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THE SEARCH FOR
COLLET BARKER
OF RAFFLES BAY

by

D. J. Mulvaney

State Library of the Northern Territory

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INTRODUCTION

The Eric Johnston Lecture series was established to fill a serious gap in Darwin's cultural calendar, since the city had no lecture series dealing in depth with the Territory's culture and history in all its diverse ramifications.

The series was named after the Territory's then Administrator Commodore Eric Johnston. Commodore Johnston himself delivered the first lecture in 1986, and has taken a personal interest in the series ever since.

The Eric Johnston Lectures are delivered annually, in general alternating between a prominent Territorian and a reputable interstate/overseas personality. The topics of the lectures can cover any subject providing the central theme relates to the Northern Territory. The lectures are published by the State Library of the Northern Territory in its Occasional Papers series, and we are optimistic that the ABC will continue its established practice of recording and subsequently broadcasting the lectures.

The Eric Johnston Lectures have already established themselves as a prestigious and scholarly annual event in Darwin and have made a real and lasting contribution to the spread of knowledge on Territory history and culture throughout Australia.

The 1993 lecture was delivered by Professor D. J. Mulvaney on one of the earliest British military settlements in North Australia, concentrating on its Commandant, Captain Collet Barker.

Professor Mulvaney, Emeritus Professor of Prehistory at the Australian National University from 1971 to 1985, is truly one of the great academic figures in Australia today. Dubbed by many "The father of Australian prehistory" he is the author of many classic works, and has conducted much of his fieldwork in the Northern Territory.

However, over the last few years he has been studying more recent times, a mere 160 years ago. The journals of Captain Collet Barker proved an irresistible attraction, and, together with Neville Green, he edited the almost illegible transcripts to produce another book destined to become a standard work in years to come: "Commandant of Solitude: the journals of Captain Collet Barker, 1828-1831".

In this lecture he answers the question, "Who was Collet Barker?", and puts flesh on the bare bones which history (at least history up to this time) has left us. We see a firm officer and an able administrator, though kind and sensitive, and arguably one of the very first white men to accept Aboriginal society for what it was, and make no attempt to 'civilise' or Westernise the Aborigines in the neighbourhood of Fort Wellington.

We are indebted to Professor Mulvaney for his clear, erudite and interesting talk, and hope that the publication of this paper will help to make the name of Collet Barker just that little bit better known in the Northern Territory, and indeed in Australia.
The Search for Collet Barker of Raffles Bay

by

D. J. Mulvaney

Captain Collet Barker, 39th Regiment of Foot, resided for only 50 weeks in the Northern Territory during 1828-1829. He commanded Fort Wellington, Raffles Bay, yet his influence on race relations on the Cobourg Peninsula proved more extensive. His policy facilitated the peaceful racial co-existence associated with the Victoria settlement on Port Essington, between 1838 and 1849.

Barker must be rated as one of the most efficient and compassionate administrators in pre-1850 Australia, not only for his command at Raffles Bay, but also subsequently at King George Sound (Albany). His stature is even greater on the roll of those who sought to improve racial relations and to attempt the comprehension of Aboriginal society. Indicative of his genuine interest was his recording of over 160 names of Aboriginal men, women and children, as he heard them pronounced. The only parallels were Barker's contemporaries, George Augustus Robinson, in Tasmania, and the missionary, L E Threlkeld, around Lake Macquarie, NSW. Both these men, however, had practical reasons for their actions; Barker acted from dedicated interest.

Even from distant Sydney, Governor Darling recognised Barker's exceptional qualities. During the earlier Raffles Bay administration by Captain Henry Smyth, some Aborigines were shot. Darling termed it an 'atrocity'. By contrast, conditions under Barker proved so positive that, in 1831, Darling decided to appoint him as the first British Resident in New Zealand. Darling considered that he was 'eminently' qualified to 'conciliate and manage the Natives', while likely to restore mutual racial 'confidence'.

En route to Sydney on the Isabella to assume his post, Darling asked Barker to search for a suitable access to the Murray River from the sea. Barker's fellow regimental officer, Captain Charles Sturt, had found the river mouth to be shoaled. Wishing to obtain a view from a high dune on the eastern shore, Barker stripped and swam across the Murray River mouth. He was killed by Aborigines on the far side of that dune. Barker has three memorials in South Australia to his fleeting visit, together with a mountain, a town and an electorate named after him. Is he remembered in the Northern Territory?

Who was Barker? Let us trace his origins before discussing his role at Raffles Bay. My objective in 1988 was to edit Barker's 180,000 word journal in collaboration with Neville Green (Perth) and with willing assistance from Ted Street, formerly of Darwin. It took me to England in 1989 on a search for the man, Collet Barker.

The journal, some 450 loose foolscap pages, must have remained on the Isabella and
presumably was taken to Sydney following Barker's death. It has been there ever since, now in the NSW State Archives, virtually unread. Many also have concluded, unreadable, because of Barker's difficult handwriting. However, familiarity assisted its decipherment. Barker proved elusive. The entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* proved useless, because only two sentences concerned his career before his arrival in Australia; it includes an incorrect date for his birth.

The normal course of action would be to consult Barker's official service record in the British War Office archives. Owing to official laxity, however, a note written across his double-page register entry reports that only after his death was his record 'compiled from information received from the different Officers of the Regiment with whom he served'. So the prospective biographer received the terse information that he joined the regiment in 1806, served in the Napoleonic War in Spain and in the American War campaigns of 1814-15, but little else - no date and place of birth, next of kin, religion, or place of residence.

Barker's own regiment proved no better than the War Office at record keeping. Today, the 39th Regiment is known as the Dorsetshire, with its archives in its imitation Gothic castle headquarters in Dorchester. Their list of captains stretches back to the mid-eighteenth century, but it was first compiled in 1863! Even the regiment's county title proved misleading, because its re-organisation and name change occurred a few years after Barker enlisted. When he entered the regiment it had an East Middlesex base. Consequently, my original suspicion that he may have been of West Country origin had to be discarded.

At least the date of Barker's death was known. At that period, people of substance normally had their wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Chancery. As Barker was an officer, this course seemed likely. These court records are available at London's Chancery Lane branch of the Public Record Office. Fortunately, Barker's will was listed there, with a codicil which Surgeon Braidwood Wilson had witnessed at Albany, just after they both left Raffles Bay. It named Barker's two sisters, Mary Barker and Elizabeth Dobson, and referred to an inheritance from an uncle, Joseph Collet, of Newbury, Berkshire.

This provided a critical clue. Joseph Collet's will was dated 17 November 1785. It contained the following heartening clause: "I give the said house and garden, etc, to my niece Sarah Barker ... and on her decease to her son Collet Barker". Therefore, Collet was a maternal family name; Barker's mother was Sarah, while he must have been born previous to November 1785. Further Collet family details also were provided in the will. By continuing to search for Collet family wills, I built up a kinship network that centred upon Newbury through the eighteenth century. The Berkshire County Archives contain Poor Rate books and these and local histories of Newbury provided further family and commercial data.

Several other research avenues now opened, although they proved difficult to follow. In the first place, there is the International Genealogical Index, originating in Salt Lake City, containing sixty million baptisms and marriages between 1538 and 1875.
The Society of Genealogists, London, possessed that microform index, in addition to many other London and County registers. It proved possible to trace Collet family marriages, although not that of Barker's parents.

The Genealogical Society library contains box files with surnames in alphabetical order, into which any data is filed. Under 'Collet' were letters written to a pioneer genealogist in the 1920s. The writer was Clara Collet (born 1860), an avid collector of family history, though she censored some of it. She referred to The Letterbooks of Joseph Collet, to which she contributed family data. This was the publication of correspondence by an earlier Joseph Collet, governor of Fort St George, Madras, between 1717 and 1721, sufficient time to make his fortune. The nabob's brother, Samuel, was Sarah Collet's grandfather, who retired early from business to live in Newbury, where he wrote religious tracts. Sarah's father also lived near Newbury, at Speenhamland.

Through similar means - tracing wills and marriages, I located Barker's paternal grandfather, a prominent medical practitioner, a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and, at the time of his death in 1749, a physician to the British army. His son William, Collet Barker's father, was about one year old at the time. William prudently married 16-year-old Sarah Collet in 1771, and his name soon appeared on legal documents establishing that he was a skinner and mercer in Newbury.

This research therefore uncovered the social world into which Collet Barker was born. The pattern was one of solid commerce and industry, particularly in leather manufacture and glove making in London and Newbury. Collet kin included mercers, drapers, skinners, goldsmiths, iron merchants, and solicitors. John Howard, the prison reformer, was related by marriage. These were all people of property.

Another common thread in the kinship networks of the Collets and the Barkers was their nonconformist religious beliefs. Their allegiances lay with the practices of Presbyterians, Unitarians or Baptists. The firmness of their dissenting beliefs is indicated by their favoured place of burial, Bunhill Fields, London, apex of contemporary nonconformist mortuary practice. I was able to identify nine Collet men in the Genealogical Society's manuscript copy of Boyd's London Burials, who were buried there between 1725 and 1785, from as far distant as Hertfordshire and Berkshire. 7

This knowledge contributed clues to locating Collet Barker's registration of birth. As he was not registered in any Anglican church register within the International Genealogical Index, the most likely source was Dr John Williams' Library, the contemporary place of registration for those opposed to the Established Church. The Public Record Office held a copy of this register. I was fortunate. Certificate 2353 certified that "Collet Barker Son of William Barker and his wife, who was daughter of Samuel Collet was born in Paradise Buildings in the Parish of Hackney in the county of Middlesex this thirty first day in December in the year 1784".
Some records survive, also, from the Newbury Upper Presbyterian Church (Unitarian). They establish that William and Sarah Barker produced seven children, but only Collet, Elizabeth and Mary survived infancy.

Attempts to establish where Collet was educated proved fruitless. For a boy of his social and religious background, the conventional path should have been entry into London's Christ's Hospital. It was disappointing when the school records at the Guildhall proved negative. Probably his schooling was conducted by two Newbury Clergymen. Both the Reverends D James and James Bicheno, ministers respectively to the Upper Presbyterian and Baptist congregations, taught at Newbury schools and were authors of many tracts. The Collet family had close connections with them both. Bicheno as a young man had been kidnapped and sold into slavery in America. Not surprisingly, he was an ardent slavery abolitionist, whose son became Colonial Secretary of Van Dieman's Land in the 1840s. By coincidence, Newbury clergy had another Australian connection. While Collet Barker grew up in Newbury, a younger contemporary and son of James Roe, the Anglican rector, became a surveyor. John Septimus Roe sailed with P P King on the Mermaid in 1818, and was present when he named Raffles Bay. Later, when Barker arrived at Albany, Roe was the Surveyor-General of the new Swan River colony.

Barker's comprehensive interest in natural science may have owed much to his great-uncle John Collet, a popular Newbury physician, antiquarian and field naturalist. Surely Barker's tolerance, reliability and efficiency were inherited from the Collet family ambience. So, also, was his serious approach to religious matters. His journal provides fleeting glimpses, such as when he read sermons at church parades composed by nonconformist theologians, or when he discussed theology with the unimaginative Assistant-Surgeon Davis.

Barker may have contrasted in the regimental mess with the flamboyant sons of the aristocracy. In addition to his theological library, to judge from his journal entries, Barker consulted an encyclopaedia and other scientific references. Much more prosaic, perhaps than the reading taken by two fellow officers on a five week excursion through the New South Wales bush. Captain Douglas Forbes and Lieutenant Hon. Lauderdale Maule betrayed their classical education. In his account of the trip, preserved at the Dorchester Military Museum, Forbes commented - *my library was confined to a little Virgil and Horace*, while he quoted Juvenal from memory. Maule's reading comprised *a Dante and Petrarch*.

From such diverse sources Collet Barker can be set into his family context. Even so, he remains a shadowy individual until his arrival in Australia. Apart from his name appearing in his birth certificate, in Joseph Collet's 1785 will, and in one other legal document from 1791, he remains obscure. Even in Australia, there is little evidence for his family contacts. His journal mentions one letter to his sister Mary, three written to Elizabeth and several to his solicitor cousin, Edward Dobson. As he never married, it appears that no family papers or portraits have survived.
What I needed to establish was how (if not why) he broke with family commercial tradition and joined the 39th Regiment, and the circumstances of his commission. He joined the regiment in January 1806, three weeks after his 21st birthday. At the Public Record Office, Kew, I passed a day examining army commissions granted in 1806. (This was shortly after Trafalgar, and many officers enlisted that year). Literally in the last box, on the bottom row of commissions, rolled up and tied with pink tape, lay Barker's document. Presumably I was the first person to unroll it in over 180 years."

The purchase fee of $400 for an ensigncy was the price fixed by the Crown around that time to prevent excessive buying and selling of commissions. The rank was equivalent to that of a modern second lieutenant. Wartime conditions facilitated promotion, so Barker was promoted lieutenant within three years. It is unlikely that the family had a bellicose tradition, so his reasons for enlisting are unknown. I have conjectured that it was a combination of patriotism and a desire to escape the enmeshing Collet commercial tradition. Family business ties with the then East Middlesex regiment are a further possible factor.

Without strong financial backing, further promotion was slow. It took Barker fourteen years to become a Captain by 'augmentation', that is, through promotion to a vacancy. Between 1787 and 1793, by contrast, the Duke of Wellington bought his expensive way upwards to lieutenant-colonel. To achieve this rapid promotion he moved at great price through five infantry and two cavalry regiments.

Even Barker's army service is muted. He served in major campaigns across Spain, and in the Lake Champlain region in the war against the United States. Fortunately a detailed regimental history was published in 1853, in which all officers killed, wounded or valorous were mentioned. Barker's name never appears, so he remains the anonymous soldier. Then followed ten years in armies of occupation in northern France and Ireland, when heroic deeds or casualties were unlikely. Barker's presence throughout is established by his clear signature on War Office receipts for the quarterly payment of allowances for the troops in his company. In this manner, I traced his movements around France and Ireland, even to a payment of £2 15s which he received to provide food for his troops marching from Canterbury to Chatham to board the convict ship Phoenix bound for Australia.

The regiment voyaged as guards on 26 convict vessels between 1826 and 1829. Barker disembarked at Sydney in July 1828, and left for Raffles Bay within a month. He inherited a dispirited settlement from the previous commandants, Captain Henry Smyth and Lieutenant George Sleeman. Smyth proved unsuited to the imperial frontier task. Aborigines evidently scared and irritated him by pilfering at Fort Wellington. He armed three soldiers and two convicts in December 1827, and sent them out with the promise of a reward of £5 to kidnap a hostage. Instead, they shot a woman and a child, killed a wounded man as a 'mercy' and returned with a young child, whom Smyth named Mary Wellington Raffles.
Cobourg Peninsula in relation to Southeast Asia
Governor Darling demanded a personal explanation for this 'atrocity', involving the arming of convicts. Correspondence took months to circulate, and meanwhile Smyth invalided himself back to Sydney, leaving Lieutenant Sleeman in temporary command. Smyth may have been ill, because poor diet resulted in scurvy at the settlement. For good measure, the doctor became mentally unbalanced and suicided. Sleeman did nothing to alter the malaise and evidently shared an antagonism to Aborigines.

The situation was completely transformed under Barker. He minimised scurvy by experimenting with local plant foods, later assisted by Aboriginal advice. Barker encouraged Aborigines to approach the settlement, although it was two months before they overcame their timidity. Before considering Barker's Aboriginal policy, it is necessary to consider some of the major problems facing him, and the positive policies which he adapted to prosper his community and assemble objective data about his lonely command.

In the first place, consider the nature of the settlement. Britain proved parsimonious in establishing this imperial frontier post, optimistically intended to assert control over the immense tropical region under the threat of French and Dutch expansion, and also to tap into the rich Indonesian trade. It scarcely deserved to succeed. Selected by a naval officer from his quarter deck, in ignorance of the monsoonal wetlands into which the Cobourg Peninsula funnelled, or the mangrove swamps and freshwater shortages which characterised Raffles Bay, it was totally isolated. When food shortage led Barker to send the supply ship Amity to Timor for supplies in February 1829, the vessel returned 12 days later, unable to sail beyond the Cobourg Peninsula in the face of the prevailing north west monsoon winds.

Around the time of its abandonment in August 1829, its negligible complement numbered Barker, a doctor and a storekeeper, 28 soldiers, several of their wives and children, 42 male convicts and one female convict.

The settlement itself was minuscule, mostly dotted with wooden and bark structures, boasting only four acres of cleared land and a kilometre of post-and-rail fencing. At evacuation, any useful timbers were dismantled for recycling at Albany, so hastening the disintegration of the more substantial structures. When visited a decade later by Dumont D'Urville's French expedition, the site was overgrown. Intriguing traces remain today, however, for archaeologists, meriting detailed survey and investigation as an imperial time capsule. Above all, the place requires legal protection.

Stone building foundations exist, one standing to several courses. A deep well, with presumed related water storage tanks, give promise of evidence concealed. Even so, one of D'Urville's officers may have echoed the sentiments of Fort Wellington's inhabitants, when he concluded, "I doubt that there exists anywhere in the world a more unpromising spot for founding a colony".

Barker's journal and his despatches in the Historical Records of Australia establish that he was a firm, but not harsh, disciplinarian. He kept his charges active and
encouraged social activities. "Large fires this evening in honour of the day", he wrote on Guy Fawkes Day, 165 years ago tonight. He also attempted to keep them healthy, frequently experimenting with local food sources and seeking means to improve soil fertility. It was an exhausting routine. Except for the stolid surgeon Davis, there was nobody of his social rank with whom to converse. As the only officer, he was unable to absent himself from the settlement for any time. Tensions were various. Many disciplinary problems arose with, and between, troops and convicts. One of the most trying issues was keeping the peace between the few women. There was the case of Mrs Cook, whose husband Private Cook wandered into the bush and was never found.12

Mrs Emms brawling this evening & using very improper language in my hearing to Mrs Cook.

Again:

Mrs Cook, who was still very ill, was much disturbed by Mrs Emms abusing and exciting her so much so, that in the state she was in, it endangered her life. [The doctor] had remonstrated with Mrs Emms to no effect. She had only replied she could not help it, that Mrs Cook had insulted her, & she did not care if she never got up from her bed again. Ordered Mrs Emms to remove immediately.

Grog frequently meant that troops posed a greater problem than the convicts, as on 28 June 1829:13

Connor confined in the cells for being drunk & riotous. Higgins and Walsh in the evening ordered to the Guard house for being drunk. As they refused to go & gave a great deal of trouble, I sent them to the cells, but they were no sooner in them than they forced open the door. On hearing this I ordered them to the other cell, but they took possession of the Guard house & defied the whole guard & a fatigue party sent to assist. Sergt Shaw reporting that he could not get them secured, I ordered them to be knocked down with sticks if it could be done no other way, & was eventually obliged to go up myself & seize them before any one would venture into the guard room, Walsh being a very powerful man, & who had already broken or bent two bayonets belonging to the guard & several other things. It was with some difficulty he could be held by about a dozen men & after being tied with his arms to his body, there being no handcuffs large enough for him, he burst the cords, & it was reported to me had broken the door of the other cell. I was therefore obliged to put leg irons on him & as he still declared he would get out, had a pig of ballast fastened to the irons.

Barker's journal is replete with observations across geology, zoology and botany. Many of his descriptions are so precise that their species are identifiable. This is the case especially with reptiles. He maintained meteorological records throughout his stay, the earliest detailed data from tropical Australia.14
His record of visits from Macassan trepangers during the 1829 season provides one of the most detailed accounts available for that industry. His presentation has particular value, because he noted each prau captain's evidence, as the craft arrived over a period of several weeks. He posed comparable questions to each captain, so each newcomer was unknowingly providing corroboration of what had been said by previous witnesses. He kept a census, so establishing that 1050 men visited Raffles Bay that season. He also recorded instances of Aborigines travelling on praus to Macassar.

It is useful to quote an example of Barker's observations on the trepanging industry. Although some details are disjointed, they contain sufficient information for him to have elaborated them into a polished narrative, had he survived to publish his experiences:

*The Malays engaged all day in boiling & drying the trepang. The first quantity put to dry yesterday was taken up about 2 or 3pm & out on board. In the evening the bottoms of the Proas were all burnt & scraped but without hauling up. They had however been brought into shallow water. It made a lively scene for an hour or two, there being four or five fires at a time on each Proa. A few boats were trying for trepang opposite the Fort & there were many persons wading till after eleven at night. Fifteen remained on shore tending the trepang & fires.*

*Tried the Dr's canoe this evening with some of the Malays, to show how the sail was to be managed. She sails pretty well & would beat our English boats in a light wind. There is a little awkwardness in going about, as you are obliged to wear instead of bringing head to wind & requires two or three people to shift the sail to the other tack. Otherwise they are easily managed & with attention & care not unsafe. Coral rock burnt for lime to mix with their Catch, [etc]. Iron pot for boiling trepang 4 dollars from China.*

Barker's chief interest and diversion, however, concerned Aboriginal society. Once Aborigines regained sufficient confidence to approach the settlement, Barker acted promptly to assure them. They were given some gifts by Barker, who went out to meet them. They entered the settlement a few days later, but, while Barker was having his dinner, they departed unexpectedly. He hurried after them, reaching them in the bush at a distance from the fort. This was a brave action on his part, but no doubt his message of peace was evident to the newcomers. Note Barker's significant observation, "they seemed pleased, I thought, at my confidence in going to them alone and unarmed". Sadly, two years later, similar confidence in racial relationships resulted in his death.

A week later the same men returned bringing others. They talked to Mary Wellington Raffles, allowing Barker to ascertain that her correct name was Reveral. They were startled when a Timor pony approached, but Barker overcame their alarm
Place names used in Barker's journal.
Some locations are approximate, while some islands may have disappeared today.
and they patted the animal, while one man rode it "to the great amusement of everyone". Upon their next appearance, Barker arranged a spear throwing competition, fed the group and allowed them to sleep the night in the settlement. 

Six months later Barker accompanied several men on a long trek which took them across Raffles Bay, along the beach, then through the bush to Port Bremer. He spent three nights away from the settlement, fascinated by his ethnographic observations during this adventure.

By this time Barker's trust in his new friends was complete. He willingly lent his canoe to a senior man Merriak, known to all as Wellington. Barker's reasons for lending it are significant:

> The Dr thinks he will not bring it back at all, but I have a better opinion of him & it is worthwhile at all events trying the experiment of confiding in him. I think he is beginning to see that it is in his interest to be honest, & if we can induce him to use his influence with others it will be a great benefit to us.

Surgeon Braidwood Wilson arrived about this time, a survivor from shipwreck. He and Barker established an immediate rapport. After their first meeting, Barker noted with pleasure, "that he thinks with myself; that most of the quarrels with the blacks have commenced with the fault on our side". When Wilson published his Narrative of a Voyage Round the World in 1835, he remarked that Barker:

> had a great deal of difficulty to contend with, in his method of treating the natives; as no other individual in the settlement could be brought to consider these poor beings in any other light than wild beasts.

The mutual respect and humanity which such attitudes fostered is evident in Barker's journal. For example, the music and dance provided at a festive evening on 4 August 1830, when a ship was in port, with both Aborigines and sailors participating. Or the occasion when Barker and Wilson took an evening stroll along the beach and met two elders including Wellington. "They joined us like old acquaintances meeting in a town", Barker reported, "after a few minutes conversation we each passed on".

Before evacuating Fort Wellington, Barker distributed cultivated plants around the harbour, then showed his Aboriginal friends the settlement garden. He "pointed out which of the plants and fruits were eatable". In a rather symbolic end to his Raffles Bay entries, Barker remarked upon their embarkation, "that they "abandoned the settlement to Wellington". His implicit sense of Aboriginal land ownership was made explicit several months later at Albany. Referring to Nakinah, Mineng clan leader at Albany, Barker remarked: "As head of the family, however, whose ground we occupy, one must be indulgent to him". White Australians are still attempting to come to grips with that issue over 160 years later.
'Dance of the Aborigines of Raffles Bay'. Surgeon Braidwood Wilson supports Aboriginal friends, while Assistant Surgeon Davis beats time. This may be the earliest depiction of a didgeridoo. 
(Sketch by Lt. Weston, 4 August 1829. Reproduced from T. B. Wilson, Narrative of a Voyage Round the World, 1835.)
ENDNOTES

1  Historical Records of Australia, ser 3, vol VI, p 808.


4  PRO:WO 25/792 fVII; Mulvaney & Green, p 16.


6  PRO:PROB 11/1138.

7  Documentation for the previous five paragraphs, Mulvaney and Green, pp 4-9.

8  PRO:RG5/11 no 2353.

9  Mulvaney & Green pp 8-10.

10 J. D. Forbes. An account of an excursion in 1830, NLA AJCP M1172, 5 July 1830. The original of this account is in the Dorchester Military Museum.

11 The evidence for comment in the following paragraphs is contained in Mulvaney and Green, pp 13-22, 39-45.

12 ibid., 3 May 1829, p 157; 16 July 1829, p 196.

13 ibid., 28 June 1829, p 189.

14 ibid., pp 236-7.

15 ibid., 16 May 1829, p 167.


17 ibid., 17 Dec 1828, p 92.

18 ibid., 26 Dec 1828, p 98.


20 ibid., 29 June 1829, p 189.
21 ibid., 1 July 1829, p 191.


23 ibid., 4 Aug 1829, p 211; recounted in detail by Wilson, *Narrative.*

24 ibid., 23 Aug 1829, p 222.

25 ibid., 23 Aug 1829, p 223.

26 ibid., 28 Aug 1829, p 224.

27 ibid., 14 May 1830, p 295.