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Author/s:

Gelder, K;Weaver, R

Title:

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Date:

2019

Citation:

Gelder, K. & Weaver, R. (2019). Killing and Sentiment in the Colonial Australian Kangaroo Hunt Narrative. Neumeier, B (Ed.). Tiffin, H (Ed.). *Ecocritical Concerns and the Australian Continent*, (1), pp.191-202. Lexington Books.

Persistent Link:

<https://hdl.handle.net/11343/345818>

Killing and Sentiment in the Colonial Australian Kangaroo Hunt Narrative

Ken Gelder and Rachael Weaver

This chapter argues that the kangaroo hunt in colonial Australia – far from being a minor recreational event – in fact gives settler colonialism one of its most foundational and animating narratives. The first time a kangaroo was shot by an explorer was, significantly, also the first time a kangaroo was named in colonial discourse. James Cook writes about “the *Endeavour*’s most accomplished hunter”,¹ Lieutenant John Gore, who on 14 July 1770 “went out this day with his gun, [and] had the good fortune to kill one of the animals which had been so much the subject of our speculation.... This animal is called by the natives *Kanguroo*. / The next day, our Kanguroo was dressed for dinner, and proved most excellent meat...”.² Joseph Banks in fact records that this was a Great Grey Kangaroo. Neil Chambers notes that two weeks later “Banks’s greyhound caught a small kangaroo or wallaby....possibly a female”.³ Banks’ greyhound in effect becomes the first introduced kangaroo dog; these slaughtered kangaroos were then sketched by the *Endeavour*’s artist Sydney Parkinson, and provided the model for George Stubbs’ famous 1772 painting *The Kongouro from New Holland* (see Simons 2013, 78).⁴

The kangaroo hunt almost immediately sparks the production of what becomes a dynamic and complex colonial literary genre: one that opens up a number of key issues to do with colonial life, not least of which is colonial settler relations to species. The first poem published in Australia on an Australian topic is titled “Colonial Hunt”: an anonymous poem published in the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* on 16 June 1805:

When Sol has commenc’d his diurnal career,

And the bright spangled dew drops from buds
disappear,
With my dog and my gun to the forest I fly,
Where in stately confusion rich gums sweep the sky.
Then anxious, my eyes each direction pursue,
Till the fleet footed WALLABA rises to view !
I point to the Game, and uplifting my hand,
Brisk Lurcher, obedient, flies off to command: –
Perceiving her danger, Puss doubles her pace,
And well prim'd and loaded, I bring up the chace,
Exclaiming, transported the course to review,
“Hoick ! hoick ! my bold Lurcher! Well led
Kanguroo!”
Fatigu'd, broken hearted, tears gush from her
eyes:
In vain to the thicket for shelter she flies:
Secure for a moment – yet shouts rend her ears,
And the brush fired round her, again she appears.
Delighted the Victim once more to behold,
Away scampers Lurcher – and gets a firm hold.
In vain has she doubled, since now she must
yield:
A stream from her haunches empurples the field:
My transports subside – gentle Pity takes place,
And Death puts an end to the joys of the Chace.

Then varied my toil, to my cottage I come,
And a sweet smiling Welcome proclaims me at
home!⁵

This poem precedes Barron Field's more famous poem "Kangaroo" by fourteen years. On the one hand it gives us a sense (as Field does) of the newness of this species by naming the kangaroo twice ("wallaba" and "kangaroo"), but on the other it seems perfectly familiar with the animal – and with situating it in the framework of the hunt as a feature and a pleasure of everyday life. The kangaroo dog is also named, a protagonist in the event. "Lurcher" is the generic name for a cross breed that became increasingly common in the colonies: often, a greyhound/terrier cross. In 1837 a local South Australian, Stephen Hack, writes, "While I was exploring I killed my first kangaroo....my white lurcher pulled him, but the kangaroo took him up in his fore paws and dashed him to the ground as if he had been a puppy."⁶ Around this time a dog tax was introduced in Van Diemen's Land to regulate a kangaroo dog population that now seemed out of control; kangaroo meat here and elsewhere was a vital resource and kangaroo hunting dogs were highly prized and could even function as a form of currency. The "Colonial Hunt" poem is the expression of a cheerful and confident settler masculinity, written in galloping verse. But it also pauses to register the affect of the killing: the kangaroo is gendered female and "tears gush from her eyes" as the lurcher runs her down. The death of the kangaroo marks the end of the hunter's pleasure and the end of the poem; a brief moment of pity is allowed, before the hunter returns to a homely space that – remarkably, at this early moment of settlement – seems remote from the traumas of the frontier.

The colonial kangaroo hunt goes on to become the subject of nineteenth century Australia's greatest epic poem, Charles Harpur's "The Kangaroo Hunt, or, A Morning in the Mountains": a small section of this poem was first published in 1843, with all six completed

parts finally appearing in print in 1860. This poem shares generic features with the 1805 “Colonial Hunt” poem, beginning with the rising of the sun over a forest, for example, which is now elevated into a rhapsodising poetics of landscape; and then heading back to the comforts of home at the end. The naming of species now preoccupies the poem to an extraordinary degree, with elaborate footnotes detailing physical attributes, behaviour, location, and so on. Robert Dixon has noted that Harpur probably drew on John Gould’s *Birds of Australia* (1841-48) for his descriptions of native birds⁷; he might also have drawn on Gould’s 1841-42 self-published *Monograph of the Macropodidae* for specific details about kangaroos. Harpur’s poem is also unusual in its emphasis on the *Indigenous* – or at least, quasi-Indigenous – names for native species, something Gould paid little attention to.

By the 1860s the kangaroo hunt narrative is an established literary genre: in poetry, in memoirs, in guidebooks and field guides, in novels and stories, and so on. The gathering together of the hunters, the thrill of the chase, the anticipation of the kill, the death and its aftermath (butchering, scalping, eating, and so on) – which may also bring with it a series of reflections on the event – these are the key elements of the kangaroo hunt genre. The genre might be about small-scale killing, as in Harpur’s poem or the 1805 “Colonial Hunt”: the fetishised death of an individualised kangaroo. But it could also be about large-scale extermination with many kangaroos driven into a confined space and killed by hand.

Rolf Boldrewood’s first published piece – in *Cornhill Magazine*, December 1866 – was a sketch titled “A Kangaroo Drive”, and described the kangaroo drive as a social event organised by the squattocracy, designed to eliminate as many kangaroos as possible to clear the way for sheep and cattle grazing. “The stockmen”, he writes, “were decidedly the most efficient *macropicides*, though all the laymen assisted manfully.”⁸ The slaughter is so extensive that it gives Boldrewood pause for a moment to reflect on the violence:

The duty of the historian becomes painful. They were all to be killed! Yes, dreadful as it sounds – butchered in cold blood. There was nothing else for it. We have our tenderesses like other people, and hate needless cruelty. But the lives of these animals represented an annual loss of a couple of thousands a year, at least; and sheep and cattle, and the welfare of Christian men, women, and children thereon depending, must be preferred to that of brutes, however directly inoffensive.⁹

This is the squattocracy talking here, offering a kind of understated sentiment (“We have our tenderesses like other people”) that casually attempts to mitigate the act of extermination – while at the same time justifying it in terms of the economic imperatives of the colonial project.

Considering the sheer levels of brutality and violence involved in the kangaroo hunt, it might be surprising to find just how frequently it features as a key event in children’s adventure fiction right across the nineteenth century. The earliest example is Sarah Ricardo Porter’s 1830 novel, *Alfred Dudley; or, The Australian Settlers*. Porter was an English writer, publishing on moral education and mathematics.¹⁰ She never came to Australia; instead, as she acknowledges in her novel’s preface, she drew extensively on correspondence with Robert Dawson, the chief agent for the newly formed Australian Agricultural Company who had lived and worked in Australia in the 1820s. Dawson’s account of his experiences in the colonies, *The Present State of Australia* (1830), was an early and rather cheerful handbook and guide to aspiring immigrants that sees him travel inland from Sydney, meeting with Aboriginal people and from time to time getting involved in kangaroo hunts. Published shortly before her novel, Porter calls his book “an inexhaustible source whence other sketches of Australia may be drawn for the amusement of youthful readers.”¹¹ In *Alfred Dudley*, however, the kangaroo hunt takes on a much greater significance. Dudley – who is fifteen

years old – accompanies his father to Sydney after they lose their English property. They settle along the Hunter River in New South Wales and begin, as they put it, “building our mansion.” Dudley meets an Aboriginal woman and befriends her son Mickie, who comes to live with him. The two boys then go into the forests together and soon indulge in what the novel calls “the delights of kangaroo hunting.”¹²

The colonial kangaroo hunt genre can often take an interest in Aboriginal hunting methods, weaponry, and so on. Porter’s novel makes a feature of this when the two boys hunt in the forest together. At first, Mickie refuses to allow Dudley to use his gun, wanting instead to kill the kangaroo with his spear. He soon chases the kangaroo into a waterhole:

Now the fearful contest commenced: it seemed a trial of strength and dexterity. The creature caught hold of his assailant, hugged him close, and held him down with his head under water....at length the kangaroo kept his head under water for so long a time, that I could no longer remain an inactive spectator: I levelled my gun, and shot it through the body.¹³

This is a particularly patronising colonial moment: a settler saves an Aboriginal character with his gun, and in the process renders Aboriginal hunting techniques obsolete. When Mickie resents being rescued (his honour is at stake in the killing), Dudley reflects on the event in a way that both juxtaposes and equates “savage” and “civilised” conduct – and also buys into an interesting variant on colonial extinction discourse (see, for example, Brantlinger 2013):¹⁴

I had no idea that a single combat between an Australian savage and a kangaroo was governed by the same laws of honour which distinguish the rational code of the

civilised duellist; and that it was incumbent upon me to stand by and witness the death of my companion, without affording him any assistance.¹⁵

Although it invests in the thrill of the kangaroo hunt, the novel pauses – as Boldrewood had done – to rehearse a moral objection to the brutality of killing, or what Dudley calls “the inhumanity of being cruel in sport, and of finding pleasure in the exercise of any pursuit which would cause pain to even the meanest creature that has life.”¹⁶ Later on, Dudley lends Mickie his gun and Mickie shoots another kangaroo, assimilating him into colonial hunting methods. The differences between “savage” and “civilised” conduct remain, however, in the feasting that follows: “all the disgusting details of a slaughter-house are not good provocatives to an appetite,”¹⁷ Dudley comments; “I would willingly draw a veil over the excesses of my sable hero. I wish to paint him to you only in his most attractive points, and should be sorry to exhibit my little Mickie engaged in all the gross gluttony of a kangaroo feast.”¹⁸

Sarah Bowdich Lee was an English naturalist who (with her first husband) studied under Cuvier in Paris and later went on field expeditions to Africa. Like Porter she never visited Australia, but she wrote a rollicking colonial novel for boys titled *Adventures in Australia; or, the Wanderings of Captain Spencer in the Bush and the Wilds* (1851). Captain Spencer is an officer in India; for the sake of his health he sets sail for northern Australia with his horse Tiger and his dog Gipsy. His sole aim, initially at least, is to hunt native species: “he hoped not only to kill the Eagle, but a Kangaroo, the object of his present ambition.”¹⁹ Spencer and Gipsy pursue a mob of kangaroos: Spencer shoots one of them; then he rescues Gipsy from another, “and with his knife killed the animal, as if he had been a deer-slayer.”²⁰ Spencer is a resourceful hunter, utilising every part of the kangaroo’s body, including the skin, the bones, and the meat. Later, he discovers a cave painting of “a man carrying a

Kangaroo,”²¹ a rare thing to find in a novel about colonial Australia. Spencer meets an Aboriginal man, Kinchela, and watches him hunt with fascination and some degree of respect. The novel calls Kinchela “the Australian” and it is possibly the first colonial Australian novel to designate an Aboriginal character in this way. At one point Spencer witnesses a large-scale tribal kangaroo hunt: “it was not longer the stealthy, artful attack of the native....it was a regular battue.”²² Surrounding a mob of kangaroos, “the natives then dashed on them with their spears, and effected a great slaughter.”²³

Spencer never moralises about this event in the way we saw with Boldrewood or Alfred Dudley in Porter's novel; he completely reserves judgement on this example of Aboriginal hunting practice. Nevertheless, Spencer's relationship to Kinchela does structurally resemble Dudley's relationship to Mickie, as colonial master to an Aboriginal servant who also functions as a guide and a source of local knowledge. Their cultural differences are highlighted when they eat kangaroo: Spencer cures the meat and saves it while Kinchela hungrily devours his share at once, provoking Spencer's disgust at his off-sider's “gross habits.” Even so, the novel develops a sympathetic perspective on Aboriginal circumstances in a colonial context increasingly dominated by the land-clearing squattocracy. Spencer learns about tribal boundaries in conversation with some Aboriginal men, who explain that each tribe has its own “peculiar hunting grounds”. “When white man, however, appeared”, the passage goes on, “they did not mind these boundaries, and took all, drove Kangaroos away, and by-and-bye they should all starve.”²⁴ This is, of course, the opposite of Boldrewood's squatter rationale for kangaroo extermination as a way of protecting the “welfare of Christian men, women, and children.”

Ann Bowman was a printer and bookseller from Yorkshire, and a prolific children's adventure novelist, setting her novels in various locations around the world. Just like Sarah Lee and Sarah Porter, Bowman never visited Australia; but she wrote a number of novels set

in locations around the world, including North America and Africa. She was a children's novelist of empire, using the boys' adventure novel as an expression – and to some degree, a revision – of what Martin Green calls “the energising myth of English imperialism.”²⁵ Her novel *The Kangaroo Hunters; or, Adventures in the Bush* (1858) takes an English family out to the colonies on an expedition that begins with their arrival in Melbourne and then follows them up to the coast of Western Australia where, stranded after their ship catches fire, their adventures properly begin. The father, Mr. Mayburn, is a missionary, but he is also an amateur naturalist with “ornithological tastes”²⁶; and he teaches his two sons, Arthur and Hugh, as well as Gerald, the orphaned son of the ship's captain, how to identify species. His relationship to the new environment is already imbued with the ethics of a nascent ecological awareness. “We are intruders,” he tells his sons, “do not let us become invaders.”²⁷ Significantly, this remark also suggests an awareness of Aboriginal occupation of land. The boys learn how to hunt by copying Aboriginal techniques and making Aboriginal weapons – in direct contrast with Alfred Dudley handing Mickie a gun. They also collect, identify and examine species, so that hunting and natural history here go hand in hand.

The novel gives us another Aboriginal cave painting moment that leads Gerald to say admiringly, “I think I couldn't draw so good a kangaroo as that myself.”²⁸ Later on, the boys are attacked by hostile Aborigines and vigorously defend themselves with their guns. Arthur is then obliged to think about the colonial project in terms that starkly express the ethical imperatives at stake in settler domination: “I should not feel that I had the same right to shoot a native”, he comments, “that I had to shoot a kangaroo.”²⁹ As with Lee's and Porter's novels, *The Kangaroo Hunters* introduces an Aboriginal companion to inform and guide the boys and to mediate their colonial condition, this time a woman named Baldabella. Soon the boys beg to be allowed to hunt kangaroos: “Oh, do let us have a kangaroo-hunt, Arthur!” Hugh says; “We are hungry, and kangaroo meat would fill us; and therefore...we have a right

to kill and eat....you must allow that it's more humane to destroy one kangaroo than a dozen cockatoos or pheasants."³⁰ The boys continually evaluate the worth of species, weighing the killing of one against the killing of another. Soon afterwards, the boys – with Baldabella – chase a mob of kangaroos; but only Baldabella succeeds in killing one of them, with her boomerang. “We will have no more slaughter,” Arthur concludes; “This large animal will supply us with as much meat as we can consume while it remains fresh, and it would be wanton to slay more.”³¹

An important part of the adventure of this novel is to do with the pleasure the family takes in discovering – and killing, and eating – new species. The colonies are a place of species plenitude and abundance; at the same time, Mr Mayburn routinely counsels restraint. When they hunt emus later on, he asks “Why will men become hunters from mere wantonness?” and expresses to Arthur “his wish that only one bird should be killed.”³²

Arthur tries to transpose this view to the colonial logic of frontier violence, refusing to shoot Aboriginal people indiscriminately: “To fire on them from an ambush would be cold-blooded murder, which papa would never sanction. We have no right deliberately to destroy so many human lives.”³³ The novel is littered with acts of killing, but it also tries to impose a Christian ethical framework on all this, arguing against extermination in order for species to co-exist in “freedom.” Arthur again tries to translate this into his relations with Aboriginal tribes on the frontier: “We are in the power of these strangers,” he says; “our only hope must be in conciliation and treaty.”³⁴ Gerald and Hugh arrange another kangaroo hunt, this time with spears instead of guns. It becomes a desperate struggle for survival. Hugh recalls:

at last we drove [the kangaroo] into a corner, pierced mortally with our spears. I wanted Gerald to wait till the beast was weakened with loss of blood; but he was in a hurry to finish, so he rushed on with his drawn knife, and I followed to help him. When the

brave old fellow found he had not a chance, he faced round, and with his forefeet – his arms, I should say – he seized me, and gave me a heavy fall. Gerald was then behind, and plunged his knife into him, on which the desperate creature struck out with his powerful hind claw, and tore and bruised poor Gerald, as you see.

I was soon on my feet again, and then I speedily despatched the beast; but I should never like to kill another in that way; it was just like murdering one's grandfather.³⁵

Much more so than the novels by Lee and Porter, Bowman's *The Kangaroo Hunters* creates an elaborate ethical ecology that also takes into consideration the colonial treatment of Aboriginal people on the violent frontier. On the other hand, the kangaroo hunt itself works as a straightforward metaphor for colonial triumph. By the end of the book it becomes self-defining: as they settle into the uninterrupted comforts of station life, Gerald identifies his family in precisely these terms, as “successful KANGAROO HUNTERS.”³⁶

The 19th century saw an increasing number of fantasy children's narratives featuring children and animals talking together, often with a moral (and even, ecological) purpose. Lewis Carroll's hallucinatory Alice books were popular in Australia; so were Kipling's *Jungle Book* stories (1893-95); Kipling had visited Australia in 1891 to great acclaim, and the *Jungle Books* were local bestsellers with some of its stories serialised in Melbourne's *Argus*. John Kevin was a public school teacher from New South Wales who established a state school library system; he also published a children's fantasy under the name “Arthur Ferres,” *His Cousin the Wallaby, and Three Other Australian Stories* (1896). In the title story, Dick Hawkins finds himself complaining about his troubles at home to a tame wallaby on his property called Frong Frong. The wallaby sympathises with the boy – “you are almost the only one who ever felt for me.”³⁷ Hawkins tells him, reversing the usual human to animal transference of sentiment – and soon they run away together into the “enchanted” bush. The

wallaby introduces Hawkins to his extended family, “the whole tribe of wallaby land,” which welcomes him in – although the grandmother wallaby is sceptical at first. Soon, hunters arrive with their dogs and the wallabies scatter. The narrative then pauses to give a full description of the extermination: “Will you allow me here to try and describe a wallaby drive? Many of you have no doubt been at one; but I am sure that a great many more have never even heard of the name. This is how it is done.”³⁸

The narrative takes the side of the wallabies, developing a counter-narrative to the squatter's perspective that wallabies should be killed because "the grass should go to fatten sheep and cattle":

If we had a proper court of jurisprudence in which the wallaby side could be heard, I think a good case could be made out for the wallaby family. They were here long before sheep or cattle or horses were heard of, and the first possessor has surely the right to claim the soil before all comers?³⁹

The narrative then introduces the hunters and describes the slaughter, as well as the scalping of dead wallabies for payment. The Marsupial Destruction Act in Queensland was in force from 1877 to 1930; it is estimated that "over 27 million animals (mostly kangaroos, wallaroos, wallabies, pademelons [small wallabies], kangaroo rats, bandicoots, dingoes, and foxes) had been destroyed at a cost of £1,187,000 paid as bonuses (bounties) on their scalps."⁴⁰ Scalps were often carried across the border from New South Wales, where Ferres sets his narrative. Dick takes refuge from the hunters in a local cave, where he meets a mad old wallaby who wears "a singular kind of cap or turban:"⁴¹ he has been scalped, but managed to survive. The old wallaby sings a song to Dick that mirrors the Lewis Carroll nonsense

poem, "You Are Old, Father William" from *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865) ("And yet you incessantly stand on your head," etc.):

"You ask me why I sit on my tail",
The wallaby said with a sigh;
"Your question to answer I fear I shall fail,
But it can be no harm to try."⁴²

When some hunters approach the cave, Dick disguises the mad old wallaby to look like a "demon", to frighten them. He then makes the hunters sing a song about wallaby hunting:

At five we rise - oh! bother the flies -
Is breakfast ready, Mary?
We'll have no dogs, nor calves, nor hogs
To chase the wallabies early.

Some run here, and some with fear
Dash through the scrub and briars;
Oh! there he goes - see his black nose;
They're a lot of regular fliers.

We'll hunt all day, nor stop, nor stay,
With scalps we'll fill our wallets -⁴³

It's worth comparing this poem to the 1805 "Colonial Hunt": in this case, however, there is no lyrical relationship to the bush, no wallaby tears, and no thrill of the chase. The hunters' song now is purely functional, and occupational. Dick cuts their singing short, reprimanding them: "You think, perhaps, it is fine fun to shoot down a poor defenceless wallaby, and then scalp it, getting in the course of vile trade perhaps the sum of threepence or fourpence each for your butchery."⁴⁴ Later, Dick himself sings a song about a young novice hunter, Tommy Potshot, who meets "an old man kangaroo" in the forest. The kangaroo takes his gun away and shoots him with it (although "the charge was only cork!"); when Tommy runs away in terror, the narrative tells us in verse,

The kangaroo he kept the gun,
As a caution to all boys
Who are to shoot in kangaroo ground,
Or there to make a noise.

Dick and the surviving wallabies then go to the hunting ground and are horrified to discover the remains of the massacre, dead wallabies "all with the tops of their heads raw and bleeding."⁴⁵

Ferres' children's fantasy is a whimsical narrative about living with wallabies that likes to reverse the relationship between humans and native species: a wallaby is sympathetic to a young boy, a kangaroo shoots a hunter, and so on. At the same time, it starkly chronicles the extreme violence of colonial species extermination. It ends by returning Dick to his home and paying a final lyrical tribute to the wallabies, asking its young readers to appreciate their qualities (as "good neighbours," devoted parents, optimistic about their future) and even to emulate their naturally "joyous" way of being in the Australian forests.

Ethel C. Pedley was a celebrated Sydney violinist and music teacher; her well-loved children's story *Dot and the Kangaroo* was published posthumously in London in 1899, a year after her death, with illustrations by Frank Mahony (who had also illustrated work by Henry Lawson, A.B. Paterson and other colonial authors). Like *His Cousin the Wallaby*, this is a children's fantasy about a child who is adopted by a kangaroo. This time, however, the child is a girl and the Kangaroo (her species name is always capitalised) is a grieving mother who has lost her joey during a hunt. The Kangaroo's fear of being hunted pervades the narrative; like *His Cousin the Wallaby*, *Dot and the Kangaroo* puts its child right in the midst of the dangers of hunting, in order to draw a moral lesson about the need to respect and conserve native wildlife. "See how easily one can live in the bush without hurting anyone," the Kangaroo tells Dot; "and yet Humans live by murdering creatures and devouring them."⁴⁶ The weeping wallaby in the *Sydney Gazette*'s 1805 poem is now ubiquitous: "Every creature in the bush weeps that they should have come to take the beautiful bush away from us."⁴⁷ *Dot and the Kangaroo* also returns to the question of Aboriginal and colonial settler hunting practices, in this case to draw an ethical distinction between them: "The Black Humans kill and devour us," the Kangaroo says; "but they, even, are not so terrible as the Whites, who delight in taking our lives, and torturing us just as an amusement."⁴⁸

Dot is soon immersed into the predicament of kangaroos to such an extent that she begins to disavow her settler identity, complaining at one point, "I wish I were not a little white girl."⁴⁹ Getting into the Kangaroo's pouch, she then replaces the baby this mother has lost. The Kangaroo tells Dot about being hunted not long ago, where – reproducing a common trope about the kangaroo mother found even in much earlier hunting narratives – she took her joey out of her pouch and tried to hide it as she fled. She then educates Dot in a kind of kangaroo ontology, where to see things from a kangaroo's perspective in this narrative is to become what she calls "an *improved* Human."⁵⁰ One of the lessons to learn here is to stop

using the kangaroo as a resource: “Never wear kangaroo leather boots – never use kangaroo skin rugs, and...Never, never eat kangaroo-tail soup!”⁵¹ Dot is later taken to an animal court and put on trial “for the wrongs we bush creatures have suffered from the cruelties of White Humans.”⁵² Much like the Knave’s trial in Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, this one dissolves into farce – but it ends, at least, with the Kangaroo “forgiving” Dot for even “the heaviest grievances.”⁵³ They return at last to Dot’s homestead where the father – a selector in this case, not a squatter – comes out with a gun and tries to shoot the Kangaroo. It turns out that the father was one of the original hunters, but when he sees his daughter with the Kangaroo he renounces hunting altogether. The father had also taken the Kangaroo’s joey as a pet: so the narrative concludes with two parent-child reunifications. It closes by casting the settler homestead as a kind of refuge for native species, a place where they can expect to be “protected” – all the more important since the narrative tells us several times that government protections (of emus, for example) are ineffective.

Like Ferres’ *His Cousin the Wallaby, Dot and the Kangaroo* is a children’s fantasy narrative that works by immersing its character into an animal realm, in order to develop a deep empathy for native species. In the boys’ colonial adventure novels we examined above, killing kangaroos is a matter of calculation. Human lives always matter more, but hunting can at the same time raise ethical, moral and economic questions: of whether you are killing for pleasure or sport, for sustenance, for resources, or for payment, and the appropriate scope or scale of the killing. These immersive late colonial children’s fantasies, however, provide a counter-narrative to all this, foregrounding instead the essential qualities of the kangaroo, its being-in-the-world, its anxieties and aspirations, its precarious predicament, and its (kangaroo) tears.

Notes

1 Tim Flannery, *Country: A Continent, a Scientist & a Kangaroo* (Melbourne: Text, 2004), 18-19.

2 John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by the Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*. Vol.III (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773), 578-79.

3 Neil Chambers, ed. *The Letters of Sir Joseph Banks: A Selection, 1768-1820* (London: Imperial College Press, 1820), 15.

4 See John Simons, *Kangaroo* (London: Reaktion Books, 2013), 78.

5 Anonymous, quoted in *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* 16 June 1805: 4.

6 Henry Watson, *A Lecture on South Australia* (London: J. Giddon, 1838), 19.

7 Robert Dixon, "Charles Harpur and John Gould," *Southerly* 40, no. 3 (1980): 322.

8 Rolf Boldrewood, "A Kangaroo Drive," *Cornhill Magazine* 14, 84 (1866): 744.

9 Ibid.

10 See Sergio Cremaschi, "Sarah Ricardo's Tale of Wealth and Virtue," *The History of Economics Review* 60, no.1 (2014): 30-49.

11 Sarah Porter, *Alfred Dudley; or, The Australian Settlers* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1830), vii.

12 Sarah Porter, *Alfred Dudley*, 73.

13 Sarah Porter, *Alfred Dudley*, 74-5.

14 Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings: Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800-1930* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2013).

15 Sarah Porter, *Alfred Dudley*, 76.

16 Sarah Porter, *Alfred Dudley*, 79.

17 Ibid.

18 Sarah Porter, *Alfred Dudley*, 80.

- 19 Sarah Bowdich Lee, *Adventures in Australia; or, the Wanderings of Captain Spencer in the Bush and the Wilds* (London: Grant and Griffith, 1851), 35.
- 20 Sarah Bowdich Lee, *Adventures in Australia*, 78.
- 21 Sarah Bowdich Lee, *Adventures in Australia*, 90.
- 22 Sarah Bowdich Lee, *Adventures in Australia*, 259.
- 23 Sarah Bowdich Lee, *Adventures in Australia*, 260.
- 24 Sarah Bowdich Lee, *Adventures in Australia*, 237.
- 25 Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 1979), 3.
- 26 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters; or, Adventures in the Bush* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1858), 6.
- 27 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters*, 77.
- 28 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters*, 174.
- 29 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters*, 170.
- 30 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters*, 227.
- 31 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters*, 228.
- 32 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters*, 445.
- 33 Ann Bowman, *The Kangaroo Hunters*, 229.
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