

Borgfeld to Billabong: Johannes Leberecht Noltenius - Enterprise on Australian Mining Fields, 1855-1884

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Prospectors following the goldrushes around Australia in the second half of the 19th century were typically characterised by eternal optimism, dogged determination and a willingness to tolerate harsh and remote environments in the hope of striking it rich. Johannes Leberecht Noltenius had all of these attributes. Although he arrived in Australia in the early years of the gold boom he did not immediately turn to prospecting, but when he did the commitment was total: while on the Barossa Goldfield in South Australia he was described as someone 'whose whole soul seems to be in gold-digging'.¹ It remained so until his untimely death on the Daly River in one of the most notorious episodes in the history of European settlement of the Northern Territory.

While some diggers made their fortune in the goldrushes, many made little or nothing - Noltenius fell into the latter category. However, he was highly respected for his involvement in community activities on the goldfields. This paper traces Noltenius' life and experiences from the time of his arrival in Australia until his death. The main sources of information have been contemporary newspapers and family letters obtained from Staatsarchiv Bremen; regrettably, records of mining companies with which Noltenius was involved in South Australia and the Northern Territory no longer exist.²

Borgfeld to Melbourne

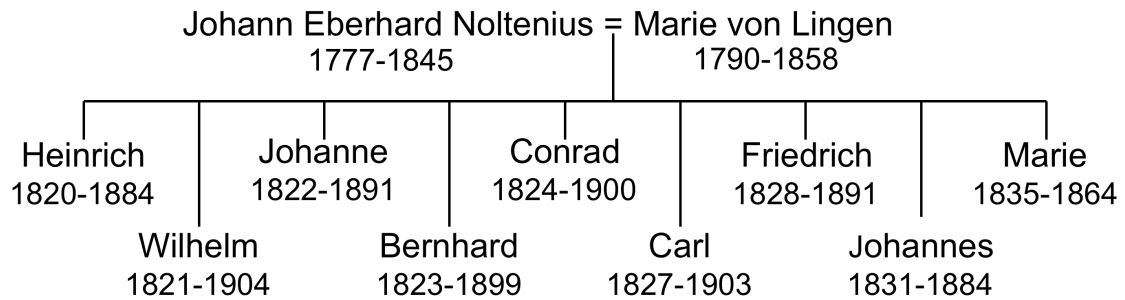
Johannes Noltenius was born in 1831 at Borgfeld in the independent City-State of Bremen, which was part of the then German Confederation. He was the youngest son in a family of nine children born to Johann Eberhard and Marie Noltenius (née von Lingen) (Figs. 1 and 2a, b). At the age of 22 Johannes left Borgfeld in search of greater opportunities overseas. Three of his brothers had previously emigrated to other lands: Wilhelm to the U.S.A., Heinrich and Bernhard to Australia.

Johannes sailed for New York, arriving on 20th November 1853,³ but soon discovered that the U.S.A. was not the land of opportunity he had imagined. After 'endless months when [he] was looking for a job' in New York,⁴ he wrote to Wilhelm in Cairo, Kentucky, suggesting that they might both go to Australia.⁵ Having received no reply after six months, he wrote home saying he had made the decision to go alone to Australia to join Bernhard in his business.

I am only going to Australia because I realise that, if I have a business opportunity, this will provide for me later in life in the same way, if not better, than circumstances here in America.⁶

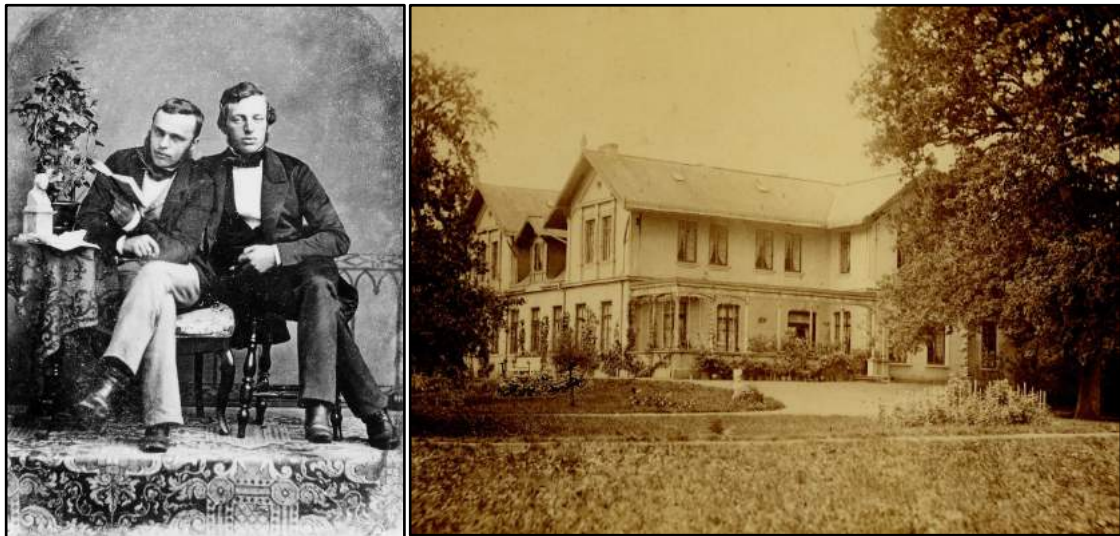
Before leaving for Australia, Johannes travelled to Kentucky to visit Wilhelm, returning to New York in time to leave for Melbourne on the *Prince de Joinville* on 1st May 1854. In a final letter home he wrote: ‘... let your good wishes accompany me on my travels to the third part of the world. Anybody from Bremen has the right to three endeavours ...’.⁷

Figure 1: The *Family Noltenius*.



Source: Compiled from Stamm=Tafeln der Familie Noltenius, BREMEN, Druckerei von HEINR. FREISE, Kahlenstr. 8/9. 1902. Tafel IIIC.

Figure 2: (a) *Johannes Noltenius (on right) with brother Carl (ca. 1853); (b) Noltenius Family Home, Borgfeld.*



Source: (a) Carsten Nolteniu; (b) Noltenius Family Collection. Photographer: Julius Frank, Lilienthal.

Victoria, 1854-(?)1866

Johannes arrived in Melbourne on 28th August, at the height of Victoria’s extraordinary goldrush.⁸ He was reunited with Bernhard and joined him in his lodgings in St. Kilda.⁹ Although employed in Bernhard’s shipping business, he saw this as only a temporary measure, observing that ‘business is bad, there is not much to do and I am more of a volunteer than a worker’. His expectation was to find employment ‘in one of the big companies here’. Impressed by the affluence in Melbourne as a result of the gold boom, he commented ‘we have shops here which are at least as beautiful as those in Bremen’ and ‘some of them could easily occupy a space at New York Broadway’.¹⁰

After a little more than a year in Bernhard's employ, Johannes left Melbourne in October 1855 for the recently-discovered Fiery Creek goldfield in western Victoria. His purpose in going to Fiery Creek was not, however, to dig for gold – he was still intent on pursuing business opportunities. There he opened a 'tobacco and cigarette business' for Buschman, Hicks & Co., who already had two stores on the Victorian goldfields.¹¹ The Fiery Creek rush was short-lived and by late 1856 activity on the field was waning as diggers left to follow rushes to new discoveries.¹²

No letters survive from Noltenius' days at Fiery Creek and it is not known when he left. Writing in June 1857 in Beechworth, the central town on the Ovens Goldfield in north-eastern Victoria, he mentioned having written in April and again in May.¹³ Again, he was to operate a tobacconist store for Buschman and Hicks.¹⁴ Beechworth was a prosperous town and would have appealed to him as a promising location for a business opportunity. He became a partner with Buschman and Hicks and opened a store in Ford Street, the commercial hub of Beechworth.¹⁵

Noltenius wasted no time in becoming an active participant in the Beechworth community. He helped form a Chess Club and was elected Secretary,¹⁶ commenting in a letter home that 'it contributes in a positive way to my otherwise monotonous life'.¹⁷ He was also involved in the formation of the German Club.¹⁸

Notices in the *Ovens and Murray Advertiser* in May 1858 advised that the partnership of Buschman, Hicks and Noltenius had been dissolved 'by mutual consent' and that 'John L. Noltenius ... will carry on the business, as Wholesale and Retail Tobacconist on his own account'.¹⁹ Noltenius assured readers that he intended to show 'strict attention to the wants of the Public' and advised that he had purchased 'a splendid assortment of real Havana Cigars and Honey-dew Tobacco of the best brands, also a good collection of Meerschaums and Fancy Goods'.

It would appear that the Beechworth business did not flourish, as later in the year he was operating a store in the nearby gold town of Indigo, some 15 km to the north of Beechworth, his store being mentioned in a report of a storm that hit Indigo on 19th December.²⁰ The last record of Noltenius on the Ovens Goldfield was that of his presence at a meeting of the Beechworth Chamber of Commerce held on 23rd December 1858.²¹ He may have moved yet again, as the township of Indigo was deserted when miners and businesses moved to the new town of Chiltern, about 12 km north-west of Indigo, where new leads were discovered in 1859-60.²² If so, he had evidently moved on by March 1861, when his name was included in a list of unclaimed letters at the Chiltern Post Office.²³

Noltenius' movements are unknown from the end of 1858 until his arrival in Adelaide towards the end of 1866. In February 1864 Heinrich mentioned in a letter to his siblings in Bremen that Johannes 'is well and writes often', but provided no clue as to his whereabouts.²⁴ Was it sometime in 1859 or 1860 that Noltenius abandoned his hopes of achieving success in business and turned to the life of a digger? Given his involvement in the German community in Beechworth, perhaps he joined the German miners leaving for Kiandra in the Snowy Mountains in August 1860.²⁵ Or perhaps he was one of those referred to in a report in September of a discovery in Bowmans Forest:

... a party of Germans had discovered a new lead at Bowman's Forest of a very rich character. ... The Germans arrived in Beechworth yesterday for the purpose of registering their claim, which they would have done earlier but they delayed doing so in order to await the arrival of some friends and countrymen from Indigo, who they were anxious should take up adjoining claims.²⁶

Heinrich and Bernhard Noltenius

Heinrich Noltenius (Fig. 3a) arrived in Adelaide in 1843.²⁷ He was a partner with Joseph Stilling in the firm Stilling & Co. until the partnership was terminated in 1858.²⁸ His many other business ventures included a chemist shop, a brewery and a wine and spirit store.²⁹ He was a founding member of the Chamber of Commerce³⁰ and became a prominent member of the Adelaide citizenry. In 1852 he married Emma Payne³¹ and together they raised a family of nine children. Heinrich died in Adelaide on 10th January 1884.³²

Bernhard August Noltenius (Fig. 3b) arrived in Adelaide in August 1848.³³ With Christian Meyer he formed Noltenius, Meyer & Co., shipping agents with offices in Adelaide and Melbourne.³⁴ They acted for a scheme of assisted emigration for miners and their families from the Harz region until the scheme ceased in 1854.³⁵ Noltenius, Meyer & Co. operated until January 1857 when the partnership was dissolved and declared insolvent.³⁶ During those years Bernhard had resided for part of the time in Melbourne, before returning to Adelaide where he continued to act as a shipping agent under his own name. He did not marry and returned to Bremen in 1888, dying at Borgfeld on 28th February 1899.³⁷

Figure 3: (a) Heinrich (Henry) Noltenius; (b) Bernhard Noltenius. (Dates unknown)



Source: Carsten Noltenius.

Both Heinrich and Bernhard were involved in the mining industry. Heinrich held managerial or board appointments in several mining companies³⁸ and Bernhard was

employed as the purser for the Yudnamutana Copper Mining Co. at Blinman for at least a year.³⁹ The brothers were also involved in forming the Sixth Creek Gold Mining Venture at Montacute in the Adelaide Hills, Bernhard as 'Agent for the Promoters' and Heinrich as a Director.⁴⁰

South Australia, 1866-1871

The first evidence of Johannes Noltenius' arrival in Adelaide is in a list published on 29th November 1866 of persons supporting the nomination of William Townsend Esq. M.P. for the office of Chief Magistrate.⁴¹ Then in January 1867, Heinrich's wife Emma mentioned in a letter to her sister-in-law Helene (Conrad's wife) that 'Johannes is here in Adelaide now'.⁴² Shortly thereafter, a report in the *South Australian Register* on the Sixth Creek Mine observed that 'The Company appear to have an intelligent energetic Manager in Mr. J.L. Noltenius, and an industrious set of men ...', and the *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* referred to the mine as being 'under the management of Mr. J.L. Noltenius [sic], a gentleman of extensive Victorian experience ...'.⁴³ His appointment to this position soon after arriving in Adelaide lends support to the suggestion that he had indeed turned to mining after his business ventures on the Ovens Goldfield had not lived up to expectations.⁴⁴

The *South Australian Register* report contained a detailed description of the operation of the mine and expressed the bold opinion that '... the Sixth Creek Gold Mining Company has ranked among our most hopeful mining institutions. It had two strings to its bow - copper as well as gold'. Noltenius notified the Directors that cobalt had also been discovered in the mine and in a subsequent report that 'The cobalt lode, I am glad to state, looks very well'.⁴⁵

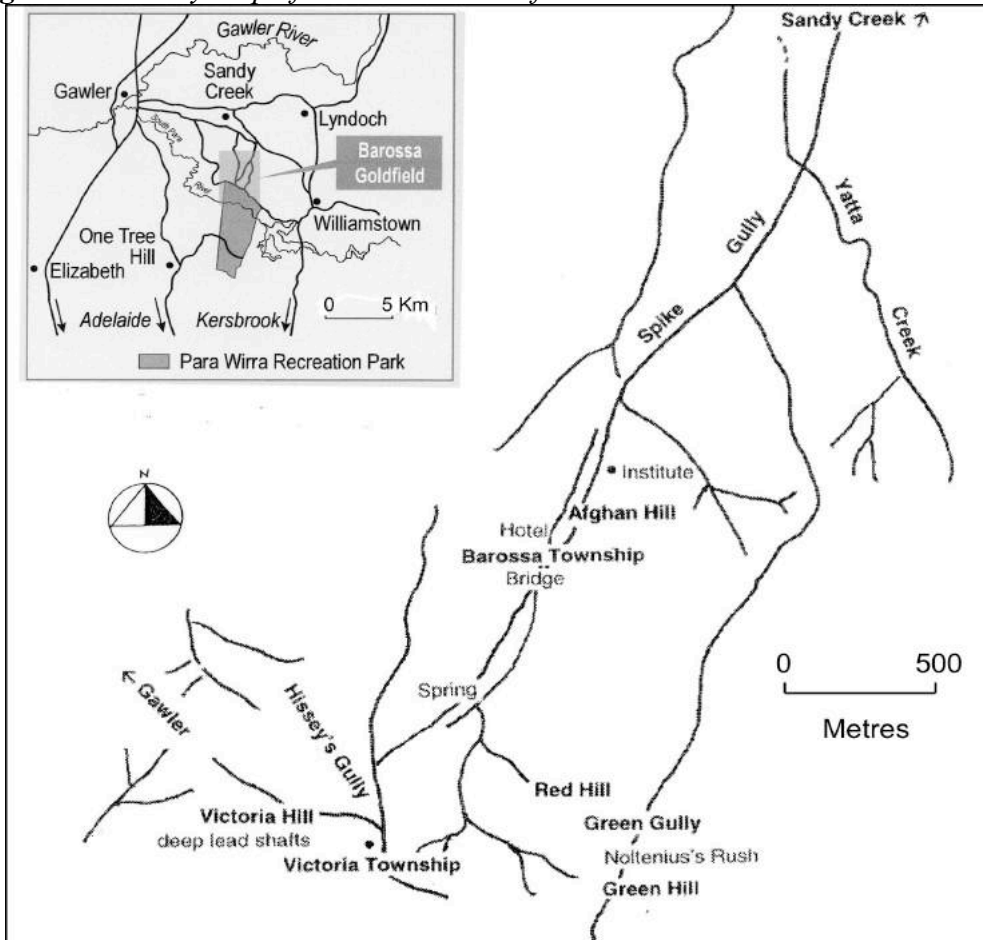
A meeting of the shareholders in April was presented with a far different picture:

... the crushing for gold had been partly a failure on account of the water from the [mine] being impregnated with some substance which had the effect of destroying the affinity between the quicksilver and the gold. Copper they had sought for with some success, but as a whole the cost of procuring it was greater than the return. They had found cobalt ore, which, according to some assayers, was a marketable commodity, but Mr. Sieger, of Wallaroo, had informed them that it was of no commercial value, ...⁴⁶

Noltenius, however, remained optimistic, a letter from him informing the meeting that 'he had come upon the cap of a gold-bearing reef under the cobalt lode, and that he expected it to be of great richness'. It was decided to make a call of two shillings per share.⁴⁷ Many investors allowed their shares to be forfeited rather than pay the call and by the end of the year the Company had failed.⁴⁸

October 1868 saw a rush to what became known as the Barossa Goldfield, following the discovery by Job Harris, proprietor of the Sandy Creek Hotel, of alluvial gold in Spike Gully, about 10 km south-east of Gawler and about 35 km north-east of Adelaide (Figs. 4 and 5).⁴⁹ Within a week of the first report, about 2,000 diggers had rushed to the field and the Barossa Township grew up near the original discovery site. Noltenius acted quickly: with Firmin Deacon he had soon taken out a claim to work a reef in Yatta Creek.⁵⁰

Figure 4: *Locality map of the Barossa Goldfield.*



Source: E.M. Dunlop. Inset adapted from South DPC Resources and Energy Group, plan 204455-020.

Figure 5: *Barrossa [sic] diggings, South Australia, Albert Cooke, 1869.*



Source: DPC Resources and Energy Group, photo 040228.

Noltenius soon became recognised as one of the leading and most respected diggers on the Barossa Goldfield, leading a deputation to the Commissioner of Crown Lands to seek amendments to the new gold mining regulations that had been issued by the Government.⁵¹ He was then elected a member of the Mining Board for the Barossa Goldfield, formed 'to watch over the interests of the diggers, and advise with the Warden'.⁵²

Gold was found to be present in three types of deposits on the Barossa field: in quartz reefs, in alluvial deposits in the modern drainage channels and in ancient alluvial deposits up to 45cm in thickness at depths of up to 30m below the present hill tops. These ancient alluvial deposits occur in cemented ferruginous conglomerate and were referred to by the diggers as 'cement'.⁵³ The lack of crushing equipment was a source of frustration and a public meeting led to an offer by G. Britcher to erect a crushing machine with 'seven head of stampers'.⁵⁴ By mid-1869 prospecting was concentrated on the buried alluvial deposits. Noltenius had evidently joined forces with Job Harris and they were having some success: 'Harris, Noltenius, and party in breaking down this cement this week obtained some rich specimens ...'.⁵⁵

Noltenius was a member of a committee that welcomed the Governor of South Australia, Sir James Ferguson, on the occasion of his visit to the Barossa Goldfield. The visit by the viceregal party received extensive coverage in the newspapers, with lengthy articles describing the township and the workings, and commenting on 'the immense extent of the cement deposits' and the optimism of the diggers, who it was said 'were never in better spirits'.⁵⁶ As in Beechworth, Noltenius involved himself in community activities; he was elected Vice-President of a Committee to form an Institute, the aims of which were to purchase books, 'to form a Mutual Improvement Society, and have monthly entertainments or lectures'.⁵⁷

Britcher's crusher proved to be inadequate and Noltenius was behind moves to form 'a local Company for the crushing of quartz and cement'. The Victoria Gold-Quartz Crushing Company was formed with a capital of £1,500, in 1,000 shares of 30s. each. It was estimated that 'they could crush at 8s. per ton and leave a good profit'. Noltenius was elected one of the five Directors of the Company.⁵⁸

The anniversary of the opening of the Barossa Goldfield was celebrated with a picnic organised by a Committee that included Noltenius. A report on the picnic in *The Express and Telegraph* also described the facilities in the township and, in commenting on the profitability of the field, observed:

Not a few of [the diggers] say they are content and satisfied, whilst a considerable number affirm that they are barely earning their food. All agree in objecting to the Government imposition of the 5s. fee allowing them to search for gold only on the Barossa field as impolitic, and unjust.⁵⁹

By mid-December the new crusher, with fifteen stampers, was ready to begin operation in Green Gully and a ceremony to mark the occasion was given extensive newspaper coverage.⁶⁰ Noltenius had resigned as a Director to become Manager of the crusher. Several hundred diggers as well as a party of dignitaries, including the Commissioner for Lands and several Members of Parliament, were present to witness

the starting of the machinery by Job Harris, Chairman of the Company. The party then adjourned for a luncheon and numerous speeches, including a toast proposed by Noltenius to 'The Parliament'. Mr Baker, M.P. for the district, proposed 'Success to the Crushing-Machine and its Promoters' and Mr Townsend, another Member of Parliament and a shareholder, proposed a toast to 'The Manager, Mr. Noltenius'. The Warden, Mr Peterswald, also praised Noltenius, who responded that he 'had tried his best. He had been on those diggings from the beginning, and had done all he could to prove the ground and get up that machine'.

January 1870 began with news that the Victoria crusher was performing well 'under the superintendence of Mr. Noltenius' and a load of cement from Noltenius, Harris and party had given a good yield of gold.⁶¹ In July, however, came the surprising announcement of Noltenius' retirement as Manager of the crusher, a move that was met with regret by *The Gawler Times and Goldfields Reporter* which commented: 'In him the Company had a faithful, indefatigable servant, and the diggers felt implicit confidence in him. By everyone he is esteemed as a man of education, and a gentleman'.⁶²

Within a few days of Noltenius' departure from the crusher his name was linked to a new discovery in Green Gully (Fig. 5):

SPLENDID DISCOVERY AT BAROSSA GOLD-FIELD.- The following information has just come to hand respecting a new discovery at the Barossa diggings:-"Great news here. We have made the finest discovery since the field has been opened. Noltenius's party have discovered a cement hill in Green Gully, near the crushing machines, which has yielded a prospect today of 5 dwts. to little more than half a bucket - equal to 10 ounces per ton".

This led to the pegging of 'a great many claims' in what was referred to as 'Mr. Noltenius's rush' and the confident assertion that 'Barossa will be greater in three months than it has ever been'.⁶³ The timing of events suggests that Noltenius' party had made the discovery prior to him relinquishing his role at the crusher and that the move was to enable him to concentrate fully on the new claim.

Satisfactory yields of gold from cement crushed from Noltenius' claim were reported in the following months,⁶⁴ although it was also observed that 'the tortuous windings of the lead is baffling a great many diggers'.⁶⁵ In a review of the Barossa Goldfield, *The Gawler Times and Goldfields Reporter* estimated production for the previous 12 months to have been 'at least 10,000 ozs., as against 8,000 during the previous year, making a total of about £70,000 worth in all'. On the basis of 'this amount distributed amongst industrious plodding diggers' the Barossa was described as a 'poor man's gold-field'.⁶⁶

Noltenius and party were storing cement from their Green Hill claim, 'intending to have a grand crushing about Christmas'.⁶⁷ The outcome of the crushing is not known and there is no further mention of Noltenius on the Barossa Diggings. According to an item in *The Gawler Times and Goldfields Reporter* on 23rd December, Green Hill prospectors 'had 47 tons crushed, which yielded 24 ozs.; but in consequence of the ground, and the expenses entailed thereby, this would not be payable'.⁶⁸ It is likely that

this crushing included the cement from Noltenius and party and, with the disappointing result, Noltenius decided it was time to leave the Barossa.

The next report of Noltenius was May 1871 on the Ulooloo Diggings, about 40 km north of Burra, where a 'party from Barossa (Noltenius's) are sinking at a spot three miles further east towards the Scrubbers' Camp, and are going through beautiful stuff'.⁶⁹ The only other mention of him being at Ulooloo was in late October when he 'had three ounces ... and expresses his belief that a rich reef will be yet discovered in the neighbourhood'.⁷⁰

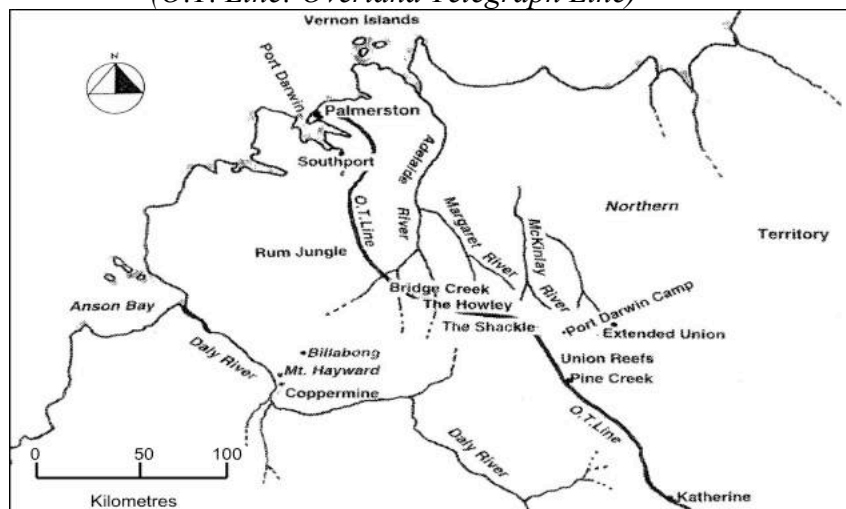
Meanwhile, news had reached Adelaide of the discovery of gold in the Northern Territory. In December 1870 at Yam Creek, about 160 km south of Palmerston (now Darwin), minor amounts of alluvial gold were found during construction of the Overland Telegraph Line.⁷¹ Surveyor George MacLachlan confirmed the find and his report of August 1871 was forwarded to Adelaide by the Government Resident, Captain Douglas, who confidently predicted: 'There can be no doubt of the auriferous character of the country, and that a really payable gold-field is ready for occupation'.⁷²

Moves were soon under way in Adelaide to send a prospecting party to the Northern Territory 'under the leadership of Mr. J.S. Westcott, with the assistance of Messrs. J. Noltenius and A.R. Hulbert ...'.⁷³ Others in the party included Henry Roberts and Harry Hauschildt,⁷⁴ both of whom had been on the Barossa and were to become close friends and partners with Noltenius in various ventures in the Northern Territory. The Northern Territory Gold Prospecting Association (NTGPA) was floated in October with a capital of £2,500 in 2,500 shares of £1 each.⁷⁵

The Northern Territory, 1872-1884

The prospecting party sailed on the *Alexandra* on 6th February 1872. Prior to departure, the men were addressed by one of the Directors, John Chambers, who 'dwelt upon the necessity of their agreeing together and obeying implicitly the commands of their leader, Mr. John S. Westcott'.⁷⁶ The *Alexandra* arrived at Port Darwin on 12th March.⁷⁷

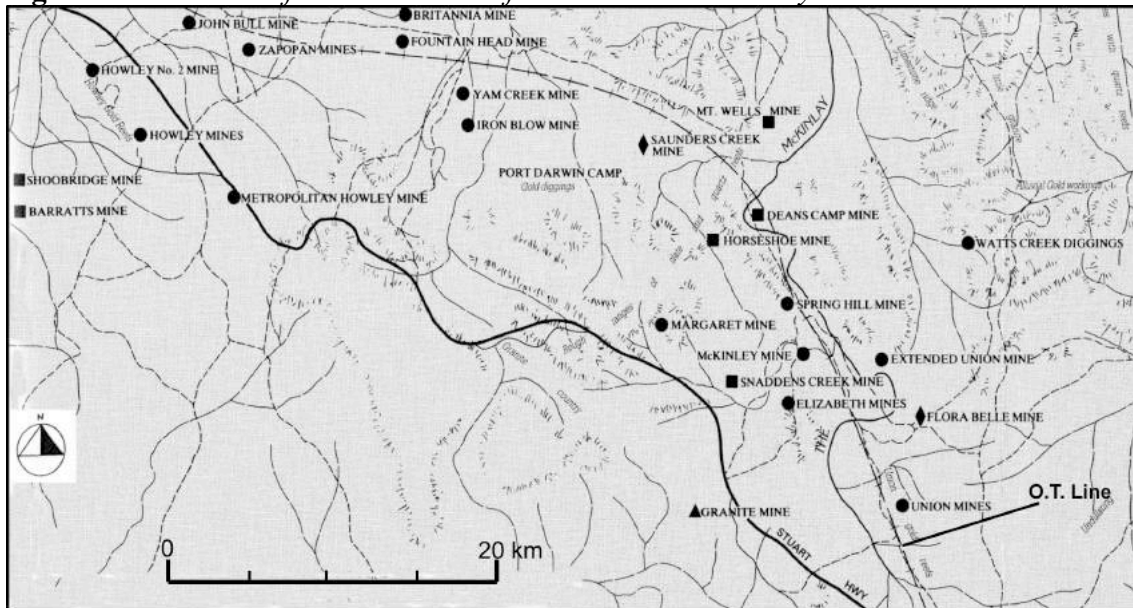
Figure 6: Northern Territory mining fields in the 1870-1880s.
(O.T. Line: Overland Telegraph Line)



Source: E.M. Dunlop.

The party landed at Southport and made their way some 120 km south to The Shackle (Fig. 6),⁷⁸ where they set up camp and began prospecting the ground previously covered by MacLachlan. Although some alluvial gold was found, no reefs were discovered, and in August Westcott sent Roberts and Hauschildt prospecting further afield. They returned after only a few days to report the existence of a gold-bearing reef at Yam Creek (Fig. 7). Westcott promptly went with them to inspect the discovery and pegged two 40-acre claims; he named the reef 'Priscilla', after Chambers' daughter.⁷⁹

Figure 7: Locations of historic mines of the Northern Territory.



Source: Adapted from Timothy Jones, *Pegging the Northern Territory: The History of Mining in the Northern Territory of Australia 1873-1946*, Department of Business, Industry and Resource Development, Darwin, 1987.

News of the discovery reached Adelaide via the Telegraph Line on 30th August:

**AURIFEROUS REEF DISCOVERED AT YAM CREEK
CLAIMS BEING PEGGED OUT**

... An auriferous reef discovered near Yam Creek Telegraph Station has been traced a distance of about three miles. Gold is visible to the naked eye for 150 yards. Ten claims have already been pegged out. Great excitement prevails amongst the prospectors.⁸⁰

Shares in NTGPA immediately jumped from £1.6s to £3, sparking a rush of prospectors to the Territory, especially Yam Creek (Fig. 8), and a frenzy on the Adelaide share market.⁸¹ By May 1873 some thirty companies had been floated, with the *Evening Journal* commenting: 'People seem to have a large amount of faith in the golden prospects of the Northern Territory ...' and a letter in the *South Australian Register* warning: 'It will be seen that there are persons sufficiently insane to pay a premium of 200 per cent, for an interest in Companies which have not as yet even a mining lease ...'.⁸²

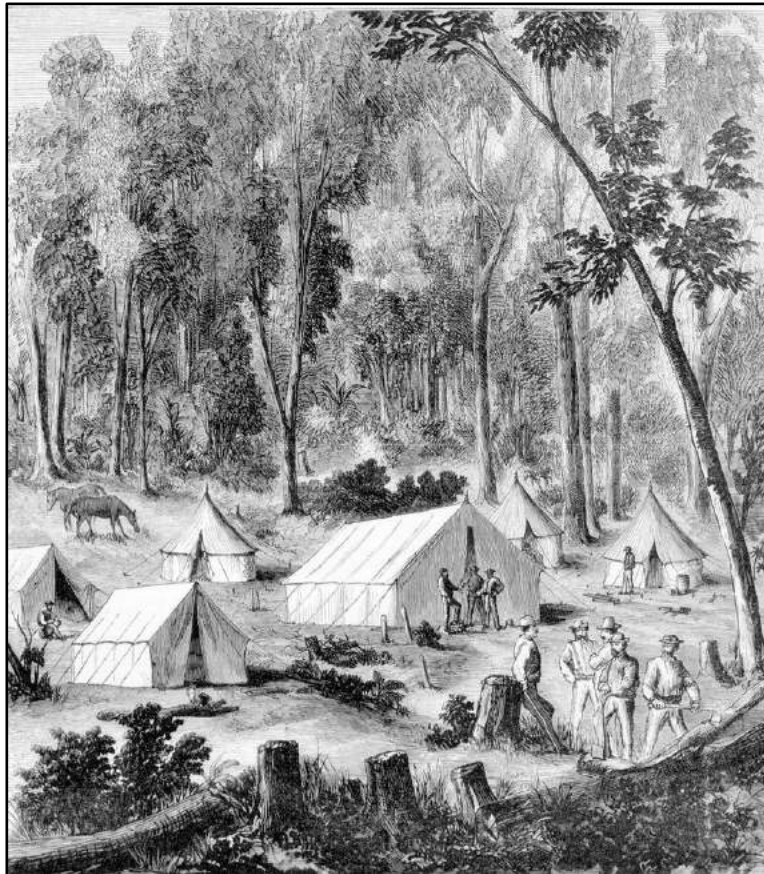
One of the companies floated in the boom of the early 1870s was the Princess Louise Gold Mining Company. The circumstances surrounding pegging of the claim and the subsequent float are curious, to say the least. According to Herbert Basedow in

‘Early Days of Mining in the Northern Territory’, based on conversations with Henry Roberts and ‘other old residents’:

A Frenchman, by the name of Louis, pegged on the south side of the [NTGPA] claim for Roberts and found fabulously rich specimens of gold at shallow depth. ... A quarrel ensued between Westcott and Roberts, because the latter had pegged privately ...⁸³

Roberts called his claim ‘Princess Louise’, and in May 1873 the Princess Louise Gold Mining Company was floated with a nominal capital of £30,000, in 30,000 shares of £1. The prospectus proposed that the Company would purchase the lease dated October 1872 from George Williams and as payment he would be issued with 15,000 of the shares, considered to be fully paid-up, and £10,000 in cash would be paid to ‘Williams, or to such person or persons as he may direct ...’. The promoters were: ‘At Yam Creek - Henry Roberts. In Adelaide - George Williams’.⁸⁴

Figure 8: *Yam Creek, Samuel Calvert, ca.1873.*



Source: State Library of Victoria. Image IAN07/11/73/17.

The only objection expressed in print to the pegging of the claim by Roberts and the extraordinary terms of the prospectus was that in an article ‘Company Mongering’ in *The Irish Harp and Farmers’ Herald*:

... if [Roberts] made any discovery it was the property of the shareholders in [NTGPA] by virtue of the agreement, in which it was distinctly stipulated that

any discoveries made by Westcott or any member of his party should be the property of the Company, and that neither Westcott nor any member of the party should prospect or trade in claims on his own account.

It was also queried how Williams, who 'it appears, is a barman at Tuxford's Sportsman's Hotel' and 'has never been to the Northern Territory; how then came he in the possession of a mineral claim in that country?' And of the future prospects for the mine:

The situation may be good, but so far there is nothing known about it to justify the promoters' extravagant demand for £25,000 out of a capital of £30,000. But supposing the claim to be the richest in the Northern Territory, how are the Company going to purchase machinery, send it up there, and pay the expenses of working the claim out of a capital of £4,500, which is all that is left to them after paying Mr. George Williams his £25,000, and the brokers' fees and charges, advertising, printing, and Secretary's salary, &c. ...⁸⁵

The warning went unheeded by investors as the share price was £3.10s by the end of the week.⁸⁶

Noltenius and Hauschildt joined Roberts in developing the Princess Louise; it is not known when they left the NTGPA party but a report in August 1873 referred to Noltenius as Manager at the mine.⁸⁷ It is particularly surprising that Noltenius chose to leave the expedition led by Westcott as he was one of the senior members of the party. Meanwhile, the Princess Louise was being reported on in favourable terms, for example, '... up to this time [it] is believed by many to be the gem of the Northern Territory Gold-fields' and a crushing of 17 hundredweight of specimens sent to Adelaide yielded 160 ozs of gold to the ton.⁸⁸ Noltenius returned to Adelaide in September where he informed a meeting of shareholders that 'it could be proved by ample evidence that all which had been said by the promoters as to the property was true'.⁸⁹

Special general meetings of the Company were held on 28th January and 6th February 1874 to consider

... the offer submitted by Messrs. George Williams and Henry Roberts on behalf of themselves and P. Valentine, Noltenius, Masson, and Littlefield ... to work the Company's claims at Yam Creek for two years from the 1st of March, 1874; that the tributers enter into an agreement to pay a royalty of 25 per cent for the first year and 30 per cent for the second year upon the gross returns of gold from the crushings of stone raised from claim; also to pay all expenses connected with the actual working of the mine during that period ...⁹⁰

The offer was accepted by the shareholders and the tributers promptly left for Port Darwin on the *Tararua*.⁹¹

Reports over the next few months were encouraging: 'the Princess Louise is paying the tributers handsomely for their labor [sic]' and 'The Yam Creek line, so far, has not been a great success, the only really payable claim being the Princess Louise'.⁹² Noltenius was again active in community matters, being on a committee 'for providing some amusement on New Year's Day' and another to take steps 'to procure a medical officer on the goldfields'.⁹³

In September 1875 came the first indication that the tributers may have been losing faith in the Princess Louise, with news that: ‘The same party have pegged out a claim at the John Bull’⁹⁴ (Fig. 7). This was followed by a report that:

The Princess Louise crushing showed well ... Twenty-four tons yielded 135 ounces; but the tributers were occupied 13 months in bringing this small quantity to the machine. ... Unfortunately the [reef] became smaller ... until at present it is completely pinched out. ... We should have wished better results for the tributers because they have been from the first identified with the advancement of the Territory.⁹⁵

At an extraordinary meeting of the Company on 8th February 1876 the shareholders were advised that the tributers ‘were giving up their work, as they could not proceed further without considerable expense’. A letter from Noltenius on behalf of the tributers explained:

Our reason for giving up the work before our term has expired, is on account of not being able to sink the shaft deeper with the present underlay. In our opinion it requires now a perpendicular shaft of say 200 feet depth, at which level a crosscut might be driven if required.

The meeting did not accept a recommendation from Noltenius that the work be let by contract, and decided that debts would be paid and the Company allowed to lapse.⁹⁶ This was followed in March by the announcement:

THE PARTNERSHIP hitherto existing between George Williams, H. Roberts, P. Valentine, J. L. Noltenius, Moses Littlefield, H. J. Masson, and H. Hauschildt, under the name of George Williams & Co, and lately under, the style of the Princess Louise Tributers, has been DISSOLVED ...⁹⁷

Noltenius and at least some of his fellow tributers moved to the Howley district (Fig. 7) to work the John Bull Claim under the name of the Albion Company.⁹⁸ Once again, initial reports were promising, but high cartage costs and uncertain water supply for the crusher led to them abandoning the claim in mid-1877.⁹⁹ While at the Howley, Noltenius had been appointed a Justice of the Peace, with duties that included acting as a magistrate and coroner.¹⁰⁰

Noltenius’ next venture was to join August Starke on the Extended Union (Fig. 7) – a mine with a troubled history. Starke had discovered the reef in late 1874 and worked it with a group until mid-1875, when disagreement led to the claim being abandoned. It then changed hands several times as other partnerships broke up.¹⁰¹ In 1878 Noltenius, Roberts and Hauschildt joined with Starke to purchase the claim and moved the five-head battery from the Howley to a site on the bank of the McKinlay River, ‘about half a mile below the prospecting claim’, to ensure a permanent water supply.¹⁰² Relocation of the crusher was a major undertaking and involved cutting a track from Yam Creek to the new site.¹⁰³ The crusher was christened on Boxing Day 1878 and it is interesting to note that the ceremony was performed by ‘Mr. J.S. Westcott, the veteran and pioneer prospector of the Territory’.¹⁰⁴ Soon after this,

Roberts and Hauschildt left to continue prospecting on the Mary, Alligator and Daly Rivers.¹⁰⁵

Figure 9: *Wheal Margaret Gold Mine, Extended Union, ca.1880.*



Source: State Library of South Australia, Image PRB-742-5-105. Photographer P. Foelsche.

A notice in the *Northern Territory Times and Gazette* in January 1879 advised that the Extended Union would 'in future be worked under the Title and Firm of the Wheal Margaret Gold Mining Company'¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 9). In May it was reported that 'They have just struck a splendid show of stone in the old working, and are highly elated at their prospects'.¹⁰⁷ A crushing for one week yielded 132 ozs of gold and according to Noltenius 'the stuff in the claim is improving in depth'; he considered the claim to be 'the best yet opened in the Northern Territory'.¹⁰⁸

Starke and Noltenius also started a wholesale and retail butchers at the Extended Union but business suffered from 'midnight pilferers, helping themselves from the carcasses usually suspended from a tree within a few yards of the store', leading to a warning that 'slaughtering will be suspended until there is police protection in the district'.¹⁰⁹ As a further enterprise, Noltenius obtained a storekeeper's licence and to improve the supply of stores he and Starke had a new road made to Yam Creek, 'at a cost of about £70, in less than a week'; this enabled them 'to cart about twenty-five hundredweight twice a week with dray and three horses'.¹¹⁰

By December, reefing was described as 'almost defunct in the Territory ... The only exception which affords a glimmer of hope to intending settlers is the Extended Union'. The report was accompanied by news of a daring robbery of the copper plate 'with 70 ounces of amalgam ... from the Extended Union battery', the value of the gold

being estimated as at least £100. The theft had apparently been well-planned, taking place 'two days before cleaning up time'. Suspicion fell on some of the Chinese ex-employees, one of whom (Ah Tee) was charged with the theft but acquitted through lack of evidence.¹¹¹

As 1879 drew to a close, Noltenius was feeling less confident about the prospects for Wheal Margaret, writing to his brother Heinrich: 'Dividends from the Claim have not been forthcoming. The Claim still owes every shareholder wages and I am completely reliant on income from my store ...'.¹¹² Nevertheless, work on the mine continued through 1880, the battery was 'kept regularly employed' and there were plans to bring another battery from the Union.¹¹³

There was a major setback in November 1881 with the death of Starke.¹¹⁴ As he had died intestate the property was sold at auction in May 1882. It was bought by James Johnston for £900.¹¹⁵ He and Noltenius promptly began 'bailing out the [mine] preparatory to commencing fresh operations'.¹¹⁶

To finance further development, the Extended Union Gold Mining Company was floated in July to raise a capital of £12,000, by issuing 12,000 shares of £1 each. The prospectus showed both Johnston and Noltenius as the 'present owners'.¹¹⁷ Following success of the float, work began on a tramway from the mine to the crusher to save on cartage.¹¹⁸ In early 1883 the Company was reported to be 'pushing on the work with all speed' and, although completion of the tramway was delayed by lack of materials, the new incline shaft was nearly completed.¹¹⁹ At a meeting of the shareholders in May, the first of a series of calls of 1s. per share was agreed to and Johnston, reporting as Manager, said that he 'expected that the mine would pay for its future working'.¹²⁰

By September shareholders were beginning to express dissatisfaction 'with the way in which the property has been worked', but Johnston continued to speak 'very highly of the present appearance of the mine, and [was] confident of its ultimate success'.¹²¹ After further shareholder dissatisfaction, Johnston resigned as Manager in November at the first General Meeting of the Company, and was replaced by David Wadeson.¹²² The frustration of shareholders was reflected in comments in several newspapers in the early part of 1884, for example:

I scarcely know what to say about the prospects of the Extended Union. This property seems to be always in trouble. ... I don't know how it is, but whenever I pass through the Extended I feel a dead-and-alive sort of feeling creeping over me.¹²³ The Extended Union Company is not working very well. The muddle in the development of the mine since its transfer to the new company appears to have caused considerable dissatisfaction amongst some of the local shareholders, several of whom have disposed of their scrip at a very heavy discount.¹²⁴

Shortly after the Company had made the twelfth call of 1s. per share,¹²⁵ Johannes wrote to Bernhard:

Because of the infamous mismanagement of local managers and directors my possibilities here are completely ruined and I have got to start all over again. ...

Since the wet season started I have lived at the Extended Union from hand to mouth, so to speak ... I am going with Hauschildt, Roberts and some others to the Daly River, where the first named have declared a copper claim ... the journey will take 4 to 6 weeks until my return ...¹²⁶

Making up the party were John Landers (another miner) and Thomas Schollert (the cook). After arriving at the Daly River, Noltenius decided to stay on to assist in getting out the first shipment of ore. In an unfinished letter addressed to Bernhard, he referred to an offer his brother had apparently made in an attempt to persuade him to return to Adelaide:

Please do not be upset when I reject your brotherly and well-meaning offer. I am not able to take up your proposition. ... You know exactly how little I understand about business and it was this sort of ignorance which led me to give up my career and why I embraced the digger's way of life.¹²⁷

Figure 10: Grave of Johannes Noltenius at Noltenius Billabong, Northern Territory, Erected by Erwin Basedow ca. 1905.



Source: Noltenius Family Collection,
Photographer: H. Basedow. Ca. 1905

On 15th August Hauschildt left for the Union to get a wagon team to cart the ore out. Then came the tragic events of 3rd September. While Schollert was in camp and the others were working on the mine they were attacked by Aborigines; Roberts was hit on the head with a pick, and Landers and Noltenius were speared. All three made it back to the camp, where they found Schollert lying dead in the storeroom with a wound in his side. Noltenius bound up Roberts' head wound and Roberts removed the spear from Landers' side but could only extract part of the spear from Noltenius' body. Later that day they set off to try to reach the Daly River Cattle station, some 35 miles away. They had to camp overnight after about 500 yards, as Landers was too weak to continue. The following morning Roberts and Noltenius left Landers, after giving him a revolver and some water. They travelled about 7 miles that day but could only go about 2 miles the next day as Noltenius was in great pain. He

insisted that Roberts go on alone to the cattle station; Roberts left Noltenius beside a billabong, with a revolver and three dogs. Roberts reached the station but the Manager, Mr. Sasche, was absent. He was sent for and, on his return the following day, at once set off to find Noltenius and Landers. He passed Noltenius without finding him in the dark. Next morning he found the bodies of Landers and Schollert and then went back to look

for Noltenius. He was alive but weak when Sasche found him, and died a little later. Sasche buried him beside the billabong, now known as 'Noltenius Billabong' (Fig. 10).¹²⁸ Hauschildt's body was found a few days later and it appeared that he had been killed while camped on the first night after leaving the mine.¹²⁹

The Aftermath

The story of the attack on the miners and its aftermath is well-documented in contemporary newspapers and many publications concerning the history of the Northern Territory.¹³⁰ Parties of both police and volunteers went in search of those responsible for the murders; several arrests were made and random acts of vengeance were carried out. The Protector of Aborigines for the Northern Territory, Dr Robert Morice, estimated the number of Aborigines killed as 'not less than 150, a great part of these women and children'.¹³¹

It is unlikely that the motives for the attack on the miners will ever be known. In a review of 'The Daly River Outrage', Christie observed: 'There is confusion not only about why the killings occurred but who was involved and exactly what happened'.¹³² Possible motives were summarised by Austin:

Was it merely a defence of 'country'? Were they simply thieves? Had the miners, perhaps unwittingly, desecrated sacred ground? Perhaps they had transgressed Aboriginal codes of morality in some way?¹³³

Reynolds, in comparing the impact of pastoralists and miners on the country across the far north of Australia, pointed to a further reason for resentment of miners by the Aborigines: 'Miners seeking alluvial gold or tin dug into river-banks and monopolised scarce water supplies more completely than wandering cattle herds ever could.'¹³⁴

Although the Government Resident, J. Langdon Parsons, adopted an uncompromising, punitive attitude during the reprisals,¹³⁵ he presented a more measured view in his quarterly report later that year:

I fear unquiet times may be expected in connection with native tribes. The blacks are beginning to realise that the white man, with his herds, and his fences, and his preservation of water, is interfering with what they properly enough, from their point of view, regard as their natural rights. Their hunting grounds and game preserves are being disturbed, and their food supply both diminished and rendered uncertain. ... how, while facilitating the settlement and stocking of the country by Europeans, at the same time to atone for what is an undoubted loss of food supply in consequence to the natives, is a problem much easier to state than to solve.¹³⁶

Conclusion

Johannes Noltenius left his home at Borgfeld with the aim of establishing a career in business in a foreign country. After unsuccessful business ventures on the Victorian goldfields he turned to mining, but again success eluded him as his mining exploits followed a consistent pattern of initial promise giving way to disappointment. In spite of

lack of success in either business or mining, Noltenius maintained throughout a strong commitment to community activities and gained respect for his enterprise, leadership and integrity. These characteristics were especially evident in the Northern Territory where he and his fellow miners had to cope with the vagaries of climate, at times sickness, a shortage of rations and poor communication. Their experiences in the harsh, remote environment are an important part of the history of mining in the Northern Territory.

Noltenius had, like so many other diggers, unwavering faith that sooner or later his luck would change. This philosophy is evident in his unfinished letter to Bernhard, written shortly before his death.

Let me stay here and try for, let's say, another year to redeem some of my losses ... The overall situation at present is such that one can expect the country to boom and, I am certain, a small proportion of the wealth will reach those who have gone through an apprenticeship here.¹³⁷

Those dreams ended with his death beside a billabong in the Northern Territory.

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Endnotes

- ¹ 'Starting of new crushing machinery at Barossa', *The South Australian Advertiser*, 14 December 1869, p. 2c.
- ² State Records South Australia, Special List GRS, 'Note regarding GRS 513/19 Mining Company Records (1/1865 -17/1897). This consignment, although permanent, was destroyed due to negligence.'
- ³ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to his mother Marie, 22 November 1853, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 March 1854.
- ⁵ Referred to in letter from Johannes Noltenius to his mother Marie, 23 March 1854, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ⁶ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to his mother Marie, 23 March 1854, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 25 April 1854.
- ⁸ 'Shipping Intelligence', *The Argus*, 28 August 1854, p. 4a.
- ⁹ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to Carl Noltenius, 23 September 1854, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to his mother Marie, 18 October 1855, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ¹² Hugh Anderson, *The Flowers of the Field; a History of Ripon Shire*, Hill of Content Publishing Co. Ltd., 1969, pp. 47-48.
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- ¹⁴ See for example, *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 16 March 1857, p. 3g; *ibid.*, 2 December 1857, p. 2e.
- ¹⁵ Burke Memorial Museum, Beechworth, Municipal Rate Book, 1858-1859, Rate Number 139.
- ¹⁶ 'The Chess Club', *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 16 May 1857, p. 1f.
- ¹⁷ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to his mother Marie, 9 June 1857, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ¹⁸ 'Aufforderung an die Deutschen des Ovens Districts', *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 9 February 1858, p. 4c.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1 May 1858, p. 1e.
- ²⁰ 'Indigo. Great Storm and Loss of Life', *ibid.*, 20 December, 1858, p. 3a.
- ²¹ 'Beechworth Chamber of Commerce', *ibid.*, 24 December 1858, p. 3c.
- ²² James Flett, *The History of Gold Discovery in Victoria*. Hawthorn Press, 1970, p. 78.

- ²³ 'List of Unclaimed Letters, Post Office, Chiltern', *The Federal Standard and Border Post*, 2 March 1861, p. 2f.
- ²⁴ Letter, Heinrich Noltenius to his siblings in Bremen, 26 February 1864, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen,
- ²⁵ 'Local Intelligence', *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 25 August 1860, p. 2e.
- ²⁶ 'New Lead at Bowman's Forest', *ibid.*, 9 September 1860, p. 2f. Bowmans Forest is about 12 km south of Beechworth.
- ²⁷ 'Shipping News', *Southern Australian*, 15 September 1843, p. 2a.
- ²⁸ *Adelaide Times*, 4 January 1858, p. 1b.
- ²⁹ 'Weighing-Machine for Sale', *South Australian Register*, 14 July 1849, p. 1b; 'Halifax Brewery', *Adelaide Times*, 1 January 1858, p. 1b; *South Australian Gazette and Mining Journal*, 22 January 1848, p. 1b.
- ³⁰ 'Chamber of Commerce', *Adelaide Times*, 24 July 1850, p. 3c.
- ³¹ 'Married', *South Australian Register*, 6 July 1852, p. 2e.
- ³² 'Latest News', *Evening Journal*, 10 January 1884, p. 2c.
- ³³ 'Shipping Intelligence', *South Australian*, 4 August 1848, p. 2a.
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- ³⁵ Renate Vollmer, 'From the Harz Mountains (Kingdom of Hanover) to Adelaide and beyond: Government-sponsored emigration 1848-1854', *South Australian Genealogist*, vol. 20, no. 2, April 1993, pp. 3-6.
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- ³⁷ 'Deaths', *Chronicle*, 8 April 1899, p. 8b.
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- ⁴⁰ 'Prospectus of the Sixth Creek Gold Mining Venture', *The South Australian Advertiser*, 2 June 1866, p. 1e; 'Topics of the Day', *ibid.*, 29 June 1866, p. 2c.
- ⁴¹ 'Requisition to William Townsend Esq. M.P.', *ibid.*, 29 November 1866, p. 1d.
- ⁴² Letter, Emma Noltenius to Helene Noltenius, 29 January 1867, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ⁴³ 'The Sixth Creek Gold Mining Company', *South Australian Register*, 21 February 1867, p. 2g; 'The Sixth Creek Mine', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 2 March 1867, p. 6h.
- ⁴⁴ A later report in a South Australian newspaper also referred to Johannes having 'an extensive knowledge of gold mining in Victoria', 'Latest News', *Evening Journal*, 7 September 1871, p. 2c.
- ⁴⁵ 'Discovery of cobalt at the Sixth Creek', *Adelaide Observer*, 2 March 1867, p. 4f; 'Sixth Creek Gold Mining Company', *South Australian Register*, 13 March 1867, p. 2d.
- ⁴⁶ 'Sixth Creek Gold Mining Company', *Adelaide Observer*, 20 April 1867, p. 2g.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.* The report incorrectly said the call was to be ten shillings per share. This was corrected in subsequent notices, for example, 'Sixth Creek Gold Mining Company', *ibid.*, 4 May 1867, p. 2c.
- ⁴⁸ 'Mining Notices', *South Australian Register*, 17 July 1867, p. 1e. Notice advising that 3,358 of the 5,000 shares had been forfeited; 'The Echunga Gold-Fields', *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 11 January 1868, p. 5a.
- ⁴⁹ 'The Barossa Gold Discovery', *The Express and Telegraph*, 5 October 1868, p. 3d; Greg Drew, 'Barossa Goldfield: a historical snapshot', *MESA Journal*, 71, 2013, pp. 30-31.
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- ⁵⁵ 'The Gold-Fields', *Evening Journal*, 25 June 1869, p. 3a.
- ⁵⁶ 'The Governor's Visit to the Barossa Gold-Field', *ibid.*, 29 June 1869, p. 3c.
- ⁵⁷ 'General News', *The Express and Telegraph*, 22 July 1869, p. 2d; 'Barossa Diggings', *Evening Journal*, 15 August 1870, p. 3g.

- ⁵⁸ ‘Quartz Crushing Company’, *The South Australian Advertiser*, 31 July 1869, p. 3e; ‘Victoria Gold-Quartz & Cement Crushing Company’, *Bunyip (Gawler)*, 21 August 1869, p. 3a.
- ⁵⁹ ‘Anniversary of the Barossa Gold Fields’, *The Express and Telegraph*, 6 October 1869, p. 2f.
- ⁶⁰ ‘Starting of New Crushing Machinery at Barossa’, *The South Australian Advertiser*, 14 December 1869, p. 2c. The report includes a detailed description of the crusher complex, including the boilers, pumping gear, dams and ripple tables. Design of the crusher was based on that at the Almanda Silver Mine.
- ⁶¹ ‘The Gold-Fields’, *South Australian Register*, 1 January 1870, p. 5e.
- ⁶² ‘Barossa’, Article by *The Gawler Times and Goldfields Reporter* in *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 2 July 1870, p. 10f.
- ⁶³ ‘Barossa Diggings’, *Evening Journal*, 9 July 1870, p. 3d; ‘Latest News’, *ibid.*, 12 July 1870, p. 2c.
- ⁶⁴ ‘Gold Memos’, *South Australian Register*, 13 August 1870, p. 4f.
- ⁶⁵ ‘The Gold-Fields, Barossa’, *Evening Journal*, 10 September 1870, p. 3d.
- ⁶⁶ ‘Gold-Fields’, Report from *The Gawler Times and Goldfields Reporter* in the *Adelaide Observer*, 15 October 1870, p. 8a. According to the report about 450 men on average were employed on the diggings, ‘some of whom have realized fair returns for the labour, whilst others have had to be content with small results. The actual digging population is set down at from 450 to 500, whilst the number, including women and children, is spoken of as close upon 1,000’.
- ⁶⁷ ‘Barossa Diggings’, *Evening Journal*, 14 November 1870, p. 3a.
- ⁶⁸ ‘Barossa Diggings’, *The Gawler Times and Goldfields Reporter*, 23 December 1870, p. 3f.
- ⁶⁹ ‘The Uloolo [sic] Diggings’, *South Australian Register*, 1 May 1871, p. 3e. The Ulooloo Goldfield was discovered by John Westcott, see ‘Ulooloo Diggings’, *ibid.*, 2 June 1882, p. 5b: ‘The Ulooloo diggings [were] brought to light by Mr. Westcott finding gold in the Ulooloo Creek, known at the present time as Westcott’s Bar. The next who made anything like a vigorous search was Noltenius and party, who found gold lying bare in the gully about two miles from the Bar, after which there was a rush on the ground. A great many worked successfully for a few months, but they were discouraged through the water being so far away, and consequently they left’.
- ⁷⁰ ‘Ulooloo Diggings’, *ibid.*, 24 October 1871, p. 5a.
- ⁷¹ Timothy Jones, *Pegging the Northern Territory: The History of Mining in the Northern Territory of Australia. 1873-1946*, Department of Business, Industry and Resource Development, Darwin, 1987, p. 3.
- ⁷² ‘Northern Territory Gold-Field’, *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 14 October 1871, p. 12a.
- ⁷³ ‘Prospecting for Gold in the Northern Territory’, *Evening Journal*, 7 September 1871, p. 2c.
- ⁷⁴ Hauschildt is spelt ‘Houschildt’ in some reports, the former is used throughout here.
- ⁷⁵ ‘Northern Territory Gold Prospecting Association (Limited)’, *The South Australian Advertiser*, 6 October 1871, p. 1f.
- ⁷⁶ ‘Northern Territory Gold Prospecting Association’, *Evening Journal*, 6 February 1872, p. 2c.
- ⁷⁷ ‘Northern Territory Notes’, *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 27 July 1872, p. 7f.
- ⁷⁸ The Shackle was so-named after a device that provided for a break in the telegraph line circuit, enabling the telegraph operator to connect to the line. See D.E. Kelsey, edited by Ira Nesdale, *The Shackle: A story of the Far North Australian Bush*, Lynton Publications, Blackwood, South Australia, 1975, p. 53. The Shackle became the site of the Yam Creek Telegraph Station.
- ⁷⁹ ‘Northern Territory Gold-Fields’, *The Express and Telegraph*, 14 November 1872, p. 2g. From Westcott’s diary tabled at a meeting of Directors of the Northern Territory Gold Prospecting Company: ‘... bared the reef in places from 90 to 100 yards apart. The south reef was from three to four feet wide, with fine gold in the rock. ... Marked out two 40-acre sections for lease, ... the reef cropping out on the surface for 1,000 yards.’
- ⁸⁰ ‘The Northern Territory Gold-Fields’, *Evening Journal*, 31 August 1872, p. 2g.
- ⁸¹ Jones, *Pegging the Northern Territory*, pp. 4-12.
- ⁸² ‘Mining Intelligence’, *Evening Journal*, 2 October 1872, p. 2f; ‘To the Editor’, *South Australian Register*, 30 May 1873, p. 5c.
- ⁸³ H. Basedow, in H.Y.L. Brown, *Northern Territory of South Australia, North-Western District: reports (geological and general) resulting from the explorations made by the Government Geologist and staff during 1905*, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1906, p. 51.
- ⁸⁴ ‘Prospectus of the Princess Louise Gold Mining Company’, *South Australian Register*, 24 May 1873, p. 2c.
- ⁸⁵ ‘Company-Mongering’, *The Irish Harp and Farmers’ Herald*, 6 June 1873, p. 5a. In the absence of Company records (see Endnote 2), the statement concerning contractual obligations of members of the NTGPA party cannot be verified.
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- ⁸⁷ ‘Mining Intelligence’, *South Australian Register*, 2 September 1873, p. 7b.
- ⁸⁸ ‘The Reefs’, *The Express and Telegraph*, 14 July 1873, p. 3f; ‘Princess Louise Crushing’, *Evening Journal*, 15 August 1873, p. 2b.

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- ⁹⁰ 'The Princess Louise', *ibid.*, 29 January 1874, p. 3d; 'Mining Intelligence. Gold', *The Express and Telegraph*, 7 February 1874, p. 3b.
- ⁹¹ 'Shipping Intelligence', *South Australian Register*, 9 February 1874, p. 4a.
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- ⁹³ 'Sports at Yam Creek', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 9 January 1875, p. 3f; 'Meeting at Sandy Creek', *ibid.*, 18 September 1875, p. 4b.
- ⁹⁴ 'Palmerston', *ibid.*, 4 September 1875, p. 2a.
- ⁹⁵ 'Mining Summary', *ibid.*, 18 September 1875, p. 3b.
- ⁹⁶ 'Mining Intelligence', *Evening Journal*, 9 February 1876, p. 3b. The Company was wound up in July 1876, see 'Mining Intelligence', *The South Australian Advertiser*, 3 August 1876, p. 3e.
- ⁹⁷ 'Notice', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 11 March 1876, p. 1e.
- ⁹⁸ 'Notice', *ibid.*, 11 March 1876, p. 1e.
- ⁹⁹ 'Country Correspondence', *ibid.*, 30 June 1877, p. 2e; 'Our Northern Territory Letter', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 5 January 1884, p. 9c.
- ¹⁰⁰ 'The Government Gazette', *The Express and Telegraph*, 24 November 1876, p. 3g.
- ¹⁰¹ 'The Extended Union Mining Company', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 12 May 1883, p. 3c.
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- ¹⁰⁶ 'Notice', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 18 January 1879, p. 1f.
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- ¹⁰⁸ 'News and Notes', *ibid.*, 31 May 1879, p. 2b.
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- ¹²¹ 'Our Northern Territory Letter', *The South Australian Advertiser*, 17 September 1883, p. 6a; 'The Northern Territory', *Adelaide Observer*, 22 September 1883, p. 33a.
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- ¹²³ 'Country Mining and General News', *North Australian*, 18 January 1884, p. 3d.
- ¹²⁴ 'Our Northern Territory Letter', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 22 March 1884, p. 7f.
- ¹²⁵ 'Extended Union Gold Mining Co. (No Liability)', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 5 April 1884, p. 2e.
- ¹²⁶ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to Bernhard Noltenius, 14 April 1884, file StAB 7, 67-31, Staatsarchiv Bremen.
- ¹²⁷ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to Bernhard Noltenius, August 1884. Unfinished letter found by Police Inspector Foelsche at the Daly River camp and given to Bernhard by the Secretary of Police in Adelaide in September 1884.
- ¹²⁸ The site has been declared a Northern Territory Heritage Site.
- ¹²⁹ Summary of events based on newspaper reports including: 'The Late Murders on the Daly', *Evening Journal*, 12 September 1884, p. 3b; 'The Daly River Murder. Finding of Houschildt's [sic] Body', *North Australian*, 26

September 1884, p. 3b; 'The Daly River Murder', *ibid.*, 24 October 1884, p. 3c; and Letter, Henry Roberts to Bernhard Noltenius, 21 September 1884. National Trust, Darwin.

¹³⁰ See for example, Andrew Markus, *From the Barrel of a Gun: the Oppression of the Aborigines, 1860-1890*, Victorian Historical Association, 1974, pp. 12-34; Kelsey, *The Shackle*, pp. 61-65; Gordon Reid, *A Picnic with the Natives: Aboriginal – European Relations in the Northern Territory*, Melbourne University Press, 1990, pp. 99-112; Michael Christie, 'Discourse and Disclosure: The Daly River Outrage, 1884-1885', in Tony Austin and Suzanne Parry (eds.), *Connection and Disconnection: Encounters between settlers and indigenous people in the Northern Territory*, NTU Press, Darwin, 1998, pp. 125-154; Tony Roberts, *Frontier Justice: a History of the Gulf Country to 1900*, University of Queensland Press, 2005, pp. 125-131.

¹³¹ 'Aborigines in the Northern Territory', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 11 July 1885, p. 3b.

¹³² Christie, 'Discourse and Disclosure: The Daly River Outrage, 1884-1885', p. 125.

¹³³ Tony Austin, *Simply the Survival of the Fittest: Aboriginal Administration in South Australia's Northern Territory 1863-1910*, Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin, 1992, p. 19. The following items may be considered relevant to the question of motives. In evidence during the trial, Tommy, one of those charged with the murder of Noltenius, stated '... when whitefellow stop copper claim blackfellow kill 'em whitefellow, because no more give 'em tucker ...', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette*, 27 December 1884, p. 1b. Descriptions of the mine site show that it was a prominent feature that could well have had sacred significance to the Aborigines - a journalist described '... the immense lode of copper bulging up from the surface', 'A Pedestrian Tour to the Daly', *ibid.*, 19 July 1884, p.3, and Christie noted that 'The mound of copper ... rose fourteen metres above the margin of a lake ...', 'Discourse and Disclosure: The Daly River Outrage, 1884-1885', p. 129. In his trial for the murder of Hauschildt, Nammy claimed that another Aboriginal man, Waloo, had speared Hauschildt because he insisted on sleeping with Waloo's 'lubra', *ibid.*, 19 December 1885, p. 3d. This was later disputed by Roberts who stated 'I was for fourteen years with [Hauschildt] and know that that is false', 'The Murders at the Daly River Copper Mine', *The Express and Telegraph*, 18 February 1886, p. 3e.

¹³⁴ Henry Reynolds, *Forgotten War*, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney, p. 210.

¹³⁵ Michael Christie, 'Discourse and Disclosure: The Daly River Outrage, 1884-1885', pp. 138-141.'

¹³⁶ Parliamentary Papers, South Australia, *Quarterly Report on Northern Territory*, Quarter ending December 31st 1884, vol. 3, no. 53, p. 10.

¹³⁷ Letter, Johannes Noltenius to Bernhard Noltenius, August 1884.