



AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF ABORIGINAL  
AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER STUDIES  
R E P O R T   S E R I E S

# SCARS IN THE LANDSCAPE



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# SCARS IN THE LANDSCAPE

a register of massacre sites in western Victoria, 1803–1859

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IAN D CLARK

AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF ABORIGINAL  
AND TORRES STRAIT ISLANDER STUDIES

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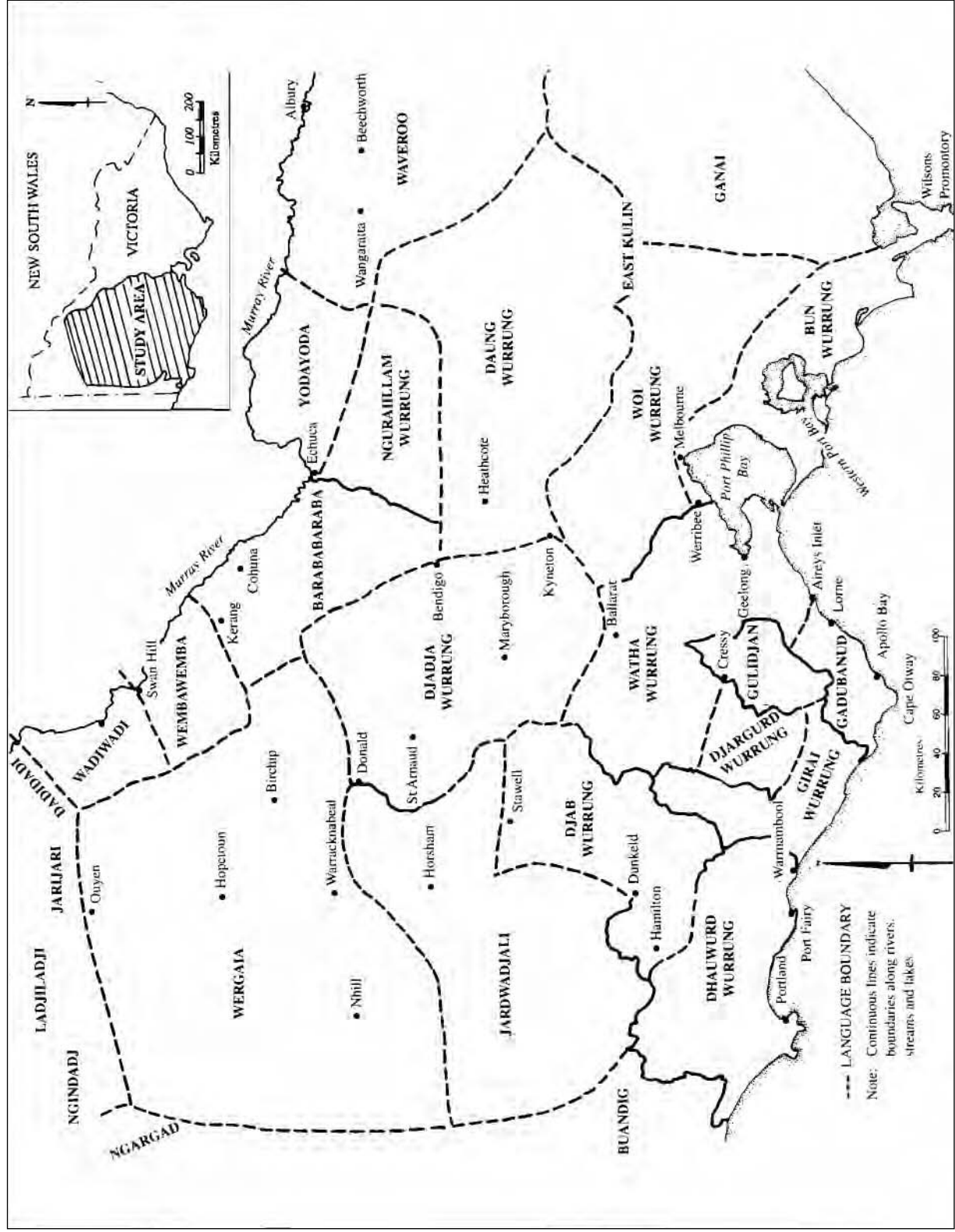
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The region covered by this register



## ***CONTENTS***

Foreword	ix
Introduction	1
Dhauwurd wurrung	11
Djab wurrung	57
Djada wurrung	85
Djargurd wurrung	103
Gadubanud	119
Girai wurrung	125
Gulidjan	135
Jardwadjali	141
Watha wurrung	169
Wergaia	177
References	185



## FOREWORD

Frontier violence was an inescapable feature of Australian society for almost one hundred and fifty years, beginning on the fringes of the fledgling settlement at Sydney Cove within a few weeks of the Europeans' arrival. Almost every district experienced conflict between resident clans and incoming settlers. Where the terrain favoured the Europeans, their horses, guns and racial solidarity allowed them to crush overt resistance in a short time. In rugged, mountainous country the conflict lasted far longer and exacted a proportionately greater toll on the colonists and their economy. Growing European confidence in the bush and rapidly improving weaponry tilted the balance towards the settlers as the nineteenth century wore on.

Nineteenth-century writers often highlighted frontier conflict. It was part of the exotic nature of Australian life. Historians likewise had no doubts about the extent, duration and importance of frontier skirmishing. They varied in their assessment of its origin and causes but they all agreed that it was central to the saga of pioneering.

From the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, the Aborigines were written out of the story. With them went much of the violence. Australia came to see itself as a uniquely peaceful place. Many writers felt sorry for the 'dying race' but in doing so treated the Aborigines as children or at best simple-minded adults who were incapable of fighting effectively against the Europeans.

There was a strong reaction against traditional historiography in the 1960s and 1970s. In the process the Aborigines were brought back onto the centre of the stage. Frontier violence accompanied them — violence which had never been forgotten in Aboriginal communities. The first phase of the work was to remind mainstream Australia that the frontier had been a violent place. The earliest accounts were sweeping in scope and broad in generalisation. Moral condemnation flowed together with political radicalism to highlight the hidden history of atrocity and dispossession. Following close behind were regional studies of many and widely separated districts. The fine detail varied significantly but the overall assessment was virtually unanimous. Settlement occasioned mass violence. It grew out of the barrel of the gun.

Ian Clark's book *Scars in the Landscape: A Register of Massacre Sites in Western Victoria, 1803–1859* takes us forward into a new phase of frontier historiography. For the first time we have a detailed, meticulously researched study of massacre in one Australian region. It bears out and bolsters much of the generalist historiography. It provides a powerful riposte to those who doubt the intensity and ubiquity of frontier conflict as well as standing alone as a fine piece of



detailed scholarship. It provides a model for what now needs to be done all over Australia. It is, therefore, a credit to both the author and the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and will remain an important work of reference for many years to come.

*Henry Reynolds*

June 1995

## INTRODUCTION

In a frank admission in a diary entry, the western Victorian squatter, Niel Black, discussed the understanding that prevailed in Victoria in the early 1840s of the need to massacre local Aboriginal populations when occupying their lands.

The best way [to procure a run] is to go outside and take up a new run, provided the conscience of the party is sufficiently seared to enable him without remorse to slaughter natives right and left. It is universally and distinctly understood that the chances are very small indeed of a person taking up a new run being able to maintain possession of his place and property without having recourse to such means — sometimes by wholesale . . . (9 December 1839)

Black, himself, was unwilling to ‘slaughter natives right and left’, so he purchased an established run (Glenormiston, adjoining the present day town of Terang), where the slaughter had already occurred. Regarding this station he noted ‘the blacks have been very troublesome on it and I believe they have been very cruelly dealt with . . . The poor creatures are now terror stricken and will be easily managed. This was my principle [sic] reason for fighting so hard for it . . . I could not stand the thought of murdering them, and to tell the truth I believe it impossible to take up a new run without doing so, at least the chances are 50 to one’ (4 and 18 January 1840).

GT Lloyd (1862), who squatted on land near Lake Colac in the late 1830s, was more cavalier, arguing that because the government was unable to provide squatters with the protection they required, they were compelled, in self-defence, to take the law into their own hands. He regretted that in a few instances the retribution meted out to some Aboriginal groups was far in excess of their offences.

Henry Meyrick, who squatted at Coolort station, near Balnarring in Western Port, and who took it upon himself to learn Bun wurrung, the local Aboriginal language, confirmed Black’s comments in a letter to his mother in England, dated 30 April 1846.

The blacks are very quiet here now, poor wretches, no wild beast of the forest was ever hunted down with such unsparing perseverance as they are; men, women and children are shot where ever they can be met with, some excuse might be found for shooting the men by those who are daily getting their cattle speared, but what they can urge in their excuse who shoot the women and children I cannot

conceive. I have protested against it at every station I have been in in Gibbs [Gippsland] in the strongest language but these things are kept very secret as the penalty would certainly be hanging . . . I remember the time when my blood would have run cold at the bare mention of these things but now I am become so familiarised with scenes of horror, from having murder made a topic of every day conversation. I have heard tales told, and some things I have seen that would form as dark a page as ever you could read in the book of history — but I thank God I have never participated in them — If I could remedy these things I would speak loudly though it cost me all I am worth in the world, but as I cannot I will keep aloof and know nothing, and say nothing. (Meyrick 1840–47)

In his 1839 journal, Assistant Protector William Thomas included an extract from an overlander named Hill regarding his experience of the disposition of squatters towards Aborigines. Hill reported that in 'nine cases out of ten [the attitude] was that of enmity, in more stations than one, three or four he could mention where they openly avowed their willingness to destroy them . . . at many of the stations blacks would not partake of bread, flour or milk [from fear of poisoning]' (Thomas papers, vol 22).

These writers confirm that European invasion of Victoria was violent, and that killings and massacres were widespread. Meyrick's letter reveals an unwillingness to detail this violence and the existence of an attitude of silence that aimed to preserve the anonymity of those involved and made detection extremely difficult. Caleb Collyer, in his 1905 reminiscences of the Colac district, noted that the son of King Cocacoin had recently died. He wrote, 'I loved those dark skinned folk and of their early treatment I have a fair knowledge but refrain to tell the stories known to me for various reasons — I grieve to think that men of my own race could do to any one such things that I have unfortunately beheld (let others tell the tale I cannot)' (Collyer 1905).

For many Europeans, the early years of colonisation were a frightening time, and the new arrivals often feared for their safety, sleeping with loaded guns under their pillows, and arranging for armed escorts to accompany supply drays. Some built their dwellings in ways that ensured they could repel attacks by Aboriginal groups. Walls of dwellings were often perforated with loop holes large enough to accommodate gun muzzles. It is reasonable to assume that Aboriginal people held similar fears for their own safety.

Yet, despite this code of silence, some massacres did become public knowledge. It has been possible to learn about Aboriginal massacres in several ways: by searching contemporary archival material, utilizing Aboriginal oral history, and by using secondary source material. In this register all three sources were used, in combination with a fourth — place names. Although many massacres are never mentioned in local histories, that they occurred is strongly suggested in place names which refer to some kind of massacre or killing having taken place.

Conventional documentary sources, such as diaries and journals, mission records and government papers, are capable of yielding a considerable quarry of material in which the voices

of not only the colonisers, but the colonised, can be heard. It follows that the barriers that have for so long kept Aboriginal experiences out of our history books were not based on a lack of material, but rather on perception and choice.

Aboriginal survivors often took refuge at Christian missions and on government-run protectorate stations, where their accounts were recorded by missionaries and assistant protectors. These officials, once having brought word of the massacres to George Robinson, the Chief Protector, and CJ La Trobe, the Superintendent of the colony, were often charged with the responsibility of investigating the reports. It is not surprising then that many of the massacres and killings listed in this register have been sourced from protectorate records, and through these sources it has been possible to find records of many eyewitness accounts from Aboriginal people.

The Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate was created by the Colonial Office in London in January 1838. The recommendation of a House of Commons select committee that reported in June 1837, the protectorate was the outcome of lobbying from the Aborigines Protection Society that had formed in 1836.

It was proposed that there be a chief protector responsible for the operation of the protectorate aided by four assistant protectors. George Augustus Robinson, who had gained a certain notoriety for his role in the 'conciliation' of the Van Diemens Land Aborigines between 1829 and 1838, was appointed Chief Protector. The assistant protectors were Charles Wightman Sievwright, Edward Stone Parker, James Dredge and William Thomas. In March 1839, Robinson allocated regions of the Port Phillip District to his assistants: Sievwright was given the Western District, Parker the Loddon District, Dredge the Goulburn District and Thomas the Western Port District. In terms of the study area of this register, the Loddon and Western districts are the most relevant.

Siewwright moved to his district in June 1839, however, it was not until February 1841 that he moved from Geelong and located at James Thomson's Keilambete run. In February of the following year he relocated to John Cox's Mount Rouse run. Mount Rouse was the first and only reserve settled of the four sanctioned in his district (the other three being Burrumbeep, Lake Terang, and the junction of the Wannon and Glenelg Rivers). Sievwright was suspended in June 1842 and subsequently dismissed over charges of maladministration of government supplies. Dr John Watton, his replacement, was appointed medical officer in charge of the Mount Rouse reserve in 1843.

Parker chose a site on the Loddon River in June 1840, but relocated in June of the following year to Larnebarramul on the Loddon River at the foot of Mount Franklin.

The immediate object of the protectorate was the protection of the Aborigines from any encroachment on their property, and from acts of cruelty, oppression and injustice. To that end the protectors were appointed magistrates. The protectorate was abolished in December 1849.

William Thomas, the Assistant Protector for the Western Port District was, however, retained and given the title of 'Guardian of Aborigines'. Thomas concentrated on the environs of Melbourne, and had no physical presence beyond Colac.

### *NAMING OF MASSACRES*

Occasionally massacres were given names by the European participants themselves, or by neighbours who wished to recall the incidents by naming them. Only one massacre site, that of Murderers Flat near Lake Condah, is known to have been named by the local Aboriginal community. In some cases we know the Aboriginal names of the localities where the massacres occurred. These massacre site names have become scars in the cultural landscape of western Victoria, scars that refuse to fade despite the efforts of people such as Meyrick to envelop them in a shroud of silence. The origin of the name of one massacre site, the Convincing Ground on the Portland coast, has undergone considerable revision in the historical literature of the Portland district, but contrary to folklore, as is argued below, the name relates to a massacre of Aborigines that took place on the coast near Portland in either 1833 or 1834, involving whalers.

Massacre place names also serve as clues in the landscape revealing that it is possible to construct a counter-history that challenges the ideology that European colonisation of Aboriginal lands was peaceful, and violence-free. A cursory reading of modern local history texts will often reveal that they discuss the best known massacre sites in ways that tell us more about the distortion of historical events in community memory than they do of the detail contained in reports and literature from the period of the massacre.

Generally, the violent history of western Victoria has been repressed, and many people who were in effect murderers have been honoured by memorials to pioneers, and by street and town names. An example of this is Whyte Street, the main street of Coleraine, in western Victoria. This name honours the contribution of the five Whyte brothers to the development of the Coleraine district, and conveniently ignores the fact that, in March and April of 1840, this family were involved in two massacres of local Aboriginal people, at sites now known as Fighting Hills, and Fighting Waterholes. One instance of contemporary renaming has occurred, however, owing to the opprobrium that surrounded the name of a local European after his involvement in a massacre. After Frederick Taylor's involvement in the notorious massacre which came to be known as Murdering Gully, on Mount Emu Creek near Camperdown, in early 1839, the local European community demonstrated their disapproval by changing the name of the local stream from Taylors River to Mount Emu Creek.

It is possible to divide nineteenth-century western Victoria into three periods that relate to the use of Aboriginal lands by Europeans — the exploration period, pre 1810; the whaling and sealing period, 1810–34; and the period of permanent European settlement from 1834.

Information on one killing from the exploration period has survived. Similarly, one massacre from the whaling period has been recorded. All the massacres in this register but these two relate to the period after the beginning of a permanent European presence in western Victoria, from 1834. Many of the massacres in western Victoria involve station employees, particularly shepherds, stock keepers, hut keepers, splitters, and other station hands. Whilst station employees would be expected to figure the most prominently in massacres because they had the greatest interaction on a day-to-day basis with Aboriginal people, many station managers and superintendents, often called overseers, and squatters themselves, figure prominently in some of the massacres that are detailed in this register. The mounted police and border police were also involved in some massacres.

Not all the massacres and killings of Aboriginal people were perpetrated by Europeans in western Victoria. Several were perpetrated by detachments of the Native Police Corps, stationed in the region from 1842 until the late 1840s, in an effort to quell Aboriginal attacks on European squatters and their properties. Some killings involved an American 'creole' named John Williams, who was working at Lexington station in the early 1840s, near present-day Moyston.

### ***MASSACRE RESEARCH IN WESTERN VICTORIA***

Research into violence and resistance has been a key focus of Aboriginal studies since the 1960s, and numerous books and articles have appeared on specific massacres and massacres in general (Mulvaney 1989; Reynolds 1972, 1981; Green 1995; Morris 1989; Milliss 1992). Western Victoria, however, has not figured prominently in this renaissance, particularly in relation to massacres. Massacres and violence have been discussed in general terms by Corris (1968), Robinson and York (1977), Christie (1979), Fels (1988), and Critchett (1990). Approximately 20 massacres and killings in western Victoria are referred to in Elder (1988). Sixty-eight massacres and killings are listed in Critchett (1990). The publication of this register of massacres and killings complements Cannon's 1990 work entitled 'Who Killed the Koories?', in that it presents the massacres of western Victoria in greater detail.

Although examples are hard to come by, when posses were chasing Aboriginal groups after they had attacked stations, the practice of shooting the first Aborigines to come within range was widespread. Henry Mundy, when discussing the Lubra Creek massacre, noted it was usual that, when sheep were stolen, squatters would band together and endeavour to hunt the perpetrators. These parties would shoot down the first Aborigines they caught, whether innocent or guilty.

The abuse of Aboriginal skeletal remains was one particular way that some Europeans used to intimidate Aboriginal people. When protectorate officials journeyed through western

Victoria in the late 1830s and early 1840s, they occasionally saw Aboriginal skulls fastened above the entrances to European huts. In some huts, skulls were seen adorning the walls. CW Sievwright, the Assistant Protector responsible for the Western District of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, was at pains to stress that this abuse was not confined to hut keepers and shepherds: the practice was followed by 'respectable' squatters as well. He was convinced the practice was intended to intimidate the Aborigines, and the strategic location of Aboriginal skulls was in effect declaring to local Aboriginal people that they approached these huts at their peril. William Adeney, who squatted at Lake Timboon, near Camperdown, confirmed the impact of this abuse in a journal entry dated 28 January 1843, when he observed a shepherd in the Geelong district using the skull of an Aboriginal woman as a 'shaving box'. He noted that this example of bush manners inspired considerable dread amongst the Aboriginal people.

### *MEMORIALISING THE PAST*

Memorials are significant forms of cultural expression, and are generally erected after much public discussion with careful consideration of what would be appropriate. Memorials are a very concrete expression of public history, a way of making permanent, in letters carved in stone, a judgement about events. Memorials reveal public perception, and may be seen as a measure of the popular influence of the views and writings of historians. Although many historians may be comfortable writing and speaking of early European settlement in Australia as an invasion, public attitudes and language have not necessarily changed. The builders of monuments appear wedded to the view that the colonisation of Australia was peaceful, and only in recent times have hesitant steps been taken to admit to the realities of the frontier on memorials.

By 1970, in western Victoria it was possible to find memorials dedicated to Europeans who had been killed by nameless Aborigines: for example, the memorial to George Watmore (or Whatmore) 'speared by blacks 1842' near Port Fairy in southwest Victoria. Memorials, however, have been erected to the 'last chiefs' of local groups: to 'King Tattambo' at Molka station in central Victoria, erected in 1865; and to Wombeetch Puuyuun, constructed in 1883 in the Camperdown cemetery in western Victoria.

Monuments rarely tell both sides of a story. They can quickly become dated, and their portrayal of history can become discredited. In this situation, the monument can be demolished and replaced, the offending words can be removed, or corrected (often by graffiti), or another memorial can be constructed nearby that offers a different version. The new monument becomes in effect a counter-memorial. In western Victoria, during the town of Portland's 150th anniversary celebrations in 1984, a plaque was installed on the reverse side of a monument commemorating Edward Henty's first landing in 1834. The plaque reads:

This tablet commemorates the GUNDITJMARA landholders of south-western Victoria from time immemorial, who were among the first Aborigines in Victoria to experience contact with Europeans. By the 1820s, sealing and whaling crews frequented this coast, disturbing Aborigines, introducing diseases fatal to them and causing the beginning of changes to traditional tribal life.

## ***DEFINITIONS***

In this register 'massacre' is defined as the unnecessary, indiscriminate killing of a number of human beings, as in barbarous warfare or persecution, or for revenge or plunder. In a wider sense, it is taken to refer to a general slaughter of human beings. The word massacre is derived from old French, Germanic and Latin words meaning to butcher, smash or strike. The massacres and killings that are listed are not ranked by any criteria of significance. However, if significance was to be determined, it could be established by the following measures: the scale of the massacre, that is the number of Aborigines killed and the extent of the decimation of the local clan; the impact of the massacre on the Aboriginal community and the European community; the extent of oral history coverage of the incident; the extent of the documentary evidence available; and the history and backgrounds of the Aborigines and Europeans involved.

In nineteenth-century Aboriginal Victoria, there were several levels of identity that individuals could choose. These include a regional or 'tribal' loyalty of clusters of clans sharing a common language, and mutual political and economic interest, often distinguished by a 'language' name with either the suffixes -wurrung, -djali- or -banud (meaning mouth or speech); and the level of the named localised patrilineal or matrilineal descent group or clan that adhered to locational rules of patrilocal and whose members shared a common historical, religious and genealogical identity. Clan names in western Victoria were generally distinguished by the suffixes -balug (meaning people); -gundidj (meaning belonging to); and -willam or -lar (meaning dwellers).

## ***THE REGISTER***

This register has its origins in an initiative of the then Victorian Tourism Commission to mark significant Aboriginal massacre sites in western Victoria. It developed from a proposal in early 1989 by the Minister for Tourism, the Hon Steven Crabb, to construct a massacre memorial at Lake Condah mission near the purported site of the Murderers Flat massacre. In May 1989, at the Victorian government's Ministerial Working Group — Aboriginal Tourism, the ministers agreed that six significant massacre sites should be identified in Victoria, and markers established to identify them. Furthermore, it was proposed that a central marker be established in the Western District, supported by a major interpretation/audiovisual program.



In my employment with the Koori Tourism Unit of the Victorian Tourism Commission in 1989, I undertook preliminary research into massacres in western Victoria and nominated six massacres that were deemed significant according to the significance criteria outlined above. These were Murderers Flat, Convincing Ground, Fighting Hills, Fighting Waterholes, Lubra Creek, and Murdering Gully.

In June 1989, consultations were held with community representatives from eight western Victorian Aboriginal cooperatives and organisations. Consultations were held with the following distinct groups: the Yarwangi Board of Directors, the Wathaurong Cooperative, the Gundidjmarra Aboriginal Cooperative, the Framlingham Aboriginal Trust, the Hamilton Keeping Place, the Goolum Goolum Aboriginal Cooperative, Brambuk Incorporated, and the Ballarat and District Aboriginal Cooperative.

At each consultation, information sheets were distributed that outlined the massacre memorial initiative and summarised the six massacres. The proposal was welcomed by every representative, and was seen as being important because it aimed to recognise Aboriginal deaths during the early years of Victoria's colonisation and overturn the myth that this colonisation was peaceful. The determination of places where large numbers of Aboriginal people were killed was seen as equally important. Specific comments included 'the proposal is excellent, it is important to recognise where large groups of Aborigines died, the profiles of massacres are important educational material', 'the proposal would raise public awareness that colonisation was not peaceful and that early explorers and squatters were not necessarily heroes and wonderful people'.

With regard to appropriate marking facilities at massacre sites, there was a consensus that these should be decided at site inspections arranged with relevant communities. It was felt that there was no need for a uniform marker, especially as marking facilities would need to be appropriate for the particular massacre site. For example, in one discussion the suitability of a stone cairn was questioned and the view expressed that perhaps a site inspection would reveal the planting of a tree may be more appropriate.

Vandalism and the desecration of massacre sites was a particular concern that emerged during the consultations. The consensus of opinion on this issue was that vandalism could be minimised by the employment of cultural officers who could perform the role of site protector (manager or warden), as well as having an educative, interpretive, and promotional role.

Numerous representatives believed a registry of massacre sites should be established. It was suggested that local Aboriginal communities, non-Aboriginal people such as private land holders, and organisations such as historical societies, could nominate further sites for inclusion on the register. One representative raised the point that every Aboriginal community has its massacre sites. Another commented that the proposal should not be limited to six sites. The possibility of a Victoria-wide shrine commemorating the general ethnocide of the Victorian Aboriginal people was also suggested. With the closure of the Koori Tourism Unit in 1991, as

part of a restructure of the Victorian Tourism Commission, this proposal was put aside after only preliminary research and consultation with Aboriginal community leaders.

This register details the massacres and killings that were uncovered in the course of my doctoral research into western Victoria, and covers the period from 1803 to 1859. October 1803 is the earliest known violent encounter between Europeans and Aborigines in the region, when two Watha wurrung people were shot by Lieutenant J Tuckey and others in Corio Bay. Tuckey recalled that the Aborigines appeared to have 'perfect' knowledge of the use of firearms and were terrified by the sight of them. This suggests that the Watha wurrung people had gained this knowledge through some earlier conflict or had learned of this new technology secondhand through exchanging information with distant peoples. The last known massacre in western Victoria is reported to have occurred in 1859 at Lake Bolac station, near Lake Bolac in Djab wurrung country, however it is unsubstantiated.

Given the conspiracy of silence that existed in western Victoria at this time, we would expect that our knowledge of the details of massacres would be patchy, and yet our knowledge of massacres where Europeans were brought to trial, or where official investigations were staged, is very detailed. These incidents include the killing of two Djadja wurrung men at Maiden Hills in February 1839; the Murdering Gully massacre near Camperdown in early 1839; the killing of Tuurap warneen in early 1840 near Mount Rouse; the series of killings by John Cayle Francis on the Wimmera River near Crowlands in 1840–41; and the Lubra Creek massacre near Caramut in 1842.

Those brought to trial were often acquitted for want of evidence, particularly given that Aboriginal evidence was inadmissible, and European eyewitnesses were generally reluctant to testify against those on trial. One station employee, after being asked by Assistant Protector Edward Parker if he had been present at a particular massacre, replied 'What if I was, do you think I should be such a fool to tell you, to be hung?'. Some involved in massacres threatened to shoot any European person who dared give any information against them. The cremation and destruction of Aboriginal bodies became a commonplace occurrence after the intervention of protectorate officials and the prosecution of alleged offenders.

Initially, the massacre entries in this register have been arranged geographically, according to the territories of the ten language groups known to be in western Victoria at the time of the European invasion. Entries have then been arranged chronologically within those territories. Approximately 107 separate massacres and killings have been uncovered for this region. In southwest Victoria, conflict was concentrated between 1838 and 1842, when Aboriginal resistance to European invasion was at its greatest. During these years, conflict was exacerbated by the pace at which Aboriginal clans were being dispossessed of their lands. Together the pace of dispossession, the drought of 1838–39, and the subsequent financial crash of 1842, threatened the economic existence of both Aborigines and Europeans.

The entries for each massacre contain a standard list of information: place name of the massacre, where known; location; date of incident; Aborigines involved; Europeans involved; and number of reported Aboriginal deaths. The names of individuals concerned have been included if the information is available. A detailed account of the massacre then follows and sources are listed in chronological order. The information about each massacre or killing is presented as it has been found in the primary source material. Editorial comment has been kept to a minimum, and only included when it has been necessary to provide some context to the particulars of the account.

In terms of personal names of Aborigines and place names, all variant names have been recorded, and the version most commonly found in the primary sources has been presented. Clan and language names conform to those used in Clark (1990a).

## DHAUWURD WURRUNG

Fifty-six clans speaking the Dhauwurd wurrung language occupied the Warrnambool, Port Fairy and Portland districts of southwestern Victoria (see Figure 1 and Table 1). Tindale (1974) delineated this language area as ‘Gundidjmarā’. Dhauwurd wurrung was divided into five sub-dialects: Wullu wurrung, Gai wurrung, Gurngubanud, Peek wurrung, and Dhauwurd wurrung (see Figure 2). The Dhauwurd wurrung divided their world into two halves (moieties) labelled *grugidj* (sulphur-crested cockatoo or long-billed corella) and *gabadj* (red-tailed black cockatoo or Banksian cockatoo). Clans and individuals were affiliated with one of these moieties, and affiliation was determined matrilineally (through one’s mother). Moiety affiliation shaped marriages between clans.

Coastal Dhauwurd wurrung clans had dealings with the *ngamadjidj* (white people) from at least 1810, when whalers and sealers began to work the Portland Bay area. The *ngamadjidj* brought disease and violence to the coastal clans, but their presence in the region was seasonal and, when the winter whaling was over, they left and local clans were given some respite. The permanent arrival of the Hentys in 1834 heralded a different land use and their intentions to graze flocks of sheep over extensive areas conflicted with Dhauwurd wurrung land tenure.

Throughout the early 1840s, organised groups of Dhauwurd wurrung clan members fought a sustained guerilla war against the settlers who had dispossessed them. The Aborigines used the Stony Rises, a large expanse of volcanic hills stretching from Port Fairy to Mount Rouse, and westward as far as Heywood, as a base from which they could launch attacks. Conflict was exacerbated by the drought of 1838–39, which placed more pressure on scarce resources, and the financial crash of 1842.

Although it was just outside the northern boundary of the Dhauwurd wurrung, the Protectorate reserve at Mount Rouse was certainly frequented by Dhauwurd wurrung clan

DHAUWURD WURRUNG

members, particularly in 1842 when the clans around Eumeralla River and the Stony Rises were using it as a base from which they would operate guerrilla attacks and then return to the safety of the reserve. Attacks were concentrated upon settlers who had occupied land that contained traditional meeting places and sacred sites near Port Fairy, Mount Napier and Lake Condah, areas essential to the political economy of the Aboriginal clans. This campaign of resistance was maintained for several years and effectively slowed the pace of pastoral settlement. During 1844–45, attacks were so frequent that TA Browne (Boldrewood 1885) described the hostilities as the ‘Eumeralla war’. In response to the escalation of attacks in 1842, a detachment of the Native Police Corps based in Melbourne annually visited the Portland and Port Fairy districts and remained there for several months at a time. The detachment was stationed in the Western District every year until 1848. The deployment of the Native Police was very effective and, by 1846, Aboriginal resistance had been broken.

In 1865, the Church of England formed the Framlingham Aboriginal mission, on the Hopkins River, northeast of Warrnambool, in Girai wurrung country. The Portland and Lake Condah Aborigines refused to settle there. Consequently, in 1866, 827 hectares (2043 acres) of land at Lake Condah were reserved, but not gazetted until January 1869. In 1885, a further 692 hectares (1710 acres) were added to safeguard hunting grounds adjacent to what became known as the Lake Condah mission. More than 70 Aborigines were settled on the reserve in 1887, living in bark-clad buildings and mia-mias (temporary bark dwellings). By 1880, the layout of the Lake Condah mission had been formalised into a quadrangle based on an English village green. At the height of the mission’s development, in the 1880s, there were about 26 houses and outbuildings constructed from sawn timber, weatherboard and bluestone.

While the Lake Condah mission was designed by Europeans to enforce their culture on the Aborigines, it provided a means by which the Dhauwurd wurrung could both retain ties with their traditional culture and adapt to conditions

produced by European settlement. Members from family groups of the Dhauwurd wurrung settled together as a community and did not face the total dislocation suffered by Aboriginal groups in densely settled areas.

At the same time, the Dhauwurd wurrung adopted items of European material culture and developed a working knowledge of European law and institutions. The work of obtaining and manufacturing building materials, including brick making, building construction, farming and domestic activities was carried out by Aborigines. Attempts were also made, using European law, to gain some degree of independence and defy missionary authorities and the Board for the Protection of Aborigines. These attempts were impeded by the Aborigines Protection Law Amendment Act 1886 passed by the Victorian government.

The Act prohibited any 'part-Aborigine' under the age of 35 from residing on stations controlled by the board. Although it was later amended in 1910 to allow 'part-Aborigines' to return to the stations, its initial effects were extremely damaging to Lake Condah mission. In 1889 and 1890, the mission population fell from 117 to 20 as Aborigines were forced to move away. Families were also split apart in the process. Board reports indicate that, after 1890, the station was falling into a state of decay owing to a lack of able-bodied people to maintain it.

JH Stahle, the last manager, retired in 1913, and in 1918, despite protests from the Aboriginal community, the board decided to close the station. Despite the closure of the station, Aborigines continued to visit and live in the mission buildings. In 1939, 70 Aborigines were living in a dormitory, remaining houses and tents. There are people from the Dhauwurd wurrung community living today who grew up on Lake Condah mission in this later period and lived there until the 1950s.

In 1951, all Lake Condah reserve land was revoked by the state government and handed over to the Soldier Settlement Commission. This commission was responsible for the allocation of small farmlets to soldiers returned from service. Only three parcels of land were excluded. These were the cemetery,

the cemetery access and the small piece of land containing the mission buildings. The cemetery was reserved as an Aboriginal cemetery under the Land Act 1973. In February 1984, the struggle for land rights was resolved when under federal legislation, 53 hectares of the earlier mission reserve were acquired by the Victorian government and handed back to the Aboriginal community. Since then, the Dhauwurd wurrung have been active in developing cultural tourism focused on their cultural heritage at Condah.

Research into the Dhauwurd wurrung language area has uncovered 28 recorded massacres and killings. The greatest number occurred in 1842, the time of the 'Eumeralla war' and of a general escalation of attacks on squatters. The earliest recorded

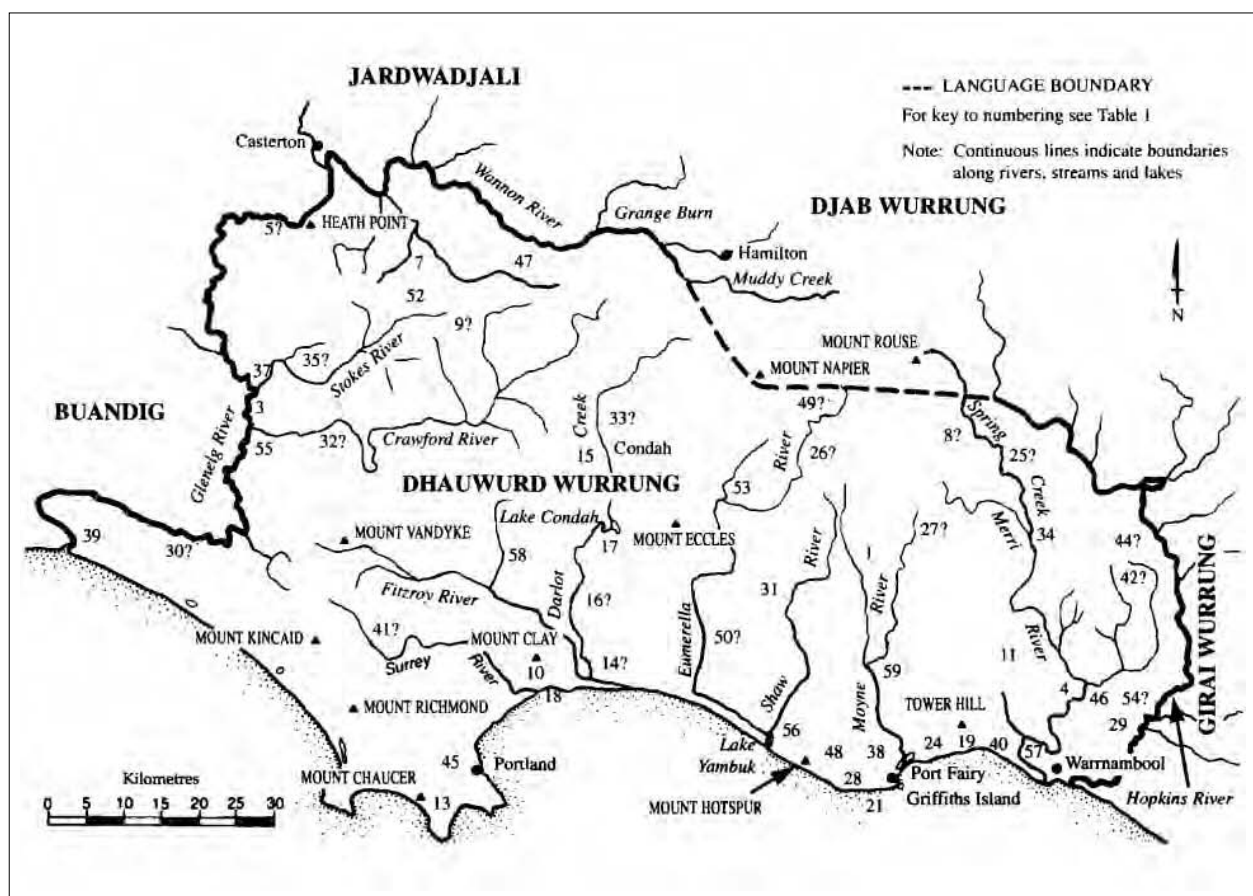


Figure 1 Dhauwurd wurrung (Gundidjmarra) language area and clans

**Table 1** Dhauwurd wurrung (Gundidjmara) clans (on Figure 1)

No	CLAN NAME	APPROXIMATE LOCATION
1.	Art gundidj	Tarrone station, near Moyne Swamp
2.	Ballumin gundidj	unknown
3.	Bate gundidj	junction of Stokes, Crawford and Glenelg Rivers
4.	Biteboren gundidj	Grasmere station
5.	Bokerer gundidj	Glenelg River
6.	Bome gundidj	unknown
7.	Bonedol gundidj	Ponedol Hills
8.	Can can corro gundidj	south-southeast of Mount Rouse
9.	Carnbul gundidj	southwest of Tahara station
10.	Cart gundidj	Mount Clay
11.	Cartcorang gundidj	Lake Cartcorang
12.	Corry gundidj	unknown
13.	Cupponenet gundidj	Mount Chaucer
14.	Dandeyallum	Portland Bay
15.	Direk gundidj	Condah Swamp
16.	Gilgar gundidj	Darlots Creek
17.	Kerup gundidj	Lake Condah
18.	Kilcarer gundidj	Convincing Ground
19.	Koroit gundidj	Tower Hill
20.	Lay gundidj mallo	unknown
21.	Mallun gundidj	Griffiths Island
22.	Meen gundidj	unknown
23.	Mendeet gundidj marayn	unknown
24.	Moonwer gundidj	near Sisters Point, southwest of Killarney
25.	Moperer gundidj	Spring Creek
26.	Mordoneneet gundidj	southwest or west-southwest of Mount Rouse
27.	Morro gundidj	south of Mount Rouse
28.	Mum keelunk gundidj	Boodcarra Lake, west of Goose Lagoon
29.	Mumdorrong gundidj	Marm reserve, south of Lake Wangoom
30.	Narcurre gundidj	southwest of Crawford River
31.	Nartitbeer gundidj	Dunmore station
32.	Net net yune gundidj	southeast of Crawford River
33.	Nillan gundidj	south-southwest of Mount Napier
34.	Omebegare rege gundidj	junction of Merri River and Spring Creek
35.	Pallapnue gundidj	Stokes River
36.	Peerracer	unknown
37.	Ponungdeet gundidj	junction of Glenelg and Stokes Rivers
38.	Pyipgil gundidj	Port Fairy townsite
39.	Tarrerwung gundidj	mouth of Glenelg River
40.	Tarerer gundidj	Tarerer, a swamp between Tower Hill and Merri River
41.	Tarngonene wurrer gundidj	Surrey River
42.	Teerar gundidj	southeast of Spring Creek station



43.	Tolite gundidj	unknown
44.	Tone gundidj	near Hopkins River
45.	Ure gundidj	Portland township
46.	Wane gundidj	Grasmere station
47.	Wanedeet gundidj	Tahara and Murndal stations
48.	Warerangur gundidj	Aringa station
49.	Waywac gundidj	southwest of Mount Rouse
50.	Weereweep gundidj	east of Eumeralla River
51.	Woortenwan	unknown
52.	Worcarre gundidj	northeast of the head of Stokes River
53.	Worerome killink gundidj	Macarthur
54.	Worn gundidj	west of Mount Warrnambool
55.	Yallo gundidj	junction of Crawford and Glenelg Rivers
56.	Yambeet gundidj	Yambuck station
57.	Yarrer gundidj	between Campbell's Merri River station and Allandale station
58.	Yiyar gundidj	Mount Eckersley
59.	Yowen gundidj	Tarrone station

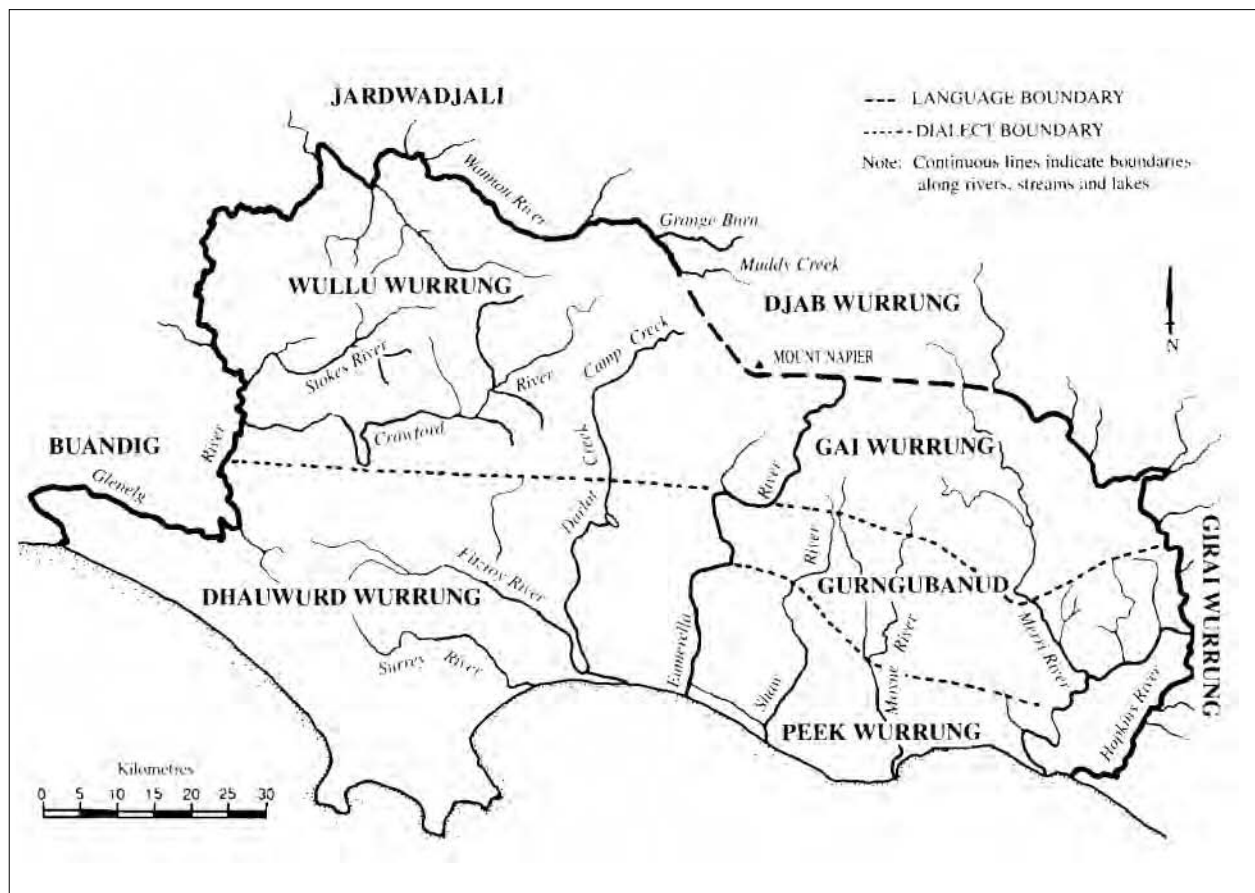


Figure 2 Dhauwurd wurrung (Gundidjmarra) dialects

massacre, at the Convincing Ground, on the coast near Portland, is believed to have taken place in either 1833 or 1834, and the most recent is Murderers Flat, which took place in the early 1850s beside Darlots Creek, near the eventual site of the Lake Condah mission. Of these 28 massacres, we know the most about the Lubra Creek massacre, which took place on 24 February 1842.

### ***MASSACRE SITES IN DHAUWURD WURRUNG COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)***

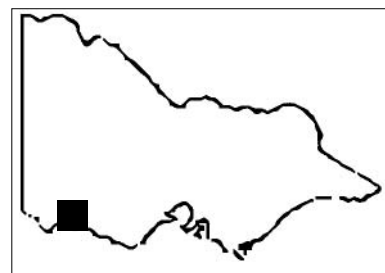
#### ***Convincing Ground***

The Kilcarer gundidj clan was decimated and dispossessed from their country by whalers. They were massacred at a location which came to be known as the Convincing Ground. George Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Port Phillip from 1838 until 1849, learned of this massacre in 1841 and he considered it one of the many 'remarkable' places on the coast whose names originated from severe conflicts.

Robinson visited Portland in May 1841, and on 16 May he learned the origin of the name Convincing Ground, which he related in his journal:

Mr Edward Henty and Mr Blair called and spent the afternoon. We had tea and coffee, wines and dessert after dinner, et cetera. Mr Henty said the Blacks at Mt Clay are a bad lot and he did not think I should get a communication with them. I said I did not lay wagers but I would venture to do so in this case; that I should get to them.

He related one story of their badness. He said that some time ago, I suppose two or three years, a whale broke from her moorings and went on shore. And the boat went in to get it off, when they were attacked by natives who drove them off. He said the men were so enraged that they went to the head station for their firearms and then returned to the whale, when the natives again attacked them. And the whalers then let fly, to use his



PLACE NAME: Convincing Ground

LOCATION: on the coast between  
Portland and the Surrey River

DATE OF INCIDENT: 1833 or 1834

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Kilcarer  
gundidj clan, Dhauwurd  
wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: whalers

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: all  
but two young men of the  
Kilcarer clan

expression, right and left upon the natives. He said the natives did not go away but got behind trees and threw spears and stones. They, however, did not much molest them after that.

There is a spot on the north shore, where the fishing works are I think, which is called the 'Convincing Ground' and I was informed that it got its name from some transaction with the natives of the kind mentioned, so Mr Blair said. Mr Tyers however said it was because when the whites had any dispute they went on shore and there settled it by fighting. I however think the former the most feasible, especially after what Mr Henty himself stated. (Presland 1980)

The following day, Robinson added further details.

Descended a very steep and abrupt bank which the horse was barely able to get down and came to the bush. Passed small [illegible] weatherboard buildings belonging to the whaling establishment. Two miles from the Double Corner was a small creek of fresh water. [ ] miles from Double Corner is the Messrs Henty's fishery. This spot where the buildings are is called the Convincing Ground, see note for Sunday and Monday.

It is stated that the natives fought the whalers. Now, the cause of this fight, if such an unequal contest can be so designated, firearms [are] certain death against spears, was occasioned by the whalers going to get the whalebone from the fish, when the natives, not knowing their intentions and supposing they intended to take away the fish which the natives considered theirs and which it had been for 1000 of years previous, they of course resisted the aggression on the part of the white men; it was the first guns of the fishery, and the whalers having used their guns beat them off and hence called the spot the Convincing Ground. That was because they convinced them of their mistake and which, but for their firearms, they perhaps could not have done.

In his official report of his 1841 journey into western Victoria, Robinson discussed the incident in the following terms:

Among the remarkable places on the coast, is the 'Convincing Ground', originating in a severe conflict which took place a few years previous between the Aborigines and Whalers on which occasion a large number of the former were slain. The circumstances are that a whale had come on shore and the Natives who feed on the carcass claimed it was their own. The whalers said they would 'convince them' and had recourse to fire-arms. On this spot a fishery is now established. (Clark 1990b)

On 23 March 1842, at Captain Alexander Campbell's station on the Merri River, Robinson met with 30 Aboriginal men and women from the following Dhauwurd wurrung clans: Yarrer gundidj from the country between the Merri River and the Hopkins River; Mendeet gundidj marayn, location unknown; Yallo gundidj from the junction of the Crawford and Glenelg Rivers; Pyipgil gundidj from Port Fairy; Mallun gundidj from Griffiths Island; Nartitbeer gundidj from Shaw River; Tone gundidj from the Hopkins River, and Wane gundidj from the Merri River. Presumably these people informed him of the Convincing Ground massacre, for Robinson noted in his journal for that day that it was eight or nine years earlier that the collisions between the whalers and the Aborigines took place (Clark 1988). This would date the massacre at either 1833 or 1834. As a result of the conflict between the Kilcarer gundidj and local whalers, all but two young men of the clan were slain. The two survivors in 1841 were Pollikeunnuc and Yarereryarerer.

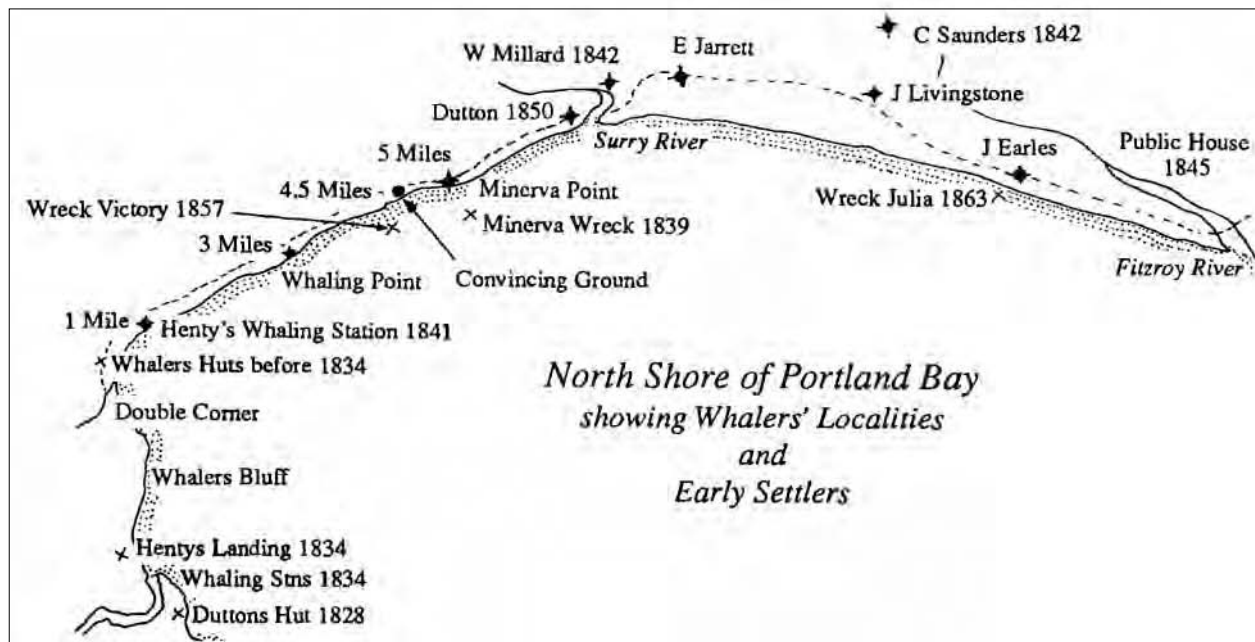
The earliest reference to the Convincing Ground locality is an entry in Edward Henty's diary dated 18 October 1835, where he noted that he 'walked to the convincing ground'. This reference, which predates explorer/surveyor TL Mitchell's visit to Portland in 1836, proves that the popular explanation of the

Convincing Ground is erroneous. In the popular version, the name is held to have originated with Mitchell, who, at that point on the coast, was convinced that 'the shapes which I thought were rocks were indeed whalers' huts' (Wiltshire 1976).

So we have three accounts of the origin of the Convincing Ground: Blair's account that it related to a particular massacre; Tyers's account that it originated from the settlement of disputes between whalers; and JG Wiltshire's version connected with the explorer, Mitchell. As we have seen, Wiltshire's version has been invalidated. Although WD Kerley (1981, 32) has clearly favoured Tyers's version, the evidence supplied by Robinson supports Blair's explanation, and points to this as the most likely.

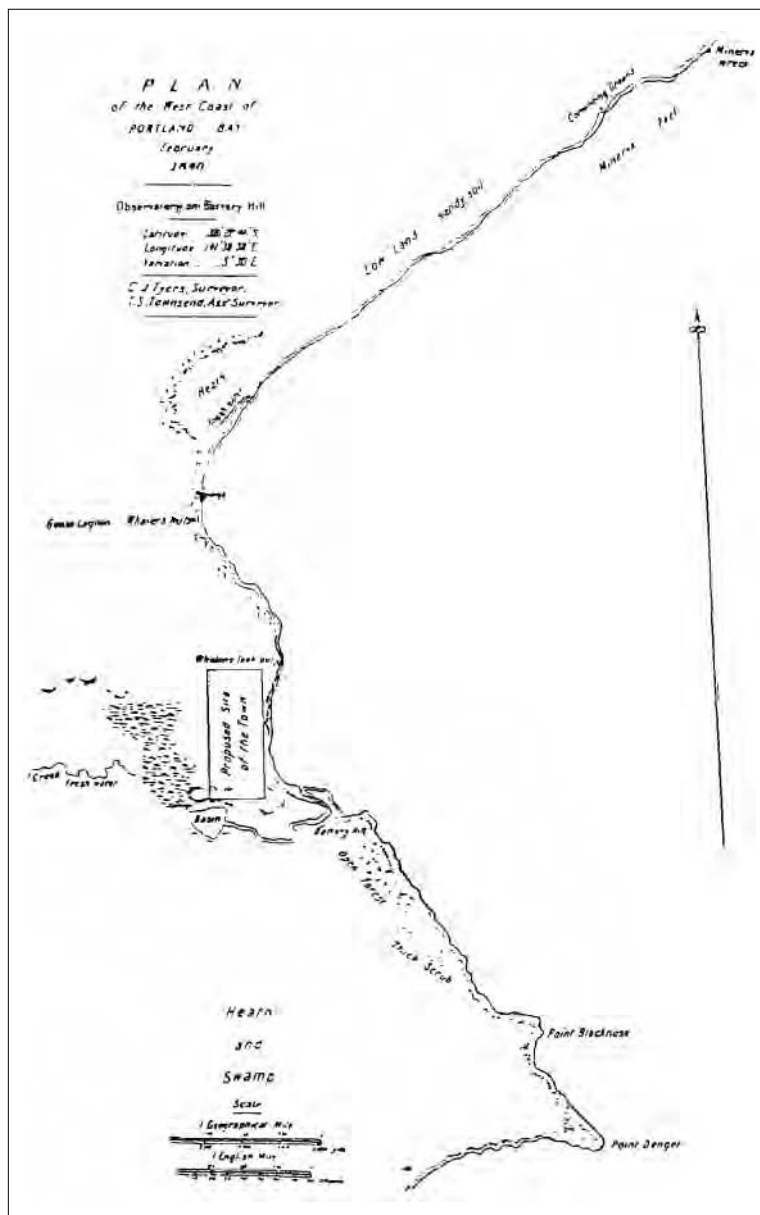
By 1841, a whaling/fishing station had been established at the Convincing Ground. In May 1842, Partpoaermin, alias Cold Morning, a Cart gundidj resistance leader, was captured at the Convincing Ground whaling station after a violent struggle (Clark 1990a).

Learmonth (1960, 7) discusses the Convincing Ground locality in the following manner:



**Figure 3** Sketch map showing the location of the Convincing Ground site in relation to early whaling and settlement (after Learmonth 1960)

The convincing Ground is situated about two miles west of the Surrey River mouth . . . Here there were whaling stations, substantial huts, ship building yards and slips and from here cargoes of bone and oil were sent to the world markets. Ship building resumed at the Convincing Ground in 1845. A spot as historical as the Convincing Ground should not be lost for future generations,

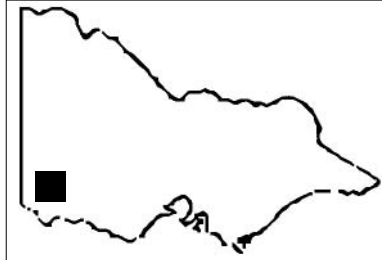


**Figure 4** Sketch map of the Convincing Ground site (Tyers's sketch of 1840, from Long 1918)

it is still discernible in a line of piles and stakes stretching across the beach after some winter tides and heavy seas have uncovered the relics from sand and kelp.

After the Convincing Ground massacre, the Kilcarer remnant united with the Cart gundidj of Mount Clay and the Ure gundidj and Bome gundidj clans from the vicinity of Portland, and remained at Mount Clay. When Robinson visited the Aborigines at Mount Clay in 1841 he learned that they had not visited the Portland township since its foundation. He understood the Mount Clay Aborigines would not allow any Aboriginal person to go near the settlement.

**Sources:** Long 1918; Learmonth 1960; Wiltshire 1976; Christie 1979; Presland 1980; Kerley 1981; Clark 1988, 1990 a, b



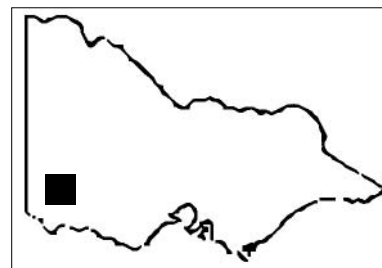
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Merino Downs station,  
 Wannon River, near Henty  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: June 1838  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Joseph  
 Bonsor, hut keeper  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
 man

Edward Henty landed at Portland on 19 November 1834 intending to graze flocks of sheep over extensive areas of land. In June 1839, Henty (*Geelong Naturalist* 1904) told Foster Fyans, Commissioner of Crown Lands, that, from his arrival until October 1838, he and his men were on the most friendly terms with the Aborigines, with the exception of a disturbance in June 1838, when Joseph Bonsor, a hut keeper at John Henty's Merino Downs station, had shot an Aborigine after being waddied. After the Bonsor incident, the outstation was vacated and relocated a distance of three miles. Bonsor accidentally shot himself in July 1838. In June 1839, Edward Henty considered he was on the best of terms with the different tribes in this place, and stated that in all indentures with his men, he gave strict instructions never to hold any intercourse with the Aborigines, particularly the females.

**Sources:** *Geelong Naturalist* 1904; Bassett 1962; McGaffin nd; Cannon 1983; Clark 1990a

In mid-October 1838, William Heath, a shepherd at John Henty's Merino Downs station was killed by seven Aborigines, and the hut robbed of several items. In the scuffle with Heath, an Aborigine was wounded with a pair of sheep shears and died shortly after. After this incident, only two Aborigines were allowed at the station, and they lived with James Smead, the stock keeper, in a hut that was built for them. Smead stated that he had learned that Heath was murdered because he was in the habit of taking Aboriginal women by night. There is an oral tradition that 40 Aborigines were slain in retaliation for the death of Heath (see Murdering Flat [1] below).

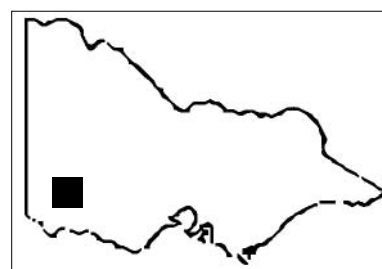
**Sources:** *Geelong Naturalist* 1904; Cannon 1983; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Merino Downs station,  
 Wannon River, near Henty  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1838  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: William  
 Heath, shepherd  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one

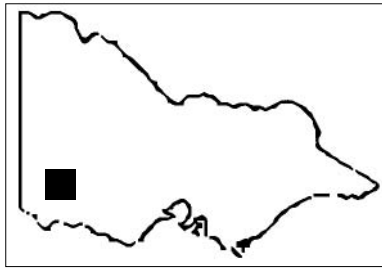
According to Samuel Winter, during October 1838, in his absence in Portland, a disturbance had taken place between his men and the Aborigines. One of his men, William Jefrey (or Jefry), was speared, and according to the Aborigines two of their people were killed. William Elliot (or Elliott), a shepherd in Winter's employ, stated that he and William Jefrey were surrounded by some 200 to 300 Aborigines who were attempting to take some of the sheep. They were flinging spears and William Jefrey was wounded. The shepherds fired in self-defence. Elliot did not know how many, if any, Aborigines were shot (Cannon 1983).

**Sources:** *Geelong Naturalist* 1904; Cannon 1983; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Samuel Winter's  
 station Spring Valley or Murndal,  
 Wannon River, near Merino  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1838  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Charles  
 Corrigan, William Elliot and  
 William Jefrey  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two

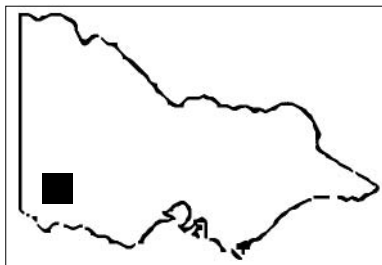




PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Samuel Winter's station Spring Valley or Murndal, Wannon River, near Merino  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: November 1838  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: seven men, including Captain John Hart, Charles Corrigan, Charles Peck and Trevor Winter  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one person

According to Samuel Winter an 'occurrence' took place with the Aborigines in November 1838. Captain John Hart, the manager for the Australian Adelaide Whaling Company, and his employees were at Winter's station when a large party of Aborigines gathered on the Wannon River. Winter's men, being alarmed, went down to the camp, accompanied by Hart and his men, with the purpose of driving the Aborigines from the river. Charles Corrigan fired at, and wounded, an Aboriginal youth; Winter wasn't sure if he subsequently died (Cannon 1983). Trevor Winter stated that Corrigan shot the Aboriginal youth in self-defence, fearing he was going to be speared. He reported between 20 and 30 Aborigines were present (Cannon 1983). William Elliot was not in Captain Hart's party, but Corrigan admitted to him that he had shot an Aborigine (Cannon 1983).

**Sources:** *Geelong Naturalist* 1904; Cannon 1983; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Merino Downs station, Wannon River, near Henty  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: February 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: a shepherd with the surname of Blood  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Wool-ang-wang

In April 1840, CW Sievwright, the Assistant Protector responsible for the Western District, informed James Croke, the Crown Prosecutor, of the shooting of an Aborigine named Wool-ang-wang by a servant of John Henty's with the surname of Blood, at the Merino Downs station some three to six weeks earlier (VPRS 21). The surveyor, Charles Tyers, learned of the incident on 2 February. He reported that one of Henty's shepherds on the Wannon River had maliciously fired upon an Aborigine, who was not expected to recover, and that the shepherd was still at large.

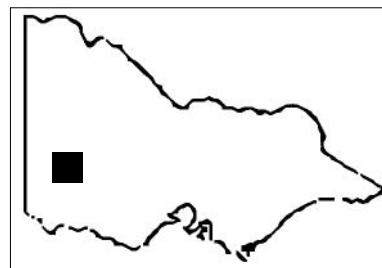
**Sources:** Tyers, diaries and letterbooks; VPRS 21; Clark 1990a

On 17 February 1840, CJ La Trobe, Superintendent of the colony, ordered Assistant Protector CW Sievwright to investigate a report of five Aborigines having been killed at George Winter's Tahara station. On 19 February 1841, at Charles Wedge's station at the Grange, Patrick Codd, Wedge's bookkeeper, informed the surveyor Charles Tyers that five Aborigines had been shot at Winter's station while attacking shepherds and carrying off some sheep. Sievwright investigated the massacre on 11 March 1840. The Reverend Joseph Orton, in a journal entry dated 12 January 1841, made the following note about this massacre.

The alleged cause of the attack was the aggressions of the natives, in stealing sheep. The attack of the Europeans was equally atrocious and unjustifiable, the result of which was that according to the depositions at least five natives were killed. This occurrence was on a station of Winter's who appears to have taken active part in the performance.

On 15 May 1841, George Robinson, the Chief Protector, learned of a sawyer, also named Robinson, who worked for Winter and who was responsible for several murders of Aborigines. He was considered a ringleader and the cause of a great deal of mischief, and on one occasion was known to have gone up to a child and 'beat out its brains' (see Djab wurrung killing, 27 June 1840).

**Sources:** Orton 1840–42; Robinson papers, vol 57; Presland 1977b; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none

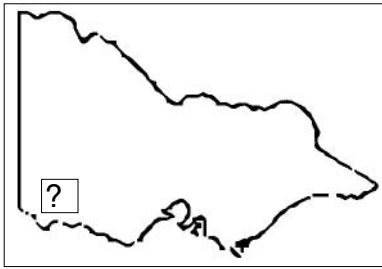
LOCATION: George Winter's Tahara station on the Wannon River and McLeods Creek, northeast of Merino

DATE OF INCIDENT: unknown, but before 17 February 1840

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung or Djab wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: George Winter's employees

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: five people



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: February or  
 March 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, presumably  
 Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: an  
 unidentified stockman  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
 person

On 9 March 1840, Superintendent CJ La Trobe wrote to Lieutenant FB Russell of the Mounted Police, ordering him to investigate a report of a stockman in the employ of Messrs Henty, having 'wantonly shot an Aborigine frequenting that establishment'.

**Sources:** La Trobe 1839–51



PLACE NAME: Murdering Flat (1)  
 LOCATION: Clover Flat, Wannon  
 River, near Casterton  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: unknown  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, either Dhauwurd  
 wurrung or Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 unknown

### ***Murdering Flat (1)***

Massola (1969) has described this massacre in the following terms:

The far end of Clover Flat, south of the Wannon River, was a favourite camping ground. While the blacks were holding a corroboree and feasting on some freshly killed stock they were fired upon by the settlers, using an old cannon loaded with bolts, nails, gravel and stones with telling effect. The place was afterwards known as Murdering Flat. As far as is known there was no grave; the bodies were put in the river.

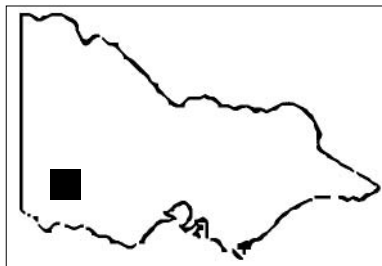
In mid-October 1838, William Heath, a shepherd at John Henty's station was killed by seven Aborigines, and the hut robbed of several items. There is an oral tradition that 40 Aborigines were slain in retaliation for the death of Heath. On 22 May 1885 Francis Henty wrote to the *Coleraine Albion* stating that 'Murderers Flat' [sic] was at the junction of Bryan Creek and the Wannon River, and that one of his shepherds was killed there, but that there was never a massacre of Aborigines at what had

Wannon River



been known as Clover Flat. Henty believed the matter had become confused over the years with the Fighting Waterholes massacre at Konongwootong (see Jardwadjali). Francis Henty was responding to an article by Vagabond in the *Argus* that attributed several Aboriginal deaths to Francis Henty himself. Both McGaffin and Bassett support Henty's claim that Murderers Flat is a confusion between the death of the shepherd and the massacre at nearby Konongwootong.

**Sources:** Trangmar 1956; Bassett 1962; McGaffin nd; Massola 1969



PLACE NAME: Murdering Flat (2)  
 LOCATION: Wannon River, between the Sandford Bridge and junction with Glenelg River  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: possibly November 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung or Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Connell, an overseer for the Henty brothers  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 'dozens'

### ***Murdering Flat (2)***

The only contemporary evidence for the existence of this massacre is correspondence from Superintendent La Trobe. On 27 November 1840 La Trobe forwarded to George Robinson a statement he had received from a Mr Barton about the reported death of a number of Aborigines who were poisoned by a hut keeper at a Henty station at the junction of the Wannon and Glenelg Rivers. He requested that, when Robinson went there in early 1841, he investigate the matter and, if there were reasonable grounds, he apprehend the guilty party. In a note to the Colonial Secretary, Edward Deas Thomson, dated 4 December 1840, La Trobe also reported the poisoning of Aborigines by an overseer in the employ of the Hentys.

In 1956, Trangmar published the following account of this massacre.

There was a second murdering flat. It was further down the river. The flat extended from the present Sandford Bridge to the junction of the Wannon with the Glenelg. A man named Connell, an outside overseer, was employed by the Henty Bros. He had a hut on the hill above the ford named after him. He got his rations delivered by dray once a month from the homestead. The blacks used to wait until he was out on the run and then rob his hut, particularly stealing his flour, which

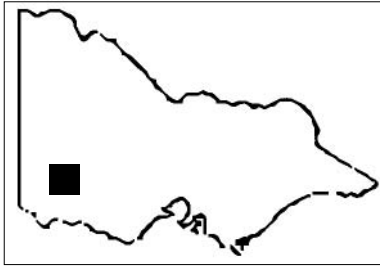
they had learned how to use. Connell got very annoyed with the constant raiding, so he mixed arsenic with half the flour and hid the other half. When he came home in the evening he found the poisoned flour gone and blacks were dead by the dozen. They had mixed the flour on pieces of bark and partly cooked it in little cakes on the coals and had ravenously eaten it. A raging thirst was created, the natives went to the river to drink and tumbled head first into the stream, they were thus drowned as well as poisoned. It is stated that no graves were made, the bodies were put into the river. Connell hurriedly left the district and was never heard of again in these parts.

Francis Henty was at Merino Downs, on the Wannon River near Henty (1837–67); Edward Henty was at Muntham, 8 kilometres (5 miles) northeast of Casterton (1836–66) and at Connell's Run, on the Glenelg and Wannon Rivers, opposite Casterton (1844–66).

**Sources:** VPRS 16; La Trobe 1839–51; Trangmar 1956; Massola 1969



Site of the massacre at the junction of the Glenelg and Wannon Rivers, near Casterton



PLACE NAME: Piccaninny  
Waterhole

LOCATION: Springbank, Glenelg  
River, south of Casterton

DATE OF INCIDENT: 1841 or earlier

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung  
language

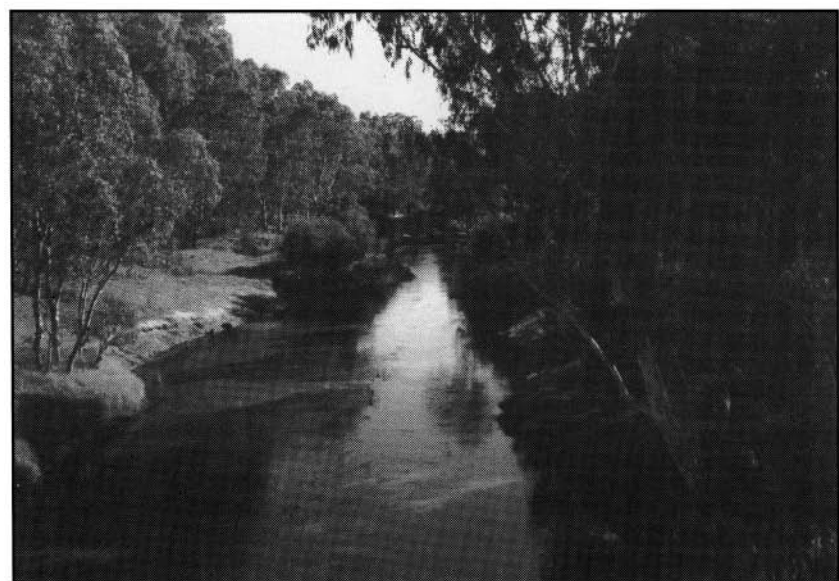
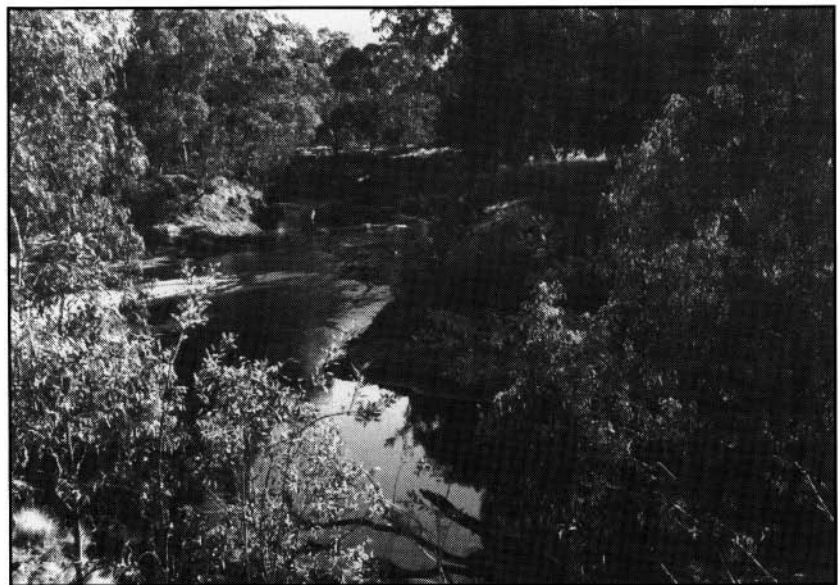
EUROPEANS INVOLVED: an employee  
of John Henty known as Tom

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
Narrerburnin, alias Charlotte, a  
wife of Koort Kirrup, a clan head  
of the Pallapnue gundidj clan  
from the Stokes River

### *Piccaninny Waterhole*

On 26 June 1841, George Robinson, the Chief Protector, recorded the following information on this killing:

Informed at McRae's outstation that a native woman had been killed at John Henty's outstation — known to the natives as 'Picaninny water hole'. The old woman belonged to Cartcarip; her name was Nar.rer.burnin alias Charlotte. The man's name was Tom who shot her and the other man's



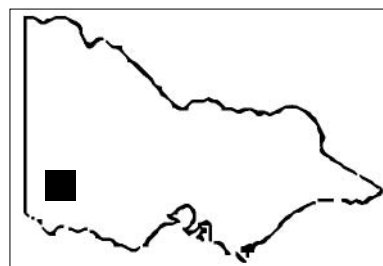
Glenelg River near Casterton

name who interfered was George. Charles Higg lives at Mr McRae's. She was at the water hole and the man shot her and then kicked her and stabbed her with a bayonet several times and hit her with it. And then buried her in the ground. George said what for you kill this woman? Ellen and Fred, natives at McRae's gave information. Worram, Mingbum's gin was with her and ran away, and can give information.

Duncan McRae was situated at Glenorchy on Parkers Creek, south of Merino. John Henty was at Springbank, on the Glenelg River, south of Casterton. Mingbum was the clan-head of the Tarrerwung gundidj clan at the mouth of the Glenelg River.

**Sources:** Presland 1980; Clark 1990a

On 3 June 1841, at George Winter's Tahara station, George Robinson, the Chief Protector, learned from Howenurneen, alias Sally, that three Wanedeet gundidj people belonging to the Wannon River had been shot by three of Purbrick's men in the valley of 'Cor.roit'. WJ Purbrick had Koroite station on the Konongwootong Creek, adjoining Coleraine (March 1840–November 1843).



Robinson's journal of 3 June 1841 records that:

She said the men told them to come and they would give them damper. When they went, they shot them. I proposed for this girl to go with me but she refused. Said she was plenty frightened. She said she was present when they were killed. The natives were very incensed and in great trouble; the white men heart less. I felt indignation at this murder by my countrymen but could not act as the evidence of the blacks were not admissible. (Presland 1980, 43)

PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: Valley of 'Cor.roit'

DATE OF INCIDENT: 2 June 1841

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Wanedeet gundidj clan, Dhauwurd wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Paddy Jem, Barry (or Larry), and Bill (or Bob), all employees of WJ Purbrick

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 'Kitting', 'Marg', and 'Piccaninny Jemmy'



On the following day Robinson made the following entry.

A.M. got my bill and prepared to start. I tried to get a native to go with me to identify the men at Purbrick's station and to give me information. But this I was not able. I saw plainly there was a counteracting influence from Winter and his men. Nor could I get any information relating to the poisoning business.

On 6 June Robinson called at Robert Tulloh's Bochara station at the junction of the Wannon River with Grangeburn Creek, where he took some refreshment and drove over some low undulating forest land: banksia and eucalyptus, cherry ballart and casuarina. He records:

At three miles came to fine spring of pure water. Thence travelled over a flat country, well grassed, open forest — stunted banksia, eucalyptus and she oak. At seven miles came to a small valley connected with the fine and extensive valley of Koroite. And after travelling for about [ ] of a mile further, came to Purbrick's sheep station on the top of Narroon — a conical hill in the valley at Koroite. We rode to the hut but it was deserted. The door was secure but through a hole we observed some flour in a bag and hut utensils, also native spears, broken, and other articles used by natives. It was not dark and I was at a loss to proceed. Followed down the creek and heard the bleating of sheep and at a mile from Narroon or, as called by the shepherd, sugar loaf, we came to another sheep station of Purbrick's. And here were the men that had had the collision with the natives. I told them I wanted their statements relative to the affair, but that the law did not require a man to accuse himself. Therefore I expected what they told me, which was perfectly voluntary on their parts, would be the truth. I should not swear them to their statements. It was then late and as I could not return that evening, I proposed taking their depositions in the morning.

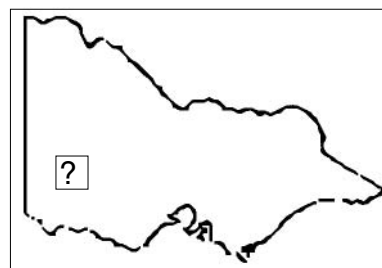
Monday, 7 June

Excessive cold during the night; a hoar frost this morning. Took the statements of Mathew McCann — hired servant to Mr Purbrick. Having said that he came up after it was all over I thought proper, he, according to his own statement not being a principal, to swear him to his statement. It is quite apparent to my mind that very foul play had been done to the natives and that several of the unfortunate natives had been murdered by these ruffians.

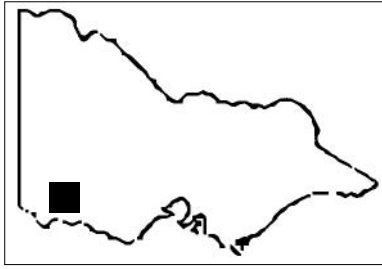
**Sources:** Robinson papers, vol 57; Presland 1980; Clark 1990a

On 3 June 1841, George Robinson, the Chief Protector, was informed by George Winter of Tahara station, near the Wannon River, that he had obtained from Aborigines the names of seven people said to have died from poison administered by one of the Hentys' employees. Henty is either Edward Henty at Muntham, near present day Casterton, or Francis Henty at Merino Downs on the Wannon River near present day Henty. The names of those said to have died were: Bokarcareep, Corroitleek, Joeingjoeingburmin, Loohechurning, Marnderremin, Tolort and Yangolarri. The Reverend Joseph Orton noted in his journal that George Robinson was considering a case of several Aborigines having been wilfully poisoned by a shepherd on one of the Hentys' stations. He noted from Robinson's account that 'poisoning seemed to be a general means of resort to put an end to the existence of these poor creatures'. This massacre may refer to Murdering Flat (2) (see above).

**Sources:** Orton 1840–42; Presland 1980



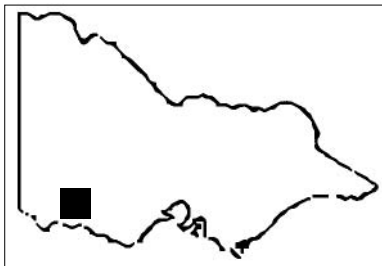
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: unknown  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: one of Henty's employees  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: seven people: Bokarcareep, Corroitleek, Joeingjoeingburmin, Loohechurning, Marnderremin, Tolort and Yangolarri



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Eumeralla station  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 3 January 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: James  
 Guthrie, overseer at the  
 Eumeralla station  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one

On 7 January 1842, James Guthrie, overseer at Eumeralla station, stated to Acheson French, the police magistrate, at the Grange station, that on 3 January he returned to the station from the Glenelg River, where he had been looking for a stolen horse. When he went to his hut, and dismounted, an Aborigine known as Jacky came out saying *merrejig* (a word usually meaning good, but in this context probably a greeting). He was followed by another who carried a weapon known as a liangle. A liangle was a heavy, formidable weapon about 60 centimetres long with a sharp pointed bend, 20 centimetres in length, projecting at a right angle. It was used when fighting at close quarters. When Guthrie saw the weapon, its bearer drew back and prepared to strike him. Considering his life in danger, Guthrie shot him and rode off to a neighbouring station, returning the following day to find his hut had been ransacked.

Source: VPRS 24



PLACE NAME: Tarrone  
 LOCATION: Tarrone station, Moyne  
 River, 19 kilometres north of Port  
 Fairy  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: February 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Yowen  
 gundidj clan, Dhauwurd  
 wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Dr J Kilgour  
 and neighbouring squatters and  
 their employees  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two  
 or three people

In February 1842, Tarrone station was purportedly attacked by 300 Aborigines. Seven men engaged in the stockyard with milking and other tasks were cut off. Only one of them was armed. Two of them, Robertson and his son, tried to get back to the houses, but were prevented, the son being driven back and the father being brought down by spears. Dr Kilgour rushed out of the house in his night clothes and with a double-barrelled shotgun, followed by Mrs and Miss Robertson with loaded muskets and ammunition. The Aborigines immediately dispersed and the men in the stockyards were rescued. With the aid of neighbouring estates, a force of 40 well-armed men was raised and pursued the Aborigines, one of whom was captured and made to act as a guide. Just as day was breaking the encampment was found and captured, the Aborigines fleeing, two or three of them being shot down as they fled. The whole property of the tribe was taken, and a quantity of warlike implements, as well as all the booty secured by the tribe in their various raids. According

to Kilgour, the result was peace for nearly 12 months and no more organised attacks on the station.

**Source:** Kilgour

### *Lubra Creek*

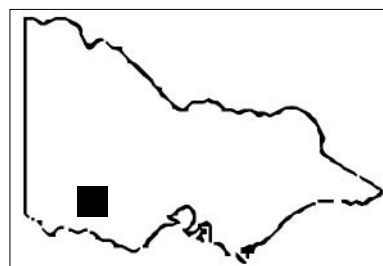
This is one of two massacres known to have been inflicted on this clan in 1842, the second having been at Boggy Gully, close to Black Swamp. This particular massacre is significant in that it involved the killing of four women and a child by a group of six Europeans, comprised of Robert Whitehead, the licensee of Spring Creek station, and several of his employees, and two employees of the adjoining Caramut run. Unusually for the time, three of this party were subsequently tried in the Supreme Court in Melbourne. Because of the controversy generated by this massacre, the information available is considerable.

This massacre occurred on Caramut station, which had been occupied by Thomas Osbrey and Sidney Smith in November 1841. Their home station was 22 kilometres south-east of Penshurst. The massacre took place on 24 February 1842, when six Europeans (some reports suggest eight) attacked two Aboriginal families who were sleeping in a clump of tea-tree beside a small tributary of Mustons Creek. Within the literature it is possible to find three variants of the locality's name: 'One-one-derang', 'Yan yan derrick', and 'Yuumkuurtakk'.

Three women (one of whom was pregnant) and a male child were killed at the scene. Two men, a woman and a child escaped with wounds. One woman, who was wounded, subsequently died.

Those killed initially were: Connyer (Coneyer, Canayer, Coonea) a widow, the mother of the child saved; Natgoncher (Nied-Goucka, Neal-sowchee, Naid goncher), who was pregnant, a widow; Wooigouing, the wife of Pinchingannock; and a male child, name unknown.

The survivors were: Calangamite, an adult male; Pinchingannock (Pinchingannoc, Pui-bin-ganneie, Pwe-bin-gan-



PLACE NAME: Lubra Creek

LOCATION: Caramut station, near where Lubra Creek crosses the Penshurst–Caramut road

DATE OF INCIDENT: 24 February 1842

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Moperer gundidj clan, Dhauwurd wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John Beswicke, Joseph Betts, Arthur D Boursiquot, Richard Guinness Hill, Charles Smith, Robert Whitehead, and possibly two others

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: five people — Connyer, Natgoncher, Wenigoniber, Wooigouing, and an unnamed male child

nai, Pinching-an-nock), the husband of Wooigouing; Wenigoniber (Wonigoniber), the woman who was wounded and subsequently died; and a child named Uni-bicqui-ang.

The Europeans involved in the massacre were: John Beswicke, employee of Robert Whitehead; Joseph Betts, Osbrey's hut keeper; Arthur D Boursiquot (variously written as Boursignot and Bardsicot), a cousin of Richard Hill and, according to Gray (1932), the proprietor of the *Melbourne Daily News*; Richard Guinness Hill, Osbrey's manager; Charles Smith, an employee at Spring Creek; and Robert Whitehead, Spring Creek station licence holder 1842–66.

From the extensive literature available, the following account of the massacre can be compiled. On the afternoon of 24 February 1842, Christopher McGuinness, a bush carpenter, and George Arabin, a labourer, employees on Smith and Osbrey's Caramut run, were dressing sheep carcasses. McGuinness, an expirée, had been a free man since 1828, and was once convicted for perjury in Van Diemens Land after being freed. Although he could not write, he could read. Arabin, on the other hand, was a well-educated man, and the nephew to the Recorder of the City of London. Arabin had been in the country since 1833.

In the evening, they returned to their hut for a late dinner. In Osbrey's hut, which was approximately 12 metres from Arabin and McGuinness's hut, were Osbrey, Richard Hill, Arthur Boursiquot, Robert Whitehead, and John Beswicke and Charles Smith.

While these six men were in Osbrey's hut, Joseph Betts, Osbrey's hut keeper, rode up to the hut after having been out looking for stray cattle. Betts called on Arabin and McGuinness and asked for Arabin's gun. When Arabin asked Betts why he wanted his gun, Betts replied that he wanted to shoot three large male kangaroos, commonly called 'boomers'. Betts asked Arabin to load the gun, a fowling piece, with powder and ball as his supply was exhausted. He sought assurances that the gun would fire. McGuinness advised Betts to take his pack of dogs, as they could get the kangaroos without guns, but Betts refused the offer.

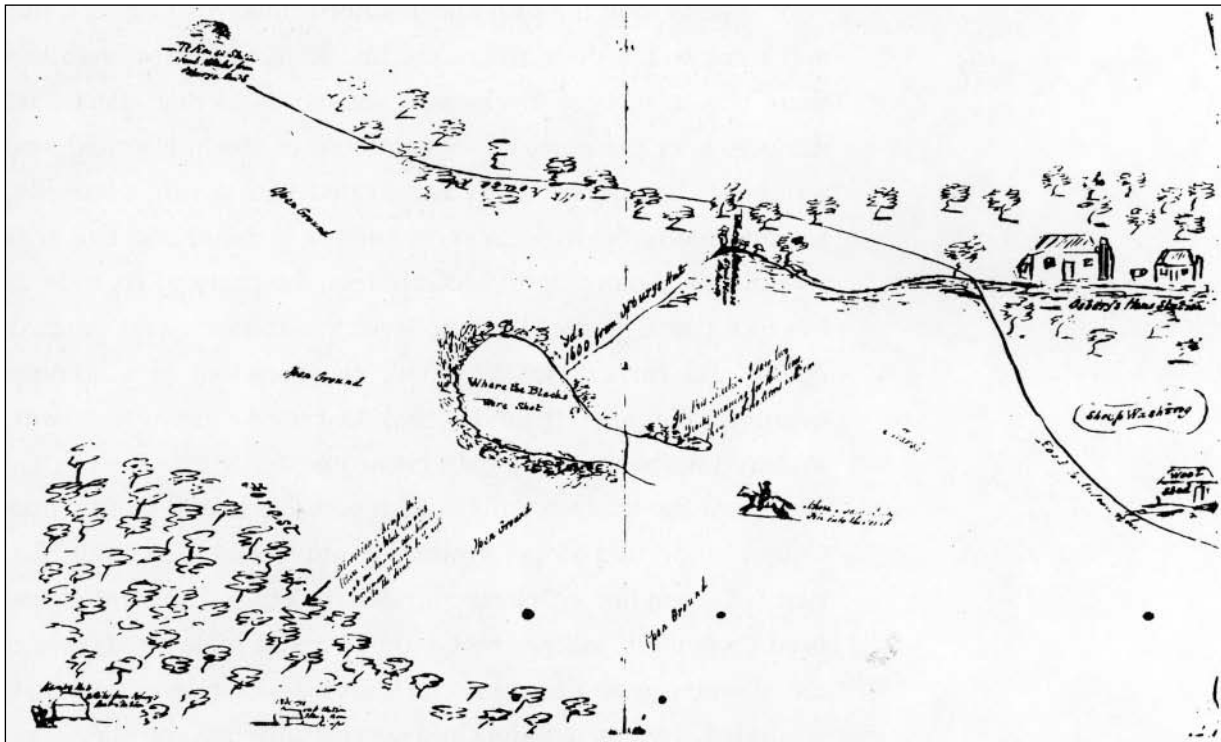


Figure 5 McGuinness's sketch of the massacre site, Lubra Creek (Thomas papers)

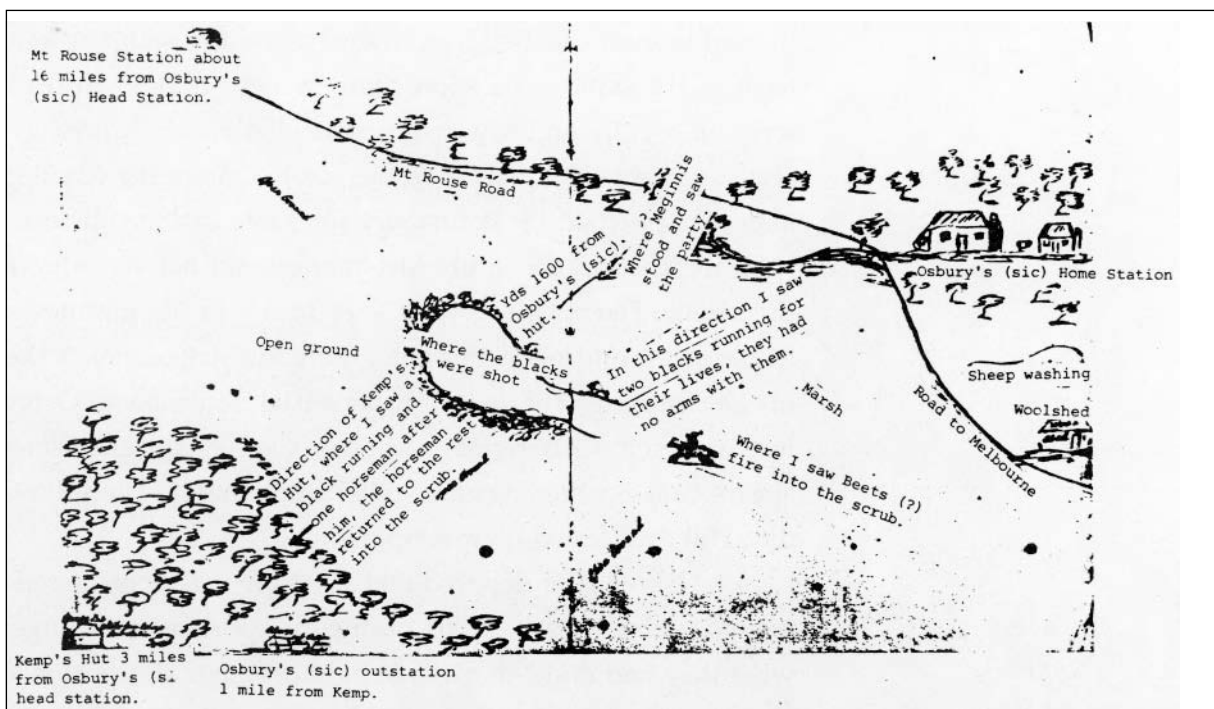


Figure 6 Explanatory version of McGuinness's sketch (Thomas papers)

Betts took the gun and his horse towards Osbrey's hut, and came to the door and, according to McGuinness, said that there was a 'mob of Blacks near' or words to that effect. Five minutes later the party of six came out of the hut, armed, and mounted their horses. Betts was armed with a single-barrelled fowling piece, Beswicke a short rifle or carbine, and Hill with two pistols. According to McGuinness, the party of six rode off in great glee. Christie (1979) believes the massacre was premeditated, and carried out to relieve the boredom of a summer evening. He also believes that Osbrey's employees were involved in the massacre with his acquiescence.

At the tea-tree gully, which was 700 to 800 metres from Osbrey's hut, two Moperer gundidj families were sleeping. The party of six on horseback surrounded the gully, dismounted, and fired their guns, killing three women and a male child. One of the women was pregnant. A fourth woman was seriously wounded. Two men and a child successfully fled the massacre.

Meanwhile, McGuinness had followed the party on foot with a pack of four dogs, as he wanted the kangaroo skins, probably because of the relative scarcity of kangaroos on the station. In the 14 months he had lived there he had not seen any kangaroos on the station. He soon came in sight of a small tea-tree scrub in a gully and saw two unarmed Aborigines fleeing. He also heard six shots fired into the scrub. One of the Aboriginal men was pursued by Boursiquot for some distance before the rider returned to the scrub. McGuinness did not see who fired the shots. The incident was over in 15 to 20 minutes and McGuinness returned to his hut. Figure 5 is McGuinness's sketch of the massacre. The party on horseback returned to Osbrey's hut with some Aboriginal weapons such as liangles, shields, spears, and boomerangs and other implements. The following day, Hill confiscated these 'trophies'.

Osbrey later deposed that, after the massacre, he remonstrated with the party of six on the impropriety and danger of what they had done; they made light of it, but all threatened to shoot anyone who dared give evidence against them. This threat was frequently repeated to him. On one occasion, Charles Smith

asked him if he would swear that Robert Whitehead was not in his hut the day the massacre occurred and he refused.

Arabin and McGuinness returned to work, where Arabin asked McGuinness what he thought the party had been doing and he replied 'shooting blacks'. Arabin asked McGuinness to accompany him to the massacre site, but McGuinness refused, as he feared other Aborigines may be at the site. Later in the evening, Arabin asked Betts where he had seen the Aborigines. Betts gave him the location and said that the Aborigines had dropped their weapons and run away. He later admitted to McGuinness that some women and a child had been shot. Betts returned Arabin's gun, which Arabin found had been fired. Arabin subsequently exchanged this gun for another, because he believed it had been involved in murder.

The morning after the massacre McGuinness was sent over to an outstation to build a hut. On his way he passed by the scene of the massacre and saw three bodies on the ground, but did not examine them for fear his employer, Hill, was watching him.

CW Sievwright, the Assistant Protector responsible for the Western District, visited Caramut station on 25 February after he had received the details of the massacre from two of the survivors, who had sought sanctuary at the Mount Rouse protectorate station, 25 kilometres from Osbrey's station. One of these, Pinchingannock, conducted him to the massacre site where he found the bodies of three women and a male child, and a fourth woman severely wounded. He went immediately to Osbrey's home station to make inquiries, offering a £50 reward to anyone who would tell him who committed the murders. In the company of Smith and Osbrey, Sievwright returned to the site where he identified the bodies and took a description of their wounds. At the request of Pinchingannock the bodies were cremated. Sievwright then conveyed the wounded woman to the protectorate station, where she subsequently died.

Siewwright was quick to report this massacre to his superiors. Within three weeks the government had issued a reward of £100 and a free pardon and passage to England to



anyone who could provide information on the massacre. For a time no information was forthcoming, and Governor Gipps threatened to withhold the granting of any land licence within 30 miles (48 kilometres) of the scene of the crime until those involved were apprehended.

In March, Sievwright returned to Caramut station and took a deposition from George Arabin in Osbrey's hut, in the presence of Richard Hill. Fearing that he may be killed by some of those involved in the massacre, and afraid that he may be an accessory given that his gun, which he had loaded, was used in the massacre, Arabin perjured himself by stating that he was out making brush yards and knew nothing about the incident. Sometime after lying to Sievwright, Arabin talked to Boursiquot and asked him to get him out of the country, for he was certain that McGuinness would sooner or later inform the authorities and he would be apprehended. Boursiquot advised him to stand by what he had told Sievwright, otherwise he would get seven years' gaol for perjury.

When questioned by Commissioner of Crown Lands Frederic Armand Powlett, McGuinness said he did not know anything of the incident. Once again Hill was present. When he heard that Osbrey and Arabin and others had denied all knowledge of the massacre, McGuinness did not think his evidence would be believed, and on that account did not 'give the party up', but when he heard they were divided he came forward. After the massacre, McGuinness never felt safe and never went far into the bush without being armed. He was particularly fearful of violence from Beswicke.

In mid-May 1843, McGuinness visited George Robinson at his Yarra River residence in Prahran, Melbourne, and told him everything he knew about the massacre. From that day Robinson took him into his custody and employ. In late May, Arabin was taken into police custody in Geelong and relayed to Melbourne, where he joined McGuinness in the Melbourne Gaol. From late June, both Arabin and McGuinness were in the care of Assistant Protector William Thomas at the Narre Warren protectorate station.

On 31 July and 1 August 1843, Richard Hill, Joseph Betts and John Beswicke were tried before Justice William Jeffcott in Melbourne. Redmond Barry, the standing counsel for the Aborigines, conducted the prosecution. The jury was comprised mostly of squatters, and it should be noted that some of them were themselves tainted by their own participation in other massacres. Apparently Whitehead, Boursiquot, and Smith had conveniently absented themselves temporarily from Port Phillip; one going to Van Diemens Land, the other two to England. The defence argued that the Crown witnesses were unworthy of belief, being 'wretches steeped to the lips in crime, self-convicted perjurers seeking to earn the price of blood'. The evidence they gave to the court was compared with the depositions they had given at their preliminary investigations and the discrepancies were noted. In Beswicke's case, a trumped-up alibi was successfully presented, alleging that he was not on the station the day of the massacre. This was confirmed by Osbrey and two neighbouring squatters. The defence claimed that the whole charge had been fabricated by 'conspirators banded together in a well-concocted story, to swear away innocent life, and earn a blood-stained reward'. The jury returned a verdict of 'not guilty'. Justice Jeffcott informed the court that if the prisoners had been found guilty it would have been the duty of the court to pass sentence of death upon them without the slightest hope of mercy. In an undated memorandum, Assistant Protector William Thomas noted the outcome of the trial and commented that two of the prisoners died shortly after; he was relieved that 'there is certainly retributive justice even to the blacks'.

On 30 December 1843, George Robinson prepared his annual report for the year, in which he discussed this massacre in the following terms.

The deed, it is generally believed, was done by civilised Europeans, by educated men, and by men nurtured in the Christian religion. It will, therefore, doubtless remain on record an example of European depravity, and of the dire cruelties to which the aboriginal natives have been subjected,

and from men from whom a better line of conduct ought to have been expected; nor can it be wondered that the ignorant savages, under such exciting circumstances, and with such examples, should retaliate for the injuries done to them and to their progenitors. (Britain 1844, 280)

Within time the small tributary became known as Lubra Creek, and the massacre 'the Lubra Creek massacre'. The Moperer gundidj suffered another massacre in 1842 at Boggy Gully, close to Black Swamp, 3 or 4 kilometres west of Merrang House, at a locality known as Warndaa (Dawson 1881).

In September 1845, an outstation was constructed at Lubra Creek for Ned Kearney, a sort of assistant overseer of the Caramut run, and Henry Mundy, who was employed as a hut keeper cum shepherd. Mundy's father had accepted employment on the station in September 1844, when Henry was 15 years of age. Alexander Sprot was now the license holder of the run. Mundy learned of the massacre from a bullock driver named Bill Doyle. In his reminiscences, Mundy noted that Lubra Creek derived its name from a wanton slaughter of several 'lubras' by an enraged band of squatters whose sheep had been stolen, slaughtered and eaten by the Aboriginal people. When anything of that kind happened, it was usual for the squatters to band together and hunt for the 'delinquents'. In the case of the Lubra Creek tragedy, it appears they could not find any men to shoot and, finding the women hidden in the scrub, ruthlessly shot them down. He recalled that in the early years of his employment at Caramut 'the bones were lying there as evidence in my time to testify to the carnage as the bodies had never been buried'.

**Sources:** O'Callaghan nd; Fyans 1842 and 1845; VPRS 16, 19, 30; Britain 1844; McCombie 1858; Smyth papers; Dawson 1881; Garryowen 1888; Mundy 1831–1909; Gray 1932; Massola 1969; Wiltshire 1975; Christie 1979; Coutts 1981; Clark 1988, 1990a; Williams 1984, 1985, 1988

In October 1840, Dr James Kilgour and Dr William Bernard erected their home station on the Moyne River, 19 kilometres north of Port Fairy, at a site known to the local clan as Tarrone. Kilgour and Bernard gave this name to their station. Tarrone was the country of the Yowen or Tarrone gundidj, where several families lived in a 'village' beside several excellent waterholes. The Yowen gundidj were also known as the Yowenillum. Across the Moyne River, the Yowen gundidj had constructed a large weir, about 60 metres long and 1.5 metres high, and during the eeling season in autumn upwards of 200 people would gather to harvest the eels.

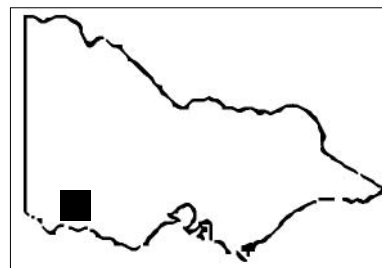
With the occupation of Tarrone, Kilgour commenced a long struggle with the local clans. Station hands had to be armed at all times when they were working on the station to protect themselves from attack. Despite this measure, a station hand was killed within a short distance from the home station.

When George Robinson, the Chief Protector, visited Tarrone in April 1841, he learned that the local clan had not visited Kilgour's station since its formation. When he met with clanspeople they were quick to complain that Tarrone was their country and that white men had stolen it. Robinson found Kilgour to be a declared enemy of the Aborigines.

In February 1842, Tarrone was purported to have been attacked by 300 Aborigines, headed by Purtkeun, one of five Yowen gundidj clan heads. With the aid of people from neighbouring pastoral estates, Kilgour mustered a force of 40 armed men and they went in pursuit of the Aborigines. After having captured one and forced him to act as a guide, they found the Aboriginal encampment and two or three Aborigines were shot as they fled. The armed party then set about confiscating the property of the Aborigines.

George Robinson's journal of 29 August 1842 reports that Kilgour lost his licence for reporting false information concerning the Aborigines.

In October 1842, Dr John Watton, a medical officer who had charge of the Mount Rouse protectorate station, investi-



PLACE NAME: Tarrone

LOCATION: Tarrone station, Moyne River, 19 kilometres north of Port Fairy

DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1842

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Yowen gundidj clan, Dhauwurd wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: an overseer known as Robertson (sometimes written as Robinson)

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: nine people — three men, three women and three children

gated a case of poisoning at Kilgour's station. In correspondence with Robinson, Watton reported that

it appears that the then overseer, Mr Robinson, had sent away into the bush to some natives . . . a quantity of what was supposed to be flour. Of this they partook, and were immediately seized with burning pains in the stomach, vomiting, sinking of the abdomen and intense thirst (which are the symptoms usually produced by arsenic); on the following morning three men, three women and three children were dead.

The bodies were burned, and Watton could not find any white witnesses. Despite the fact that Watton established that Robinson received a large quantity of arsenic just before the incident, there was not enough proof to convict Robinson or his associates. Robinson, also given as Robertson in some sources, was a Scottish highlander. He may well be the same Robinson that Robert Tulloh, from Bochara on the Wannon River, referred to on one occasion as having been given custody of an Aboriginal boy that Tulloh had caught. The child burnt to death. Details of the child's death are vague, but Tulloh suggested two distinct versions: either the child threw a fire stick at Robinson, who then pushed him or kicked him into the fire; or Robinson was holding the child by the fire to warm him, and when the child bit him he pushed him into the fire (see Djab wurrung killing, 27 June 1840).

Poisoning was difficult to prove. The accused could argue that his victims had eaten too freely of sheep that had been treated for scab, or that they had stolen contaminated flour that was clearly marked 'poison'. The use of corrosive sublimate and other mercurial and arsenic preparations offered an easy way of getting rid of Aborigines. When it became dangerous to continue their former course of open violence, many Europeans turned to this method. The incineration of bodies was a deliberate method of destroying material evidence.

On 17 March 1843, Superintendent La Trobe informed the Colonial Secretary of the reported poisoning at Kilgour's station,

noting that attempts to discover the responsible parties had proved ineffective.

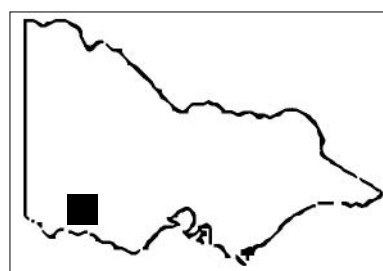
When visiting the Port Fairy district in April 1843, George Robinson was informed by a European named Hamilton that he had seen six Aborigines at a swamp near Tarrone station. They told Hamilton they were unable to walk after they had eaten poisoned damper given to them by some white men. In the company of Lieutenant Robert Chamberlain, Robinson visited an Aboriginal campsite at Tarrone, where they found several people unable to walk from having eaten poisoned damper.

In 1844 Robertson was accused of supplying the Aborigines with arsenic-laced flour. Eight or ten Aborigines were said to have been poisoned at a time when Kilgour was absent from his station. In the absence of any 'hard' evidence, Kilgour was informed that if he desired a renewal of his annual licence he must either reside on the station himself, or place it in the charge of a person more acceptable to the government.

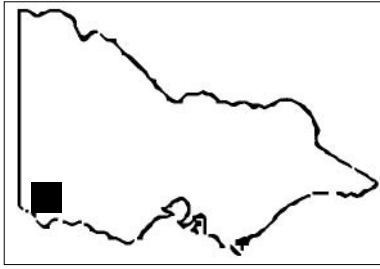
**Sources:** Robinson journals, 1839–49; Dredge diary, 1839–43; Kilgour; Presland 1977b; Christie 1979; Broughton 1980; Clark 1988, 1990a

The second of two known massacres inflicted on this clan, the first massacre having occurred at Lubra Creek in February 1842 (see above). The only details of this massacre relate to its location, the locality's place name, and general date. Merrang station is on the Hopkins River, 9.5 kilometres south of Hexham, and in 1840 formed part of the Bolden brothers' run. In April 1848, Merrang was subdivided into Kona Warren and Merrang.

**Sources:** Dawson 1881; Massola 1969; Clark 1990a



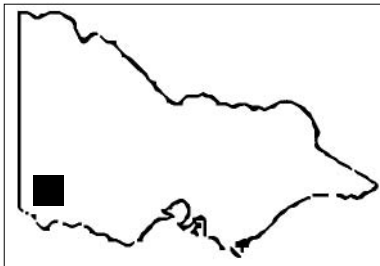
PLACE NAME: Warndaa  
 LOCATION: Boggy Gully, close to Black Swamp, 3 to 4 kilometres west of Merrang House  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Moperer gundidj clan, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: unknown



PLACE NAME: Net nat uungo  
 LOCATION: vicinity of Donald  
 McKenzie's station on the  
 Crawford River  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Net net  
 yune gundidj clan, Dhauwurd  
 wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: a  
 number of men, women and  
 children

On 15 May 1842, Donald McKenzie, a settler on the Stokes River, and Frederick Edinge, a hut keeper in his employ, were both murdered by some Dhauwurd wurrung people. Koort Kirrup, the clan head of the Pallapnue gundidj people of Stokes River, who lived at McKenzie's station, was held responsible. According to Koort Kirrup the murder was committed by some South Australian Aborigines, who were assisted by two Portland Aborigines. Koort Kirrup was subsequently arrested by the Native Police Corps on 31 August 1844. He was still in prison in July 1845 because the government could not find anyone who could understand the Wullu wurrung dialect of Dhauwurd wurrung spoken by the prisoner. According to Koort Kirrup, a massacre of several men, women and children took place after the murder of McKenzie and Edinge.

**Sources:** Thomas papers, vol 21; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: near the Crawford  
 River at its headwaters  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: September 1843  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Pallapnue  
 gundidj clan, Dhauwurd  
 wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: HEP Dana,  
 Commandant of the Native  
 Police Corps; a detachment of the  
 Native Police Corps; and David  
 Edgar  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 nine, in two separate killings

In September 1843, HEP Dana, Commandant of the Native Police Corps, informed Superintendent CJ La Trobe of the murder of Christopher Bassett in August 1843, who resided at 'Bassett's Station' (also known as Crawford) near the head of the Crawford River adjoining Hotspur, and of another 'collision' between his charges and the Aborigines. Bassett and his partner, Henry Horseman, ran a few sheep and, because they had no servants, attended their flocks themselves. Bassett was in the habit of going out unarmed with his sheep. After killing him, the Aborigines carried off 200 sheep.

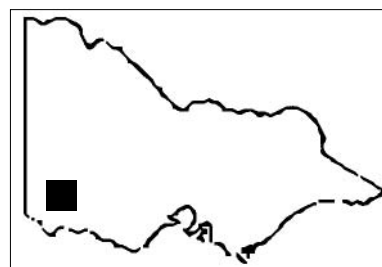
Dana and his party, accompanied by David Edgar, of the Bush Tavern and Fitzroy River run adjoining Heywood, came upon the party near the edge of the great swamp when they were out searching for Abraham Ward's lost two-year-old daughter, Martha (Ward was at the Traveller's Rest Hotel at Branhholme, 1843-44). In two separate encounters with these Aborigines, they shot at least nine. According to Dana, they were the same people who had killed McKenzie and his employee,

and Martha Ward. If this is correct, they were probably the Pallapnue gundidj under the leadership of Koort Kirrup. Because of the nature of the country to which they retreated after committing these attacks, Dana noted that few white men could follow them there. But he believed he had successfully demonstrated to them that they could no longer murder and plunder with impunity.

**Sources:** VPRS 19; Walter 1973; Clark 1990a

In October 1843, HEP Dana reported an attack upon a dray and another 'scurry' with the Aborigines. George D Lockhart, of Kanawalla station on the Wannon River north of Hamilton, was attacked on the road between Portland Bay and his station. In their pursuit of the stolen dray, two Native Police troopers were wounded and two Aborigines were killed and one wounded.

**Sources:** VPRS 32; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: 13 kilometres from Mount Eckersley, on the road between Portland and Kanawalla station, Wannon River

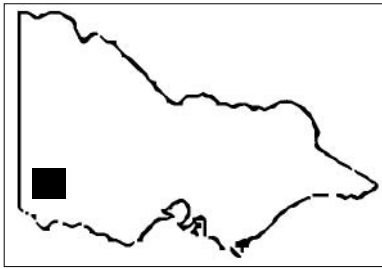
DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1843

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: HEP Dana, Commandant of the Native Police Corps, and a detachment of the Native Police Corps

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two Aborigines

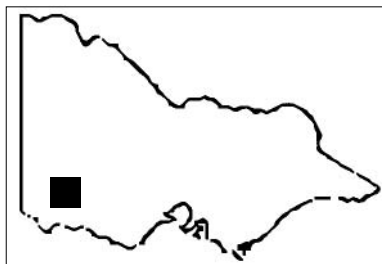




PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mullagh station, 11 kilometres north of Harrow  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 25 January 1844  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Thomas Barrett  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 'Jim'

Thomas Barrett, in the employ of Walter Birmingham and Owen Reilly on Mullagh station, north of Harrow, reported that on 25 January 1844 an Aborigine named Jim came to the Mullagh home station a half hour before sunrise and sat down beside the fire. Patrick Riley gave him a piece of damper. Barrett informed him that he and Riley were going to an outstation with some rations. Jim said he would walk with them. One and a half kilometres from the station they saw a fire, and Riley left to go and put it out. Barrett proceeded on in the company of Jim. When they got as far as thick 'honeysuckle' (banksia) forest, Jim attempted to take the flour bag, saying 'he should have it, he no frightened as being plenty of blackfellow all about'. He took up his liangle, a weapon, to strike Barrett and Barrett shot him.

**Source:** VPRS 24



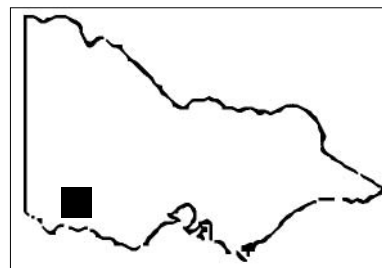
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Euremete and Lyne stations, adjoining Branhholme  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 20 May 1847  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: presumably GW Elms and his employees  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two people

On 20 May 1847, a shepherd in the employ of GW Elms was killed by some Aborigines. In a subsequent confrontation between certain settlers and a party of Aborigines, supposed to include those involved in the above killing, two Aborigines were shot.

**Source:** La Trobe 1839–51

According to Boldrewood (1885, 71), the two Nillan gundidj clan heads who were also resistance leaders of the Eumeralla war, Jupiter and Cocknose, were killed by a detachment of the Native Police Corps. Included in the detachment were Buckup, Yupton and Tallboy. Boldrewood was informed that Tallboy shot Jupiter. Boldrewood's account conflicts, however, with contemporary information, which is clear that Jupiter was caught in April 1847 and that the settlers in the district were determined to hang him if they could (Dawbin 18 April 1847, in Critchett 1984, 16).

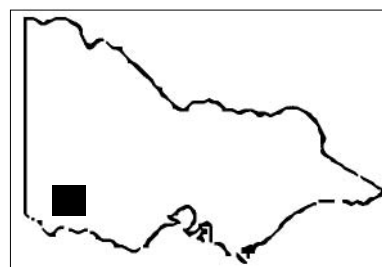
**Sources:** Boldrewood 1885; Critchett 1984



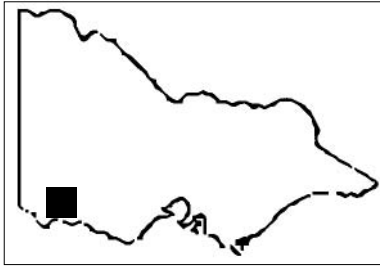
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Eumeralla district  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: April 1847  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Nillan gundidj clan, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: detachment of Native Police Corps  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Tarerer (Jupiter) and Tykoohe (Cocknose)

In 1847, a group of settlers guided by a 'half-civilised' Aborigine are purported to have launched a surprise attack on a camp of Aborigines at Mount Eccles, a favourite guerrilla base, killing more than 30 people and sparing not even babies.

**Source:** Broughton 1980, 32



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mount Eccles  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1847  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: settlers  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: more than 30 people



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: Castlemaddie or Ettrick  
pastoral runs

DATE OF INCIDENT: unknown,  
presumably between August  
1843 and 1849

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung  
language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: William  
Learmonth and the Jamieson  
brothers

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: at  
least one man

Boldrewood gave the following account of this massacre:

... one day a good-sized party was discovered killing a bullock of Messrs Jamieson, near Ettrick. The brothers Jamieson and Major Learmonth — then unknown to martial fame — went out to dispute title. The scene was in a reed-brake — the opposing force numerous. Spears began to drop searchingly amid and around the little party. It looked like another Isandula, and the swart foe crept ominously close, and yet more close, from tree to tree.

Then a spear struck William Jamieson in the forehead — a rough straw hat alone saving his brain. The blood rushed down, and, dripping on his gun, damped the priming. Things looked bad. A little faltering had lost the fight. But the Laird of Ettrick shot the savage dead who threw the spear, and under cover of this surprise he and Robert Jamieson carried their wounded comrade safely out of the field.

William and Robert Jamieson were at Castlemaddie station on Darlots Creek, west of Yambuck, from August 1843 until 1849; William Learmonth was at Ettrick station on the Fitzroy River near Heywood, from August 1844 until November 1869.

**Source:** Boldrewood 1885, 59

After his hut had been robbed by Aborigines, Joe Burge went to Charles Hamilton Macknight's Dunmore station on the Shaw River and Macknight promised to make up a party the following morning and follow the Aboriginal party and see what they could recover.

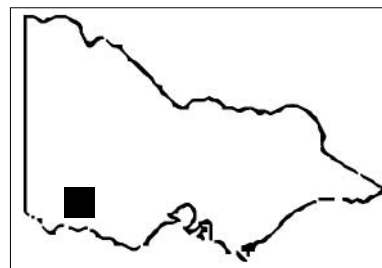
The following morning, Macknight, James Irvine, Cunningham and their stockmen arrived at Burge's hut. They left their horses and went off on foot through the swamp. Macknight and Irvine had rifles, Cunningham and the Dunmore stockmen double-barrelled shotguns. Burge was unarmed.

. . . after four or five miles terrible hard walking, we came in sight of the lake [Lake Gorrie], and just on a little knob on the left hand side, with a bit of a flat under it, was a camp. I crept up, and could see them all sitting round their fires, and yarning away like old women, laughing away now and then. By George, thinks I, you'll be laughing on the wrong side of your mugs directly.

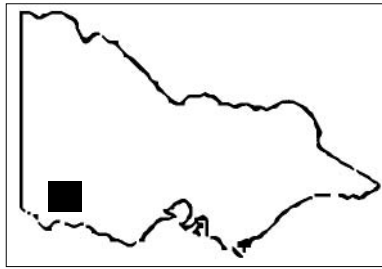
Well, I crept back and told the party, and we all began to sneak on them quietly, so as to be close on them before they had any notion of our being about, when Mr Cunningham, who was a regular bull-dog for pluck, but awful careless and wild-like, trips over a big stone, tumbling down among the rocks, drops his gun, and then swears so as you could hear him a mile off.

All the dogs in the camp — they're the devil and all to smell out white men — starts a barkin'. The blacks jumps up, and, catching sight of the party, bolts away to the lake like a flock of wild duck. We gave 'em a volley, but it was a long shot, and our folks was rather much in a hurry. I didn't see no one tumble down. (Boldrewood 1885, 65)

**Source:** Boldrewood 1885



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Lake Gorrie, Squattleseamere  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: unknown  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Joe Burge, Charles Hamilton Macknight, James Irvine, Cunningham and their stockmen  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: unknown



PLACE NAME: Murderers Flat  
 LOCATION: Darlots Creek, Lake Condah mission  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: specific date unknown, believed to be late 1840s or early 1850s  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Kerup gundidj clan, Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 20 men, women and children

### *Murderers Flat*

This massacre is significant in that knowledge of it has survived through Aboriginal oral history. Reconstructing from these oral records, the massacre probably occurred in the early 1850s. One source dates the massacre as late as 1875, another as early as 1842.

The massacre occurred at a site known to the Kerup gundidj (more commonly known as the Kerrupjmara) as Murderers Flat. Rose Donker (nee Lovett) (1985, 18) has recounted what she knows of the massacre.

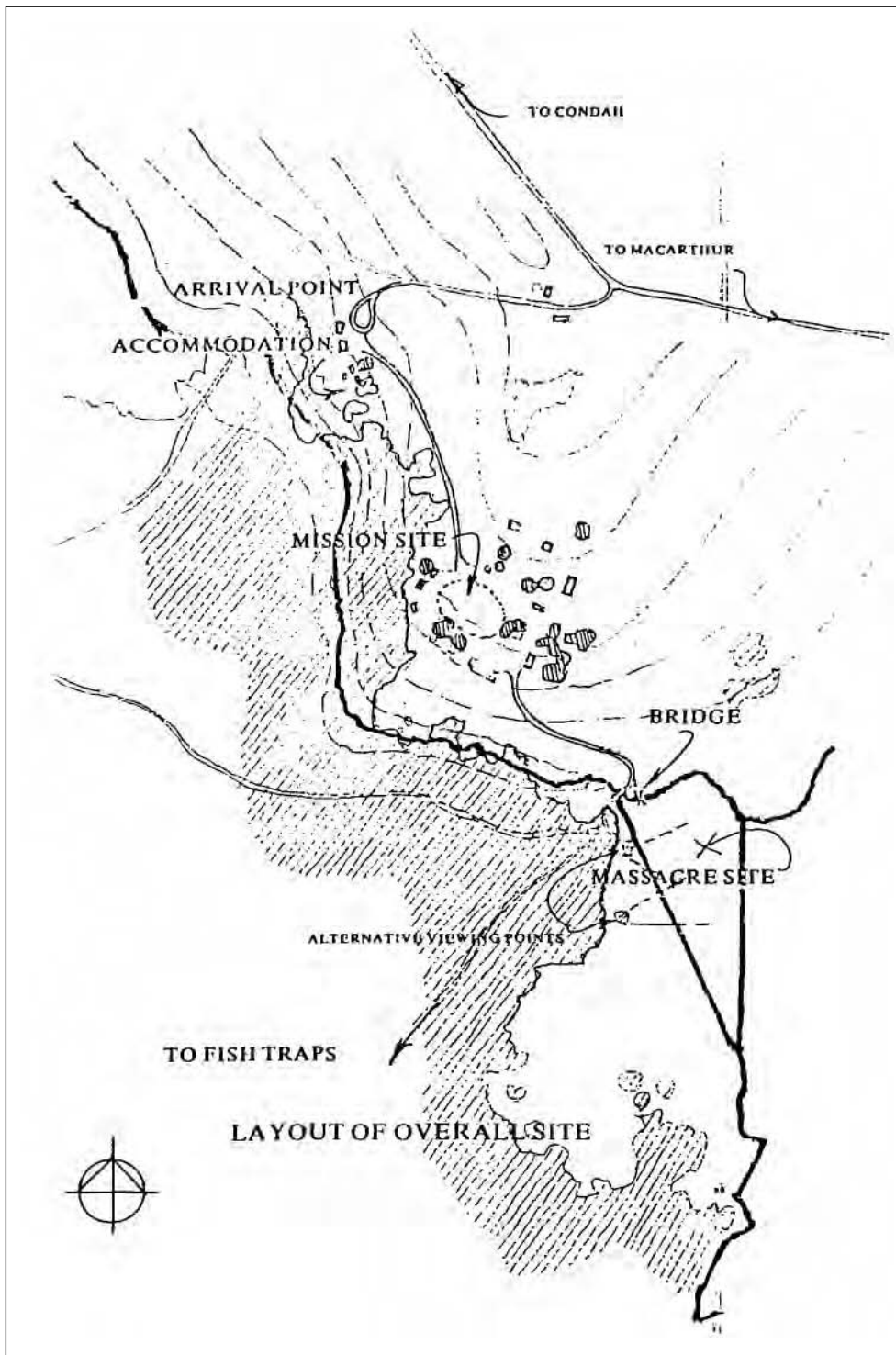
My grandmother was Hannah MacDonald [later Lovett]. When she was small she walked with her brother Alfred and her mother from Macarthur to Condah Swamp. My grandmother was carried on her mother's back. They were looking for some place to live. They came to the Condah Swamp and there they found other Aboriginal people and families living there.

There was a massacre there and they hid with their mother in the reeds until the fighting was over and then they headed off looking for somewhere safe. We were always told that Murderers Flat was where the fighting was.

They were taken in and lived on the Condah Mission. I then understood they lived there as children, then as time went on they grew up there.

Massola (1969) refers to this event as 'the massacre of Lake Condah' and notes that the Aborigines were given a bag of flour containing arsenic and about 20 people were poisoned.

In Joe Sharrock's reminiscences of Lake Condah, published in Savill (1976), he refers to 'Harelip' Johnny Dutton, who claimed to have been one of the few survivors of the 'Murdering Waterhole massacre', as a small boy. He hid in the water among the reeds. Presumably this is a reference to the same massacre as that recorded by Donker.



**Figure 7** The location of Murderers Flat near Lake Condah mission (courtesy David Faggetter)

The evidence for this massacre rests entirely with the oral history of the Kerup community. According to this tradition, Hannah Lovett (nee MacDonald) and her brother and mother witnessed the massacre. Hannah is purported to have been a young girl carried on her mother's back when she witnessed the murder. Hannah Lovett died in 1940 at the age of 91, and was born in 1849. Assuming she was under five when the massacre occurred, this would date the event between 1849 and 1854, at least 13 years before the formation of the Lake Condah mission in 1867.

Given that CP Cooke assumed the licence for the Lake Condah run in July 1850, he is likely to have been the land holder when the massacre took place.

The exact details of the massacre are vague. Massola's account has 20 people poisoned, another suggests upwards of 200 were killed. A further source suggests 300 were massacred in 1842 (*Age*, 15 January 1988).

There are numerous difficulties with this massacre account.

i. The massacre is not corroborated by any contemporary sources. Presumably a massacre taking place at such a relatively late date as this could not have been kept quiet, particularly if upwards of 200 were killed. The lack of any information suggests the larger figure is unbelievable, and favours the smaller number. Attempts at discovering some reference to this event in contemporary newspapers and diaries are continuing.

ii. A massacre taking place in the early 1850s does not conform to our knowledge of the state of relations between Aborigines and Europeans in the Western District at that time. Through the reports and the diary of Cecil Pybus Cooke, the station holder at Lake Condah, we know that in the late 1850s and early 1860s the Aboriginal people around Lake Condah were allowed to live on a certain portion of his land. He frequently employed them, and paid them in food, clothing and money. The relationship Cooke developed with the local people would not

have been possible if he had been party to this massacre. This suggests that parties other than Cooke were involved — possibly some of Cooke's employees — although the fact that the Aborigines did not report the massacre to Cooke is hard to understand.

iii. Our knowledge of Aboriginal demography in the late 1850s does not support a massacre of 200 or 300 people, and adds further weight to the suggestion that a smaller number were involved. In 1858, for example, we know that there were generally about 40 to 50 people who gravitated around JN McLeod's station on Darlots Creek, 40 people who belonged to the Lake Condah group, and 40 who were at Eumeralla.

iv. Further disparity exists in that one account refers to poisoning and the other refers to fighting. The provision of flour or other food laced with arsenic or strychnine, and the way this poison produces death does not sit comfortably with Rose Donker's account of the massacre. Presumably the poisoned food would have been obtained from Europeans and taken back to Kerup campsites in the Stony Rises, where it would be prepared and eaten. In this situation there would have been no need to hide because there would have been no fighting between Aborigines and Europeans. Massola's account, which unfortunately is unsourced, does not accord with the oral account passed down by Hannah Lovett. It is possible that Hannah may have confused stories she heard from the older people when she was a young child, and with the passage of time incorporated some of these stories into her own life history.

v. One possibility is that there may have been some confusion between this massacre and the one at Murdering Flat, near Casterton. According to Massola (1969, 45), this massacre took place at the far end of Clover Flat, south of the Wannon River. This place is still called Murdering Flat. The difficulty with this is that the Murdering Flat massacre predates that at Murderers Flat by something like ten years.



Further research may discover the answers to some of the questions these issues raise. The massacre is a poignant reminder of the difficulties associated with the documentation and reconstruction of history.

**Sources:** Massola 1969; Savill 1976; Donker 1985; *Age*, 15 January 1988; Faggetter 1989

## DJAB WURRUNG

The Djab wurrung (literally meaning soft language) people traditionally occupied the Ararat, Stawell and Hamilton districts of western Victoria (see Figure 8). Their country is mostly volcanic plain punctuated with large numbers of perennial and intermittent lakes and swamps. The only elevated portions are the Mount William Range and the western end of the Pyrenees Range. Their territory is drained by the northward-flowing Wimmera River and the headwaters of the southern-flowing Hopkins River. Vegetation was predominantly savanna woodland and grassland. The Djab wurrung camped along ecotones (areas of overlap between major vegetation regimes) and along streams, where timber and fuel were more abundant.

A common campsite was an artificially constructed earthen mound, usually located on the bank of a stream or on a good vantage point. In season, eels were a staple food, and Djab wurrung and nearby clans moved to the fishing grounds at Mount William Swamp and Lake Bolac, where in early autumn up to 1000 people gathered to take advantage of the annual migration of eels. During mid-summer, clans gathered for ceremony and hunting at Mirraewuae, a large marsh rich in emu and other game, near Hexham. Djab wurrung cultural heritage includes rock paintings in the Black Range, Mount William Range, and Mount Langi Ghiran, and a stone arrangement at Lake Bolac. Ground drawings were known to have existed at Challicum and the Hopkins River.

The 41 Djab wurrung clans adhered to a two-class matrilineal moiety system, as did the Dhauwurd wurrung: clans were either *gabadj* (red-tailed black cockatoo or Banksian cockatoo) or *grugidj* (sulphur-crested cockatoo or long-billed corella). *Grugidj* sub-totems included pelican, parrot, mopoke and large kangaroo. *Gabadj* sub-totems included emu, whip snake, possum, koala, and sparrowhawk. Clans intermarried with the nearby Djadja wurrung, Jardwadjali, Watha wurrung and northeastern Dhauwurd wurrung.

DJAB WURRUNG



**Table 2** Djab Wurrung clans (on Figure 8)

NO	CLAN NAME	APPROXIMATE LOCATION
1.	Bankneit	unknown
2.	Bar gundidj	Wimmera River at Woodlands station
3.	Beripmo balug	Mount Cole
4.	Boner balug	Mount Cassell
5.	Buller buller cote gundidj	junction of Salt Creek and Hopkins River
6.	Bulukbara	Lake Bolac
7.	Cartbonong gundidj	Caramut
8.	Cart cart worrate gundidj	plains between Narrapumelap and Nareeb Nareeb stations
9.	Curruc balug	source of the Wimmera River, and at Glenlogie station
10.	Eurer burer	unknown
11.	Gnareeb gnareeb gundidj	Nareeb Nareeb station
12.	Jacale	Part of La Rose and Mokepilly stations
13.	Kolorer gundidj	Mount Rouse
14.	Konegilwerring gundidj	swamp on the Hopkins River, 16 kilometres north of Lake Bolac
15.	Mingalac gundidj	Mount Stavely
16.	Mitteyer balug	Barton Morass or Nekeeya Swamp
17.	Mutterchoke gundidj	Mount Abrupt
18.	Neetsheere balug	Mount William, Barton station, and Mount Moornambool
19.	Parn balug	large hill 8 kilometres southwest of Allanvale station
20.	Peeripar balug	Fiery Creek, 32 kilometres south of Mount Cole station
21.	Poit balug	Allanvale station, Great Western
22.	Punnoinjon gundidj	Lake Buninjon
23.	Puppellenneerring	Fiery Creek, 48 kilometres southwest of Mount Cole station
24.	Tappoc gundidj	Mount Napier
25.	Teerel balug	north of Mount Langi Ghiran
26.	Terrumbehal gundidj	between Hopkins River and Fiery Creek
27.	The Gums clan	the Gums station, east of Penshurst
28.	Tillac gundidj	a river northwest of Mount Rouse
29.	Tin balug	La Rose and Mokepilly stations
30.	Tonedidgerer balug	Burrumbeep station
31.	Tool balug	Mount William
32.	Toorac balug	Mount Pierrepont
33.	Uelgal gundidj	the Grange near Strathkellar
34.	Ural balug	plains 11 kilometres southeast of Burrumbeep station
35.	Ngutuwal balug	Mounts Cole and Langi Ghiran
36.	Watteneer balug	between Mount William Swamp and Nekeeya Swamp
37.	Weeripcart balug	under the Grampians, 9.5 kilometres from Mount William station

- |     |                        |   |
|-----|------------------------|---|
| 38. | Worrembeetbeer gundidj | Mount Bainbridge and Kanawalla station                        |
| 39. | Wurcurri gundidj       | Mount Sturgeon  |
| 40. | Yam yam burer balug    | south of Barton station at the head of<br>Mount William Creek |
| 41. | Yourwyhall gundidj     | between the Wannon and Grangeburn<br>Rivers                   |

1841, two Djab wurrung localities, Kolorer (Mount Rouse) and Burrumbeep (a locality south of present-day Ararat, near Burrumbeep Hill) were gazetted as Aboriginal reserves. Kolorer was occupied the following year, Burrumbeep was never occupied. Between 1842 and 1843, the Kolorer reserve was used as a base from which the Djab wurrung and other people would launch guerrilla attacks and then return to the safety of the reserve.

In 1854 gold was discovered, and within three weeks 30,000 miners were camped in what is now the Ararat district. The Djab wurrung remnant gained employment by washing sheep, driving bullocks, ploughing, and constructing dams. Other than at pastoral stations, Djab wurrung people lived near the Mount Ararat goldfields, Mount Cole, Mount Emu, Mount Rouse, and along the Fiery Creek, and the Wannon and Hopkins Rivers. Throughout the 1860s, the Djab wurrung people were supplied with foodstuffs, clothing and other items from four depots: Hamilton, Nareeb Nareeb station near Wickliffe, Buangor, and Ararat.

The 1860s witnessed the last-known attempts by the Djab wurrung to perform traditional religious ceremonies. The 1870s were a time of dispersal for the Djab wurrung: the Hamilton people went to Lake Condah; the Wickliffe people went to Framlingham; and the Mount Cole people went to Framlingham and Coranderrk. A small number remained at or near their traditional clan estates. By 1880, only seven Djab wurrung speakers remained.

Information has survived on 35 massacres and killings. Of these, 21 had occurred by the end of 1841, when 50 per cent of

Djab wurrung land had been taken by squatters. The most noted killings are those of Tuurap warneen in 1840, which led to the death of Patrick Codd, and the killings by John Cayle Francis at Woodlands station.

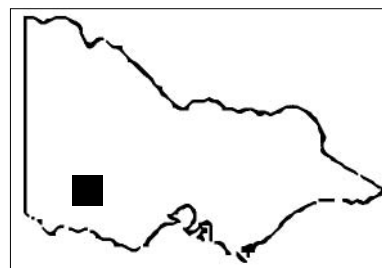
### ***MASSACRE SITES IN DJAB WURRUNG COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)***

Dawson (1881, 58–59) recounted this killing in the following manner:

When the white men came to Victoria, there was one doctor of great celebrity in the Western District, Tuurap Warneen, chief of the Mount Kolor tribe. So celebrated was he for his supernatural powers, and for the cure of diseases, that people of various tribes came from great distances to consult him. He could speak many dialects. At corroborees and great meetings he was distinguished from the common people by having his face painted red, with white streaks under the eyes, and his brow-band adorned with a quill feather of the turkey bustard, or with the crest of a white cockatoo. Tuurap Warneen was unfortunately shot by the manager of a station near Mount Kolor; and his death caused much grief to all the tribes far and near.

The following extract is Massola's account of the same.

The peaceful relationship existing between the Aborigines at Mount Rouse and the white settlers did not continue for long. Soon there were the usual associations between the station hands and the native women, the driving off of sheep, and the deadly retaliating raids by the whites. Torap Wareen was amongst the natives shot. Then the Aborigines sought an opportunity and killed Mr Codd, the sub-overseer of the station, and dangerously wounded Rooney, one of the men. Mr Brock



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: near Mount Rouse

DATE OF INCIDENT: early 1840

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Kolorer gundidj clan, Djab wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: James Brock, John Cox's manager at Mount Rouse station

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Tuurap warneen

the overseer, saved himself by his superior speed on foot. It was said, but never proved, that the natives were next given poisoned flour with which to make damper. At any rate they were soon reduced in numbers and ceased to be a danger to the settlers. (Massola 1969, 54)

James M Brock (19 July 1842 in Willis 1838–43), John Cox's overseer at Mount Rouse station, testified at the trial of Figara (Fagara, Tigara, Alkaperete, Alkeperete, Figara Alkeourata, Alliput, alias Roger, alias 'the Russian') for the murder of Patrick Codd, overseer and bookkeeper for the Wedge brothers at the Grange, Strathkellar, just above Hamilton, which took place on 19 May 1840 at Mount Rouse station. Codd was Charles Wedge's bookkeeper until five days before his death, when he went across to Cox's station to superintend the stock there during the projected absence of the overseer, Brock. Brock said that he knew the prisoner, who was present at the killing and was one of the party. He stated

There is only one tribe belonging to that place, Mt Rouse, prisoner eldest individual, is the chief of the tribe . . . Prisoner belongs to the Colore tribe, he takes his name Alkeperete from a stream of water, good water, the stream of water is about a mile from Mt Rouse.

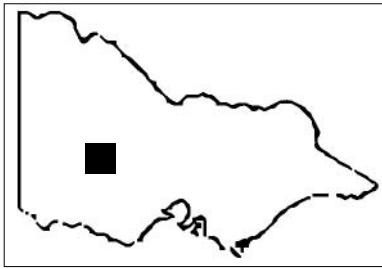
According to Massola (1969, 53), Codd was killed as retribution for the murder of Tuurap warneen. In retaliation for Codd's murder, the settlers hunted down and killed three or four Aborigines, and were determined to exterminate the Kolorer gundidj, the 'offending hostile tribe'. On 29 April 1841, Robinson was told that in revenge for the death of Codd, 20 Aborigines had been shot. On 15 March 1842, Clement Codd wrote a letter to Superintendent CJ La Trobe, in which he identified 'Roger' as one of the Aborigines responsible for the murder of his brother. In mid-April 1842, Foster Fyans, and a troop of 12 Border Police went to Assistant Protector CW Sievwright's protectorate station at Mount Rouse to capture Roger. After arguing with Fyans

about Roger's innocence, Sievwright agreed to allow him to be arrested. He devised a scheme, giving Roger an errand to fetch some mutton, which would necessitate his leaving the station, when he could be captured. Fyans did not have any jurisdiction over the protectorate reserve. Sievwright could have arrested Roger, but chose to arrange a situation where he was captured while performing an errand that removed him from the reserve. Presumably Sievwright felt it was not in his interest to be seen arresting Roger, thus compromising the role of the reserve as a sanctuary.

Siewwright did not believe Roger was implicated in the Codd killing, and in a letter to George Robinson he questioned Brock's identification of Roger. He also emphasised that Roger's own people had unanimously absolved him of the killing. They stated, that at the time of the killing, Roger had been living near Lake Bolac and had been unable to move 'from a loathsome disease'. John Sievwright, the son of the Assistant Protector and an unofficial assistant at the Mount Rouse station, wrote to Robinson on 11 May, suggesting Roger's brother, whom he closely resembled, may have been to blame for the murder.

**Sources:** Robinson journals, 1839–49; Robinson papers, vols 56, 63 and 65; Presland 1977b, 77; 1980, 100; Kenyon 1928, 148 appendix; Willis 1838–43; Britain 1844, 281; Bride 1983, 294; Victoria 1858–59, 26; Crouch 1864; VPRS 24; Smyth 1878, 40; Dawson 1881, 2, 3; Curr 1886–87, 88; Mathew 1898, 36; Mundy 1831–1909; Davidson 1938, 91; Massola 1969; Baulch 1978; *Western Historian* 1980.





PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mount Cole  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, presumably Djab  
 wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: George Allan  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: at  
 least one person

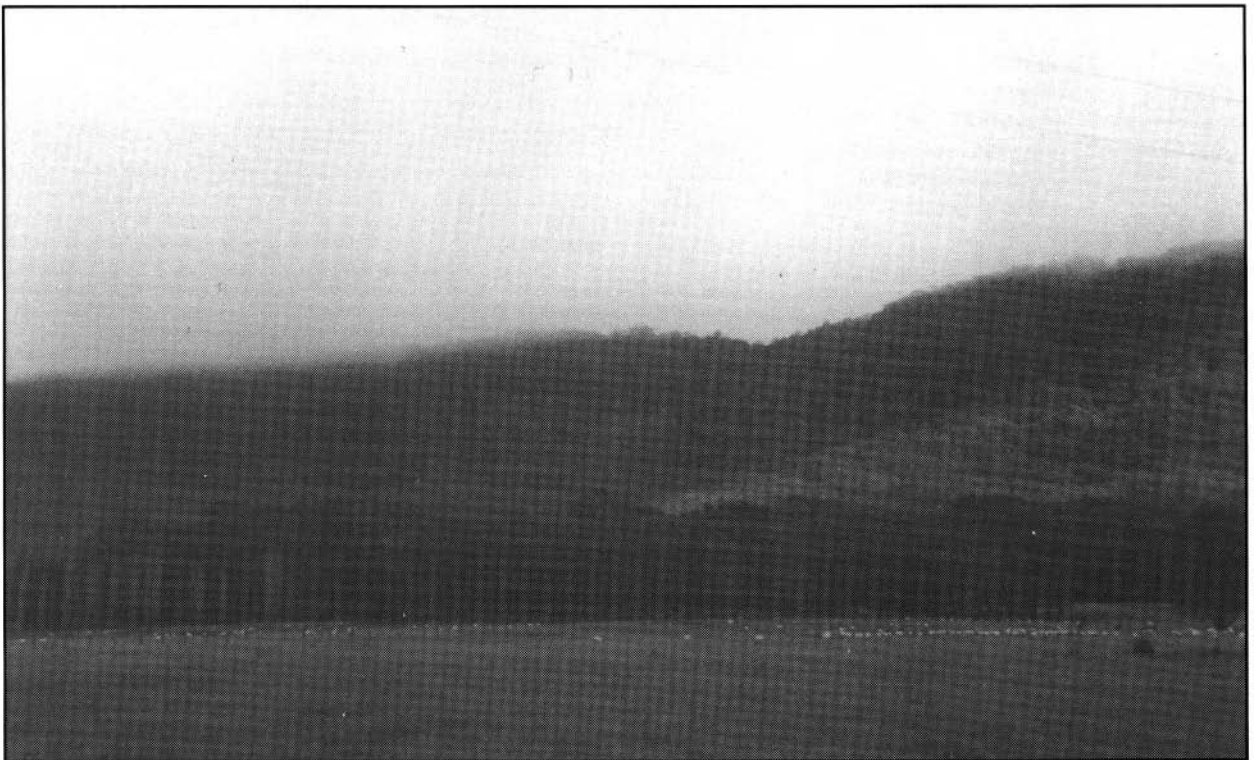
On 27 February 1840, Chief Protector George Robinson called at an outstation of J and TL Learmonth's Borrumbeet station, adjoining Lake Burrumbeet. According to Robinson's journal entry,

the hut was in the charge of Abraham Bingbuk one of the men who was tried for shooting blacks; Allen's case. I would remark here the injustice of the Government. These two men, it was clear on the trial, were not wholly cleared of guilt and which was the opinion of the Public Prosecutor who said both the men, convicts, to be turned into the public works.

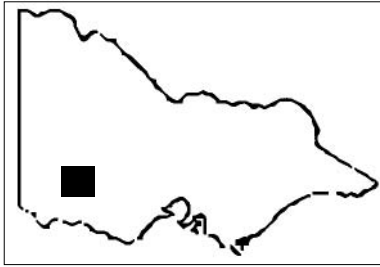
On 2 March 1840, Robinson called again at Learmonth's lower station and asked Alexander Denniston Lang, Learmonth's superintendent, if the Aborigines had been 'troublesome' lately. His journal entry is as follows:

he said no — thanks to Mr Allan they had not troubled them since he gave them a lesson. Exulting in what Allan and his people had done, said a short time since, three convicts who had absconded, I think from Hirkirt, had stolen from them two horses and one mare. They believed they had gone to South Australia. I asked if they had taken any steps to recover them, when he said, 'Oh, no, it would be no use'. Thus these people sit down quietly with the loss of £200 at least, in horses taken by convicts, when if, through hunger, the original proprietors of the soil take two or three sheep they set up a hue and cry against them. I cannot conceive of what use so many loaded firearms are kept in these huts except to destroy blacks, since they cannot or are afraid to act against the white marauder. I saw two double barrelled guns, pistols and muskets in this hut. It was at this station that Allan placed over his hut door a black man's skull for the purpose of intimidating the blacks. Sievwright reported it.

**Source:** Presland 1977a



Mount Cole, near Raglan



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: Mustons station, east of Mount Rouse

DATE OF INCIDENT: June 1840

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, presumably Djab wurrung or Jardwadjali language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Peter Aylward and others

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: seven people killed and many wounded

In either April or May 1840, Peter Aylward and Augustine Barton's station near Mount Rouse (1839–42) was attacked. In June, Aylward took his revenge in an act of reprisal in which seven Aborigines were killed and many others were wounded.

On 27 June 1841, Robert Tulloh (a merchant at Portland Bay [1840–41] and at Bochara station at the junction of the Wannon River and Grangeburn Creek [1840–41]) gave Chief Protector George Robinson the following account.

He was one who went out with Aylward's party to the Grampians in quest of blacks. There was eight in the party; George Robinson [not the Chief Protector], a natural ruffian was one. They gave the men a child to lay near the fire. They put it so close to the fire and roasted it or, to use his qualified expression, burnt it. He found a fine little boy about six years in the water. He gave him his hand and the child got out. In walking along the child bit his hand. He told George Robinson, one of his men, to take charge of it. He was taking it to the fire where Robinson struck the child on the head. The child threw a piece of stick as it was sitting on the ground, which struck Mr Robinson. The ruffian then kicked the child to death. Tulloh said when he saw the deed done — it was close to him — he was so horrified that he cocked his pistol at Robinson. But was so horrified that he had not power to pull the trigger or he would have shot him.

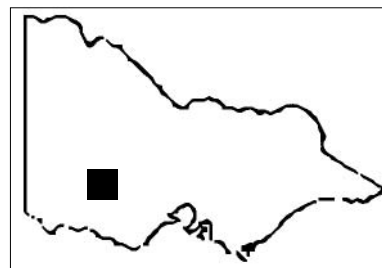
On 6 July 1841, Robinson learned more of the massacre. Apparently Aylward's sheep had been taken to the east side of the Serra Range. RW Knowles, Robert Martin's overseer/superintendent at Mount Sturgeon station witnessed the massacre.

**Sources:** Britain 1844; Lang 1847; Christie 1979; Presland 1980; Clark 1982; Garden 1984

On 25 July 1841, Chief Protector George Robinson learned that Henry Gibb, alias 'Piccaninny Mr Gibb', had shot Carderneen and Pulletpuccoren (a Bulukbara from Lake Bolac).

Earlier, on 3 April, Robinson had visited Gibbs station and breakfasted there. Gibb was the overseer for a Dr Officer. The station had recently been plundered and Robinson was 'inclined to think that the attacks upon Gibb were occasioned by revenge for the outrages committed on the natives by this individual, as reported upon by Sievwright'. Assistant Protector CW Sievwright had reported in October 1840 on Gibb's 'collision', provoked by the Aborigines having 'rushed' a flock of sheep.

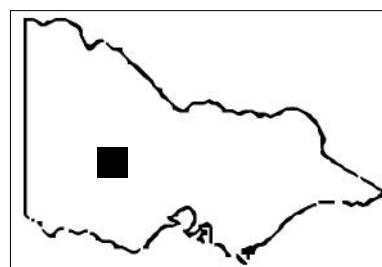
**Sources:** Orton 1840–42; Presland 1977b, 1980



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Bulukbara clan, Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Henry Gibb  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Carderneen and Pulletpuccoren

The Bar gundidj were dispossessed from their country in 1840–42 by JC Francis and CA Lynott, who had attacked them and driven them out. In consequence, by July 1841 clan members had taken refuge at 'Pochebeboit', the estate of the neighbouring Poit balug at Allanvale station, and other stations where their presence was permitted: William Kirk at Burrumbeep station on the Hopkins River adjoining present-day Ararat on the south; Colin Campbell at Mount Cole station on the Fiery Creek northwest of Beaufort; James Baillie at Carngham station adjoining present-day Carngham; Joseph Linton at Emu Hill station on Lintons Creek, west of present-day Smythesdale.

In August 1840, Francis shot Panumarramin when he found him in his sheepfold (Robinson journals 1839–49; VPRS 4410). Panumarramin was stooping or crouching at the time he was shot, his skull was perforated vertically by a hole in the crown; death must have been instantaneous. Francis later avowed to ES Parker, the Assistant Protector responsible for the Loddon District, that he was determined to act in the same manner should he be placed in the same circumstances again.



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Woodlands station, Wimmera River near Crowlands  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1840–41  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: presumably Bar gundidj, Ngutwul balug, Parn balug and Tin balug clans, Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John Cayle Francis  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Bonnokgoondeet, Calyingap, Cowquinurnin, Croengenoke, Jajowl, Kombonugarramin, Nattoengarramin, Panumarramin, Portunarramin, Wettonearramin, Worraworramin

Waterhole on the Wimmera  
River near Crowlands



On 29 December 1840, Chief Protector George Robinson received a letter from Francis stating that he had shot three Aborigines and wounded others (Bonnokgoondeet, Jajowl, Kombonugarramin and Portunarramin were believed to have died). On 18 July 1841, Robinson was told that Francis had killed another two men named Worraworramin and Calyingap, so presumably those wounded had died. On 25 July 1841, the names of another four Aborigines shot by Francis were given to Robinson — Nattoengarramin, Cowquininurnin, Croengenoke and Wettonearramin.

In March 1841, ES Parker visited the Pyrene Range area to investigate reports of the recent killings by Francis, then overseer at Woodlands station. Parker met two different parties of Aborigines and from the last he obtained some distressing statements. They gave him the names of seven individuals shot by Francis within the previous six months. Francis reported that on one occasion he and a person called Downes went out because they saw a bushfire and that they suddenly saw some Aborigines, on whom they fired and of whom they killed four. The Aborigines said six were slain (Britain 1844).

In December 1841, Robinson reported the following to Superintendent CJ La Trobe:

In my last expedition I visited the country of the Barconedeets, the tribe attacked by Frances [sic]; of these I found a few sojourning with the Portbullucs, a people inhabiting the country near Mount Zero, the northernmost point of the Grampians. These persons complained greatly of the treatment they had received, and confirmed the statement made to the Sub-Protector by the other natives. (New South Wales 1843, 21)

Robinson was informed of a clan he called the 'Poengort gundidj' when he discussed with Aborigines the question of those murdered by Francis while he was the superintendent at Woodlands station. Two unnamed informants reported that Francis shot '(1) Kome.bone.ar.re.min, (2) Poit.chun.dar.rer.min, (3) Jare.jow.wel, and (4) Nat.toeng.ar.ra.min'.

In his journal of 31 July 1841, six days after receiving his first news of the 'Francis murders', Robinson was at Woodlands in discussion with Francis. That day he learned that Ulotebeen, alias Charley, his 'Bar conedeet' informant and travelling companion since 28 July 1841, had lived with Lynott and Francis, and was present when the people were attacked by them. According to Francis, he had shot a total of five Aborigines; four on one occasion and one on another. Robinson's Aboriginal informants said seven had been killed. After a passage where he presents Francis's version of the killing of the four Aborigines, as well as the Aboriginal version, Robinson then states that the Aboriginal people shot were men, some Bar gundidj and some Parn bal-lug.

Later that day, Robinson arrived at Joh Sinclair's run Allanvale, near present-day Great Western, where William Blow was the superintendent. At Blow's he met with Trinburnin, the clan leader of the Bar gundidj, and several other Bar gundidj people. He entered in his journal:

The country at Blow's belongs to the Poit bulluc, hence this poor man [Trinburnin] has been driven from the country of his nationality at Francis', to seek shelter in that on another tribe [clan].

Robinson has provided a further example of Bar gundidj reaction to Francis. When he first arrived at Woodlands, he preceded his party by an hour and a half. He recorded that Ulotebeen approached Robinson's camp with fear and trembling when he saw Francis.

In his 1841 report, Robinson discussed the 'Francis Affair'. For the period 20–25 July he reported:

They [the Aborigines] then of their own accord gave me the names of twenty six Aboriginal Natives of whom six were women shot by white men. These include those shot by Francis; a case already inquired into and reported upon to the Government by Assistant Protector Parker . . .

At Woodlands on 30 July 1841, he wrote:

. . . visited Francis' station; the person referred to as having shot Natives enquired into and reported upon to the Government by Assistant Protector Parker . . .

Mentioning that Tumbur-rum (or Trinburnin), chief of the Bar gundidj was at Blow's, Robinson also reported:

. . . the white men he [Tumbur-rum] said had shot his people and had driven him away. He referred to the affair at Francis' . . .

Elsewhere in his journal (23 July 1841) he records that Lingurnin, a 'Utowel bulluc' (Ngutuwul balug), came to him to get him to proceed against Francis, who had shot his brother, later identified as Croengenoke.

Finally, in a report to CJ La Trobe of 11 December 1841, Robinson wrote:

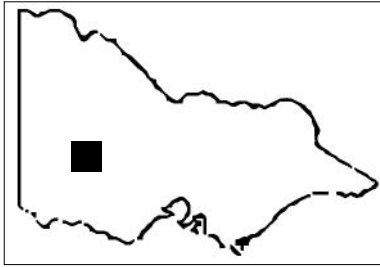
In my last expedition I visited the country of the 'Barconedeets', the tribe attacked by Frances [sic]; of these I found a few sojourning with the 'Port bullucs' . . .

ES Parker discusses the Francis killings in his papers. According to Parker, Francis shot four Aborigines on 21 December 1840, at the Pyrene Range. They were 'Boonokgoondeet', 'Jajowl', 'Kombonegarramin', and 'Pertunarramin'. In September 1840, Parker stated that Panumarramin — a Grampian man — was shot by Francis in his sheepfold (Britain 1844, 144). Elsewhere Parker, in a census, lists the 'Tuanbulluk' section of the 'Knen-Knen-Wurrung' dialect (the northern portion of the Djab wurrung comprising the area between the Pyrenees and the Grampians) and noted, in a column set aside for remarks, that this section was nearly destroyed by Francis, who shot four belonging to it. The surviving families, numbering six persons were scattered among other clans.

According to Dunderdale (1870) 'the blacks were more afraid of Francis than of anybody else, as besides his gun he always carried pistols, and they never could tell how many he had in his pockets'. Francis was himself killed on 17 September 1842, by a station hand named John Conolly, but known generally as 'Cranky John'. Francis was stabbed to death with a knife made from a shears blade. His grave and headstone are enclosed near Woodlands home station.

**Sources:** Robinson journals 1839–49, 29 December 1840; VPRS 4410; New South Wales 1843; Britain 1844; Dunderdale 1870; Banfield 1974; Clark 1990a

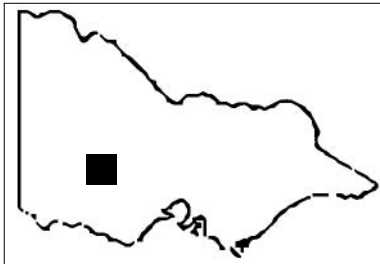




PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mount Cole  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: March 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Beripmo  
 balug clan, Djab wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: a splitter,  
 possibly named Tobin  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 Mokitte, otherwise known as  
 Wernunarramin

In March 1841, an Aborigine known as Mokitte was shot by a splitter near Mount Cole. On 7 March 1842, Assistant Protector ES Parker learned that Mokitte had stolen the splitter's blankets; he was unable to obtain the splitter's name or any direct evidence of the incident. In January 1841, at Parker's Loddon protectorate station, a quarrel was occasioned by Mokitte, who was accused by the other Aborigines of having attempted to steal sheep from Darlots station. Most of those present evinced great indignation and threatened to spear him (VPRS 4410).

**Sources:** Parker, 28 February 1841 in VPRS 4410; Britain 1844



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: presumably  
 June 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: presumably  
 Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: RW  
 Knowles, manager Mount  
 Sturgeon station  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 unknown

On 6 July 1841, Robert W Knowles, the manager of Dr Robert Martin's Mount Sturgeon station, on the Wannon River at the foot of Mount Sturgeon, informed George Robinson of a 'clash' with Aborigines.

Knowles said he lost some cattle a short time since and went after them. He came to a blacks camp and they threw spears at him and his stock keeper. He thought they had his bullock. This attacking the camp of the natives under the pretence of looking after stolen property is a system that ought not to be tolerated, it is provoking hostility and would not be allowed in civilised society.

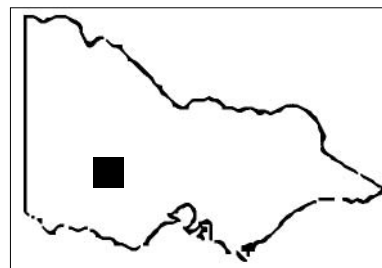
The following day, Knowles told Robinson how, some time earlier, Superintendent La Trobe had intended to gaol him for 'killing natives'.

**Source:** Presland 1980

In June 1841, 'Old Man Jim', a Teerel balug man, was shot near William Kirk's Burrumbeep station.

On 23 July 1841, Robinson was told that Tanabe, a shepherd at William Kirk's Burrumbeep station, had shot three Aborigines: Parringurnin (a man); Winnowarerermin (a woman) and Arrerenuernin (a woman). On 25 July, the name of Cowarremin (another man) was added to the list of people shot by Tanabe.

**Sources:** Clark 1982; Britain 1844

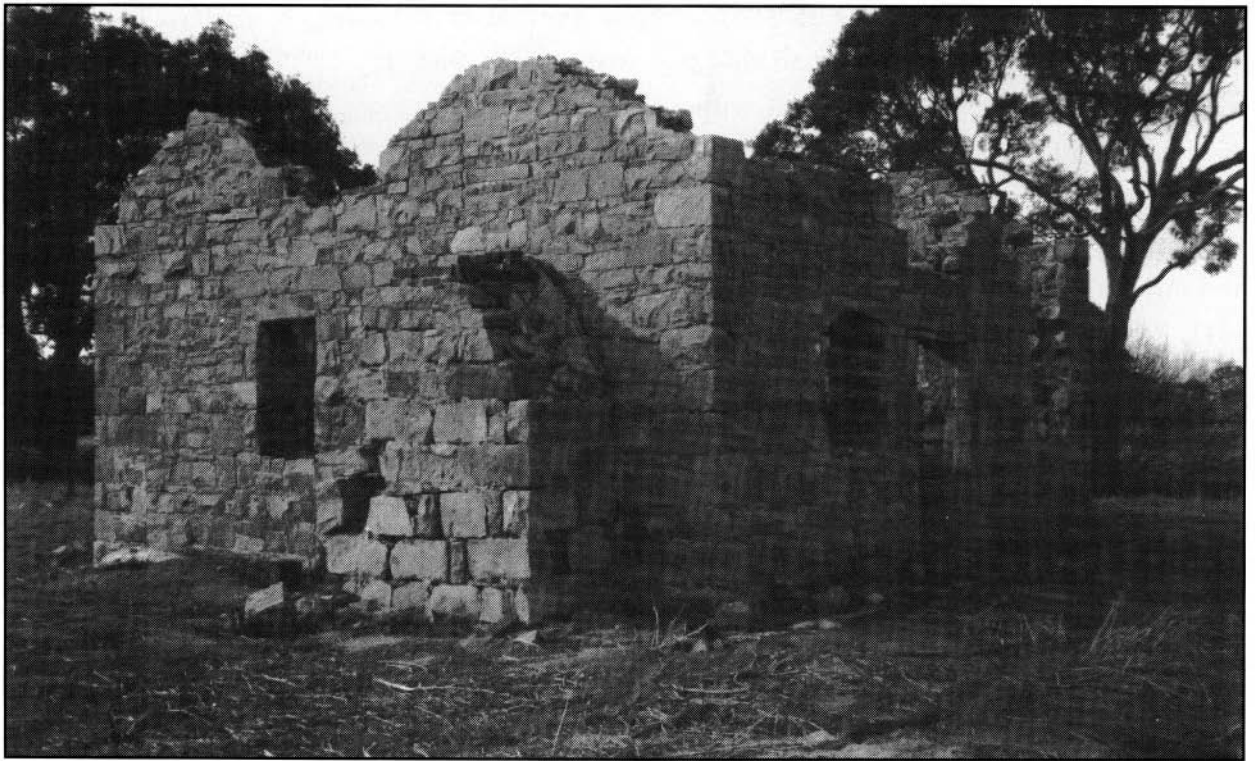


PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Burrumbeep  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: June, July 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Teerel balug and Tonedidgerer balug clans, Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Tanabe (or Tarenbe)  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 'Old Man Jim', Parringurnin, Winnowarerermin, Arrerenuernin and Cowarremin

On 29 July 1841, the Chief Protector George Robinson was informed that Horatio Spencer Wills (Lexington, La Rose and Mokepilly stations), William Kirk (Burrumbeep station), and Andrew Rutter, Kirk's overseer, had shot two women who had infants and that the latter were 'left without milk'. The attack was made on their camp after Wills's hut keeper was killed, in November 1840 near Mount William, by three Aborigines named Worraworramin (Neetsheere balug), Limeburnin (Poit balug), and Allingomurnin (Weeripcart balug). Previously, on 25 July 1841, Robinson had been told that Wills's hut keeper/cook had been killed because he had killed two Aborigines, a man named Porringonnewar and a woman named Konniteburmin, both Ngutuwul balug, at the 'Picernin Yallocke' to the east of Burrumbeep.

**Sources:** Presland 1980; Clark 1982

PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Burrumbeep  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: July 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: HS Wills, W Kirk and A Rutter  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Porringonnewar; Konniteburmin and possibly another two women

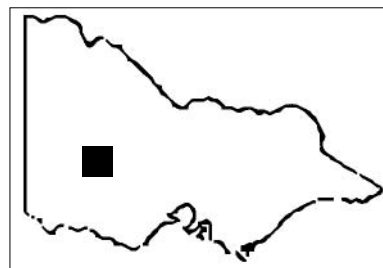


Ruins of the manager's residence, Burrumbeep, south of Ararat

On 25 July 1841, Chief Protector George Robinson learned that Yangarremin (or Cripbearrermin) and Mipburnin, two Jacalet people whose traditional country was at La Rose and Mokepilly stations, had been shot by Bill, CB Hall's cook, at Hall's hut and in Hall's presence.

Robinson's informants showed him how the two Jacalet were treated: they were told to be off, pushed out of the hut, and shot with muskets as they were going away. Their possessions were then burned.

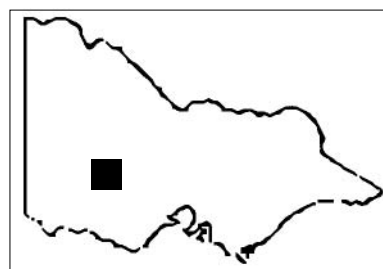
**Sources:** Lang 1847, 133; Britain 1844; Presland 1980



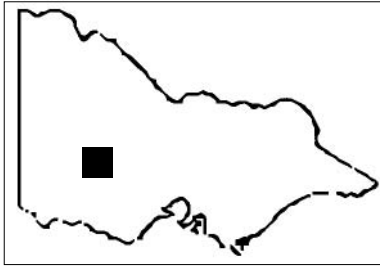
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Hall's outstation in Halls Gap  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: July 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Jacalet clan, Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Bill, CB Hall's cook and hut keeper  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Yangarremin and Mipburnin

In July or August 1841, Kowarramin, two other men, and a girl, were reported by Aboriginal people to have been shot by three white men near William Kirk's station at Burrumbeep. One of these was Tanabe, a shepherd at the Burrumbeep station.

**Source:** Lang 1847, 133



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Burrumbeep station  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: July–August 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, presumably Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: three Europeans  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Kowarramin, two other men, and a girl



PLACE NAME: Good Morning Bill Creek

LOCATION: near Mount William

DATE OF INCIDENT: July 1841

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Parn balug clan, Djab wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Tarenbe, William Kirk's shepherd

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Bood bood yarramin (alias Good Morning Bill) and an unknown woman

### *Good Morning Bill Creek*

Bood bood yarramin (Poinmoin arrermin), alias 'Good Morning Bill', after whom Good Morning Bill Creek is named, was shot by Tarenbe, William Kirk's (Burrumbeep) shepherd, near Mount William in July 1841. On 29 July 1841, Chief Protector George Robinson was informed that Tarenbe (also recorded as Tarabe, Tanabe) a shepherd of Kirk's, had shot 'Good Morning Bill and the woman'.

On 1 August 1841, George Robinson passed an outstation of Kirk's Burrumbeep station. When near this shepherd's hut, Robinson's Aboriginal guide said that the shepherd was 'no good'. Robinson believed that this was the place where Bood bood yarramin and a woman were shot. Bood bood yarramin belonged to the Parn balug (Djab wurrung) clan, of the country near present-day Great Western.

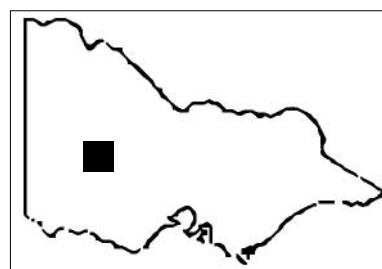
**Sources:** Lang 1847, 133; Britain 1844, 318; Clark 1990a; Presland 1980



Good Morning Bill Creek, south of Ararat, which is named after Bood Bood Yarramin or Good Morning Bill, who was shot near there in 1841

On 15 July 1841, Chief Protector George Robinson was told that Horatio Spencer Wills (Lexington, La Rose, and Mokepilly stations), along with Alfred Taddy Thompson (who squatted for a time near Mount William), Captain Richard Hanmer Bunbury (Barton station) and Captain Robert Briggs (Ledcourt station) 'shot natives, plenty natives all gone too much boo white man'. On 18 July 1841, Robinson was informed that HS Hills had killed a woman, Coombernin, and a man, Mittecum. On 23 July, Robinson learned that another three Aborigines had been shot by Wills: Wobburrermin and Wottecoerrermin (men) and Inboter, a woman.

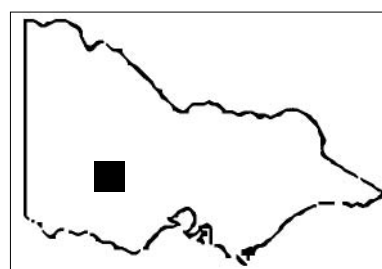
**Source:** Presland 1980



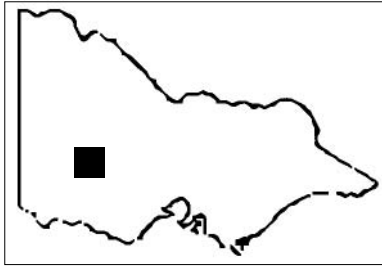
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: presumably Lexington  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Djab wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: HS Wills  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: at  
 least five people (Coombernin,  
 Mittecum, Wobburrermin,  
 Wottecoerrermin and Inboter)

On 12 March 1842, Assistant Protector ES Parker called at Captain Robert Briggs's Ledcourt station (near Lake Lonsdale), where he communicated with local Aborigines. One of these people, Charley or 'Neptune', an employee of Briggs's, informed him that three Aboriginal men had been shot by three employees of William Kirk at Burrumbeep station.

**Source:** VPRS 4410



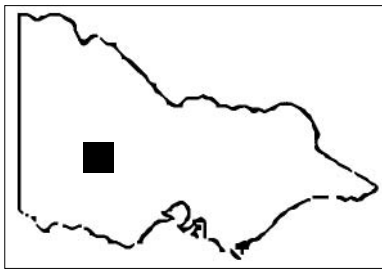
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Burrumbeep  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1841 or early  
 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Djab wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: three men in  
 William Kirk's employ  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 three people



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Barton  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1841 or early  
 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Djab wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Captain RH  
 Bunbury's stock keeper  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
 man, 'Cockatoo Jack'

On 12 March 1842, Assistant Protector ES Parker was informed by Charley, alias 'Neptune' an employee of Captain Robert Briggs's at Ledcourt station, that one of Captain Richard Bunbury's stock keepers had killed an Aborigine named 'Cockatoo Jack'. Bunbury was at Barton station on the head of Mount William Creek.

Source: VPRS 4410



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Lexington, La Rose and  
 Mokepilly stations  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1841 or early  
 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Djab wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John  
 Williams, an American in  
 CB Hall's employ  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: at  
 least two people

On 11 March 1842, Assistant Protector ES Parker called at Charles Browning Hall's station. In his diary he noted the following:

This was one of the stations indicated to me as the supposed site of the slaughter of some natives. The boy met with at Allans informed me that two natives had been shot by a man named John Williams, an American creole in Hall's service 'because they would not give him their women'. He states that the murder was committed at some distance from the stations and he said he could not tell what had become of the bodies, as the women ran away and saw no more of them. I found Mr Hall absent from the station. From the stock keeper I learnt that the cattle (to the number of 1200) are widely scattered, having, as he supposes, been attacked by blacks. Two he has found slaughtered in a pass in the mountains, and several have come home with spears sticking in them. About 20 are missing. He states he was not in Hall's employ at the time the blacks were killed — he 'had heard something about it, and believed John Williams was to blame for much of the mischief that was now doing'.

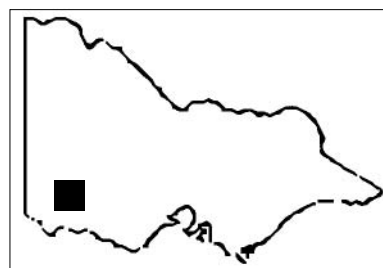
I remained at Briggs on the 12th in communication with the natives. The man Charley or 'Neptune' in Captain Briggs' employ confirmed the account I had previously obtained on the slaughter of natives by John Williams.

The following day, Parker called at Horatio Wills's station, where the local Aboriginal people there confirmed the details of the death of their friends.

**Source:** VPRS 4410

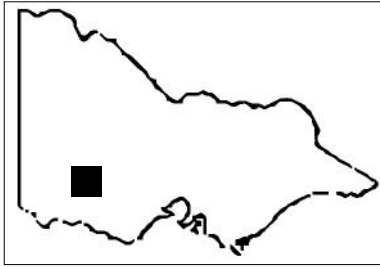
Captain James Webster (Mount Shadwell station, adjoining Mortlake) and Claud Farie (Konawarren and Merrang stations near Hexham) were involved in a killing at Mount Rouse. As Aborigines had been plundering sheepfolds regularly by night and as Webster and Farie had lost 100 sheep from two stations in three weeks, they were induced to drive the Aborigines off their runs. Acheson French, the police magistrate at 'the Grange', heard reports of an Aborigine having died from wounds inflicted during the conflict. In a statement, Webster and Farie denied having shot anybody.

**Sources:** French 1841–62; Clark 1982



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mount Rouse  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: September 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, presumably Djab  
 wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Captain  
 James Webster and Claud Farie  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
 person

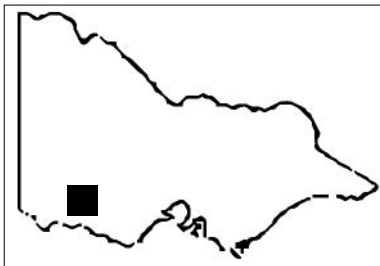




PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: either Weerangourt or  
 Mount Rouse station  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Tappoc  
 gundidj clan, Djab wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: James Brock  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 Bugergeerrer and his  
 wife (name unknown)

On 26 August 1842, Chief Protector George Robinson was informed by Alkaperete, alias Roger, a Kolorer gundidj belonging to Mount Rouse country, that James Brock, John Cox's overseer at Mount Rouse until April 1842 and at Weerangourt station from April 1842, had shot Bugergeerrer and his wife.

**Source:** Robinson journals 1839–49, 26 August 1842



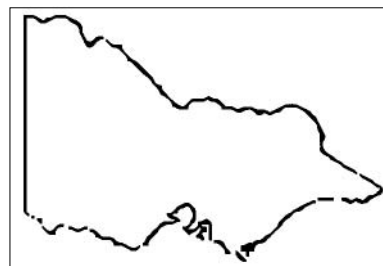
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Spring Creek station, 16  
 kilometres southwest of Caramut  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1842 or 1843  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, either Djab wurrung  
 or Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Robert  
 Whitehead's shepherd  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 Baljaring

On 18 April 1843, Lieutenant Robert D Chamberlain at Tarrone station, on the Moyne River north of Port Fairy, informed Chief Protector George Robinson that he had seen the body of Baljaring, who had been shot by Robert Whitehead's shepherd for stealing sheep. When Robinson met Whitehead in May 1841, he noted in his journal that 'this young man could not conceal his bad feeling towards the native and said the squatters must protect their property of all hazards'.

**Sources:** Clark 1988, 1990b; Presland 1977b

'The shepherd [William Ryan] states that the sheep were attacked, some speared and that he was compelled to fire in defence of his life and his master's property and no evidence exists to disprove his statement' (Parker, 1 January 1845, Archives Authority of New South Wales 1846). This killing occurred at Ledcourt, Benjamin Boyd's station to the west of Lake Lonsdale.

**Sources:** Archives Authority of New South Wales 1846; Reece 1974



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Grampian Range  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 15 April 1844  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, either Djab wurrung  
 or Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: William  
 Ryan, a shepherd in Benjamin  
 Boyd's employment  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
 person

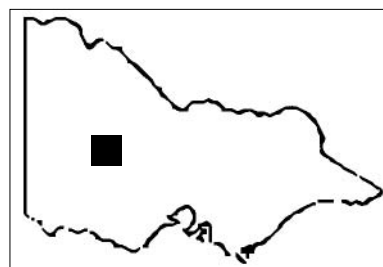
No additional information is available.

**Source:** New South Wales 1845

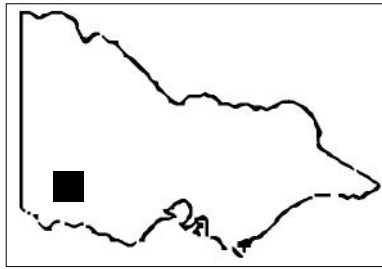
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Grampian Range  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: May 1844  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, either Djab wurrung  
 or Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unidentified  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two  
 people

On 10 April 1846, Allan (possibly George Allan from near Mount Cole), called at the Loddon protectorate station and reported that an Aborigine had been found dead at the Pyrenees; 'he had been shot in the back'.

**Source:** Robinson journals 1839–49, 10 April 1846



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Pyrenees Range  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 10 April 1846  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, either Djab wurrung  
 or Djadja wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
 person



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: near Mount Napier  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: July 1847  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
     unknown, Djab wurrung or  
     Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: identities  
     unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two  
     people

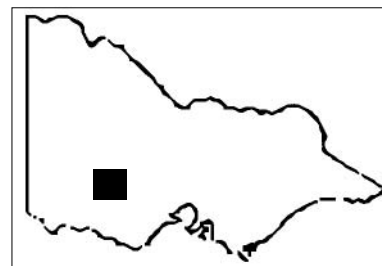
On 2 September 1847, Chief Protector George Robinson visited James Croke, the Crown Prosecutor, and discussed the case of the killing of a shepherd named Edwards in July, on Ellen's (or Allan's) station near Mount Napier. Apparently two Aborigines had been shot by an armed party, who went out in search of Aborigines some time after Edwards had been killed. At Coles's station, or outstation, the armed party came upon a camp of Aborigines, called upon them to surrender and then fired, purportedly in self-defence. As a consequence, at least two Aborigines were shot. Some Aborigines at this camp were wearing clothing that belonged to Edwards; however, as Robinson pointed out in his journal, this in itself could not be conclusive evidence, as the Aborigines customarily exchanged articles with each other and with neighbouring clans.

Robinson, in his annual report for 1847, noted information he had received from Dr John Watton, the medical officer in charge of the Mount Rouse reserve, regarding a conflict caused by the murder of a shepherd near Mount Napier. A party of Europeans went in search of the offenders and, 'having fallen in with a "tribe" fired and killed two of the party, and others were wounded. The Europeans acted under a magistrates warrant and they say they fired in self defence.'

**Sources:** Robinson papers, vol 61 and journals 1839–49, 2 September 1847

According to Green (1966), the last 'clash' between the Bolac 'tribe' and Europeans took place in 1859 at the Lake Bolac station, west of Lake Bolac. In 1859 this station was licensed to Duncan Macpherson Macnab. The Europeans took refuge in a hut, which had loop holes through which they fired their guns. Eleven Aborigines, including the 'chief', were reported to have been shot. Green's source for this event was her late uncle, Harry Beardsley, whose parents worked on the station in 1859.

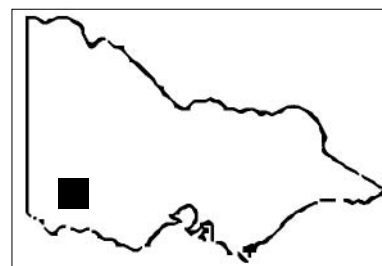
**Sources:** Green 1966; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Lake Bolac station  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1859  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Bulukbara  
 clan, Djab wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: presumably  
 Europeans at Lake Bolac station  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 11 people

The popular writer, Rolf Boldrewood, reported a story about a squatter named John Cox who ran Mount Napier station. Cox, finding that some of his sheep had been killed by Aborigines, gave chase and although he had never before killed anyone, he said that he did so without hesitation and that in a matter of minutes he had killed three Aborigines — 'two men and a boy, with one discharge of my double barrel' (Boldrewood 1885). Cox was at Mount Rouse station from 1839 until 1842, when he relocated to near Mount Napier and took up Weerangourt in April 1842.

**Sources:** Boldrewood 1885; Elder 1988



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mount Napier  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: unknown  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, presumably Djab  
 wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John Cox  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 three people



## DJADJA WURRUNG

The Djadja wurrung (djadja being the word for yes and wurrung meaning language) people traditionally occupied watersheds of the Loddon and Avoca Rivers. An alternative language name, Le wurrung, was derived from their word for 'no'. Within the Djadja wurrung territory, cultural sites include rock wells, rock shelters, scarred trees at Mount Kooyoora and stone arrangements at Mount Kooyoora and Carisbrook.

The 16 Djadja wurrung clans adhered to a two-class patrilineal moiety system: *bunjil* (eaglehawk or wedge-tailed eagle) and *waa* (crow). Clans intermarried with the nearby Watha wurrung, Djab wurrung, Wergaia, and Woi wurrung. In the early 1840s, the most eminent clan head was Munangabum, the head of the Liarga balug (stringy-bark tree people) clan at Maldon and Mount Tarrengower. Munangabum was jailed in Melbourne in January 1840 on a charge of sheep stealing. While he was there, the Djadja wurrung and Woi wurrung feared that, unless he was freed, he would move Bunjil, the creator spirit, eaglehawk father, to release Mindi, a great snake who hissed poison, and who would bring a plague to kill all white and black people. Mindi lived in Djadja wurrung country near Mount Buckrabanyule. The plague was a reference to smallpox, known locally as *monola-mindi* (dust of Mindi). From the time Munangabum was jailed until his release in August 1840, Aboriginal people did not enter Melbourne.

The Djadja wurrung were dispossessed in two waves: in the south from late 1839, and in the north from 1845. During the years of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate (1838–49), the Djadja wurrung came under the jurisdiction of Assistant Protector Edward Stone Parker. In 1841 Parker chose Lalgambook, near Mount Franklin, as the site for his protectorate station. That year local clans told Parker that they were irritated with the treatment they received from many of the settlers, and threatened to take to the mountains and try to drive the whites from their country. In 1847, considerable illness and several

DJADJA WURRUNG

deaths among the Europeans who lived at the station convinced the Djadja wurrung that the ground at Mount Franklin was the 'channel of malignment', and they temporarily abandoned the station until the ground had 'become better'.

The discovery of gold in Djadja wurrung country at Clunes was a determinate factor in the relationship between the



Figure 9 Djadja wurrung language area and clans

Djadja wurrung and Europeans in the 1850s. Because many station hands left to join the gold rushes, many Aborigines gained station employment and pastoral wages. Jobs given to Aborigines included overseeing lambing, sheep washing, shepherding, sheep dipping, and stripping bark.

Possibly Victoria's first inquest into an Aboriginal death in custody was held in Djadja wurrung country, at Lexton, in February 1855. Tommy, a Djadja wurrung stockrider, had died in the Lexton lockup from suffocation caused by excessive drinking. The jury was of the opinion that the drunken man should have been visited more frequently during the night and that some blame was attached to the officer in charge. They also felt that the government was negligent in not providing medical attendance for the lockup.

In the 1850s and early 1860s, four Djadja wurrung families held land under the authority of the government, and had been farming on their own account. According to Parker, these families were in no respect different to 'ordinary European peasants' in their lifestyles. In 1863, Coranderrk reserve was established at present day Healesville, as a central asylum for children

**Table 3** Djadja wurrung clans (on Figure 9)

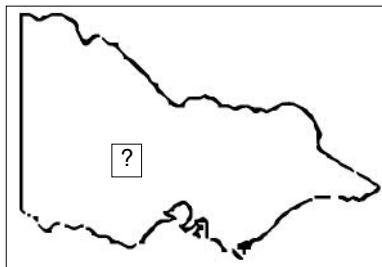
NO	CLAN NAME	APPROXIMATE LOCATION
1.	Bial balug	Bealiba
2.	Burung balug	Natte Yallock
3.	Bulangurd gundidj	Mount Bolangum
4.	Cattos run clan	Bridgewater
5.	Galgai balug	Burnbank and Mount Mitchell
6.	Djadja wurrung balug	unknown
7.	Galgai gundidj	northwest of Kyneton
8.	Gunangara gundidj	Larnebarramul, near Mount Franklin
9.	Larningundidj	Richardson River
10.	Liarga balug	Mount Tarrengower and Maldon
11.	Munal gundidj	Daylesford
12.	Dirag balug	Avoca
13.	Durid balug	Mount Moorokyle and Smeaton
14.	Wurn balug	between Carisbrook and Daisy Hill
15.	Wungaragira gundidj	upper Avoca River and its watershed, and near St Arnaud
16.	Yung balug	Mount Buckrabanyule



and young people from the Goulburn, Loddon and Murray River districts. The school at Franklinford was closed down and its Djadja wurrung students were moved to the new reserve. In 1863, the Djadja wurrung population was 31 adults and seven children.

Thirteen killings and massacres in Djadja wurrung country are profiled in this register. Of these, three are particularly significant: the massacre at Waterloo Plains (June 1838); the Campaspe Plains massacre (June 1839); and the Blood-hole massacre (late 1839 or early 1840).

### ***MASSACRE SITES IN DJADJA WURRUNG COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)***



In March or April 1838, Konikoondeet and an unnamed man, were reported by Aboriginal people to have been shot by two white men who were exploring the country.

**Source:** Lang 1847, 132

PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: unknown

DATE OF INCIDENT: March–April  
1838

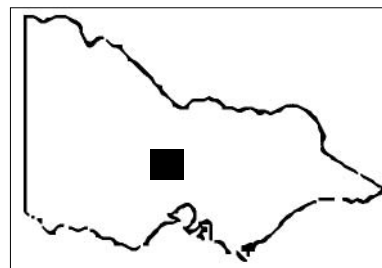
ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Djadja wurrung  
language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: two  
Europeans

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
Konikoondeet and another man

In conversation with Thomas B Alexander, agent for Captain Sylvester Brown at Darlington station, 16 kilometres northwest of Lancefield, James Dredge, the Assistant Protector responsible for the Goulburn district of the protectorate, was informed that the Aborigines had been troublesome in the winter of 1838. He was told that the Aborigines took away a flock of between 800 and 900 sheep, and when Alexander's men located them, 13 Aborigines were shot before the sheep were recovered.

**Source:** J Dredge, 23 July 1839, VPRS 11

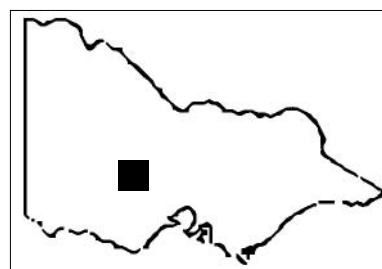


PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Darlington station, 16 kilometres northwest of Lancefield  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: winter 1838  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Djadja wurrung or Daung wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Captain Sylvester Brown's employees  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 13 people

In July 1838, Henry Boucher Bowerman, at Mount Mitchell or Burnbank station on McCallums and Doctors Creeks, adjoining Lexton (1838–39), had a flock of sheep driven from his run by some Aborigines. While the sheep were being recovered, between ten and 14 Aborigines were shot.

Assistant Protector CW Sievwright investigated this massacre and Reverend Joseph Orton has presented the following summary of Sievwright's report, dated 17 April 1839.

Allen, the overseer to Bowerman, had instructed the shepherds at the outstations to inform him immediately any natives made their appearance that he might be prepared for them. On one occasion the natives did come and were quiet and friendly, but the servants having received peremptory orders from Mr Allen to inform him when the natives came they accordingly did so. Allen immediately ordered his horse to be saddled and rode in search of them and found the natives a few miles from the shepherds' station and warned them not to come near the station. Allen left orders again with the shepherds not to allow the natives near.



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: near the Pyrenees Range, above Trawalla  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: July 1838  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, presumably Djadja wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: a party of men from Bowermans, Ebdens, and Yaldwyns stations  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: ten to 14 people

The men, however, said they were peaceable and they were desirous to keep on good terms with them. A short time after this the blacks came to the shepherds hut and under suspicion that they came to rob the hut an affray commenced and from six to eight Aborigines were shot by the white men. The bodies were burned the next day. It appears in the deposition that a native woman was in the hut with the white men. In answer to a question Allen acknowledged that he had ordered the men to protect themselves. Davies, a prisoner, shot most or all.

The above is the substance of the depositions and admissions of the implicated parties which is of course the ex parte statement. Allen was bound to appear when called for in recognisance of £100. In this case nothing more has been done than taking the depositions of the aggressors and murderers. There being no evidence but their own and that of the Aborigines — in the former case the accused cannot incriminate himself in a court of justice and in the latter Aboriginal evidence is inadmissible. Thus these miscreants elude justice and boast in their foul deeds — which accounts for the apparent frankness of their depositions. (Orton, 12 January 1841)

Bowerman was stationed near Mount Mitchell from 1838 to 1839. Chief Protector George Robinson noted in his journal of 27 February 1840 that Bowerman had sold his station to John and Somerville Learmonth, and had subsequently died, lost in the brigantine *Brittania*.

**Sources:** Orton 1840–42; Lang 1847, 132

### *Waterloo Plains*

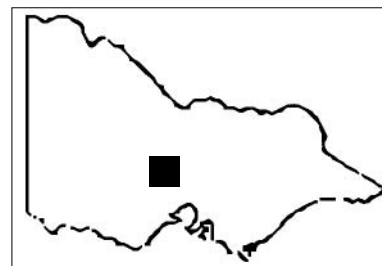
On 17 January 1840, Chief Protector George Robinson referred to a report he had received that Aborigines had been killed by Yaldwyn, Ebden and Bowman's people (Charles Hotson Ebden was at Carlsruhe station 1837–40; WH Yaldwyn was at Barfold station — also known as Lower Coliban — between the Coliban and Campaspe Rivers, northeast of Malmsbury; Dr William Bowman's station adjoined Barfold). Thereafter the plains where this occurred were known as Waterloo Plains or Waterloo Flat.

Official accounts (see Cannon 1982) suggest the men involved belonged to the stations of Yaldwyn and Bowman; Robinson's information adds men from the stations of Ebden and Munro. On 18 January, Robinson crossed the Coliban River near Munro's station and came to an old deserted hut. At the back of this hut, on a small hill, was the site where Bowman, Yaldwyn and Ebden's men had shot the Aborigines.

It is said that when the men came up with the blacks, the blacks called to them to come, they would fight them. There were, I believe, 16 white men all armed and for the most part mounted. They fired from their horses; the blacks were down in the hole. They were out of distance of spears. One old man kept supplying them with spears and was soon shot. Great many were shot. Some other blacks held up pieces of bark to keep off the balls but it was no use. Some were shot dead with their bark in their hands. (Robinson papers, 18 January 1840)

Some of the Europeans involved in this massacre included John Coppock, Yaldwyn's superintendent, and Samuel Fuller, Yaldwyn's shepherd.

Assistant Protector ES Parker's report to Robinson, dated 20 June 1839, claimed that Bowman was in the habit of shooting every black man, woman or child whom he met on his run (Robinson papers). On 25 January 1840, Robinson was at Munros



PLACE NAME: Waterloo Plains

LOCATION: unknown

DATE OF INCIDENT: June 1838

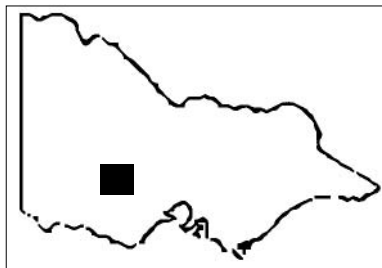
ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Djadja wurrung  
language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: employees  
of WH Yaldwyn, CH Ebden,  
H Munro, and Dr W Bowman

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
seven or eight people

station and asked one of Munro's employees if he was present at the Waterloo Plains massacre. The man replied 'What if I was, do you think I should be such a fool to tell you, to be hung?'.

**Sources:** Robinson papers, vol 54; Presland 1977a; Cannon 1982; Barwick 1984



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: Maiden Hills

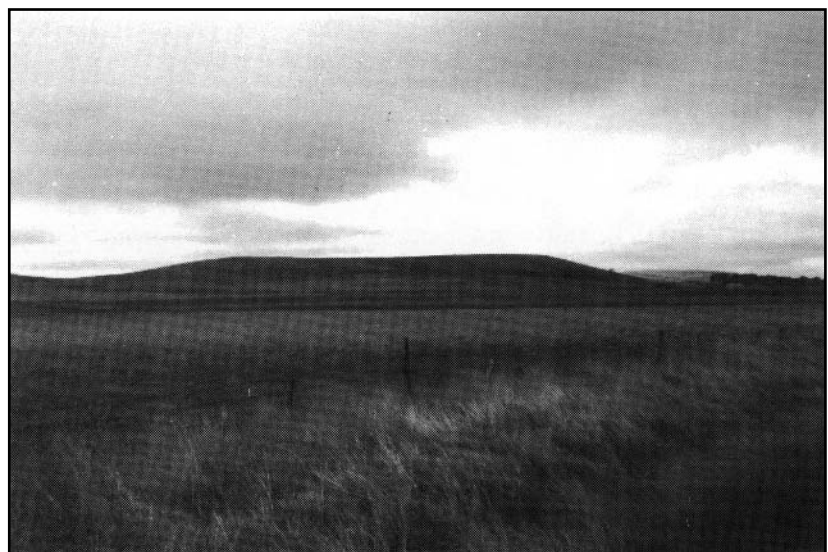
DATE OF INCIDENT: February 1839

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Djadja wurrung  
language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John Davis  
and Abraham Braybrook, convict  
shepherds, and William Allan

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
Noorowurnin and another  
person

On 26 March 1839, Chief Protector George Robinson first heard of these killings, and was told they occurred on the Geelong road. On 2 April, Assistant Protector CW Sievwright told Robinson that the scene of the crime was not the Geelong road but about 220 kilometres beyond the Julian Range to the northwest. Robinson ordered Sievwright to investigate the killings. The evidence indicates that the Aborigines had been 'fully dealt with' and that several had been burnt and 'every pain' taken to obliterate all traces of the bodies. After much searching, Sievwright found a small piece of cranium under a piece of log. Sievwright brought with him to Melbourne three of the men implicated in the murders, including William Allan, HB Bowerman's overseer at Mount Mitchell. Sievwright reported that 15 convicts were employed at Bowermans station and they



Maiden Hills

spoke of the Aborigines in an appalling manner. Several huts in the district, some of them occupied by 'respectable' settlers, had Aboriginal skulls placed over their doors: one hut belonged to Allan, another to one of the Learmonth brothers (Robinson papers, 15 April 1839).

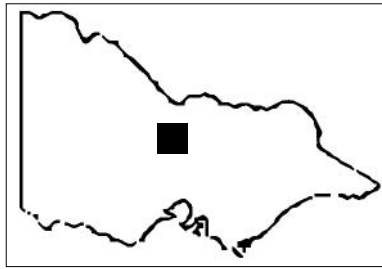
On 27 February 1840, Robinson called at an outstation of the Learmonth brothers' Borrumbeet station, adjoining Lake Burrumbeet and the Mount Mitchell station. This outstation was in the charge of Abraham Braybrook, one of the men who was tried for shooting Aborigines. On 2 March, Robinson called at GW Elm's and Dr JS Griffin's Mount Mitchell station, formerly HB Bowerman's. In his journal he noted:

I rode down the creek seven miles to Bowerman's outer station, to the northward where blacks were shot, where Sievwright went to this hut. Is on the junction of the creek. Bowerman was stationed near Mt Mitchell from 1838 until 1839, and died at sea in the brig 'Brittania'.

Also on 2 March, Robinson called at the Learmonth brothers' lower station and asked JD Lang, the superintendent, if the Aborigines had been troublesome. Lang replied that, 'thanks to Mr Allan [Bowerman's overseer] they had not troubled them since he gave them a lesson'. Robinson was alarmed by the many loaded firearms he saw at these stations.

John Davis and Abraham Braybrook were committed for trial for the killings, however, in the absence of corroborating evidence from white men, the attorney-general refused to prosecute the two men for anything other than the misdemeanour of burning the bodies. The two men were subsequently acquitted of even that misdemeanour (Robinson papers, September 1845).

**Sources:** Robinson papers, vol 57; Lang 1847; Reece 1974; Presland 1977a; Cannon 1983; Oulton 1986



PLACE NAME: the Campaspe Plains massacre

LOCATION: Campaspe Plains

DATE OF INCIDENT: June 1839

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Djadja wurrung or Daung wurrung language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: a party of Mounted Police

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: at least six people

### *Campaspe Plains*

In May 1839, it became known to protectorate officials that two employees had been killed and a number of sheep had been stolen on Captain Charles Hutton's station on the Campaspe Plains. A neighbouring squatter, WH Yaldwyn called on soldiers and mounted police to search for the offenders. According to the official version of events, a party of mounted police led by Sergeant Dennis Leary, under orders from Captain GB Smyth, encountered a group of Aborigines about 112 kilometres from the place where Hutton's servants had been killed. A pitched battle ensued and at least six Aborigines were killed. Captain Hutton is recorded as having privately informed ES Parker, the Assistant Protector, that nearly 40 Aborigines were shot — the entire group except one woman and a child (Parker, 5 October 1840 in Robinson papers; Cannon 1983, 668).

On 6 August 1839, William Thomas (Thomas papers, vol 9) noted in his journal that on a visit to the Campaspe region he asked Hutton where the local Aboriginal people were camped. Hutton replied unequivocally.

[A]s it respects the blacks, he would venture to say that to go in search of them to pacify them as I wished, I should not be able to get a single man to accompany me, but if I would go in search of them with the intent to exterminate them that he would undertake to say that he could get 30 at least of men in the surrounding district who would willingly volunteer in the service.

Cusack (1973, 10–11) has discussed this massacre in the following terms.

Hutton did not remain there long. Only because of the extent of land at his disposal could he keep his stock alive. To add to his worries, the Aborigines became more troublesome. They speared two of his shepherds to death and drove off their sheep. The flock was eventually recovered at Restdown Plains [now Rochester]. Many of the sheep had

been killed, still more had their legs broken to prevent their straying and had to be destroyed. Hutton called in the troopers from Soldiers' Flat and in June 1839 a bloody reprisal followed.

No attempt was made to discover the culprits. Under Captain Smyth, the troopers rode down to Campaspe Plains, opening fire on the first Aboriginals to cross their path. The chase and gunfire went on for half an hour. Six Aboriginals were shot dead and many more wounded. Justice was summarily dispensed on the Campaspe in 1839. The troopers rode back to Soldiers' Flat and an uneasy peace settled over the run.

The law jogged slowly in the wake of events on that remote frontier. Some six months later Parker, having taken up his appointment as Protector, set off to investigate the shooting. He was furious. The troopers' role in securing peace on the frontier was to disperse the Aboriginals, not to capture them. He accused those implicated of a carefully-conceived, cold-blooded massacre; a further example of the sheepmen's attitude that 'when an offence is committed by unknown individuals, the tribe to which they belong should be made to suffer for it'.

Morrison's (1965, 21) discussion is as follows.

For years gossip associated Hutton's name, often unfairly perhaps, with what came to be known as 'The Campaspe Plains Massacre'. Years later, writing to La Trobe, he was at pains to exonerate himself. At most he believed the Campaspe Aboriginals numbered no more than forty able-bodied males — 'rather fine men, but very mischievous'. As for the trouble they caused, he felt there was blame on both sides and that 'had not the whites been over-familiar with them for the sole purpose of getting their women, many of the outrages then perpetrated might have been avoided'. (Morrison 1965, 21)



Though he had been accused of their slaughter, he gave La Trobe 'a solemn assurance' he had 'never shot or otherwise destroyed one of them . . . never fired at one, and only once, when some troopers came up to apprehend them for killing two of his shepherds [was] aware of any being killed by the whites'. Hutton's plea may not have wholly exonerated him but it is likely his role in the incident had become magnified over the years. In 1840, tired of struggling against the drought and the Aboriginals, the first overlander to settle in what later became the Bendigo district, sold out to Daniel Jennings and George Playne and left the area.

Randell (1976, 16) discusses the massacre in the following terms.

In late May or early June 1839, two of Hutton's men were camped in a small grove of redgum trees on the west bank of the Campaspe River on what is now a reserve near Doak's house, about half way between Eppalock Weir and Axedale. They were speared to death by the Campaspe blacks there and are buried a short distance further round the hillside in Burke's paddock but the graves cannot be found. Hutton sent word to Captain Smyth, who was encamped with a small detachment of troopers of the 28th Regiment, at Soldiers' Flat on the Campaspe near Barfold during 1838–9. These troopers had been stationed there to protect settlers. Smyth and his troopers rode over to Campaspe Plains and fired indiscriminately at any and all Aborigines they saw. After a brief but bloody encounter six natives had been shot dead and many others were wounded. As a result of this massacre Charles Hutton gained a very bad reputation for his treatment of the natives but in his letter to Mr La Trobe, he denies that he or his men ever fired on the natives.

**Sources:** Thomas papers, vol 9; Morrison 1965; Cusack 1973; Randell 1976; Robinson papers, VPRS 4410; Cannon 1983, 668

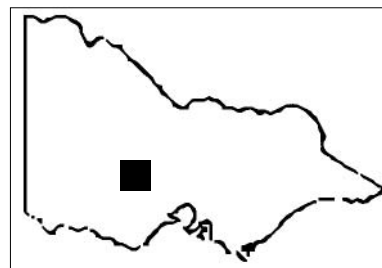
### *The Blood-hole*

Massola (1969, 88) refers to this massacre as follows.

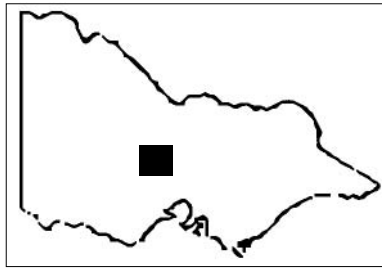
At the end of 1839 Captain Dugald McLachlan settled at Glengower Station, on Glengower Creek, near Campbelltown, and after the usual 'introductory period' during which they were employed at the station and given flour and sugar rations, the Aborigines were gradually discouraged from frequenting the run. The culminating point of this policy was when the cook, who was in charge of the rations, either under instructions from his employer or otherwise, distributed to the Aborigines a mixture of flour and plaster of Paris. Though this was a better mixture than the arsenic given them elsewhere in Victoria, we can imagine the 'damper' which resulted. The Aborigines, to whom this act was probably the last of a great many indignities, speared the cook and helped themselves to the quarters of mutton hanging from the rafters. In retribution, McLachlan and his men caught up with the Aborigines at a waterhole on Middle Creek where they were about to feast on the mutton. The Aborigines sought safety by diving into the waterhole and there they were shot, one at a time, as they came up for air. The place is still known as 'The Blood-Hole'.

Bradfield (1972, 5) referred to the place as 'Bloody Hole'.

**Sources:** Morrison 1965; Massola 1969; Bradfield 1972; Elder 1988



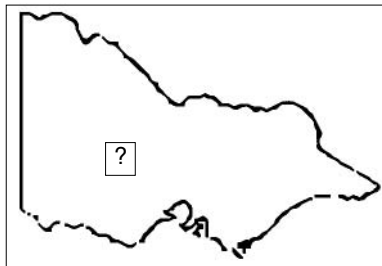
PLACE NAME: the Blood-hole  
 LOCATION: Middle Creek, exact location unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: late 1839 or early 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Djadja wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Captain Dugald McLachlan and his employees  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: unknown



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 9 June 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Djadja wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: eight  
 employees from Dr W Bowman  
 and WH Yaldwyn's stations  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 seven or eight people

WH Yaldwyn's superintendent, John Coppock, said in a sworn statement that, on 9 June 1840, about 50 Aborigines who had stolen sheep from Bowman and Yaldwyn's runs had been tracked down by a party of eight white men. A 'pitched battle' took place for three-quarters of an hour, in which seven or eight Aborigines were shot dead, after which the sheep were recovered.

**Source:** Cannon 1982



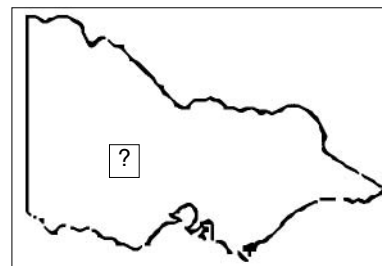
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: August 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Djadja wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: one of  
 Henry Dutton's assigned  
 servants  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 Pandarragoondeet

'In August 1840, Pandarragoondeet, a Jajowrong [Djadja wurrung] native, was shot by one of Dutton's assigned servants, who afterwards absconded'. Assigned servants were convicts who had been assigned to particular squatters; many came from New South Wales and Van Diemens Land. When they had served their sentences assigned servants joined the mobile labour force and could be engaged by other employers.

**Source:** Parker, 5 January 1843, in Lang 1847, 132

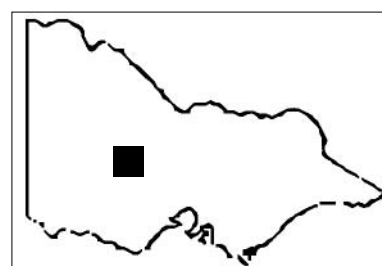
On Christmas Day, 1840, Edward Parker, the Assistant Protector for the Loddon District, informed George Robinson, his superior, that an Aborigine named Pandeloondic had been killed by Henry Dutton's men. Apparently the victim had been encouraged to approach the Europeans, and when he was within range he was shot. Pandeloondic may be the same as Pandarragoondeet (see above).

**Source:** Robinson journals 1839–49, 25 December 1840



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: December 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Djadja wurrung  
 language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: some of  
 Dutton's assigned servants  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 Pandeloondic

On 7 February 1841, a Galgal gundidj named Gondieurmin was shot by some of Dutton, Simpson and Darlot's assigned men at Far Creek station. Far Creek, also known as 14 Mile Creek, and later Glenmona, was situated on Bet Bet Creek, west of Maryborough. Gondieurmin is also recorded as Gondurmin, Tommy, and Tommy Tommy. At one of the outstations, an armed party comprising William Jenkins (labourer), William Martin, John Remington, Edward Collin (labourer and hut keeper/watchman) and Robert Morrison (shepherd) had arrived that day and asked Gondieurmin and Munangabum, the clan head of the Liarga balug clan at Mount Tarrengower and the most eminent Djadja wurrung leader, if they knew where the Goulburn Aborigines (Daung wurrung) were. Munangabum was accused of having sent them away, and was told by the party that he was going to be shot. At this Munangabum clasped one of the shepherds around the body, and cried out to the foremost of the party, 'Borack choot, Nemme Nemme' (that is 'Don't shoot, Neddy Neddy') [obviously a reference to Edward Collin]. The party then fired at him and Gondieurmin. Munangabum was wounded, Gondieurmin subsequently died. Jenkins, Martin, Remington, Collin and Morrison were subsequently apprehended, tried on 18 May 1841, and acquitted for want of evidence.



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: 14 Mile Creek (or Far  
 Creek later Glenmona station on  
 Bet Bet Creek, west of  
 Maryborough)  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 7 February 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED:  
 Galgal gundidj clan, Djadja  
 wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: William  
 Jenkins, William Martin, John  
 Remington, Edward Collin and  
 Robert Morrison  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 Gondieurmin

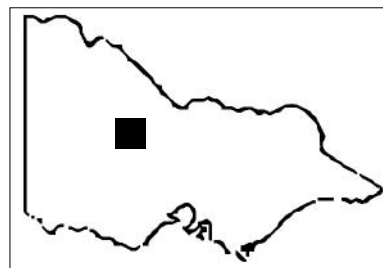
Gondurmin's brothers avenged his death by murdering the hut keeper of Ebenezer Oliphant, the holder of Mount Greenock on the Loddon River. Assistant Protector ES Parker recorded the response of the Galgal gundidj to Gondurmin's death:

After the slaughter of Gondi-urmin by Darlot's people, his immediate relatives — Galgalgoondeet roved about the country in a state of great irritation. Coming unexpectedly upon Mr Oliphant's station, which had been recently formed, and finding the hut open, and the hut keeper at a little distance shifting the hurdles, they determined on revenging the death of their companion, and attacked the poor man as he was coming up to the hut; after killing him, they took all the provisions, clothing and guns. The murder was committed by Howingyuap and Bereitgoondeet, brothers of the deceased, and Mitegurra, a Tanne bullur [the Barababaraba clan belonging to Duck Swamp, adjoining Durham Ox]. (Parker, 30 May 1841)

**Sources:** VPRS 21; VPRS 30; Parker, 30 May 1841, in VPRS 11; Parker, September–November 1841, in VPRS 4410; Lang 1847; Clark 1990a

Leelgoner was shot by some police after he had speared a shepherd at William Henry Pettett's (or Pettitt's) station and stolen numerous sheep. Pettett was superintendent for WJT Clarke at Dowling Forest station at Lake Learmonth.

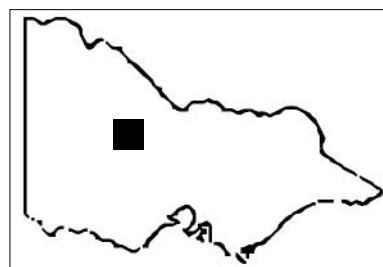
**Sources:** Parker, 1 January 1845, in Archives Authority of New South Wales 1846, 4/7153; Reece 1974



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: country 100 kilometres north of the Pyrenees Range  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 15 May 1844  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, presumably Djadjja wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: police in the charge of Crown Commissioner FA Powlett and Captain HEP Dana  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Leelgoner

Information on this killing is found in the diary of Henry Wedge. On 28 June 1846, Wedge noted that John Fox, a shepherd in his employ, had shot an Aborigine on the Avoca River. Wedge was told about the killing on 6 July by some Aborigines at the Donald brothers' station (either Banyenong or Corack). In July 1846, Wedge held Banyenong West station, on the left bank of the Avoca River near the town of Donald, and Laen, 6.5 kilometres west of Donald. After the killing, Fox fled to South Australia.

**Sources:** Wedge 1846; La Trobe to Robinson, 23 March 1847, in VPRS 16



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Avoca River near Charlton  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 28 June 1846  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Djadjja wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John Fox  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one person



## DJARGURD WURRUNG

The Djargurd wurrung people traditionally occupied the country between Mount Emu Creek and Lake Corangamite. Neighbouring clans derisively called them *Warn tallin* (rough speakers). Tindale (1974) failed to acknowledge the existence of this language group. Djargurd wurrung clans intermarried with Gulidjan, Girai wurrung, Djab wurrung and Watha wurrung peoples. The 12 Djargurd clans probably adhered to a matrilineal moiety system similar to their eastern neighbours: *gabadj* (black cockatoo) and *grugidj* (white cockatoo).

In the late 1830s and early 1840s, Djargurd wurrung clans suffered considerable population losses, principally from European massacres and attacks from Watha wurrung people. At the Wesleyan mission station at Buntingdale, Djargurd wurrung clans were in constant conflict with Watha wurrung clans, who seemed determined to drive them off the station. The Djargurd wurrung were starving as a direct result of their dispossession and this drove them to steal sheep and vegetables. Stealing led to both reprisals and expulsions from squatting runs. One clan, the Tarnbeere gundidj, was almost annihilated in a massacre in 1839. The site of this massacre, a gully on Mount Emu Creek, is still known as Murdering Gully.

In the late 1850s, a Djargurd wurrung clan head, 'King Alick', was given several acres of land near Camperdown. When he died in 1860, 'Prince Albert' his son, sought to have this land transferred to his possession. However, given the urban expansion of Camperdown, the grant was cancelled, and another reserve in the worst accessible locality near Camperdown was proposed. The Framlingham mission station was established near Warrnambool in 1865 and this station became the home of many of the surviving Djargurd wurrung. A number of old people, however, refused to abandon their traditional country. By 1877, there were only two aged Djargurd wurrung men living in the Camperdown district. They lived near a brewery and were well cared for by local town residents, but would not go to

DJARGURD WURRUNG



Framlingham. James Dawson, a local guardian, had built a hut for them near the outskirts of Camperdown, at his own expense, but they preferred to live in a traditional *wurn* (bark shelter).

When Wombeetch Puuyuun (meaning decayed kangaroo), alias Camperdown George, died in 1883, at the age of 43, he was buried in the Camperdown cemetery, and Dawson was instrumental in the erection of an 8-metre granite obelisk, memorialising the Aborigines of the district and Wombeetch Puuyuun's death.



**Figure 10** Djargurd wurrung language area and clans

**Table 4** Djargurd wurrung clans (on Figure 10)

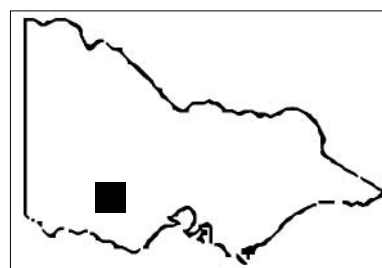
No	CLAN NAME	APPROXIMATE LOCATION
1.	Barumbidj gundidj	Lake Purrumbete
2.	Djargurd balug	unknown
3.	Koenghegulluc	Lake Colongulac and east to Mount Myrtoon
4.	Korrungow werroke gundidj	unknown
5.	Leehoorah gundidj	Mount Leura and Lakes Bullen-merri and Gnotuk
6.	Mullungkil gundidj	south of Lake Purrumbete, including Mount Porndon
7.	Netcunde	Cobrico Swamp
8.	Tarnbeere gundidj	eastern bank of Mount Emu Creek
9.	Teerinyillum gundidj	Mount Elephant
10.	Uropine gundidj	Darlington
11.	Wane gundidj colac	near Lake Elingamite
12.	Worong gundidj	east of Lake Elingamite

### ***MASSACRE SITES IN DJARGURD WURRUNG COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)***

#### ***Murdering Gully***

This massacre site is significant for the following reasons: the extent to which the local Aboriginal clan was decimated; the fact that oral histories of this event have survived, as has detail in local diaries; the perpetrators incurred considerable censure from Aboriginal protectorate officials, Wesleyan missionaries, and local people, who demonstrated their disapproval by changing the name of Taylors River to Mount Emu Creek; and finally, because of the notoriety of Frederick Taylor, one of the principal actors in the conflict.

A Djargurd wurrung clan that particularly suffered during the late 1830s was the Tarnbeere gundidj. This clan's name literally means belonging to Tarnbeere, or flowing water, a reference to nearby Mount Emu Creek. This clan was effectively exterminated in a massacre in early 1839 by a group of Europeans led by Frederick Taylor, the manager at George McKillop and James Smith's station at Glenormiston, adjoining



PLACE NAME: Murdering Gully  
 LOCATION: gully on Mount Emu Creek, where a small stream adjoins from Merida station (near Camperdown)  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: early 1839  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Tarnbeere gundidj clan, Djargurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Frederick Taylor, James Hamilton, Broomfield and others  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: between 35 and 40 men, women and children

Lake Terang. Glenormiston was also known as Weeraweeroit, after the Aboriginal name for the camping place and waterhole on the rivulet near the home station. Before his involvement in this massacre, Taylor had earned some notoriety through his involvement in the murder of a Watha wurrung Aborigine in October 1836. At that time, John Whitehead, a convict shepherd working for Taylor murdered Woolmudgin, the clan head of the Watha wurrung balug clan based in the Barrabool Hills near Geelong, apparently with Taylor's encouragement.

The Murdering Gully massacre took place in early 1839 and was investigated by Assistant Protector CW Sievwright, responsible for the Western District of the Port Phillip Protectorate. The massacre occurred at Puuroyuup, or Puuriyuup, a gully on the Mount Emu Creek (known to the Djargurd wurrung as Borang yalug), where the creek is joined by a small unnamed stream from Merida station. At this gully were camped between 45 and 52 men, women, and children. These people were predominantly Tarnbeere gundidj, along with members of other Djargurd wurrung clans and several Gulidjan people. Apparently the massacre was organised in retaliation for the killing of some of Taylor's sheep by two Aborigines.

Fortunately we can learn the details of the massacre from the five accounts that record the evidence of some of the survivors. From these accounts of this massacre it is possible to compile a list of Aboriginal informants and survivors.

#### Analysis of Murdering Gully evidence

SOURCE AND DATE	INFORMANTS/SURVIVORS
Siewwright 1 November 1839	Tainneague
Hurst 12 December 1839	Mammalt
Williamson 30 December 1839	Woreguimoni (Gulidjan), Karn, alias Mr Anderson
Siewwright 16 January 1840	Wangegamon (Djargurd wurrung) Benadug, Born (Djargurd wurrung)
Tuckfield 21 December 1844	Larkikok
Dawson 1881	Bareetch Chuurneen (alias Queen Fanny) and child

These accounts are first hand, and although they agree on the details of the massacre, some differ on what happened to the corpses. A combination of them can be summarised as follows.

Having heard of the encampment at Puuroyuup, Taylor and associates James Hamilton and Broomfield headed a party of shepherds with the intention of attacking them. Taylor no doubt agreed with the conventional view held by most settlers that bullets were the only antidote to Aboriginal sheep stealing, and that, when a few were shot, the rest kept clear. Furthermore, many settlers believed that it didn't matter if those attacked were not the actual perpetrators as vicarious punishment was thought to be just as effective.

As they approached the gully on horseback, the party formed an extended line with Taylor in the centre. They found the Aboriginal people asleep and advanced shouting and immediately fired upon them, killing the whole group except 12 people. They afterwards threw the bodies in a neighbouring waterhole. One of the survivors was Woreguimoni, a Gulidjan, who had hidden in the long grass. Karn, alias Mr Anderson, had also safely fled the gully when the Europeans approached. He returned after they had left the scene, and began to remove the bodies from the waterhole, placing them on the ground four deep, head by head. In the course of this, he was discovered by some of the Europeans, who took him and his wife and child, who had also escaped, to Taylor's homestation, where he and his family were given provisions so that they would stay nearby, and away from the waterhole. With Karn removed from the waterhole, a cart was taken to the scene of the massacre and the bodies brought up to the home station, where they were conveyed to some other waterholes and thrown in.

Larkikok had been spared when he stood up and begged Taylor to spare his life. After the massacre, he sought the refuge of the Buntingdale Wesleyan mission near present-day Birregurra. Two further survivors of the massacre, Bareetch Chuurneen — alias Queen Fanny, the 'chiefess' of the clan — and a child, were pursued to Wuurna Weewheetch (the home of the swallow), a point of land on the west side of Lake Bullen Merri.

With the child on her back, she swam across to a point called Karm karm, below present day Wuorong homestead, and escaped. Other survivors included Benadug, Born, Tainneague, and Mammalt.

The second account of the aftermath of the massacre comes from Wangegamon, a Djargurd wurrung man, who escaped by running to the other side of the river and hiding in the grass behind a tree. From this vantage point he saw his wife and child killed. After the bodies had been thrown into the creek, the water became stained with blood. Grieving, he remained near the gully for two days. According to Wangegamon, two days after the massacre two men named Anderson and Watson visited the site and, seeing the bodies, felt remorse and asked Taylor why he had killed so many women and children. Anderson, Charles Courtney, James Ramslie, and James Hamilton subsequently made some fires and burned the bodies. Two days after the cremation, Taylor, Watson, and Anderson returned with a sack and removed all the bones that had not been consumed by the fires.

It is possible that the differences between these two accounts may only be chronological; that is, that the cremation took place after the removal of the corpses from the Mount Emu Creek waterhole, thus the accounts are complementary. The destruction of corpses was a deliberate and commonly used attempt to destroy hard evidence.

Many of the survivors sought sanctuary at the Wesleyan mission, and it is largely through the efforts of missionaries the Reverend Benjamin Hurst and Francis Tuckfield, Assistant Protector Sievwright, and Chief Protector George Robinson, that we know so much about this massacre.

Some correspondence from George Robinson, the Chief Protector, to Sievwright has been found in Robinson's papers (vol 24) and is reproduced here.

Melbourne, Port Phillip  
11th July 1839

I beg to state with reference to Mr Taylor's letter that I have no opinion to offer; there being in the District in which he resides a Police Magistrate to whom he can renew his complaint if he thinks proper, which should he (after so great a lapse of time) persist in doing you of course will attend and watch the proceedings and afford to the accused every assistance that may be in your power.

I would avail myself of this opportunity to observe that in future you will in all like cases act on your own judgement, particularly as the cases in question are purely of a judicial character.

I am anxiously desirous however that the most friendly relations should be maintained between the white and aboriginal inhabitants; and it is my fixed determination not to protect the one party at the expense of the others but deal impartial justice to both.

Yet if one half of the accounts that have reached me be true it is quite apparent the aboriginal natives have been greatly abused and ill treated and at present are suffering oppression; and which it will be the duty of this Department under the auspices of the Government to emancipate them from.

It will perhaps be well to receive and to hear such statements as those of Mr Taylor and others, concerning aggressions by aboriginal natives it may be satisfactory to do so; but then these statements at the best are but ex parte evidence; nor indeed can any other be obtained until such time, as the assistant Protector shall be able to hold communication with the aboriginal natives in their own language until this object be attained strict and impartial justice cannot possibly be administered . . .

GA Robinson  
Chief Protector

PS Since writing on the subject of Mr Taylor's letter the following considerations have suggested themselves.

1. What proof is there of the Blacks having killed the sheep? The shepherd said so.
2. Might not the shepherd have done it himself and after keeping the hindquarters for his own use have given the forequarters to the natives.
3. If only one shepherd it is evident from this statement, the natives are not the blood thirsty race they are represented or they might have killed the shepherd as well as the sheep.
4. If more than one shepherd then surely they ought to have prevented its occurrence as only two blacks are mentioned.
5. If the story of the shepherds be true then the only reasonable construction that can be put upon the affair is that the cravings of hunger had prompted them to the commission of the act and which according to their rude notions, was probably not an offence; it being done on their own lands from which they and their progenitors had from time immemorial been wont to procure their daily subsistence.

If this is the only charge Mr Taylor can allege against the aboriginal natives it certainly amounts to very little. In point of law it proved it is an offence, but who in the name of common humanity I would ask would think of injuring those already too much injured people, and for such a trifle. (Robinson papers, vol 24)

On 1 November 1839, Sievwright wrote to Robinson regarding the Taylor massacre. He reported that between 20 and 30 Aboriginal people were massacred. His informant, Tainneague, mentioned the names of Hamilton, Taylor, and Broomfield as being connected with the incident (Archives Authority of New South Wales 1846, 4/1135.1).

Niel Black's journal entries (January and February 1840) concerning Taylor and the situation at Glenormiston are very revealing.

The blacks have been very troublesome on it [Glenormiston] and I believe they have been cruelly dealt with. The late superintendent ran off from a fear that he would be apprehended and tried for murdering the natives. The poor creatures are terror stricken and will be easily managed. This was my principle reason for fighting so hard for it. It is the opinion of Blackie [the former overseer] that about 35–40 natives have been despatched on this establishment and that there is only two men left alive of the tribe. He is certain we will never be troubled with any of them on this run.

Robinson, in his 1841 report of his journey through the Western District, reported the following concerning Taylor.

Taylor was overseer of a sheep station in the Western district, and was notorious for killing natives. No legal evidence could be obtained against this nefarious individual. The last transaction in which he was concerned, was of so atrocious a nature, that he thought fit to abscond, and he has not been heard of since. No legal evidence was attainable in this latter case. There is no doubt but the charges preferred were true, for in the course of my inquiries on my late expedition, I found a tribe, a section of the Jarcoorts, totally extinct, and it was affirmed by the natives that Taylor had destroyed them.

According to Robinson's 1841 report, the Tarnbeere gundidj had been totally destroyed by Europeans. The Aborigines reported to him that Taylor played a prominent part in the 'dire proceedings'. In 1841, the Reverend Benjamin Hurst, one of the Wesleyan missionaries at the Buntingdale mission, at Birregurra, confirmed that in 1839 nearly all the fighting men of the clan had been 'butchered in cold blood by Europeans'.

Two accounts record what happened to the survivors of this massacre. The first is given by the Reverend Joseph Orton in his journal for January 1841 in which he reproduces a report on



the massacre compiled by CW Sievwright on 21 January 1840. According to this report, having heard of an Aboriginal encampment, Taylor and associates Hamilton and Broomfield headed a party for the purpose of attacking them. As they approached the encampment they formed an extended line with Taylor in the centre. They found the Aborigines asleep and immediately fired upon them and killed the whole party — save one — consisting of 35 men, women and children. They afterwards threw the bodies into a neighbouring waterhole. The lone survivor, who had hidden in the long grass, was later assisted by some Europeans in removing the bodies from the waterhole.

In his report, Sievwright stated that an overseer of the name of Symonds informed him that he had recently been appointed to take charge of Glenormiston. Symonds had subsequently learned that Taylor had absconded and left the country because he had led the party responsible for the deaths of 30 or more Aborigines. Sievwright was taken to the 'scene of the crime', described as a place now known as Murdering Gully; a swampy area adjoining Mount Emu Creek on the Darlington–Camperdown Road, near Merida station (Shaw 1970).

The second account, by Dawson (1881), records that the survivors of the massacre, Bareetch Chuurneen, and a child, were pursued to Wuurna Weewheetch, then swam the lake and escaped, as described above.

The massacre incurred considerable censure from protectorate officials and the Wesleyan missionaries. These officials were particularly active in soliciting information on the massacre, and although Taylor believed he was justified in defending his property and punishing the Aborigines for their depredations, he was quick to flee the country for the obscurity of India when the official investigation became too close for him, and he feared arrest and subsequent trial. Absenting himself from the scene of conflict was becoming a habit for Taylor: in 1836 he had fled to Van Diemens Land after the killing of Woolmudgin. By January 1840, Taylor had been replaced as overseer of Glenormiston by Symonds. Taylor returned to Victoria but avoided the Western District, preferring to work

in Gippsland, in eastern Victoria. In June 1844, he was managing Lindenow station on the Mitchell River near present-day Lindenow for Henry Loughnan. That month Charles Tyers, the Commissioner of Crown Lands in Gippsland, found Taylor's sheep on A MacLeod's Bairnsdale run, and ordered their removal. When Tyers returned to the run, he found the number of sheep had increased and in consequence charges were brought against Taylor, and he was removed from his position as manager of Lindenow. Taylor applied for a licence to take up his own land, which Tyers refused to grant him in any part of Gippsland on account of his treatment of Aborigines in the Western District. Given Tyers's refusal, Taylor appealed to Superintendent CJ La Trobe.

On the first of August 1844, he sent the following letter from Geelong to La Trobe.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Honor's letter of the 29th ulto in answer to mine of the 25th of last month, informing me that His Excellency had been pleased to consider Mr Tyers justified in not allowing me to hold a station or to manage one in the District under his superintendence in consequence of his having revived the recollection of the existence of very grave charges recorded against me with reference to my treatment of the aboriginal natives of this District prior to the time of my departure.

I have now the honor to request that you will provide me with a copy of these grave charges that are recorded against me that I may have an opportunity of showing Mr Tyers and the Government that I am innocent of any improper treatment of the aboriginal natives of this district. (VPRS 19)

La Trobe formally reviewed Taylor's case and over the ensuing months considerable information was provided by both protectorate officials and the Wesleyan missionaries from Buntingdale, at Birregurra. On 14 December 1844, George Robinson sent the following letter to La Trobe, along with three enclosures.

I have the honor in acknowledging the receipt of yours no 44/1787 to report that numerous complaints with regard to Mr Frederick Taylor's treatment of the aboriginal natives reached my office previous and up to the period of his quitting the district for India in 1840 at which time a warrant issued (as I was informed) for his apprehension was evaded.

In 1839 the name of Taylor in a communication by the Revd Benjamin Hurst is mentioned in connection with a reported massacre of Aborigines (Appendix A). Paper B is the deposition of Williamson the overseer to the Wesleyan Mission, Barwon River, and Taylor's name is again brought prominently forward with the reported slaughter of 35 aborigines. C. is the statement of an aboriginal native, an eyewitness of the transaction.

In 1841 by reference to the Chief Protector's journal an individual of the name of Taylor is reported to have acted a conspicuous part in the destruction of an entire section of the Jarcoorts west of Lake Carrangamite innumerable wounds said to have been inflicted by firearms were observed on several of the natives and on one individual (a Jarcoort) seven scars the effects (it was said) either of buckshot or slugs were counted.

In May last Taylor's name came again under notice of the Chief Protector in Gipps Land in connexion with the ill treatment of a number of Coolies brought by him from India to this colony. Mr Commissioner Tyers living on the spot will be able to afford your Honor the fullest information in the case. Whilst at Maneroo I met by accident one of the Hill Coolies who informed me that he and his companions had in consequence of the ill treatment of Mr Taylor's been compelled to cross the mountains and leave Mr Taylor's service without wages. Mr Taylor I understand when crossing the Snowy Mountains on his way to Gipps Land left the Hill Coolies to sleep in the open air without covering whilst the white servants of his party had tents provided.

## Appendix A

Extract: Mr Hurst also states that a native Black (Mammalt) had reported at the station previous to his arrival that there had been a massacre of 25 natives, and other natives mentioned the number fifteen. This appears to be a late transaction and the name of Taylor was mentioned as one connected with it.

Signed

Benjamin Hurst  
Before CW Sievwright JP  
12th November 1839

## Appendix B

Before Charles Wightman Sievwright Esq Protector of Aborigines, one of Her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the above colony [New South Wales] appeared Mr Edward Williamson overseer to the Wesleyan Mission Establishment to give information relevant to a massacre of a number of Aboriginal natives near Mr Taylor's station beyond Lake Korangamite and being duly sworn states . . . about eight weeks ago a native of the name of Wore-gu-i-moni Colyjin tribe informed me that Mr Taylor accompanied by another stockholder (whose name I cannot at present recall) and several shepherds, came upon an encampment of natives near Mr Taylor's. The party advanced in an extended line upon the natives, Mr Taylor was in the centre of the line, the shepherds were on each side of him, they advanced shouting and immediately fired upon the natives who were asleep. They succeeded in killing all they could see, amounting to thirty five (35). I was particular in ascertaining the exact number and they (the natives) gave me the same number over and over again. The slaughtered consisted of men, women and children. The above-named native was one of the party attacked and succeeded in hiding himself among the long grass and thus escaped. The whites immediately

threw the bodies into a waterhole, and left the spot leaving the bodies there.

Another aboriginal native named Mr Anderson, his native name is 'Karn' also informed me that after the white people had left the spot, he returned to where the massacre took place (from whence he had run away upon their approach) and succeeded in bringing the bodies out of the waterhole, he had them on the ground four deep, head by head. He was discovered by some of the white people, who told him not to be afraid, as they would not shoot him and they took him with his wife and child who had also made their escape to Mr Taylor's where they received plenty of provision. After this a cart was taken from Mr Taylor's and the bodies brought up to the house, they were conveyed to some waterholes and thrown in. The same native offered to conduct me to where the bodies were and said he would dive and bring them up. A few days ago I was talking with him again on the subject and said I was afraid the strong current would have carried the bodies away when he replied no.

(Signed) E Williamson

Sworn before me  
this 30th of December 1839  
Wesleyan Mission Station  
Signed CW Sievwright JP

## Appendix C

Lewra 16th of January 1840

Statement of Wan-geg-a-mon, Tongort Aboriginal native relative to the murder of his wife and child.

. . . about six moons ago, I with my lubra and child (male) were encamped with thirty other Aboriginal natives, men, women and children, upon the Bor-rang-yallock, when Mr Taylor and many poor men (shepherds) came towards our

miam-miams with guns, Mr Taylor was on horseback, they came up in an extended line Mr Taylor in the centre they advanced quick and immediately fired upon the natives, I ran to the other side of the river and lay down behind a tree among the grass, they killed more than thirty men women and children, my lubra and child were among the dead, the white people threw them into the water and soon left the place, the water was much stained with blood, I saw the dead body of my lubra but did not see my child. I remained for two days near the spot. Two days after the murder Yi-yi-ran (Mr Anderson) and Mr Watson came and saw the bodies and seemed sorry and said to Mr Taylor why did you kill so many lubras and children. Yi-yi-ran, Charles Courtney, James Ramslie and James Hamilton, burned the bodies, and made fires. Mr Taylor, Mr Anderson and Mr Watson came on horseback two days after with a sack and took away part of the bones not consumed.

This statement confirmed by Ben-a-dug whose father was killed upon this occasion, he escaped, and also by Born, Jong-gort Tribe, also escaped.

Signed CW Sievwright

Despite the fact that La Trobe upheld Tyers's decision, Taylor became a joint licence holder of Lindenow with the Loughnans in 1845. The government review of Taylor's case ended in March 1846, when La Trobe informed Edward Deas Thomson the Colonial Secretary that all charges against Taylor had 'ended in satisfactory disapproval'. For the next 13 years Taylor held licences for land along the Mitchell and Tambo Rivers, around Lakes Victoria and King, at Swan Reach.

The massacre at the gully on Mount Emu Creek, known to the Aborigines as Puuroyuup, became known to Europeans as Murdering Gully. For a time the creek had been known as Taylors Creek, however, after his involvement in this massacre, his name became anathema and the name was changed to Mount Emu Creek.

Charles Gray, an early squatter in the Western District, recalled the following details in his published reminiscences.

Riding over the run one day, I came upon the scene of one of the numerous conflicts Fred Taylor was said to have had with the natives, who were numerous and daring in this district. The blacks seem to have decamped suddenly, leaving their spears, waddies, etc behind. These had been thrown on a fire and rendered useless. Some very fine spears, one of which much have taken many weeks, perhaps months, to make, seeing that the natives had nothing better than flints and shells to cut and scrape with, were burned in two, leaving the jagged top which made one shudder to think the dreadful wound it would have inflicted if put through a person's body. Several of these spear heads I collected and sent home to my friends in Scotland. (Gray 1932, 7)

Glenormiston station was purchased in 1840 by Niel Black, who, as mentioned in the Introduction, chose to buy an established run because he could not bring himself to follow the accepted view that, when taking up a new run, it was necessary to slaughter the Aborigines. Given Black's ethical dilemma, the Murdering Gully massacre was opportune for him: because of the massacre, the Djargurd remnant were fearful and therefore could be 'easily managed'. Black ensured this situation continued for a time by driving the Djargurd from his run, by pulling down any Aboriginal dwellings he found and by leaving gunpowder to show it was the work of white men.

**Sources:** VPRS 19; Black 1839–40; Orton 1840–42; Hurst, 22 July 1841, in Bonwick transcripts; Robinson papers; Archives Authority of New South Wales 1846; Dawson 1881; Gray 1932; McAlpine 1982; Massola 1969; Shaw 1970; Blake 1977; Cannon 1982; Christie 1979; Pepper and de Araugo 1985; Clark 1990 a,b.

## GADUBANUD

We know very little about the Gadubanud (literally meaning king parrot language) people, who lived on the rainforest-covered plateau and rugged coastline of the Cape Otway peninsula of western Victoria. Little linguistic data has been recorded for these people. The Gadubanud were considered to be 'wild blacks' by the Watha wurrung to the northeast and the Girai wurrung to the west. They may have had some association with the Gulidjan to their north. Ethnographic notes from Chief Protector George Robinson's visit to the Port Fairy district in 1842, when he visited the mouth of the Hopkins River and met three Gadubanud people, provide information on four clans. Other than these clan names and general clan locations, little is known about the social organisation of the Gadubanud people.

In 1842, the Gadubanud are known to have robbed an outstation of food and blankets, but no violence resulted. We can learn something of them from the accounts of three visits to the Otway region made by Europeans in 1846. Between 1845 and 1846 Superintendent CJ La Trobe made three attempts to reach Cape Otway. On his second attempt, in December 1845, they followed a 'native track' for many kilometres near Moonlight Head, until it ended in thick scrub. On his third attempt, in late March 1846, La Trobe came upon seven Gadubanud men and women in the Aire valley. In April 1846, Henry Allan attempted to cross the Otway ranges from north to south. With two Aboriginal women as guides, he started from the Buntingdale mission at Birregurra. On the Gellibrand River he came across an unoccupied camp; and when he returned to this camp two days later he found a large number of implements.

George D Smythe, a contract surveyor, was in the Otway region in July and August 1846. During this time, he met with one man, four women and three boys. As they murdered one of his surveying party, Smythe returned to Melbourne to organise a retaliatory expedition which took place in late August. Accompanied by several Watha wurrung from Geelong, Smythe

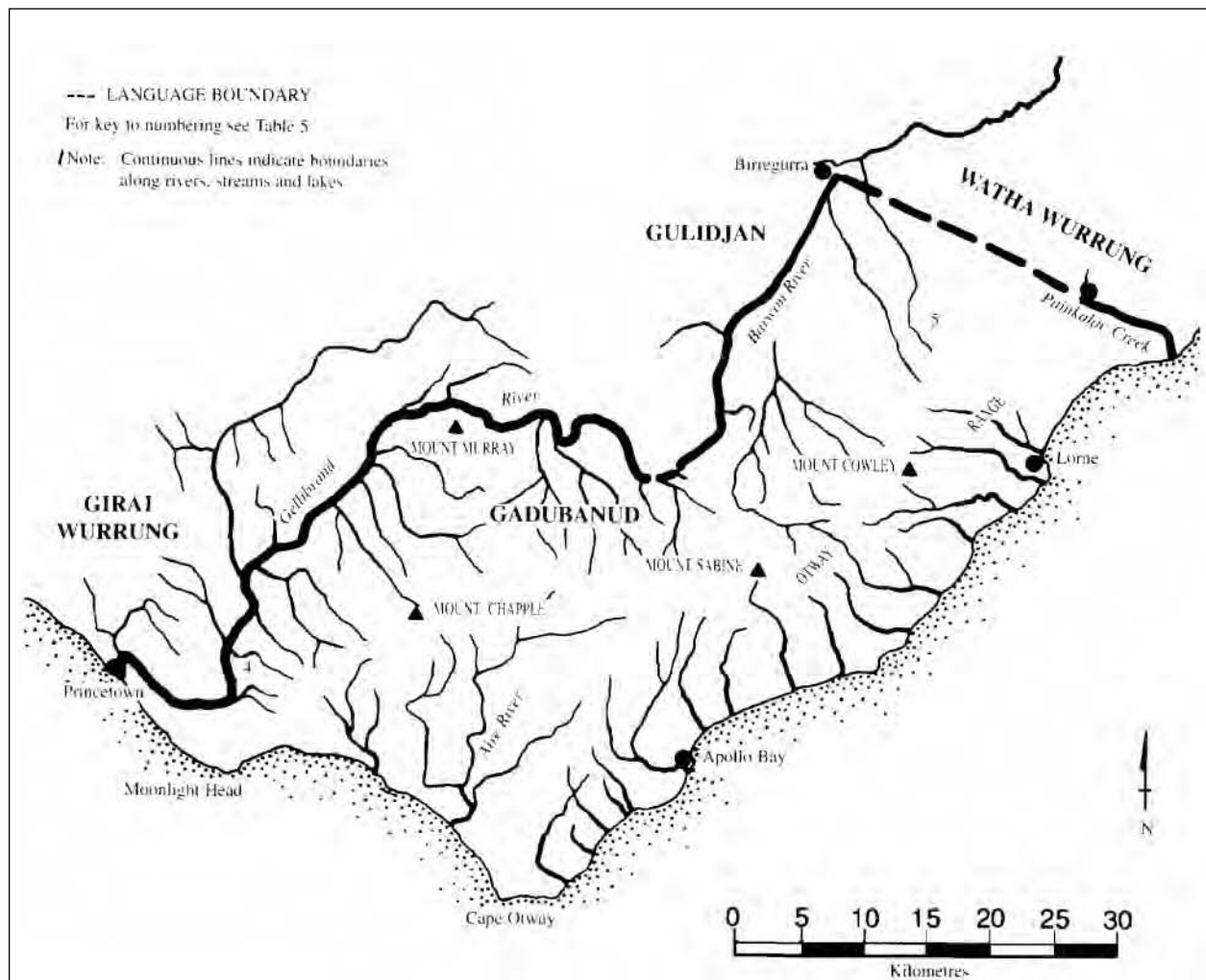
GADUBANUD



came across seven Gadubanud at the mouth of the Aire River and attacked and killed them. After this massacre in 1846, nothing more can be found in the written records of the Gadubanud people of the Otway peninsula.

**Table 5** Gadubanud clans (on Figure 11)

No	Clan name	Approximate location
1.	Bangura gundidj	Cape Otway
2.	Guringid gundidj	Cape Otway
3.	Ngalla gundidj	Cape Otway
4.	Ngarowurd gundidj	north of Moonlight Head
5.	Yan Yan Gurt clan	Yan Yan Gurt station, east head of the Barwon River



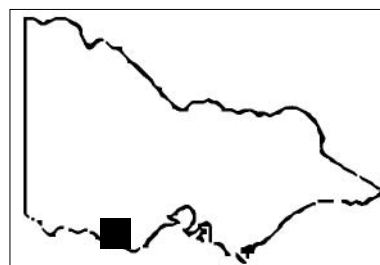
**Figure 11** Gadubanud language area and clans

### MASSACRE SITES IN GADUBANUD COUNTRY

George Smythe, a surveyor contracted to survey the coast, was in the Otway region in July and August of 1846. Smythe's field notes (in Stuart 1981, 82) record his account of the events that saw the murder of one of his surveying party by some of the Otway Aborigines. On 25 July, from a campsite near Blanket Bay on the eastern side of Cape Otway, Smythe set out to survey the Aire River. En route, his party met one man, four women and three boys who had been seen at Smythe's tent a few days previously. The man and one of the boys showed Smythe the nearest way to Gunna-waar Creek (Airedale) and Smythe gave them a note to give to his coxswain at Blanket Bay which directed him to give the Aboriginal people some flour.

On 31 July, Smythe returned to learn that Conroy, one of the men he had left in charge of the tent at Blanket Bay, had been murdered on the 26th. After burying Conroy, Smythe returned to Melbourne to organise a retaliatory expedition, which took place in late August. Smythe was accompanied by several Barrabool Aborigines (Watha wurrung balug). At the mouth of the Aire River, Smythe came across seven Otway Aborigines, and attacked and killed them. The only documentary record of this is a report in the *Argus* of 1 September 1846.

Stuart (1981) has made mention of distorted accounts of Smythe's attack, which have only further confused the ethno-historic record. A report in the *Age* of 8 January 1887, reprinted in Hebb (1970, 219), dates the attack as occurring in 1841, and stated that two members of the surveying party were murdered. It mentioned the fact that the second expedition had been sanctioned by La Trobe, who authorised Smythe to exercise his own judgement. According to the article, the Otway people were asleep when they were attacked, and were all killed with the exception of a young woman, who was found crouching behind a tree. This woman is supposed to have been taken to Melbourne, where she was adopted by the Woi wurrung tribe.



PLACE: none  
 LOCATION: mouth of Aire River,  
 Cape Otway  
 DATES OF INCIDENT: August 1846  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Gadubanud language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Surveyor  
 George Douglas Smythe and  
 others  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 seven people

Mulvaney (1962, 7) and Massola (1969, 39, 49) have added to the distortion by stating that Foster Fyans and the Native Police were involved in the attack. According to Massola (1969, 32), in 1848, one of the two women who survived this massacre, who lived in Warrnambool, divulged that the European member of the survey expedition was killed because he had been interfering with one of the Aboriginal women. Hebb (1970, 212) adds to the confusion with his account of another massacre that took place in 1847 near the Aire River. In this account, the Aborigines had killed a shepherd on one of the stations to the south of Colac. In return, the squatter, Captain Fyans, Captain Edward B Addis, and a few friendly Aborigines, went in pursuit of the murderers. Finding their trail, they followed it till they came upon a group of Aborigines near the Aire River. After attacking the group, they captured a boy and a girl belonging to the tribe and took them back to the squatter's home where he intended to rear them as 'useful members of society'. The boy was later killed by one of the 'friendly blacks' who had taken part in the slaughter, so as to prevent him from avenging his father's murder.

Massola (1969, 32) has given the following account.

In 1960 a team of archaeologists excavated two rock shelters at the base of the western cliffs of the Aire River, approximately two km from its mouth. A gruesome discovery was made in one of the two shelters excavated. Directly underneath the surface layer of soil was found the skeleton of a male Aborigine, who was about twenty-five years of age when he died. The bones of the skeleton were scattered widely, as if they had been pulled about by wild dogs, and most of the smaller bones were absent. This, obviously, was not a burial. The man had died in the shelter, and his unburied body had been mauled by dingoes. Later, over the years, the bones had become covered by a thin layer of earth deposited by the elements, and there they remained until found by the archaeologists.

We can only surmise that this man was a member of the Aire River group, which, rightly or wrongly, had been massacred by Captain Fyans and his Native Troopers, for allegedly killing a surveyor at Blanket Bay. This outrage took place in 1845. The man, probably badly wounded, crawled into this shelter for safety and there he died.

In 1848 one of two survivors, a woman who then lived in Warrnambool, told the story. One of the white men had interfered with a lubra, and her husband had killed the aggressor. The Black Police had come shortly after and had shot down indiscriminately the whole of her group, about twenty men, women and children. She and another lubra were only slightly wounded, and hid themselves in the scrub until the attackers left the scene of the massacre. As far as she knew they were the only survivors.

**Sources:** Clark 1990a; Massola 1969; Stuart 1981; Hebb 1970; Mulvaney 1962



## GIRAI WURRUNG

**T**wenty-one clans speaking the Girai wurrung (literally meaning blood lip) language occupied the country at Mount Shadwell, Lake Keilambete, Timboon, Lake Elingamite, and Mount Hamilton. Girai wurrung clans gathered with Djab wurrung, northeastern Dhauwurd wurrung, and Watha wurrung clans to harvest eels at Lake Bolac and met at Mirraewuae Swamp, near Hexham, to hunt emus and other game and conduct other business. When the Girai wurrung first sighted a European ship at sea they considered it a monster of the deep, named a Koorong, and fled the coast.

The squatting invasion of Girai wurrung land began in 1838. During the drought years 1838–39, and throughout the early 1840s, organised groups of Girai wurrung people fought a sustained guerrilla war against the pastoralists. During 1841, CW Sievwright, the Assistant Protector responsible for the Western District of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, temporarily established headquarters at two Girai wurrung localities: Lake Keilambete and Lake Terang. Lake Keilambete was eventually gazetted as one of five reserves in the Western District, but was never occupied.

With the abolition of the Aboriginal Protectorate in 1849, the Girai wurrung received no assistance from the state until the formation of the Framlingham Aboriginal station in the 1860s. In the intervening years, Girai wurrung people gravitated towards pastoral stations, such as Tooram and Allandale, where they worked for settlers and continued to follow traditional hunting and fishing practices.

In 1861, at the request of the Aboriginal mission formed by the Church of England in Warrnambool, 1400 hectares of land were gazetted beside the Hopkins River. This became the Framlingham reserve, which was occupied from 1865 until October 1867, when the central board appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines closed Framlingham and attempted to relocate its Aboriginal residents to Lake Condah, where a

GIRAI WURRUNG

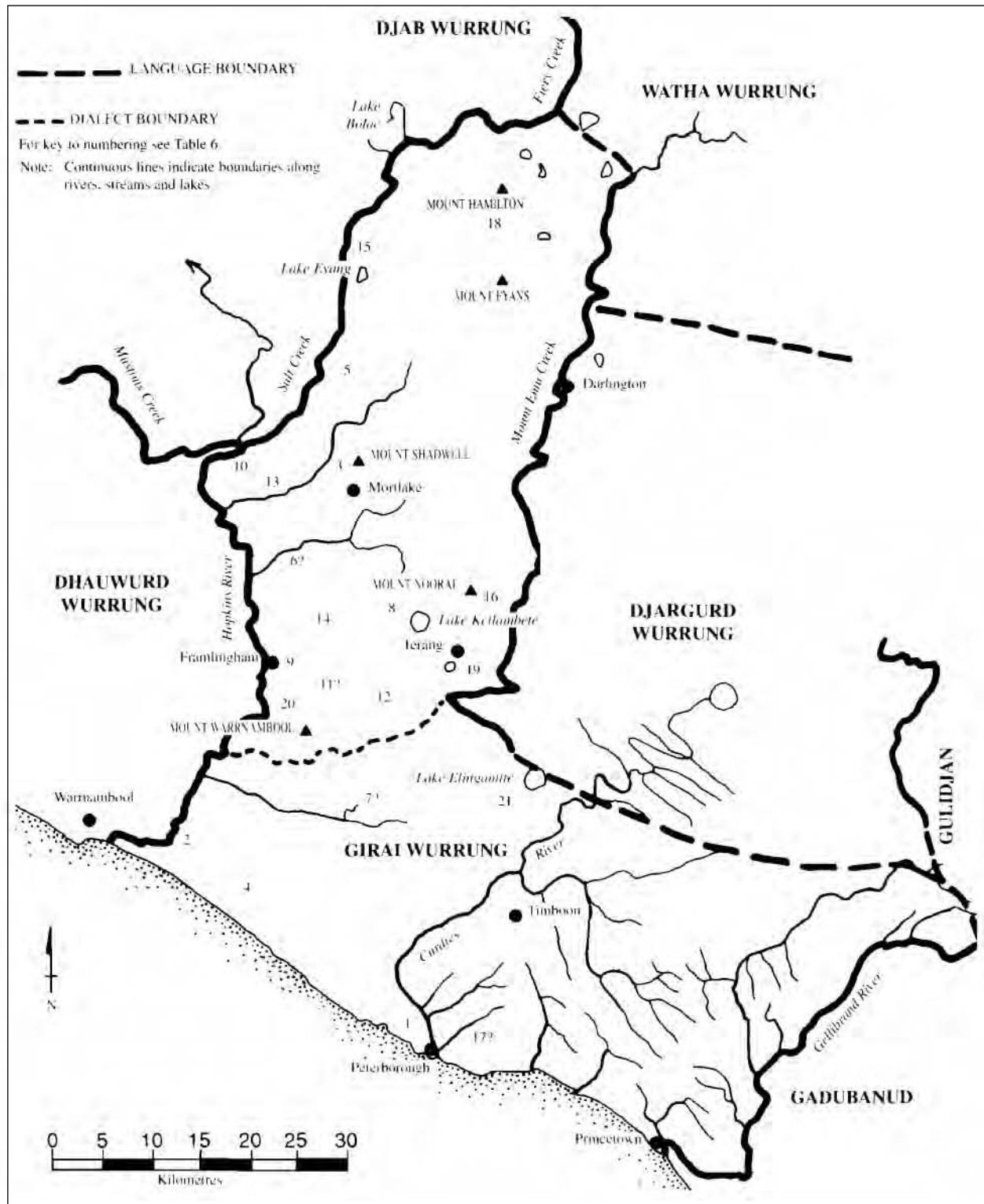


Figure 12 Girai wurrung language area and clans

**Table 6** Girai wurrung clans (on Figure 12)

No	Clan name	Approximate location
1.	Baradh gundidj	mouth of Curdies River
2.	Badadgil gundidj	Allandale station
3.	Burug gundidj	Mount Shadwell
4.	Duram gundidj	Tooram station
5.	Flat Topped Hill clan	Flat Topped Hill
6.	Garar gundidj	north of Mount Warrnambool
7.	Garigigung gundidj	southwest of Lake Terang
8.	Gilambidj gundidj	Lake Keilambete
9.	Gilidmurar gundidj	Framlingham
10.	Gulag gundidj	Kona Warren and Merrang stations on the Hopkins River
11.	Gular gundidj	southwest of Lake Keilambete
12.	Gun gundidj	between Mount Warrnambool and Terang
13.	Gunawurd gundidj	Lake Connewarren
14.	Gunindarar	the Sisters
15.	Ngalug barar balug	midway between Mount Shadwell and Lake Bolac
16.	Mount Noorat clan	Mount Noorat and Pejerk Marsh
17.	Ngaragurd gundidj	east of Curdies River
18.	Purteet chowel gundidj	southeast of Lake Bolac, including Mount Hamilton
19.	Lake Terang clan	Lake Terang
20.	Warnambul gundidj	Mount Warrnambool
21.	Yelingamadj gundidj	Lake Elingamite

new station was to be opened. Some Girai wurrung refused to go to Lake Condah and those who were taken quarrelled with the Aborigines there and returned to Framlingham. In September 1868, the Girai wurrung actively sought the re-establishment of the Framlingham station. From this time, the history of the Girai wurrung becomes the history of Framlingham.

From 1877 until 1890, a campaign was waged in Warrnambool to take the Framlingham reserve from the Aborigines and make it the site of an experimental agricultural farm. In 1894, the reserve was reduced to 222 hectares, and the majority of the reserve was given to the Council of Agricultural Education as the site of an Agricultural college. Ironically, these plans were never realised, and Framlingham Forest stands on the reclaimed land. These moves to reduce the size of the



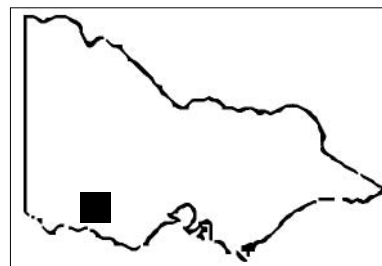
reserve's holdings coincide with the state's attempts to reduce expenditure on Aboriginal welfare. In 1886, the state passed the Aborigines Protection Law Amendment Act 1886, which redefined the legal definition of Aboriginality. The purpose of the Act was the removal of Aborigines of mixed descent under the age of 35, who were then legally to be seen as 'Europeans' and 'non-Aborigines'. By 1891, 36 'half-castes' had been forced to leave Framlingham. In 1910, the 1886 Act was amended; Aboriginal people of 'mixed descent' were once again legally defined as 'Aborigines'.

In 1916, the state government decided to gradually concentrate Victoria's Aboriginal population at Lake Tyers in Gippsland, eastern Victoria. Framlingham was closed, but a number of Aborigines were allowed to remain on the reserve. In 1971, the Framlingham community were granted ownership of the 237 hectares they held at that time. In 1976, the community began a sustained campaign to regain the Framlingham Forest, excised from the 1861 reserve in 1894. In April 1979, they blockaded the road leading to the forest picnic ground. In August 1980, the Victorian government announced that it would allow an Aboriginal committee of management to control the forest, but it would remain as Crown land. This plan was refused by the community, which resumed the blockade for a further two weeks. The state government finally returned Framlingham Forest to the Girai wurrung community in 1987.

**MASSACRE SITES IN GIRAI WURRUNG  
COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)**

The following description of this massacre is taken from Clark (1990a, 215).

On the 27th Of October, 1841, Tachier/Tatcher/Tatkier, a Gunawurd gundidj, and his wife, Terang-gerang ere, and a boy named Bang it bang, were crossing GS Bolden's Leighton Station, on the Hopkins River, on their way to Sievwright's Protectorate station at Lake Terang (a distance of approximately 11 miles). Bolden and his men, who were mustering cattle, took to them with whips and when Tatkier tried to pull Bolden from his horse, the squatter shot him in the stomach. Tatkier took refuge in a nearby waterhole, but was later killed when Bolden fired at him a second time. Terang-gerang-ere was so badly beaten around the head by William Kiernan (or Kerney), a stockkeeper, that she also died. The following day several Gunawurd Aborigines, along with the boy, who had managed to escape, arrived at Sievwright's encampment where Bang it bang related what had happened. Sievwright managed to get Bolden to court in December, 1841, on a charge of shooting with intent to kill Tatkier. Kiernan in giving evidence at the trial stated 'I do not know the native's name, the same man I found killing a beast on the nineteenth of the month. I saw him several times before . . .'. At the trial Sievwright stated 'I knew Tatcher, I was perfectly acquainted with his person. I have no doubt he is one of the tribe over which I have superintendence . . . this man belonged to the Connawa tribe, about fifteen miles from the place of the collision'. Bang it bang's evidence was ridiculed in court, and Judge Willis advised the jury to acquit Bolden, enunciating the principle that squatters 'have a clear and a distinct right to turn any person off their property, that may come on it, for the purpose of aggression or not'. In his notebook entry on this case Willis (RHSV Ms) wrote, '. . . there



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: Leighton station,  
Hopkins River

DATE OF INCIDENT: 27 October 1841

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Gunawurd  
gundidj clan, Girai wurrung  
language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: GS Bolden  
and employees William Kiernan  
and Peter Carney, stock keepers.

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
Tatkier and Terang-gerang-ere

being no reservation in the grant, lease, licence from Government in favour of the Aborigines, the possessor had also a right by all lawful means to turn off any person whether white or black who also trespass on his run . . .' Squatting licences were issued on the condition that Aborigines had free access to their former hunting places, however the squatters who were convinced that their ten pound licence fee entitled them to exclusive use of their runs would have warmly received Willis' judgement.

The case went before the Supreme Court in Melbourne in December 1841 and Bolden was acquitted. Two of Bolden's employees testified at the trial: Peter Carney, employed as a stockman; and William Kiernan, a stock keeper. Judge Willis, charging the jury, said,

I have no hesitation to say that, if a person has a run, for which he pays a license, and a man or any persons come to that run, the owner or lessee has a right to use lawful means to recover any property that may be attempted to be carried away. I care not whether they are white or black — I may turn them off my property. I will go further; if government take upon themselves to assume the ownership of the soils, the lessees have the right to look to them for a sufficient guarantee of their property, and they have a clear and distinct right to turn any person off their property that may come on it for the purpose of aggression or not. (McCombie 1858, 89)

Positive identification of Leighton station on the Hopkins River has proved to be elusive: the only possibility is that it is another name for St Marys on the Hopkins River, near Warrnambool, held by the Bolden brothers from 1840 until the end of 1842.

Sievwright remained at Lake Terang for 12 months despite settler protest, and only moved when Robinson ordered him to relocate to the base of Mount Rouse in February 1842. He arrived there on 12 April with 210 Aborigines. Sievwright was

never very popular with the 'squattocracy' in his district; he was active in investigating settler atrocities and arraigning 'respectable squatters', such as GS Bolden — an effrontery the press and squattocracy did not forgive. In December 1841, the *Port Phillip Herald* urged settlers of the district to petition the government to dismiss Sievwright for his 'vexatious behaviour'. Sievwright was suspended from his duties in June 1842, for maladministration of government stores and replaced the following year by Dr John Watton, a medical practitioner (Clark 1990a, 195).

Michael Christie (1979, 45) has discussed this massacre in the following context.

Squatters were not only convinced they had a right to shoot Aborigines who stole their sheep but they also believed that their ten pound licence fee entitled them to the exclusive use of their runs. Although licences were granted on the condition that Aborigines had free access to their former hunting places, the squatters realised that such a prerequisite was impossible to police and was mainly meant as a sop to the philanthropists. The squatters argued that even the presence of Aborigines on their runs disturbed their stock and according to Robinson, they felt they were entitled 'to expel the primitive inhabitants from the land of their forefathers . . . and send mounted stockmen, with bullock whips to drive them away' . . . One such squatter, George Sandford Bolden, of Leighton station on the River Hopkins, came across three Aborigines (a man, woman and a boy) while mustering cattle. The Aborigines were merely crossing the run on their way to Sievwright's protectorate station. Bolden and his men took to them with whips, and when the tribesman tried to pull Bolden from his horse, the squatter shot him in the stomach. The Aborigine took refuge in a waterhole but was killed when Bolden fired at him again. The woman was so badly beaten around the head that she also died; only the boy escaped to Sievwright's where he related what happened . . . Although the protector managed to take the case

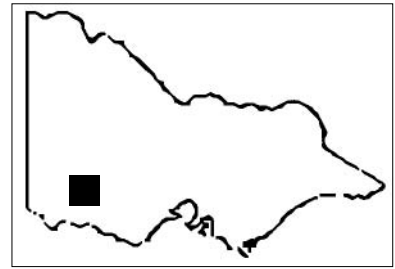
to court, the boy's evidence was ridiculed and Judge Willis, in advising the jury to acquit Bolden ('the brother of a near and respected neighbour of mine'), enunciated the principle that squatters 'have a clear and distinct right to turn any person off their property, that may come on it, for the purpose of aggression or not'. Willis' statement was warmly received by the squatters who saw it as a slap in the eye to Gipps' policy of treating Aborigines as British citizens, with full rights . . . Although squatters acted on Willis' advice, they did so more subtly, for the memory of the Myall Creek massacre and subsequent trials was still fresh in their memory.

In April 1841, before this massacre, George Robinson, the Chief Protector, had visited the stations of the four Bolden brothers. On 25 April, he called at the head station on the Hopkins River, three miles (nearly 5 kilometres) from Claud Farie's station. The lower cattle station was 20 miles (32 kilometres) lower down the Hopkins River. Robinson noted that no Aborigines had been seen at Bolden's. In his journal he noted 'The reason is plain: that none are allowed to come to the place. So Bolden said.' According to Robinson, the Boldens' lower station was on the Merri River, and the plain was called 'Beeny turtburn'. At the fording place at this station, Robinson saw the remains of an old stone weir which had been destroyed by Bolden's people.

**Sources:** Sievwright, 2 December 1841, in Willis 1838–43, notebook 12; Sievwright 1841, VPRS 12; VPRS 30; Presland 1977b; Christie 1979, 1993; Clark 1990a

On 12 October 1842, at Captain James Webster's Mount Shadwell station, Captain HEP Dana, the Commandant of the Native Police Corps, noted in his diary that a few days earlier the Aborigines had taken some sheep, and one Aborigine was killed in a clash with the settlers.

**Source:** HEP Dana diary, in O'Callaghan nd



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: Mount Shadwell station

DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1842

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Burug  
gundidj clan, Girai wurrung  
language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: presumably  
Captain James Webster and  
employees

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
person



## GULIDJAN

Four clans speaking the Gulidjan language occupied the country at Lake Colac in western Victoria. Although little information on the Gulidjan language has survived, what is available is sufficient to confirm that it constituted a distinct language with a small number of speakers occupying a small territory. Preliminary linguistic analysis suggests Gulidjan may be a 'mixed language' or 'creole', having something in common with each of its neighbours, but being quite a distinct language. Tindale's (1974) delineation of this language is flawed because he fails to recognise Djargurd wurrung clans as a distinct language group. Dawson (1881) favours the variant Gulagngad, meaning belonging to sand, as the language name.

Gulidjan clans were organised into two matrilineal moieties: *gabadj* (black cockatoo) and *grugidj* (white cockatoo), as were several other nearby peoples. They intermarried with the Djab wurrung and Djargurd wurrung. Despite having a differing descent system, they also intermarried with some of the patrilineal clans of the Watha wurrung.

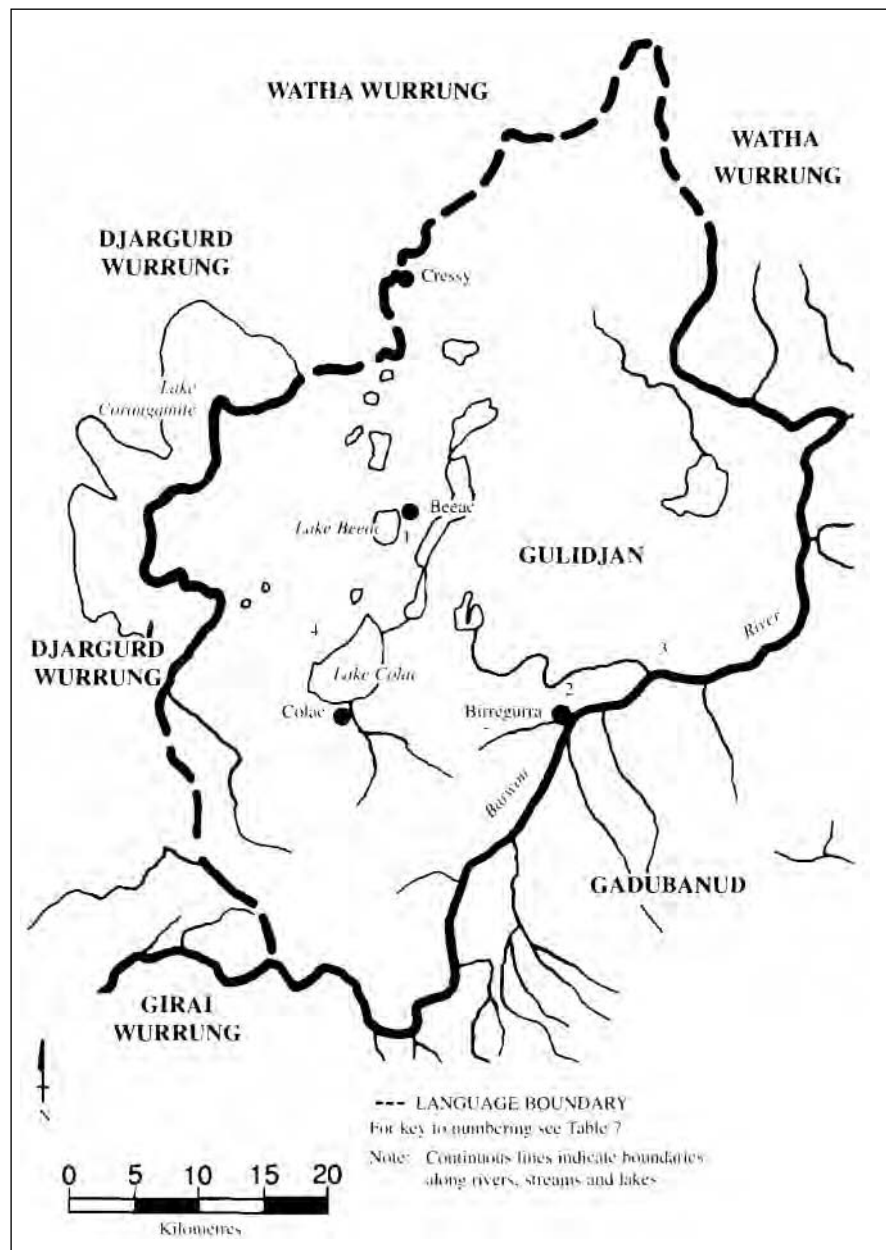
The Gulidjan were blamed for the murders of Gellibrand and Hesse and several Gulidjan were killed in 1837 in retribution by a settler party accompanied by some of the Watha wurrung. The Gulidjan reacted to European invasion of their lands by trying to obtain as much European livestock and as many material possessions as possible. When they raided newly formed stations, they were pursued by armed parties of settlers and violent clashes ensued. The Gulidjan were defeated and their rugs, weapons and huts destroyed.

In 1839, the Wesleyan Missionary Society formed a mission station in Gulidjan country at Birregurra, named Buntingdale. In the early years of the mission, the Watha wurrung and the Gulidjan were striving for mastery. The Gulidjan argued that, as the station was situated within their country, they ought to be given the most attention, whereas the Watha wurrung threatened to drive the Gulidjan off by force of arms. The

GULIDJAN



missionaries in charge soon came to the realisation that their attempt to concentrate several language groups had been a failure, and from 1842 began to live and travel with the Gulidjan. The Birregurra station was abandoned in 1848, although it officially existed until November 1851. During the 1850s, the Gulidjan remnant lived on various pastoral stations within their



**Figure 13** Gulidjan language area and clans

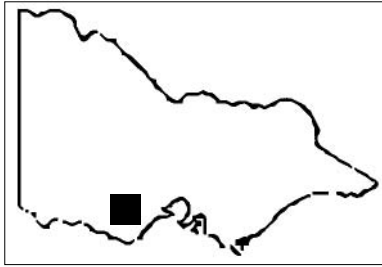
traditional language area. By 1858, only 19 Gulidjan were believed to have survived.

In the early 1860s, a 1.2-hectare reserve on the Barwon River, in present day Winchelsea, was set aside for the use of the Gulidjan people who were in the habit of frequenting Geelong. The reserve became known as Karngun, and a hut was erected to serve as a shelter shed and prevent visits to Geelong. In Colac, subscriptions from people concerned for the welfare of the Gulidjan were responsible for the construction of a house near the site of the present Colac hospital. Despite this, the Gulidjan preferred to use their brushwood shelters. In 1872, the Victorian government, after the prompting of Alexander Dennis, the local guardian, and the Colac shire council, decided to provide the Gulidjan with some land for their use and benefit. Sixteen hectares of land were reserved at Elliminyt, the Colac town common, and the brick house, near the hospital, was relocated to this site.

In 1876, the Gulidjan were still refusing to live in the house, preferring instead to use it as windbreak. The only Gulidjan who was prepared to utilise the 16 hectares was a man of mixed descent, named Richard Sharp. In 1879 he was allowed to lease 8 hectares. Ten years later, the remaining 8 hectares were leased to another Gulidjan named Jim Crow. The Sharp and Crow families continued to hold their respective lots at the Elliminyt reserve until June 1948 when the Victorian Lands Department relinquished the reserve and sold the land. In 1966, descendants of the Crow family were still known to be living in Colac.

**Table 7** Gulidjan clans (on Figure 13)

NO	CLAN NAME	APPROXIMATE LOCATION
1.	Beeac clan	Lake Beeac
2.	Birregurra clan	Birregurra
3.	Guraldjin balug	Ingleby station, on the Barwon River
4.	Gulidjan balug	vicinity of Lake Colac

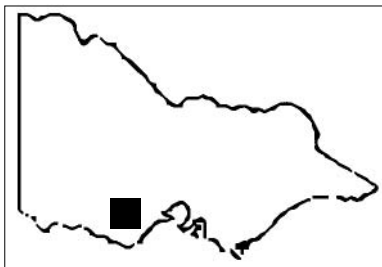


PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Lake Colac  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1839  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
     unknown, presumably Gulidjan  
     language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Taylor and  
     Lloyd  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
     person

### *MASSACRE SITES IN GULIDJAN COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)*

'Names of Taylor and Lloyd are mentioned, as having shot a black, at Lake Colac' (Lang 1847). Presumably this is a reference to Arthur Lloyd, known to have been at Lake Colac from 1837 until 1839. In correspondence between Assistant Protector CW Sievwright and Chief Protector George Robinson dated 12 November 1839, Sievwright reported that a Gulidjan man had informed Reverend Benjamin Hurst at the Buntingdale mission that he would conduct Sievwright to the spot where the body of his father lay, who had been shot by the sawyer, Mr Lloyd. On 16 March 1840, Superintendent CJ La Trobe sent Robinson documents relative to the alleged murder of an Aborigine near Lake Colac.

**Sources:** VPRS 11; Lang 1847



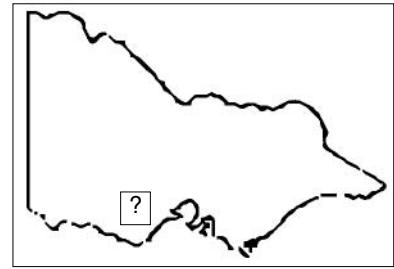
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Gerangamete  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: July 1839  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
     unknown, Gulidjan language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: William  
     Roadknight Senior or his  
     overseer  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
     person

George Robinson, the Chief Protector, reported (29 July 1839) 'A black killed by Roadknight or his overseer'. Roadknight was at Yan Yan Gurt station from 1838 until June 1842, and Gerangamete station from 1839 until March 1853.

**Source:** Robinson papers

The Reverend Benjamin Hurst reported to Assistant Protector CW Sievwright on 4 December 1840, 'A native of the Colajin tribe killed by white persons' (Lang 1847).

**Sources:** Robinson papers, vol 57; Lang 1847



PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: unknown

DATE OF INCIDENT: June 1840

ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Gulidjan language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
person



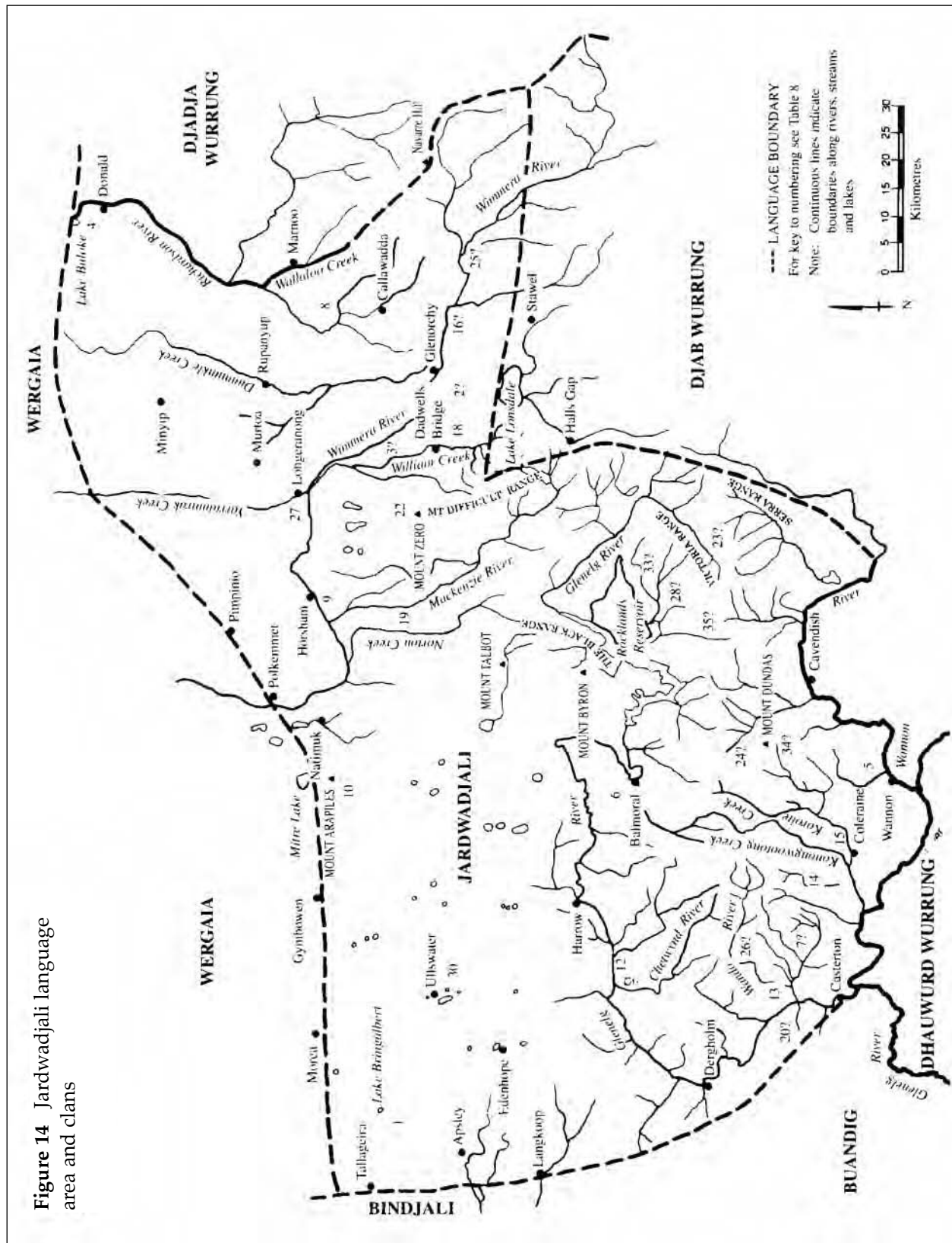
## JARDWADJALI

The Jardwadjali (literally meaning no-language) people traditionally occupied the country about Horsham and the upper Wimmera River, south to the Grampians, Cavendish, Coleraine, west to Apsley and Lake Bringalbert, and north to Minyip and Donald. Tindale (1974) incorrectly delineated a large portion of the southern Jardwadjali as Buandig. Tindale's 'Marditjali' is more than likely a dialect region. The 37 Jardwadjali and neighbouring Djab wurrung clans formed a regional cultural bloc maintained by intermarriage, common language and mutual interests of various kinds.

Jardwadjali clans shared a matrilineal form of moiety organisation with their immediate eastern (Djab wurrung), southern (Dhauwurd wurrung), and northwestern (Wergaia) neighbours. Accordingly clans were either *gabadj* (black cockatoo) or *grugidj* (white cockatoo). *Grugidj* totems included *badjin-gal* (pelican), fire, *gauir* (emu), *gure* (kangaroo) and *wile* (possum). *Gabadj* totems included *waa* (crow), *gurug* (magpie), *nganudj-nganudj* (bat), and the Southern Cross.

The first Europeans encountered by Jardwadjali clans were probably Edward Henty's squatting party in 1836, and TL Mitchell's exploration party in July and August 1836. The squatting invasion came in two waves; the first in the southern part in the Glenelg valley had effectively ended as the second wave began in the north in 1840, when Lieutenant Robert Briggs took up Ledcourt, near Lake Lonsdale. The process of dispossession was particularly bitter in the south: at Konongwootong, the Whyte brothers massacred the local Konongwootong gundidj clan in two separate massacres in 1841, commemorated by the place names Fighting Hills and Fighting Waterholes. In the north, Jardwadjali resistance was such that local squatters referred to Aboriginal reprisals as producing 'a sort of guerilla warfare' (Bride 1983, 217). The deployment of detachments of the Native Police Corps in Jardwadjali country was instrumental in ending this resistance.

JARDWADJALI



**Table 8** Jarawadjali clans (on Figure 14)

No	Clan name	Approximate location
1.	Apsley clan	Lakes Bringalbert and Downbobberty
2.	Barbardin balug	between Roses station and the Wimmera River
3.	Bernet	north of Ledcourt, at or near the Wimmera River
4.	Bulugdja	Lake Buloke
5.	Bung bung gul gundidj	Wannon Falls, near Wannon and at Bochara
6.	Congbool and Yat Nat clan	Balmoral
7.	Darkogang gundidj	Wando River, at Muntham station
8.	Djappuminyu	Carrs Plains, on the Richardson River
9.	Djura balug	Horsham
10.	Djurid balug	Mount Arapiles
11.	Kallutbeer	unknown
12.	Kanal gundidj	Kout Narin station
13.	Karrebil gundidj	at Cashmere and Wando stations
14.	Konongwootong gundidj	Konongwootong station
15.	Koroite	Koroite valley
16.	Konenicen balug	Wimmera River, between clans 2 and 25
17.	Kum balug	unknown
18.	Larnaget	swamp northeast of Ledcourt station
19.	Lil lil gundidj	Wonwondah station
20.	Mideriber gundidj	west of Cashmere station
21.	Moody balug	unknown
22.	Murra murra barap	Mount Zero
23.	Ngarum ngarum balug	southwest of Mount William
24.	Pellerwin balug	Dundas Range
25.	Pobbiberer balug	Wimmera River, east of clan 16
26.	Rockburrer balug	Glenelg River, near Wando station
27.	Tuan balug	Wimmera River, near Longerenong
28.	Tukallut balug	Victoria Range
29.	Tununder balug	unknown
30.	Ullswater clan	Ullswater
31.	Wanemollechoke	unknown
32.	Welleetpar	unknown
33.	Whiteburer gundidj	Victoria Range
34.	Worrercite	Dundas Range
35.	Yamneborer balug	Victoria Range
36.	Yareen me yoke	unknown
37.	Yetteker balug	unknown



Although Jardwadjali country fell within two districts of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, neither ES Parker or CW Sievwright, the assistant protectors, travelled any further west than the Grampian Ranges, which formed the eastern boundary of Jardwa country.

The Jardwadjali formed the nucleus of the Aboriginal Cricket team that toured England in 1868. Despite efforts by the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines to prevent the tour, on grounds that the party might be abandoned and left destitute, the party arrived in May, where they played 47 matches, winning 14, losing 14, and drawing the remainder.

Although the Jardwadjali did not have any Aboriginal missions formed in their territory, two were formed on nearby tribal lands. From the late 1860s, the northeastern Jardwadjali remnant began to frequent Ebenezer mission station on the Wimmera River in Wergaia country. The southern and north-western people frequented Lake Condah mission in Dhauwurd wurrung country. Relocation was both voluntary and forced.

From the 1870s, it is very difficult to trace the history of the Jardwadjali people as their stories became fused with these two stations, the only exceptions being a few aged people who refused to leave their homelands.

In 1879 the Board for the Protection of Aborigines reserved 73 hectares for the Aborigines at Dergholm; this was returned to the Department of Lands in 1902. A reservation of 251 hectares was sanctioned at Tallageira in 1887, and revoked in 1907, on the grounds of population decline.

Seventeen massacres and killings have been recorded for this territory. Of these the most notorious are Fighting Hills and Fighting Waterholes.

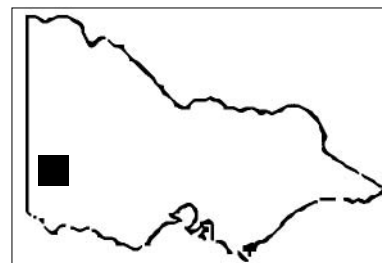
## MASSACRE SITES IN JARDWADJALI COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)

### *Fighting Hills*

The Whyte brothers, William, George, Pringle, James and John arrived in Port Phillip in 1837 and took up land near the Pentland Hills. In 1838 they travelled west and took up country about the Wannon River. They occupied Konongwootong station on Koroit Creek, 6.5 kilometres north of Coleraine, in February 1840. This massacre was the first of two inflicted on the Konongwootong gundidj clan by the Whyte brothers. Despite the fact that Assistant Protector CW Sievwright had investigated this massacre, and one of the Whytes had personally informed the government of its occurrence, no action was taken. In 1843, a European named Bassett, who lived on Whyte's station, was killed in revenge for these massacres.

This slaughter occurred at the Hummocks near Wando Vale, and became known as Fighting Hills. The Hummocks is a unique rocky outcrop dissected by the narrow gorge of the Wando River, and is estimated to be about 150 million years old. Ironically, in 1849 a stone police station and courthouse was erected at the Hummocks, replacing an earlier wooden structure. About this time, the Hummocks is believed to have been surveyed as a site for a township, however settlement did not proceed and with the subsequent survey of Casterton in 1852, the court sittings and police presence were transferred there.

On 8 March 1840, the Whyte brothers hunted down the Konongwootong gundidj, some of whom had made off with 127 sheep. In the ensuing clash, the Whytes admitted killing between 20 and 30 Aborigines, although one of their men deposed before Sievwright that 'between thirty and forty men, exclusive of women and children were shot dead, only one escaping out of the whole tribe'. 'Lanky Bill', the sole survivor, was himself killed the following month by George MacNamara, one of Francis Henty's hut keepers at Merino Downs, on the Wannon River, near Henty. The numbers killed were far too great to dismiss this massacre by referring it to the local magistrate, or to



PLACE NAME: Fighting Hills

LOCATION: the Hummocks, near Wando Vale

DATE OF INCIDENT: 8 March 1840

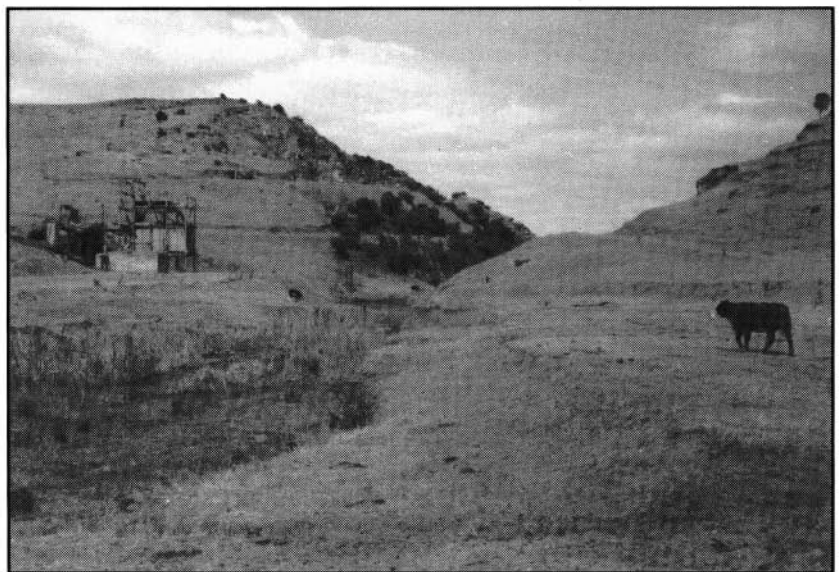
ABORIGINES INVOLVED:

Konongwootong gundidj clan,  
Jardwadjali language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: the Whyte brothers and three employees,  
Daniel Turner, Benjamin Wardle,  
and William Gillespie

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: over  
40 men, women and children,  
possibly as many as 80 people

The Hummocks, near Wando  
Vale, site of the Fighting Hills  
massacre, 8 March 1840



hush it up altogether, so John Whyte went personally to Superintendent CJ La Trobe.

On 23 March 1840, John Whyte visited Niel Black at Glenormiston station near Terang, en route to inform La Trobe of the massacre. In his journal for this day, Black made the following entry.

In the evening . . . Mr White [sic] from Portland Bay came to my house, . . . on his way to inform the Governor of an affray he had with the natives in which it is said 41 of them has been killed. About a fortnight ago a large party of them came to one of the out stations and took from the shepherd 900 breeding ewes. He immediately acquainted his master of it, and they made preparations for following their flock next day as too much time had been lost to be able to come up with them in time that evening. The sheep were carried away about 3.o.c. that afternoon. Next morning 9 men set out after the Blacks, 5 on horse and 4 on foot. When they had travelled about 8 miles they came upon the native encampment. When the Whites [sic] were seen approaching they set up a tremendous yell, and about 30 drew out in order of battle.

They were on the opposite side of a creek, and the first man that crossed the creek was speared through the calf of the leg and pinned to the ground. His friends followed him and soon dispatched the blackfellow. He fell — after having 9 balls lodged in his body — making signs to his friends to fight. They stood and fought for an hour but did not hurt or injure any other person, but one of the Whites had his cheek cut by a ball fired at random by one of his own party.

The Protector of Aborigines was within 6 miles [9.5 kilometres] at the time the affray took place, and his report (collected among the natives themselves) is that 41 has been killed, and Mr White says that he is not aware of more than 25. The bodies were all removed and put out of sight by

the natives — a thing they never fail to do. I think they will never occasion much trouble in that quarter again.

The whole of the sheep was recovered except 45 which they had slaughtered and on which they were feasting themselves when first surprised by the Whites [sic], having first skinned and roasted them.

There are several brothers of the Whites, all young men, and they only went to Portland Bay in January last. They . . . will [n]ever be troubled with blacks again. They may, however, be obliged to go to Sydney to stand their trial for murder, but it will be a mere formality. They must be acquitted. (Black 1839–40).

Since stolen property was involved, Whyte had few apprehensions about the outcome of his interview. At the very worst, he and his brothers would have to stand trial in Sydney, but that would be a mere formality, as Black expected. Whyte's confidence was fully justified. Despite discrepancies, the depositions of his party were accepted, no check was made as to their accuracy and no trial held. The depositions that Sievwright had taken were disallowed, since Crown Prosecutor James Croke argued they were statements by the principals in the action, not witnesses. On 29 March 1840, Whyte visited Chief Protector George Robinson at La Trobe's request, and reported the massacre. He told Robinson he was willing to give £100 per annum towards feeding the Aborigines, and that other squatters were willing do the same.

As Black recorded, CW Sievwright was in the vicinity of the station and duly investigated this massacre. The Reverend Joseph Orton cited this massacre in his journal, dated 12 January 1841, in which he summarised Sievwright's report. Orton highlighted the fact that the recovery of stolen property did not appear to be the Whytes' principal object, for when their sheep were found, they did not merely secure them, but they preferred to go on with 'putting out of the way the blacks'.

On 3 April 1840, La Trobe notified Edward Deas Thomson, the Colonial Secretary in New South Wales, of various conflicts between Europeans and Aborigines in the Western District. In this report he referred to the 'Fighting Hills' massacre as 'a most serious affray'.

James Croke, the Crown Prosecutor, subsequently examined the depositions collected by Sievwright in correspondence dated 17 June 1840, and reported that according to depositions of Daniel Turner, William Gillespie and Benjamin Wardle, convict servants of the Whytes, that the 'blacks' appeared to have been the aggressors. The Aborigines had stolen sheep and had made their own enclosure and were busy skinning and cooking the sheep when they were found by the Europeans. William Whyte admitted he killed two Aborigines, but not before a spear had been thrown at him, and John Whyte stated that no less than 200 spears were thrown and not less than 30 Aborigines were killed.

In his 1841 journal, George Robinson discussed the attitudes of settlers in the Portland Bay area, and the actions of the Whyte brothers need to be seen in this context.

The settlers at the Bay spoke of the settlers up the country dropping the natives as coolly as if they were speaking of dropping cows. Indeed, the doctrine is being promulgated that they are not human, or hardly so and thereby inculcating the principle that killing them is no murder.

Mr Pilleau said the settlers encourage their men to shoot the natives because, thereby, they would the sooner get rid of them. And he himself seemed inclined to the doctrine. He said, and others have said — and said it to me — that there would never be peace until they was extirpated. He admitted they were badly treated and that for every white man killed 20 blacks were shot. He said that after Gibson's shepherd was killed a number of them were shot. He said they did not kill them when there were many together, lest they should be known, but singly. He said it could not but be expected that the natives would retaliate.

I said that the parties who killed natives in the way he had described did it at their peril and if an accomplice gave evidence against them they would be hanged as sure as they had a neck. He said it was hard for settlers to have their sheep taken. I said the law in the case of sheep stealing did not require a life. But the squatters keep on shooting the blacks even under such circumstances were guilty of murder. (Robinson journals 1839–49, 27 May 1841)

John G Robertson, who settled on the Wannon River at Wando Vale station in 1840, wrote to La Trobe on 26 September 1853. In his letter he mentioned the massacre at Fighting Hills.

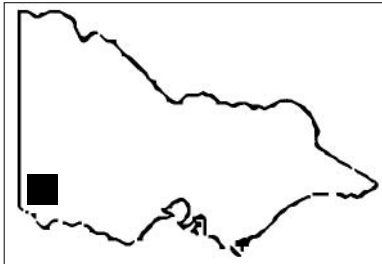
Three days after the Whytes arrived, the natives of this creek [Wando River], with some others, made up a plan to rob the new comers, as they had done the Messrs Henty before. They watched an opportunity, and cut off 50 sheep from Whyte Brothers' flocks, which were soon missed, and the natives followed; they had taken shelter in an open plain with a long clump of tea-tree, which the Whyte Brothers' party, seven in number, surrounded, and shot them all but one. Fifty-one men were killed, and the bones of the men and sheep lay mingled together bleaching in the sun at the Fighting Hills. It must have been a great relief to me and most of this part, for the females were mostly chased by men up the Glenelg, and the children followed them. This I learnt since from themselves. (Robertson, 26 September 1853, in Bride 1983)

On 6 July 1860, the *Gippsland Guardian* (in Gardner 1983) published the following account of this massacre under the heading 'Shooting Blackfellows'. The anonymous author was presumably either Turner, Wardle, or Gillespie. The names of the squatters are fictitious, however the 'Parks' are pseudonyms for the Whyte brothers.

‘Why’ said one of them, the elder of the two, ‘I can remember when they used to shoot down the blacks in this colony as you would do kangaroos, all because they sometimes killed a few sheep. I remember down in the Port District, when the four Parks and three other men, I was one of them, shot sixty-nine in one afternoon. The devils had stolen about 100 sheep and driven them away to the ranges. When they got them there they broke their legs to prevent them escaping, and were killing them and eating them at their leisure . . . We all mounted horses, and armed with rifles set off in hot pursuit. It was early morning when we started, and about the middle of the day we came up with the black rascals, and a rare chase we had of it. They set off like mad, about one hundred and fifty of them, never showing fight in the least. The ranges were so rocky that we had to dismount and follow them on foot, and after two or three hours chase we got them beautiful — right between a crossfire, a steep rock on one side they could not climb, and rifles on each of the other. Well, we peppered them pretty, they stood up firm and stiff to be shot and we dropped them one by one. We were expecting to cook the lot of them, when Mr George . . . fired a shot too high and sent a bullet through one of his brothers face . . . we all knocked off firing and ran to him. In an instant the blacks were off, and we were too much engaged over Tom Park to think of following them . . . We counted sixty-nine victims, including some half a dozen or so that were not quite dead, but these we put out of their misery with the butt-end. The blacks carried off a few wounded ones but as we fired at the body we pretty well spoilt all them as we hit. My word! but they were rascals among the sheep in them days, they aint so bad now; a few goes like that soon thin’d em. Why they even killed a shepherd on Tompkins station only because he wanted one of their lubras; but the two Tompkins were even with them for that matter, for they shot down every blackfellow they met for three years after’.



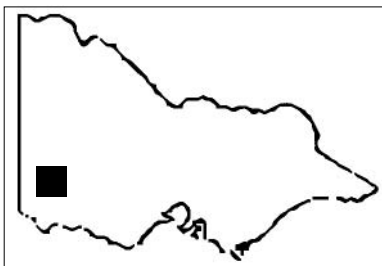
**Sources:** Black 1839–40, VPRS 21; Robinson journals 1839–49; VPRS 19; Orton 1840–42; Fyans 1842 and 1845, Archives Authority of New South Wales 1846; Trangmar 1956; Massola 1969; Wiltshire 1975; Presland 1977a, 1980; Bride 1983; Gardner 1983; Clark 1988, 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Merino Downs station,  
 on the Wannon River, near Henty  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: March 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED:  
 Konongwootong gundidj clan,  
 Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: George  
 MacNamara, hut keeper to  
 Francis Henty at Merino Downs  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 'Lanky Bill'

On 14 April 1840, Assistant Protector CW Sievwright reported the death of an Aborigine known as 'Lanky Bill' who had been shot in March by a hut keeper known as George MacNamara. 'Lanky Bill' was the sole survivor of the Konongwootong gundidj people massacred by the Whyte brothers on 8 March 1840 (see Fighting Hills massacre).

**Source:** VPRS 21



PLACE NAME: Fighting Waterholes  
 LOCATION: near Konongwootong  
 Reservoir  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1 April 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED:  
 Konongwootong gundidj clan,  
 Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: station  
 hands  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 numerous old men, women and  
 children

### *Fighting Waterholes*

This massacre was the second inflicted on the Konongwootong gundidj clan by the Whyte brothers in the first two months of their occupation of Konongwootong station, which began in February 1840. On 8 March 1840, the Whyte brothers massacred over 40 men, women, and children at the Hummocks. This became known as the Fighting Hills massacre. Despite the fact that Assistant Protector CW Sievwright had investigated this massacre, and John Whyte had personally informed the government of its transaction, no action was taken.

On 1 April, this second massacre occurred at some waterholes on Denhills Creek, which later became the Konongwootong Reservoir.

There are numerous references to the Fighting Waterholes massacre in the memoirs of William Moodie. Moodie

was at Wando Vale with his brother John Moodie from 1853 until 1875. He recalled in his memoirs that the Aborigines on Wando Vale

had received some punishment a few years before we got there, and as was their custom had deserted that part of the country for a time, the punishment was for depredations committed at Konongwootong and was carried out by a party organised by White [sic] brothers first at the Fighting Waterhole, then by following the frightened creatures to the big tea tree scrub in the Wando just below the station. A blackfellow told me some years after in his own way 'Blackfellow all runern along a scrub in creek, lubra look up scrub, white fellow shoot her down, 200 fine fat lubra shot'. The number may not be reliable as Jimmy when telling he held up his two hands three times.

According to Trangmar (1956) and Massola (1969) the massacre took the following shape. The Konongwootong gundidj had stolen a number of sheep and the Whyte brothers and their station hands determined to teach the Aborigines a lesson. After unsuccessfully searching for a trail, the party separated; the Whytes rode to the nearest station to 'drown their disappointment', and the station hands returned to the home station. En route the station hands passed the waterholes, at which were camped some old men, women and children of the clan. They shot the entire camp. When word of this massacre spread, there was an outcry and although the Whytes dismissed their men, there was no official inquiry.

On 15 June, 1840, James Croke, the Crown Prosecutor, sent the following letter to George Robinson, the Chief Protector:

As to the collision of the date in margin [1st April 1840] between the natives and the Messrs Whyte, I have the honor to state it to you as my opinion that the natives were the aggressors.

Henry Skilton (or Shilton) states in his deposition that as he was examining one of the lambs and 'was in the act of stooping, a spear came close to my head'. He states that he saw no Blacks then, but having fired in the direction where the spear came (which must be considered an indiscreet act) the natives rushed on them (the party) and to save his life got behind one of the party on horseback and all made their escape.

William Fox deposes that a hut keeper named Henry on looking into a tea tree scrub had a spear aimed at him which passed within an inch of his head, and that a shot having been fired into the scrub the Blacks rushed out upon the party, and that those on foot escaped by mounting behind them on horseback. This deponent also states that he was wounded on the hip with a spear and also in the hand.

The evidence of the Messrs Whyte corroborates the evidence of the above witnesses in reference to the collision here passed in the margin, and in addition states that they saw no shots take effect (New South Wales, despatches, vol 51).

In 1843, Robinson learned that the Aborigines had killed a European named Bassett, who was employed at the Whytes' station, in revenge for the Fighting Hills and Fighting Waterholes massacres (Robinson papers, 21 October 1843). Retribution also fell heavily upon the Whyte Brothers. One was drowned in Konongwootong Creek, a second was drowned at the Mill Bridge, and a third went to Queensland and was speared to death by local Aborigines (Massola 1969, 44).

After this second massacre, the Konongwootong gundidj remnant left their country and went to Murndal station on the Wannon River, where they joined with the Wanedeet gundidj clan from the neighbouring Dhauwurd wurrung. Eventually the survivors of these two clans joined the Lake Condah mission in the late 1860s.

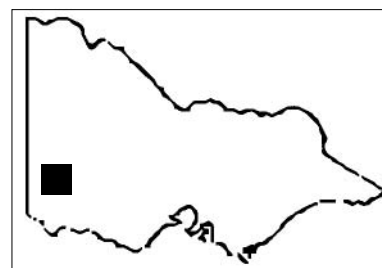
According to Trangmar (1956) the bodies of those killed at the Fighting Waterholes were buried in a mass grave on the bank of the overflow creek, below the present embankment at the reservoir. A number of skulls and other bones were uncovered in 1946 when, after heavy rain, the creek scoured its banks.

**Sources:** Fyans 1842 and 1845; New South Wales, Government, despatches, vol 51; Moodie memoirs; Trangmar 1956, Massola 1969; Blake 1977, Presland 1977b, 1980; Clark 1988

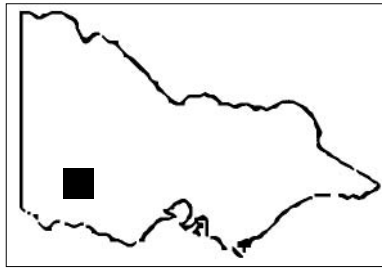
On 14 January 1842, Robert Savage who, in partnership with Captain HEP Dana was at Nangeela station on the Glenelg River, north of Casterton, from February 1840 until 1844, swore the following statement before J Blair, the police magistrate for the Portland district.

I have been a settler in this district for two years. I had one collision with the blacks; it was about 19 months ago. I and Mr Dana saw some blacks taking away about 30 sheep, which had been left at home by the shepherd. We went towards them and recovered the sheep, without firing a shot. The same afternoon we were riding up the river, looking for timber, when we met the same blacks; they instantly attacked us, before we could dismount or unsling our carbines. We were obliged to fire on them, and we saw one man fall dead. The blacks afterwards said there were two killed. This was reported to Captain Fyans [Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Western District].

**Source:** Britain 1844



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Nangeela station,  
 Glenelg River  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: June 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, presumably  
 Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Robert  
 Savage and Captain HEP Dana  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two  
 people



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: the Grange, southern Grampians  
 DATES OF INCIDENT: between June and September 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clans unknown, presumably Jardwadjali and Djab wurrung people  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Charles Wedge and others  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: five in June, 13 in August, and five in September

Charles Wedge's station at the Grange was met with strong Aboriginal resistance from its inception in June 1839. Within a few weeks of their arrival, the settlers had lost 300 sheep, a cow and calf, and a horse. Wedge told his uncle (John Helder Wedge) on 13 November 1839 that the Aborigines had wounded his shepherd, killed his horse and milch cow and made off with two hundred sheep. 'You may depend', he wrote, 'I do not allow these things to be done with impunity' (in Christie 1979, 61).

In March 1840, a group of 18 Aborigines attempted to take over the hut and store of the head station. As a defence, Wedge had mounted a small swivel gun near his home station, which he freely used (Corris 1968, 69). On this occasion, the swivel gun was used to repel the attack. According to Patrick Codd, Wedge's accountant, no one 'on this occasion' was killed or wounded (Garden 1984, 17).

In May 1840, the Aborigines killed Codd, who had just left the Grange to take up employment on John Cox's Mount Rouse station. Codd was infamous for his mistreatment of Aboriginal women (*Port Phillip Herald*, 6 September 1842). Figara Alkapareet (Roger) was hanged for the murder of Patrick Codd. Before his death he insisted that he was not guilty, but that Codd deserved to die as he 'was too free with black lubras and had ill used many of them'. Wedge reported what happened after Codd's killing in the following manner.

On the following day or soon after Codd met his death, the squatters in the neighbourhood went in pursuit of the natives; but, owing to the wetness of the season, they did not succeed in revenging themselves so far as they intended; however, I believe three of four suffered . . . They [the squatters] are determined to exterminate this hostile tribe, without such protection is given them as will enable them to live in comparative security. (Australia 1924, 242)

Wedge took his revenge on 11 June 1840, when his party killed at least five Aborigines (Britain 1844; Lang 1847).

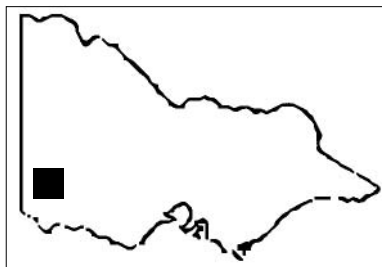
In August there was a series of raids on Charles Wedge's flocks. On 12 August 1840, a further ten Aborigines were shot by Wedge and his brothers near the Grampians (Reece 1974, 22). On 28 August 1840, the Aborigines drove off nearly 1,300 of Wedge's sheep that were in the care of Colin Isaacs. A pursuit party was organised by Charles Wedge, and the sheep were recovered in the Victoria valley. Assistant Protector CW Sievwright investigated this massacre, and learned that six Europeans were implicated in the massacre which resulted from 30 Aborigines having stolen some sheep. In the search for these sheep, the Europeans found the Aboriginal party, some of whom threw spears and were immediately fired upon. According to Sievwright, the Europeans involved in this case were: Charles Wedge, his brother Henry Wedge, Joseph Read, Thomas Grant (overseer for John Cox at his Mount Rouse station), William Marsh, and RW Knowles (manager of the Mount Sturgeon station of Dr Robert Martin) (Orton 1840–42, 12 January 1841). Garden (1984, 17) has listed Charles Wedge, his brother Henry, Knowles, Peter Aylward (a squatter at Mount Rouse), Thomas Grant, and a Mr Gibb. Sievwright took depositions which he presented to James Croke, the Crown Prosecutor, who formed the opinion that the Aborigines had perpetrated the 'outrages' and ought to be punished. He considered the killings were in self-defence (VPRS 21).

Chief Protector George Robinson records a third Wedge 'collision', occurring in September 1840, when five Aborigines were killed (Robinson papers, vol 57, 1 September 1845).

On 7 May 1841, Robinson noted that Andrew Forlonge's station, formerly Wedge's on the Grange, was a place celebrated for the maltreatment of Aborigines. Forlonge acquired the Grange in July 1840 and held the station until September 1843. On 13 May, Robinson recorded that in front of the hut at Forlonge's dairy station there was a swivel gun mounted for the purpose of shooting Aborigines. He believed this was the same gun that had been at the station when Wedge held the license. By 3 June 1841, the swivel gun had been relocated to Forlonges dairy station. On 28 June 1841, Acheson French, the police

magistrate based in the Grange district, took Robinson to the place, near Wedge's, where Wedge's people had an 'affray' with Aborigines.

**Sources:** Christie 1979, 61; Orton 1840–42; Australia, Parliament, vol 21; VPRS 21; *Port Phillip Herald*, 6 September 1842; Britain 1844; Robinson papers, vol 57; Lang 1847; Corris 1968; Reece 1974; Presland 1977b; Christie 1979; Garden 1984



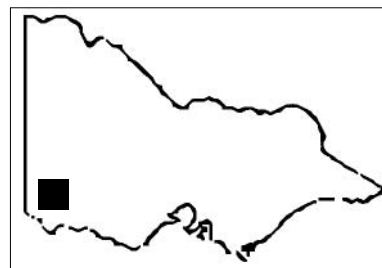
PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: junction of Wannon and Glenelg Rivers  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1841  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Jardwadjali or Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: employees of Augustine Barton  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 17 people

Massola (1969) refers to a massacre north of Coleraine, at Wootong Vale, where 17 people lost their lives after eating damper made from flour poisoned with arsenic, given to them by one of the hut keepers (see also Dhauwurd Wurrung, *Murdering Flat* [2]). This may well be a reference to the alleged death of between 15 and 17 Aborigines, principally women and children, from eating poisoned damper given to them by white men at Augustine Barton's sheep station, at the junction of the Wannon and Glenelg Rivers (Robinson papers, vol 57, 1 September 1845). Robinson refers to this poisoning in another letter dated 4 January 1842.

**Sources:** Robinson papers, vol 25; Robinson papers, vol 57; Massola 1969

On 5 September 1842, Trevor Winter made the following statement to J Blair, the police magistrate for the Portland Bay district.

About a month ago, one of his cousin's shepherds, when at his supper, heard the sheep rush; he went to the yard unarmed, supposing it to be occasioned by native dogs, and found the sheep gone; and following them, found they were driven away by natives. He returned to the hut for assistance and arms, and recovered, as he thought, all the sheep; but on counting them the following morning, found 196 missing: and deponent, Mr Butcher, and a servant started immediately on the tracks of the sheep, and found the remains of 35 of them a short distance from another of his stations. Deponent then followed on the tracks again till he came to a fire, where the blacks were: he told them if they would give up the remainder of sheep, he would not be angry with them: they were principally blacks that had been residing on deponent's station, and whom he has been feeding for the last two years. One of them asked deponent, 'What for you sulky? sheep no belong you; come on, me no frighten; buy, buy plenty you black fellow.' They then made preparation to surround him, and the black just alluded to poised his spear to strike him, when he fired and shot him, as he has since heard, mortally. To escape being surrounded, deponent and his party then retreated, and were pursued by the blacks. Three days after, he went out with Mr Cook, his cousin, and three men, to endeavour to recover some of the sheep, or at all events the skins; and on passing through the scrub, found 80 sheep alive, with their legs twisted out of the sockets, and the remains of about 12 sheep; and proceeding further on, found where the blacks had just been encamped, which was close to the spot where he had first fallen in with them, and where they still were. Mr Cooke and one of the men rode up to them, to say where the remainder of the sheep were, when they threw their spears at him and the man. Mr Cook called to deponent, who was on the opposite side of the swamp, to come over; he did so, and as he was approaching,



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: either Tahara or Spring Valley stations  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: August 1842  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, presumably Jardwadjali or Dhauwurd wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Trevor Winter's employees  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one person



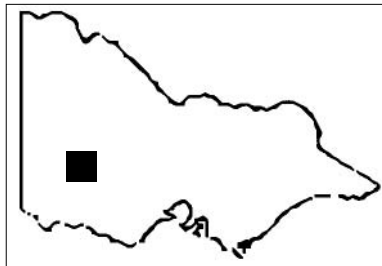
a black jumped from behind a tree, cried 'Come on,' and threw his spears at him, which stuck into a tree over his head; deponent instantly fired at, and surrounded him. The spot where they had the sheep was not above 12 miles [19 kilometres] from the stations; and they had driven them by a circuit of at least 30 or 40 miles [48–64 kilometres] to it, crossing every swamp they came to, so that horses could not follow on the track.

(signed) Trevor Winter

Given before me at Portland, this 3rd day of September 1844.

(signed) J Blair, JP  
Police Magistrate

**Source:** Britain 1844, 235–36



In August 1843, a large group of Aborigines attacked WJ Purbrick's Koroite station on Konongwootong Creek, adjoining Coleraine, and drove off 180 sheep. Captain HEP Dana, whose Native Police were stationed at nearby Mount Eckersley, was notified and with seven native troopers, he followed the Aborigines into the Victoria Range. In the conflict that ensued,

PLACE NAME: none  
LOCATION: Victoria Range  
DATE OF INCIDENT: 6 August 1843  
ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Jardwadjali language  
EUROPEANS INVOLVED: HEP Dana  
and a detachment of the Native  
Police Corps  
REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: 20  
people

Captain Dana's troop fired simultaneously upon the savages four or five times, seven or eight of them were shot dead on the spot, and many wounded; the remainder retreated to the scrub and it is supposed about twenty of their number have been shot in the affray. (*Port Phillip Gazette*, 26 August 1843)

Eight sheep were found slaughtered, but the rest were recovered. According to the *Port Phillip Gazette*, the settlers were 'in perfect ecstasies', declaring that a 'real service has been done for them' (*Port Phillip Gazette*, 26 August 1843).

On their return to the Native Police depot near Dandenong, the troopers involved gave Assistant Protector William Thomas an account of what happened.

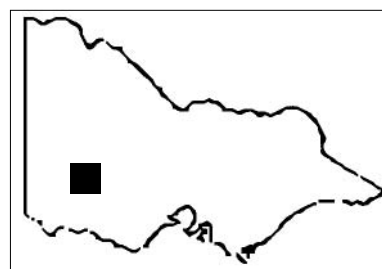
One black related to me how many had been killed, how many each shot — the gross number of 17; when done he says 'Marnamat that very good that' waiting for my applause . . . I asked them why not take blackfellows like white man take white man when he steal; he said 'Captain say big one stupid catch them, very good shoot them. You blackfellows no shoot them me handcuff you and send you to jail. (Thomas papers, report, 1 September–1 December 1843)

That night Thomas asked the corporal (Gellibrand) if they buried the bodies or made sure they were dead. He replied:

'Oh no we shot and went on' . . . that he saw a Black's gutts [sic] shot out and the Black pulled them up and shoved them in his belly and run off. Those the police caught they tied to a tree and flogged, one so unmercifully that the blood spurted over the bystanders. (Thomas papers, report, 1 September–1 December 1843)

**Sources:** *Port Phillip Gazette*, 26 August 1843; Thomas papers, report, 1 September–1 December 1843, VPRS 4410; VPRS 90; Christie 1979

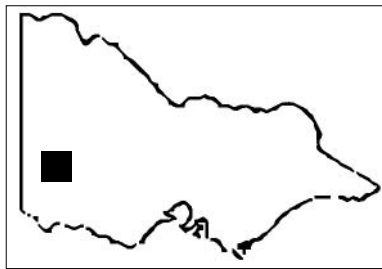
On 20 August 1843, HEP Dana, the Commandant of the Native Police Corps, reported to Superintendent CJ La Trobe, informing him that, when he arrived at the Grange on 24 July, police magistrate Acheson French advised him to divert to the Wando and the Glenelg Rivers because of depredations that had been committed there. He remained in this region until 8 August. On 9 August he was visited by Henry Dwyer, a squatter at Victoria Valley station on Dwyers Creek, north of Cavendish, who reported that the Aborigines had attacked his station and taken 111 sheep. Dana proceeded to his station with four of his men and eventually found the tracks of the Aborigines. He followed them over the Victoria Range and across the head of the Glenelg River, through swamps and scrub for four days. On the evening of the fourth day, he came across the Aborigines in a bight of the



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: vicinity of Mount Zero  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 13 August 1843  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
                                   unknown, Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: HEP Dana  
                                   and a detachment of the Native  
                                   Police Corps  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: at  
                                   least four people

mountains about 24 kilometres from Mount Zero. One of his men reconnoitred the situation and reported that the sheep were in a yard and there were about 30 Aborigines. Before Dana's party could get to the sheep, the Aborigines rushed them out of the yard and over a rapid stream up into the rocks. At least four Aborigines were killed before his men could recover the sheep. Seventy sheep were destroyed.

**Sources:** VPRS 19; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: one of Thomas Ricketts's stations, on the Glenelg River, near Harrow  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 9 November 1843  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Thomas Ricketts and employees  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: three people

On 13 November 1843, Thomas Ricketts, settled on the Glenelg River at either Clunie or Longlands, near Harrow, wrote to J Blair, the police magistrate, and detailed recent 'interactions' he had had with Aborigines. On 6 November, 133 sheep were driven from close to his home station, on 8 and 9 November, 23 skins were recovered, and also on the 9th, at 1.00 pm, he came across a tribe of Aborigines and had 'a small skirmish', killing three Aborigines and recovering 52 living sheep.

**Sources:** VPRS 32; Clark 1990a

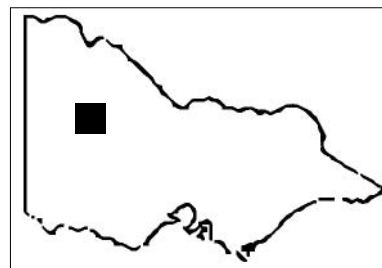
Chief Protector George Robinson, in his annual report for 1845, noted that the Wimmera, as it was new and recently occupied country, had been the scene of numerous 'outrages'. Sheep stealing was common.

On 17 October 1844, Horatio Ellerman, who was living with Darlot at Brighton station on the Wimmera River, adjoining Horsham, obtained a warrant from justice of the peace J Allan Cameron for the arrest of an Aborigine named Jim Crow, for threatening to kill Ellerman and all the settlers in the area and carry off their stock. On the following day, Cameron ordered Sergeant James Daplin of the Border Police, and three privates under his command, along with Ellerman, to execute the warrant. In the process, Jim Crow and another Aborigine known as Charlie were shot dead on a plain about 40 kilometres north of McPhersons station, Longerenong, on 19 October.

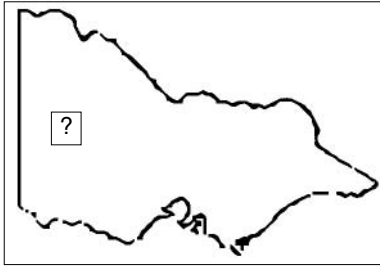
Daniel Cameron, overseer to William Taylor and Dugald McPherson (squatters at Longerenong, on the Wimmera River and Yarrambiack Creek), testified that Jim Crow and others had stolen numerous sheep from Taylor and McPherson's flocks. It was Cameron's opinion that he and his men had lived amicably with the Aborigines until they had aggrieved the Aborigines by accompanying the police to their mia mias. Daniel Cameron sent a note to Ellerman advising him to formally apply for warrants for the arrests of Jim Crow, Old Tom, Mr Lock and Old Man Belgium (also known as Jamie or Other One Tom).

Sergeant Daplin stated that he arrived at McPhersons station on the Wimmera River on 18 October. A Mr Pattison, on the station, informed him that Sergeant Bennett of the Native Police Corps had been there and had broken all the Aborigines' spears. He also informed him that a party comprised of Bennett, one corporal of the Native Police, Daniel Cameron, Ogilvy, Urquhart and John Greenwood, a labourer in the employ of Sheppard, were out in pursuit of the Aborigines.

**Sources:** VPRS 30; Parker, 1 January 1845, in Archives Authority of New South Wales 1846, 4/7153; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: country 40 kilometres north of Longerenong station  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 19 October 1844  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Sergeant James Daplin, and troopers Sparrow and Bushe of the Border Police; and Daniel Cameron, overseer at Longerenong station  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Jim Crow and Charlie



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 11 July 1845  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
 unknown, Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: HEP Dana  
 and a detachment of the Native  
 Police Corps  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
 three people

On 23 July 1845, HEP Dana, Commandant of the Native Police, reported to CJ La Trobe that according to his instructions of 23 May he had stationed six Native Police at Major William Firebrace's Vectis station (on the Wimmera River, west of Horsham), under the charge of William Dana, and four men in the charge of an Aboriginal corporal at John Horsfalls station (Rich Avon on the Avon River, south of Donald), and that he had given orders to both parties to patrol the surrounding country (VPRS 19). In another letter written on the same day he reported the following.

On Thursday, 11th inst, the natives attacked Messrs Baillie and Hamilton's Station [Polkemmet, on the Wimmera River, north west of Horsham], on a lake about 15 miles [23 kilometres] from Mt Arapiles, and succeeded in driving off 600 of their sheep. Mr Baillie immediately proceeded to his station, and sent to me for assistance. I accordingly started in the night from Major Firebrace's station with the detachment of my men stationed there, and arrived at Messrs Baillie and Hamilton's station the morning of the 12th inst.

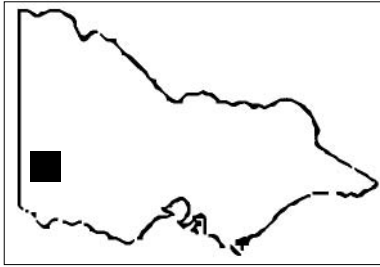
After some difficulty we found the track of the sheep that the natives had driven away, and followed a distance of about 30 miles [48 kilometres] through extensive heath and scrub. At about this distance the advance of my party came up with a number of sheep with their legs broken, and at a distance of a mile found 200 sheep in a bush yard, and a little further came up with the natives with a number of sheep in their possession.

Upon our appearance the natives uttered a yell and commenced threatening us with their spears, and threw a number of waddies and other missiles at us. Finding my party in some danger, I ordered the men to fire, when three of the natives fell, and some were wounded. Mr Dudley, overseer to Major Firebrace, received a severe blow on the head during the struggle, but none of the rest were hurt. It is with very great satisfaction to report

that the conduct of the men merited great praise for their coolness and determination on the occasion. The ringleader of the natives was cut down, after a long resistance, by Yupton, a corporal of the native police. The prisoner is badly wounded. I have ordered him to be marched to Melbourne as soon as his wounds will permit. (VPRS 90; Sadlier 1911, 74)

En route to Baillies station, Dana and the Native Police Corps passed ES Parker's Loddon protectorate station where they boasted 'that they were not going to take prisoners but to shoot as many blacks as they could'. In August 1845, Assistant Protector William Thomas had discussions with Sergeant Peter Roberts Bennett, a white trooper in the Native Police Corps. Bennett told Thomas that, the last time he served in the Western District, his commander, HEP Dana, had 'severely censured him for not killing the blacks'. Dana had subsequently received a letter from a settler, Major Firebrace, complaining that Bennett 'did not shoot the blacks' and requested that he be replaced with someone who would not be so particular. On the basis of this accusation of 'cowardice', Dana dismissed Bennett. Fels (1988, 152) is of the opinion that the major reason behind his dismissal was the creation of a space for Dana's younger brother, William Augustus Pultney Dana. Bennett remarked to Thomas that he (Thomas) had no idea how he (Bennett) had been treated because he had endeavoured to pacify, rather than kill, every Aborigine he had encountered. He believed that had he 'slaughtered the bodies of natives as I had occasionally met them that I should never have been dismissed from the police . . . (Thomas papers, 18 August 1845). Bennett died within three months of his dismissal.

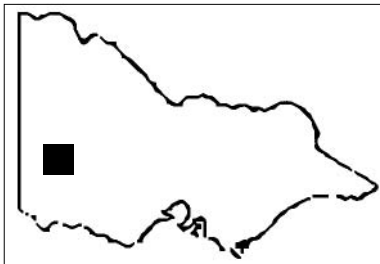
**Sources:** VPRS 90; VPRS 19; Thomas papers; Sadlier 1911; Christie 1979; Fels 1988; Clark 1990a



In 1846, James Blair, the police magistrate in Portland, reported that he had received an affidavit from Thomas Barrett concerning the shooting of an Aborigine on Mullagh station.

**Source:** VPRS 34

PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mullagh station, 11 kilometres north of Harrow  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 6 February 1846  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, presumably Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: employees of Walter Birmingham and Owen O'Reilly  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one person



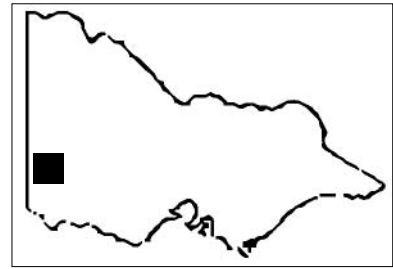
Chief Protector George Robinson, in his annual report for 1847, reported the killing of a 'domesticated' youth by John Stokell, the overseer of a sheep station at Mount Talbot, presumably Wonwondah, held by WF Splatt and CP Pynsent.

**Source:** Robinson papers, vol 61

PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Mount Talbot  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1847  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John Stokell  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one person

On 26 June 1849, James Lloyd, a hut keeper in the employ of John Ralston at Roseneath station on the Glenelg River, was keeping his hut at the outstation known as Knantee. At midday, two men and a woman came to his hut and asked for tea, sugar, and flour. Lloyd told them he did not have any, to which the Aboriginal people said he 'was a big one liar'. One of the men began striking him with a tomahawk and, picking up his gun, Lloyd shot the woman in the stomach. Lloyd fled the outstation and went to the home station, with one of the Aboriginal men in pursuit for 13 kilometres. On 27 June, he went in search of Edward Henty, the nearest magistrate, but unable to locate him, he went to magistrate Arthur Pilleau, at Hilgay on the Wannon River. The Crown Prosecutor James Croke issued a warrant for Lloyd's arrest but this was unable to be served as he had absconded.

**Source:** VPRS 44



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Wannon River  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 26 June 1849  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
                                     unknown, Jardwadjali language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: James  
                                     Lloyd, a shepherd/hut keeper in  
                                     the employ of John Ralston,  
                                     Roseneath station  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one  
                                     person





## WATHA WURRUNG

The Watha wurrung (literally no-tongue) people traditionally occupied the Geelong, Ballarat and Beaufort districts of western Victoria. The 25 Watha wurrung clans adhered to a patrilineal moiety system: *bunjil* (eaglehawk) and *waa* (crow). Clans intermarried with the Gulidjan, Djab wurrung, Djargurd wurrung, and Djadja wurrung. Watha wurrung clans gathered at Lake Bolac to harvest eels with local Djab wurrung and neighbouring Girai wurrung clans. They also hunted emus and other game at Mirraewuae Swamp, near Hexham, with northeastern Dhauwurd wurrung, Djab wurrung, and Girai wurrung groups. They traded axe stones and adhesive gum at trade meetings near Lake Terang.

Coastal Watha wurrung people had dealings with the *ngamadjidj* (white people) from at least February 1802 when Lieutenant John Murray charted part of Indented Head and named Swan Bay. In May 1802, Matthew Flinders climbed the You Yangs, camped at Indented Head and met with several Watha wurrung. The first known violent encounter was in October 1803 when Lieutenant J Tuckey was surveying and exploring Corio Bay, and several Aborigines were shot and wounded.

William Buckley, the convict who escaped from Lieutenant Colonel David Collins short-lived Sorrento settlement in December 1803, eventually made his way to Indented Head, where he was adopted by the Watha wurrung balug clan, after they recognised him as the resuscitated Murrangurk, a member of the clan long since dead. Buckley lived with this clan until July 1835, when he made himself known to John Batman's party camped at Indented Head. Batman, after his 'treaty' with Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung clan heads in June 1835, produced a deed for the Bellarine Peninsula and Indented Head. The deed identified this land as the possession of the Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung, which clearly suggests the Geelong

WATHA WURRUNG

deed is a fabrication, as this land belonged to the Watha wurrung.

By the end of 1836, sheep runs spread around Geelong within a semi-circle of 40 kilometres radius. In the following year, streams of squatters from Melbourne and Geelong met and thrust westwards towards the Colac district. The Bacchus Marsh lands were the next to be occupied, and then the headwaters of the Leigh and Buninyong.

During the period of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate (1838–49), the Watha wurrung country fell within two regions of jurisdiction. ES Parker had responsibility for northern Watha wurrung, but the majority came under the care of CW Sievwright, who based himself on the Barwon River near

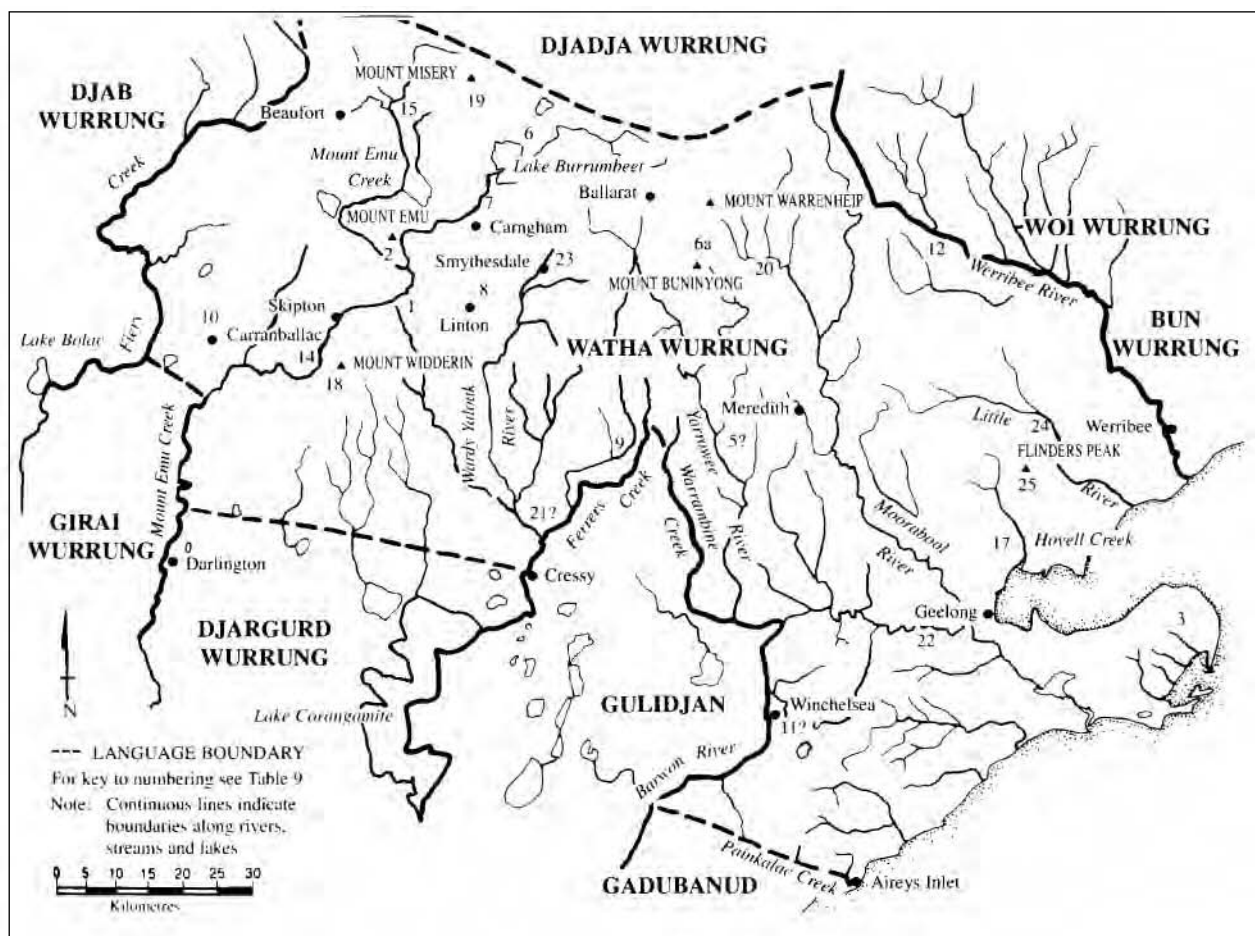


Figure 15 Watha wurrung Aboriginal languages and clans

Fyansford, in May 1839. He remained there until February 1841, when he relocated to Lake Keilambete in Girai wurrung country. George Robinson, the Chief Protector, in his annual report for 1841, noted that the Watha wurrung had declined to occupy the Wesleyan mission station at Birregurra in Gulidjan country, and suggested a tract of their own land should be reserved.

In 1848, EB Addis, the commissioner for the county of Grant, replied to a circular on the subject of proposed reserves

**Table 9** Watha wurrung clans (on Figure 15)

NO	CLAN NAME	APPROXIMATE LOCATION
1.	Barere barere balug	Colac and Mount Bute stations
2.	Beerekwart balug	Mount Emu
3.	Bengalat balug	Indented Head
4.	Berrejin balug	unknown
5.	Borogundidj	Yarrowee River
6.	Burrumbeet balug	Lakes Burrumbeet and Learmonth
6a.	Keyeet balug	Mount Buninyong
7.	Carringum balug	Carngham
8.	Carninje balug	Emu Hill station, Linton's Creek
9.	Corac balug	Commeralghip station, and Kuruc-a-ruc Creek
10.	Corrin corrinjer balug	Carranballac
11.	Gerariture	west of Lake Modewarre
12.	Marpeang balug	Blackwood, Myrniong, and Bacchus Marsh
13.	Mear balug	unknown
14.	Mojjerre balug	Mount Emu Creek
15.	Moner balug	Trawalla station, Mount Emu Creek
16.	Monmart	unknown
17.	Neerer balug	between Geelong and the You Yangs
18.	Pakeheneek balug	Mount Widderin
19.	Peerickelmoon balug	near Mount Misery
20.	Toooloora balug	Mount Warrenheip, Lal lal Creek, west branch of Moorabool River
21.	Woodeallope gundidj	Wardy Yalloak River, south of Kuruc-a-ruc Creek
22.	Watha wurrung balug	Barrabool Hills
23.	Wongerrer balug	head of Wardy Yalloak River
24.	Worinyaloke balug	west side of Little River
25.	Yaawangi	You Yang Hills

for Aborigines, stating that he recommended three small tracts of land be set aside for Aborigines in the county of Grant: the site at the breakwater near the junction of the Moorabool and Barwon Rivers, Sievwright's temporary station in 1839; the Buntingdale station; and land near Point Lonsdale.

The abolition of the protectorate in 1849 heralded a decade of relative government neglect. The Watha wurrung gravitated to the townships, especially the gold diggings, and pastoral stations formed on their traditional clan estates. With the establishment of a central board to 'watch over the interests of Aborigines' in 1860, the Watha wurrung had three reserves gazetted for their use: Steiglitz, 259 hectares between the Moorabool and Werribee Rivers (1860–1902); Karngun, 1.2 hectares on the east bank of the Barwon River, one mile south of the Barwon Bridge in Winchelsea (1861–1900); and Mount Duneed, one acre (1861–1906). In the latter part of the 1860s, a fourth reserve was gazetted at Chepstowe, on Baillie Creek; it was closed in 1901.

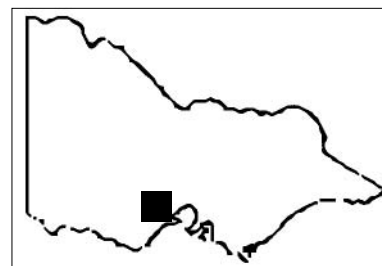
In the latter half of the 1860s, many Watha wurrung were encouraged to settle at Coranderrk, in present day Healesville. In 1868 the mayor of Geelong provided a tomb in readiness for the deaths of the last two Watha wurrung resident in Geelong. Ellen Richards, who died in 1921 at the age of 73, was a member of the Burrumbeet balug, the Watha wurrung clan at Lake Burrumbeet.

The earliest known killing of an Aboriginal person by Europeans in western Victoria occurred in October 1803 in Watha wurrung country.

## **MASSACRE SITES IN WATHA WURRUNG COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)**

The first known violent encounter with the Watha wurrung was in October 1803 when Lieutenant J Tuckey, part of Lieutenant Colonel David Collins's short-lived settlement at Sorrento, was surveying and exploring the North West Harbour (Corio Bay). Tuckey met a considerable number of Aboriginal people near the You Yangs, probably belonging to the Yaawangi and Watha wurrung balug clans, but the encounter turned ugly when two of the Aborigines were shot and several wounded. Tuckey (1805, 168) noted that the Aborigines appeared to have 'perfect' knowledge of the use of firearms, and were terrified at the sight of them.

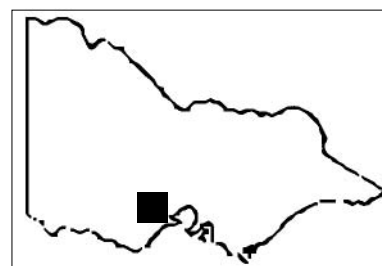
**Sources:** Tuckey 1805; Wynd 1981; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Corio Bay  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: October 1803  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: possibly Yaawangi and Watha wurrung balug clans, Watha wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Lieutenant J Tuckey and others  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two people

On 7 October 1836, Woolmudgin (or Curacoine), the clan head of the Watha wurrung balug and one of five Watha wurrung who had made friendly overtures to James Gumm and William Todd's party at Indented Head on 22 June 1835, had gone to Captain Charles Swanston's Indented Head station near Geelong, where Frederick Taylor was overseer. Mistaking Woolmudgin as the Aborigine who had attacked Captain James Flitt with a tomahawk three months earlier, Taylor tied him to a tree and sent for Flitt to identify him. Before Flitt arrived, John Whitehead, one of Taylor's shepherds, panicked and shot Woolmudgin, possibly with Taylor's consent, and dumped him in the Barwon River. Whitehead was sent to Sydney for trial, but was subsequently released due to lack of evidence. Taylor and Flitt absconded to Tasmania to avoid giving evidence.

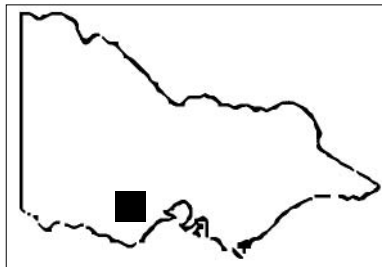
On 11 July 1839, Chief Protector George Robinson informed Assistant Protector CW Sievwright that about two or three years earlier, an Aborigine was barbarously murdered by



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Barwon River, Barrabool Hills  
 DATES OF INCIDENT: 17 October 1836  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Watha wurrung balug clan, Watha wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: John Whitehead  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: Woolmudgin alias Curacoine

some white men at or near the Barrabool Hills. Apparently the Aborigine was first bound to a tree and then shot. Some of the offending party were apprehended and sent to Sydney in the sloop the *Rattlesnake* for trial, but because the principal witness, whom Robinson believed to be the overseer, absconded, the prisoner escaped punishment. Robinson requested Sievwright to elicit what information he could concerning the affair (Robinson papers, vol 24). This was a reference to Whitehead's killing of Woolmudgin in October 1836.

**Sources:** Robinson papers, vol 24; Cannon 1982; Clark 1990a



In the summer of 1837–38, a Watha wurrung party of nearly 200 came down the Leigh valley from Mount Mercer to raid the Clyde Company's Golf Hill station on the Yarrowee River, north of Inverleigh, with spears and firesticks. Two Aborigines were killed in the 'battle' that ensued.

**Sources:** Brown 1935, 145; Christie 1979; Cannon 1982

PLACE NAME: none

LOCATION: unknown

DATE OF INCIDENT: summer of  
1837–38

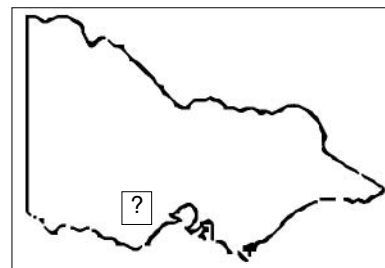
ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
unknown, Watha wurrung  
language

EUROPEANS INVOLVED: a shepherd  
and a hut keeper, Clyde  
Company employees

REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two  
people

On 6 February 1840, James Dredge, the Assistant Protector responsible for the Goulburn District of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, was told by several Nattarak balug, the Daung wurrung clan belonging to the Coliban and upper Campaspe Rivers, that three Barrabul (Watha wurrung balug) had been shot by some soldiers for stealing sheep.

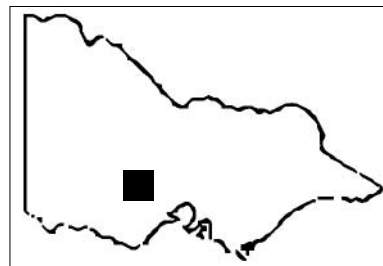
**Sources:** Dredge diary 1839–43, 6 February 1840; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: unknown  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1839 or 1840  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Watha wurrung balug clan, Watha wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: soldiers  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: three people

Chief Protector George Robinson noted in his journal that two Aborigines were killed at or near Anderson and Mills's public house in Buninyong.

**Source:** Robinson journals 1839–49, 25 November 1847



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Anderson and Mills's public house, Buninyong  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 25 November 1847  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan unknown, Watha wurrung language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: two people





## WERGAIA

The Wergaia language area was divided into four major dialects: Wudjubalug, Djadjala, Buibadjali, and Biwadjali. This language area corresponds to Tindale's (1974) Wotjobalek, Warke Warke, and Jupagalk. Jupagalk is in fact a Wergaia clan, Warke Warke appears to be a variant name for Wergaia, and Wotjobalek is a sub-dialect. The Wergaia were also called the Maligundidj (meaning people belonging to *mali* [mallee]), derived from the mallee eucalyptus shrubland which covered their territory. The 20 Wergaia clans adhered to a matrilineal organisation and were divided into two moiety: *gabadj* (black cockatoo) and *grugidj* (white cockatoo). One's moiety was called one's *mir*. Wergaia clans intermarried with Jardwadjali and Djadja wurrung clans. They also attended ceremonies with their northern neighbours: Dadidadi, Wadiwadi and Ladjiladji.

The first *ngamadjidj* (white man) to intrude on Wergaia land was probably the explorer Edward John Eyre, who followed the course of the Wimmera River and named Lake Hindmarsh in 1838. His report of good feed and water on the lake soon led to the pastoral occupation of the region, and by 1847 the fringe of the Mallee was completely taken up. During the first ten years of European invasion, Wergaia resistance was considerable, and Europeans could not travel unarmed.

In 1856, the Moravian missionaries, the Reverends Hagenauer and Spieseke, who had operated a mission at Lake Boga in Wembawemba country since 1850, were seeking an alternative mission site. They considered Lake Hindmarsh a suitable site, and in January 1859 they visited the region, staying with HC Ellerman at his Antwerp station. Ironically, they selected Banji-bunag, the site of an 1846 killing, as a suitable mission station site. They chose to call this site Ebenezer. Ellerman actively encouraged the mission site and added a large area of his station to the 105 hectares granted by the government. Many Wergaia were attracted to the station, as the site was traditionally a corroboree ground and meeting place.

WERGAIA

One of the missionaries' first converts to Christianity was a Gur balug youth called Pepper, a name taken from an Irishman, John Pepper, who had lived on Gur balug land for 11 years. In August 1860, Pepper was baptised and chose Nathaniel as his Christian name. Nathaniel's brother, Phillip, was converted in 1864.

In 1862, the Hagenauers left Ebenezer and went to Gippsland to work. For a time, Nathaniel Pepper was taken to England. After the death of his wife in 1869, Nathaniel Pepper decided to leave Ebenezer and live with the Hagenauers at Ramahyuck, near Lake Wellington in Gippsland, where he died in 1873. In 1871, 692 hectares were added to the Ebenezer

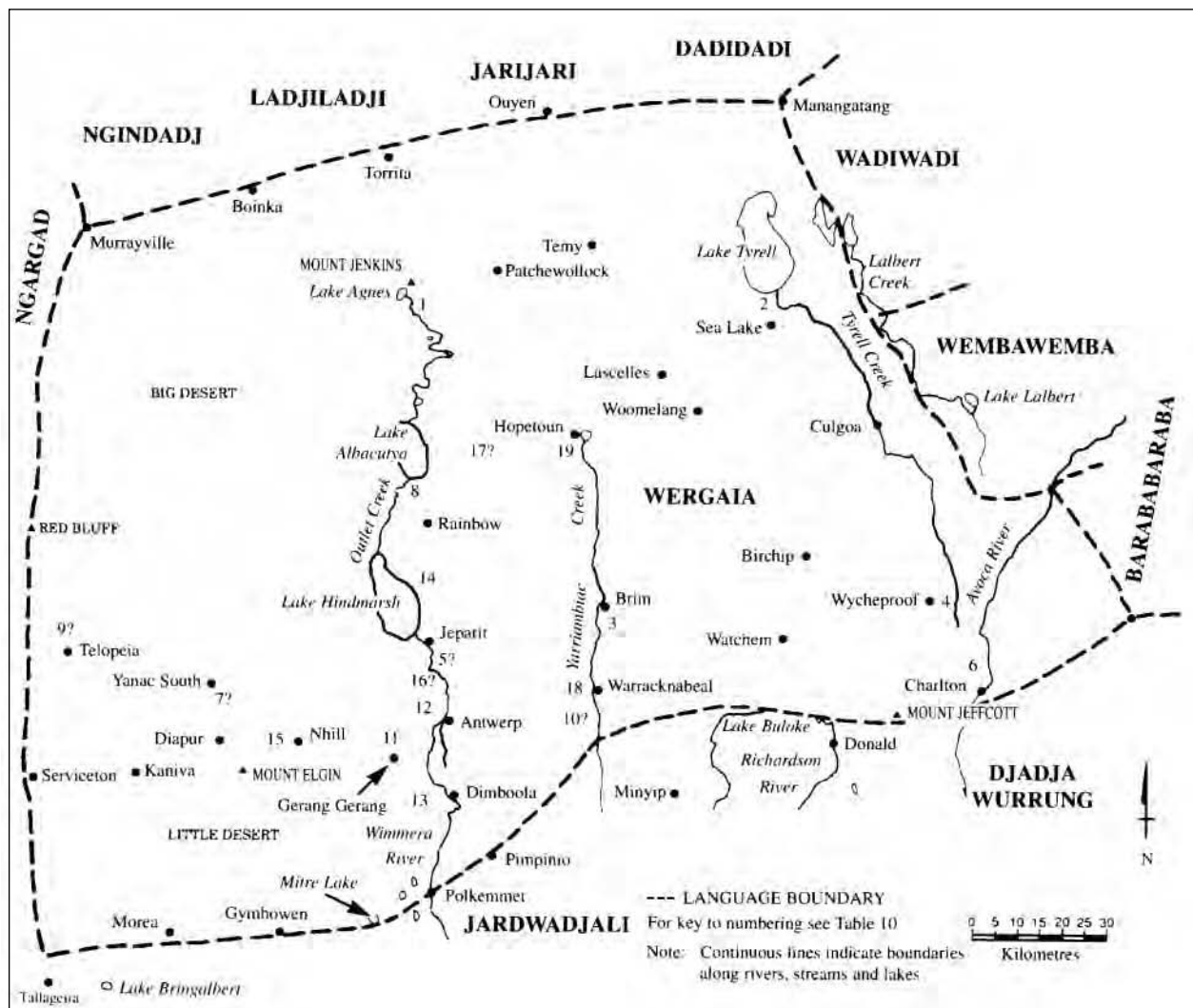


Figure 16 Wergaia language area and clans

mission station, and by 1873 the reserve had been fenced in and subdivided into grazing paddocks. Twenty-two stone and log cottages and huts had been erected there for the Wergaia. Under the terms of the Aborigines Protection Law Amendment Act 1886, 25 'half castes' were forced to leave Ebenezer.

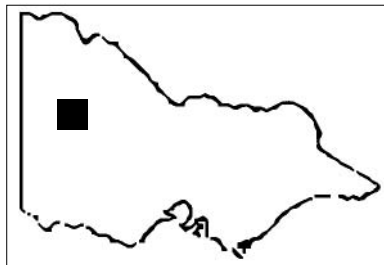
In 1902, the state government came to the decision that Ebenezer should be closed owing to the small number of Aborigines resident at the station. Accordingly, in 1904, the mission station was revoked and handed back to the Victorian Lands Department and made available for selection. The exception was the churchyard and small reserve left for the old tribespeople. Some of the Wergaia were moved to Lake Tyers in Gippsland. Indeed, by 1924, most Wergaia families had been forcibly removed to Lake Tyers, either under police escort, or because rations were withdrawn or children seized. Some Wergaia families, however, avoided removal and remained in the district.

**Table 10** Wergaia clans (on Figure 16)

NO	CLAN NAME	APPROXIMATE LOCATION
1.	Banyiinong balug	Lake Wirrengren and Wirrengren Plain
2.	Boorong	Lake Tyrell
3.	Brim	Brim
4.	Bulla bulla wycher	Mount Wycheproof
5.	Carroit balug	Wimmera River, near Lake Hindmarsh
6.	Djubagalg gundidj	Avoca River, north of Charlton
7.	Duwin barap	between Mount Elgin and Balerook stations
8.	Djagil balug	Lake Albacutya
9.	Jackal barap	north of Serviceton and west of El Dorado station
10.	Jarambiuk	Yarriambiack Creek, near Warracknabeal
11.	Jarrung jarrung	Gerung Gerung
12.	Kapun kapun bara	Ebenezer Aboriginal station, Antwerp
13.	Kreitch balug	Dimboola
14.	Gur balug	Lake Hindmarsh
15.	Nyill balug	Nhill Swamp
16.	Porrone gundidj	Wimmera River, near Lake Hindmarsh
17.	Wengen marongeitch	east of Lake Albacutya
18.	Witch wundaiuk	Warracknabeal
19.	Yarrikuluk	Lake Coorong
20.	Yoonjareup	unknown

In 1980, Phillip Pepper, the grandson of Nathaniel Pepper, wrote that 'only for the missionaries there wouldn't be so many Aborigines walking around today. They're the ones that saved the day for us. Our people were finished before the mission men came'. In the latter part of 1981 or early 1982, the Aboriginal community met in Horsham and applied for registration as an Aboriginal cooperative. It was eventually decided to register the community as the Goolum Goolum Aboriginal Cooperative. Goolum Goolum or Gulum Gulum is a Wergaia word meaning 'stranger, especially a dangerous stranger, a wild blackfellow'.

### ***MASSACRE SITES IN WERGAIA COUNTRY (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER)***



PLACE NAME: 'Banji-bunag'  
 LOCATION: a campsite on the Wimmera River, the subsequent site of the Ebenezer Aboriginal station  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: February 1846  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: Gur balug clan, Wergaia language  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: Horatio C Ellerman and others  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS: one woman

Horatio C Ellerman and John Shaw occupied Antwerp station in February 1846, and Ellerman soon gained notoriety in the district for his harsh treatment of the local clan, which resisted his encroachment. In February 1846, some sheep were missing from Antwerp station and Ellerman led a punitive party in pursuit of the Aborigines they suspected had stolen them. At Banji-bunag, a campsite on the Wimmera River, they attacked a group of Gur balug and Ellerman fired at random, killing one of the women. The Aborigines fled leaving the woman's child, subsequently named Willie, whom Ellerman took home and trained as his personal retainer. Lost during a trip to Melbourne, Willie was found by some white children on their way to school. He was adopted by the Reverend S Lloyd Chase, who took him to England to be educated and trained for missionary work among his own people. In England, where he was baptised as Willie Wimmera, he found the climate and the loneliness unbearable and died of consumption in 1852. The experience of raising this child may have

changed Ellerman's attitude to the Aborigines, for he was an advocate of Aboriginal missions by 1859 (Christie 1979).

In October 1850, the Moravian church, a protestant sect which traced its origins to the Hussites (a Bohemian religious order), established a small mission station at Lake Boga in Wembawemba territory, under the control of two missionaries, the Reverends FA Hagenauer and FW Spieseke. In 1856, after difficulties with the mission station at Lake Boga, the Moravians were promised land for an alternative mission station. At the 1858–59 Legislative Council's select committee into the condition of the Aborigines, Hagenauer and Spieseke advised the need for Aborigines to have reserves from around 3 to 5 hectares in size, for hunting grounds under the care of missionaries. Hagenauer considered Lake Hindmarsh a desirable location, because it was distant from settlers and the general white population and 56 kilometres from any public house, and the land was not desired by any squatters. The number of Aborigines in the immediate vicinity was estimated at 468.

In January 1859, Hagenauer and Spieseke stayed with Ellerman at Antwerp, where they selected Banji-bunag/Bungobudnutt/Punyo Bunnutt, a camping site near Antwerp, which they called Ebenezer (Christie 1979, 161; Pepper 1980, 15). This campsite was chosen because its limestone ridge afforded protection from floods, and stone for building material. Timber and water were abundant, and Ellerman actively encouraged the mission work, adding a large area of his station to the 105 hectares granted by the government. Richard Grace, William Macredie, and Horatio Ellerman were appointed trustees of the mission in 1861, when a Crown grant issued the mission 768 hectares. Ellerman and Charles Wilson were honorary correspondents to the Central Board appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines in the colony of Victoria. During 1860, the average number of Aborigines attending the station was 22, with as many as 140 who visited when they required food and clothing.

Many Wergaia were attracted to the station, as the site was traditionally a corroboree ground and meeting place. It was

also the site where Ellerman had killed the Gur balug woman in 1846. Ellerman gave the Moravians the use of a nearby shepherd's hut, which was used as a classroom. At the mission, a pattern was emerging which began to annoy the missionaries. After receiving rations, the Aboriginal people would stage their own corroboree and then leave the station. The missionaries became hostile to this practice and soon forbade it on the grounds that the mission site had been consecrated. Understandably, the Wergaia were annoyed. In September 1859, Hagenauer asked the Aboriginal people at the station to attend a divine service, but they scoffed saying 'Pray, tomorrow'. The *Nge-im-it* (clan heads) then made three Wergaia youths, who were staying with them, leave their hut. Hagenauer protested and the Wergaia became angry, and the missionaries, fearing they may be attacked, retreated to their house and locked themselves inside. Only the timely arrival of Ellerman, whom the Wergaia feared, defused the situation.

Relations between the Wergaia and the Moravian missionaries continued to be strained until 2 May 1860, when Hagenauer, during a bible lesson, read an account of the story of Willie Wimmera. When he read the words 'My country is the Wimmera, my master is Mr Ellerman, and my mother was shot by a white man', the Wergaia wept and rose from their seats and one of the older youths said,

That was Jim Crow; I was with them when his mother fell dead after the ball entered her heart. That is his little brother, and outside in the camp is his old father, Dowler, and all of us are his cousins. Close to where this hut stands, under the shade of the tree, we children were sitting with our mothers, and down near the corner of the garden is where she was buried'. (Christie 1979, 162)

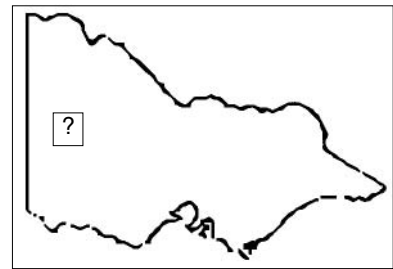
That evening at midnight, Hagenauer was shown the woman's grave and he wept with the Aborigines. Hagenauer considered this experience a watershed, after which the Wergaia regularly

attended the mission and were agreeable to listening to sermons in return for supplies.

**Sources:** Clark 1990a; Christie 1979; Pepper 1980

Chief Protector George Robinson, in his annual report for 1848, noted that one case of Aboriginal homicide by a European had occurred in the Wimmera district, as well as an unsubstantiated report of the destruction of several Aborigines by poisoning.

**Sources:** VPRS 2895; Clark 1990a



PLACE NAME: none  
 LOCATION: Wimmera district  
 DATE OF INCIDENT: 1848  
 ABORIGINES INVOLVED: clan  
                                   unknown, presumably Wergaia  
                                   or Jardwadjali languages  
 EUROPEANS INVOLVED: unknown  
 REPORTED ABORIGINAL DEATHS:  
                                   several people





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