event happened.

Maurice: 25:53 Yes, that's right. And that's why it's always an advantage if we can get several people remembering the same time and places in general terms. So, you can cross-check what he says. Yes. Being reliant on one source only is a little dubious.

Greg: 26:11 Some of the older people had a habit of keeping a diary. Was that common place or was it something that just a few people did?

Maurice: 26:18 Well it was commonplace for those who were literate and could, you know, who could read and write, which was a surprisingly a fairly substantial portion of the population.

Peter: 26:29 Okay. So, we know something about memory. It's not perfect, but people remember specific events and I think that's relevant to us because we're talking about remembering murders. But I remember a few years back, this thing called the History Wars,[12] and I remember a fellow Keith Windschuttle[13] who claimed that a lot of what was being said was not true[14] because there wasn't enough factual stuff written down and it was based on all of history. Is there anything we can learn out of that?



Maurice: 26:57 Well, Windschuttle's view of history is that unless it exists in an official written record, there's no evidence of anything ever happened. So even to some extent that, you know, John Watts' reminiscences are suspect because they're not official and they've written down so long after the event. They're not contemporaneous. So, in Windschuttle's view, this empirical approach to history is very limiting. The History Wars is really an invented term. It really comes from America where there was great debates in America from the 1960 through to the present about what curriculum should be taught in American high schools because it affects national image, national values. That's where the History Wars comes from. Really, in Australia, it's been this sort of, almost sort of confected about what constitutes history. Is that the hard evidence in black and white official documents or is it the interpretation of less official statements? Let me give you an example from the Downs. There's Ernest Dalrymple who was one of the first squatters on the Downs. He writes home to his parents on New Year's Day 1844 - says we've spent the whole day out hunting the niggers - with niggers underlined for emphasis[15]. Now that's all he says. He doesn't say we caught them and killed 60 or whatever. But what do you read into that? What do you mean "he's out hunting the niggers?" So, there's that sort of - I mean, that's a contemporaneous statement written a few days after the event and there's no reason to make it up. So, you get an idea of what was happening on the frontier in those first few years of contact if you like. So Windschuttle would dismiss that.

Peter: 28:45 As having no value? That's a very high bar because, I mean on the other hand, I assume the Black Armband[16] people then took that and interpreted it in the most negative way possible?

Maurice: 28:57 Well, this is a matter of - again it comes back to a matter of ideology. I mean it's really, how do you want Australia to view itself? Now, from the 1920's through to just after the Second World War, there was a lot of workbooks produced about the settlement of Australia about the squatter's role in Australia. And this was all very positive, what we would call "white triumphalism". It's spreading civilization to the unoccupied, that sort of things. And that's the sort of view. People who went to school or teachers who were trained between the wars and then taught into the 50s and early 60s were teaching this sort of "white triumphalist" view to the children. So, people brought up in the school system at time have this - "Oh, it was great and the squatters did great things, and everything is good. We civilized Australia, etc".

Peter: 29:51 Well, that's exactly the experience Greg and I have had. We recall from high school and from primary school in the 60s, you know, what were we taught about the Aboriginals when the white man came and essentially, well, they just sort of drifted off and there was no conflict and look, the squatters were great and that's what we were taught throughout our whole life.

Maurice: 30:09 Yes, that's right. That's right. Of course what happened from the late sixties, early seventies onwards as historians, academic historians, began to look through the documents more closely, they began to see evidence, especially Henry Reynolds who is a Tasmanian, but was actually in North Queensland at the time, came across this evidence of what he called *The Other Side of the Frontier*[17] about massacres, conflict, etc. And from then there was a burgeoning of 'conflict studies', if I group them together like that, which challenged the white triumphalist view, the peaceful occupation and settlement of civilizing colonization of Australia and this was labelled the Black Armband view of history. That, you know, there was something we had to be

apologetic for, sorry, or at least rueful, regretful for in the sense of funerary sort of things. I think it was John Howard who actually used the term, the Black Armband view of history and it was really, this is part of a debate about what should be taught in the schools.

Peter: 31:15 That's the bit I remember - politicians becoming involved with teaching education about our history. That bit annoyed me.

Maurice: 31:21 Now, as for example, you know, the historian we're already talking about. He's actually a journalist rather than an historian, you know, he's got that extreme view - that history can only be based on the official records through to where you swing to the right to the other end of the pendulum and say, "Oh, all oral history is absolutely true". You know what the Aborigines are telling us about this, their society and massacres, whatever, is absolutely true. Well historians, you know, I mean the large group of historians have to settle somewhere in the middle. Again, it's the balance of probabilities. What is the most likely scenario?

Peter: 32:00 Well, and I have a personal view from my experience in life that nothing's ever black and white and without meaning that about race. Sure, there'll be some squatters who were good, let's say, whatever that word means, and others who are horrible and painting all squatters with the same brush is not valid.

Maurice: 32:24 That's right, you can't. I mean, I've done this in the past - talked generically about squatters as a group or at least the 'Pure Merino' group of the other Darling Downs and so on, who in a sense were, you know, elitist. They were an elite group in their own image, but also, you know, compared with other areas of Squatterdom. Yeah, within that there were bad apples if you say, just as there were good apples. I mean we've had the example of the Mark's murders you're talking about, is a case of a squatter who's not in my view, sort of a typical squatter because he's comes from so rather poorer origins, shall we say than the generic sort of group generally and then we have people like Tinker Campbell, who like John Watts, says he never fired at an Aborigine at all. So this is not something I've researched properly, but in my view, a lot of the squatters had military experience and some of them, a lot of them came from out of the Indian service where they're used to dealing with people of different colour and different culture, different civilization. They, to some extent I think, probably had better generic relations with the Aborigines than people who came straight from the homeland and had no initial contact with different cultures.

Peter: 33:43 So we take the History Wars with a grain of salt, let's say, and let's not disregard oral history, but not over-interpret it. Perhaps that's the best way.

Greg: 33:59 Well that was good advice from Maurice. We can use oral history, but we need to cross-check as much as possible.

Peter: 34:05 Well, it is useful to know that we can use oral histories because I've just found a journal written by that Tinker Campbell that Maurice referred to. So, we need to look into Tinker and also that Captain Scott that John Watts mentions as well of course as Mr Marks and Jonathan Young. Why – because I believe strongly that people are all different individuals – not stereotypes from some history book. When adversity occurs, different people react differently.

Greg: 34:35 Agreed - and once we know the players, we should try to find out, in detail, the facts of where and when the murders occurred. So here we are starting out on a journey, seeking the truth of John Watts' 700 words.

Peter: 34:51 Yes – in the next episode, we need to look into the big-picture story of the squatters in Australia and their arrival on the McIntyre. We need to understand squatters and how and why John Watts, James Mark, Tinker Campbell and the Young family ended up in country Queensland in the 1840s and how the original inhabitants and the squatters interacted. So, let's find out – What is the truth of this story!

Greg: 35:20 We'd like your views on this topic. If so, please contact us on email or comment on our Facebook - contact details are on our webpage – www.todaysstories.com.au. Full details of this story are available on our website and please remember to subscribe to our podcast.

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Thank you for listening.

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## Citations

[1] John Watts, *Personal Reminiscences*, Allendale, Wimborne, 1901. OM Box 10937, ACC 5823, John Oxley Library, Brisbane, p. 40.

[2] Gin - Offensive term for an Aboriginal woman. It is derived from the Dharuk word diyin, meaning woman, or wife, but it has come to be used as a highly derogatory term, often in connection with sexual exploitation of Aboriginal women by whites. (Dharuk is an Aboriginal language of the area around Sydney, Australia, now extinct) https://www.nosunlightsinging.com/glossary.html

[3] Murder is generally defined as the unlawful premeditated killing of one human being by another. Some of the killings discussed in this series may have been manslaughter - the crime of killing a human being without malice aforethought, or in circumstances not amounting to murder. Others may have been self-defence. There is usually not enough detailed information available for each killing to distinguish the type of killing so the term – murder – is used throughout.

[4] *Personal Reminiscences*, https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/blogs/m_680_john_watts.pdf

[5] Government Gazette Appointments and Employment (1855, April 6). New South Wales Government Gazette (Sydney, NSW: 1832 - 1900), p. 1035. Retrieved December 5, 2019, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article229755138

[6] ODDS AND ENDS FROM DRAYTON. (1867, June 1). The Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser (Toowoomba, Qld.: 1858 - 1880), p. 3. Retrieved December 5, 2019, from http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article75520266

[7] Queensland's first Parliament - Historical Background - https://www.parliament.qld.gov.au/members/former/first-parliament

[8] A.E. Tonge (1980), *The Youngs of Umbercollie: The First White Family in South-West Queensland*, (Mitchell Library, Sydney, M.L. MSS 3821 5-537C)

[9] Lydon, Jane, 1965- & Ryan, Lyndall, 1943- & EBSCOhost (2018). *Remembering the Myall Creek massacre*. Newsouth Publishing, Kensington, NSW, p.102.

[10] Pascoe, Bruce & ProQuest (Firm) (2018). *Dark emu: Aboriginal Australia and the birth of agriculture*. Scribe Publications UK Ltd, London, United Kingdom; Brunswick, Victoria, Australia.

[11] Trove - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trove

[12] Australian History Wars - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_wars

[13] Keith Windschuttle - https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keith_Windschuttle

[14] Keith Windschuttle, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Volume One: Van Diemen's Land 1803–1847, Macleay Press, 2002.

[15] The statement is in a letter from George Leslie to his elder brother William Leslie (in Scotland), dated 1 January 1844. The original letter (No 209) is in Letters of the Leslie Brothers in Australia 1834-1860 in John Oxley library OM71-43. Leslie Family Papers 1833-1860; 1878; 1939-1940.

[16] Geoffrey Blainey, *Drawing Up a Balance Sheet of Our History*, in Quadrant, vol.37 (7–8), July/August 1993.

[17] Reynolds, Henry & Brissenden collection (1990). *The other side of the frontier: Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion of Australia* (Rev. ed). Penguin, Ringwood, Vic.