An Indigenous History of Stonnington

A Report to the City of Stonnington

Residence of GA Robinson at Prahran on the Yarra. Oil painting on canvas. Mitchell Library ML 307.

Dr Ian D. Clark
Laura M. Kostanski

School of Business
University of Ballarat
30 June 2006

Contents Page

Abbreviations used in Report 5

Metric Conversions 5

Glossary of Terms 6

Orthography 7

Acknowledgements 7

1.0 Introduction 8

1.1 Overview 8
1.2 Study Area 10

2.0 Aboriginal Associations 11

2.1 Ethnography and land tenure 11
2.2 Boonwurrung – the language of the Yalukit-willam 16
2.3 The Kulin confederacy 16
2.4 Archaeological background 16
2.5 Pre-invasion life and culture 17
2.6 Boonwurrung names for flora and fauna 22
2.7 Aboriginal place names heritage 23
2.8 Aboriginal street names 26

3.0 Historical Background 30

3.1 Yarra Aboriginal Village Mission – George Langhorne 30
3.2 Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate – Establishment 1838-9 39
3.2.1 George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector 40
3.2.2 Robinson and Langhorne's establishment 40
3.2.3 Robinson's offices 46
3.2.4 Robinson's residences 52
3.2.5 The Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal People 56
3.3 Westernport District of the Aboriginal Protectorate 60
3.3.1 William Thomas, Assistant Protector 64
3.4 Yarra River at Melbourne 67
3.4.1 Other Related Places 71
3.5 Early surveying in the Melbourne district 72

4.0 Indigenous European History 74

4.1 European settlement after 1835 74
4.1.1 Relationships between Aboriginal people and the Protectorate 76
4.1.2 Relationships within Aboriginal communities 79
4.1.3 Interaction with the Native Police Corps 81
4.1.4 Health and the effects of European diseases 83
4.2 William Thomas 'Guardian of Aborigines', 1850 84
4.3 Boonwurrung demography 93
4.4 Twentieth century development and history 95

5.0 Cultural sites in the City of Stonnington 105

6.0 Conclusion 109

7.0 Bibliography 112

Appendices 119

Tables

2.1 Boonwurrung clan organization 11
2.2 Woiwurrung clan organization 12

4.1 Boonwurrung demographic transition according to primary sources 93

Figures

1.1 Study area 10

2.1 Bullourd aka Benbow 13
2.2 Derrimut 14
2.3 Aboriginal Camp Site 18
2.4 'East Kulin' language areas and clans 19
2.5 Aboriginal people fishing on the Merri Creek 20
2.6 Robinson's sketches of Eeling at Tromgin 22
2.7 Native Encampment on Banks of the Yarra River 23
2.8 William Thomas Sketch Map of Yarra Yarra River 28
2.9 Undated Photograph of 'Tivoli' 29

3.1 George Langhorne 31
3.2 Hoddle's 1839 map of Melbourne 34
3.3 William Barak, 1900 34
3.4 John Gardiner 36

3.5	Mrs Gardiner and Miss Gardiner	37
3.6	Tullamarine and Jin Jin	38
3.7	William Waterfield	39
3.8	George Augustus Robinson	42
3.9	George Langhorne	45
3.10	Untitled Drawing (Prahran Archives)	49
3.11	'Robinson, Black Protector – next to Miss Barker's'	50
3.12	Lieut. Charles Forrest	51
3.13	Waterloo Cottage	52
3.14	Residence of GA Robinson in Prahran on the Yarra	54
3.15	Residence of GA Robinson in Prahran on the Yarra	56
3.16	Walter George Arthur and Mary Ann Arthur	58
3.17	Trugernana	59
3.18	'Jack, Native of Cape Grim'	60
3.19	Wooreddy	61
3.20	Fanny	62
3.21	Robert	63
3.22	William Thomas	64
3.23	William Thomas	65
3.24	William Thomas	66
3.25	William Thomas's 1840 map of the Westernport District	67
3.26	Melbourne from the falls, 1837	70
3.27	Important places associated with the study area: 1839-49	72
4.1	George Augustus Robinson	80
4.2	Aboriginal Black Troopers	82
4.3	Robertson and Tom – Black Troopers	83
4.4	George Augustus Robinson	85
4.5	William Thomas	86
4.6	'Jimmy Dunbar and his Lubra – the last of the Mordialloc Tribe'	95
4.7	Banjo Clarke	97
4.8	Helen Baillie and others	98
4.9	Contemporary photograph of 462 Punt Road, Toorak, and former home of Helen Baillie	99
4.10	Kutcha Edwards at Malvern Town Hall	103
5.1	Ancient Treasures Dug from Kooyong Park Earth	106
Appendices		119
1.1	Jim Berg Interviews and Photographs of Helen Baillie and others	119
1.2	Keith Gove Interview (Pres. of Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation)	173
1.3	Notes on Benbow	183
1.4	Published journal paper on Derrimut	185

Abbreviations used in report

AAR Action for Aboriginal Rights
AAV Aboriginal Affairs Victoria
AGM Annual General Meeting
ASIO Australian Security and Intelligence Organisation
BPA Board for the Protection of Aborigines
CBA Central Board for Aborigines
CY Copy
ML Mitchell Library
Mss Manuscript
N.D. No Date
NSW V&P New South Wales *Votes and Proceedings*
RHSV Royal Historical Society of Victoria
SCR Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation
SLV State Library of Victoria
VDL Van Diemen's Land
VPRS Victorian Public Record Series

Metric conversions

Throughout this study weights and measures have been expressed in contemporary terms: imperial before 1970 and metric thereafter.

The British pound and, after 1900, the Australian pound, was the basic unit of currency in Victoria until the change to decimal currency in 1966 when one pound was worth two dollars. Contemporary monetary units have been expressed in this report. Before 1966 these were pounds, shillings, and pence.

The following conversion factors apply:

1 inch = 0.0254 m
1 foot = 0.305 m
1 yard = 0.914 m
1 mile = 1.6094 m

1 acre = 0.405 ha

1 penny (1d) = 0.83 cents
12 pence = 1 shilling
1 shilling = 10 cents
1 pound (£) = 2 dollars

Glossary of Terms

Acculturation: the modification of the culture of a group or individual as a result of contact with a different culture.

Berbira: the pejorative label the east Kulin used to refer to the Ganai peoples of Gippsland.

Bunjil: the east Kulin people divided their world into two halves (moieties) labelled *bunjil* (eaglehawk) and *waa* (crow). Individuals were identified with one or other of these moieties, which both shaped the patterned intermarriage of clans.

Clan: a named localised descent group (clan) whose members had an historical, religious and genealogical identity. Clan territories were defined by ritual and economic responsibilities.

Clan heads: men of distinguished achievement who had effective authority within their own groups, and were considered their rightful representatives in external affairs. Known as *ngurungaeta* by the Woiwurrung, Daungwurrung, and Ngurai-illam wurrung; and *ngarweet* amongst the Boonwurrung and Wathawurrung.

Ethnography: a detailed description of the culture of a particular society.

Exogamy: the custom by which a man or woman is obliged to marry outside his/her moiety and clan.

Ganai: a collective name used of the Gippsland languages1 that use the word 'ganai' meaning 'man, person'.

Goroke: *gurrk*, the Kulin feminine affix

Kulin: a name derived from 'kuli/guli', meaning 'man, person', that is used to refer to the collective languages1 that use this word. Often used to refer to a 'Kulin nation', this group stretches from Western Port Bay, Geelong, and much of the Wimmera and Mallee into New South Wales at Balranald. The eastern most languages1 in the Melbourne area are referred to as 'East Kulin'. Their dialects were mutually intelligible and their speakers formed an intermarrying confederacy.

Language1: in everyday discourse people identified themselves as speakers of a particular language (language1) such as Boonwurrung, Woiwurrung, and made judgements as to whether their way of speaking was 'the same language', or different from another's speech.

Language2: a chain of mutually intelligible languages1 constitutes a language2. This chain of related languages1 was called a 'nation' in nineteenth century parlance, such as Kulin nation.

Mainmait: a term meaning 'no good', 'foreign', 'wild men' used by the Kulin to refer to groups to their west who spoke a different language2 and with whom there was no intermarriage.

Matrilineal moiety: in matrilineal systems, moiety and clan identity is determined through one's mother (hence matrilineal). The east Kulin were patrilineal, the west Kulin - matrilineal.

Moiety: either of two primary social divisions of a tribe (see Bunjil).

Nation: a term used loosely to refer to clusters of languages1, or dialects that together form a language2 chain, as in the Kulin nation or the Ganai nation. Usually share moiety names and initiation ceremonies, and intermarry.

Patrilineal moiety: in patrilineal systems moiety and clan identity is derived from one's father (hence patrilineal),

Patrilocality: the custom of a pattern of marriage in which the couple settles in the husband's estate and community.

Riparian: of, on, or relating to the banks of a natural course of water.

Waa: see entry for *Bunjil*.

Wurrung: literally means 'language, tongue, or lip', a suffix added to many Kulin language names, as in Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung, Djabwurrung, Djadjawurrung.

Orthography

For reasons stated in the report in Chapter 2.2, the preferred orthography is Boonwurrung. Indigenous groups who assert a Boonwurrung connection use the spellings 'Bunurong' and 'Boonerwrung'. Boonwurrung is favoured as it ensures we do not pronounce the first vowel as the vowel of *sun*, *pun*, etc. Where sources quoted use one of the 60 or so variants of this language1 name that exist, the original spelling is retained.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the following people and organizations for their assistance during this study: the staff of the Social Planning Unit, City of Stonnington; David Tuck, Local History Librarian, Prahran Archives, City of Stonnington; Di Foster, Local History Librarian, Malvern Archives, City of Stonnington; librarians from the State Library of Victoria and the Mitchell Library, New South Wales; Anne Rasmussen, Coordinator, Stonnington Library and Information Service, and Chair and fellow members of the Stonnington History Committee; the Prahran Mechanics Institute; and the Malvern and Prahran Historical Societies; Keith Gove, president of and fellow members of Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation. Special thanks must go to Jim Berg who agreed to be interviewed for this project, and allowed us access to his personal photographic collection and willingly gave freely of his reminiscences of the years he boarded with Helen Baillie in Toorak.

1.0 Introduction

This report presents the results of historical research into the Aboriginal history of the City of Stonnington. The Social Planning Unit of the City of Stonnington developed the consultancy brief and oversaw the study. The project was conceived to provide an overview of Victoria's and metropolitan Melbourne's Indigenous history; provide a detailed Indigenous history of the City of Stonnington; identify opportunities for collection of oral histories of the current Indigenous inhabitants of the municipality and the descendants of traditional owners; identify culturally significant sites within the city; identify opportunities for archaeological research within the municipality; identify land management implications as a result of the findings; and provide recommendations on the future marking of significant sites within Stonnington based on consultation with the Wurundjeri.

1.1 Overview

The study area of this report is the City of Stonnington, in Melbourne's inner east. In traditional Aboriginal spatial organization, the city falls primarily within the Boonwurrung language area. The city principally belonged to the Yalukit-willam clan, and was especially associated with Derrimut one of the leading clan-heads (*ngarweet*), until his death in the early 1860s. The riparian environment found throughout the study area, and the swamps and forests, provided the Boonwurrung with important staple food resources, and places such as the Tromgin lagoon, at what is now the Royal Botanic Gardens, were an important source of eels.

From 1837 until 1849, the study area, especially the western end, functioned as a site for government initiatives designed to impress European values and customs upon Aboriginal people. From 1837 until 1839, under the charge of George Langhorne, a mission to the Aboriginal people of Melbourne operated along the lines of Robert Owen's utopian socialist experiment at New Lanark, Yorkshire; a village based on residence and agriculture designed to showcase the benefits of a settled European lifestyle, such things as religion, education, production and exchange.

From 1839 until its closure in 1849, the study area played an important role in the functioning and operation of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate. George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector, situated the central office of the protectorate in what is now the City of Stonnington from 1839 until 1843. His own private residences were situated in South Yarra, on the Yarra River, from 1839 until his departure from Victoria in 1852. Robinson's offices and residences were the regular focus of Aboriginal people, either camping beside him to obtain supplies or visiting him to discuss important matters. From 1839 until 1842, Robinson was also responsible for some 16 people brought to Victoria from the Flinders Island Aboriginal settlement where Robinson had been superintendent. Many of these Aboriginal people lived on Robinson's South Yarra farm, and some of the men assisted him with the construction of his house. In 1847, Benbow an eminent Yalukit-willam clan head was employed by Robinson in his central

headquarters as Office Messenger, and he had frequent interaction with Robinson at Terneet.

The City fell within the Westernport or Melbourne District of the Aboriginal Protectorate and was the responsibility of Assistant Protector William Thomas. Thomas established a station at Arthur's Seat in 1839, and then at Narre Narre Warren in 1840, and then based himself at the confluence of the Merri Creek and the Yarra River from 1843. In the early period of his ministration, Thomas spent considerable time moving between Aboriginal camps along the Yarra River, several of them at Tromgin and Toorak, and based himself for a period of time at the former site of Langhorne's establishment. Another significant institution, although only peripheral to the Stonnington story, is the Native Police Corps; there are a limited number of references that show they had some association with the study area. In this manner, what is now the City of Stonnington was a significant place in contact-era geographies, and the western portion of the city, in particular, was a focus for government policy toward Aboriginal people of the Port Phillip District of New South Wales.

In 1849, a Select Committee on the Aborigines and the Protectorate recommended the abolition of the Protectorate and regretted that it could not suggest a coherent policy in its place. The abolition heralded a decade of *laissez-faire* policy and neglect. William Thomas was retained as 'Protector of Aborigines' for the whole colony of Victoria, and also known as 'Guardian', but concentrated his efforts in Melbourne. In June 1852 Thomas secured a reserve for the Boonwurrung at Mordialloc, and a reserve at Warrandyte for the Woiwurrung. With a preference for camping at Mordialloc, the Boonwurrung moved between Melbourne, Mordialloc and Brighton, sometimes camping at Fawkner Park and other localities in the study area during their visits to Melbourne. In 1863 a reserve was established at Coranderrk for east Kulin peoples; however the Boonwurrung comprising of nine old men and women remained near Mordialloc and Cranbourne. Derrimut the prominent Yalukit-willam leader died in 1864, and Jimmy Dunbar, the last of these nine, died in 1877.

In the 1930s, the Indigenous history of the City of Stonnington moves to one that focuses on the activism of pro-Indigenous white residents, especially one Helen Baillie, who opened her house in Toorak to Aboriginal people from across the state, from the 1930s until the late 1950s. Baillie was a committed Christian with communist or socialist leanings and she was very active in promoting Aboriginal rights. There is a continuum between Baillie's activism and that of later groups such as Action for Aboriginal Rights and Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation. Their efforts have produced many significant achievements, including the City of Stonnington adopting a Statement of Commitment to Indigenous Australians in October 2002, and a Reconciliation Action Plan in August 2005.

1.2 Study Area

The study area is the City of Stonnington. The municipality covers an area of 25.62 square kilometres and takes in the suburbs of Prahran, Windsor, South Yarra, Toorak, Armadale, Malvern, Malvern East, Glen Iris, and Kooyong. The City is bounded by Punt Road to the west, the Yarra River and Gardiners Creek to the north, Dandenong Road to the south, and Warrigal Road to the east.

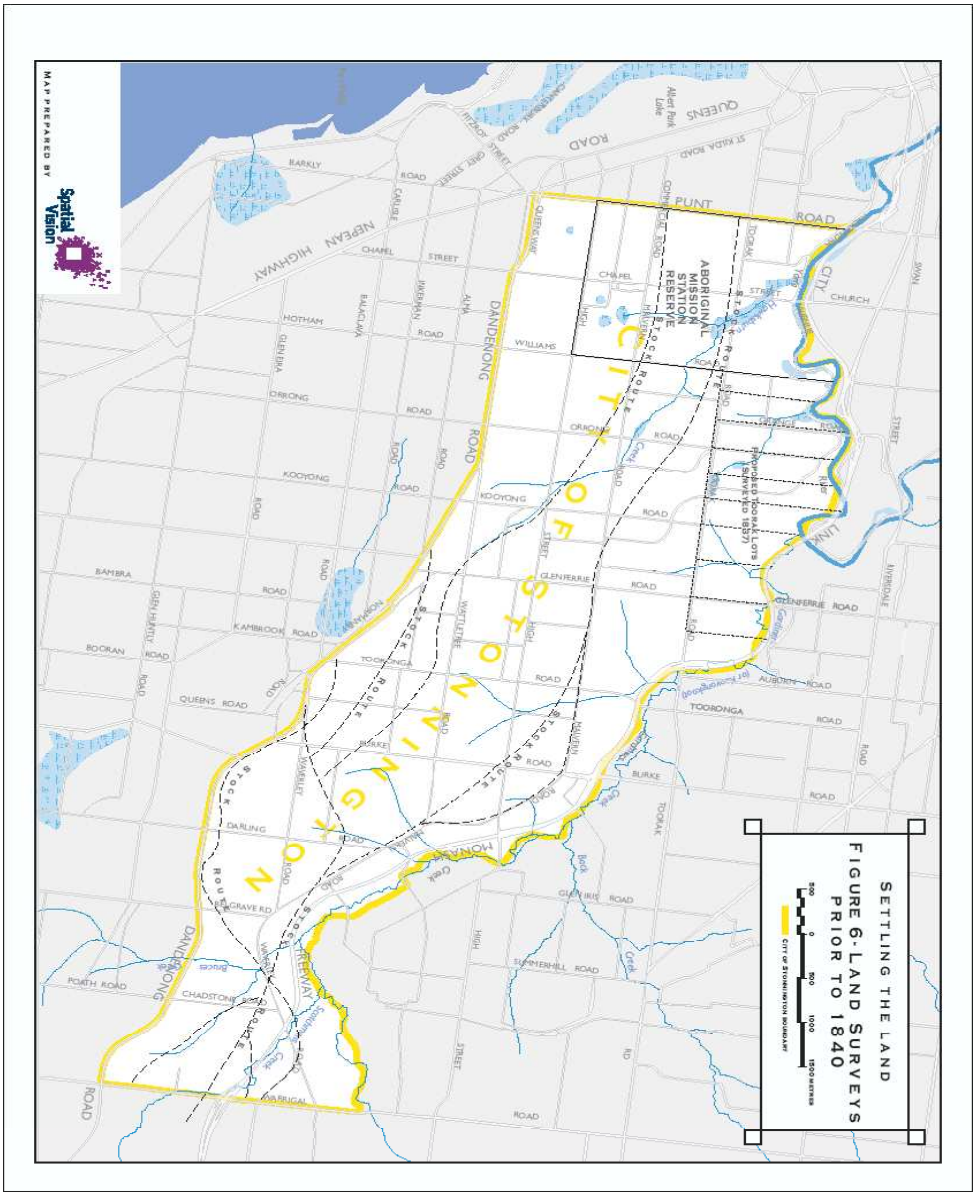


Figure 1.1: Study area

2.0 Aboriginal Associations

2.1 Ethnography and land tenure

In 1835 what is now the Melbourne metropolitan area belonged to Aboriginal clans speaking dialects known as Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung (see Figure 2.1). These are dialects of an unnamed language which linguists have labeled 'East Kulin', after their common word for 'man'. The clan was the land-owning group and the group with which individuals would primarily identify themselves. The most important economic units, however, were 'bands' comprised of one or two extended families, which hunted and foraged to maintain life. Bands were fluid, and thus nameless, but were sometimes distinguished by the names of their leading men.

The City of Stonnington, this project's study area, formed part of the Boonwurrung language area. Indeed, the northern boundary of the city, the Yarra River and Gardiner's Creek approximates the boundary between the Boonwurrung and their northern neighbour, Woiwurrung.

The Boonwurrung held a narrow strip that extended as far west as the Werribee River. Clark (1990:366-369) has reconstructed six Boonwurrung clans (see Table 2.1, Figure 2.2). Of these, the country of the Yalukit-willam clan (see below) covered all of the City of Stonnington, with the exception of that small portion east of Gardiner's Creek which is Wurundjeri-balug (Woiwurrung).

Table 2.1. Boonwurrung clan organization

Clan name	Approximate location
1. Boonwurrung-balug	Point Nepean and Cape Schank
2. Mayune-balug	Carrum Swamp, 'Mayune' station
3. Ngaruk-willam	Brighton, Mordialloc, Dandenong, & between Mts Martha & Eliza
4. Yallock-balug	Bass River, Tooradin
5. Yalukit-willam	East of Werribee River, Williamstown, Sandridge, St Kilda, & Prahran
6. Yowengarra	Tarwin River

The territory of the Woiwurrung did not extend to the coast at any point.

Howitt described 'Bunurong' (Boonwurrung) country as

> … a strip of country from the mouth of the Werribee River, and including what is now Williamstown and the southern suburbs of Melbourne, belonged to the Bunurong, a coast tribe, which occupied the coast line from there round Hobson's Bay to Mordialloc, the whole of the Mornington Peninsula, and the coast from Westernport Bay to Anderson's Inlet (Howitt 1904: 71).

He described the boundary of 'Woeworung' (Woiwurrung) as follows:

> From the junction of the Saltwater [Maribyrnong] and the Yarra Rivers, along the course of the former to Mount Macedon, thence to Mount Baw-Baw, along the Dividing Range, round the sources of the Plenty and Yarra to the Dandenong Mountains, thence by Gardiner's Creek and the Yarra to starting point (Howitt 1904: 71).

Clark (1990) has reconstructed four Woiwurrung clans (see Table 2.2, Figure 2.2).

Table 2.2. Woiwurrung clan organization

Clan name	Approximate location
1. Gunung-willam-balug	Mt Macedon
1a. Tallin-willam	Toolern Creek
2 Kurung jang-balug	Werribee River and Mt Cottrell
3. Marin-balug	Kororoit Creek
4. Wurundjeri-balug	Yarra River
4a. Wurundjeri-willam	Yarra River
4b. Buluk-willam	Kooweerup Swamp

The Aboriginal peoples who lived in what we now know as the City of Stonnington were the Yalukit-willam, a name that probably means 'river camp' or 'river dwellers' (Clark 1990: 368). A second name was recorded in January 1837 when Robinson (1837) noted that Buddy-barre, meaning salt water or sea, was the name of Derrimut's tribe because his country was near the sea. The Yalukit-willam was associated with the coastal tract at the head of Port Phillip Bay extending to the Werribee River, and included Williamstown, Port Melbourne, St. Kilda, and Prahran (see Clark 1990: 368).

The Yalukit-willam probably numbered at least 40 people in 1830 (Priestley 1988: 19). In the early 1840s, there were five leading men, including two clan-heads (*Ngarweet*)[1]: Derrimut and Ningerranaro, and his three sons Bullourd, Pardeweerap, and Mingarerer. Derrimut, Ningerranaro, and Bullourd were closely associated with sites in what is now the City of Stonnington.

a] Ningerranaro: Old Mr Man, Benbow; *Ngarweet*; described as 'a man of some importance – seldom visits the settlers, unless something of importance is going on that requires the whole of the tribe' (Thomas in Barwick 1984: 119) (died October 1847).
b] Bullourd: Little Benbow, King Benbow (died 1852) [see Figure 2.1; see Appendix 1.3].
c] Pardeweerap: Big Benbow, Mr Smith (died after 1852).
d] Mingarerer: Benbow the less; Young Mr Man: described as 'exceedingly handy and he goes out to work in the field with the white men who are employed upon the station in farm labour' (Cannon 1982: 267) (died after 1863).

[1] Usually written as Arweet in early sources, but the recorders have failed to hear initial ng, hence ngarweet is used in this report.

e] Derrimut: whose name is believed to mean ‘to pursue’, or ‘to hunt’ (Massola 1970: 303); *Ngarweet*; (died 1864) [see Figure 2.2; Appendix 1.4];

Figure 2.1 Bullourd aka Benbow
Unsigned, undated pen sketch in the Robinson Papers, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

William Thomas enumerated 207 Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung peoples in 1839 and estimated there had been 350 only three years earlier. In December 1852 only 33 men and 26 women survived in the Melbourne district. The total in 1863 was 33: a loss of 86 per cent since 1839 (Barwick 1971: 301).

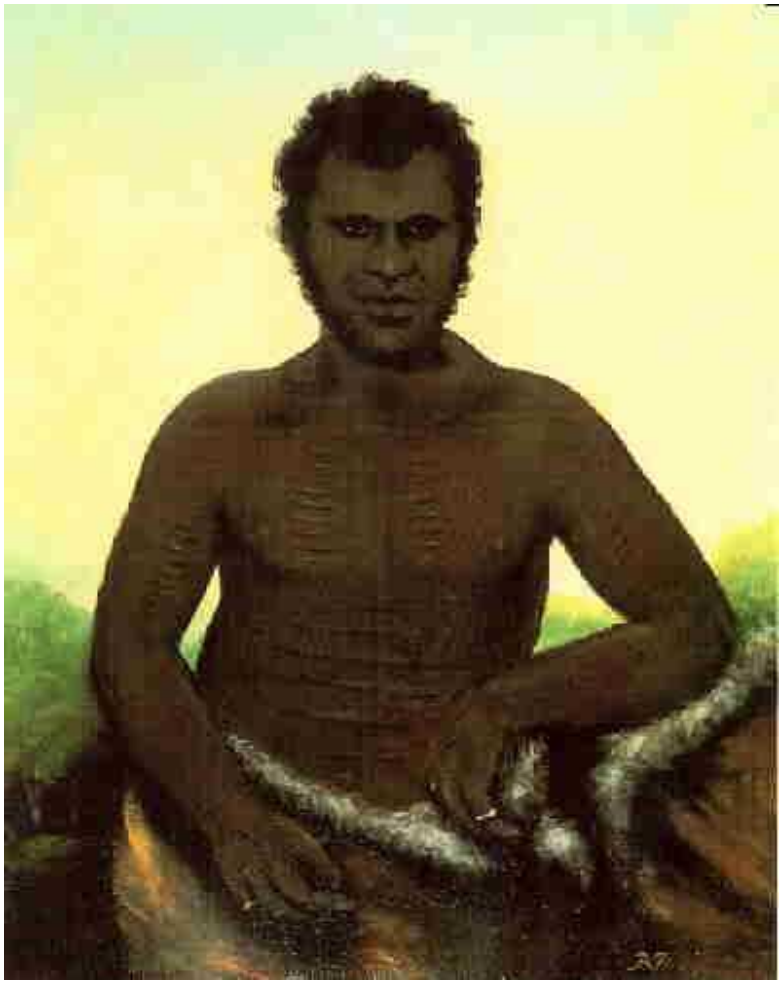


Figure 2.2 Derrimut, Oil Painting, Benjamin Duterrau, 1837.
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

The Woiwurrung clan that adjoined the Yalukit-willam was the Wurundjeri-balug, a name that literally means 'white gum tree people'. This group was divided into two distinct patrilines: Wurundjeri-willam and Buluk-willam. Wurundjeri-willam means 'white gum tree dwellers'. According to Howitt (1904:70) *wurun* refers to *Eucalyptus viminalis*, and *jerri* is a grub that lives in that tree, however Blake's (1991:46) analysis is that Howitt's translation is highly suspect. Blake notes that *djirra* is a commonly used plural marker, and that on the basis of information provided by Green (in Smyth 1878) *wurun* may refer to *Eucalyptus amygdalina*. The Wurundjeri-willam belonged to the Yarra River from its northern sources at Mt Baw Baw to its junction with the Maribyrnong River in Melbourne. The Wurundjeri-willam was also known as the Kurnaje-berreing, and was itself divided into three sub-groups associated with specific tracts of country. In the late 1830s these sub-groups were distinguished by the names of their *ngurungaeta* (clan-heads) and referred to as 'so and so's mob'. It is not known if these three divisions had Woiwurrung names. The divisions were as follows:

- Bebejan's mob: which held the country between the Merri Creek and the Yarra River to its northern sources at Mt Baw Baw (Howitt Papers (SLV); Barwick 1984: 124; Clark 1990: 385);

- Billibellary's (see Figure) mob: associated with the Maribyrnong River to the Merri Creek, and to Mount William (Lancefield) in the north (Howitt Papers (SLV); Barwick 1984: 124; Clark 1990: 385);

- Jacky Jacky's (a.k.a. Borrunupton's) mob: which held the land on the south bank of the Yarra River from Gardiner's Creek up to and including the northern slopes of the Dandenongs (Howitt Papers (SLV); Barwick 1984: 124; Clark 1990: 385).

The second Wurundjeri-balug patriline was the Bulug-willam, 'swamp dwellers', who belonged to the ranges and swamps south of *'Yering'* on the upper Yarra, extending southeast to Kooweerup swamp and the head waters of the La Trobe River, southwest to Boonwurrung clans at Cranbourne and Dandenong. In this reconstruction, from Clark (1990:379-386), on the strength of William Barak's evidence, Bulug-willam is delineated as a patriline of Wurundjeri-balug, and not artificially distinguished as a clan *a la* Barwick (1984).

Although clans were the basic land-owning spatial units in Aboriginal social organization, the basic economic units were 'bands' or 'mobs' of people composed of one or more nuclear families. Clans, as such, were apparently invisible to Europeans because their members did not live together permanently as an observable residential unit on their jointly owned estates. Estates were exploited by bands whose membership changed over time. Bands would gather into larger groups at certain times of the year at places where resources were abundant. The Boonwurrung and the Woiwurrung had regular interchanges for social, ceremonial, and exchange purposes.

The Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung were divided into patrilineal moieties and individuals and clans were either *Bunjil* (eaglehawk) or *Waa* (crow) (Howitt 1904:127). Marriages were arranged between the Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung, Daungwurrung, Wathawurrung and Djadjawurrung. McBryde's (1984:138) study of material and cultural exchange in southeastern Australia confirms that several meetings occurred at the Merri Creek in the 1840s, at which exchange was recorded. At these meetings participants included local Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung, and Wathawurrung and Daungwurrung, and possibly Ngurai-illam wurrung, Bangerang, and Mogullumbidj.

The moiety affiliation of the Yalukit-willam is unclear. Howitt and Fison (1900) claim the clan was *waa*, but Barwick (1984) considered them to be *bunjil*. There seems to be some support for Barwick's analysis, as we know that Derrimut, who was Yalukit-willam, was the son of Dindu, who was Wurundjeri-willam. We know that the Wurundjeri-willam were *waa*, thus Derrimut's affiliation derived from his Yalukit-willam father, given the rule of patrilineality, would have to be *bunjil*, the moiety opposite to *waa*. Intermarriage between the Yalukit-willam and their northern neighbours the Wurundjeri, raises many layers of interest in country. All the children of

Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung unions, although having primary rights from their fathers, also were able to assert secondary rights through their mothers. Thus using the example of Derrimut, his primary estates were Yalukit-willam through his father, however through his Wurundjeri mother he was able to assert his links with her country, north of the Yarra River (see Appendix 1.2 for more information about Derrimut).

2.2 Boonwurrung - the language of the Yalukit-willam

The Yalukit-willam people spoke the Boonwurrung language1. *Boon* being their distinctive word for 'no', and *wurrung* meaning 'lips', 'mouth', and 'language'. We use 'Boonwurrung' rather than 'Bunwurrung' or 'Bunerong' so that we stop mispronouncing the first vowel as the vowel of *sun*, *pun*, etc (Blake 1991).

At the time of European settlement there was a long-standing enmity between the Boonwurrung and the Ganai peoples of Gippsland. The Ganai peoples of Gippsland called the Boonwurrung *thurung* (tiger snakes) 'because they came sneaking about to kill us'. The Boonwurrung called the Ganai, and other non-Kulin peoples, *mainmait*, or berbira, meaning 'no good', 'foreign' or 'wild men'.

2.3 The Kulin 'confederacy'

The language of the Melbourne area, with its three dialects, Daungwurrung, Woiwurrung, and Boonwurrung, is the easternmost of a group of related languages collectively known as the Kulin group of languages. This group includes Wathawurrung in the Geelong and Ballarat areas, and covers most of western Victoria north of the Western District and extends into New South Wales at Balranald. The three Melbourne dialects are here referred to as East Kulin, in recognition that the Kulin family of dialects is much greater than the three spoken around Melbourne.

The Kulin people, even those from widely separated districts, were acquainted. Thomas confirmed that Kulin dialects were mutually intelligible and their speakers formed an intermarrying 'confederacy' (Victoria 1858-9: 68).

> One of the bonds maintaining this confederacy was moiety affiliation: Kulin divided their world into two halves (moieties) labelled waa (crow) and bunjil (eaglehawk). Individuals were identified with one or other of these moieties (Barwick 1984: 105).

2.4 Archaeological background

Gary Presland (1983) in his survey of metropolitan Melbourne identified creeks as an area of likely archaeological significance, since they are a particular focus of Aboriginal occupation, and are more likely to contain archaeological remains than other landscape features in Melbourne, and secondly site visibility and preservation is more likely along creeks which retain some open space. Goulding's (1988) report on the history of the Melbourne area for the Land Conservation Council was concerned to detail Aboriginal

society prior to European settlement, the history of Aboriginal people in the area since European settlement and to discuss the known archaeological sites on public land in the Melbourne study area. Her study confirmed that many intertribal gatherings between the Boonwurrung, Woiwurrung and Daungwurrung occurred along the banks of the Yarra River where Melbourne is now situated.

2.5 Pre-invasion life and culture

Details of the pre-invasion life and culture of the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung peoples central to this study may be gleaned from a diverse and rich ethnographic record including the records of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Smyth (1878), and Howitt (1904). From Thomas we can learn much about social practices such as naming conventions, dress and personal ornamentation and other aspects of material culture, coming of age ceremonies and other ceremonies, and spatial arrangements of contiguous tribespeoples at large encampments. We know that according to the Woiwurrung people *Bunjil*, the creator spirit, made the earth and formed its creeks and rivers by cutting the earth with the large knife he always carried (Smyth 1878 Vol.1: 423).

Presland (1985) has reconstructed how he imagines the landscape in suburban Melbourne was in 1830. In terms of Stonnington, his reconstruction is as follows:

> South of the Yarra River the countryside is flatter but there is a greater variety of plant life in a number of different environments. As we move south, away from the future settlement site, there is a range of different vegetation. In the South Yarra area, stretching as far as what will be the site of Hawksburn station, there are swampy lagoons covered in close growing ti-tree scrub. Much of the area between the river and the future location of Dandenong Road is swampy and prone to flooding, and in winter there is often water on the ground. In the area where Chapel Street and St Kilda Road will be, there is a thick wattle forest interspersed with mature gums. Parts of this forest will remain up to the 1860s, to be lost in the rapid growth of Melbourne until the last remnant is the Corroboree Tree in St Kilda junction (Presland 1985: 18-19).

Smyth (1878 Vol.1: 34) noted that rivers were the homes of Aboriginal people in their 'original condition' in Victoria. Gardiner's Creek and the Yarra River, and the many swamps throughout the study area provided the Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung with a diverse range of aquatic life, especially plant foods such as *murnong* (plentiful in spring and early summer), eels, fish, mussels, and waterfowl (See Figures 2.3, 2.5, and 2.7). The Yarra River provided the Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung with many regular camping places. According to Hall (1989) it is unclear whether these camps were 'traditional' camping places, or the result of exigencies due to the European settlement. Massola (1969:8) noted:

> One would naturally expect that many camps of the Yarra tribe would be in evidence along the course of the Yarra River. This, however, is not the case,

> and although there are early references to Aborigines camping along the river, no camp site upon which implements can be collected is known to me. It is possible that the camps thus referred to were probably not the traditional camping places, but rather convenient spots from which to sally forth and beg drink or money from nearby white communities.

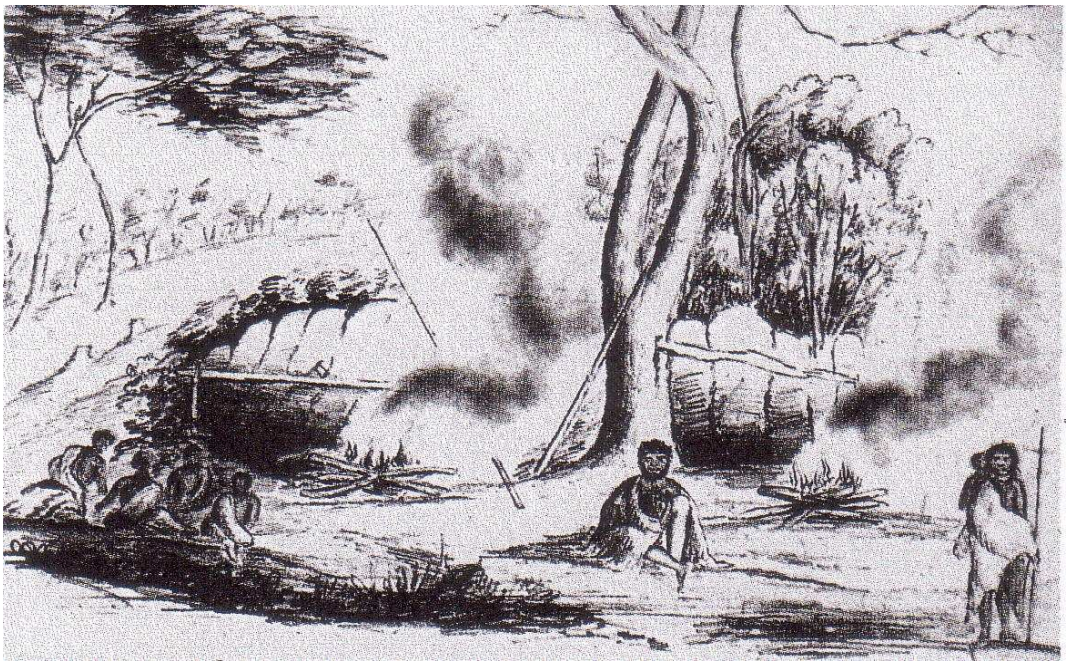


Figure 2.3 Aboriginal campsite
William Thomas, in R Brough Smyth Papers, La Trobe Australasian Manuscripts Collection, State Library of Victoria (sourced from Ellender & Christiansen 2001: 52).

The Yalukit-willam people were hunter-gatherers who moved around within the limits of their territory to take advantage of seasonal food resources.

> Their way of life … was adapted to their environment in a number of ways. Their hunting equipment and techniques had been developed over a long period and were suited to the purpose. They had an intimate and detailed knowledge of their landscape. This knowledge was passed from one generation to the next. So well did they know their territory, and so efficient were they at getting all they needed, they had to work only about five hours a day (Presland 1997: 7).

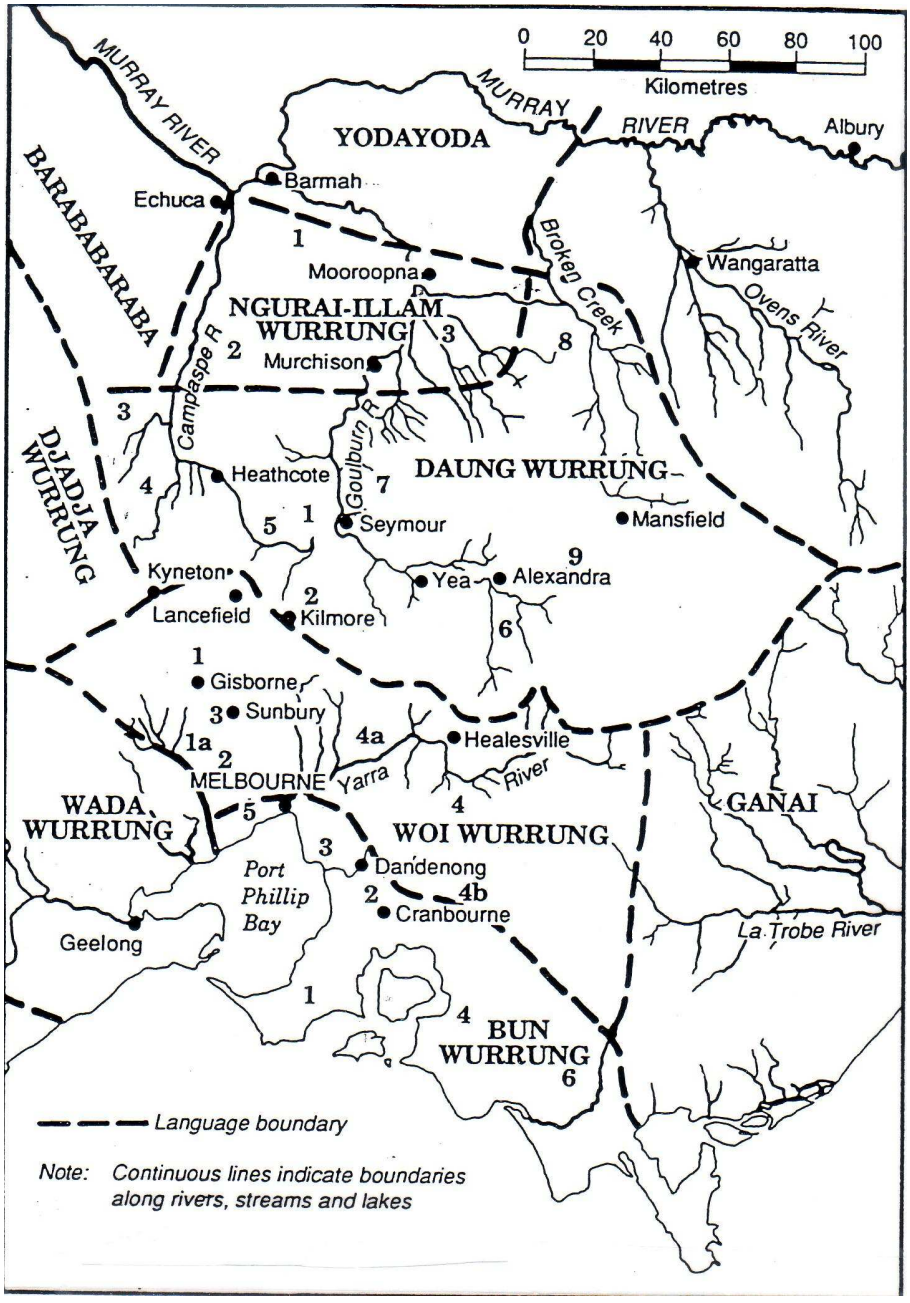


Figure 2.4 **East Kulin language areas and clans** (Source Clark 1990:364)
See Tables 2.1 and 2.2 for an explanation of numbers.

Figure 2.5 Aboriginal people fishing on the Merri Creek
F. Cogne 'Merri Creek, Plenty Ranges', a tinted lithograph in C. Troedel, *Souvenir. Views of Melbourne and Victorian Scenery*, Melbourne, 1865, plate 9.
(Source: La Trobe picture collection, State Library of Victoria)

They hunted kangaroos, possums, kangaroo rats, bandicoots, wombats and lizards; they caught fish and eels, and they collected shellfish. The hunting, especially kangaroo hunting, was left to the men, while the women concentrated on gathering. Prominent among the vegetable food collected was *murnang* (*Microseris scapigera*, commonly called the yam daisy), the gum of the black wattle, the pulp of the tree fern, wild cherries, kangaroo apples and various fungi. *Murnang* was a favoured food. This is a small plant with a yellow flower that looks like a daisy, and has an underground tuber, something like a yam. It grew all year round but was particularly good to eat in spring. The women collected the tuber in great quantities in their string bags and took it back to camp (Priestley 1988: 16). When at its freshest it could be eaten raw, but otherwise it was roasted or baked in an oven earth. In the early years of European settlement *murnang* grew profusely along creeks, and covered the plain to the west (Presland 1997: 10-11).

Robinson has given us several descriptions of Yalukit-willam cultural practices, specifically a method of catching emus, of tethering domesticated dogs, and eeling.

> [William] Buckley said that when the natives want to kill emu they get up a cherry tree before daylight with a large spear, and having put a quantity of

> cherries in a certain spot under the tree, conceal themselves above with a clear place for them to thrust the spear down. At day dawn the emu is heard coming by the noise it makes, and if this is a tree they have been at before they are sure to come again, when they begin eating, and then the native thrusts the spear through them. …On my return to the settlement saw a she-oak tree with an ambush of bushes or platform of same for killing emu as described by Buckley. All the top branches of the tree was broken off and a platform made for concealment and for killing emu. Saw some black cockatoos, scarlet tails (Plomley 1987: 408, 410).
>
> Saw several wild dogs on the settlement belonging to the country. … The aborigines tie up the fore foot of their dogs to prevent them going astray, instead of roping them round the neck as we do. At the native encampment, I saw two dogs thus tied (Plomley 1987: 410f).

In March 1840, Robinson saw Dindu, Derrimut's mother, feasting on tadpoles.

> Saw Deremart's mother and other women eating tadpoles. They had a large heap of them and was roasting and eating them. They laid them on grass and put hot coals on the top of them (Robinson 18/3/1840 in Clark 2000a).

In January 1841, Robinson watched Ningerranaro and a youth catch eels in the *Tromgin* waterhole.

> This afternoon two native blacks of the Boongerong tribe – Niggerernaul and a lad named Dol.ler, came to my office and went to the lagoon about ¼ mile distant in the paddock and in a very short time caught about 40lbs of eel. I saw them catching or rather spearing them at which they are very expert. There mode is as follows: they each had two spears called by them 1. *toke.in*, 2. *yoke.wil.loke*. The eels they call *yoe.hoke*. Bet Banger is father to Dol.ler. Having the two spears grasped by the right hand thus, they go in to the water and keep walking about, at the same time jabbing their spears into the mud in a sloping direction before them. If they jab in their spear which is ascertained by their feet they turn it up on the end of the spear, the second spear is jabbed into it whilst he lifts holds it down and thus kills it [See Figure 2.6]. If not quite dead they bite the head and throw it on shore. I bought some of the eels, 20, and two spears made thus: ½ inch stick [See Figure 2.6]. Wire size of that used round the rim of sauspan, it is called *yoke.wil.loke*. This tying is called *toke.kin* (Robinson 29/1/1841 in Clark 2000a).

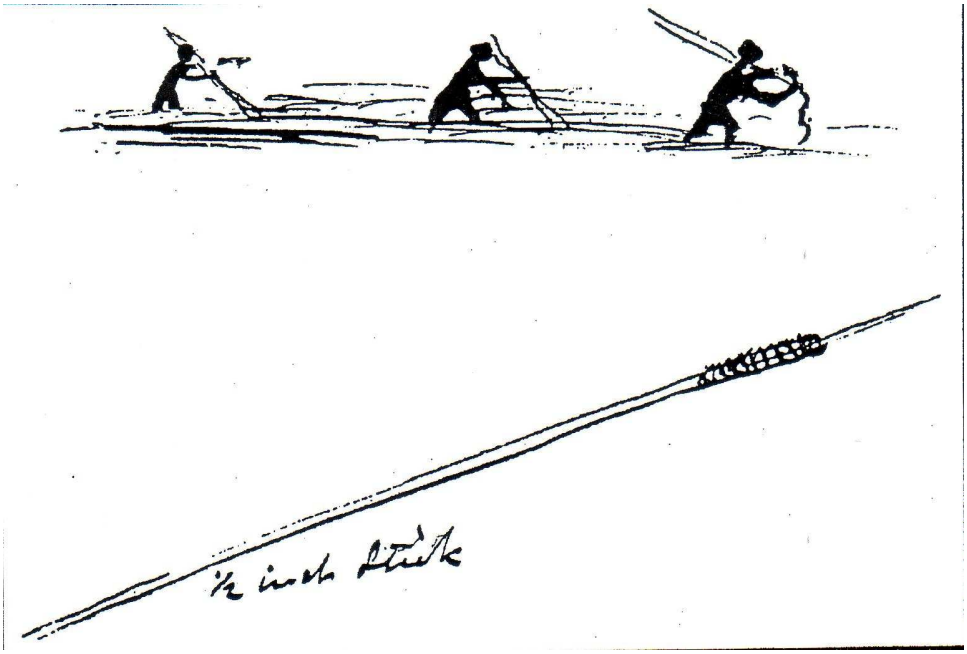


Figure 2.6 Robinson's sketches of eeling at Tromgin

This reference confirms the special significance of Tromgin for Aboriginal people as a source of eels. When the Ornamental Lake was created in the Royal Botanic Gardens, at what was Tromgin, the bridge on the lake was deliberately named Eel Bridge in recognition of this special significance (Prescott 1982: 11).

2.6 Boonwurrung names for flora and fauna

Sourced from Blake (1991):

fat-tailed dunnart	barruth	nankeen kestrel	gawarn
native cat	yurn	black cockatoo	yanggai
ring-tailed possum	bamun	peewee	dit-dit
grey kangaroo	marram		
red kangaroo	djimbanggurr	eel	yuk
dingo	yirrangin	oyster	u.yoke
sugar glider	warran	cockle	mur-yoke
bandicoot	bung	mussel	mur-bone
		periwinkle	pid-de-ron
quail	tre-bin	stingray	barbewor
pelican	wadjil	whale	betayil
emu	barraimal	flathead	dalum
water fowl	kor-rung-un-un	shark	darrak
ibis	baibadjerruk	blackfish	duat
swan	gunuwarra		
black duck	dulum	ant	burrun

fly	garragarrak	peppermint tree	wiyal
butterfly	balam-balam	woolly tea-tree	wulep
bee	murnalong	sarsaparilla	wadimalin
frog	ngarrert	clematis aristata	minamberang
tadpole	poorneet	wattle	garrong
		yellow box	dhagurn
she-oak	tur-run	buttercup	gurm-burrut
banksia, honeysuckle	warrak	yam daisy	murna
yellow box	dhagurn		

Figure 2.7 'Native encampment on the banks of the Yarra', Watercolour with graphite pencil and glazing medium, John Cotton, c. 1842
[La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Image No. b28308]

2.7 Aboriginal place name heritage

Numerous Aboriginal place names for localities within the City of Stonnington have survived in the ethnohistorical record. The most well known place names in Stonnington include Prahran, Yarra River, Toorak, Tooronga, and Kooyong. These names are an important part of the Aboriginal cultural landscape.

The name **Yarra Yarra** was first recorded by surveyor John Helder Wedge in 1835 (O'Callaghan 1922:50). Wedge (in O'Callaghan 1918: 99) suggested that Yarra-yarra means 'waterfall', which may refer to 'Yarra Falls'. Generally it is accepted as meaning 'ever flowing'. Other translations include 'hair or nape, man or animal', 'it runs or it goes, it flows'. Variant spellings include 'Yarro Yarro' (according to Robinson in Clark 2000c: 18, the Boonwurrung rendition), 'Yanna yanna' (Gurner papers), and 'Yarra Yarra Yaloock' (Darke 1836 in Cannon 1988: 25). The consensus of most commentators is that Yarra Yarra is not the correct name for this river. Certainly Robinson (Jnl 18/7/1839; 27/9/1844), Curr (in O'Callaghan 1922:50), Green (in Smyth 1878 Vol.2:90), Thomas (n.d. in Bride 1983:494), and Smyth (1878) were of this view. Robinson (Jnl 27/9/1844) found the name Yarra Yarra belonged more appropriately to a small rivulet at Billabong, in New South Wales (and now crossed by the Hume Freeway). According to Robinson (Jnl 18/7/1839) the correct name for the Yarra River was **Wongete**, **Tich.ung.gor.uc** or **Birrarrung** (variants include *Prahran, Parahran, Pur-ra-ran, Per.er.wer.re.ung, Paarran, Prare.run, Pre.rare.un, Boo.re.arm, Bay.ray.rung, Bur-erring, Bare.rare.run, Birr.arrung* see Clark and Heydon 2002). William Thomas's sketch map of the Yarra River, lists 'Yarra Yarra or Paarran' (see Ellender & Christiansen 2001: 78). EM Curr (in O'Callaghan 1922:50) was told by Aboriginal people at Coranderrk, whose fathers had dwelt on its banks, that the river's name was not Yarra Yarra but *Bay.ray.rung*. John Green (in Smyth 1878 Vol 2: 90) records *Bur.erring* as the Woiwurrung name for the Yarra River, after *Brrering* their word for river. According to Massola (1968:55) *Boo.re.arm* is the name of the Yarra River at Prahran, meaning 'mist'. According to O'Callaghan (1922:54):

> 'Prahran' is a corruption of '*Pur-ra-ran*', a native name given to the place by Mr. George Langhorne, who was in charge of the Blacks' Mission Station. He described it as a compound of two aboriginal words signifying 'land partially surrounded by water'. Hoddle, the Surveyor, when obtaining the name from Langhorne, wrote it as it now stands.

Robinson noted that 'Bare.rare.run' was Derrimut's country (see Clark 2000c: 286).

George Langhorne, in a letter written in October 1889, discussed the origin of the name Prahran:

> With regard to the origin of the work Prahran – now, I believe, a large town or city – on a drizzly, rainy day of late autumn, in 1837, Robert Hoddle (Surveyor-General) strolled into my hut at the Government Station at Pur-ra-ran – for so I named it – a compound of two aboriginal words, meaning "land partially surrounded by water". This was the aboriginal station assigned to me for the purpose of forming a nucleus establishment for the care and Christian training of the aboriginals of Port Phillip. 'Busy?' said my visitor. 'Yes, always busy.' 'Lovely spot, this!' It was a lovely spot, at the bend of the river, opposite to what we called the Government House paddock, on a

> rising ground, forming a fine grassy slope to the river, well cropped by sheep that had been a short while camped there after landing from Van Diemen's Land. In the rear was a large and picturesque swamp, which the natives told me was named after me. To the southward was a rising ground, from which we could see Hobson's Bay, about two miles distant. 'I have called upon you', said Hoddle, 'to get some native names for the districts or parishes around in County Bourke'. 'I am glad to hear it', I replied. Hoddle went on: 'Now, what do you call this place?' 'Purraran' (Cooper 1912: 7-8).

One implication of this is that the site of Langhorne's station was known as 'Prahran'. Hoddle, in his field book, confirms this with the entry 'Prahran – Mr Langhorne's' (McComb 1935: 15, SLV Ms).

Edward Atkyns Walpole and George Goggs were at 'Callitini', which included the present Botanical Gardens, at South Yarra, from 1840 until August 1844 (Billis and Kenyon 1974: 73). Major Alexander Davidson, a retired Indian officer was at 'Callitini', from 1844. According to Cooper, Davidson purchased Blocks 1 and 2, which commenced at Punt Road, from RH Browne and EJ Brewster, the original Crown grantees who bought the land in June 1840 (Cooper 1912: 32-3). The Aboriginal name for this station was **Murrurung**, the meaning of which is not known (Robinson in Clark 2000c: 244; Clark and Haydon 2002). Robinson provides a second name when he lists **Durrark** as 'Walpole's old place' (see Clark 2000c: 286), a name that appears to be cognate with Turrak (*Toorak*), meaning 'reedy grass, weed in lagoon' (see Clark and Heydon 2002).

Robert Hoddle's field book for Melbourne also provides us with another place name **Tukulreene**, in the entry 'Tukulreene – Mr Wright opposite Mr Langhorne' (McComb 1935: 15 SLV Ms). The meaning of this place name is not known. In late March 1839, Robinson took possession of a small cottage vacated by a Mr Wright, situated in an unpleasant swampy area down by the Yarra River. The identity of Wright is not known for certain, but it may refer to Chief Constable William Wright. Furthermore, the location of this cottage is unclear.

Dr Edmund Charles Hobson was at 'Currencurrenalk', South Yarra, from 1840 (Billis and Kenyon 1974). We know from Robinson (in Clark 2000c: 44), that the Aboriginal name for Hobson's station was **Narmbeet**. The meaning has not survived (Clark and Heydon 2002).

George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines, in his journal dated 25 December 1839, noted his intention to buy a piece of land to build a house for his family as he was not permitted to build on crown land. In late July 1840 he purchased at auction, for 744 pounds, eight hectares at 43 South Bank of Yarra, in Prahran, a fifteen minutes ride from Melbourne. The Aboriginal people told him the locality was known as **Terneet** (variants include *Turneet, Ternneet*: see Robinson Jnl 4/8/1840, 15/10/1840). The meaning of Terneet is not known (Clark and Heydon 2002). Another name for

Terneet is recorded as **Kubering** (see Robinson in Clark 2000c: 286). Robinson later changed the name of Turneet to Tivoli (see Figure 2.9).

From Robinson's journal, we learn the names of several other localities in the vicinity of Terneet. For example, the land from Terneet to Barker's homestead, which included what Robinson described as 'the creek at the back of my land to Yarra', was known as **Mowung** (Robinson in Clark 2000c: 244, 286). Given that Hawksburn Creek ran through Robinson's land, we can be reasonably certain that Mowung refers to Hawksburn Creek.

The swamp at Callitini, later remodelled to form the lake at the Royal Botanic Gardens, was traditionally known as **Tromgin** (other variants include *Trumgin, Torm.tchin, Tormchin, and Trome.djin*) (see Clark and Heydon 2002). The meaning of this place name is not known. Robinson described this name as applying to 'Major St John's lot', 'Langhorne's Hill', and specifically 'the waterhole'.

The indigenous name for Gardiner's Creek is **Kooyong-koot**. Cooper (1912: 2) gives the meaning of this name as 'the haunt of waterfowl', although it is possible that it is derived from kuyun a fighting spear (see Blake 1991: 89; Clark and Heydon 2002). A second name for Gardiner's Creek (or Wright's Creek) is recorded by William Thomas (in Ellender and Christiansen 2001: 78), that of **Nunnup berrin**.

Other indigenous place names in the City of Stonnington include Tooronga, Toorak, and Kooyong. **Toorak** is a variant of Turrak, the widespread eastern Kulin word for reedy grass, or weed in lagoon. In terms of Stonnington, this name originally applied to the vicinity of the present-day Como Park and Thomas Oval, by the Yarra River (see Cooper 1912: 121; Clark and Heydon 2002). **Tooronga** is believed to be an indigenous place name, however very little is known about its origins. Two meanings are recorded: 'new, not old, modern' (O'Callaghan 1918: 91); and 'bulrush' (Massola 1968: 48). **Kooyong** may be derived from Kooyong-koot (Gardiner's Creek). Four meanings are given in the literature ('possibly from guyun or fighting spear, see Clark and Heydon 2002; 'camp; or resting place' *Australasian* 31/5/1902 in O'Callaghan 1918: 59; 'the haunt of the waterfowl', Cooper 1912: 2; and 'a fish spear', Massola 1968: 29).

Bonginnarup is the name of an unidentified locality north of Dandenong Road near Malvern (see Figure 2.8: Thomas Map 1840; Clark and Heydon 2002). Its meaning is not known.

2.8 Aboriginal Street Names

Street names are a major area of research in local history, however this study has not been able to devote much space to them, yet it is clear that Stonnington has numerous street names that have an Aboriginal origin. The following examples demonstrate the possible heritage of Aboriginal street names in the city.

Carrum Street: presumably derived from Carrum Carrum Swamp aka Seaford Swamp, a Boonwurrung placename of unknown meaning (Clark & Heydon 2002).

Dandenong Road: the meaning of Dandenong is not certain, though one translation is 'going to eat, or, frost-bitten feet' (Clark & Heydon 2002).

Illawarra Crescent: a Jardwadjali placename and State Forest name in the Northern Grampians Shire; of uncertain meaning (Clark & Heydon 2002).

Karbarook Avenue: meaning and derivation is not known.

Koornang Road: presumably a variant of 'gurnung', the Kulin word for river, creek (Blake 1991: 112).

Kooyong Road: see 2.7 above.

Larnook Street: a Kulin word, lar-ng-uk meaning 'his/her nest or camp'. Lar(ng) is seen elsewhere in Kulin placenames such as Langi Ghiran, Langi Willi, Larnebarramul Lagoon, Langi Kal Kal, Langi Logan, and Laharum.

Mernda Road: presumably named after the Woiwurrung placename in the City of Whittlesea, presumably meaning 'earth' (Clark & Heydon 2002).

Monaro Close: presumably named after the southern NSW Monaro region. The word has several meanings in the literature, including 'a plain' and 'the navel' (Young 2005: 8).

Monomeath Avenue: presumably named after Monomeith, the Boonwurrung placename in the City of Cardinia, meaning 'pleasant, good, pure' (Clark & Heydon 2002).

Moralla Road: meaning and derivation is not known.

Orrong Road: possibly a corruption of (W)urrung, meaning language, lips, mouth.

Quamby Avenue: presumably named after the Dhauwurdwurrung placename in the Moyne Shire; quamby/guwambi is a Woiwurrung word meaning 'a sleeping place' (Clark & Heydon 2002).

Toorak Road, Toorak Avenue: see 2.7 above.

Tooronga Road: see 2.7 above.

Trawalla Avenue: presumably named after the Wathawurrung placename in the Pyrenees Shire meaning 'much rain, wild water, flood' (Clark & Heydon 2002).

Tyalla Crescent: possibly named after the western Kulin tjala/tjali equivalent to wurru, mouth, lips, language.

Warra Street: possibly named after 'wurru' the Kulin word for mouth, lips, language (Clark & Heydon 2002)

Warrigal Road: presumably named after Warrigal, the Dharuk (NSW) word for wild or savage/untamed, wild dog (Clark & Heydon 2002).

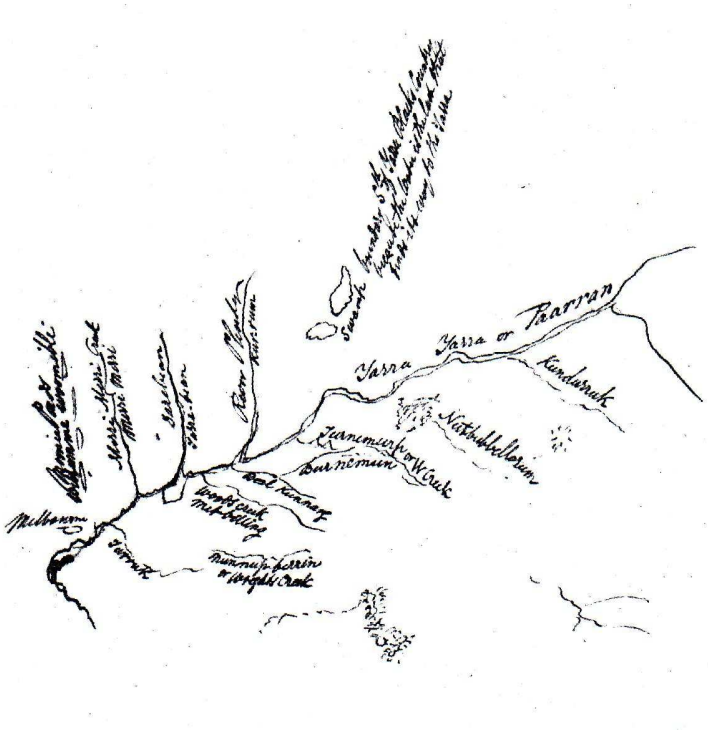


Figure 2.8 William Thomas's sketch map of the Yarra Yarra River
William Thomas Papers, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (Ellender & Christiansen 2001: 78).

Figure 2.9 undated photograph of 'Tivoli'
George Augustus Robinson's substantial eleven-roomed house in Prahran. Reproduced from Robb's (1934: 20) 'Early Toorak and District'.

3.0 Historical Background

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the policy context relevant to the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung peoples of Melbourne in the 1830s and 1840s. It aims to consider the antecedents of Protectorate operations on the Yarra River and to locate the study area in the context of prevailing government Aboriginal policy as it affected the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung. It considers the effect of the siting of Melbourne on these peoples, as well as the consequences of having the central administration of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate based in Melbourne. The workings of the Western Port District of the Protectorate, under William Thomas will also be highlighted.

In ways similar to squatting runs and homestations, the siting and establishment of settlements dispossessed clans from their lands. Squatters commonly selected places for their homestations that were favoured locations for local clans – areas where water and game were abundant. The sites selected for European settlements were equally important to local clans; the City of Melbourne, for example, as shown in Figure 2.2, was the country of the Yalukit-willam, and the Wurundjeri-balug. However, unlike squatting runs, townships involved greater numbers of Europeans, more substantial structures and less hope for respite for local clans in that the physical inertia associated with a squatting run was minimal compared to the accumulation of houses, businesses, and small-scale industries found in settlements.

In the selection of runs, squatters were particularly vulnerable to attacks from Aboriginal groups and, from an Aboriginal point of view, if the mix of factors, such as drought and sporadic attacks on sheep and cattle, was right, a run might be abandoned or the homestation re-sited. But settlements represented a different set of power relations, and the determination of a given site as suitable for a port or inland settlement did not augur well for local clans. With the concentration of population came a social organization that included labour specialization. The establishments of settlements meant the development of agencies of control and the introduction of policing. Settlements were equipped with the means to safeguard property and people, and the likelihood of direct attacks from Aboriginal clans was considerably lessened.

Another aspect of townships was the greater attraction they offered Aboriginal people. Although the establishment of townships heralded permanent change and disruption, they nevertheless possessed a magnetism that proved fatal in many instances. Townships were exotic places where unusual people lived with strange possessions and animals. The first attempt by government to address some of the negative aspects of the establishment of Melbourne on Aboriginal people was the Yarra Aboriginal Village Mission under the control of the missionary George Langhorne. The site of the mission is now in the City of Stonnington.

3.1 Yarra Aboriginal Village Mission – George Langhorne

Throughout the mid to late 1830s, as the Port Phillip settlement, which would come to be known as Melbourne, grew steadily on the back of pastoral expansion, many Aboriginal

people continued to camp in the township's environs. Mostly, they were Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung clanspeople and their preferred camping places were along the south bank of the Yarra River, opposite the settlement and Government Paddocks, between the crossing place by present-day Prince's Bridge and Punt Road. Although the colonists had provided some food and other necessities from the mid 1830s, official attempts to 'civilise' Aboriginal people in Port Phillip began as discussions between Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke and Justice Burton of the Supreme Court (Burton to Bourke, 22/11/1835 in Cannon 1982:154-6). Turner (1904: 222) and Rankin (1939: 38) confirm that the Episcopal Church Missionary Society in Sydney was influential in persuading the Government to establish the reserve. Bourke and Burton had both had administrative experience at Cape of Good Hope.

In December 1837, Bourke decided to establish a Government Mission, and placed George Langhorne, an Episcopal missionary or catechist from Sydney, in charge (Rankin 1939: 38) (see Figure 3.1). Langhorne was a nephew of Police Magistrate William Lonsdale. Langhorne, who had experience with Aboriginal prisoners on Goat Island in Sydney harbour, agreed with Captain William Lonsdale on a site for the proposed mission in 1837. Early in that year, Governor Bourke visited Port Phillip, and the 895-acre site south of the Yarra River, just to the east of present-day Anderson Street was officially approved. Some wattle and daub huts were erected by convicts to serve as mission buildings.

Figure 3.1 George Langhorne
Photographed in later life by T.F. Chuck. In the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria (sourced from Cannon 1982: 157)

The establishment came to be known as Langhorne's 'Village Mission', after Justice Burton's preference that the settlement be formed on the basis of a European Village (Figure 3.2). Buildings were clustered together and surrounded by fields for cultivation. The objective of the mission was to provide for the 'civilisation' of Aboriginal people, impressing upon them aspects of European lifestyle: religion, education, production and exchange. Those who decided to live at the mission were rewarded with rations for their agricultural labours, while no rations were distributed to those who did not work. Children were also provided rations for attending school classes. Mission staff included a school teacher, overseer and wife and two assigned men and an assigned woman (Cannon 1982: 175). The overseer was Thomas Watson and his wife Margaret; and John Thomas Smith was the teacher. The assigned servants included William Bamfield and William Berry aka Robert Barton (Cannon 1982: 212). In March 1837, Langhorne requested that the boundaries of the Mission Station be settled as soon as practicable 'to prevent the intrusion of improper persons upon that portion of the Government Reserve' (Cannon 1982: 170).

John Gasgoine (2002:160) has argued that Bourke's model reflected awareness that 'systems of land ownership based on European individualism did not necessarily suit indigenous peoples' and that a village based on the principle of co-operation rather than competition where cultivation was for the common benefit would gradually wean the Aboriginal people from their hunting and gathering mode of production by showing them the superior gratifications obtained from a 'civilized' life. According to Harris (1990: 118-119):

> Their basic strategy was to provide model villages for the Aborigines. Gifts followed by kind treatment were to be the initial means of attracting them there and all work was to be rewarded in food and clothing. The villages were to be managed along the lines of Robert Owen's socialist experiment at New Lanark, Yorkshire: 'The great object will be gradually to wean the Blacks by proving to them experimentally the superior gratifications to be obtained in civilised life'.

A benevolent entrepreneur, Robert Owen was a partner-manager of the New Lanark Mills, near Glasgow, Scotland, from 1800 until 1829. His vision was to educate the children of factory workers, and to make workpeople 'rational' and bring 'harmony' to the community (Gatrell 1970: 9). He promoted cooperative villages and a communitarian way of life as ends in themselves. In his *Report to the County of Lanark*, first published in 1821, he fleshed out the details of his plan that was concerned with optimum numbers of community members, the extent of land to be cultivated, arrangements for housing the community and educating the children, forming and superintending the establishments, disposal of surplus produce, and the connection of villages to the country and general society.

We have several accounts of the Langhorne mission. In November 1837, George W. Walker and James Backhouse, two Quakers, spent a week visiting Melbourne, and 'spent much time at the Aborigines Mission House, conducted by George and Mary Langhorne

under the direction of the Government at Sydney. Twelve youths were boarded in the house, and instructed in reading and useful labour. The adult natives were also regarded, and made use of as citizens …' (Backhouse & Tylor 1862: 278). Backhouse commented that 'The parents of the children come to see them at pleasure, and then they wish it, take them out to hunt; but for this the children do not seem much inclined, preferring to be fed on easier terms at the Institution. The parents are not encouraged to make long visits; they are furnished with but a few meals gratuitously, and if they choose to make longer stops, they have to earn their victuals at the rate of two hours' work for eight ounces of meat and twelve ounces of flour' (Turner 1904: 223). G.F. Belcher noted in *The Argus* of 28 April 1906, the following recollection:

> Soon after my arrival in Melbourne (early in 1839) I became acquainted with Mr. Langhorne, who arrived in 1836. His camp was situated on the Yarra, near Punt Hill. Many an evening I spent with him in his tent, which was surrounded with mia mias of natives. As a rule the natives never care to remain long in any locality, and so Mr Langhorne moved about time to time, changing his camp to suit his proteges. Mr Langhorne held a great influence over the natives, and often was the means of preventing tribal fights' (Cooper 1912: 7).

Langhorne's November 1837 report, confirmed that some 20 children and youths were resident in the Mission's premises, of which 14 were under daily instruction. The six elder boys were employed in working the boat. During the previous month between 60 and 80 Aboriginal people were resident. Some were engaged in building a large hut to serve as both a school-room and dormitory for children, and by the end of December, 18 children were resident, 13 of who were under the instruction of John Smith (Cannon 1982:206). Half an acre of land had been planted with vegetables, and another half with potatoes. Smith resigned from his post as schoolmaster early in December, and was replaced by Thomas Penny.[2] Most of the pupils were from Woiwurrung clans, and received food rations and clothes for which they were responsible to mend. Non-resident parents visited the children regularly to check on their well-being, but while parents were prepared to leave their boys at the mission to attend instruction, Langhorne had great difficulty engaging the girls in mission activity, as their parents disallowed interaction between the girls and boys (GM Langhorne to Colonial Secretary, 31/12/1837 in Cannon 1982: 208).

William Barak (c. 1823-1903) (see Figure 3.3), the eminent Woiwurrung *ngurungaeta* (clan-head), recalling his life in his old age, remembered his experience of Langhorne's Mission school: 'At that time we heard our Minister Mr. Lanon. We got a schoolroom in the German garden, and the school masters name was Mr. Smith. We was singing 'Hallalooler' (Weincke 1984: 23). Barak's 'Lanon' is George Langhorne, and his 'German garden' is a reference to Ferdinand Mueller, Government Botanist since 1853 who was appointed Director of the Botanical Gardens in 1857. Weincke's (1984: 25-26) assessment is that Barak was 'never a regular student at the school, despite his

[2] This association presumably explains the preference the Melbourne Aboriginal people showed in camping beside Smith's Adelphi Hotel in Flinders Lane. Smith later became a Mayor of Melbourne.

reminiscences, preferring the freedom of his own tribal existence. He was no doubt influenced by his father and the elders of his tribe who had become critical of the missionary, and were against schooling for their children'.

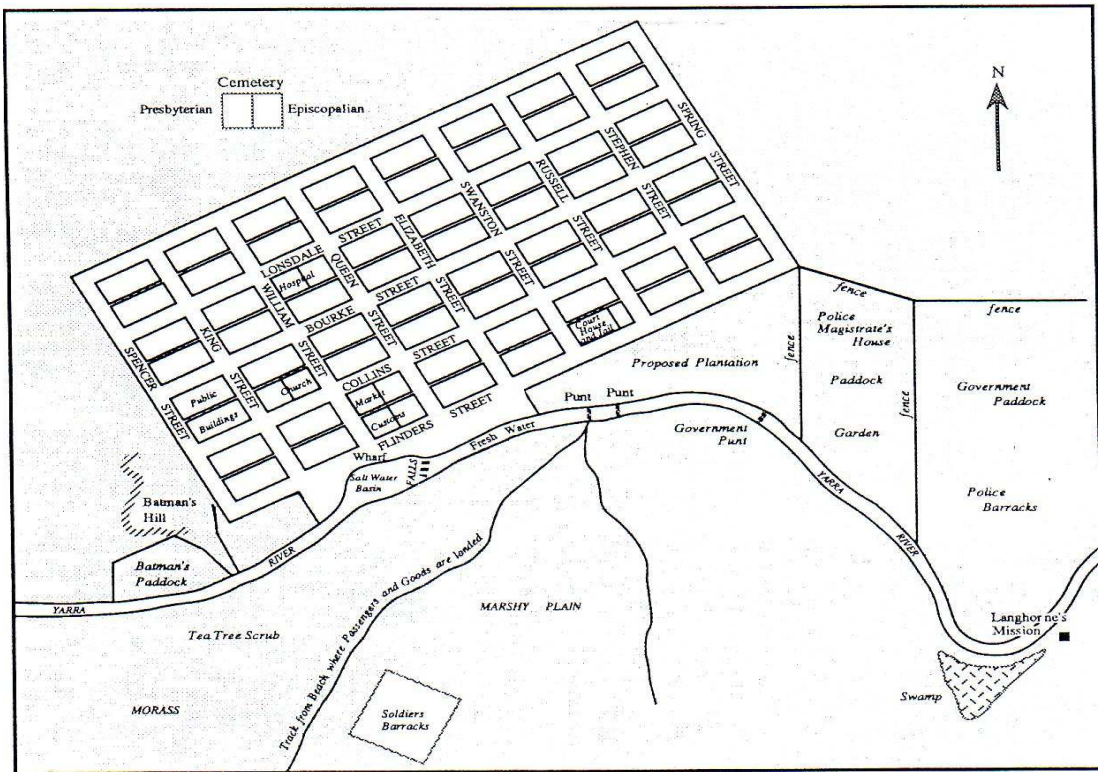


Figure 3.2 Hoddle's 1839 map of Melbourne (Source: Blake 1991:38)
Based on Robert Hoddle's map of Melbourne and its environs dated 28 March 1839. Langhorne's Government Mission is shown at extreme right.

Mission operations during 1838 were hampered by the movements of Woiwurrung people, who frequently removed their children. When the Aboriginal children were present, the schoolmaster was engaged daily, and servants were ordered to build fences and huts. By April 1838, the mission had become almost exclusively a domain of the Woiwurrung, with only a few Boonwurrung and Wathawurrung individuals (GM Langhorne to Colonial Secretary, 30/4/1838 in Cannon 1982:215).

Figure 3.3 William Barak 1900
Source: www.museum.vic.gov.au

In March 1838, prisoner Bamfield absconded from Langhorne's employ, and despite requesting a replacement, it was not until February 1839 in the last weeks of the Mission's operation that Langhorne received authorization to appropriate another prisoner (Cannon 1982: 235). His replacement was Richard Godfrey (Cannon 1983: 504).

In April 1838, some Aboriginal people who frequented the mission began raiding John Gardiner's potato field (Cannon 1982: 213). Langhorne was never able to find potatoes in their possession, and warned them nevertheless against injuring Gardiner's property. In response to Langhorne's closer scrutiny the families moved their abode to the extremity of the Government Reserve in order to continue their raids unencumbered. Things came to a head on Sunday 22 April when a party of Aboriginal people came to Langhorne crying and sobbing with information that three of their number had been shot whilst stealing potatoes at Gardiner's (see Figures 3.4, 3.5). Langhorne 'immediately rode over to this gentleman's residence and found his family in a state of great terror and excitement; and to my grief and surprise a black, whom we had known for some time

past as a steady industrious man, in irons and severely wounded about the head' (Cannon 1982: 213).

> From Mr Gardiner I learnt that the blacks had lately been stealing his potatoes and had been fired upon by his men who were set to watch at night. That on the present occasion, his man Underwood had gone down to the potato field, and observing two blacks, one of whom was the prisoner, stealing potatoes, he told them he must take them to his master. The blacks then told Underwood to inform his master that they were very hungry and wanted some potatoes, upon which he attempted to seize them, when two more blacks rushed out and one pointing a gun threatened to shoot, upon which he left them and in getting away some distance called out 'Murder', upon which the blacks were immediately pursued and fired upon. One was slightly wounded and the other escaped with the exception of the prisoner Tullamarine who was knocked down with the butt end of a musket and secured.
>
> The blacks during the whole of Sunday evening were about our house in a state of great excitement and threatened to destroy Mr Gardiner's premises with fire and to kill his men. I distributed food to all who were not concerned in the affair at Gardiner's and endeavoured to appease them but with little avail (Cannon 1982: 213).

Figure 3.4 John Gardiner
Unsigned oil painting of John Gardiner, n.d., in the Dixson Collection, State Library of New South Wales;

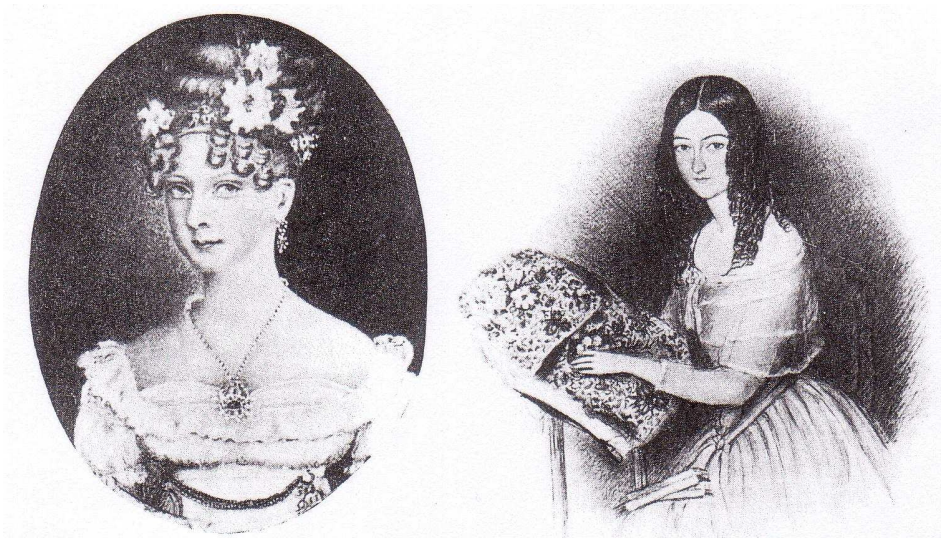


Figure 3.5 Mrs Gardiner and Miss Gardiner
Paintings of Mrs and Miss Gardiner in the La Trobe Library, State Library of New South Wales (copies from Cannon 1982: 216).

Tullamarine and Jin Jin, who was subsequently apprehended, were taken to the Police Office. They managed to escape after having set fire to the thatched roof of the lock-up house (see Figure 3.6).[3] Jin Jin was recaptured, but Tullamarine joined his family and took refuge in the Dandenong Mountains. Tullamarine was eventually recaptured and after a long investigation by the Police Magistrate both were committed to proceed to Sydney for trial. However they were returned to Melbourne and released as the bill was not proceeded with.

The Reverend William Waterfield (Figure 3.7), Melbourne's first Congregational Minister, dined with John Gardiner in Melbourne on 24 April 1838, and in his journal he noted that 'after breakfast Mr. G. and I rode out to his station up the Yarra R. about 4 miles from the town. In many parts of the way it was like riding thro' a park in ruins. I was very much pleased with the ride but in returning we got wet through. Mr. G. had left his country station for the Yarra because he was fearful that the natives would set fire to the place in revenge for what had befallen some of their party' (Waterfield 1914: 108), an obvious reference to the Tullamarine and Jin Jin incident.

[3] The Melbourne suburb of Tullamarine is named after this man.

Figure 3.6: Tullamarine and Jin Jin set fire to the thatched roof of Melbourne's first gaol and make their escape
Watercolour by W.F.E. Liardet, c. 1875, La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria

Bishop Broughton, head of the Anglican Church in New South Wales visited the school in April 1838. He found some progress had been made by the Aboriginal youths in reading and religious knowledge (Sweetman 1922: 2), but with regard to adults, 'no impression was noticeable' (Rankin 1939: 39).

Tensions between George Langhorne and Police Magistrate Lonsdale became a major impediment to the operations of the mission. Following reports of destruction of stock (sheep), on Mr Gardiner's station, Lonsdale and de Villiers, the commandant of the Native Police Corps, and a contingent of mounted police sought to detain a party of Aboriginal people, some of whom, on closer inspection, appeared to Lonsdale to be former members of the Native Police (W Lonsdale to Colonial Secretary, 8/5/1838 in Cannon 1982:220). Langhorne was outraged by the brutality exhibited by Lonsdale's party, and was particularly upset at the firing of shots that alarmed those at the mission. The next day, Langhorne challenged the efficacy and appropriateness of Lonsdale's actions, and from June 1838 ceased to report to him directly. Most of the Aboriginal residents of the mission left after shots were fired, which further angered Langhorne. Lonsdale subsequently sought to replace Langhorne.

In early October 1838, overseer Thomas Watson and his wife resigned their positions and Langhorne was directed by his superiors that the vacancies were not to be filled. The schoolmaster Thomas Penny resigned in December 1838. Police Magistrate Lonsdale was informed that no appointment was to be made until the views of the newly appointed Chief Protector George Robinson had been received.

Figure 3.7 Reverend William Waterfield, minister of the Independent Church in Melbourne

Original in the Royal Historical Society of Victoria (sourced from Cannon 1982: 200).

3.2 Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate – Establishment 1838-9

Having successfully pressured the British government to abolish colonial slavery in 1833, philanthropists and people of evangelical, Protestant, non-conformist, and humanitarian convictions, collectively known as the 'Exeter Hall' movement, formed in 1836 the Aborigines Protection Society. As a result of considerable lobbying the society achieved a House of Commons Select Committee which tabled their report in June 1837 in which they recommended, in the case of New South Wales, the establishment of an Aboriginal Protectorate (House of Commons Sessional Papers, 1837, Vol. 7). Later that year

Secretary of State Lord Glenelg proposed that five protectors would be appointed for the Port Phillip District early in 1838.

George Augustus Robinson (1788-1866), the Commandant of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement, who had established certain notoriety for his role in the 'conciliation' of Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal people, was appointed the Chief Protector, and with him four Assistant Protectors (see Figure 3.8). The assistants were three Methodist schoolmasters and an Army officer. The three Wesleyans were Edward Stone Parker (1802-1865), a teacher from London; William Thomas (1793-1867), a London school principal born in Westminster to Welsh parents; James Dredge (1796-1846), a schoolmaster from Salisbury, England; and Lieutenant Charles Wightman Sievwright (1800-1855) an officer in the 7th Fusiliers who had been stationed in Malta. The four Assistant Protectors arrived at Port Phillip in January 1839, and were directed to report to Police Magistrate Lonsdale, and take instructions from him until Chief Protector Robinson arrived from Flinders Island in March 1839.

3.2.1 George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector

Robinson's administration of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, as Chief Protector, is relevant to this study for invariably Aboriginal peoples visited him at his office from which he often distributed supplies and foodstuffs and traded with them and received gifts. On occasions groups of Aboriginal people would camp temporarily near his office (for example, Robinson Jnl 17/5/1839). For a period of time Robinson's administration was based at Langhorne's establishment, at what is now the City of Stonnington.

One of Robinson's first actions upon arriving in Melbourne was to take an excursion up the Yarra River accompanied by captains Horsburgh and Kind (of the cutter 'Vansittart'), assistant protectors Thomas and Dredge, George Langhorne, the VDL Aborigines, and some local Aboriginal people, including Ningulabul, and the Aboriginal boys working for Langhorne (Robinson Jnl 15/3/1839). They visited Gardiner's and Hoddle's stations on the Yarra, and went duck shooting and took refreshments on the bank of the Yarra River. At Hoddle's station they found a party of Aboriginal people with the surveyor's men.

Robinson undertook another excursion up the Yarra River on 11 May 1839 and visited Hoddle's station. The party comprised of Major Thomas Ryan, Mr Were (Johnathan Binns Were, or one of his brothers Nicholas or George), Turnbull and Sergeant King of the Native Police Corps, the Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal people, and members of Robinson's family. Once at Hoddle's the party climbed the hill opposite and enjoyed a picnic of sherry, claret, pies, and meat and cheese. Robinson (Jnl 11/5/1839) noted that the party 'heartily regaled ourselves as did also the natives. After which had a corrobbery in which I joined to the gratification of my friends'.

3.2.2 Robinson and Langhorne's establishment

Robinson was given administrative responsibility for Langhorne's establishment and one of his first actions was to visit the station on 6 March 1839 to ascertain its future. He

found three Aboriginal boys in attendance, one of whom was from the Murray River[4]. Robinson's initial assessment was that the station was a failure however if it could be rendered useful by a modified plan then he favoured its continuance (Robinson Jnl 6/3/1839, 17/4/1839). According to Robinson, Langhorne considered 'his attempt a complete failure and [he] should decline continuing at least in missionary character' (Robinson Jnl 6/3/1839). Robinson was willing to retain Langhorne's services, and he offered him a position as itinerating catechist or missionary within the Aboriginal Protectorate, however Langhorne declined the offer, preferring instead to apply for a position of assistant protector within the protectorate which was subsequently rejected by Robinson's superiors (Cannon 1983: 499).

Robinson made an entry in his journal that provides us with some insights in to the way that Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung Aboriginal people were interacting with Langhorne's establishment. He noted that on 19 March 1839, 'some Aboriginal natives went to Mr Langhorne's as they were usually wont to do to collect fuel or do other labor required, for which they were in the habit of receiving a portion of flour in return. The poor creatures in this instance had collected a large supply and applied for their flour in return. Unfortunately Mr L. was away from home and the poor natives after waiting for two or three hours found their patience exhausted and feeling annoyed at the situation went and conveyed all the wood they had collected back again to the bush' (Robinson Jnl 21/4/1839).

Langhorne's report of 31 March 1839, referred to Robinson's official visit earlier in the month.

> It being the time for the annual meeting of families from different tribes for the purpose of arranging their quarrels and other matters, a considerable number of blacks, between two and three hundred men, women, and children, have been during the past month congregated in Melbourne, which offered a favourable opportunity to the Chief Protector to make known the nature of his mission to them, for which purpose they were invited by this gentleman to a feast which offered them the highest gratification. … As the primary object of the institution had failed with regard to the employment of the blacks and the education of their children in the neighbourhood of Melbourne, during the last few months I had avoided making any considerable demand for flour, under the well grounded impression that the few natives then frequenting Melbourne were well supported and clothed by the whites for the trifling labours they performed (Cannon 1982: 236).

[4] Another was Kone.duc, identified by Robinson Jnl 21/4/1839 as from 'a tribe very far west, in alliance with the War.tow.wer.rongs [Wathawurrung]'

Figure 3.8 George Augustus Robinson
Lithograph by M. Gauci after a sketch attributed to Thomas Bock, c. 1838. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales

In April 1839, Reverend Joseph Orton, a Wesleyan Methodist Missionary charged with establishing Methodist missions in Australia, visited Melbourne from his base in Hobart. On Sunday 28 April Orton gave a sermon at a religious service held at Langhorne's establishment. In attendance were Robinson, the Langhornes, two Aboriginal children, assistant protector Dredge and his family, Mrs Thomas and her family, protectorate staff and their wives, and Langhorne's servants and their families. Robinson considered it a 'miserable assembly for a mission station'.

On 13 May 1839, Robinson formally presented a more detailed assessment of Langhorne's mission. He considered the causes of the failure of Langhorne's establishment to be various and apparent, 'suffice to say that the scheme as set forth in Mr Langhorne's instructions, though no doubt formed with the best intentions, appear to me quite chimerical and wholly unsuited for the purposes to be accomplished: instant villages after the plan of Owen of 'Lanark' (Cannon 1983: 502).

Robinson visited Langhorne's on 23 May 1839 only to find there a sick Aboriginal woman and he gave orders for a hut to be made, presumably for her comfort. Langhorne informed Robinson that it was the practice of the Aboriginal people to 'leave their sick when they move off. This woman was a sample and formerly they used when they started to leave him all their sick' (Robinson Jnl 23/5/1839). From Robinson's journal we learn that the sick woman was a Woiwurrung woman named Tool.ler.manene, the wife of the man who burnt down the gaol, long since dead, presumably a reference to Tullamarine. Robinson noted that only one child remained in this family, a boy, who was a short time with Langhorne. Toollermanene was examined by Dr Cussen and died on 27 May 1839 from syphilis. She was buried the following day, presumably at Langhorne's establishment.

On 6 June 1839, Robinson visited Langhorne's station and selected a piece of ground for a garden. Robinson learned on 15 June 1839 that the boat that belonged to Langhorne's establishment, which Langhorne had recently sold, had in fact been given to the Aboriginal people by John Batman, and since that time the government had borne the cost of repairs.

On 6 August 1839, Robinson received correspondence from the Colonial Secretary advising that Langhorne's establishment was to be given over for the use of the Aboriginal Department. Langhorne sought permission to remain in the main mission cottage until he could make other arrangements. On 14 October 1839, Robinson was advised by Superintendent La Trobe that he had granted Langhorne a two-month reprieve. Robinson was unhappy with this as Langhorne had been formally dismissed on 1 July 1839. Robinson suspected that Langhorne was being treated favorably because Lonsdale had a large quantity of cattle grazing on the reserve and a stock keeper who tended them. Robinson was prevented from taking occupation until December 1839.

On 27 July 1839, Robinson was told by Mrs Langhorne that their servant, the black youth, Peter, had been enticed away from the station by some white men. On 15

September 1839, Robinson received word from Mrs Langhorne, via David one of the VDL men, and Richard Godfrey an assigned servant of George Langhorne, that the body of Peter had been found three miles east of Langhorne's station, presumably Peter had been murdered. Robinson went with his two sons, his clerk, Godfrey, and David, and found the body buried in a shallow grave. The body was identified as that of Peter's, the Black boy who lived with Mrs Langhorne and who attended her cows. He had been missing for three weeks. Robinson noted that the body was dreadfully mutilated, with two head wounds – one on the back of the head, and one on the front. Robinson ordered that the body be covered during the night. The following morning a cedar coffin was procured from the timber yard and was buried at the station. This is another Aboriginal burial at Langhorne's establishment. Robinson observed that the Port Phillip Aboriginal people were 'greatly alarmed about the murder of Peter the black boy' (Robinson Jnl 16/9/1839) and the Woiwurrung informed Robinson that 'Derrimart, Mr King and Billy Lonsdale had killed the native boy' (Robinson Jnl 17/9/1839). When Robinson spoke with Derrimut about this accusation, he denied it (Robinson Jnl 18/9/1839).

With the closure of the mission in August 1839, William Lonsdale, the police magistrate, recommended that the reserve land of 895 acres be laid out in suburban allotments and sold (Cannon 1983: 506). He recommended that the mission buildings which were in a state of disrepair, be kept for occasional purposes for as long as they will last. He also noted that the buildings were erected before the reserve was surveyed, and were not upon the 895 acre reserve. On 21 December 1839, Willam Thomas wrote to Governor Gipps requesting that the proceeds from the sale of the reserve land be used to establish an agricultural settlement for the Aboriginal people of his protectorate district (Crawford 1966: 74). This petition came to nothing.

In correspondence dated 15 October 1839, Langhorne summarized his experience as the first missionary in Port Phillip (see Figure 3.9). His assessment was that the ultimate goal of the plan he was given was 'the intermixture by marriage of the Aborigines among the lower order of our countrymen as the only likely means of raising the former from their present degraded and benighted state', and he considered this 'utopian' (Cannon 1983: 507). He considered that a central cause of failure was that a fixed establishment was diametrically opposed to 'their wandering and unsettled habits'. He also noted that as the Melbourne settlement grew, the Aboriginal people realised that as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water they could obtain better pay in the settlement, and therefore deserted the Mission Station, frequently reproaching me that they could obtain from the white men at the "Big Miam Miam" (as they named the town) plenty of white bread, when I gave them only coarse flour and that in small quantities' (Cannon 1983: 509).

Figure 3.9 George Langhorne
Photograph in the *Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol. 3, 1914 (Cannon 1983: 504).

In January 1839, Langhorne had suggested in an official report that one reason for the poor attendance of Aboriginal men at the Mission station was his refusal to supply them with guns:

> I have ever discouraged it in every way, and it has frequently been mentioned by the blacks as a reason for their not frequenting the mission station, that I constantly refuse them firearms, whereas the Black Police were so armed, and the other natives could obtain musquets from the settlers whenever they required them. In fact such is their passion for shooting, that any person might command the attendance of Blacks for months together whenever he chose that they should accompany him, merely by supplying them with guns and ammunition (Fels 1988: 75).

Christie's (1979) assessment of some of the reasons for the failure of the mission include that the Aboriginal people did not settle permanently, and the attendance of children was sporadic and dependent on tribal movements. The mission was undermined by some in the white community 'who spread lurid stories about his intentions and supplied the Aborigines with bread and rum in exchange for access to the Aboriginal women' (Christie 1979: 84). The land allocated to the reserve became increasingly valuable and pressure grew to move the mission and have the land put up for sale or given over to a purpose more beneficial to the whites.

3.2.3 Robinson's offices

Robinson served as Chief Protector from 1839 until early 1850, when the Protectorate was closed. According to Rae-Ellis (1996:181) four locations served as his central headquarters: a one-roomed office in the Police Magistrate's paddock from 1839; the jury room of the old Supreme Court building from 1843; a room in John Batman's former residence from 1848; and finally a building in Queen Street in 1849. However, a careful reading of Robinson's journal has revealed that Rae-Ellis has overlooked the location of Robinson's office at the former Government Mission station at what is now the Royal Botanical Gardens, which he occupied from December 1839 until July 1843. On 27 July 1843, the Protectorate office moved to the jury room in the old Supreme Court House on the southwest corner of Bourke and King Streets, later the site of the west Melbourne police station (Cannon 1991: 149). There is also evidence that he may have constructed another office that he used from July 1839 before relocating to Langhorne's former mission site in December 1839.

Robinson arrived in Melbourne in late February 1839. On 6 March 1839, Police Magistrate William Lonsdale offered Robinson the use of a small room in the Police Magistrate's paddock which he 'gladly accepted'. This hut was on the banks of the Yarra River in what is now Jolimont and had been formerly occupied by the 1838 Native Police Corps.[5] Robinson lived and worked from this small one-roomed hut until his family joined him in March. Aboriginal people often encamped for short periods of time beside Robinson's temporary office in the Police Magistrate's paddock.

On 3 May 1839, Robinson met with Robert Hoddle, the head of the survey department, and requested an allotment of land (Robinson Jnl 3/5/1839). Hoddle recommended Robinson move on to the 'Aboriginal reserve', a reference to Langhorne's village mission, until he could get a station (Robinson Jnl 3/5/1839).

[5] The first attempt by Police Magistrate William Lonsdale to establish a Native Police Corps lasted ten weeks, from 28 October 1837 to 7 January 1838. Christiaan L.J. de Villiers was appointed Superintendent of Native Police. Headquarters for the corps were selected at Narre Narre Warren (for more information, see Fels 1988, 1990). Superintendent de Villiers resigned his position on 1 January 1838 because of interference and 'malicious complaints' by the missionary George Langhorne. Langhorne was subsequently appointed Police Superintendent and he placed the Mission overseer at Narre Narre Warren to take charge of the Native Police and the buildings and stores. The police refused to serve under Langhorne and they left the site and the institution lapsed (Fels 1988: 25).

In September 1838 William Lonsdale made a second attempt at establishing the Native Police Corps, again with de Villiers as Superintendent. This attempt lasted from 18 September 1838 to 15 January 1839. Rather than being based at Dandenong, Lonsdale located the Corps in the Police Magistrate's paddock, to the east of his own cottage, in what is now known as Jolimont. It occupied the area now bounded by Wellington Parade, Punt Road, and the Yarra River.

The third and more successful attempt at forming a Native Police Corps came in 1842 under the command of Henry EP Dana. The Corps was abandoned in 1853 (see Fels 1988 for a comprehensive history of all three Corps).

On 8 July 1839, William Lansdown commenced employment as Robinson's clerk. On 18 July Robinson gave Lansdown orders to make a stockyard and hut (Robinson Jnl 18/7/1839). In late July construction of Lansdown's house commenced with assistance rendered by the Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal men. On 15 August 1839, Robinson noted in his journal that Aboriginal people were encamped in Lonsdale's Police Paddocks. 'The whole tribe at my suggestion moved over to Lansdown's side of the river'. On numerous occasions Aboriginal people, also, encamped at Lansdown's hut, which was on the south bank of the Yarra River.

On 6 August 1839, Robinson received a letter granting permission from the Colonial Secretary for Langhorne's establishment to be given over for the use of the Aboriginal department. When he showed this letter to Lonsdale, he said he would acquire Robinson's office for the Crown's common police. Robinson replied he would vacate at a month's notice, despite the fact that he had paid for improvements to this structure at his expense.

Other references to Robinson's office include: on Christmas day in 1839 the Yarra River flooded. 'My residence was clear on the banks and the water rose to within 13 inches of the floor of my office. Borrowed two tents from the superintendent and removed the things from my office, expecting the water over the plains. My office partly surrounded by water. This is a fortunate occurrence as it will prevent the folly of forming the town on the south side of the Yarra (Robinson Jnl 25/12/1839)'. 'Visited native camp at the south end of lagoon opposite my office by Langhorne's (Robinson Jnl 1/1/1840)'. 'Natives came to town and encamped at the stone quarry opposite to my office (Robinson Jnl 24/7/1840)'

The possible construction of a new office in July 1839 and the relocation of Robinson's central headquarters to the former mission establishment in December 1839 have been overlooked in previous studies of the Protectorate (such as Foxcroft 1940, Christie 1979, Rae-Ellis 1996).

On 16 August 1840, Robinson noted that 'all the blacks Waverong and Boongerong arrived from Gardner and camped opposite to my office'. Two days later Robinson succeeded in inducing the two tribes to leave the neighbourhood of the township and accompany him to Assistant Protector Thomas's camp at Walpole's station on the Yarra River.

On 29 January 1841, Robinson noted that two Boonwurrung Aboriginal people, Niggerernaul and a youth Doller visited his office before going to the lagoon (Tromgin) and caught about 40lbs of eel. Robinson watched them spear the eels, and bought 20 from them along with two spears.

During the 1970s, some eight drawings were found in storage beneath the stage of the Prahran Town Hall. The drawings depicted scenes in early Prahran. Two of them are relevant to this study in that they include Aboriginal people in them.

Drawing # 282 depicts a river scene, possibly from the garden of Waterloo Cottage, or nearby (see Figure 3.10). Two figures, possible Aboriginal people carrying spears, are depicted. In the bottom RH corner appears to be written 'Lithio'.

Drawing # 285 is entitled 'Robinson Black Protector – next to Miss Barker's' (see Figure 3.11). The drawing is of a man in a dray travelling up a curved road leading to a substantial house. Aborigines stand beneath a tree in the foreground. A pencilled annotation on the rear reads 'Robinson Black Protector – next to Miss Barker's'.

Robinson lived at 'Tivoli'. Miss Barker, sister of Dr Barker, also lived on the terrace. It is signed CF, possibly Charles Forrest, who was Robinson's clerk from 1847-1848 (see Figure 3.12). A comparison of the hand writing on the rear of the drawing with those entries believed to have been entered by Charles Forrest in the Chief Protector's Office Journal has failed to find a match. However, there is an entry in the office journal dated 12 April 1847[6] that confirms that Forrest was in the habit of drawing sketches, so it is plausible that CF is Charles Forrest. Charles Forrest became Robinson's new clerk on 19 February 1847. Forrest had been the Clerk of Petty Sessions (1840-43), and had been a station holder in the Western Port District (1846-47). Forrest resigned on 20 June 1848. Forrest bought Lot 6 at the June 1840 land sales and built Waterloo Cottage at Forrest Hill (where Melbourne High School now stands) in 1841 and the Hermitage (NW corner of Chapel Street and Toorak Road) in 1843 (see Figure 3.13). He later lived in Williams Road.

[6] 'Commenced the sketches of the junction of the Murray and Darling …', (Office Journal 12 April 1847 in Clark 2000g.)

Figure 3.10 Untitled drawing, Prahran Archives

Figure 3.11 'Robinson Black Protector – next to Miss Barker's', Prahran Archives

Figure 3.12 Lieut. Charles Forrest
Reproduced from Robb's (1934) 'Early Toorak and District'.

Figure 3.13: Waterloo Cottage, built in 1840, was demolished to make way for Melbourne High School. Reproduced in a Melbourne newspaper on 23 June 1925, located in Stonnington City Library. Sourced from Robb's (1934) 'Early Toorak and District'.

3.2.4 Robinson's residences

Robinson had four, and possibly five, residences during his time in Melbourne. With the exception of his first residence, it would seem that Robinson lived in what is now the City of Stonnington from 1839 until he left Victoria and returned to England in 1852. It is important to be aware of these residences for invariably many Aboriginal people visited his home and on occasions camped near his private residence.[7] Furthermore, many protectorate officials, and other public officers often visited him when he was working at home to transact official business.

Robinson's first residence, as described above, was his small one-roomed office in the Police Magistrate's paddock, where he lived and worked from March until 3 April 1839 when Maria, his wife, and family, joined him from Flinders Island (Robinson Jnl 3/4/1839).

According to Rae-Ellis (1996:172), in late March 1839, Robinson took possession of a small cottage vacated by a Mr Wright, situated in an unpleasant swampy area down by

[7] In conversation with La Trobe, Robinson explained on 13 March 1841, 'that of course where I was then the blacks would wish to be and therefore the accommodation for them must be on my ground'.

the Yarra River. The identity of Wright is not known for certain, but it may refer to Chief Constable William Wright. Furthermore, the location of this cottage is unclear. Robinson's journal entries are not conclusive in regard to whether or nor the Robinsons occupied Wright's cottage. As seen above when discussing Robinson's administrative quarters, there is a reference to the Chief Protector's residence as a government building in a dilapidated state in December 1839. The walls of this residence were put up at Robinson's expense.

On 30 April 1839, Robinson was visited by reverends Orton and Tuckfield who discussed with him issues concerning the Wesleyan mission to the Aborigines. In the evening Orton held a religious service at Robinson's establishment and addressed the Tasmanian Aborigines who were living with Robinson. The Aboriginal people sang during the service (Robinson Jnl 30/4/1839).

On 3 May 1839, Robinson met with Robert Hoddle, the Chief Surveyor, and requested an allotment of land. Hoddle recommended Robinson move on to Langhorne's village mission, until he could get a station. On 6 August 1839, Robinson received a letter granting permission from the Colonial Secretary for Langhorne's establishment to be given over for the use of the Aboriginal department. When he showed this letter to Lonsdale, he said he would acquire Robinson's present abode for the Crown's common police. Robinson replied he would vacate at a month's notice, despite the fact that he had paid for improvements to this structure at his expense. Robinson and his family remained at Wright's cottage until he was permitted to take over missionary Langhorne's cottage, beside the former Yarra mission establishment, in December 1839. Robinson (Jnl 30/12/1839) described his residence as being near the head of the lagoon near to Langhorne's.

In his journal dated 25 December 1839, Robinson notes his intention to buy a piece of land for building a place for his family as he could not build on crown land. In late July 1840 Robinson purchased at auction for 744 pounds eight hectares at 43 South Bank of Yarra, a fifteen minutes ride from Melbourne. Robinson specifically stated this name was the 'name of suburban section No. 8 on Yarra Yarra, south side' (Robinson Jnl 15/10/1840).[8] Cooper (1912: 29) describes this location as 'on the hill at the bottom of Chapel Street'. The Aboriginal people told him the locality was known as 'Terneet'. Robinson used several names for his Prahran residence, including 'Claremont' (see Jnl 22/10/1840), 'Terneet', and 'Rivolia' (sometimes written as 'Tivolia', and 'Tivoli'). The Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal men, who had accompanied Robinson to Melbourne, cleared the land and construction of a stone and brick house was commenced. Bricks were removed free of charge from Langhorne's cottage and incorporated into the new house. The house was set in an extensive garden of nearly two hectares extending to the riverbank and surrounded by farmland. Robinson moved into Terneet on 14 October 1843. Until the house was ready for Robinson's family to move into it, the property was worked as a farm where many of the VDL Aboriginal people lived. By all accounts Terneet was highly regarded in Melbourne society.

[8] A map of the first land sales of 1840 show Lot 8 fronting the Yarra River and transecting Hawksburn Creek.

> Judge William Jeffcott told Robinson it was the best dwelling around Melbourne, and when La Trobe paid and unexpected call in 1844 he praised the buildings and gardens generously, telling Robinson it was the best-furnished house he had seen and surely intended for the Superintendent of the district. … His old acquaintance the Reverend J.D. Lang described the house as a handsome, delightful villa in his book *Port-Phillip: or the Colony of Victoria* (1847), and the first Anglican Bishop of Melbourne, Dr Charles Perry, offered two thousand pounds for it. The offer was refused, Robinson confiding to this brother in London that the house and grounds cost him at least three thousand pounds by 1848 (Rae-Ellis 1988: 248).

Figure 3.14: Residence of GA Robinson at Prahran on the Yarra. Oil painting on canvas. Mitchell Library ML 307. Melbourne is seen in the distance. The figures in the foreground are those of GA Robinson and his wife conversing with an Aboriginal man.

In January 1852, Robinson sold the house for £2,500 to squatter Peter Snodgrass (Cooper 1912: 29), although Rae-Ellis (1996: 255) claims the purchaser was named McLaren. In 1855, William Montgomerie Bell became the owner and resided there for some years. A photograph of 'Tivoli' was published by Robb (1934) in a publication on early Toorak and district.

Though not extensive, the following references show that Aboriginal people frequented Terneet: On 4 January 1841, a Geelong Aboriginal man who was committed by Foster Fyans for sheep stealing was taken to Terneet; however he absconded during the night. On 16 March 1841, Robinson saw Benbow passing his farm, and he sent him back, presumably to Thomas. On 3 November 1846, Robinson was visited at his home by two Wathawurrung Aboriginal men from Geelong, who complained that members of the Native Police Corps had stolen their women. On 17 November 1846, Murray, a member of the Native Police Corps visited Robinson's house, complaining that the Commandant HEP Dana had taken his ration, and he was feeding the Corps kangaroo meat, and keeping the ration for himself.. On 10 April 1847 three members visited Robinson at home complaining of their commandant HEP Dana that he 'swears too much, no good very bad, no stop'. Benbow and his wife visited Robinson on 29 August 1847, for supplies and money. Robinson took advantage of the visit to record ethnographic information on the Boonwurrung.

Figures 3.14 and 3.15 are copies of oil paintings in the Mitchell Library that depict scenes of Robinson at his South Yarra residence. One shows Robinson and his wife talking to an Aboriginal man, the other shows Robinson fishing in the Yarra River. The paintings are undated and the artist is not known, however, the Mitchell Library has estimated that they date from c. 1840. If the paintings are contemporary, then we are able to more precise about a likely time period. The Robinsons moved into Terneet in October 1843; Maria Robinson died at Terneet in August 1848; thus these two events provide a date range of 1843-48. A careful reading of Robinson's private journal, published by Ian Clark, has shown that Robinson forged relationships with three artists during this time: Edward Andrew Opie; George Gilbert; and Reed/Read.[9] Robinson noted on 17 April 1847 that 'Mr Gilbert came at 11 and went at 4 p.m., made a sketch of me' (Robinson Jnl 17/4/1847). In an entry dated 22 April 1847, Robinson noted 'Mr Gilbert taking front view of my house', and is the strongest indication that George Alexander Gilbert may be responsible for these two pieces. A naïve comparison of these works with others painted by Gilbert suggests they are his work and date from 1847. In 1847, Gilbert held an exhibition of his landscape paintings at the Mechanics' Institute (Creelman 1984: 279).

[9] In 1852, the year he returned to England, his journal mentions an association with three artists: William Strutt, JA Gilfillan, and Thomas Ham.

Figure 3.15: Residence of G.A. Robinson on Yarra. Oil painting on canvas, Mitchell Library, ML330. Unsigned. Robinson is depicted in foreground; fishing and Aboriginal people are crossing the river.

3.2.5 The Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal people

From 1839 until 1842 Robinson was responsible for the welfare of some 15 Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal people, and Charlotte, a South Australian woman who had been living with sealers in Bass Strait, who came to Port Phillip from the Flinders Island establishment (Cannon 1983: 393): Walter George Arthur (Friday) (see Figure 3.16), Mary Ann Arthur (see Figure 3.16), Lalla Rookh (Truganini) (see Figure 3.17), Matilda (Maria Matilda Natapolina/Maytepueminner), VDL Jack (Napoleon/Pevay/Jack Napoleon Tarraparrura/Tunnerminnerwait) (see Figure 3.18), Wooreddy (Doctor/ Mutteellee) (see Figure 3.19), Fanny (Fanny Waterfordia/Planobeena) (see Figure 3.20), Timmy (Robert/Maulboyheener) (see Figure 3.21), Thomas Thompson, Isaac (Probelattener/Lackley), Johnny Franklin, Rebecca (Meeterlatteenner), Thomas Brune, David Brune (Myyungge/Dowwringgi/Leati) and Peter Brune (Droleluni) (Finn 1888 v.1: 350; Rae-Ellis 1976: 85; Plomley 1987). Some of these people lived with and were cared for by Robinson and they are a part of the Indigenous history of Stonnington.

On 18 July 1839, VDL Jack was articled to David Hill and Walter Coats, squatters on the south bank of the Yarra River, for 12 months at £26 per annum. Robinson had first met these men on 25 April, when they had arrived in Melbourne having overlanded for 14 weeks from Sydney. They told Robinson about the general feeling of antipathy towards the Aboriginal people they encountered from many of the people they met during their journey. Robinson was impressed with their power of observation. On 25 October 1840, Coats informed Robinson that one of his mares had been killed, and he suspected VDL Jack, who was still in his employ, was responsible, however Robinson considered in the absence of any proof, Coats was being presumptive. On 9 November 1840, Hill met with Robinson and advised him that he wished to arrange a new agreement for VDL Jack, however this was not renewed as Jack went into service with Robinson (see Robinson Jnl 20/1/1841).

On 12 November 1840, Jack, Walter, Wooreddy, Thomson and Robinson's two sons arrived in Melbourne with cattle from the Goulburn River. Wooreddy, Jack, Thomson, and Fanny slept at Terneet. Lalla Rhook (Truganini) was at Terneet on 15 November 1840 where Robinson joined her and other VDL people in prayers. On 21 November 1840, Matilda came to Terneet. On 20 January 1841, Robinson met with Superintendent La Trobe concerning his VDL Aboriginal charges. La Trobe advised Robinson that he was going to write to him to send them to Thomas. Robinson replied he thought they would not go there, and La Trobe responded 'they would not have the benefit' of a choice. Robinson then said 'Walter and Mary Ann were not wild natives but as white person I would provide for them'. On 4 December 1841, Walter George Arthur and Mary Ann Arthur and Wooreddy were at Robinson's Terneet farm (Robinson Jnl 4/12/1841).

Timmy (Robert) and Jack were executed in Melbourne on 20 January 1842 for their part in the killing of two white men in October 1841. Isaac drowned in Westernport Bay in January 1841; Thomas Brune died from a fall from a tree in Melbourne on 2 January 1841; and Rebecca died from dysentery at Robinson's 30 April 1841, and was buried on 2 May 1841, presumably at Turneet (Robinson office journal 30/4/1841, 2/5/1841 in Clark 2000b; Rae-Ellis 1976: 104; Plomley 1987: 943).[10] Truganini, Wooraddy, Matilda, Fanny, Walter George Arthur, Mary Ann Arthur, and David Brune were returned to Flinders Island in July 1842. Peter Brune and Johnny Franklin remained in Melbourne; Brune living with Robinson, and Franklin living with the Bond family on the River Plenty. Peter Brune died of dysentery on 8 December 1843 and was buried at Terneet (Robinson Jnl 8/12/1843).

[10] Robinson was out in the field at this time, and Rebecca's death is not recorded in his daily journal.

Figure 3.16: Walter George Arthur and Mary Ann Arthur, 1858, Beattie copy of F.R. Nixon photograph, Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery Item Q13013.

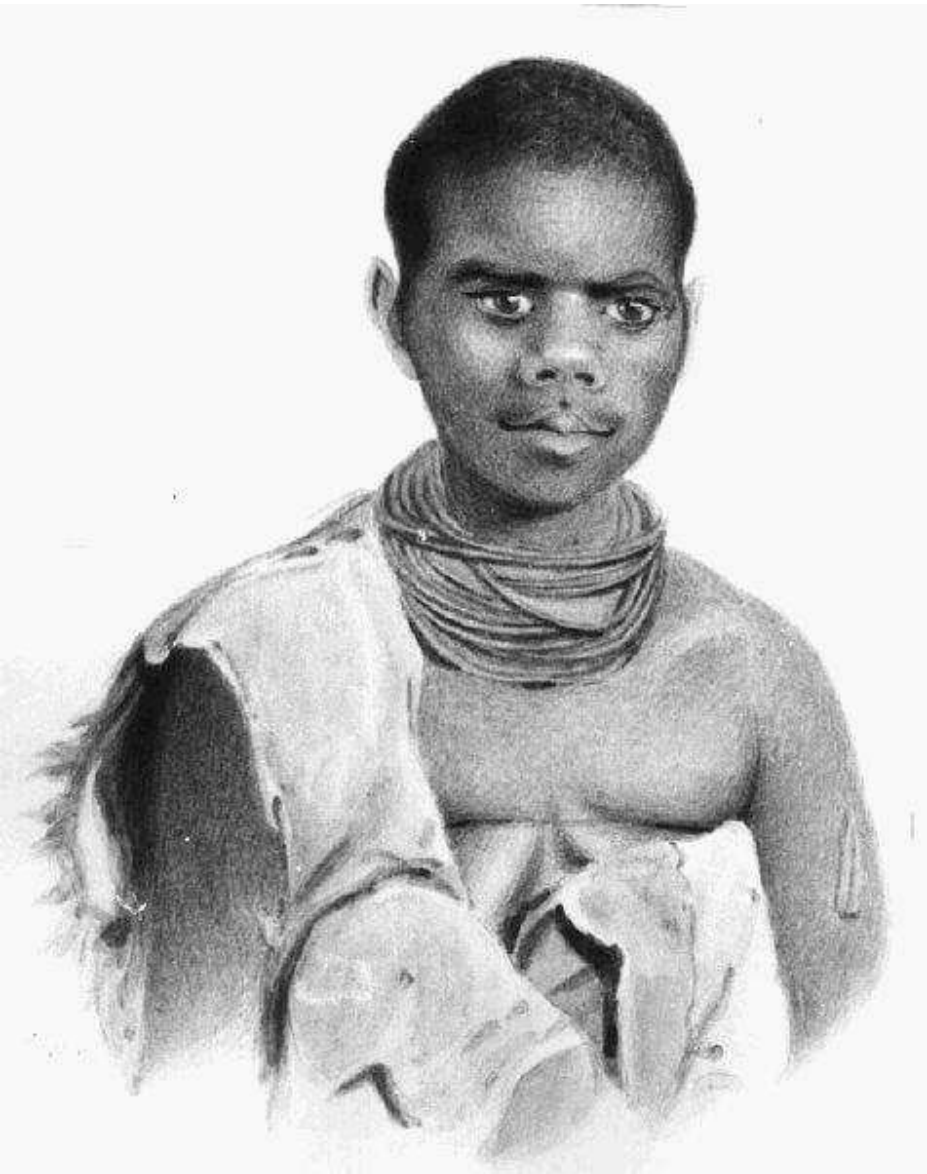


Figure 3.17: 'Trugernana', Beattie photograph of Thomas Bock watercolour c. 1840, Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery, Item Q13009.

Figure 3.18: 'Jack – Native of Cape Grim, Van Diemen's Land', Beattie photograph of Thomas Bock c. 1840 watercolour, Tasmanian Museum & Art Gallery, Item Q12992

3.3 Westernport District of the Aboriginal Protectorate

In March 1839 Robinson allocated Protectorate districts to his four assistants. Sievwright was allotted the 'Geelong' or 'Western District', Parker the 'Mt Macedon' or 'North Western District' later known as the 'Loddon District', Dredge the 'Goulburn River District', and Thomas the 'Western Port' or 'Melbourne District'. In relation to the countries of Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung clans, they were under the jurisdiction of Thomas with the exception of those western and northern clans whose estates were between the Werribee and Yarra rivers north to Mt Macedon whose lands formed part of Parker's district.

Figure 3.19 Wooreddy
Watercolour by Thomas Bock. In the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery.

Figure 3.20 Fanny
Watercolour by Thomas Bock. In the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery.

The Western Port or Melbourne District of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate was defined as follows: 'Bounded on the south by the coast; on the north by the Australian Alps; on the west by Port Phillip [i.e. Melbourne]; the eastern boundary undefined (Robinson 26/3/1839 to Colonial Secretary in Cannon 1983:452)'. Existing records detailing the operations of the Protectorate in the Western Port District are almost exclusively those left by Assistant Protector William Thomas. Occasional references or notes on the Aboriginal peoples of Thomas' district, and their lives and places can be found in the various journals, letters and transcribed recollections of early European settlers of Port Phillip.

The establishment of the Western Port District was hampered, initially, by Chief Protector Robinson's refusal to allow Thomas to leave Melbourne. By August 1839, Thomas had established quarters at Arthur's Seat, where his attentions outside of Melbourne were concentrated until August 1840. However much of his time was spent assisting Robinson in Melbourne, attempting to 'break-up' the Aboriginal camps by the Yarra River, and in discouraging others from entering the town's vicinity (Thomas, n.d. in VPRS 4410, Item 66 and 7/11/1840 in VPRS 4410, Item 67).

Figure 3.21 Robert
Watercolour by Thomas Bock. In the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery.

In an attempt to engage more people from the Woiwurrung clans of the district, Robinson ordered Thomas to establish a station in a location suitable for settlement by people from both Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clans (Robinson Jnl 28/7/1840). Following several suggestions refused by the Protectorate, the Narre Narre Warren site was chosen. Thomas remained stationed here until the last months of 1842, when it was impossible to ignore

the preference of Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clanspeople to camp by Melbourne, and in the vicinity of other Aboriginal people. By 1843 Thomas was preoccupied with keeping order at Aboriginal encampments in Melbourne, attempting to keep Aboriginal people out of the township, and visiting those incarcerated in gaol (Gaughwin & Sullivan 1984:85).

3.3.1 William Thomas, Assistant Protector

Prior to his employment as Assistant Protector of Aborigines, William Thomas was employed as a school principal in London (see Figures 3.22, 3.23, 3.24). Thomas's subscription to the views of contemporary British philanthropists and strong religious convictions enabled him to perform his role as Assistant Protector with degrees of respect, impartiality and diligence rarely exhibited by others of the time (Crawford 1966:24-7). Grounded in his work as school principal in England, educating and proselytizing remained Thomas' chief instruments of 'civilizing' Aboriginal people.

In attempting to manage the Aboriginal people of the district, Thomas was required to cover great distances, often on foot, simply to locate and document the clans under his responsibility.

Figure 3.22 William Thomas
An unsigned oil portrait of Thomas as he looked on his arrival in Australia. Portrait is in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. (Source: Cannon 1983:519)

Thomas and his family spent their first three months in Melbourne living in two tents beside the other assistant protectors and their families at the Yarra River Aboriginal encampment on the south bank of the river, approximately one mile from the township. On 1 April 1839, Mrs Thomas removed to Langhorne's establishment (Robinson Jnl 1/4/1839). Nine days later, whilst James Dredge left for a tour of his district, his family relocated to Langhorne's to live near the Thomas family (Robinson Jnl 10/4/1839). In correspondence with William Lonsdale, dated 11 June 1839, Langhorne reported that he had handed over all the stores belonging to the mission to Thomas who was resident at the mission in the hut formerly used as the schoolhouse (Langhorne to Lonsdale, 11/6/1839 in Cannon 1983:504). In August 1839, Thomas selected quarters near Arthur's Seat on the Mornington Peninsula. Thomas' family is believed to have relocated to Arthurs Seat in October 1839 where they remained until September 1840. Thomas selected Narre Narre Warren as his district's Central Station in September 1840, where he and his family were based until late 1842. On 18 March 1843, Robinson visited Thomas' land on Merri Creek near Pentridge. On 14 February 1844, William Thomas moved to Pascoeville (VPRS 4410 Item 79).

Figure 3.23 William Thomas, pencil sketch by George Henry Haydon, 1842.
[R.B. Smyth Collection, La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria]

In an attempt to engage more Woiwurrung clanspeople, in November 1842, Robinson ordered Thomas to establish a station in a location suitable to both Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clans (Thomas, 7/11/1842 in VPRS 4410, Item 67). Following several suggestions refused by the Protectorate, the Narre Narre Warren site was chosen. After selecting the site at Narre Narre Warren in September 1840, Thomas ceased operations from Arthur's Seat (see Figure 3.25).

Figure 3.24 William Thomas, as an older man
[portrait photograph: albumen silver *carte-de-visite*; Davies & Co., Picture Collection, La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria, PIC LTA 2058]

After much deliberation amongst elders, Thomas was escorted to a site by *Koranwarrabil* (Dandenong) ranges through which ran the Dandenong Creek, and though initially dubious on account of the proximity to Mr Clow's station, accepted the site that had accommodated de Villiers 1837 Corps (Thomas to Robinson, 21/9/1840, VPRS 11, Item 330). On 17 September, Superintendent La Trobe authorized the establishment of a station and 'reserve' for agricultural pursuits at the site (Thomas, 1/3/1841 in VPRS 4410, Item 68). In November 1840, on his return to Narre Narre Warren, which he now called 'Central Station', Thomas mentioned in his report the need for a hospital, and in December reported the appointment of an Overseer, D. Taylor, and then Schoolmaster and Constable, Wilson.

Following the desertion of Central Station by Aboriginal people and Thomas in March 1842, Superintendent La Trobe authorised the appointment of a medical officer to supervise those who would visit the station (La Trobe to Gipps, Outletter Book, 16/4/1842). This placing of a medical officer was in concordance with developments at the other Protectorate stations where assistant protectors were no longer employed (Robinson in NSW V&P, 1845).

At the end of 1840, it became evident to Thomas that Boonwurrung clans preferred Melbourne over Narre Narre Warren and, as when Woiwurrung clans people had avoided Arthur's Seat in Boonwurrung country, his attentions were divided. From March 1841, Thomas regularly visited encampments to the northeast of Melbourne, attempting to affect a return to Narre Narre Warren. However he conceded that only increased rations would have enabled this (Thomas, 24/6/1841 in VPRS 4410, Item 69 and 31/8/1841 in VPRS 4410, Item 70).

From December 1841 until 1847, Thomas recorded frequent camps at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River, and sometimes in present-day Studley Park (see VPRS

4410 *passim*). In 1842, although based at Narre Narre Warren, Thomas spent considerable time visiting Woiwurrung and Daungwurrung camps north and northeast of Melbourne, and the Boonwurrung camps south and southeast of Melbourne. By June 1842, Thomas was unable to keep Aboriginal people from camping by the Native Police quarters at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River. Thomas remained stationed at Narre Narre Warren until the last months of 1842, when it was impossible to ignore the preference of Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clanspeople to camp by the Yarra River in Melbourne, and in the vicinity of other Aboriginal people.

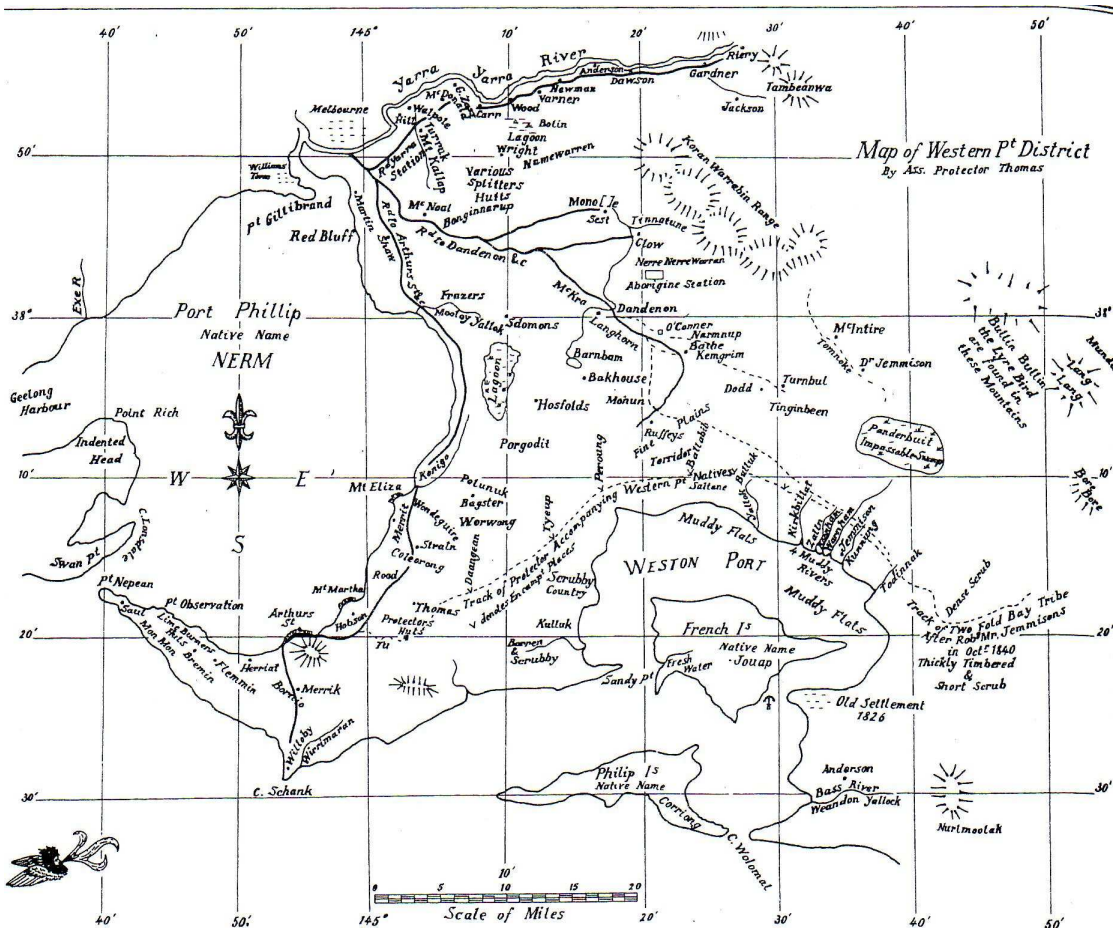


Figure 3.25 William Thomas's 1840 map of the Westernport District
(Source Presland 1994:74). The original is found in Thomas to Robinson n.d. in VPRS 11, Unit 7, Item 365.

3.4 Yarra River at Melbourne

In March 1839, at least three corroborees were staged in Melbourne. On these occasions it was not uncommon for there to be dancing and wrestling. Some of these ceremonies were grand affairs that the townsfolk attended. One, on 24 March, attracted between 400 and 500 Aboriginal people (Robinson Jnl 24/3/1839). Perhaps the grandest gathering was staged on 28 March, when approximately 500 Daungwurrung, Woiwurrung, and

Boonwurrung gathered (Robinson Jnl 28/3/1839). Robinson arranged the 'grand fete' for the Aboriginal people in Melbourne at which he would inform of the Department's intention of protecting their rights and interests. Upwards of 500 Aboriginal people attended, along with a large assembly of Melbourne townsfolk. For their part the Aboriginal people raced for tomahawks, climbed greasy poles for handkerchiefs, threw spears, and performed dances. Robinson provided food and a fireworks display.

During 1839 corroborees were also organized for dignitaries – for example, on 4 April when Lady Jane Franklin, the wife of the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, visited Melbourne, she requested to see a corroboree, and Robinson asked the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung to arrange one (Robinson Jnl 4/4/1839). This was staged at the Aboriginal encampment on the southbank of the Yarra River, one mile from the township. A corroboree was held on 15 October at the Aboriginal encampment for the recently arrived Superintendent CJ La Trobe (Robinson Jnl 15/10/1839). Another major ceremony, called '*naragain*', was held at the Aboriginal encampment on 18 November (Robinson Jnl 18/11/1839). On 20 November the Daungwurrung, Woiwurrung, and Boonwurrung performed a special ceremony, known as '*mur.re.ne.rere*' (Robinson Jnl 20/11/1839). Restrictions applied to this ceremony, and Robinson was informed that the Aboriginal people did not like white men to see it. The event was described as being like the 'white man's Sunday'. One local clansperson, 'Mr. King', said it was like a long time ago when they were in the woods before white people came; it concerned a young man named Kur.mul and a young woman named War.er.bur.er.bine. A ceremony called '*murrennecoleleen*' or '*worronebermile*' was performed on 15 October 1840 at the Aboriginal encampment on the south side of the Yarra River (Robinson Jnl 15/10/1840). Robinson was told the ceremony could not proceed beyond sunset as to do so would bring their death.

Thefts from local European landholders were common; in early 1839, for example, potatoes were stolen from Gardiner's station (Robinson Jnl 6/3/1839) and David Hill's station (Cooper 1934: 8) It is no accident that there is a correlation between incidents of theft and the hunger of the Aboriginal people. Protectorate officials were regularly approached to supply food. Assistant Protector Thomas's house was broken into by a Daungwurrung clansman who stole bread and meat, and threatened Thomas that if the police investigated it he would seek revenge (Robinson Jnl 21/11/1839).

Robinson (Jnl 5/5/1839) described the Aboriginal camps in Melbourne as abodes of misery and famine and their condition as deplorable. Dr James Cussen reported on the health of the Aboriginal people in Melbourne in May 1839, when there were several deaths from dysentery, and again in August 1839 (Robinson Jnl 6/5/1839; 26/8/1839). In August he advised that he was unable to do anything for the Aboriginal people in Melbourne, and recommended that a person be appointed to supervise them and that a hut be built for that purpose.

Ordinarily fouling of campsites was not a health problem, for it was uncommon to reside in the same place for any great length of time. When a particular area's food resources were nearing exhaustion, it was time to relocate; there would be a return to the campsite

at a later date when the food source had regenerated. The fact that in settlements Aboriginal people could obtain food from Europeans meant that traditional means of production were not primarily adhered to; indeed there was no need to relocate as the food source in this instance could be obtained with little physical exertion. One of the benefits of the traditional hunting and gathering praxis was of course public health; a reasonably reliable supply of food from Europeans meant that larger numbers of Aboriginal people could congregate – hence the increased hazard of disease.

For a short period the Melbourne townspeople tolerated Aboriginal people in their midst – after all the native people and the immigrant were equally interesting to one another. The establishment of new settlements involved both civil engineering and social planning. Roads, drainage, bridges and fords were to be constructed, and business houses and domestic residences were to be established. Commercial links between townships and their hinterlands were being forged and networks of communication were being developed. The infrastructure associated with law and order was being developed. Given these dynamics the presence of dispossessed local clanspeople was unworthy of concern, unless they began to stand in the way of the emerging spatial and social organization.

The attitudes of civil authorities to the apparent spatial freedom of Aboriginal people are complex and in the 1840s these views were represented as the result of sensibilities that dictated that it was ultimately in the best interests of the indigenous people to be removed from settlements. Interaction with townspeople brought 'evils' such as alcohol abuse, increased mortality, prostitution, and the spread of infections including venereal disease, and injurious changes to diet. Thomas advised Robinson that the changes in diet and increased mortality rates made it desirable to induce all tribespeoples to avoid the settlement of Melbourne.

The first attempt since the formation of the Protectorate to remove the Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung from their encampments in Melbourne came in late October 1839 when over 200 newly arrived Scottish immigrants were located beside their encampment on the south bank of the Yarra River. In March 1840, La Trobe ordered Robinson to notify his assistants that he prohibited them from coming to within 20 miles from the township (Robinson Jnl 11/3/1840). In part this was to keep the Aboriginal people out of Melbourne. For the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung peoples for whom Melbourne was their 'traditional' estate, the situation was more complex. Despite the repeated attempts of the Protectorate officials to keep Aboriginal people from camping by Melbourne, the south banks of the Yarra River remained a regular place to stay, particularly for Boonwurrung and Wathawurrung clans-people, but also for individuals and families from further away (see Figure 3.4). From the falls near present-day Princes' Bridge to approximately one mile southeast along the river, several camping grounds were occupied, and revisited from the 1830s and early 1840s. The two principal sites for camping were opposite the settlement and by *Tromgin* – later known as Walpole's station and later the site for the Royal Botanic Gardens (see Figure 3.26).

On 1 January 1840 Robinson visited a native camp at the south end of the lagoon, opposite his office by Langhorne's. On 15 August 1840, Robinson was informed by Thomas that he had left 60 Boonwurrung at Walpole's station, where some 150 Woiwurrung had been camped 'for weeks previous'. Edward Atkyns Walpole was with George Goggs at 'Callitini', which includes the present-day Botanical gardens, in South Yarra.

Although some bureaucrats sought to deny Aboriginal habitation in the environs of Melbourne, inter-clan and inter-tribal ceremonies provided a welcome spectacle to some of the town's newcomers (Walker n.d. RHSV Ms. 000431, item 886; Kyle 1925:164).

Some Europeans also found that the camps could be places of sexual gratification, and following the Aboriginal peoples' cultivation of an appreciation of liquor, such sexual relations and exploitations were not uncommon. Consumption of alcohol and sexual relations with Europeans in turn became sufficient reasons for not leaving the settlement, as the townsfolk provided employment in exchange for food, money and liquor. By 1840, Aboriginal people had broadened their means of exchange to include the sale of *bullen bullen* (lyrebird) tailfeathers, possum and kangaroo skins and baskets, on the streets of Melbourne. Some white traders, seeing a bargain, even provided firearms to enable bigger harvests. This became the cause of great consternation to Thomas, who received no assistance from Lonsdale's constabulary in the removal of the guns (Thomas 29/2/1840 in VPRS 4410, Item 66).

Figure 3.26 Melbourne from the falls, 1837
A sketch by CL Montefiore, in the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria. See Figure 3.2 for the location of the falls in relation to the settlement of Melbourne. (Cannon 1983: 521).

3.4.1 Other related places

Other than the major Aboriginal encampment on the south bank of the Yarra River opposite Jolimont there were many other locations near the Melbourne township where Aboriginal people camped during the 1840s (see Figure 3.27). Aboriginal camps were also recorded on the north bank of the Yarra River, in the Government and Police paddocks, and by Robinson's quarters in the Police Magistrate's paddock at present-day Jolimont (Thomas to Robinson, 1/1/1840 in VPRS 11, Unit 7, Item 292). In early January 1840, Thomas camped with 39 Aboriginal people opposite the township near Russell's old house (Thomas to Robinson, 6/1/1840 in VPRS 11, Unit 7, Item 296).

Tromgin
From late 1840 to 1842, the hill overlooking *Tromgin* – reported by Thomas (30/4/1846 in VPRS 4410, Item 86) as the name of the swamp south of the Yarra River (later remodelled to form the lakes at the Royal Botanic Gardens, also known as Walpole's station) became a frequent camping place for Boonwurrung, Daungwurrung and Woiwurrung clanspeople (Robinson Jnl 30/4/1842). The place served as a site of containment for Thomas, desperate to keep them from the town proper, but anxious to hurry them away to Narre Narre Warren (Thomas, Journal of Proceedings, 1/12/1841-1/3/1842. VPRS 4410, Item 71). Thomas appeared to spend much time there, and for a time Robinson directed groups of Aboriginal people to Thomas at the site. William Kyle (1906:160) also made reference to the site, claiming that the 'Western Port tribes selected a spot near where the Governor General's residence now stands' – this is a reference to Government House, Birdwood Avenue. He described how in summer time, Boonwurrung clanspeople would 'wade' across the Yarra River to meet with other Aboriginal people on the Melbourne side.

On 9 September 1839, Robinson camped beside the lagoon at Tromgin. He was accompanied by Truganini, Wooreddy, and unnamed members of the 'Port Phillip tribe':

> Encamped at the lagoon, plenty of ducks and other waterfowl. Near the edge of the lagoon where the bodies of two blacks had been burnt. According to the customs of the natives they were close together surounded by boughs and emu feathers while boughs and ashes was covered with fat of the human victim. The place resembled an oven. The bodies had covered with bark and boughs. The ground had been cleared. On these occasions the blacks rub themselves over with the fat of the human victim.

Camps at **Turruk** (today's Toorak) were recorded by Thomas from 1841.

Other known camping sites in the 1840s included **Nerre Nerre Minnim**, a Yarra River location of which little is known; **Richmond – East Melbourne**; **Riery's Hill – Heidelberg Road** (now Clifton Hill); **North of Melbourne – Royal Park/Sydney Road and General Cemetery site**; **Bolin Bolin Lagoon** (Bulleen); **Worrowen** (Little Brighton); and **St. Kilda swamp** (for references see Clark and Heydon 2004).

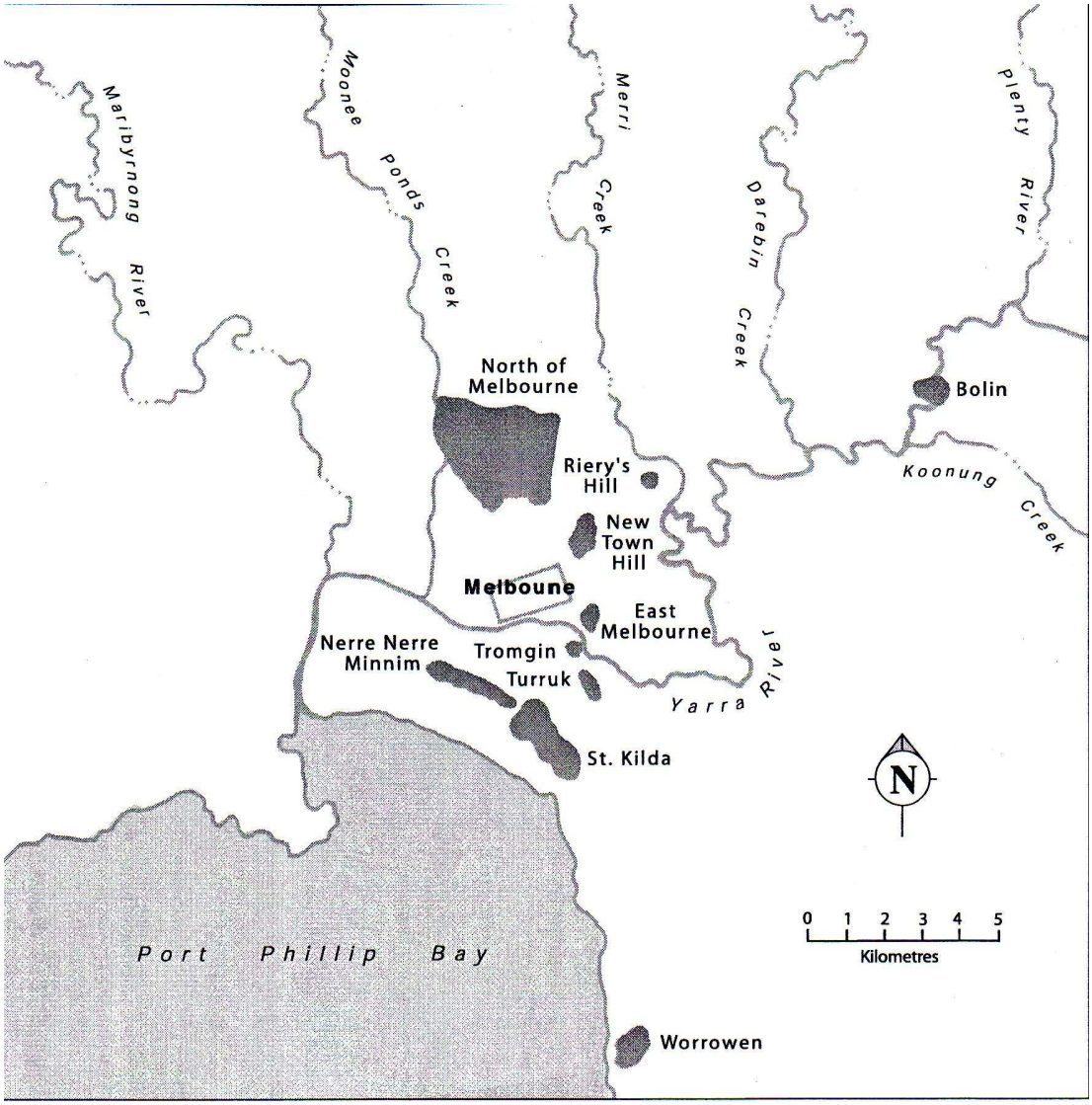


Figure 3.27: Important places associated with the study area: 1839-49

3.5 Early surveying in the Melbourne district

In March 1837, Robert Hoddle, Surveyor in Charge in the Port Phillip District, reported to his superiors that his plans were that as soon as the surveys of the Towns of Melbourne and Williamstown were completed, it was his intention to employ assistant surveyors Robert Russell and William Darke to survey the Yarra Yarra River and adjoining branches, and all permanent waters in the neighbourhood (Cannon 1988: 43). Progress was slow, and in July 1837, Hoddle reported that he himself was going to proceed with the Yarra Yarra River survey. He commented that this river 'appears to be a very important river, and contains excellent water, not generally the case, the water being of

Chalybeate quality [flavoured with iron]. The country is well adapted for sheep and cattle' (Cannon 1988: 91).

In correspondence with James White of the Australian Company in July 1837, Hoddle reported on the progress of the survey: 'I have seen some fine pasture, the water in the creeks is generally of a chalybeate quality. In the River Yarra Yarra, which has been traced upwards of 60 miles running through the settlement, the water is excellent. I am upon the eve of tracing that river. … I am obliged to go armed here. The shepherds carry a firelock. The blacks are not to be trusted. I do not allow any of them about my tents. If they come after dark, they must expect some leaden pills. I think I must have been crazy to have brought my single-barrelled gun in lieu of a double one' (Cannon 1988: 93).

In June 1837, Hoddle was directed by the Surveyor-General to mark out the boundaries of the land to be reserved for George Langhorne's Missionary Establishment, to be situated some two miles from the settlement on the banks of the Yarra Yarra River (Cannon 1988: 90-91). In September 1837, William Darke surveyed Langhorne's mission reserve at what are now the Botanic Gardens (Cannon 1988: 136). In his report, Darke commented that the country 'is very indifferent as it approaches the harbour' (Cannon 1988: 136). Proceeding upstream, Darke marked 12 portions totalling some 10,000 acres on the south side of the Yarra River, including the pastoral stations of John Gardiner, Thomas Glass, William Wood and Frederick Ruffey (Cannon 1988: 133).

Langhorne incurred the wrath of Robert Hoddle in December 1837, when he 'stole' 100 rails cut by Hoddle's men. The entry in Hoddle's diary is as follows:

> 6th December 1837, a missionary professing to convert the Blacks from the error of their ways, took about 100 rails cut by my men. This saint is called George Langhorne who knew they had been cut for my use. The innocent forgot the 8th commandmant. I requested he would furnish me with native names of chief of tribe of Aboriginal in exchange (Hoddle mss SLV Box 53/4).

In June 1839, surveyor Thomas Nutt was employed to complete the survey of the Yarra River to its source.

4.0 Indigenous European history

The Boonwurrung were amongst the first of Victoria's indigenous peoples to have contact with Europeans. The first known Europeans to visit what is now the City of Stonnington are believed to be part of Charles Grimes' Survey party, sent from Sydney in January 1803 to report on the country about Port Phillip, and who landed on the Yarra at the present site of the Botanical Gardens in February 1803. On 7 February this party went up the Yarra to a creek, believed to be Gardiner's Creek, where they 'saw some natives' (Flemming 1803: 28).

In October 1803 Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins arrived at Port Phillip Bay from England with 300 convicts and 50 marines and established a settlement on Boonwurrung land at what is now Sorrento, on the Mornington Peninsula. Amongst the passengers were convict William Buckley and 11-year-old John Pascoe Fawkner. When William Buckley escaped from the Sorrento settlement in 1803, and eventually settled with the Wathawurrung-balug clan near Geelong, he travelled around the Bay on Boonwurrung land and is almost certain to have passed through Yalukit-willam country. Buckley and Fawkner later figure prominently in the history of the Yalukit-willam people.

Aboriginal people along the southern coasts of the continent had to cope with repeated incursions by sealers and whalers between 1800 and 1830. Forceful clashes with Aboriginal men and forced intimacy with the women were common. In one known instance in 1833, four women were seized at Point Nepean by sealers who took them to their permanent camps on one of the Bass Strait islands (Priestley 1988: 18). They were the wives or close kin of Ningerranaro, Derrimut, his brother and his sister's son. Nan.jer.goroke was the name of Derrimut's abducted wife.

4.1 European settlement after 1835

The Yalukit-willam people were intimately associated with John Batman when he founded the Melbourne settlement in June 1835. Batman's 1835 'treaties' with the leaders of clans, including the Yalukit-willam, near Melbourne are an example of how permission for temporary access was granted in a ritual exchange of gifts and formal presentation of tokens (soil, plants, water, food) symbolising the owners' hospitality. Batman's treaty overtures were probably perceived by the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clan-heads as an amateurish attempt at initiating the required *tanderrum* (freedom of the bush) ritual. The boundaries indicated in the Batman treaties approximate the country of the Yalukit-willam and the Wurundjeri-baluk, and two Wathawurrung clans near Geelong with whom they married (Barwick 1998: 24).

The Yalukit-willam's positive relationships with Europeans continued with the arrival of John Pascoe Fawkner and his party in July 1835. The relationship was so significant that the clan-head, Derrimut, warned Fawkner on two occasions in 1835 of an impending Aboriginal attack on Fawkner's party. Derrimut's warnings ensured that Fawkner's party was able to arm themselves in time to prevent the attack.

In December 1836, George Robinson, the Commandant of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement, visited the fledgling Melbourne settlement to learn more about abductions of Port Phillip Aboriginal women by sealers. He held conference with William Buckley and the 20 or so Port Phillip Aboriginal people at the settlement. He found the Aboriginal people 'dreadfully afflicted with venereal', which he attributed to the 'depraved whites'. He noted that some of the children were afflicted, and some of the old people could hardly walk (Plomley 1987: 410). Robinson was abhorred by the living condition of the Aboriginal people at the Melbourne settlement.

> The natives at Port Phillip are in a very wretched condition. The government ought to do something for them. One old woman was a mere skeleton and was lying with a wooden bowl with water in it by her side and nothing to shelter her from the weather. Some little children (girls) were sitting beside her and with great affection driving off the flies and assisting. … Another old woman was also in a dying state (Plomley 1987:411).

John Gardiner is considered the earliest European settler in what is now the City of Stonnington. He settled on Kooyong Koot Creek in 1836, and the locality name Gardiner and Gardiner's Creek (Kooyong Koot) are a testimony to his settlement. His station 'took up all the country on both sides of the Yarra for many miles' (Cooper 1912: 2). Later, A.E. Walpole and George Goggs took up a station on the Yarra near the Survey Paddock (Bunce in Victoria 1858-9: 103). Other than Walpole's and Goggs's station, Cooper (1912: 12) asserts 'South Yarra had a few huts close to the river which, dotted here and there, presaged the ultimate extension towards the coming settlement of Prahran'.

Gardiner, along with Captain John Hepburn and Joseph Hawdon had overlanded to Melbourne from Sydney with cattle in a speculative venture. Arriving in Melbourne in December 1836, they crossed the Yarra near Dight's Falls and took ground south of the River on what is now known as Gardiner's Creek. Gardiner eventually bought out his two partners and left his station in charge of a man named Hitchcock (Hepburn in Bride 1983: 64). In 1838 Gardiner removed his flocks and herds upstream to Mooroolbark, 'leaving the bushlands of Prahran open to the next comer upon which to run his beeves' (Cooper 1912: 6).[11]

Gardiner brought with him to Port Phillip an Aboriginal youth from the Murrumbidgee, possibly a Wiradjuri speaker. When Backhouse visited Gardiner's station in November 1837, he met this Aboriginal man and was obviously impressed by him: 'A native black from the Merumbidgee River has become an efficient servant in his family, and shows more reflection than some of the white people who have been brought up, nominally, Christians' (Cooper 1912: 9). George Robinson spoke with Gardiner about this youth on 22 June 1839, and learned that he had been apprenticed to a blacksmith. On 30 August 1840, Robinson learned that this man was brought from Sydney and that he lived with Gardiner and was a fine stockkeeper. What became of this Wiradjuri man is not known.

[11] beeves is the plural of beef.

As we have seen above, the Yarra River was a place of some early conflict over occupation of land. First, around Melbourne, we have seen the determination of both Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clans to camp on the river by Melbourne, principally on the south banks at *Tromgin,* or Walpole's station, from 1839, and the efforts of the Protectorate to remove them. Such tensions between European and Aboriginal people close to Melbourne attracted interest from public servants and the local press; however less was recorded regarding the expansion of pastoralism along the Yarra River upstream.

4.1.1 Relationships between Aboriginal people and the Protectorate

The relationships between Aboriginal people and the Protectorate were multiple, and appear to be determined more by the nature and role of individuals of the bureaucracy, principally Chief Protector Robinson and Assistant Protector Thomas. Interaction between Thomas and the Aboriginal people of his district began in the summer of 1838-9 on the Yarra River banks at Melbourne. Relations between the Assistant Protector and Aboriginal people were more contingent on day to day matters than was the relationship with Robinson. As Thomas was responsible for the daily metering out of 'civilization' and 'christianisation', it was to him that Aboriginal people directed their wants and dissatisfactions with the government. For some Aboriginal people, Thomas was called '*marm-in-arta*' (or 'father') (Smyth 1878 vol 2: 466).

From September 1841 until March 1843, Thomas still considered himself to be stationed at Narre Narre Warren, and continued to attempt to remove Aboriginal people from Merri Creek to the central station. His continued efforts at this illustrate his commitment to Narre Narre Warren, and his resolve that Melbourne only provided the crudest and most base of European acculturation (Thomas, VPRS 4410, Unit 75). It also demonstrates that he rarely acted outside of official Protectorate policy. It was only when funding was effectively withdrawn that he was prepared to abandon the central station, even though Aboriginal people had had little enthusiasm for the place since the re-establishment of the Native Police Corps in 1842.

From September 1841 until March 1843, Thomas spent much of his time attempting to move Aboriginal people on to his Central Station at Narre Narre Warren. He visited camps throughout the Western Port District, though it would appear he was reluctant to break-up the encampments. It was not uncommon for Thomas to request directions from his superior on whether, and when to disperse the camps, even after years of experience.

Earlier, members from Woiwurrung, Boonwurrung and Daungwurrung clans preferred to camp at a number of sites along the Yarra River, often at the *Bolin* lagoons and *Turruk*, (see Figure 3.27). By 1841, Thomas had become accustomed to visiting 'his' people on the Yarra River, at *Yering, Ballite, Beal* and *Bolin*. Most of these people were the 'Yarra Aborigines', or members of Woiwurrung clans, but their group included some Goulburn (Daungwurrung) people (Thomas, 31/5/1841 in VPRS 4410, Item 69). When visiting several places along the Yarra River, Thomas remarked that the river and lagoons at *Bolin* constituted an important site for Aboriginal people, not least for the abundance of

eels (Thomas, 31/5/1841 in VPRS 4410, Item 69). He lamented that the beginnings of a European settlement at *Bolin* had resulted in the west and north sides of the Yarra River being 'closed to them'. By 16 March 1841, Robinson had ordered Thomas to break-up the camp, and remove 'his' people to Narre Narre Warren. Instead, they went to Melbourne where some Wurundjeri clanspeople settled disputes with members of the Gunung willum balug near Mr. Walpole's station (Thomas, 31/5/1841, VPRS 4410, Item 69). Their movements over the next couple of months illustrate the problems facing Thomas, as they slowly drifted back to Narre Narre Warren, then left, returned, and left for Melbourne again.

When in Melbourne, Thomas often stayed with Robinson (see Figure 4.1). From there he had access to Aboriginal camps at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River, north of Melbourne, and south of the Yarra River at *Tromgin* (Thomas, 4/7/1843 in VPRS 11; 586,592,593). Camps at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River became more frequent during the Native Police occupation of the 'government reserve', with as many as 500 people camped at the site during September 1842 (Robinson Jnl 30/9/1842). But as the Protectorate officials sought to keep them from the Native Police quarters, camps sprung up all around the site, south of the confluence (in present day Studley Park), west of the Merri Creek, and north and south of the Heidelberg Road. Thomas was repeatedly ordered to 'break-up' these encampments, and was permitted to call on police for assistance, though he very rarely engaged police services (Thomas, 24/12/1842 in VPRS 11; 467). Later, Aboriginal encampments were frequently removed from the vicinity of the 'government reserve', and they were encouraged to camp on the reserve itself, where the Native Police had been stationed (Thomas, 8/1/1844 in VPRS 11; 599).

The most pressing need for Aboriginal people to assemble by the Assistant Protector's Quarters was hunger. On returning to the site after only eight days in the bush, Aboriginal people, including those of the Gunung willam balug declared that "…the bush big one hungry no belly ful like it Melbourne" (Thomas, 1/9/1844 in VPRS 4410; 81). Visits to Melbourne had thus become an integral part of the movements of Aboriginal people, as pre-contact living cycles and food economies were increasingly undermined by the squatters' occupation of their ranges.

When impeded by laws, Aboriginal people found ways around them so that they could continue to visit Melbourne and attempt to satisfy their needs. The introduction of a law prohibiting unregistered dogs from entering Melbourne provoked a "strong and bitter reaction" from Aboriginal people. In response, women took charge of the dogs and remained on the outskirts of the settlement, while the men went to town to procure their wants – food, money, tobacco and liquor (Thomas, 1/12/1844 in VPRS 4410; Item 82).

From the reductions in expenditure on the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate in 1843 until its winding up in 1850, Thomas spent less time visiting the different lands of Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clanspeople. He found himself more and more occupied with official business, as well as tending to the various camps around Melbourne. After the reductions, Thomas and Parker were the only two of the original four assistant

protectors to retain their positions. Funding cuts resulted in medical dispensers being put in charge of Mt Rouse and Goulburn River stations.

From 1844 onwards, Thomas considered himself based at Merri Creek, and the site became 'Assistant Protector's Quarters' (see VPRS 4410, Unit 3, Items 75 – 79 *passim*). Following the reductions in Protectorate staff and expenditure from 1843, Thomas gradually became less concerned with trying to shepherd the remnant clans onto the distant station at Narre Narre Warren, and resigned himself to the fact that Melbourne was the preferred place of stay for Aboriginal people. While Thomas understood as well as any, the extent of the dispossession of Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung people, he preferred to imagine, as did Langhorne, and later Robinson, that permanent Aboriginal settlements based on the rural English village idyll, and remote from the settlements of the invaders, would satisfy the needs of these people.

This change can be characterised as a move from a reactive, to a proactive policy of 'protectorship'. In the early years of the Protectorate, Thomas reacted to the movements of the Aboriginal people, travelling to meet them at their locations, and attempting to take to them the instruments of 'civilization', though Robinson criticised him for not spending enough time travelling with them. A good example of this is his doggedness in pursuing Woiwurrung people to the upper Yarra River, and the operation of mobile school classes for Aboriginal children around the camps to the north and east of Melbourne in 1843 and 1844. Later, however, whether through budget cuts, increased responsibilities or disenchantment with his office (probably all three), Thomas was less prepared to travel, preferring fixed points of contact.

It was not until December 1845 that Thomas reported some benefit of having Aboriginal people in Melbourne encamped on the one site. He suggested to Robinson that '…it was better to have them congregate in one spot' where there was '…a degree of order, more under the Protector's eye' (Thomas, 1/12/1845 in VPRS 4410; Item 83). From the next month Thomas began to refer frequently to his hut in the government reserve as 'Assistant Protector's Quarters', rather than 'Native Encampment, Merri Merri Creek'.

During 1846, the establishment of the Merri Creek Aboriginal School under the supervision of the Collins Street Baptist Church prompted Thomas to revert to the policy of keeping Aboriginal people from the vicinity of the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River. This was on the grounds that their presence would disturb the pupils' attention to their study and Europeanisation. For the most part, it appears that these fears were well founded and in June 1846 he 'sent away' a group of 97 Aboriginal people from distant clans (Thomas, 30/6/1846 in VPRS 4410; Item 87). But they did not move far. From January to July 1847, Aboriginal groups, from near and afar, continued to encamp in the vicinity of the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River, within a half a mile of Thomas' quarters there.

However repeated arrivals of hungry Aboriginal people from 'the bush' forced Thomas to renege on his policy of removal, except where he could threaten them with legal action,

such as in the event of theft, assault and intoxication. The prospect of confinement and transportation were sufficient reason for Aboriginal people to 'go bush'.

Hundreds of Aboriginal people continued to encamp within a mile of Thomas' quarters. Reports of 'outrages' on the Yarra River squatters' stations began to subside through the middle of 1847, as the terrible effects of a new influenza epidemic took its toll. Thomas' indefatigable lecturing on common law principles and details of sentencing would have meant little to peoples witnessing the wholesale destruction of their families – diseased, starving and, for many, completely destitute (Thomas, 31/5/1847 in VPRS 4410; Item 97, and 31/8/1847; Item 99, and Barwick 1998).

Although Aboriginal people continued to camp around Melbourne, few Woiwurrung returned for any length of time after 1847 (see Fels 1988, and Barwick 1998). Certainly the Protectorate had little to offer them. On 6 September 1848, Thomas recorded the 'painful' process of distributing just six blankets amongst a group of more than 20 encamped south of the Yarra River by Dight's Falls (Thomas, 30/11/1848 in VPRS 4410).

The Aboriginal people of Thomas' district were adept at bargaining for the welfare of their people. But food, blankets and tobacco were not the only things received in exchange for Aboriginal complicity to Protectorate policy. In one instance some Woiwurrung people assured Thomas of their attendance at Central Station in return for Thomas going to *Turruk* (Toorak) to collect an old man who was too ill to walk (Thomas, 31/5/1841 in VPRS 4410, Item 69). This transaction was completed.

Prior to the Collins Street Baptist Church organising their mission school at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River from 1846, the education of Aboriginal children was the responsibility of the Protectorate, with each Assistant Protector required to employ staff for, and oversee, school classes. When the Native Police relocated to Merri Creek, Thomas was surprised to see all of the school children from the Central Station arrive at the depot (Thomas 8/6/1842 in VPRS 11; Unit 8, Item 423).

4.1.2 Relationships within Aboriginal communities

In the context of this study, it would be impossible to construct a full or authoritative account of relationships within Aboriginal communities around Melbourne in the 1840s. Some aspects of life at the government reserve by the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River, and other related sites nearby were recorded. Throughout the 1840s, the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River was an important site in Melbourne for the assembly of clans from around the Port Phillip District. Besides being a pre-contact place for the Wurundjeri willam, specifically Billibellary's and Bebejan's mobs, members from all Woiwurrung clans visited the site. According to Protectorate records, Boonwurrung clanspeople appear to have been less frequently encamped by the confluence, though the families of Bobbinary (*ngarweet*: Boonwurrung balug) and Poleorong (alias Billy Lonsdale, *ngarweet*: Ngaruk willam) and others from those clans were prominent (William Thomas Papers jnl, 1846, ML and 'Family Connections'

census; and Clark 1990: 364-86). However many important gatherings of Aboriginal people from across what became Victoria, occurred at this and other sites near to the settlement throughout the 1840s. Other significant places include the south bank of the Yarra River opposite Melbourne, *Tromgin, Turruk, Worrowen, Bolin,* and north of Melbourne (see Figure 3.27).

Figure 4.1 George Augustus Robinson
Oil painting by Bernardino Giani, State Library of New South Wales.

Many gatherings of Aboriginal people were recorded in Protectorate records; however details of events and people or clans present are often absent. In April 1842, many people gathered at *Turruk*, including the Wathawurrung balug (from near the 'Barrabool' hills)

of the Wathawurrung speakers, Warring-illum balug and probably fellow Daungwurrung clans, in addition to all of the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clans (Thomas, 31/5/1842 in VPRS 4410, Item 73). The purpose of the visits was to resolve inter-clan grievances, but the intervention of the Native Police and Assistant Protector Thomas disrupted proceedings and they were cut short (Thomas, 31/5/1842 in VPRS 4410, Item 73).

Accounts of friendly ceremony and assembly are, however, few and far between, especially at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River. More reliable accounts survive of hostile meetings – judicial proceedings or 'battle' scenes – as they were probably of more interest to European observers (see Walker n/d, MS 000431, RHSV). The settlement of disputes was a very important part of inter-clan relations. Several accounts survive, all of which were consequent of the death of clanspersons. The assembly of parties for 'friendly ceremonies', after the judicial proceedings, was occasionally documented by Europeans.

Some instances of Aboriginal violence upon other Aboriginal people were recorded in protectorate records. All of the cases recorded by Thomas and Robinson involved male violence upon other men. The first reported case where a person was killed on account of his foreignness was in the first week of September, 1839. According to Robinson (Jnl 15/9/1839), Peter, from the Murrumbidgee River district, was working on George Langhorne's station – 1 ¼ miles southeast of Melbourne – tending milking cows. Described as having lived with Mrs Langhorne, Peter's body was found by Richard Godfrey, a prisoner employed at the station (Clark 2000a). According to Thomas (Papers, Correspondence, Returns etc. 1838-45, ML MSS. 214/9, CY Reel 3082), he learned from Aboriginal people on 17 September 1839, that 'Poleorong, Tallong (King) [and] Derrimot' were accused of the killing. However on 18 September, Derrimut denied the accusation when asked by Robinson (Jnl 18/9/1839). A coffin was ordered for the body, and burial was planned to proceed at George Langhorne's station (Robinson Jnl 15/9/1839).

4.1.3 Interaction with the Native Police Corps

The Native Police Corps occupied a peculiar political and economic position in contact-era European-Aboriginal relations (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3). The relocation of the Native Police Corps to the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River in June 1842 was a most significant factor in determining the location of Woiwurrung encampments at the site. Those Aboriginal people resident at Narre Narre Warren faced an uncertain and infrequent access to food (Thomas, 7/11/1842 in VPRS 4410, Item 67). In contrast, the Native Police received regular rations. So as well as the imperative to keep clans intact, encamping with the policemen meant that clanspeople had a more reliable access to food and necessities. The Native Police received rations for themselves and their dependants, and from May 1842 Captain Dana directly rationed the wives of policemen (Fels 1988: 74). The Corps relocated to Dandenong Creek late in 1843.

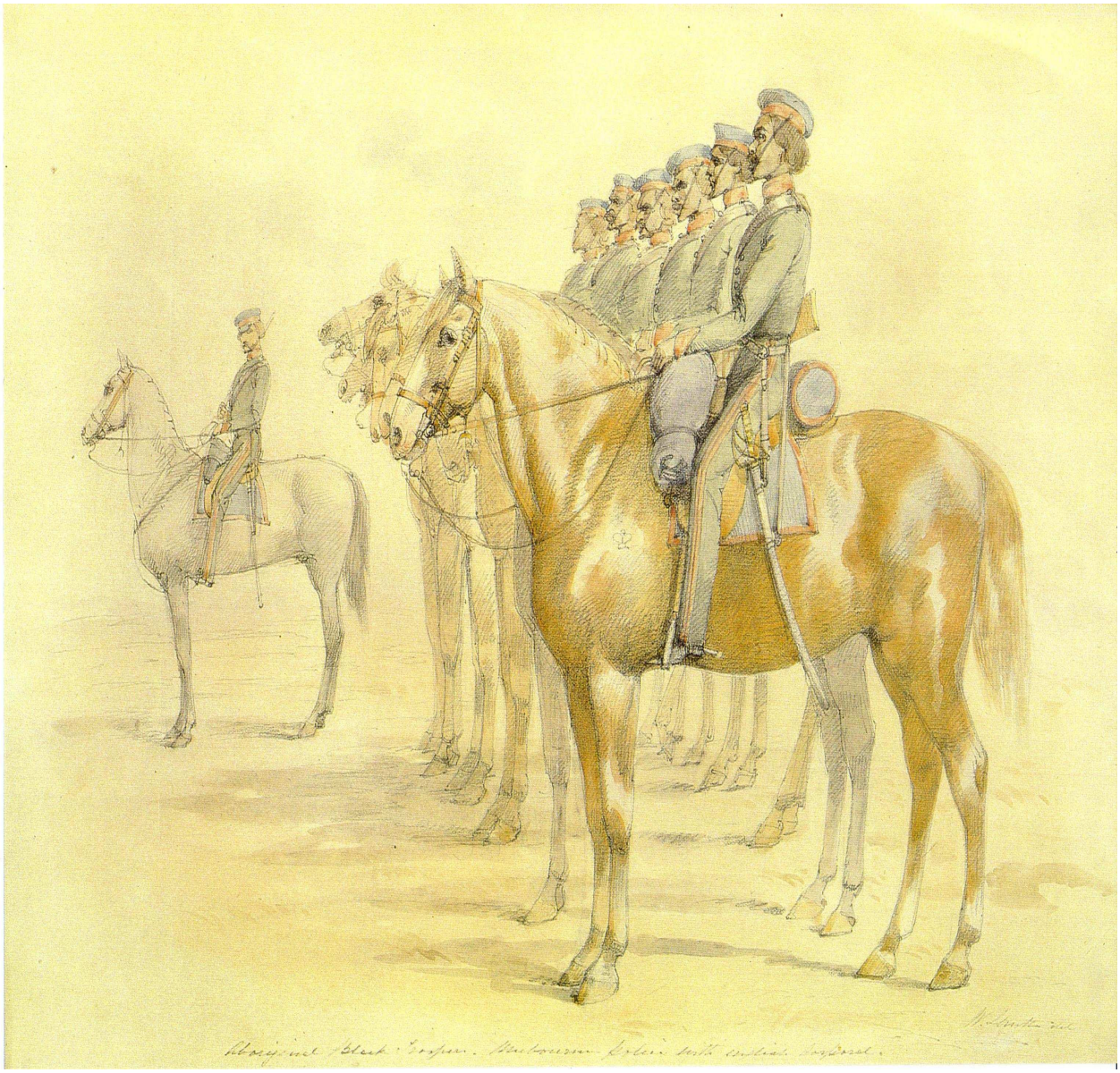


Figure 4.2 Aboriginal Black Troopers, Melbourne: Police with English Corporal
Reproduced from William Strutt's *Victoria the Golden* (see Tipping 1980).

There are two snippets of information that discuss the involvement of the Native Police Corps with South Yarra and Prahran: firstly, Robinson noted in his journal for 27 December 1845, that 'last week Major St John had the native police gathering in his hay and oats'. Secondly, James Izett who arrived in Prahran as a youth in 1850 recalled the presence of members of the Native Police Corps in Prahran in the early 1850s.

> A mounted, uniformed and armed force of aboriginals had at this time been called into existence. We used to see them occasionally scampering in the most irregular go-as-you-please fashion through the mud pools of Prahran

> and looking terribly ugly and ferocious; but as conservators of law and order they were of little, if any, use. Probably the chief purpose sought to be achieved by the institution of the black police was to keep the men in the force in order. Shortly after the breaking out of the gold period this gallant body of aboriginal cavaliers disappeared (Izett 1889)

Figure 4.3 Robertson and Tom, Black Troopers
Reproduced from William Strutt's *Victoria the Golden* (see Tipping 1980).

4.1.4 Health and the effects of European diseases

During the 1840s, European diseases continued to devastate Aboriginal clans in the Port Phillip District (For a more detailed and broader discussion see Butlin 1983). Health and the effects of European diseases were prominent features of life in the government reserve at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River. The renewed spread of influenza amongst Aboriginal communities from June 1847 heralded the end of large-scale encampment at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River, by Woiwurrung speakers. Although the worst of the epidemic was over by June 1848, illness amongst Aboriginal communities continued to be reported. The desertion of Woiwurrung clanspeople from the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River was not reversed at any point, except for small groups. With Thomas having moved to his new house at Moonee Ponds by 1847, and with very few, occasional visitors to 'protect' at the

government reserve at Merri Creek apart from the supervised Aboriginal School, the use of the site as 'Assistant Protector's Quarters' effectively ceased.

Opposition to the Aboriginal Protectorate saw the formation of a Select Committee in 1849 to enquire into the Protectorate. The Committee recommended its abolition and the Protectorate formally closed in March 1850 when Chief Protector Robinson surrendered his office and handed his official papers over to La Trobe's staff (see Figure 4.4). The Select Committee regretted that it 'could suggest no other coherent policy to replace it' (Clark 1990: 44), and the subsequent abolition of the Protectorate heralded a decade of *laissez-faire* policy and neglect.

4.2 William Thomas 'Guardian of Aborigines', 1850

In place of the Protectorate, William Thomas was appointed Protector of Aborigines for the colony of Victoria but concentrated on the environs of Melbourne (see Figure 4.5). Also titled 'Guardian of Aborigines', Thomas was retained at ten shillings a day (Christie 1979:137). In private conversations with Thomas, La Trobe made it clear that his task was primarily to keep Aborigines out of Melbourne (Christie 1979:138). Governor FitzRoy instructed La Trobe to expand the Native Police Corps and to set up a number of small reserves under the supervision of medical officers and appoint the Crown Land Commissioners as honorary protectors whose duties were to visit the Aboriginal reserves, furnish reports, and in cases of emergency supply food and clothing to Aboriginal people (Christie 1979:137). La Trobe continued to support the existing Aboriginal schools – at the Merri Creek under the care of Francis Edgar and at the former Loddon Protectorate station under the supervision of ES Parker.

Thomas convinced La Trobe that rations would prove more effectual than police action in keeping Aboriginal people away from Melbourne, and consequently Thomas was allowed to provide the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung peoples with free rations. Small reserves, such as Mordialloc, Pound Bend, and Warrandyte were gazetted for Aboriginal use, but medical superintendents were not appointed (Caldere & Goff 1991: 7). In June 1852, Thomas secured 832 acres [367 ha] at Mordialloc, a favourite camping place of the Boonwurrung, and 1,908 acres [772 ha] at Warrandyte for the Woiwurrung peoples. The reservations were the result of a bargain he made with La Trobe who wanted them kept out of Melbourne. Thomas was authorised to issue occasional supplies of food and clothing to the aged and ill. With the establishment of the Mordialloc reserve, the spatial locus of the Boonwurrung remnant population moved from Melbourne to Mordialloc, however during their frequent visits to Melbourne it can be assumed they elected to camp at traditional Boonwurrung camping sites, such as Fawkner Park in Prahran.

Figure 4.4 George Augustus Robinson
Photograph by T.F. Chuck, La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria.

Figure 4.5: William Thomas
Photograph by T.F. Chuck, La Trobe Picture Collection, State Library of Victoria (Cannon 1983: 617).

In terms of Aboriginal associations with Prahran in the late 1840s and early 1850s, Cooper has confirmed the following:

> About 1849, and for a year or two later, the aboriginals used to camp in South Yarra and Prahran forests. One camp was situated in the northwest corner of Fawkner Park, the second opposite the Alfred Hospital, and the third about Chapel Street, Windsor. The last man of the Yarra Yarra tribe was 'Old Derimut', and he died in the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum on April 30, 1864. For years before that he lived in the neighbourhood of St. Kilda and Prahran. He was a well-known figure to Prahran residents of those years, as he wandered about the streets with two aboriginal women and a number of miserable looking dogs. J.P. Fawkner frequently befriended him, but nothing could induce Derimut to give up the freedom that was his savage heritage. When he was carried to the asylum he was already in a dying condition (Cooper 1912: 17).

Cooper has argued that during the 1840s and the 1850s Prahran was an excellent hunting ground, which fact accounts for the constant presence of aboriginals. The several reed-choked and timber-fringed swamps in Prahran abounded in water fowl. In 1849, Prahran was described as 'a dense bush of big trees, full of birds, kangaroos, opossums and wild fowl, with no roads. From the inlet of the present drain at the railway bridge over the

Yarra to Motherwell Street was a swamp thickly covered with ti-tree, while from the upper part of Chapel Street, from High Street to St. Kilda, was a thick wattle scrub. Mount Erica was covered with heath, from which it derives its name' (Joseph Crook in Cooper 1912: 17). 'Commercial Road ran partly through a swamp, which extended over the land now abutting upon Elizabeth Street, on one side of Chapel Street, to Grey Street on the other. … The site of the Town Hall was a long lagoon, 'a rather deep sheet of water' (Cooper 1912: 18). Lake Como, at the foot of 'Mount Verdant' near Williams Road, was another 'favourite resort of the aborigines' (Cooper 1912: 44). Indeed, Cooper (1912: 21) muses that given the many swamps in Prahran, it was 'no wonder that Melbourne residents were wont to refer in pitying terms to the place as "Swampy Poor Ann", a play on the native name of "Purraran".

James Izett, writing in 1889, recalling Prahran in the early 1850s, recalled the following encounter with some Aboriginal people who visited him with his neighbour:

> One morning, he [the neighbour, Bill] came along smiling, as usual with three aboriginals in his train. Two of them wore dirty old trousers, very battered wide-a-wakes and dirty grey jackets ungracefully draped around their shoulders. I forget the attire of the third man but it was scarcely worth mentioning. They carried a small armoury of spears and boomerangs. At Bill's request and for my benefit, they made a display of their skill in throwing their weapons which of course, astonished me not a little; and, at their request, Bill parted with sundry small sums. They then came down upon me for largesse. I was to get them something – bacey, gin, flour, old hat, any old thing – it didn't matter what – but the man's English, very much broken by Aboriginal Australian, was a language which I decidedly refused to understand. I shook my head and there was no more throwing spears for me (Izett 1889).

Joseph Crook, writing about the early days of Prahran in the *Prahran Telegraph* of 16 October 1896, recalled Aboriginal gatherings in Fawkner Park until 1851.

> The only amusement we had up to 1851 was the natives used to meet once a month on the full moon in Fawkner Park, opposite the Fawkner Hotel. The hotel lies between the Park and Millswyn-street, but there was no hotel, park or streets there then, but all bush. There the blacks held their corroboree, and I have seen the greater portion of the people of Melbourne and Prahran turn out and visit the camp on those occasions. We thought it grand fun and so did the natives, for while the dance was going on some of the old men used to go among the visitors with an old hat, and collect money, from the proceeds of which collection they would have some good feasts for three or four days, and a good old drink, to which they were unfortunately much addicted, generally winding up with a free fight, in which no one ever got much worse of the batter. After that they would disperse until the next full moon.

In another entry in the *Prahran Telegraph* of 25 September 1897, Crook mentioned 'Murrey, the king of the Yarra Yarra tribe', who used to quamby in his mi-mie where the Toorak Hotel now stands. He told me that Pra-ra-han (Prahran), as he called it was a native name and signified land between running water.'

Frederick Chapman was another early resident of the district who could recall Aboriginal campsites in Prahran:

> The building of the Church of England Grammar School, Domain-road, was commenced in 1856, and four of us brothers were enrolled there in the opening year – 1858. Even down to 1861 the land between the Grammar School and Toorak-road was vacant and unfenced, and so was the greater part of the large triangle up to St. Kilda. That large piece was covered with gum-trees, and blackfellows camped there every year. Watching them throwing boomerangs and climbing trees was the delight of the Grammar School boys who walked home to St. Kilda and Windsor. We knew these blacks, and established friendly relations with them. They built the rudest break-winds of branches and had no other shelter … On the left-hand side of Toorak-road, down below the corner of Chapel-street, there was a gully in which was a clump of tea-tree scrub, by which the blacks used to camp. Like those already mentioned, they came down periodically from Gippsland, but I only saw them at that spot (Chapman 1916)

'Squint', a commentator whose identity is unknown, writing in the *South Metropolitan* of 5 May 1906, discussed early Prahran:

> It was generally in Chapel Road, between Commercial Road and Gardener's Creek Road, that the numerous body of aboriginals – men, women, and children – headed by poor Jimmy Mann, used to meet to hold their corroborees and throw their boomerangs. Their performances at times were unique, interesting, and very exciting – their weird and discordant song and dance of "Whar-ah-gar-we", and "Whar-ah-gar-wan", and their strange and fantastic movements, especially around the camp fires, with their bodies all bare, and their arms in the air, and with the constant accompaniment of their tribes' shouts and yells, were such as one can scarcely forget, and many times were witnessed by hundreds. Sometimes foolish people supplied them with rum (fire water), and then matters were fairly lively, but still nothing serious happened, generally speaking. They were much more peaceful than many of their white brethren …

In the *Jubilee History of Prahran*, Cooper (1906) has noted that in 1836, the Aboriginal people south of the Yarra River numbered 350 however by 1851 they had dwindled to 76.

> Stories of hundreds of aborigines frequenting early Prahran, after its settlement, and holding corrobories at Mount Erica, in the Fawkner Park, opposite the Prince Alfred Hospital, and in High Street, close to the Malvern

> Town Hall, are difficult to give credence to, so far as the numbers of aborigines alleged to have been present, are concerned. We well remember, in the days of our youth, the middle period settlers of Prahran, then in the years of their fifties and sixties, wagging their beards while they told how Prahran was overrun with aborigines and dogs.
>
> The last member of the Yarra Tribe, the Wawoorongs, who refused to forsake this former hunting ground, was "Old Derimut". For years he camped in Prahran paddocks, in Fawkner Park, and on the banks of a swamp at Yarra Street, which is now the site of the playground of the Melbourne High School, alongside the South Yarra railway bridge. He wandered about in a forlorn, aimless manner; accompanied by two old lubras and six or seven starved dogs. … He was a sensible old fellow, and when some men at the Myall Hotel, corner of Punt and Commercial Roads, wished to give him, to wear, a "King Billy Plate", he would not have it. … "Derimut" said "No, me not big boss king, me 'Derimut', me not king of Prahran". Nor was he poor fellow. "Derimut" wrapped his tattered opossum rug and a dirty blanket about him, and lay sick unto death in the shelter of a mia mia in Fawkner Park. The two old lubras also covered with rags of blankets, seated on their haunches, sat sniffling and watching the dying man. So he and they were found by some men of Prahran. The date was 30th April, 1864, just over seventy years ago. "Derimut" was hurried off to the Melbourne Benevolent Asylum, where he died the same day.

Appendix 1.4 is a detailed biography of Derrimut (Clark 2005), and this clearly shows some inaccuracies in Cooper's account. Derrimut was a Boonwurrung man, whose mother was Woiwurrung. He died in the Benevolent Asylum on 26 April 1864, after having been transferred there from the Melbourne Hospital on 11 March 1864. Derrimut had been in and out of the Hospital since 25 January 1863. Since the early 1850s, Derrimut and other Boonwurrung people had been based at the Mordialloc Reserve; it was their preferred camping site.

On 13 January 1852, Beruke aka Gellibrand, a corporal in the Native Police Corps, died in South Yarra and was buried the next day near the South Yarra Pound. 'Having come with the Government dray from Narre Warren for the month's provisions, he drank to such excess (as reported to me by the blacks) at the Club-house, that he died on his way back with the dray, and was buried near South Yarra pound' (Thomas in Bride 1983: 406-407). The pound was 'situated in the vicinity of where Clara-street is now' (Cooper 1912: 29). Although Cooper claimed Gellibrand died in 1846, Fels (1988: 255) has shown through accessing official documents that he died on 13 January 1852 and was buried the following day.

In 1858, a Victorian government Select Committee enquired into the condition of the Aboriginal people of Victoria. The Select Committee was told of the Yalukit-willam leader Derrimut's despair as the immigrants built homes on his land – 'you have all this place, no good have children' – and Thomas had fought every European move to

interfere with the Boonwurrung camp at Mordialloc. Thomas advised the Select Committee that it 'would be beneficial to prevent the aborigines from coming within the precincts of a town. If the aborigines are supplied at the depots with provisions and other necessaries (although a guardian of them), I have no hesitation of advocating the vagrant laws in operation against them, on attempting to enter a town, and this should be strenuously enforced; having experienced the dire effects of drunkenness when visiting Melbourne – deaths and murders resulting therefrom – that I recommend this step for their good' (Victoria 1858-9: 33). The 1858 Select Committee recommended that reserves be formed for the various tribes, on their traditional hunting ranges where agriculture was to be combined with the grazing of livestock.

In 1858, with 'apparently little use being made of the reserve, the locals, including the Chinese, approached the Board of Land and Works to sell the reserve as a township site, so that the fishermen could build homes' (Hibbins 1984: 47). La Trobe had returned to England, and in his absence Thomas fought for the retention of the reserve, disputing local assertions that only two or three Aboriginal people used the area.

> There were, he wrote, over ten Bunurongs left and the area was frequently visited by the Yarra tribe. He had preached to between fifty and sixty Aboriginals on the reserve in October, 1857. He concluded that soon the blacks would be extinct; 'till then I trust not a perch will be wrested from them'. [12]

His trust was misplaced: two years later he was protesting against efforts to have the reserve declared a public commonage, but now his health was fading, and the battle was lost. In the opinion of the Commissioner of Lands and Survey, the Mordialloc Hotel and the numerous fishermen made the area 'unsuitable' for Aboriginals: they were better off elsewhere. 'Elsewhere' was suggested as Lyndhurst but this was vetoed by the Board of Land and Works who opposed the granting of Aboriginal areas within twenty-five miles of Melbourne (Hibbins 1984: 47).

In 1860, Thomas Bungelene[13] worked for a time in the Crown Lands Office, and John Hinkins, his adopted father, has recounted the occasion he was invited to dine with a colleague in South Yarra:

> While at the Crown Land's Office, he was invited by one of the gentlemen there to dine at his house, at South Yarra, on the following Sunday. He was

[12] Thomas Papers, Box 18, Aboriginal Reserves: Memorial 8 March 1858.

[13] Thomas Bungelene and his brother John were the two orphan Ganai sons of Bunjileenee, the alleged captor of the White woman in Gippsland. Bunjileenee was apprehended in April 1847 and died in custody at the Native Police Corps headquarters at Narre Narre Warren in September 1848. Initially in the care of the Protectorate, the two boys were given to the care of the Baptist Aboriginal School at the Merri Creek. From 1851 until 1856 they were cared for by John Hinkins, a school master at Moonee Ponds. They became the focus of a continuing debate on whether Aboriginal children were capable of 'civilization' (Christie 1979: 145). Thomas was placed on board the steam sloop Victoria under Captain Norman, where he served for three years before his dishcharge in July 1864. He died at Hinkin's house on 3 January 1865, aged 18 (for more information see Pepper and De Araugo 1985; Carr 2001).

> very particular in attending church on the Sabbath; but as he could not attend his own church with us, as usual, and be at South Yarra at the appointed time, I advised him to go to St. Paul's Church, in Melbourne, when he could be out in time to take the train for South Yarra. This he did, and arrived in Mr. Lloyd's house in time for dinner. The gentlemen and lady were very much surprised at his good behaviour at table. After dinner Mrs. Lloyd went to the piano, and began to play and sing some hymns, when, to her great astonishment, he walked to her side and joined with her in the singing. Mr. Lloyd mentioned this to me at the office the next day, and expressed himself as much surprised and pleased at his conduct altogether while at his house (Hinkins 1884: 70).

In June 1860, the Victorian government established a Central Board 'appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines'. Reserves were set aside in Victoria, and those peoples not served by a reserve were catered for by a second system, that of local guardians who functioned as honorary correspondents to the Central Board, and as suppliers of foodstuffs and clothing. Thomas reported to the Central Board in its first report (1861), that in regard to the moral condition of the 'Coast tribe' that it had 'greatly deteriorated through their having become slaves to ardent spirits'. He noted that the 'Coast tribe, when not engaged with white people subsist on fish, opossums, and bears &c. They have on various occasions been engaged by kind settlers, and might be depended upon, but should a messenger come from another tribe, off they go and leave their master without ceremony. … When the gold times commenced, and labour scarce, the Coast blacks with the assistance of their masters got in all the crops by Mount Eliza' (CBA 1861: 17).

The Mordialloc reserve of 640 acres (CBA 1864: 17), although it may be found marked on various historical maps[14], was never gazetted as a reserve, it was set aside as a gentleman's agreement between Thomas and La Trobe. Thomas (CBA 1861: 26) explained it as follows:

> The Yarra and Coast tribes have been supplied for years, by an arrangement between Mr La Trobe and myself, in order to prevent the five distant tribes from thronging Melbourne, and my impression is, that it has not cost Government for the Yarra and Coast tribes £80 per annum. I formed two depots, one at Mount Disappointment and the other at Moody Yallock, after a consultation with the blacks themselves. The arrangement has been successful and the metropolis freed from the frequent visits of upwards of 700 blacks with their dogs (CBA 1861: 26).

When Thomas visited the Mordialloc reserve in November 1862, Derrimut angrily asked why he 'let white man take away Mordialloc where black fellows always sit down'. The Lands Board had approved its sale and surveyors were already dividing it into allotments. The Boonwurrung feared they would soon see 'ploughs furrowing up the bones of their ancestors'. Thomas knew their dead had been buried there since 1839 and protested to

[14] Such as A. Purchas. *Map of the Settled Districts around Melbourne*, 1853 821 C.J. La Trobe Library.

the Central Board about the 'cruelty' of the Survey Department. These protestations came to nothing.

Some 2,300 acres [931 ha] of land at Coranderrk were reserved on 30 June 1863 for east Kulin peoples, and within a week, the sale of the Mordialloc reserve was announced. With this, the Boonwurrung had lost the last of their territory.

Cooper refers to a gathering of Aboriginal people at the Myall Hotel, on the southeast corner of Punt and Commercial Roads in 1863. The occasion was a celebration of the marriage of the Prince of Wales, and a whole bullock was being roasted when it slipped off the triangles and fell into ashes and dirt. 'The roasted carcase did not tempt many, but the aboriginals who were gathered round the fire had a gluttonous feed' (Cooper 1912: 105).

On 22 June 1867, the *Prahran Times* reported a case before the local court, involving Jemmy, presumably Jimme Gee:

> An aboriginal named Jemmy was charged with using obscene and threatening language, calculated to cause a breach of the peace, - Rogers, a cooper, residing in High-street, said that on the 18th Inst. the prisoner came to his house, asking for a penny, and upon his application being refused offered to fight witness, making use of the language complained of. Sergeant Archibald stated that some three weeks since the prisoner frightened a young lady by following her and putting his arms round her neck. A gentleman had also complained that an aboriginal, answering to the description of the prisoner, had asked him for a penny, and the demand not being complied with, threatened him with a boomerang. It was in consequence of the prisoner's general bad behaviour that he was arrested. The prisoner was discharged as he had been two days in confinement, but was informed that if brought before the bench again for such conduct as had been described, he would be sent to prison for twelve months (Prahran Times 22/6/1867, p. 3).

In October 1868, Smyth recommended to the Central Board (1869: 20) that 'an attempt be made to get the Aborigines who frequent Geelong and Mordialloc to take up their abode with their friends at this place [Coranderrk]'. Mordialloc Aboriginal people, some of whom were Boonwurrung, who went before the courts in 1869-72 in Melbourne included Jimme Gee, Nancy, Eliza, and Peter McGaffey (BPA 1871, 1872, 1873). Drunkenness was a common offence.

In August 1871, the Board appointed Mr J.W. Randall (Randell) a local guardian at Mordialloc (BPA Minutes 4/8/1871, Series B314). In June 1872, he reported to the Board (BPA 1872: 24):

> The number of Aborigines at Mordialloc under my charge, and who receive aid from me, is four – Jimmy and Nancy, Peter and Eliza. Eliza was married to the King of the Mordialloc tribe; he is dead, and she is married again. As

> to the condition and conduct of these Aborigines, I can only say that they are neither interesting nor industrious. I have repeatedly tried to persuade them to make baskets – which they could if they liked – but in vain. I have offered to teach them to work, but without avail, as work they detest. Jimmy does nothing, Peter hunts, and, I believe, converts the proceeds of anything that he may chance to catch or kill into drink. I have repeatedly cautioned them against the latter, but they are cautious and too sly to ever drink when I am near. If they quarrel among themselves, or commit any little irregularity, a simple threat to get them sent up to one of the stations is sufficient to restore them to order and contrition. Their greatest happiness is perfect liberty to roam free and unconstrained. There are some good traits in their character, for instance, they are perfectly harmless, and thoroughly trustworthy and honest. I believe, in spite of this, that any attempt to administer religious instruction to them would be a perfect waste of power. As the Mordialloc Aborigines now only number four, and as one of the women (Eliza) is far from strong, I do not think that the Board will be put to any great cost before the tribe becomes extinct. I have carried out my instructions by supplying the rations as economically as possible, and regularly once a week.

4.3 Demography

The purpose of this section is to overview the demography of the Boonwurrung and to show the fall in their numbers. As can be seen in Table 4.1, the Boonwurrung who were not abducted by sealers - who for want of a better term may be labelled 'the continuous Boonwurrung' in reference to their continuous residence in or near their traditional lands - are believed to have died with the death of Jimmy Dunbar in April 1877. It needs to be acknowledged that this demography does not take into account those Boonwurrung people abducted from their country in the 1820s and 1830s and thus living 'off country'.[15]

Table 4.1: Boonwurrung[16] demographic transition according to primary sources

Year	Numbers	Source[17]
1838	87	Thomas in Smyth 1878a
1839	83	Thomas 1839
1848	35	Thomas in Victoria 1858-9
1852	20	Thomas in Bride 1983
1853	17	Thomas in Bride 1983
1858	15	Thomas in Victoria 1858-9
1863	11	Barwick 1971

[15] In 1852, the Briggs family descendants of one of the abducted women migrated to Victoria from Tasmania to join the gold rushes, and have remained here ever since. They were first associated with the Avoca district (1852-56), then Eurambeen near Beaufort (1856-1862), Violet Town (1862-70), Bulla Shire (1871), before residing at Coranderrk (1871-78). It is not known if they had any association with Boonwurrung sites during this time. Descendants will need to be interviewed to ascertain this.
[16] Table does not include those Boonwurrung people abducted by sealers and their descendants.
[17] Full details are given in the text.

1877	1 (Jimmy Dunbar, who died that year)	Hibbins 1984

William Thomas enumerated 207 Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung peoples in 1839 (Thomas 20, 22/11/1839 in Cannon 1983: 603-7) and estimated there had been 350 only three years earlier. Of the 207 listed, he divided them into 123 Woiwurrung and 83 Boonwurrung; however the difficulty with his list is that he fails to take into account patrilineal moiety exogamy, so there would be Boonwurrung women included in his Woiwurrung list, and non-Boonwurrung women in the Boonwurrung list[18].

In December 1852, Thomas considered there were only 11 Boonwurrung men and 9 Boonwurrung women in the Melbourne district (Thomas in Bride 1983: 415). In 1858, Thomas reported 15 Boonwurrung: nine men, five women, and a five-year-old girl (Victoria 1858-9: 25). The oldest was about 40 years of age, and apart from the girl, the remainder was between 20 and 30 (Jones 1989: 82). The mortality over the previous decade had been 14 males and six females (Victoria 1858-9: 28).

> The oldest among them cannot be more than forty; the rest are young, say from twenty-two years to thirty years. There is one fine girl, about five years of age, the offspring of a connection between a Coast black with a Gipps Land black lubra. Their general condition, as far as the necessaries of life are concerned … they want for nothing, nor need not want. They are fond of their reserve [832 acres reserved at Mordialloc], and when inclined, return to it, where are always tea, sugar, flour, tobacco, and soap, and have had from 1852 an annual distribution of a pair of good ordinance blankets. Their health, when they keep in the bush and are working with respectable farmers, their bodily health is as good as regular living Europeans. It is only when they stop for a week or two near a public inn, or with low characters, that their enervated constitutions are materially affected, which I have known so rapid that a few days have ended their career. Pulmonary disorders are what they are most liable to, and when drinking to excess, and not able to reach the encampment, down they lay, perhaps on a cold wet night, and throw themselves literally into the arms of death (Thomas in Victoria 1858-9: 27).

Cooper's (1906) recollection of Boonwurrung demography does not tally with the census data published by William Thomas. By 1863, there were only 11 Boonwurrung in the Melbourne district (Barwick 1971: 292). Dwyer (n.d.) argued the Boonwurrung finally became known as the 'Mordialloc tribe' of which Jimmy Dunbar was the last. He was a member of the Native Police. His last 'lubra' died in his mia mia on the Mordialloc Creek about six days before he died in the Alfred Hospital in April, 1877. Jimmy Dunbar and his wife were regarded by the local press as 'the last of the Mordialloc tribe' (see Figure 4.6).[19]

[18] Derrimut's mother Dindo is an example of a Woiwurrung women included in the Boonwurrung census.
[19] *South Bourke and Mornington Journal* 25 April 1877 reprinted a report from the *Age* (Hibbins 1984: 48).

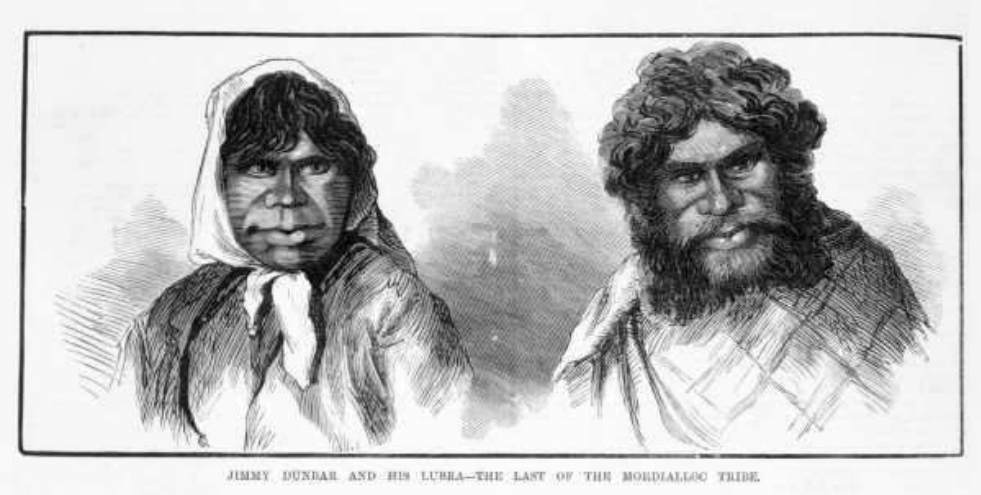


Figure 4.6: 'Jimmy Dunbar and his lubra – the last of the Mordialloc Tribe'
Wood engraving published in the *Illustrated Australian News*
14 May 1877, p. 68
[Reproduction rights owned by the SLV. Image No. mp002613]

4.4 Twentieth Century development and history

The indigenous story of Stonnington in the twentieth century becomes primarily one of 'white' activism in Aboriginal issues. The Melbourne suburbs with significant concentrations of Aboriginal families in the 1900s were primarily Fitzroy, Footscray and Northcote. Prahran (and Malvern) was not known for being a suburb of Aboriginal residence, a point made by historian Sally Wilde (1993: 230) in her history of Prahran from 1925-1990. In 1911, the year the City of Malvern was proclaimed, the procession on Empire Day (24 May), included a float that 'held "The Mayor of Malvern, a Hundred Years Ago" in the guise of an Aborigine in a mia-mia' (Strahan 1989: 17). In 1913, St John's Anglican church in Malvern, in a major programme of fund raising events, welcomed David Unaipon, the gifted Aboriginal scientist and inventor, 'who put the case for his people: "Environment is a stronger force than heredity, and the aborigine can be educated if he is given the chance' (Strahan 1989: 89). However, there is an interlude in this otherwise non-Indigenous story, when many Aboriginal people did reside, temporarily, in South Yarra during the 1940s and 1950s with a pro-Aboriginal white activist – Helen Baillie.

Other aspects that are much harder to uncover are the history of Aboriginal indentured female domestic servants who may have been employed in Stonnington, especially in the 1920s and 1930s when this practice was more widespread (Haskins 2005) and the history of Aboriginal children who were removed from their families and communities who may have been placed in foster homes with white families in Stonnington. The Victorian experience of child institutionalisation has been described by Clark (2002: 167) as one where children were accommodated in mainstream child welfare institutions.

> The Aborigines Welfare Board in Victoria noted in 1966 that 'Aboriginal children are much more likely to become State Wards. A very high

> proportion of these children come into care as State Wards at some time in their lives'. Voluntary organisations predominated in the process of placing Wards of the State, with the result that children were distributed across a wide range of organisations, institutions and foster families. … The Board also assisted in the supervision of interstate placements of Aboriginal children sent to Victoria by Northern Territory and Queensland authorities (Clark 2002: 167).

This study has not been able to uncover any information on indentured domestic servants or the placement of state wards in Stonnington.

Stonnington has a long history of pro-Aboriginal white activism, beginning with Helen Baillie and continuing with regular meetings of the white activist groups Action for Aboriginal Rights (AAR) held in members' homes in Stonnington, through to the current Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation.

Through the reminiscences of the late Banjo Clarke (see Figure 4.7), we learn of the Aboriginal activism of Helen Baillie (see Figure 4.8), in the 1940s and 1950s.

> At that time, one old Christian lady was a great help to us Aboriginals in any sort of trouble like that. Her name was Helen Baillie, but we always called her Miss Baillie. She was a nurse from a well-to-do family who had once been farmers in the Western District, and she devoted her life to helping Aboriginals in every way possible. I don't think her family really approved. She used to pay lawyers out of her own pension to act for us if we was in trouble with the law. If black children were sick, she'd take them to hospital. She even went as a delegate to a government convention in Canberra to speak up for better conditions for Aboriginal people. She was an unsung hero for us blackfellahs. She loved everyone.
>
> Miss Baillie bought a big old house on Punt Road in South Yarra during the 1940s. It was number 462, I remember, just over the top of the hill, near where it meets Toorak Road [see Figure 4.9]. She opened it up to all Aboriginal people, and made everyone in need welcome. It was a lovely old house, built of grey stone, with roses growing all over one side. There was a lot of fruit trees in the garden, and some people would lie under the apricot tree and eat the fruit. Many Aboriginals lived there with her, and any whitefellahs that needed help too. Many were drunks, but she put up with them and was kind to everyone. She'd often have the police banging at her door because the neighbours would complain about all the drunks and the noise. Eventually that was why everyone had to move from that house in the 1950s. But Miss Baillie put up with a lot because she had such a good heart, and she loved all Aboriginals.
>
> Miss Baillie always kept her money in a little purse that was tied around her waist and hidden underneath her skirt. She always wore long, old-fashioned

dresses that had been her mother's, and some of the blackfellahs would wonder how she managed to get her money in and out of that purse without getting undressed. Sometimes the drunks would try to get at her purse from underneath her skirts and she would slap their hands and say in her very educated way of talking, 'Don't you do that!' Sometimes she couldn't help laughing at them. She had a great sense of humour and when she laughed she'd always put her hand over her mouth. We often had a joke with her, especially whenever she drove us anywhere. She wasn't a very good driver and had some near misses in that car. So we weren't allowed to talk to her when she was driving because she had trouble concentrating. But she'd always drive all the blackfellahs to government elections and things like that, because although they couldn't vote she wanted them to have their say.

She could be strict with the blackfellahs living with her too. She would remind everyone of their Aboriginal principles and duties to each other, and once, when one of the blackfellahs was in hospital, she made all the blackfellahs that was staying with her go and sit on the lawn outside the hospital, the Aboriginal way, so that the sick person could feel their spirit. … Miss Baillie did more than anyone I knew of at that time for Aboriginal people, never stopping to think about herself. And yet she has been so much forgotten (Clarke 2005: 127-128).

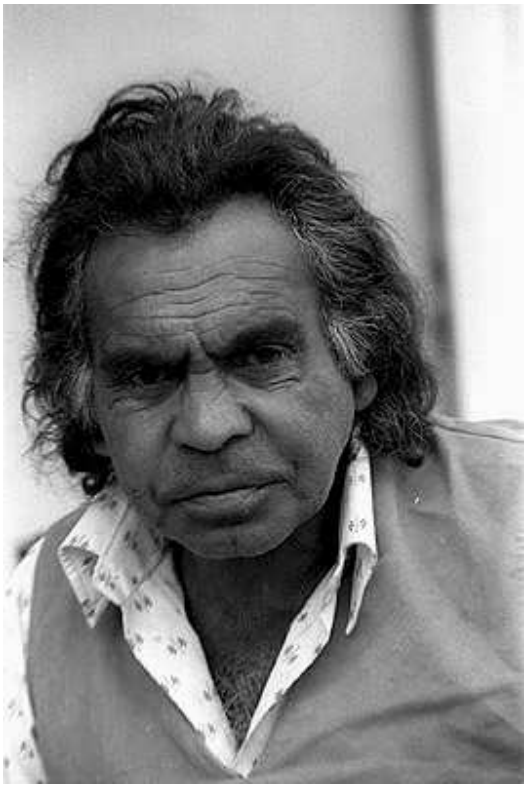


Figure 4.7: Banjo Clarke, photograph by JB Ellis, University of Melbourne Archives, ID: UMA/1/194

Helen Baillie, who had links with radical trade unions, was a descendent of the Baillie brothers who were early settlers in Victoria. She became a white activist in the early 1930s after having been influenced by the writings of Mary Bennett. She described Bennett's 1927 publication *Christison of Lammermoor*, as 'a stirring book', 'a weapon to pierce through indifference and to arouse righteous indignation in all right-minded people'. It motivated her to undertake 'the education of Australia in a right understanding of these natives, so that Australia as a whole may have an enlightened policy for her Aboriginals' (Attwood 2003: 90). Her ASIO file described her as a 'Christian Communist', a description she herself once used, and which led her to volunteer as a nurse for the Republican forces during the Spanish Civil War and working for the Spanish Relief Committee in Melbourne. She travelled widely to learn more about Aboriginal matters and joined the Victorian Aboriginal Group and formed the Victorian Aboriginal Fellowship Group in 1932 (Haskins 2005: 176), an association for Christians interested in Aboriginal welfare. She became a life member of the Australian Aborigines' League that formed in 1936 to fight for equal rights for Aboriginal people (Markus 1988: 10). She was also connected with the Association for the Protection of Native Races in Sydney and the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society in London (Attwood 2003: 56). One associate has recalled that she was 'driven by a feeling of guilt that her ancestors had taken the land' (Broome 2005: 296). After 1951 she became a member of several activist groups including the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the Council for Aboriginal Rights.

Figure 4.8 Helen Baillie (in centre) and others (see Appendix 1.1 for details)

Attwood's assessment is that Baillie, like many in her network, were 'Middle class and Christian, they were passionately devoted to the ideal that people had a particular role to play in public life as defenders of the poor, the vulnerable and the downtrodden, especially women. Some of these campaigners were well-off and built up considerable international contacts as they traveled between Australia and "the old country"' (Attwood 2003: 86). Baillie described Aboriginal people as 'the original inhabitants of our land', argued that settler Australians had a duty to them and emphasised the 'almost uniformly bad … history of Australia' (Attwood 2003: 91). Baillie encouraged women activists to seek professional employment in Aboriginal affairs: 'women with a real love for the Aborigines, with a vocation for the work and a liking for an adventurous and pioneering life, would do a work not only of great service to the Aborigines, but … to the white settlers as well' (Paisley 2005: 88).

Figure 4.9: contemporary photograph of 462 Punt Road, Toorak, and former home of Helen Baillie (photographer Andrew Kostanski)

In terms of Aboriginal girls in domestic service, Baillie in correspondence with other activists, recommended encouraging these girls to join mainstream recreational groups such as the Girl Guides and the YWCA (Haskins 2005: 177). Baillie was not just pro-Aboriginal in words, once her mother had died; she turned her Punt Road home into a *de facto* hostel for Aboriginal people.

Writing in 1956, Helen Baillie apologised for not giving more to a particular cause:

> I am very hard up as I have had so many Aboriginal folk staying in my home. They came up from Framlingham looking for work and I have been keeping them and paying fares while they were looking for work. They have very big appetites and I have a huge food bill … I have only one boy who is doing well. He is in regular work as a builder's labourer and always pays his board regularly but many of the others are a problem. The boy who is doing well is Jimmie Berg, aged 18 from Nyora S. Gippsland … and he is a cousin of the lads from Framlingham (Broome 2005: 296).

Jim Berg agreed to be interviewed for this project and in the course of the first interview; he revealed that he had numerous photographs that he had taken during his time with Helen Baillie, which were the subject of a second interview. A full transcript of the interviews is included in Appendix 1.1, along with the 43 photographs. In respect of Helen Baillie, Jim Berg commented that "She was a giver, she gave more than she received, but that was Helen Baillie. … Well everybody who came there looking for assistance one way or another, she gave. … She gave them a roof over their head or money; she gave while she had it. … I think her dad was a Minister. I saw a photo of her dad in his collar. … No, I don't think she had any contact with any of her family. Well, her family was Kooris- her extended family". In relation to rules, Jim Berg recalled "Well, there wasn't hardly any grog in the place. She had a set of rules and people respected the rules. .. Off and on, people used to bring food in, go down the street and buy foods. It wasn't a completely handout mentality they, it was two way thing. She provided a roof and sometimes provided the food as well". In terms of other activists visiting the Baillie home Jim Berg noted "Well her grandmother used to be an activist in one sense and Mrs. Short she was an activist and she is in the photo as well. So probably long before my time she was deeply involved and held lots of meetings there". Finally, "It was a centre in one sense for one group of people from the Western District".

A *Herald* reporter, writing on 6 March 1958[20], visited Helen Baillie's home and described it as a hovel, inhabited by a dozen Aboriginal men and women in the grip of alcoholism. Baillie told the reporter that she used to help people find their feet in Melbourne, 'but it's no good now. There's too much drinking. Most of the aboriginals are out of work, and they're not paying rent. I'm old and sick. The aboriginals won't help me keep the place clean' (Broome 2005: 296). Baillie died in 1970. Banjo Clarke

[20] This reference was sourced from Broome (2005); efforts to locate the article in the *Herald* were unsuccessful.

(2005: 129) expressed a desire for a memorial to be built to remember all the good she had done for Aboriginal people.

The secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of the Native Race, Miss V.A. Leeper, lived in 11 Kensington Rd, South Yarra, and from May 1953 until 1960, meetings were regularly held in her home. At times meetings were held in the Friends' Meeting House, 133 Orrong Rd, Toorak (SLV Ms. 9212). In 1961 the Victorian Aboriginal Group amalgamated with the National Association for the Advancement of the Native Race.

The Council for Aboriginal Rights formed in 1951, and had several members who resided in what is now Stonnington. Historian Bain Attwood (2003: 136) has shown that the council owed its foundation to connections between the Communist leadership of the North Australian Workers' Union and Communist Party members in Melbourne, although Attwood asserts its key players were socialists. An undated membership list from the 1950s (SLV Mss 12913) gives the following residents:

Bayne, Miss M.	6/204 Orrong Rd	Toorak
Baillie, Miss H.	462 Punt Rd	Toorak
Bate, Mr J.G.	26 Cunningham St	South Yarra
Cuttenden, Mrs V.	42 Grandview Gr	Prahran
Gallagher, Mrs	9 Kardella St	East Malvern
Gray, Mr & Mrs RA	20 St James Rd	Armadale
Hancock, Mr W	374 Malvern Rd	Prahran
Macfie, Miss Elsie	6 Epping St	Malvern
O'Reilly, Miss P	PO Box 110	South Yarra
Parry, Miss C	27 Hume St	Armadale
Singleton, Miss K	21 Wright St	East Prahran
Wilkinson, Mr E.H.	PO Box 71	Prahran
Williams, Dr F	40 Evelina Rd	Toorak

According to Attwood (2003: 146) the *raison d'être* and focus of the Council for Aboriginal Rights was national, with particular focus on equal rights for Aboriginal workers, 'it gave priority to the plight of Aboriginal people in Northern and Central Australia, where the majority lived, and paid little attention to those in Victoria'. His critique of the CFR is that it 'had none of the contact of earlier campaigners and welfare workers like …. Helen Baillie had enjoyed and which had given them the opportunity to forge fruitful political alliances with local Aboriginal people. The Council's campaign against racism, in other words, was fought largely in terms of abstract principles and seldom engaged in the affective histories of Aboriginal people' (Attwood 2003: 146). By the mid-1950s, however, the Council began to pay more serious attention to Victorian matters, and in 1956 and 1957 made submissions to the Victorian government demanding community control and ownership of Aboriginal reserves, such as Lake Tyers, Framlingham, and Cumeroogunga. In 1961-62 the Council actively campaigned against government plans to close the Lake Tyers Aboriginal Reserve.

The Commonwealth of Australia's Referendum of 27 May 1967 to alter the constitution to omit certain words relating to Aboriginal Australians and to count them when reckoning the population, achieved overwhelming endorsement in the Division of Higgins with 96.16 percent in favour, and 3.84 percent against.

During the 1970s and 1980s, another pro-Aboriginal white activist group called Action for Aboriginal Rights (AAR) was active in Melbourne, and used to hold meetings in the homes of various members. One of the authors (Ian Clark) was a member of this group in the 1980s and recalls meetings being held in a member's home in East Malvern. On 26 October 1984, AAR staged a fund raising dinner in the Malvern Town Hall that featured a guest address by Aboriginal poet Kath Walker and an exhibition of art by Victorian Aboriginal artist Trevor Nickolls. The proceeds were to be distributed amongst Aboriginal organizations. A copy of the flyer for this event is held in the Malvern Archives.

In 1998, the Royal Botanic Gardens employed Dean Stewart, a Wembawemba man from northwest Victoria, to develop and coordinate Aboriginal tours through the Gardens. One central aim of the tour was to honour the site as a significant meeting place for local Aboriginal people. Several years previous, the Gardens developed Aboriginal Resource Trails as part of their Voluntary Guides Program utilising the extensive flora of the gardens. In 1997, Vicki Nicholson and Bill Nicholson, two Wurundjeri leaders, and Dean Stewart, had successfully trialed three tours. Since 1998 the tours have become a permanent and important part of the cultural landscape of the Botanic Gardens.

Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation began in 1998 from a group of people who enrolled in a U3A (University of the Third Age) Stonnington course.[21] Kath Higgins led a Reconciliation course based on an "Australians for Reconciliation Study Circle Kit" produced by the Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation. The course ran for eight two-hour sessions using the Study Circle Kit, videos, posters and borrowed books and other information. Fourteen people completed the course, and eleven formed Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation. Meetings were originally held in members' homes. The group became incorporated in January 1999, secured a post office box, and established a monthly meeting venue at the Prahran Neighbourhood House with considerable co-operation of the Co-ordinator Gianna Varasdi. Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation (Inc) held its first public meeting in February 1999. The Mayor (Councillor Chris Gahan) and Stonnington Council supported the group and it received its first Stonnington Community Grant in 1999/2000 ($300 photocopying for a newsletter plus use of Council venues). It had 30 paid up members in its first year.

SCR strives to raise awareness in the Stonnington community of social justice, reconciliation and Indigenous cultures, and provide a forum for learning more about Indigenous cultures. In the five years since it was established, the group and its members have participated in a range of activities. Many Indigenous and non-Indigenous guest speakers have addressed the monthly public meetings, three annual major projects have

[21] We are indebted to Keith Gove, President of Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation for this historical account. For a full transcript of Laura Kostanski's interview with Keith Gove see Appendix 1.2.

been undertaken, and the group has been closely involved in the development of Stonnington Council's 2002 Statement of Commitment to Indigenous Australians. In this Statement of Commitment, the Council declares that it has a role in the promotion of the intrinsic value of Indigenous culture to the wider Australian community and the importance of sacred sites and significant places to Indigenous Australians.

Kutcha Edwards spoke to children at Malvern Town Hall. N40MP116

Sharing the reconciliation dream

PRIMARY school students were encouraged, not told off, for dreaming in class recently.

They learnt about Dreamtime stories from Aborigines in a reconciliation event.

The Stonnington Reconciliation Groupmore than 250 students from three primary schools to teach them more about Aboriginal life.Three Aborigines shared their experiences of childhood, education, culture and separation from their families.

The group was formed two years ago by a group of U3A members.. Details: 9819 9106.

Figure 4.10 Kutcha Edwards at Malvern Town Hall. Sourced from *Stonnington Leader* 2/4/2001.

SCR has held several stalls at the City of Stonnington's annual VIVA multicultural festival, and significant Indigenous events such as Reconciliation Week have been supported by displaying materials in Stonnington libraries.

A theme of SCR's work has been education of young people and the annual major projects have had this focus. One was an art and writing competition for primary schools in Stonnington, with students' entries displayed at the SCR VIVA stall. Another project was an Indigenous cultural performance in the Malvern Town Hall for over 250 students. Three Indigenous speakers including Kutcha Edwards were involved (see Figure 4.10). SCR also supported an excursion for local students to the Melbourne Museum Aboriginal Gallery, with publication of students' writings about their experience.

SCR has had significant support from Stonnington Council, receiving an annual Stonnington Community Grant to cover administrative expenses, printing and a meeting venue. Council officers have been supportive of the group, and SCR is currently working with Council to develop a three-year action plan to implement Council's Statement of Commitment. This will provide a framework for the activities of SCR. The Statement of Commitment was followed by the Needs Analysis for Indigenous Development Discussion Paper in 2003, and the Reconciliation Action Plan adopted in August 2005. Out of this Action Plan came the initiative for this Indigenous History of Stonnington.

5.0 Cultural Sites in the City of Stonnington

A band of the Yalukit-willam might spend a few days or a few weeks in the one place, depending on the local supply of fresh water and the available food resources. Major camps were usually set up close to permanent streams of fresh water … where people engaged in a wide range of activities, and some of the things they did have left evidence which remains today as an indication of the places where they lived (Presland 1997: 9). These places are called archaeological sites. The types of sites found in the City of Stonnington may include surface scatters, shell middens, isolated artifacts, and burials.[22]

On 19 May 1982, the Malvern edition of Southern Cross newspaper, ran a story headlined 'Ancient Treasures dug from Kooyong Park earth – Find tells of early tribes':

> Ancient aboriginal artifacts found in Kooyong Park by a Malvern resident provided an important insight into tribal life, an archaeologist said last week. Mr Gary Presland … said the find was valuable because of the little information known about Melbourne's aborigines. Mr Presland has taken a big interest in the artifacts, about 1500 of them, since they were found by local resident Dennis Mayor. The pieces of work tools and flints for cooking, engraving and hunting are said to date between 5000 and 50,000 years. Mr Mayor first stumbled on his first piece in Malvern in 1975. Three years later work started on the redevelopment of Kooyong Park, and, as each trench was dug, Mr Mayor made his own small excavations on the land. He worked six mornings a week collecting and recording his finds before presenting the much-prized booty to the Victoria Archaeological Survey for verification (*Southern Cross* – Malvern Edition 19/5/1983) (see Figure 5.1).

Surface scatters

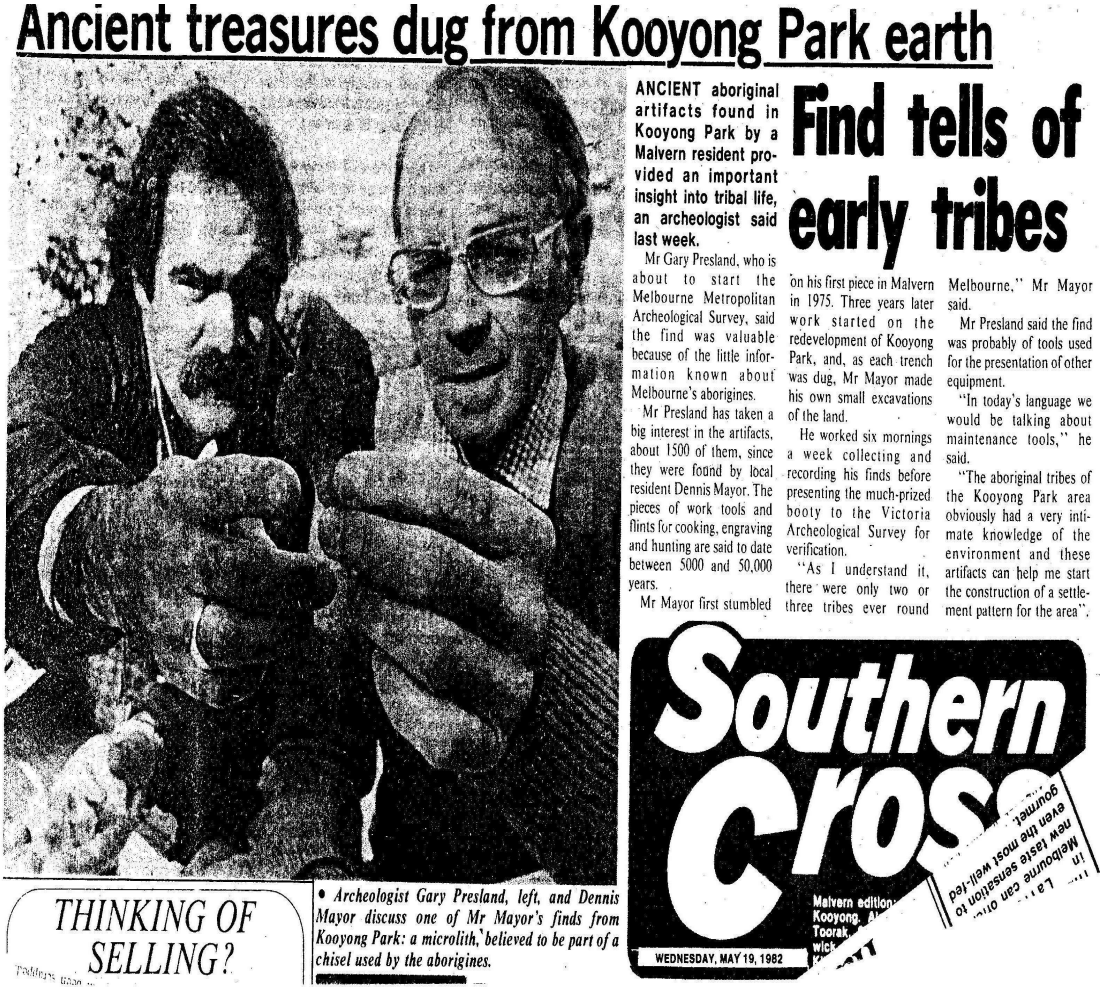
The most common archaeological site is a scatter of stone tools and many small stone pieces called waste flakes. After a day's hunting, men might spend some time in camp – repairing their tool kit of spears and knives. This would involve flaking new stone spear points or sharpening knife-edges.

Shell middens

When the Yalukit-willam bands camped in their estate along Port Phillip Bay, the women collected shellfish while the men were hunting. Their daily catch of shellfish was brought back to camp and cooked, and the shells dumped nearby. When shells were dumped in the same place over a period of many years, the mounds have remained until the present time in the places where they built up. Although they mostly consist of shells mixed with charcoal from fires, many of them also contain fish bones, animal bones from the hunters' kill, and some stone flakes (Presland 1997: 11). Archaeologists refer to these

[22] It has not been possible to access the site register of Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, so this discussion, other than that of burials, is speculative.

mounds of discarded shells as shell middens and they have been recorded in many places around the edge of Port Phillip Bay and all along the Mornington Peninsula.



Ancient treasures dug from Kooyong Park earth

Find tells of early tribes

ANCIENT aboriginal artifacts found in Kooyong Park by a Malvern resident provided an important insight into tribal life, an archeologist said last week.

Mr Gary Presland, who is about to start the Melbourne Metropolitan Archeological Survey, said the find was valuable because of the little information known about Melbourne's aborigines.

Mr Presland has taken a big interest in the artifacts, about 1500 of them, since they were found by local resident Dennis Mayor. The pieces of work tools and flints for cooking, engraving and hunting are said to date between 5000 and 50,000 years.

Mr Mayor first stumbled on his first piece in Malvern in 1975. Three years later work started on the redevelopment of Kooyong Park, and, as each trench was dug, Mr Mayor made his own small excavations of the land.

He worked six mornings a week collecting and recording his finds before presenting the much-prized booty to the Victoria Archeological Survey for verification.

"As I understand it, there were only two or three tribes ever round Melbourne," Mr Mayor said.

Mr Presland said the find was probably of tools used for the presentation of other equipment.

"In today's language we would be talking about maintenance tools," he said.

"The aboriginal tribes of the Kooyong Park area obviously had a very intimate knowledge of the environment and these artifacts can help me start the construction of a settlement pattern for the area".

THINKING OF SELLING?

• Archeologist Gary Presland, left, and Dennis Mayor discuss one of Mr Mayor's finds from Kooyong Park: a microlith, believed to be part of a chisel used by the aborigines.

Southern Cross

Malvern edition

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1982

Figure 5.1 Ancient treasures dug from Kooyong Park earth (sourced from *Southern Cross – Malvern Edition*, 19/5/1982)

Isolated artifacts

A common type of archaeological site is the place where an isolated stone tool has been found. These include stone slabs used as a base for grinding seeds and other parts of plants, and large blocks of stone called cores, from which smaller flakes have been removed (Presland 1997: 14).

Burials

Aboriginal burials are commonly found near watercourses or in dunes surrounding old lakebeds, and many have been found on high points, such as dune ridges, within

surrounding flat plains. They are often near or within occupation sites such as oven mounds, shell middens or artifact scatters. Aboriginal people were buried in the ground in a variety of positions. Some were placed lying flat on their backs, legs fully extended, or lying on their side in a crouched, or 'foetal' position. Others were buried in an upright sitting position. The place of burial was either near the place where they were camping at the time, or in cemeteries to which their relatives and descendants returned over hundreds of years.

Burial sites tell us something about the culture of the people who created them. In any society, what is placed in graves with the deceased, and the way the dead are treated, is generally determined by the spiritual beliefs within that society. Burial sites thus provide a rare glimpse of spiritual values (Presland 1997: 13). The following account of a Boonwurrung burial is found in Robinson's papers (Clark 2000c: 244-245):

> Boonwerong burial of the dead:
>
> In bur[y]ing the dead the grave is dug ranging SE and NW and not E and W. as sun rises. The head lays SE ward or to use the simple words of Benbow lays in the direction where the big ship comes from, for it is to lie in that direction ie. to the white men country the spirit flies after death.
>
> Formerly they put their dead in trees and burnt them but since white men came they bury them because white men no like them in trees or burnt.
>
> When the grave is dug and the corpse interred the native men all sit round the grave in silence watching, one man named [blank] sits at the foot in a recumbent posture, then one makes a noise as ha__ ha__ ha__, called we.weep. They watch for a small hole being made over the chest, it is very minute, as though made by wind, small sound like a puff of air it matters not how small, this is sufficient, a grub or insect does not come out (as said by some) at least it is never seen, they immagine it a spirit in shape of small fly but it leaves particulars of invisible, the [blank] then takes small twig and puts into the hole and the direction it points to (ie. Goulburn most frequently) are the people who have killed the deceased, subsequently a party is made up and the death is avenged on the first met. When the spirit flies off a feint puff is only heard, the puff is called win.deen, and put in stick dare.re.muk. After a man dies, the widow goes to her brother who gives her to a man friend of another tribe, never cousin in law. They expressed great abhorrence when asked if the wife went to the husband's brother. Grass is always cleared off the grave, funeral cry is called barm.bun.dul.god.je.
>
> At the time the custom prevailed for putting them in trees, the corpse lay on the ground all night the grass was pulled up all round it and in the morning hole formed near the stomach, chest of the corps had a twig put into it and where it pointed was the direction the murderers.

At least six Aboriginal burials and cremations are known to have taken place in what is now the City of Stonnington between 1839 and 1852:

On 28 May 1839, Toollermanene, the Woiwurrung wife of Tullamarine, was buried at Langhorne's Mission establishment. She had died the previous day from syphilis (Robinson Jnl 27 May 1839).

On 9 September 1839, Robinson camped beside the lagoon at Tromgin where two cremations had just been completed. He described the cremation as follows:

> Near the edge of the lagoon where the bodies of two blacks had been burnt. According to the customs of the natives they were close together surounded by boughs and emu feathers while boughs and ashes was covered with fat of the human victim. The place resembled an oven. The bodies had covered with bark and boughs. The ground had been cleared (Robinson Jnl 9 September 1839).

On 16 September 1839, Peter, the black youth who was a servant to Mrs Langhorne who attended her cows, was reinterred at the Mission Establishment – his body had been found in a shallow grave three miles east of Langhorne's station (Robinson Jnl 16 September 1839). Presumably, he had been murdered.

Rebecca, one of the Tasmanian women who came to Melbourne with George Robinson, died from dysentery at Robinson's on 30 April 1841, and was buried on 2 May 1841, presumably at Turneet (Robinson office journal 30/4/1841, 2/5/1841 in Clark 2000b; Rae-Ellis 1976: 104; Plomley 1987: 943).

In December 1843, Peter Brune, one of the Tasmanian Aboriginal people who came to Victoria with Robinson, died from dysentery and was buried on Robinson's Terneet property (Robinson Jnl 8 December 1843).

On 13 January 1852, Beruke aka Gellibrand, a corporal in the Native Police Corps, died in South Yarra and was buried the next day near the South Yarra Pound. 'Having come with the Government dray from Narre Warren for the month's provisions, he drank to such excess (as reported to me by the blacks) at the Club-house, that he died on his way back with the dray, and was buried near South Yarra pound' (Thomas in Bride 1983: 406-407). The pound was 'situated in the vicinity of where Clara-street is now' (Cooper 1912: 29).

Aboriginal burials have a particular significance for Aboriginal people today and provide important physical and spiritual connections with the land, culture, and their past.

6.0 Conclusion

The study area of this report is the City of Stonnington, in Melbourne's inner east. In traditional Aboriginal spatial organization, the city falls primarily within the Boonwurrung language area. The city principally belonged to the Yalukit-willam clan, and was especially associated with Derrimut one of the leading clan-heads (*ngarweet*), until his death in the early 1860s. The riparian environment found throughout the study area, and the swamps and forests, provided the Boonwurrung with important staple food resources, and places such as the Tromgin lagoon, at what is now the Royal Botanic Gardens, were an important source of eels.

From 1837 until 1849, the study area, especially the western end, functioned as a site for government initiatives designed to impress European values and customs upon Aboriginal people. From 1837 until 1839, under the charge of George Langhorne, a mission to the Aboriginal people of Melbourne operated along the lines of Robert Owen's utopian socialist experiment at New Lanark, Yorkshire; a village based on residence and agriculture designed to showcase the benefits of a settled European lifestyle, such things as religion, education, production and exchange.

From 1839 until its closure in 1849, the study area played an important role in the functioning and operation of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate. George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector, situated the central office of the protectorate in what is now the City of Stonnington from 1839 until 1843. His own private residences were situated in South Yarra, on the Yarra River, from 1839 until his departure from Victoria in 1852. Robinson's offices and residences were the regular focus of Aboriginal people, either camping beside him to obtain supplies or visiting him to discuss important matters. From 1839 until 1842, Robinson was also responsible for some 16 people brought to Victoria from the Flinders Island Aboriginal settlement where Robinson had been superintendent. Many of these Aboriginal lived on Robinson's South Yarra farm, and some of the men assisted him with the construction of his house.

From 1846-48, Benbow an eminent Yalukit-willam clan head was employed by Robinson in his central headquarters as Office Messenger, and he had frequent interaction with Robinson at Terneet. During this time, he visited the Snowy River in Gippsland; brought Ganai people to Melbourne; and provided Robinson with information on the Boonwurrung. In January 1848, he sailed to Geelong to visit a Boonwurrung woman named Nan-nat-goor-rut, who had been abducted from near Mt Eliza (Clark 2000b).

The City fell within the Westernport or Melbourne District of the Aboriginal Protectorate and was the responsibility of Assistant Protector William Thomas. Thomas established a station at Arthur's Seat in 1839, and then at Narre Narre Warren in 1840, and then from June 1842 based himself at the confluence of the Merri Creek and the Yarra River where he visited Aboriginal camps in Melbourne.

The establishment of the Westernport District was hampered, initially, by Chief Protector Robinson's refusal to allow Thomas to leave Melbourne. By August 1839, Thomas had

established quarters at Arthur's Seat, in Boonwurrung country, where his attentions outside of Melbourne were concentrated until August 1840. However, much of his time was spent assisting Robinson in Melbourne, attempting to 'break-up' the Aboriginal camps by the Yarra River, and in discouraging others from entering the town's vicinity. Those campsites that were on the south side of the Yarra River, at Yarra Falls and at Tromgin (now the Royal Botanic Gardens) were on traditional Boonwurrung land.

Early entries in the journal of William Thomas kept from January 1839 reveal that the Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung had trouble obtaining game and vegetable food in the vicinity of Melbourne, and they were suffering from introduced diseases. Europeans objected when Aboriginal people entered fenced paddocks to hunt and, consequently, they were forced to subsist by begging and cutting bark and firewood for the intruders.

In June 1846, on government orders, Thomas removed the valuables from the *willams* of the Boonwurrung camp then wrecked and burnt them. He ordered the 51 residents to disperse. Thomas lamented that he had to order them to move every time a European objected. 'Poor fellows, they are now compelled to shift almost at the will and caprice of the whites'. Their hardship was intensified because there was no bark left in the district and they were now compelled to build 'mud huts'. The breaking up of camps continued unabated in the latter part of the 1840s. In January 1849, at one Boonwurrung camp, Thomas was asked 'where were they to go, why not give them a station'. On 29 February, the Boonwurrung came to Thomas and pleaded for 'a country to locate themselves upon'.

In 1849, a Select Committee on the Aborigines and the Protectorate recommended the abolition of the Protectorate and regretted that it could not suggest a coherent policy in its place. The abolition heralded a decade of *laissez-faire* policy and neglect. William Thomas was retained as 'Protector of Aborigines' for the whole colony of Victoria, and also known as 'Guardian', but concentrated his efforts in Melbourne. In June 1852 Thomas secured a reserve for the Boonwurrung at Mordialloc, and a reserve at Warrandyte for the Woiwurrung. With a preference for camping at Mordialloc, the Boonwurrung moved between Melbourne, Mordialloc and Brighton, sometimes camping at Fawkner Park and other localities in the study area during their visits to Melbourne. In 1863 a reserve was established at Coranderrk for east Kulin peoples; however the Boonwurrung comprised of nine old men and women remained near Mordialloc and Cranbourne. Derrimut the prominent Yalukit-willam leader died in 1864, and Jimmy Dunbar, the last of these nine, died in 1877.

Significant Aboriginal personalities associated with the City of Stonnington include Derrimut, Benbow, Ningerrarnaro, Tullamarine, Jin Jin, and William Barak; and the Tasmanians: Wooraddy, Truganini, and VDL Jack.

In the 1930s, the Indigenous history of the City of Stonnington moves to one that focuses on the activism of pro-Indigenous white residents, especially one Helen Baillie, who opened her house in Toorak to Aboriginal people from across the state, from the 1930s until the late 1950s. A significant number of Victorian Aboriginal people lived for

periods of time with Miss Baillie in Toorak. Helen Baillie was a committed Christian with communist or socialist leanings and she was very active in promoting Aboriginal rights. There is a continuum between Baillie's activism and that of later groups such as Action for Aboriginal Rights and Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation. Their efforts have produced many significant achievements, including the City of Stonnington adopting a Statement of Commitment to Indigenous Australians in October 2002, and a Reconciliation Action Plan in August 2005.

7.0 Bibliography

1. Official Printed Sources

A Victoria

Legislative Council, *Votes and Proceedings*

1858-9 Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines, together with the proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices, 105pp.

Parliamentary Papers

1861-9 Reports of the Central Board appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines in the Colony of Victoria. Presented to both Houses of Parliament.

1871-1925 Reports of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines in the Colony of Victoria. Presented to both Houses of Parliament.

B New South Wales

Legislative Council, *Votes and Proceedings*

1845 Report from the Select Committee on the Condition of the Aborigines, with Appendix, Minutes of Evidence, and Replies to a Circular Letter, 59pp.

C Britain

House of Commons, ***Sessional Papers***

1837, Vol. 7, Report from the Select Committee on Aborigines (British Settlements); together with the Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index, 212 pp.

2. Official Manuscript Sources

A Public Record Office Victoria

VPRS 11: Unregistered Inward Correspondence to the Chief Protector of Aborigines, 1847-51.

VPRS 4410: Aboriginal Protectorate Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly and Annual Reports and Journals, 1839-49.

B Land and Survey Information Centre, Department of Natural Resources and Environment, Melbourne

Hoddle, R., Surveyors Notebooks, Book No. 1151, Bundle 79, 1837.

C Australian Archives

Minutes of the Central Board appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines in the Colony of Victoria, 1860-69, Series B 314.

3. Other Manuscript Sources

A La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne

Council for Aboriginal Rights, SLV Ms. 12913, Box 5/1 'undated membership list'.
Hoddle, R. Excerpts from Diary of Robert Hoddle the first Surveyor-General of Victoria, SLV, Box 53/4.
Howitt, A.W. Papers, Ms. 9356.
McComb, H.S. 1935, 'Surveyor Hoddle's Field Book of Melbourne, read before the Historical Society of Victoria, 29th April, 1935, SLV, Box 54/3(a).
National Association for the Advancement of the Native Race, SLV, Ms. 9212 Boxes 3656/1a, 1b.
Smyth, R Brough, Papers, Ms. 8781.

B Royal Historical Society of Victoria, Melbourne

Walker, H., n.d., 'Reminiscences of early Melbourne', 2 Vols., Ms. 000431.

C Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney

Gurner Papers (including reminiscences by George Langhorne), Ms. A 1493.
Robinson, GA, 1837, Papers Vol. 44, correspondence and other papers, Flinders Island, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Ms. A7075
Thomas, W., Papers, sixteen volumes and eight boxes of papers, journals, letterbooks, reports, correspondence, etc., uncatalogued Mss., set 214, items 1-24.

4. Newspapers & Magazines

Argus: 22/9/1846; 28/4/1906

Prahran Telegraph: 25/9/1897; 16/10/1897; various dates between 5/10/1889 & 30/11/1889

Prahran Times: 22/6/1867

South Metropolitan: 5/5/1906

Southern Cross – Malvern Edition: 19/5/1982

5. Theses

Crawford, IM., 1966, 'William Thomas and the Port Phillip Protectorate, 1838-49', MA Thesis, University of Melbourne.

6. Contemporary books, articles and pamphlets

Backhouse, J. & Tylor, C. 1862, *The Life and Labours of George Washington* Walker, A.W. Bennett, London.

Finn, E (aka Garryowen)., 1858, *The Chronicles of early Melbourne 1835-52 ...*, Fergusson and Mitchell, Melbourne.

Flemming, J. 1803, 'Journal of the Explorations of Charles Grimes, Acting Surveyor-General of New South Wales. Kept by James Flemming' in Sayers, C.E. (ed) 1972, *Historical Records of Port Phillip The First Annals of the Colony of Victoria edited by John J. Shillinglaw*, Heinemann, Melbourne, pp. 12-39.

Hinkins, JT., 1884, *Life amongst the native races*, Hoase, McQueen and Co., Melbourne.

Izett, J., 1889, 'The history of Prahran: a tale of progress from 1850 to 1889', in 16 parts in *Prahran Telegraph*, 5/10/1889 to 30/11/1889.

Owen, R., 1821, *Report to the County of Lanark,* The Author.

Smyth, RB., 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria; with notes relating to the habits of the natives of other parts of Australia*, Victorian Government Printer, Melbourne.

7. Later Works

Attwood, B. 2003, *Rights for Aborigines*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Barwick, DE., 1971, 'Changes in the Aboriginal population of Victoria, 1863-1966' in DJ Mulvaney & J. Golson (eds) *Aboriginal Man and Environment in Australia*, Canberra, pp. 288-315.

Barwick, DE.,1984, 'Mapping the past: an atlas of Victorian clans 1835-1904, Part 1' in *Aboriginal History*, Vol.8, Pt. 2, pp. 100-131.

Barwick, DE., 1998, *Rebellion at Coranderrk*, Aboriginal History Monograph 5, edited by LE Barwick & RE Barwick, Canberra.

Billis, RV. & Kenyon, AS., 1974, *Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip*, Stockland Press, Melbourne.

Blake, BJ., 1991, 'Woiwurrung, the Melbourne Language' in RMW Dixon & BJ Blake (eds) *The Aboriginal Language of Melbourne and Other Grammatical Sketches*, The Handbook of Australian Languages, Vol. 4, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, pp. 31-122.

Bride, TF., 1983*, Letters From Victorian Pioneers ...*, Lloyd O'Neil, South Yarra.

Broome, R., 2005, *Aboriginal Victorians A History Since 1800*, Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest.

Butlin, N., 1983, *Our Original Aggression: Aboriginal populations of south-eastern Australia 1788-1850*, George Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Caldere, DB & Goff, J., 1991, *Aboriginal Reserves and Missions in Victoria*, Dept. Conservation and Environment, Melbourne.

Cannon, M. (ed.), 1982, *The Aborigines of Port Phillip, 1835-39*, Vol. 2A, Historical Records of Victoria, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne.

Cannon, M (ed.), 1983, *Aborigines and Protectors, 1838-1839*, Vol. 2B, Historical Records of Victoria, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne.

Cannon, M. (ed.), 1988, *Surveyors'Problems and Achievements 1836-1839*, Vol. 5, Historical Records of Victoria, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne.

Cannon, M. 1991, *Old Melbourne Town Before the Gold Rush*, Loch Haven Books, Main Ridge.

Cannon, M., 1993, *Black Land, White Land*, Minerva Australia, Melbourne

Carr, J. 2001, *The Captive White Woman of Gipps Land: in pursuit of the legend*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Chapman, FR., 1916, 'South Suburban Melbourne, 1854-1864', *Victorian Historical Magazine*, No. 5, pp. 171-188.

Christie, MF., 1979, *Aborigines in Colonial Victoria, 1835-86*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

Clark, ID, 1990, *Aboriginal Languages and Clans: an historical atlas of western and central Victoria, 1800-1900*, Monash Publications in Geography, No. 37, Department of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University, Clayton.

Clark, ID., (ed.) 2000a, *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, 1839-1852*, six volumes, Heritage Matters, Clarendon.

Clark, ID., (ed.) 2000b, *The Papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume 1, Chief Protector's Office Journal 1839-50*, Heritage Matters, Clarendon.

Clark, ID., (ed.) 2000c, *The Papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume 2, Aboriginal Vocabularies: South East Australia, 1839-52*, Heritage Matters, Clarendon.

Clark, I.D. 2002, 'Indigenous Children and Institutions 'for the instruction and improvement of the natives' in D. Mellor and A. Haebich (eds) *Many Voices: Reflections on experiences of Indigenous child separation*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, pp. 165-176.

Clark, ID., 2005, 'You have all this place, no good have children …' Derrimut: traitor, saviour, or a man of his people?' in *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, Vol. 91, Pt. 2, pp. 107-132.

Clark, ID & Heydon, TG., 2002, *Database of Aboriginal Placenames of Victoria*, Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages, Melbourne (CD-ROM).

Clark, ID & Heydon, TG., 2004, *A Bend in the Yarra: a History of the Merri Creek Protectorate Station and Merri Creek Aboriginal School 1841-1851,* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Clarke, B., 2005, *Wisdom Man*, Penguin Books, Camberwell.

Cooper, JB., 1906, *Jubilee History: City of Prahran, and illustrated handbook …*, Periodicals Publishing Company, Melbourne.

Cooper, JB., 1912, *The History of Prahran From its First Settlement to a City*, Modern Printing Co., Melbourne.

Cooper, JB., 1934, *Progressive Prahran: its beginning, progress and achievements*, Modern Printing Co., Melbourne.

Coutts, PJF., 1981, *The Victorian Aboriginals, 1800 to 1860*, Readings in Victorian Prehistory, Vol.2, Victoria Archaeological Survey, Ministry for Conservation, Victoria.

Creelman, AE. 1984, 'George Alexander Gilbert' in J. Kerr (ed.) *Dictionary of Australian Artists Working Paper 1: Painters, Photographers and Engravers 1770-1870, A-H.* Power Institute of Fine Arts, University of Sydney, Sydney, pp. 279-280.

Dwyer, P. (n.d.) *The Last of the Mordialloc Tribe*, City of Mordialloc Historical Society, Mordialloc.

Ellender, I. & Christiansen, P. 2001, *People of the Merri Merri The Wurundjeri in Colonial Days*, Merri Creek Management Committee Inc., East Brunswick.

Fels, MH., 1988, *Good Men and True, the Aboriginal Police of the Port Phillip District, 1837-1853*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Foxcroft, EJB., 1940, The New South Wales Aborigines' Protectorate, Port Phillip District, 1838-50, *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, pt one, No. 2, pp. 76-84, pt two in No. 3, 1941, pp. 157-167.

Gascoigne, J. 2002, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Gatrell, VAC. (ed.), 1970, *A New View of Society and Report to the County of Lanark*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.

Goulding, M., 1988, Aboriginal Occupation of the Melbourne Area, District 2, unpublished report to the Land Conservation Council, 91pp.

Hall, R., 1989, *Merri Creek Parklands Aboriginal and Historical Heritage Survey*, Report prepared for the Merri Creek Bicentennial Committee, 2 Vols.

Harris, J., 1990, *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: a story of hope*, Albatross Books, Sutherland.

Haskins, V.K. 2005, *One Bright Spot*, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke (UK).

Hibbins, GM. 1984, *A History of the City of Springvale Constellation of Communities*, City of Springvale in conjunction with the Lothian Publishing Company, Port Melbourne.

Howitt, AW., 1904, *The Native Tribes of South East Australia*, Macmillan, London.

Howitt, AW & Fison, L. 1900, 'The Aborigines of Victoria' in W.B. Spencer (ed.) *Handbook of Melbourne*, Ford, Melbourne, pp. 45-55.

Jones, M. 1989, *Frankston: Resort to City*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Kyle, W., 1906, 'Reminiscences of Aboriginal life in Victoria and New South Wales' in *The Geelong Naturalist*, Second Series, Vol. 2, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 159-172, 182-186.

Kyle, W., 1925, Reminiscences from 1841 of William Kyle, a pioneer, communicated to and transcribed by Charles Daley', in *The Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol. 10, pp. 158-172, 207-211.

McBryde, I., 1984, 'Exchange in south-eastern Australia: an ethnohistorical perspective' in *Aboriginal History*, Vol.8, Pt. 2, pp. 132-153.

Markus, A. 1988, *Blood from a stone: William Cooper and the Australian Aborigines' League*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Massola, A., 1968, *Aboriginal Place Names of south-east Australia and their meanings*, Lansdowne, Melbourne.
Massola, A., 1969, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria*, Rigby, Melbourne.
O'Callaghan, T., 1918, *Names of Victorian Railway Stations*, HJ Green, Acting Government Printer, Melbourne.
O'Callaghan, T., 1922, 'Place Names' in *The Yarra Cooee*, May, pp. 48-51.
Paisley, F., 2005, *Loving Protection? Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights, 1919-1939*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
Pepper, P. & de Araugo, T., 1985*, What did happen to the Aborigines of Victoria? The Kurnai of Gippsland*, Hyland House, Melbourne.
Plomley, NJB, 1987, *Weep in Silence A History of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement with the Flinders Island Journal of George Augustus Robinson, 1835-1839*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart.
Prescott, RTM. 1982, *The Royal Botanic Gardens Melbourne A History from 1845 to 1970*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.
Presland, G., 1983, *An Archaeological Survey of the Melbourne Metropolitan Area*, Victoria Archaeological Survey Occasional Report Series No. 15, Ministry for Conservation, Victoria.
Presland, G. 1985, *The Land of the Kulin – discovering the lost landscape and the first people of Port Phillip*, Penguin, Ringwood.
Presland, G., 1994, *Aboriginal Melbourne – the lost land of the Kulin people*, McPhee Gribble, Ringwood.
Presland, G., 1997, *The First Residents of Melbourne's Western Region*, Harriland Press, Forest Hill.
Priestley, S., 1988, *Altona, a long view*, Hargreen Publishing, North Melbourne.
Rae-Ellis, V., 1976, *Trucanini Queen or Traitor?*, OBM Publishing, Hobart.
Rae-Ellis, V., 1988, *Black Robinson, Protector of Aborigines*, Melbourne University Press, Carlton. [1996 second edition]
Rankin, DH. 1939, *The History of the Development of Education in Victoria 1836-1936: the First Century of Educational Effort*, Arrow Printery, Melbourne.
Robb, E.M. 1934, *Early Toorak and District*, Robertson & Mullens, Melbourne.
Strahan, L., 1989, *Private and Public Memory: a history of the City of Malvern*, Hargreen Publishing, North Melbourne.
Sweetman, E. 1922, 'The Yarra Aboriginal School' in Sweetman, E., Long, C.R., & Smyth, J. *A History of State Education in Victoria*, Critchley Parker, Melbourne, pp. 22-27.
Tipping, M (ed.) 1980, *Victoria the Golden: Scenes, Sketches and Jottings from Nature by William Strutt, Melbourne Victoria, 1850-1862*, Library Committee, Parliament of Victoria, Melbourne.
Turner, HG., 1904, *A history of the Colony of Victoria* ..., Longmans, Green and Co, London.
Waterfield, JH., 1914, 'Extracts from the Diary of the Rev. William Waterfield, First Congregational Minister at Port Phillip, 1838-1843' in *Victorian Historical Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 104-117.
Wiencke, SW., 1984, *When the wattles bloom again – the life and times of William Barak Last Chief of the Yarra Yarra Tribe*, The Author, Woori Yallock.

Wilde, S. 1993, *The History of Prahran Volume II 1925-1990*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Appendix 1.1 Jim Berg interviews and photographs of Helen Baillie and others

Jim Berg was interviewed by Laura Kostanski on two occasions, 30 May 2006 and 13 June 2006. The second interview was concerned with the 43 photographs taken at Helen Baillie's house in the mid 1950s.

Interview One: 30 May 2006, at Koori Heritage Trust Library, King Street, Melbourne.

I just want to talk to you about Helen Baillie; we came across her name in quite a few records in relation to the Stonnington area because she had a house on Punt Road.

Stonnington does that take in South Yarra?

It takes in South Yarra.

Punt Road, South Yarra?

It takes in Prahran, South Yarra, Kooyong, all that area and we were wondering how you came to meet Helen Baillie.

Met Helen Baillie when I was about 16/17 when I came down from Gippsland to find work…she was known to the Koori community, oh, for years before I even met her because I have got a photograph of a very young Helen Baillie standing beside a very young grandfather, Norman Clarke. I have still got that photo…with lots of other Kooris back in those days and it was taken down in Fitzroy…She has been a friend of the Kooris for donkey ages, even before I met her.

… I was up at Beaconsfield, Upper Beaconsfield, living up with there with my uncle and auntie and a little little story there because back in the early days of cutting wood up at Fram [Framlingham] when I used to drink lots of black billy tea and when it is cold and you put sugar in it it is just a lovely drink. So when I started working on the railways up at Upper Beaconsfield, working from there and down at Hinzes' I stayed at uncle and auntie's and between about three of us, two males, we had half a pound of tea. Half a pound of tea, it is where you put the teaspoon in and it is gone. And then I came down to Melbourne and boarded at Ms. Baillie's, I was one of her only Koori paying boarders. And it is documented too somewhere. Yeah, I was and she made tea like just waved a teabag over the water and that was her tea.

Was a very Asian style sort of Green tea!

It didn't go into the water.

Oh right, just waved

So from that moment on I never drank tea. Yeah, never touched a drop of tea since. I gave coffee a go.

And you can thank Helen Baillie for that.

Probably and I can thank my mother for making me a good cook because she couldn't cook and I tell people that and they say your mother must have been a pretty good cook but she couldn't cook.

So, I have photos lots and lots of photos of different generations of Miss Baillie represented in the photos. Newborns, right up to my grandmother and everybody in between. So probably four or five different generations from different areas.

Photos, Clarks, Austins and the Roaches. Got a photo there of Archie's uncle, June Roach, got people from Lake Condah, Heywood, up in Gippsland that actually stayed at Miss Baillie's place. So the photographs tell the stories in themselves where she was able to assist Koori people when she was deeply involved.

So people came from all around Victoria to stay with her.

Yeah

Or she knew them originally.

She knew them originally from her involvement in the Aboriginal Advancement League and things like that.

So they came from all around.

And she was some lady.

How long did you stay with her?

Oh probably a couple of years.

And what were you doing in Melbourne at the time?

I was a brickie's labourer, rigger, scaffolder...

What years did you stay?

No idea

Sometime late in 40s early 50s?

My goodness probably 1956 Olympics, probably in the 50s. It is a bit hard [to remember] because when I left school at 14 I was only out of work for about two years in my 68 years. I used to have two to three jobs at a time, so I used to go away and clean bricks on the weekend and go to do other work.

Did you change jobs while you were living with Helen Baillie?

Yeah I went down to Portland and became a slaughterman. In Portland I became a slaughterman off and on for 14½ years. With every other job in between like I used to work two or three jobs as a slaughterman on the weekends. And I reached a stage where it was 350 men working the mutton chains and I was one of three who can do every job on the chain.

In Richard Broome's book from last year, he has an excerpt from Helen Baillie and we are not sure where he took this from but it says that "I am very hard up as I have had so many Aboriginal folk staying in my home, they came up from Framlingham looking for work and I have been keeping them and paying fares while they look for work. I have only one boy who is doing well, he is in regular work as a builder's labourer and always pays his board regularly but many of the others are a problem. The boy who is doing well is Jimmy Berg, aged 18 from Nyora, South Gippsland. He is a cousin of the lads from Framlingham".
Would you agree with what she was saying?

Yeah.

She was a crazy driver. She had a little Austin, a four seater. And she would drive and all of a sudden she would throw her arms up in the air and just let the car go. It wasn't advisable, wasn't advisable to go driving around with Helen Baillie in the car, Yeah.

I read that she drove some people up to Sydney to go to political rallies and things.

Oh, she probably did because she was that kind of person.

Do you think that staying with her helped your development?

No, my mentors were my uncles. They were hard workers.

They were in Gippsland as well or they came with you?

Well they was in Gippsland down at Fram[lingham], they worked at quarries, timber industry, cutting wood, Yeah they were my mentors. They were workers. They were never without a quid in their pocket and they earned it the hard way. Hard work.

So obviously you have a lot of respect for them and they guided you.

Oh Yeah. You have just got to look around today and see people doing nothing. If you didn't work you didn't eat.

Were there other people who were mentors for you?

Yes, there was my grandfather, my grandmother said you will get what you deserve, my pop says, always speak the truth, my uncle Banjo Clarke says if you haven't got principles then you are not a man and the other uncle says hard work will never do you any harm. So I stuck by those four principles and every time I saw my uncle and I said you cost me another friend uncle, he said he wasn't your friend in the first place.

When you were staying with Helen Baillie, did you hang out much with the people who were there, were there indigenous and non-indigenous, or just you?

Yeah, even as a kid walking down the Avenue when Fram cousins, I used to drop back and just sit in the gutter or the gully, where's Jim you know what he's like he is off on his own again. I am a great believer in people. I believe if you scratch my back I will scratch your back. No thanks I judge the issues. If I am at a meeting, like talking to you now, doesn't mean that I wouldn't talk to you outside if I had something that I disagree with I would ignore you completely but inside a meeting I would support your ideas if they were worthwhile. Everybody knew exactly where I stood. Fine in a meeting, but outside, who are you? So that is where the principles come in.

Do you think that Helen Baillie had the same sort of principles, or what do you remember?

Oh she was a giver. She was a giver, she gave more than she received, but that was Helen Baillie.

What was it like living there? When she gave, what do you mean?

Well everybody who came there looking for assistance one way or another, she gave.

She would find them a job?

She gave them a roof over their head or money; she gave while she had it.

Did she have much contact with her own family? Did you know what her family thought about her doing this?

I think her dad was a Minister. I saw a photo of her dad in his collar.

He was, but she didn't have much contact with them I guess? Or you are not aware of it?

No, I don't think she had any contact with any of her family. Well, her family was Kooris- her extended family.

Yes OK, I see what you are saying so she took them in as family and treated them that way?

As the photos will show, they tell the story of Helen Baillie.

In her place when you are saying that people would come and get money or food when you were living there did you have your own room or did you share?

I had my own room.

Did everyone there have their own rooms?

No, there was about six rooms I think. People shared the rooms. I had a key to my room. I was a paying boarder.

How many people would be there at any one time do you think? It would change obviously…

It would change probably eight or nine. It fluctuated, sometimes there was only two or three-you know depending on the needs. But, they knew she was there.

So everyone knew she was there from around Victoria. It was just one of those bush telegraph things? My understanding is that the indigenous population were mostly around Fitzroy, St. Kilda, Footscray and Northcote. How did you feel being in the Stonnington area?

In those days [the Aboriginal population was centred around] Fitzroy, if you wanted to see somebody in Melbourne back in those days you would go to Fitzroy.

So how did you feel being in South Yarra, with Helen Baillie? I know it is just across the water [from Fitzroy] but did you feel it was a different place in a way?

No, I worked

You just worked and you were just sleeping there and that was about it and you didn't socialise in the area as such?

No, I lived in Fitzroy as well but didn't make any difference. No no, just still go to the local pubs and I don't drink or smoke. I just go down and see my family and relations and friends.

Yep and that would be in Fitzroy but in Toorak, I guess you didn't hang out there?

I just hung out in Fitzroy and I don't drink or smoke….I have been surrounded by alcohol and smokes and drugs all my life.

And you stayed away from it. Did you see a lot at Helen Baillie's place as well?

No, no, just grog occasionally.

Was she strict in enforcing any sort of rules as such or was it a very open house?

Yeah, it was open house but she had certain rules.

What were the rules like?

Well, there wasn't hardly any grog in the place. She had a set of rules and people respected the rules.

Were there meals provided and things?

Off and on, people used to bring food in, go down the street and buy foods. It wasn't a completely handout mentality they, it was two way thing. She provided a roof and sometimes provided the food as well.

Are there specific events or places in the area that you remember? Or have you got any memories of outside of Helen Baillie's house? So think Toorak, South Yarra, Prahran, Chapel Street…

Oh Toorak Road, I used to go down there and buy my clothes. Yeah, I bought a tie down, the place is still down there, Trevor Young, I think, Trevor anyway. I went in there one day and bought a three quid tie. Not sure what they would be worth today.

Oh what do you think, how much of your weekly wage would that have been?

I don't know and a charcoal suit

Was it for a special occasion?

No, I had my first pair of new secondhand boots brought by my uncle and auntie when I was about 10. My first pair of secondhand boots. So when I was earning a quid, went out and bought my own clothes.

and that was on Toorak Road?

Yeah that was when I bought a suit and tie but earned some money when I was about 12 cutting wood up at a little place called Woolamai, me and my cousin went into Wonthaggi and spent it on clothes. Yeah 10 and 12. We went and spent it on clothes.

What did you buy, do you remember?

Oh t-shirts and things like that.

It would have felt really good, I'm sure.

It was.

A real sense of achievement.

An example set by the uncles and grandfathers.

That they would do the same thing.

They did the same thing.

They did the things that matter I guess.

Exactly.

Yeah. That is really important. Do you have any other memories of specific places in the area?

Worked down at the hospital down there. I looked through the window and saw somebody being carved up on the operating table.

On the operating table, what were you doing looking through the windows?

I was working there as a brickie's labourer.

Oh you were working there.

Yeah the window was opened and what do you do when the window is open? It is a hospital.

You have a look.

This bloke is being carved up someone should have closed the blind which they should have done in the first place.

OK I guess I don't think of operating theatres having windows…

Yeah they did…

…You didn't want to go into surgery after that?

Well I became a slaughterman.

That's right, you did, you did, that's true. There's a similarity I guess.

You carved people up, you know where the bones are, the muscles, no difference.

So you actually worked, they are both done with precision I guess.

Exactly.

Yeah, that's true.

So you actually worked doing brickie's labouring stuff in the area, with the hospital and what other places would you have been?

Flats right across the street. The flats across the street, Yeah just across the street.

Do you remember the name of the street?

No just right opposite Helen Baillie's place. In the lane there.

Ok and at the hospital, any other places you can think of?

Not in that area. No.

So that would have been convenient?

Just walking distance...

Did any other activists come to the house indigenous or non-indigenous? Because we know that Helen Baillie was involved in a lot of activities…

Well her grandmother used to be an activist in one sense and Mrs. Short she was an activist and she is in the photo as well. So probably long before my time she was deeply involved and held lots of meetings there.

Oh she did hold lots of meetings

Probably it will demonstrate with this photo that I have got is all the people; there are the Greens and Marge Tucker in it Yeah, all of the heavies of the yesteryear. So the photo is there, I guess I have to find it. And then you see the two year old babies with their parents down at Helen Baillie's place and whole generations of people outside with their photos taken.

So it is a really important place obviously, the place on Punt Road, because it was, would you say it was the centre of activity in a way?

It was a centre in one sense for one group of people from the Western District. Down in Fitzroy you had Doug Nichols the advancement leader.

Were these things happening while you were there as well, these sort of meetings

No, I worked.

But when you were living there did you see any meetings?

No.

Do you remember the names of other people who lived with Helen Baillie, who might be interested in being interviewed for this project?

You would find them pretty difficult to find. They are either up there [in Heaven] or down there [in Hell]. Some of them wouldn't remember - being too young at the time. Scattered all over the country.

Are there some names that we could put in the report for people who did live there?

Oh Yeah, there is Mary Edwards, Grandmother Mary Edwards.

Your grandmother?

My word. Henry Gunboat Clarke- all with an 'e'. That is very important. Georgina Lovett. Mousy Lovett, Jimmy Roach, Bonnie Clarke, Dolly Austin Edwards – auntie, Georgie Wright, Shirley Bloomfield, Georgie Wright junior, one day old.

One day old? Was he born there?

Well he was in and out.

Rexy Wright, Johnny Cooper, Albert Clarke. Oh Yeah, well I will tell you on the photos.

Do you think we could get copies of those photos after I have seen them and put some of them in the report? Yeah, excellent.

They are all mine.

I am really happy that you would like to share them. It is so important to share history I think.

Well I took photos since I was 15.

Oh really.

1,000 of them.

Right, fantastic, wow. They would be fantastic to look through.

An Exhibition of 250 or something portraits.

Where did you learn photography? You just did it. No courses or anything? And I guess this is something you bought yourself the camera. No, I mean as it was one of those things one day you saved up for?

One day I went to an op shop in Fitzroy and I saw it. Didn't work it was all foggy. I got the camera and it was perfect after that and I have still got the original photos of those. Then I graduated to a little box one, my cousin wanted it and I told him he could have it cuz [cousin] had me last 10 quid in my pocket and you can have it. Then I just started buying other cameras.

Do you still do photography now?

Yeah, I just did an exhibition up at Horsham Art Gallery. Yes, lots of different trees from Ebenezer.

I know that it is not your cultural area but do you know of any specific sites in the Stonnington area that the Boonwurrung or Woiwurrung people would know?

Well there is one specific site and that is the reburial site. Yes, that was in the newspaper just recently, 38 remains. Queen Vic memorial near the Myer Music Bowl.

Yes, I know exactly where you are talking about, yes that Council is the City of Melbourne. I know what you are talking about. I guess that Helen Baillie's place was the meeting point there were no other meeting points. What made you leave Helen Baillie's? What made you stop boarding there?

Another job.

Yeah you went off to Portland and that was it. Do you have any other specific memories of any events that happened while you were there?

Probably when you look at the photos I could remember what has happened with some of those people.

OK, well, thank you very much.

Interview Two: The second interview was concerned with the 43 photographs taken at Helen Baillie's house in the mid 1950s.

1. L-R: Jim Berg; Rex Wright; Maisie Lorna Clark(e)

So, what is in this first photo?

Well that is a brick wall there. That is me to the top left hand side, on the right is Maisie Lorna Clark(e) -with an 'e' - no she is without an 'e' because her mum was a Clarke with an 'e' then she married a Clark without an 'e'. Yeah, so Clarke with an 'e' comes from Fram[lingham] and Clark without comes from Lake Condah.

OK I will put a bracket around the 'e'.

And the young fellow lying down there is Rex Wright. I was a day older than Rex. He died in his mid 30s. Just lounging around in the sunshine. Very nice and that is on her [Helen Baillie's] front lawn.

On her front lawn and in the days before water restrictions I am guessing because you have got the hose going?

2. Maisie Lorna Clark(e), sitting on front fence, used to work in Melbourne, stayed occasionally at Helen Baillie's house.

What was Maisie Clark doing at Helen Baillie's?

Oh she used to work, she was just passing through, she stayed there a few times but she was a worker. Yeah she was.

Oh and what was she working as, just different jobs?

Different jobs yep.

Was she working in the Stonnington area?

Flour mills.

Oh flour mills OK so she stayed occasionally?

She was my big sister.

So she stayed occasionally.

3. Rex Wright, in background is Helen Baillie's car

And there is Rex again with me with the camera in the shadow.

Wright or Right?

That's it [Wright]. There is Miss Baillie's car in the garage.

4. Yvonne (Bonnie) Clarke; her husband John Cooper worked in the building industry

This one here is Yvonne, or Bonnie Clarke, she is an artist. Yeah she has got a little bit religious as well.

She was staying at Miss Baillie's?

Yes off and on, passing through.

Right and what would she do for work?
She had a husband- John Cooper. He worked in the building industry…

She looks lovely I like that outfit.

She has got fuzzy wuzzy hair there.

5. Aunty Dollie Austin (nee Edwards) with Yvonne (Bonnie) Clarke

This one, the top one there is Auntie Dolly Edwards. Or Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards.

And what was she doing at Ms. Baillie's?

Passing through. And there is Bonnie there again and a couple of dogs there on the front lawn.

Were they Helen Baillie's dogs?

Yes they were.

Do you remember their names?

Nah, it was years ago.

6. Rex Wright; Albert Clarke; Chico Savage

OK we have Rex Wright, Albert Clarke, Maisie Clark's brother and Chico Savage that is in the driveway.

Chico Savage

Yeah, he is from …….. Albert used to work in the building industry as well.

Now one thing about Chico, he stuttered all the time.

Did he?

Yeah, but opened his mouth to sing and it was just like listening to a canary sing just clear as a bell.

They were all just passing through and staying there occasionally?

Passing through occasionally passing through

What was he doing in Melbourne for work when he was in town?

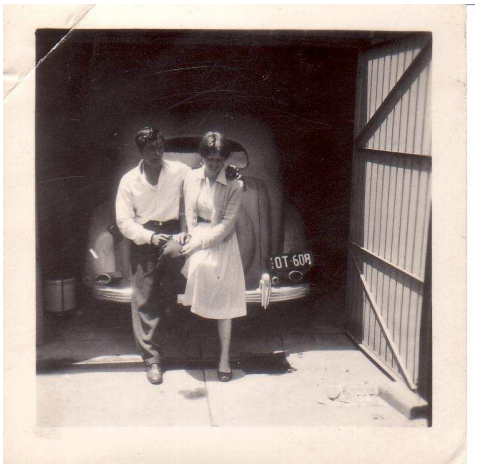
He used to knock around with the uncles. They used to work in the building industry….

7. Granny Mary Clark (nee Edwards), Wilma Clarke, George Wright Jnr (baby), Dawn Austin, Aunty Dolly Austin, Bonnie Clarke

Now this is another little photo with my $20.00 camera. That is Granny Mary Clark nee Edwards. She is Auntie Dolly's sister…The one beside her is Wilma Clarke. The little baby there, I am not too sure. This other lady here beside Wilma is Dawn Austin. And there is Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards and the back one there is Rhonda Clarke. That could be George Wright there.

And they were all staying there as well?

Yeah passing through because that was kind of a meeting place.



8. Albert Clarke and Jackie Clarke

Oh, right, so it obviously looks like lots of people were staying with Ms. Baillie on and off. It looks like a lot of fun too.

Lot of fun and there is another one of Albert and his partner or his wife, Albert Clark and Jacqueline.

9. Bonnie Clarke and Dolly Edwards

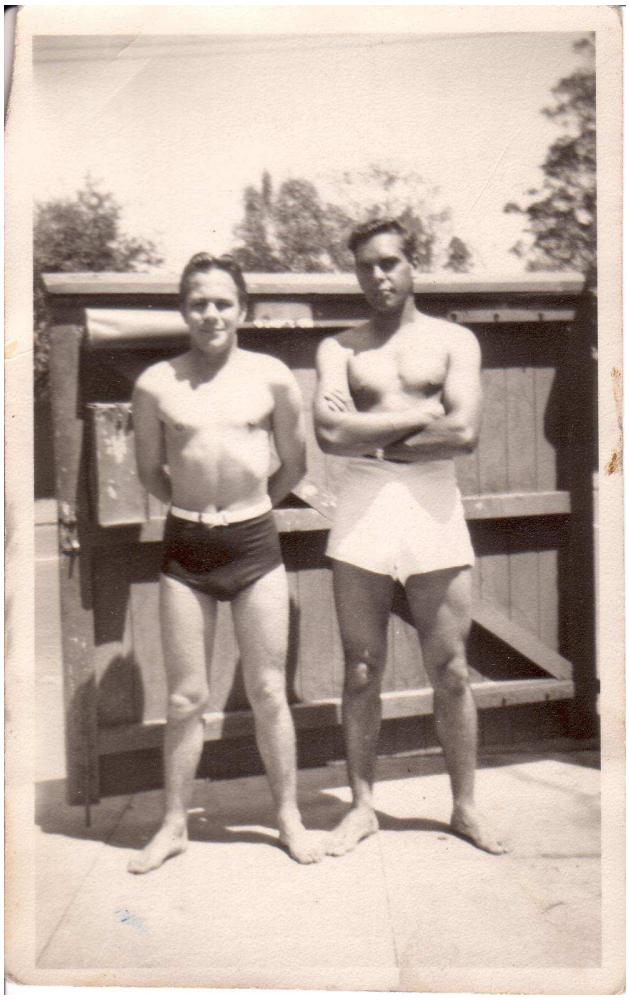
Yes that's right and that is Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards, Bonnie Clarke.

Beautiful flower in her hair in that one.

Yeah.

Obviously you really like to control it, did you tell her to put the flower in the hair.

No, no no, she just did that.



10. Rex Wright and Jim Berg

There's Rexy Wright and Jim Berg 18 years old, taken in 1956.

1956, going swimming I guess?

No,

Hanging out in the sun?

Hanging out in the sun, I was working at the Olympic stand at that time, with E.A. Watts.

You're very muscly. Been working out obviously, or just working hard like you said?

Yeah.

11. Shirley Bloomfield, George Wright, and George Wright Jnr

And we have here Shirley Bloomfield, Georgie Wright and Georgie Wright junior, a day old. Yeah or a couple of days old.

Born at Miss Baillie's?

No born at the hospital and they left soon thereafter And young George at the age of 43 I think he was 46, came down from Sydney and he came across to me and he says look I haven't got a photo of me when I was a baby and somebody said you might have one. And I said you come back tomorrow I have not only got one I have got a photo of you in your mum's and dad's arms when you were only a day old. So he came back next day and he just bawled his eyes out. Yep well the first time he has ever seen that photo.

A beautiful photo. She looks very proud.

Very proud.

That was her first baby? Did they have any more children?

No George passed away in his 40s as well….

12. Jim Berg, Rex Wright, Alan Brown

OK three Al Capones here.

It really looks like it…You just need the big machine guns.

Big machine guns. Jim Berg there, Rexy Wright and Alan Brown.

Alan Brown with an 'e'?

No, without an 'e'. They were all 18, 18 or 19 there.

Where were you going do you remember?

Oh we might have been going out to the movies somewhere.

I wish I lived in the 50s when you had to wear hats. I think they look good.

Oh we were just posing there, we didn't wear hats. Not even overcoats on.

13. John McGuinness

There is Johnny McGuinness there with a bandaid over his eye, I think he was in a blew.

He was staying at Baillie's as well?

Yeah, just passing through because McGuinnesses usually lived in Fitzroy.

14. Maisey Lorna Clark(e)

There is Maisie Lorna Clark(e)

15. Rex Wright, Alan Brown, and Helen Baillie

And we have got here Rexy Wright, Alan Brown and Miss Baillie.

Oh there is Miss Baillie.

Yeah there is Miss Baillie.

She would have been about 50 by this stage I guess? She looks happy so she had short blonde hair I guess or is it grey hair?

Grey.

Grey hair by now and that would be in 56 or 55 something like that?

Yeah something like that.

16. Alan Brown and Rex Wright

There is Alan Brown and Rexy Wright at the side of the house.

It almost looks like you are being Al Capone and sort of hiding out in the scrub to ambush people.

That is Alan Brown, he was about 6, 7 or 8 up at Fram[lingham] over the Hopkins River on the old wooden bridge and they pulled the bridge down and were putting up a concrete and steel bridge and there was four of us Rexy, Albert, Frank and myself went down to the Hopkins River to the bridge and was climbing up the steel pipes and that and he fell and one of the steel rods went through his head and through his leg and [we] picked him up and carried him up to the grandfather's house and he survived.

Wow, lucky guy.

Very lucky.

Well unlucky to have that happen but lucky

Yeah he was lucky to survive.

17. John (Chico) Savage

There is old Chico.

How do you spell Chico, as in Chico Roll?

As in Chico Roll.

And why Chico, was that his original name?

I think his name was John.

18. Mary Clarke and Dolly Austin

19. Helen Baillie and Hills Hoist

20. Dolly Austin (nee Edwards)

21. Jim Berg's Granny Mary

There is Granny Mary, she died at 105 [years old]…

…What is her traditional background?

She is original Balranald Cummeragunga mob.

Right….

Yeah grandfather's strictly Gundidjmara.

22. Rex Wright and Albert in driveway

23. Dawn Austin and Wilma Clarke (baby unknown)

And who is Wilma Clarke?

Wilma Clarke is the one I gave my $20.00 camera to Yeah, there you go easy come easygo back in those days if you left one job you could start another one next day.

24. Alan Brown, Margaret Brown married to Jimmy Brown, Edna Brown (nee Clarke)

Here we go this is right, Alan Brown, now that is Margaret Brown, she is the wife of Jimmy Brown there and Auntie Edna Brown now Auntie Edna Brown was a Clarke with an 'e'.

OK

Yeah so she and my mum were first cousins. They were passing through because Jim was a plasterer and he went to live up in Queensland.

Oh did he.

Yeah had his own little business up there and they were just passing through.

Right OK

Auntie Edna oh you could fill a book with Auntie Edna's achievements.

What would she do?

Oh she used to run raffles down in Fitzroy for funerals, chook raffles, pay for funerals and help people out in the old days.

So she would have known Helen Baillie from her work in Fitzroy as well I guess?

Yes exactly.

Yeah and would she stay with Helen Baillie or was just visiting for the day?

Yeah, visiting for the day.

25. Aunty Dolly

26. Aunty Dolly, Henrietta Clarke (mum of Jim Berg), Bonnie (Yvonne)

Your mum looks great, what did she do?

She did domestic work.

What area, around Fitzroy?

All around Fitzroy and places like that.

In Prahran or…?

No, she went for a job at Caltex over here opposite the Royal Melbourne Hospital for a job one day and they knocked her back because she wasn't the right type.

Really, how would she deal with something like that?

Back in those days you couldn't do anything.

No, no that's true….Did that ever happen to you?

Oh Yeah, quite a lot thank you.

And how would you deal with it?

I was down at Warrnambool, me and my two cousins, Ian [Clarke] and Lenny [Clarke], we went to a pub, we were knocked back, that was OK so I went back the following week with Ian we were knocked back, I went back with Lenny two weeks later we were knocked back and went back by myself and the publican said I will be with you in a minute oh great I am being served. Five minutes later I had an arm around my wrist and on my shoulder and somebody said three strikes, excuse me let's go. Guess what I did then?

Oh I can guess but I don't want to say. What did you do?

I went back a fourth time.

Did you? And what happened?

I got served because I was a pain in the neck. Guess what I ordered?

I am guessing lemonade or something like that.

Yes, and I didn't smoke.

I remember you telling me a couple of weeks ago. And what did they think of that when you wanted lemonade?

They didn't say anything.

Well good on you for sticking with it.

Lots of little things happen over the years.

Does it still happen, do you think?

It does. It happened up at Benalla a couple of years ago.

Really, to you?

Oh yes.

What happened in Benalla?

Me and the wife were going up to Beechworth so Benalla has got this lovely little bakery so we pulled up at the bakery and had a cuppa and walk up the street and one of these little crazy shops had lots of stuff in it and we walked in and I didn't like the smell and look. So we walked out and walked up to the newsagent and I bought a local newspaper and a little book, so we came back and the wife said oh we will just pop in here for a sec and have a look so we walked in and walked out and walked around to the van and got a tap on the shoulder and he says excuse me could I see your receipt?

For what?

For that book. And the wife's a very placid lady, she said come on. And I said, you don't get a receipt of $9.00, so I said OK we will go back to the shop, he was umming and aahing, so I said ring the police pal, so he rang the police he offered us a seat, he offered us a cup of coffee even, so he was kind of getting a little bit nervous when the police arrived, he rang the police up and the police spoke to me and I said Yeah I will be here waiting for you, they turn up and said do you have any ID? Just a sec I said, oh I said I

worked in the Aboriginal Legal Service for 14½ years, I said I am the President of the Public Records Office, oh let me see. A member of the Adult Parole Board, (I'm pulling these cards out) Inspector of the Archeological Records Group. Oh, and I'm a JP too, oh here is my driver's licence. By that time the owner of the shop thought maybe "I picked on the wrong fella"….

Yeah I'm thinking so.

So I said shall we go up to the newsagent, went up to the newsagent, saw the lad and he said "I remember him quite well". The bloke didn't even apologise.

Very small minded people.

But you dealt with it really well.

Oh yeah, the Policeman said "look I wouldn't even bother going in there again".

So I guess you won't.

No the wife went in and says "Huh". Yeah I didn't expect an apology.

27. Rex Wright and Jim Berg

28. Maisey Lorna Clark, Geoff Clark, Shirley Clark, Violet Clark, on left is John Abrahams

Now here we go, Maisie Lorna Clark without an 'e', her son Geoff Clark.

Oh really, the famous Geoff Clark.

Yes, and that could be Shirley Clark there.

Shirley Clark?

Yeah, the sister of and the little one could be Violet, Yeah and that one over there on the left is Johnny Abrahams he has got that look about him.

And who's that?

Just looks like Johnny Abrahams.

What were they doing at Helen Baillie's?

Just passing through.

29. Rex Wright and girlfriend

30. Rex Wright and Sister June Wright, and … Brown

31. Albert Gunboat Clarke, … Roach, on far left Chris Austin, … Roach, George Wright Jnr, Mousey Lovett, John McGuinness, … Roach, Chico, Dimmy or Archie Roach Snr, Miss Baillie, George Wright, Herb Clarke

OK starting from the top is Albert Gunboat Clarke that is his nickname. Directly in front of him is a Roach, can't think of the name.

The little fella.

Little fella and the one here over here is Chrissy Austin

Chrissy Austin?

Chris Austin Yeah, little one here is another Roach that is George Wright junior

The little baby?

The little baby, this is Mousy Lovett, Johnny McGuinness, did I say this one is another Roach?

Now we shoot over to Chico, and that is either Dimmy or Archie Roach it is probably Archie Roach, Archie Roach's[23] dad.

[23] Archie Roach, the singer/songwriter.

So Archie Roach senior?

Yeah, Miss Baillie and her dog, Georgie Wright and Herb Clark.

So Herb Clark is standing next to Albert Clark, so second from the left in the back?

Well he is to the right of the left.

Great photo what were they doing at Miss Baillie's?

Just passing through.

Yeah, were they staying with her?

Sometimes, but mostly passing.

Lovely garden, it looks like she really cared.

She cared and the photo I was trying to find with Miss Baillie and my grandfather in it and a lot of the other well known Kooris of the day it is not around

32. Lizzie Ismay and Brenda

Right this is Lizzy Ismay, my sister, and

Ismay?

Yeh, Ismay. 'Tomato' we call her.

Tomato, why did you call her tomato?

I don't know. And the little one in front of her is Brenda the other sister. Look at that.

Oh right, so your family would be have been visiting you for the day?

And may stay there for a few days, just passing through.

Yeah, because we used to live in Nyora up in Gippsland.

33. Chico, Auntie Bonnie

34. Maureen Austin

35. Rex Wright, Stan Lowe, Maude Lowe, Robert Lowe, Aunty Amy Lowe (nee Clarke)

36. Dawn Austin, John McGuinness, John Cooper, Jim Berg

37. Helen Baillie, Albert (Gunboat) Clarke, Mum

38. James Wrdie (Dawn Austin's partner)

There you go Mr. James Wrdie. He was Dawn Austin's partner. He had red hair.

39. Robbie Lowe, Granny, Rex Wright, Stan Lowe (girl unknown)

40. Shirley Bloomfield, Yvonne Clark, Austin.

41. Granny, Aunty Dolly, Aunty Mick Clarke, Albert (Gunboat) Clarke

That is Granny, Aunty Dolly, Aunty Mick Clark without an ‘e’, nee Clarke with an ‘e’.

Yeah, Aunty, that is our mum see? Granny and Gunboat out the back is our baby brother he was the baby of the family.

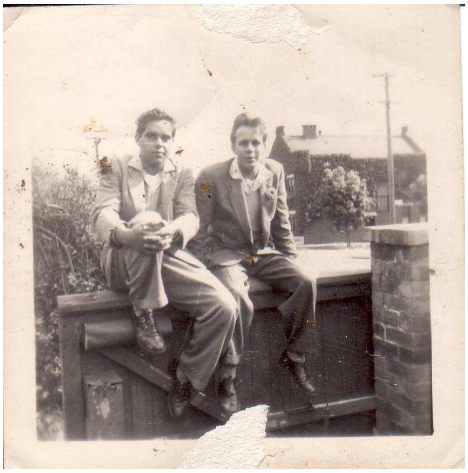
He is the baby of the family.

Auntie Mick is 99, I think, she is still alive.

Really?

The only one in there that is still breathing

42. Esmay, Aunty Dolly, Rhonda, Bonnie Clarke, Mum, George Wright



43. Jim Berg and Rex Wright

Interview Two: The second interview was concerned with the 43 photographs taken at Helen Baillie's house in the mid 1950s.

I was going to ask about possible dates, well…[the photos] are obviously at Helen Baillie's place. What are some of the names?

Oh these photos are around about 50 years old.

They must bring back great memories. It is fantastic to see them

Well I guess you look at some of these photos and think

So, what is in this first photo?

[1][24] Well that is a brick wall there. That is me to the top left hand side, on the right is Maisie Lorna Clark(e) -with an 'e' - no she is without an 'e' because her mum was a Clarke with an 'e' then she married a Clark without an 'e'. Yeah, so Clarke with an 'e' comes from Fram[lingham] and Clark without comes from Lake Condah.

I will put a bracket around the 'e'.

And the young fellow lying down there is Rex Wright. I was a day older than Rex. He died in his mid 30s. Just lounging around in the sunshine.Very nice and that is on her [Helen Baillie's] front lawn.

On her front lawn and in the days before water restrictions I am guessing because you have got the hose going?

Oh yes.

[2]And that is Maisie Lorna Clark again sitting on the fence.

OK so you got these people to pose for photos did you?

Yeah, oh well everybody likes their photo being taken.

You don't like your photo being taken.

No no that's why I own a camera. And it is the only way you can control it. You can have a camera and you can move Judges and anybody where you want to put them by just moving your finger, you over there, you over there, you over there, close in click click.

I see what you are saying about the whole power relationship.

[24] Numbers in square brackets refer to the number on the photo.

The power of the camera.

What was Maisie Clark doing at Helen Baillie's?

Oh she used to work, she was just passing through, she stayed there a few times but she was a worker. Yeah she was.

Oh and what was she working as, just different jobs.

Different jobs yep.

Was she working in the Stonnington area?

Flour mills.

Oh flour mills OK so she stayed occasionally?

She was my big sister.

So she stayed occasionally.

[3] And there is Rex again with me with the camera in the shadow.

Wright or Right?

That's it [Wright]. There is Miss Baillie's car in the garage.

[4] This one here is Yvonne, or Bonnie Clarke, she is an artist. Yeah she has got a little bit religious as well.

She was staying at Miss Baillie's?

Yes off and on, passing through.

Right and what would she do for work?
She had a husband- John Cooper. He worked in the building industry…

She looks lovely I like that outfit.

She has got fuzzy wuzzy hair there.

[5] This one, the top one there is Auntie Dolly Edwards. Or Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards.

And what was she doing at Ms. Baillies'?

Passing through and there is Bonnie again and a couple of dogs there on the front lawn.

Were they Helen Baillie's dogs?

Yes they were.

Do you remember their names?

Nah, it was years ago.

[6] OK we have Rex Wright, Albert Clarke, Maisie Clark's brother and Chico Savage that is in the driveway.

Chico Savage

Yeah, he is from …….. Albert used to work in the building industry as well.

Now one thing about Chico, he stuttered all the time.

Did he?

Yeah, but opened his mouth to sing and it was just like listening to a canary sing just clear as a bell.

They were all just passing through and staying there occasionally?

Passing through occasionally passing through

What was he doing in Melbourne for work when he was in town?

He used to knock around with the uncles. They used to work in the building industry….

[7] Now this is another little photo with my $20.00 camera, that is Granny Mary Clark nee Edwards. She is Auntie Dolly's sister…The one beside her is Wilma Clarke. The little baby there, I am not too sure. This other lady here beside Wilma is Dawn Austin. And there is Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards, and the back one there is Rhonda Clarke. That could be George Wright there.

And they were all staying there as well?

Yeah passing through because that was kind of a meeting place.

Oh, right, so it obviously looks like lots of people were staying with Ms. Baillie on and off. It looks like a lot of fun too.

[8] Lot of fun and there is another one of Albert and his partner or his wife, Albert Clark and Jacqueline.

And he was Albert Clark. In front of Ms. Baillie's car I guess?

[9] Yes that's right and that is Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards, Bonnie Clarke.

Beautiful flower in her hair in that one.

Yeah.

Obviously you really like to control it, did you tell her to put the flower in the hair.

No, no no, she just did that

Yeah, great.

[10] There's Rexy Wright and Jim Berg 18 years old, taken in 1956.

1956, going swimming I guess?

No.

Hanging out in the sun?

Hanging out in the sun, I was working at the Olympic stand at that time with E.A. Watts.

You're very muscly. Been working out obviously, or just working hard like you said?

[11] Yeah. And we have here Shirley Bloomfield, Georgie Wright and Georgie Wright junior, a day old. Yeah or a couple of days old.

Born at Miss Baillie's?

No born at the hospital and they left soon thereafter And young George at the age of 43 I think he was 46, came down from Sydney and he came across to me and he says look I haven't got a photo of me when I was a baby and somebody said you might have one. And I said you come back tomorrow I have not only got one I have got a photo of you in your mum's and dad's arms when you were only a day old. So he came back next day and he just bawled his eyes out. Yep well the first time he has ever seen that photo.

A beautiful photo. She looks very proud.

Very proud.

That was her first baby? Did they have any more children?

No George passed away in his 40s as well….OK [12] three Al Capons here.

It really looks like it…You just need the big machine guns.

Big machine guns. Jim Berg there, Rexy Wright and Alan Brown.

Alan Brown with an e

No without an e. They were all 18, 18 or 19 there.

Wow, where were you going do you remember?

Oh we might have been going out to the movies somewhere.

I wish I lived in the 50s when you had to wear hats. I think they look good.

Oh we were just posing there, we didn't wear hats. Not even overcoats on.

[13] There is Johnny McGuinness there with a bandaid over his eye, I think he was in a blew.

He was staying at Baillie's as well?

Yeah, just passing through because McGuinnesses usually lived in Fitzroy.

[14] There is Maisie Lorna Clark.

[15] And we have got here Rexy Wright, Alan Brown and Miss Baillie.

Oh there is Miss Baillie.

Yeah there is Miss Baillie.

She would have been about 50 by this stage I guess? She looks happy so she had short blonde hair I guess or is it grey hair?

Grey.

Grey hair by now and that would be in 56 or 55 something like that.

Yeah something like that.

[16] There is Alan Brown and Rexy Wright at the side of the house.

It almost looks like you are being Al Capone and sort of hiding out in the scrub to ambush people.

That is Alan Brown, he was about 6, 7 or 8 up at Fram[lingham] over the Hopkins River on the old wooden bridge and they pulled the bridge down and were putting up a concrete and steel bridge and there was four of us Rexy, Albert, Frank and myself went down to the Hopkins River to the bridge and was climbing up the steel pipes and that and he fell and one of the steel rods went through his head and through his leg and we picked him up and carried him up to the grandfather's house and he survived.

Wow, lucky guy.

Very lucky.

Well unlucky to have that happen but lucky

Yeah he was lucky to survive.

[17] There is old Chico.

How do you spell Chico, as in Chico Roll?

As in Chico Roll.

And why Chico, was that his original name?

I think his name was John. [18] There is the two sisters, Granny Mary Clark and Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards they are.

And that is Clark with an e, or

Yes [19] There is Miss Baillie at the clothes line.

At the clothes line. So, would she do all the laundry or would she just do her own?

Do her own.

[20]There is Auntie Dolly Austin nee Edwards. [21] There is Granny Mary, she died at 105 [years old].

Really wow, oh … [the photograph] is in colour.

Yeah, I have a wedding photo of Granny and grandfather.

Wow she must have seen a lot.

She seen a lot yep.

What is her traditional background?

She is original Balranald Cummeragunga mob.

Right. Wow

Yeah grandfather's strictly Gundidjmara.

Right

[22] There is Rexy and Albert outside of Miss Baillie's in her driveway

[23]There is Dawn Austin there don't know who the baby is and Wilma Clarke- with an e

And who is Wilma Clarke?

Wilma Clarke is the one I gave my $20.00 camera to Yeah, there you go easy come easy go back in those days if you left one job you could start another one next day. I worked out a system that if you really wanted to work you would go to the movies Saturday night, after the movies you would go down to the Age, pick the Age up have some spare coins in your pocket and go ring up.

Excellent idea, to see what was going at the time?

Yeah and I was a brickie's labourer and used to ring them up at 2.00 o'clock in the morning and said you have got a job advertised and they would say Yeah you can start Monday.

And they couldn't tell you that you weren't eager…

Eager, many a job I got a 2.00 o'clock in the morning.

Really I am impressed. Fantastic. And it would have been good because you have seen a movie as well.

See the movie kept you up just go down there and Yeah.

Great.

[24] Here we go this is right, Alan Brown, now that is Margaret Brown, she is the wife of Jimmy Brown there and Auntie Edna Brown now Auntie Edna Brown was a Clarke with an 'e'.

OK

Yeah so she and my mum were first cousins. They were passing through because Jim was a plasterer and he went to live up in Queensland.

Oh did he?

Yeah had his own little business up there and they were just passing through.

Right OK

Auntie Edna oh you could fill a book with Auntie Edna's achievements.

What would she do?

Oh she used to run raffles down in Fitzroy for funerals, chook raffles, pay for funerals and help people out in the old days.

So she would have known Helen Baillie from her work in Fitzroy as well I guess?

Yes exactly.

Yeah and would she stay with Helen Baillie or was just visiting for the day?

Yeah, visiting for the day.

Wow and you don't know much about Margaret Brown either

No no, nice lady. [25] There is Auntie Dolly and some weird little guy. I have even got one here with my mum in it.

[26] OK, you have got Auntie Dolly there, you got me mum there, Henrietta Clark and Bonnie or Yvonne, passing through.

Your mum looks great, what did she do?

She did domestic work.

What area, around Fitzroy?

All around Fitzroy and places like that.

In Prahran or …?

No, she went for a job at Caltex over here opposite the Royal Melbourne Hospital for a job one day and they knocked her back because she wasn't the right type.

Really, how would she deal with something like that?

Back in those days you couldn't do anything.

No, no that's true … Did that ever happen to you?

Oh Yeah, quite a lot thank you.

And how would you deal with it?

I was down at Warrnambool, me and my two cousins, Ian [Clarke] and Lenny [Clarke], we went to a pub, we were knocked back, that was OK so I went back the following week with Ian we were knocked back, I went back with Lenny two weeks later we were knocked back and went back by myself and the publican said I will be with you in a minute oh great I am being served. Five minutes later I had an arm around my wrist and on my shoulder and somebody said three strikes, excuse me let's go. Guess what I did then?

Oh I can guess but I don't want to say. What did you do?

I went back a fourth time.

Did you and what happened?

I got served because I was a pain in the neck. Guess what I ordered?

I am guessing lemonade or something like that?

Yes, and I didn't smoke.

I remember you telling me a couple of weeks ago and what did they think of that when you wanted lemonade?

They didn't say anything

Well good on you for sticking with it.

Lots of little things happen over the years.

Does it still happen, do you think?
It does

Yeah

It happened up at Benalla a couple of years ago.

Really, to you?

Oh yes,

What happened in Benalla?

Me and the wife were going up to Beechworth so Benalla has got this lovely little bakery so we pulled up at the bakery and had a cuppa and walk up the street and one of these little crazy shops had lots of stuff in it and we walked in and I didn't like the smell and look. So we walked out and walked up to the newsagent and I bought a local newspaper and a little book, so we came back and the wife said oh we will just pop in here for a sec and have a look so we walked in and walked out and walked around to the van and got a tap on the shoulder and he says excuse me could I see your receipt.

For what?

For that book and the wife's a very placid lady. She said come on and I said, you don't get a receipt of $9.00, so I said OK we will go back to the shop, he was umming and aahing, so I said ring the police pal, so he rang the police he offered us a seat, he offered us a cup of coffee even, so he was kind of getting a little bit nervous when the police arrived, he rang the police up and the police spoke to me and I said Yeah I will be here waiting for you, they turn up and said do you have any ID? Just a sec I said, oh I said I worked in the Aboriginal Legal Service for 14½ years, I said I am the President of the Public Records Office, oh let me see. A member of the Adult Parole Board, (I'm pulling these cards out) Inspector of the Archeological Records Group. Oh, and I'm a JP too, oh here is my driver's licence. By that time the owner of the shop thought maybe "I picked on the wrong fella"….

Yeah I'm thinking so.

So I said shall we go up to the newsagent, went up to the newsagent, saw the lad and he said "I remember him quite well". The bloke didn't even apologise.

Very small minded people.

But you dealt with it really well.

Oh Yeah, the Policeman said "look I wouldn't even bother going in there again".

So I guess you won't.

No the wife went in and says "Huh". Yeah I didn't expect an apology.

[27] That is Rexy Wright and JB.

Oh you are the one leaning on him?

Am I the one leaning on him yes.

Very suave look, great suit

I bought a suit, charcoal grey it was.

Yeah, but that's not charcoal grey.

No no that was a white sports coat.

That is a white sports coat for the movies on a Saturday night I guess.

Used to work down at meat works Portland, came back and forwards.

And the charcoal suit what would you wear the charcoal suit for?

I just bought it because everything I had all my life was hand me downs or secondhand and I had my first pair of secondhand boots when I was about 8 or 9 I think. Bought by my uncle and auntie.

[28] Now here we go, Maisie Lorna Clark without, her son Geoff Clark.

Oh really, the famous Geoff Clark.

Yes, and that could be Shirley Clark there

Shirley Clark?

Yeah, the sister of and the little one could be Violet, Yeah and that one over there on the left is Johnny Abrahams he has got that look about him.

And who's that?

Just looks like Johnny Abrahams.

What were they doing at Helen Baillie's?

Just passing through.

They look like they are in their Sunday best, beautiful suit that she is wearing.

[29] Yep, now this is Rexy Wright and his girlfriend.

You don't know her name I guess.

No, it could be Maureen Webster, no, no.

That's alright. They look rather happy.

I have been trying to, this one, [30] that's Rexy Wright and that is his sister, Jean Wright and on the tip of the tongue that is why I left her till last, but I can't remember her name…she is a Brown Yeah, she still works down at the Aboriginal Health Service.

OK, it will come to you I am sure, if you don't think about it it will come to you.

Yeah, probably won't come to me.

OK well if I get a call at 2.00 a.m. in the morning I will know it is you.

[31] OK starting from the top is Albert Gunboat Clarke that is his nickname. Directly in front of him is a Roach, can't think of the name.

The little fella.

Little fella and the one here over here is Chrissy Austin.

Chrissy Austin.

Chris Austin Yeah, little one here is another Roach that is George Wright junior

The little baby?

The little baby, this is Mousy Lovett, Johnny McGuinness, did I say this one is another Roach?

Ah you might have.

Now we shoot over to Chico, and that is either Dimmy or Archie Roach it is probably Archie Roach, Archie Roach's dad.

So Archie Roach senior?

Yeah, Miss Baillie and her dog, Georgie Wright and Herb Clark.

So Herb Clark is standing next to Albert Clark, so second from the left in the back.

Well he is to the right of the left.

Great photo what were they doing at Miss Baillie's?

Just passing through.

Yeah, were they staying with her?

Sometimes passing but mostly passing.

Lovely garden, it looks like she really cared.

She cared and the photo I was trying to find with Miss Baillie and my grandfather in it and a lot of the other well known Kooris of the day it is not around

Oh that is OK, that is the way it goes. That is fantastic though, must bring back good memories.

Too old to remember.

---

[32] Right this is Lizzy Ismay, my sister and …

Ismay,

Yeah, Ismay. 'Tomato' we call her.

Tomato, why did you call her tomato?

I don't know. And the little one in front of her is Brenda the other sister. Look at that.

Oh right, so your family would be have been visiting you for the day?

And may stay there for a few days, just passing through.

Yeh, because we used to live in Nyora up in Gippsland.

Yep. So they would call in and say hi?

[33] Yep, there is Aunty Dolly, Chicka and Bonnie there. [34] Now this is Maureen Austin.

Maureen Austin, oh beautiful.

Just taken out at the park. Sister Ellis- she is now in Western Australia, she is involved I think she is involved in the Salvation Army.

OK and which park would that be at do you know?

Probably just down the hill.

Beautiful necklace she has got.

[35] To the left is Rex then there is Sandy Lowe, Sam White

Sam White with an 'e' on it?

Sam White with an e on it, ah Judy Lowe, and Robert Lowe and Amy Lowe nee Clarke. Yeh, I think that's Judy or is it Maudy. It is probably Maudy Lowe. Judy came along later so Maudy Lowe.

Maude OK

[36] Now that is Dawn Austin, Boori [child] unknown, Johnny McGuinness, John Cooper who married Yvonne or Vonny Clarke and JB.

So who as the little boy on the right?

Don't know.

[37] Miss Bailey, Uncle Gunboat Albert Clarke and me mum.

Great. Oh it is a great photo.

[38] There you go Mr. James Wrdie. He was Dawn Austin's partner. He had red hair.

Did he?

Yeh.

[39] There you go, Robbie Lowe, Granny

Granny in the front.

Yeh, on the seat, directly behind her is Rexy Wright and Danny Lowe

And the girl?

[40] No idea. You have got Shirley Bloomfield, Bonnie Clarke or Yvonne Clarke and Aunty Dolly.

There is one we didn't do. [41] That is Granny, Aunty Dolly, Aunty Mick Clark without an 'e', nee Clarke with an 'e'.

Yeh, Aunty that is our mum see. Granny and Gunboat out the back is our baby brother he was the baby of the family.

He is the baby of the family.

Auntie Mick is 99, I think, she is still alive.

Really, great, that's great.

The only one in there that is still breathing.

Still going. Going strong I guess.

Oh no she is in a home. [42] OK here's one we have Esmay, my sister, Auntie Dolly there and one in the front is Rhonda the wee one, and then there is Bonnie Clarke, the one in the centre directly behind that is me mum and Georgie Wright.

Great

All family one way or the other so sister, sister, first cousin, first cousin, auntie and auntie.

OK, great

[43]That's me and I think we have got enough of me.

Oh you can never have enough of you. So that is you and Rex is it, yeh

And that is the sports jacket.

That's the sports jacket.

Appendix 1.2 Keith Gove, President of Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation

Keith Gove was born in England in 1953. He arrived in Australia with his parents when he was 6 years old. He lived most of his early years in the Frankston region, before he moved to Malvern East during his 20s. He lived there with his partner, Ro Bailey, until 2000. Prior to his involvement with Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation (SCR), Keith had limited knowledge of Australian Indigenous history or culture. His interest in reconciliation and Indigenous rights lead to him joining the SCR in 1999. After one year of membership of the SCR, Keith became the President of the group. SCR has successfully promoted Indigenous culture at various events, and has recently provided pivotal assistance with the establishment of Stonnington Council's Reconciliation Action Plan. Keith has noted that he ultimately sees the SCR as fulfilling two critical roles: the first is to raise awareness in the Stonnington community of social justice, reconciliation and Indigenous cultures; and the second is to provide a forum for learning more about Indigenous cultures. Through Keith and other members, SCR contributes to statewide forums on reconciliation.

Keith Gove was interviewed by Laura Kostanski on 13 June 2006. A full transcription of the interview follows.

Thank you for meeting me today Keith. I just want to start off by asking where you were born. Were you born in the Stonnington region?

I was born in England.

Where were you born in England?

Near London. South-east of England. Came to Australia with my parents when I was six. I lived mostly down around Frankston growing up. Most of my more recent adult life nearly 20 years lived in Stonnington.

Where in Stonnington have you lived?

East Malvern near Dandenong Road down near Caulfield Institute, Toorak Park, Chadstone, Darling Road and Dandenong Road and we recently moved from there to where I now live. But certainly most of my last 20 years so have been in Stonnington.

Before being involved with Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation did you undertake any work with indigenous Australians prior to this time?

No.

Keith Gove, photographed 13 June 2006 by Laura Kostanski

No never at all and were you aware of the Boonwurrung or Woiwurrung history of the Stonnington region?

No. I was interested in and committed to the general issues of indigenous rights and reconciliation and disadvantages that Indigenous people face and all of that caused by white settlement but not very informed about the details of that or locals or indigenous groups.

How did you become involved with Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation and when did that happen, when did you become involved?

The late 1990s there was the group itself had been established, my partner and I were not involved in establishing it another group of people established it out of a University of the Third Age (U3A) course.

Oh, it came out of a University of the Third Age course?

They ran a study circle which was a kit that the then Reconciliation of Australia or the forerunner of Reconciliation of Australia were making available to the public generally. There was a sort of a do it yourself learning circle around reconciliation and the group of people in U3A used that as the basis of a course within U3A and they did the course ran that learning circle themselves and at the end of that developed a commitment to the cause and from that liaised with the local councils to establish a group of volunteer Citizens for Reconciliation. The establishment of Citizens For Reconciliation was a reasonably general development so there is a dozen now or 20 Citizens For Reconciliation in different local areas and so the Stonnington one built on the model that was being used in other areas. But that was started by about half a dozen of the people who attended and participated in the U3A course.

Great and do you know the names of these people?

I can get them to you.

That would be great

Certainly, Kath Higgins who still is with our group was the main initiator of it then. She was the inaugural president of the group when it started up and did, I think, most of the liaison with local council to establish it, got the initial grant and then established it into an incorporated body. There are another half a dozen names I will e-mail those to you.

That would be great if you could and when do you think it came out of the U3A and became the actual Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation?

1998 or 1999 I can get the exact date. I think we just had our second AGM so that is about right 1999.

Why did you become involved?

Because of the interest in indigenous rights one of the more obvious causes that needed support and there was an opportunity to try and make it better. That group had been going for maybe a year a bit under and they advertised in the local paper saying meetings were on so my partner, Ro and I went along saw the ad and went along to one of the meetings and kept being involved after that and it was a relatively small group half a dozen core people and sometimes a bit more and sometimes a bit less and within the year coming up to the AGM which was probably the second AGM, for a range of reasons, it seemed appropriate for me to become president at people's request and …

What do you see as the purpose or the goal of the group and I am guessing that has developed over time over the past six or so years?

Yeah, it's technical as its specific objectives as an organisation…I can't remember off hand but …in essence it is around raising awareness in the community about reconciliation about indigenous culture, creating a climate for other changes to occur as appropriate as determined by indigenous communities the issue of treaty, the issue of land rights, the issue of fair treatment, it is a relatively conservative community and I see part of our role as a conscience raising and highlighting to the community the positive aspects of indigenous cultures.

What are some of the activities the group has been involved in?

Did a lot of work with schools early on.

What sort of work were you doing?

Making resources available to them, running activities in an indigenous performance. One year there were a couple of hundred primary students who came to a concert, an indigenous cultural expo thing with people like Kutcha Edwards and others who performed and told stories and danced.

What year was that?

It would have been early 2000 I suppose. In 2001 another activity was a cultural expo to be held at the Prahran Town Hall part of our funding that we get from Stonnington Council is use of the Town Halls when we need it and we ran an expo with 20 or so different groups represented and again performers [and] artwork.

Where were the groups from?

A variety of places

All over Australia?

No, mostly Victorian urban but some outlying areas, Healesville… just a variety…

And how did you get in contact with these groups?

Using networks Reconciliation Victoria, Koorie Heritage Trust, contacts that we had developed, people in the community developed over the few years. One of the things the monthly group did was to bring speakers in, such as the bloke who does the tours of the botanic gardens, Dean Stewart. So there were connections like that so from the more obvious ones the ones with higher profiles we got contact with other people. So, there was sort of a network for it. So we were able to use those contacts to get in touch.

Excellent, so once a month you have a guest speaker give a talk to your group?

We have a meeting and some of the meetings we have guest speakers we have a guest speaker every second month roughly of various sorts not always indigenous but quite often indigenous people from had one or two from Bunjilaka and Melbourne Museum. Bernie Mullane not indigenous but significant player in local government ……. various people from over the years.

You have had the cultural expo in 2000/2001? Or were the indigenous performances in 2000/2001 when you had the expo? When was the expo at the Prahran Town Hall?

Around the same time I can get precise dates

Have you done any other specific activities?

There have been others with small ones, the annual reconciliation week annual events with local libraries and displays to highlight the events. For the last few years it has taken longer than we would have liked but it has consumed a bit of our time. For the last three years we have been working with Stonnington Council on their action plan, from which the history project is a part. So, as a small group we have taken the view that as a small group a fair few of whom are older people, not a lot of resources and not a tonne of energy and so we have to be very strategic about what we do and it has been our view that to work with council and get council to take up its responsibilities was probably the most effective way we could act so we worked with and on Council on their back for the last two or three years has been our main focus and that has been very effective and good on council for coming to the party

How did you get the action plan into place? How did you convince council it needed an action plan?

Yeah good question we just kept plugging away really met with senior officers, councillors, wrote to them saying It's NAIDOC week, you should have a flag raising now you have had a flag raising you should do some more concerted strategy for doing this work. Other councils are-you don't want to be the only council that is not and in fact

the approach that council has taken as I said the approach Council has taken has been pretty innovative.

So I am guessing it is because you have taken a softly softly approach and slowly asking for things to happen that it has worked?

The other part of the process that helped us was working with the local member Johan Scheffer and his main officer, Vivien Gunn, his office who have had a significant contribution for our work and supported us through doing photocopying and facilitating the needs of the group. But they also helped broker meetings between us and a couple of the mayors over time so that has helped create a climate to make the work easier and a couple of officers such as Jacqui O'Brien, Lisa Stafford who have been very supportive and we through them, employed Phil Egan, he was employed through consultation in the Stonnington Group and local people and council and councillors to develop a draft action plan so that took a while. That was a couple of years ago and out of that came the action plan that is now in place and the documentation for local indigenous history, flag-raising. We have also used, as part of all this, the annual Stonnington Multicultural Festival (VIVA), around November. We have a stall there every year; again as part of the increasing the profile raising awareness we have suggested and were successful in having indigenous performers as part of VIVA, that they have a range of multicultural performances, indigenous performers. So I think your point is right about not being too radical being a successful strategy in Stonnington. We are sort of reasonably decent law abiding citizens, reasonable and sensible, and you know it is just a matter of plugging away.

Well it has obviously paid off. It is a fantastic history to have as well. Would you say that there have been some prominent citizens of Stonnington who have been involved in the group?

Indirectly, not as members of the group. But, certainly lending support, moral and other support practical support. A couple of councillors who have been around for a long time have been supportive when matters have gone to Council, they have been supportive when we have run activities, we get a reasonable turn up to our AGM.

How many people would you say would turn up?

Oh we often get for us a reasonable turn up of 20 odd people to AGMs. Last year in particular was most successful. The council, the mayor launched the action plan and we had the State Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Gavan Jennings came as well partly to support the launch of the actual plan and partly to speak about the Government's approach to it so that was again assisted through the local member but at that we had three or four councillors who came. So there, has been a few.

What are the names of these councillors?

Claude Ullin, Chris Gahan, a couple of others I will have to get their names. And the Mayor, Sarah Davies last year, this year Anne O'Shea has continued the support. They both met with us as a group, and this has been again a good sign of interest

What do you see as the future of the group?

Yeah that is a good question we do a bit of work with Reconciliation Victoria done a bit or work with them, RV hold a bi-monthly meeting for a couple of hours on a Saturday of State wide meeting of local groups so there is a dozen to 20 Reconciliation and ANTAR (Australian Native Title and Reconciliation) groups but they are local groups in lots of indigenous communities … The ideal answer to your question is that we would like to have more members and ideally some younger people not young young people but some 30 and 40 year olds would be good, people with some energy and some networks and so on, we have been trying. We advertise in the paper every week, do other things every month and try and get people along. It doesn't appear to be the sort of thing that many people want to get involved in. I think there is a lot of general support for reconciliation the general concept, not enough for people to be involved in. I think that is a challenge for the movement over all, and for us one of the strategies is to work with our neighbouring reconciliation groups, Port Phillip, Boroondara, Bayside. Each of which is pretty small, but Port Phillip is pretty big. Our main strategy is to do more work with them jointly. One of the difficulties we have, as do most of the groups, is involvement with indigenous people, we don't have any indigenous people in our group, never have, we have had speakers but not actual members. Stonnington has a small number of indigenous people-less than 200 in the centres and involving elders in formal activities is very difficult because they are very busy and there is a lot of demands on their time and we might even use the same strategy to raise the idea with council of doing more things with neighbouring councils to do more of a regional approach.

Or a holistic approach rather than a small fragment within a council

The council boundaries bear no resemblance, as your study will show bear no resemblance to the traditional owners' boundaries and if three or four local councils are trying to negotiate with Joy Murphy or whoever around the issues then it is a splintive approach. It draws on their time or multiple calls of their time and it is all the same land so that regional approach is something we will explore over the next little while. It is one way of making our group or our groups more sustainable and more effective. More effective liaison I suppose between indigenous and non indigenous cultures recognising that they've got considerable demands on their time. And as the Camp Sovereignty issue raised, the issues that we face, and as your study will surely show, it is complex even the varied debates within the indigenous community about who are the traditional owners of and especially border areas, and for any one individual council or local group like ours to attempt to resolve that in isolation is fraught with complexities and political intra-Indigenous politics as well as black/white politics. I think very few local councils, let alone local groups, have got the resources to resolve that. These need to be resolved on a

larger scale so getting the neighbouring councils to pool their resources to deal with those issues just seems. This is only an idea developed reasonably recently in the last year, and this will be a powerful way of progressing land every council trying to do its own thing.

So really your plan would be much the same as how you run the Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation to start smaller and branch out so you started that on a microscale with the Stonnington Citizens with getting the council to recognise slowly bit by bit and so now you are getting the plan together and the history being written that is the small part and now you can branch out and start melding and getting bigger.

Well in a way what we would expect the …

So sort of an organic growth

Yes, yes we've been a little bit disappointed in some of the State Government decisions and totally disappointed in the Federal Government. So, assume that because nothing works at the Federal level would reverse the issue you know what I mean going backwards at a national level. State Government there has been some developments but not as much as we would have liked, but yes growing the group with local government is promising, broadening the circle where we work. And as you get across local government boundaries that start to raise state wide issues. And as your work will show, some of the issues require state wide solutions, state wide negotiations and we would work through local councils and groups like VLGA, Victorian Local Government Association to start to use that pressure on the state government as well who I think are open to the sorts of thinking that we have. We just haven't seen the type of innovations that we would like. So yes, the sort of work that you have got in your history, would provide the basis for us to work with other local councils because it becomes obvious that the issues don't stop at the Council boundaries, the Yarra doesn't for example and indigenous culture is not the only one so yeah we would see that political influence reaching out. And without suggesting though that we would have keep our local council, local government continually involved and on side one of the small risks of doing things jointly is that there could be a little less kudos for the core councils and real politics suggests they have to be getting something out of it for themselves, so we have to keep that in mind what Stonnington….

Stonnington can get from it compared to the regional aspects so you need so keep it specific as general as well, interesting task you have got ahead. Do you enjoy the work?

Oh it is very interesting it is very satisfying to feel that we led to something like your work to… what we will be doing with Council…you are going to present that report or will we see some evidence of it at our July meeting with Ian and myself. We will talk with, I am going to meet with Lisa Stafford, the Council Officer, in the next couple of weeks or week to evaluate the action plan to evaluate the end of each year the valuation and plan a bit of the next year's work we would see the promulgation of that context as a

key issue for the next 12 months. The 06/07 plan and how do we make it available to schools? How do we make it available to residents etc? My feeling is just from the quick look I have had at it that there is a lot of material there and a challenge for us to make it digestible for people and that is very satisfying to a) have that raw material of a history of an area which would not have been done basically without our group involvement and then to have a role in advising how that might be made available to the Stonnington residents.

It would be, it would be especially because the histories of Prahran that have been published before have had about three mentions about Aboriginal people.

Oh absolutely. The thing is, they had a bicentenary activity which had little bollards, or historical markers throughout Prahran and Malvern at least. I don't know if it was all of Stonnington with about 100 of these markers. Not one of them was indigenous, there was one mention at one place that had some connection with indigenous history and it is just such a glaring [omission]… It is as if nothing existed before white settlement…And that is absolutely the tactic we will take. We will keep plugging that it needs to be a whole of Council approach and that this is a problem I think. Most likely in the Council's there will be one or two officers who won't commit and depending on where those officers sit in the organisation structure, that part of the council will be terrific in arts and culture. If it is in something else, that part of it sport and rec, they excel them. It's more challenging to get a whole of council approach and that is what we will be doing. This again will provide an opportunity I think rather than some of the ideas out of the study through a range of council activities, and we will just keep encouraging them to do that.

So you plan to be with Stonnington and Citizens for Reconciliation for a while obviously?

It seems like it. But as I say it is satisfying and the work that we have done so far it is terrific to build on. So yeah, I think we are in for the long haul.

I am going to ask is there anything in particular you would like to let me know about the Stonnington Citizens for Reconciliation that I haven't asked about?

You have pretty well covered all of it, partly to repeat what I have said but it is interesting how a small group of dedicated people can make change. That is another thing that pleases me about being involved with the group of people. It is just a terrific group of people, small group of, most of us have been involved for sometime now …….. and most of us for a good few years now. So we're very committed, attend most of the time. 95 percent of the meetings are a small group of people and they have contributed to all. And I think like me they are all non-indigenous, there is none of them that are indigenous, they are just some from a Church background, others have a significant involvement in local government generally. You know it is a cause that they believe in and want to learn. There is two parts to it, one is the injustices done to indigenous people and needing to or wanting to right that, fix it. But, the other is what we can learn and so that is a sort of social justice. The other is what we can learn from different cultures the

cultural, spiritual and use of the world. Dream time, just different ways of thinking about lots of things that we can learn from. I found that interesting. I know my partner has and I think most of the group, probably all of the group find, you know they learn. We learn from an exposure to the cultures of the first people. It's different ways of looking at the world. I am very interested in the film that has just been released 10 Canoes to see, I don't know much about it, but I expect that we will be confronted with some of that, very different ways of thinking about the land, our relationship with the land for example. So I think that is just the point now: that our group and the commitment that the group has had, what we get out of it and the effect we have in the community which has been pleasing.

Appendix 1.3 Notes on Benbow

Bullourd, also known as King Benbow and Little Benbow, is another very important Yalukit-willam leader (see Figure 2.1). He was associated with John Batman and John Pascoe Fawkner in the 1830s, a member of the Native Police Corps in 1842, and closely associated with Chief Protector George Robinson in the latter part of the 1840s.

In 1836, he regularly went fishing with Fawkner and others (Billot 1982: 62); and in July 1836, he joined in the search for the Aboriginal killers of Charles Franks and his servant, Flinders (Cannon 1982: 47). When he was employed by John Batman, he built a hut on Batman's land where he lived with his wife 'Kitty' (Campbell 1987: 207). In January 1845, he retrieved the body of eight year old John Charles Batman, son of John and Eliza Batman, who had drowned at the Yarra Falls (Campbell 1987: 227).

In September 1840, Benbow became frustrated that he was not allowed to pitch his camp wherever he wished in Melbourne. With Betbengai, he protested this injustice and recalled their cooperation with Europeans (Fels 1988: 71-2). The two men:

> relate all their good services to white people in past days … that he and the Port Phillip blacks kept the Barrabool blacks from killing all white men, and that he get blackfellows that kill first white men, now many white people come and turn blackfellow away … Big Benbow almost crying … now [Europeans say] go away, go away … soldier say no good that. I again tell them that they make *willums* [bark huts] on white man's ground, and cut off bark … make white man sulky … they say no [not] white man's ground, black man's.

In 1842 he joined the Native Police Corps, because he was 'apparently too important a man to keep out (Fels 1988: 55)'. William Thomas recalled that, although he was only in the Native Police Corps for a short time, he was 'seldom seen out of uniform, which was generally that of a commissariat in full dress, except the cocked hat. Mr Erskine used invariably to give him his left-off uniform, and Benboo never shrank when he wanted uniform from asking for it (Bride 1983: 405-6)'.

During 1846-48, Benbow was closely associated with Chief Protector Robinson, and for a time, was employed at the Chief Protector's office, as 'messenger'. During this time he visited the Snowy River in Gippsland; brought Ganai people to Melbourne; and provided Robinson with information on the Boonwurrung. In January 1848, he sailed to Geelong to visit a Boonwurrung woman named Nan-nat-goor-rut, who had been abducted from near Mt Eliza (Clark 2000b).

In March 1848, Benbow told Thomas, 'Me been very bad, two gentlemen yesterday make me drunk, and me break a good white man's window … me pay and he no sulky, me sorry'. Benbow returned 'with good grace having paid for the window (Cannon 1993: 165)'.

In March 1849, Benbow resolved to see Superintendent La Trobe to ask for a country for the Boonwurrung. Thomas tried to dissuade him, but Benbow insisted he 'would send up his brass plate (meaning a card)'. Benbow stood outside all day but was not admitted.

JW Miller remembered that King Benbow used to hold court at his father's brewery in Bourke Street, Melbourne, in the late 1840s. 'They would borrow a cask from the brewer and make what they called 'rum' by soaking sugar mats in water, the resulting liquor having apparently the same effect on them as real intoxicant (Grieg 1917-18: 188)'.

Benbow died at Little Brighton, *en route* to Mordialloc, on 5 July 1852. Thomas recalled his companions, who had been drunk for three days previous, had neglected him (Bride 1983: 405-6).

Appendix 1.4 published journal paper on Derrimut

'You have all this place, no good have children …' Derrimut: traitor, saviour, or a man of his people?

Associate Professor Ian D. Clark
School of Business
University of Ballarat

Abstract

This paper reassesses the importance of Derrimut in the early history of the settlement of Melbourne. Along with Benbow and Billibellary, Derrimut is a significant Aboriginal leader in the early history of Melbourne. His memorial stone in the Melbourne General Cemetery attests to his significance. He is without a doubt a controversial and colourful figure, and his actions were instrumental in preventing a massacre of John Pascoe Fawkner's party in late 1835, yet William Buckley wanted to spear him for his actions. Other commentators have considered him a traitor, a collaborator, a go-between, and the saviour of Melbourne. These perspectives are all found wanting in this new analysis.

The importance of Derrimut in the early history of the settlement of Melbourne cannot be overstated. Along with Benbow and Billibellary, Derrimut is a significant Aboriginal leader in the early history of Melbourne. Numerous Internet sites attest to his significance[i], and Eidelson's guide to Aboriginal places in Melbourne includes Derrimut's memorial stone in the Melbourne General Cemetery as a site of significance. Derrimut is the subject of a short biographical piece published by C. Tudehope in 1963, and he is discussed in biographies of leading European men – such as John Batman and John Pascoe Fawkner, in secondary sources such as local histories of Prahran and Altona; in histories of Coranderrk and of the Native Police Corps, and general histories of Victoria[ii]. Primary sources that refer to Derrimut include the journals of Fawkner, the journals and papers of Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate officials: George Augustus Robinson, and William Thomas, and official government reports[iii].

He is without a doubt a controversial and colourful figure. His actions were instrumental in preventing a massacre of John Pascoe Fawkner's party in late 1835. William Buckley wanted to spear him for his actions[iv]; Massola[v] considered he was a traitor; Christie[vi] a collaborator; Christiansen[vii] 'a go-between', Griffiths[viii] a person who 'crossed the boundary' and 'betrayed his people', and Barwick[ix] 'the saviour of Melbourne'. However, these judgements need to be balanced against his actions in the late 1850s and early 1860s when he unsuccessfully fought to protect Boonwurrung rights to live on their traditional country at Mordialloc. When this reserve was finally taken from his people in July 1863, Barwick[x] asserts Derrimut became half-crazed with remorse, and drank himself to death within the year.

Derrimut was a Yalukit-willam clan-head, whose name is believed to mean 'to pursue', or 'to hunt'[xi]. The name Yalukit-willam probably means 'river camp' or 'river dwellers'[xii]. A second name was recorded by Robinson[xiii] who noted that Buddy-barre, meaning salt water or sea, was the name of Derrimut's tribe because his country was near the sea; although this may be an alternate to the language name, Boonwurrung. The Yalukit-willam were associated with the coastal tract at the head of Port Phillip Bay extending to the Werribee River, and included Williamstown, Port Melbourne, St. Kilda, and Prahran[xiv]. They were one of six Boonwurrung clans.

Specific sites in the Yalukit-willam estate personally associated with Derrimut included the south bank of the Yarra River, from the punt at South Yarra to the Yarra wharf, where steamers moored[xv]. The specific entries in Robinson's journal and papers are as follows:

'Bare.rar.run: Derrimart's country'[xvi];
'My bank W. belongs to Derrimart'[xvii];
'Naarm, or Narm, or Nearm, where the steamer stops, belongs to Derremot'[xviii].

In the 1858 evidence presented by magistrate William Hull (see below), Derrimut also described the site of the Bank of Victoria, in Swanston Street, between Collins and Flinders streets, in Melbourne's central business district, in the following terms: '… he pointed … to the Bank of Victoria, he said, "You see, Mr Hull, Bank of Victoria, all this mine, all along here Derimut's once'[xix].

The Yalukit-willam people spoke the Boonwurrung language. *Boon* being their distinctive word for 'no', and *wurrung* meaning 'lips', 'mouth', and 'language'. 'Boonwurrung' is used, rather than 'Bunwurrung' or 'Bunerong', so that we stop mispronouncing the first vowel as the vowel of *sun*, *pun*, etc[xx]. Howitt described Boonwurrung country as

> … A strip of country from the mouth of the Werribee River, and including what is now Williamstown and the southern suburbs of Melbourne, belonged to the Bunurong, a coast tribe, which occupied the coast line from there round Hobson's Bay to Mordialloc, the whole of the Mornington Peninsula, and the coast from Westernport Bay to Anderson's Inlet[xxi].

The Boonwurrung were amongst the first of Victoria's indigenous peoples to have contact with Europeans. In October 1803, Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins arrived at Port Phillip Bay from England with 300 convicts and 50 marines and established a settlement on Boonwurrung land at what is now Sorrento, on the Mornington Peninsula. Amongst the passengers were convict William Buckley and 11-year-old John Pascoe Fawkner. When William Buckley escaped from the Sorrento settlement in 1803, and eventually settled with the Wathawurrung-balug clan near Geelong, he travelled around the Bay on Boonwurrung land and is almost certain to have passed through Yalukit-willam country. Buckley and Fawkner later figure prominently in the history of the Yalukit-willam people.

Aboriginal people along the southern coasts of the continent had to cope with repeated incursions by sealers and possibly whalers between 1800 and 1834. Forceful clashes with Aboriginal men and forced intimacy with the women were common. In one known instance in 1833, four women were seized at Point Nepean by sealers who took them to their permanent camps on one of the Bass Strait islands[xxii]. They were the wives or close kin of Ningerranaro, Derrimut, his brother and his sister's son. Nan.der.goroke was the name of Derrimut's abducted wife[xxiii].

The Yalukit-willam numbered about 40 in 1830[xxiv]. In the early 1840s, there were five leading men, including two clan-heads (*Arweet*): Derrimut and Ningerranaro, and the latter's three sons – Budderup (Big Benbow), Boollut (Little Benbow, King Benbow), and Mungara (Mr Man).

The Yalukit-willam people were intimately associated with John Batman when he founded the Melbourne settlement in June 1835. It is Diane Barwick's[xxv] thesis, that Batman's 1835 'treaties' with the leaders of clans, including the Yalukit-willam, near Melbourne are an example of how permission for temporary access was granted in a ritual exchange of gifts and formal presentation of tokens (soil, plants, water, food) symbolising the owners' hospitality. Batman's treaty overtures were, therefore, probably perceived by the Woiwurrung and Boonwurrung clan-heads as an amateurish attempt at initiating the required *tanderrum* (freedom of the bush) ritual. The boundaries indicated in the Batman treaties approximate the country of the Yalukit-willam and the

Wurundjeri-baluk, and two Wathawurrung clans near Geelong with whom they inter-married[xxvi].

The Yalukit-willam's positive relationships with Europeans continued with the arrival of John Pascoe Fawkner and his party in July 1835. The relationship was so significant that the clan-head, Derrimut, warned Fawkner on two occasions of an impending Aboriginal attack on Fawkner's party. The first was a general warning of intention on 28 October 1835, when wrote Fawkner[xxvii] 'The Blacks we learnt intended to murder us for our goods'. The second, on 13 December 1835, was more specific. 'Derramuck came this day and told us that the natives intended to rush down upon us and plunder our goods and murder us, we cleaned our pieces and prepared for them … I and two others chased the Blacks away some distance[xxviii]'. Derrimut's warnings ensured that Fawkner's party was able to arm themselves in time to prevent the attack. Fawkner later recalled:

> I do not believe that one of us would have escaped. But fortunately for us the Melbourne party of Aborigines were favourable to us. They felt thankful for the things we gave them, and the lad Wm Watkins that belonged to us, took kindly to the Blacks and they to him, he taught them words of our language and very readily learnt theirs, and two of these sons of the soil, named Baitbanger and Darrimart formed a friendship with him and the latter told Watkins of the plan to murder the whole party, in order to possess themselves of our goods etc etc etc. Watkins could not make out the words used by Derrimart, who appeared much excited. I therefore called Buckley to explain what information the boy Watkins could not make out. Buckley having been 32 years with these blacks understood their language fully, and he at once declared that the Aborigines had agreed to murder all the white people by getting two or more of their fighting men alongside of each of our people, and upon a given signal each of us were to be cut down by blows on the head with their stone tomahawks, and the half savage Buckley declared that if he had his will he would spear Darrimart for giving the information[xxix].

Fawkner's recollection that Buckley wanted to spear Derrimut for divulging the information is curious. Until Buckley translated Derrimut's warnings, Watkins and Fawkner had no understanding of what Derrimut was saying, and Buckley could easily have mistranslated his words and ensured that the said attacks proceeded unhindered.

The entries in Fawkner's diary would suggest the purpose of the attack was simply to acquire the goods brought by the Europeans. Christie[xxx], however, has suggested the planned attack was a reaction to the fact that Fawkner's party had taken Aboriginal land without as much as a token payment. The land it seemed was to be stolen, and not shared, and Christie considers the Kulin peoples may have decided to wipe out the Europeans before their numbers became even larger. It is not possible to confirm Christie's interpretation that the intended massacre was retributive. Tudehope[xxxi] believes a 'massacre would have caused the withdrawal of any possible survivors and the settlement of Port Phillip could well have been delayed for years'. There is no doubt that contemporary observers shared Tudehope's perspective, for upon Derrimut's death the words they had inscribed in his tombstone referred to his noble actions that saved the first colonists from massacre.

The identity of the attackers is unclear. The people responsible for Derrimut's mortuary stone identified them as 'up-country tribes'; Fawkner, however, in his journal did not identify whom they were, other than to infer that they did not belong to the 'Melbourne party of Aborigines'. The eastern Kulin groups who gathered in Melbourne at this time included Boonwurrung, Woiwurrung, Daungwurrung, Wathawurrung, and Djadjawurrung peoples. In the mid-1830s, there were tensions between the Wathawurrung and the Woiwurrung as evidenced by Batman's reluctance to work with the Woiwurrung, however relations between the Boonwurrung and Wathawurrung were convivial. The explanation may simply be that the attackers were from eastern Kulin groups who had not formed a relationship with Fawkner's party, and therefore there were no impediments to an attack aimed at securing their goods.

Accounting for Derrimut's actions is equally complex. Priestley[xxxii] considers it is possible he was 'protecting recognised access rights against violation by people who had not been party to the agreement. Since Batman had explained that he was a forerunner for other white people who would come in ships, no distinction was made by Aborigines between his associates and the Fawkner party'. Barwick would have us understand that Derrimut may have been guaranteeing Fawkner's safety in accordance with traditional Kulin access rights. 'Visitors who had no entitlement could also seek formal permission from clan-heads for temporary access. The safety of all approved visitors was guaranteed. The system worked because reciprocity was the guiding principle of land and resource management[xxxiii]'. The rewards that Derrimut received from Fawkner -'we gave him clothes and food not only then, but have continued to do so until the present time[xxxiv]' – may support this interpretation. However, the view that Derrimut was protecting his friend and Fawkner's adopted son[xxxv], William Watkins, from being murdered, and that this is why he disclosed the plot to Watkins, to ensure his safety, is also too simplistic.

However, these interpretations are made in ignorance of the fragment in Thomas's papers that identify the warnings as the outcome of discussions between Derrimut, Ningerranaro, Billibellary, and Bet Banger, reveals that Derrimut was not acting alone. The warnings were sanctioned by the leading Yalukit-willam and Wurundjeri-baluk clan-heads, and they need to be understood in this light.

Applying some of the literature on cross-cultural interaction, it may be possible to understand Derrimut as a 'culture-broker' or as an indigenous person succumbing to a non-indigenous culture in ways consistent with the 'demonstration effect'[xxxvi]. Though normally seen as 'marginal-men', culture-brokers control and manipulate local culture for the purposes of the exotic other, and through acquisition of a second language and through providing some kind of service to the colonisers, they often experience economic mobility and are more highly compensated than the monolinguals of their community. This term only partly applies to Derrimut, for it would be wrong to see him as 'marginal' within his community, for he was an 'arweet', a clan-head and was far from marginal.

Derrimut's willingness to wear European clothing, to drink European grog, and to use European weapons, are examples of changing value systems and attitudes and may be an

example of the demonstration effect at work where youths in particular are susceptible to external influence and 'voluntarily' seek to adopt certain behaviours and accumulate the material goods of their non-indigenous visitors.

The issue of collaboration of Aboriginal people who worked for European interlopers and assisted in the process of colonisation has been examined in some detail by Henry Reynolds. Reynolds found that 'collaboration was as common as confrontation'[xxxvii]. There is no doubting that Derrimut was closely associated with John Pascoe Fawkner, and the fledgling Melbourne settlement. He often went hunting and fishing with Fawkner[xxxviii] and was in his employ. In correspondence dated 10 April 1836, Fawkner noted that Baitbanger and Derrimut 'a chief from whom with others I bought my land, live with me, and frequently go out and shoot kangaroos, snakes, &c., for me'[xxxix]. Derrimut and other Aboriginal men often formed a crew for Fawkner's boat and assisted to lighten the *Enterprise* in bad weather to enable her to get over the bar at the entrance to the channel near Williamstown. In July 1836, Derrimut joined in the search for the Aboriginal killers of Charles Franks and Flinders, his servant, who were killed at Mount Cotterell[xl].

Derrimut accompanied Fawkner to Van Diemen's Land in August 1836 in the *Enterprise*, where, dressed in labourers' clothes, he was presented to Governor Arthur. Arthur presented him with a drummer's dress or uniform[xli]. Presumably, these were the uniforms commonly worn by British units serving in Australia in the early 1800s, comprising red serge fatigue jacket, Kilmarnock (pork pie) forage cap, and red trousers.

Giving uniforms and other items of clothing, and other gifts to leading indigenous people was a common practise in early settler colonies[xlii]. Uniforms were a source of pride, and on the basis of contemporary observations it would seem that Aboriginal people shared the colonial passion for sartorial elegance. Gorgets or breast-plates were also presented to leading figures. Fels, in an assessment of the Native Police Corps in Port Phillip, has discussed the importance of uniforms in the social economy of the time[xliii]. Boollut aka Benbow, one of Derrimut's Yalukit-willam contemporaries and a former member of the Corps, was 'seldom seen out of uniform, which was generally that of a commissariat in full dress, except the cocked hat. Mr Erskine used invariably to give him his left-off uniform, and Benboo never shrank when he wanted uniform from asking for it'[xliv]. Benbow was presented with a breast-plate, but there is no record of Derrimut ever receiving one.

Why Derrimut and Betbenjee were presented with drummer's uniforms, specifically, is not known, nor is it known what became of them as there are no accounts of the two men wearing them when they returned to Victoria.

Anderson refers to Derrimut as a 'black exhibit'[xlv], and to reinforce the interest in him, Benjamin Duterrau painted his portrait when he was in Tasmania (see Figure 1.1). Duterrau's oil painting shows Derrimut naked except for a possum skin cloak around his waist. There is no evidence of the drummer's uniform presented to him by Governor Arthur. He shows the outward signs of initiation – rows of raised scars on his chest and

arms. An interesting example of cultural adaptation is the two rings that adorn his fingers.

Botanist and naturalist Daniel Bunce met Derrimut during his 1836 visit to Tasmania. It was the first of several meetings between the two men. Bunce recounted his visit to Tasmania:

> … Tasmania was honored by the arrival of some distinguished visitors from Port Phillip, which had just been discovered by Mr. John Batman, in the persons of two of its princes, or chiefs: Derrimut, King of the Werriby District; and Betbenjee, of the adjoining district, two brothers …. Of the two native chiefs, a singular instance of the effects of strong drinks may be related. On their arrival, they both got extremely intoxicated, and they both felt the sickening effects the following morning. Poor Derrimut was induced to taste "a hair of the dog that bit him", and recommenced his debauch, and still continues a drunkard to this day[xlvi].

As a direct result of the visit of Derrimut to Tasmania, the Port Phillip Association made application to Lieutenant Governor Arthur respecting the abduction of Aboriginal women:

> … some native women, I believe four in number, who have been forcibly taken from their husbands and families, from the southern coast of New Holland, by some men employed in sealing, and who frequent the islands in Bass Strait, and to request that His Excellency will be pleased to give the necessary instructions to the Commandant of Flinders Island [George Augustus Robinson] to take measures for restoring these women to their families. Two of the native men who have been deprived of their wives are known to the Association, and others who have become residents at Port Phillip are on terms of friendly intercourse with them. Indeed one of them [Derrimut] has been civilized by Mr Fawkner, in whose family he has resided for several months past, and is at this time on a visit to this place[xlvii].

In December 1836, George Robinson visited the fledgling Melbourne settlement to learn more about the abductions of Port Phillip Aboriginal women by sealers, and to take one or two of the men from whom the women had been taken, and for them to accompany him to islands, in order to identify the women. He held conference with William Buckley and the 20 or so Port Phillip Aboriginal people who were at the settlement. He found the Aboriginal people 'dreadfully afflicted with venereal', which he attributed to the 'depraved whites'. He noted that some of the children were afflicted, and some of the old people could hardly walk[xlviii]. Robinson met Derrimut at Port Phillip in December 1836, and gained some information from him, including vocabulary. Robinson observed that Derrimart had venereal disease[xlix]. Robinson was horrified by the living condition of the Aboriginal people at the Melbourne settlement.

> The natives at Port Phillip are in a very wretched condition. The government ought to do something for them. One old woman was a mere skeleton and was lying with a

> wooden bowl with water in it by her side and nothing to shelter her from the weather. Some little children (girls) were sitting beside her and with great affection driving off the flies and assisting. … Another old woman was also in a dying state[l].

Initially, Derrimut and one other, agreed to accompany Robinson to the Bass Strait Islands to identify their stolen women folk, however on the day of departure they declined. Robinson believed they had been dissuaded from accompanying him by some of the 'depraved whites'. Police magistrate William Lonsdale, however, explained they were unwilling to go because 'it was so long since they went away that they did not care about their return'[li]. However, this uncaring attitude is not supported by Robinson's official report of his visit to Port Phillip wherein he describes a community extremely concerned with the loss of their wives and daughters and who 'expressed a great desire to have them restored'[lii].

The first attempt by government to address some of the negative aspects of the establishment of Melbourne on Aboriginal people was the Yarra Aboriginal Village Mission under the control of the missionary George Langhorne. A site was chosen on Yalukit-willam land in early 1837, known as *Tromgin*, in what is now the Royal Botanic Gardens in South Yarra. Its objective was to 'civilise' the Aboriginal peoples, by impressing upon them aspects of European lifestyle: religion, education, production and exchange. Those who lived at the mission were rewarded with rations for their agricultural labours, and those who did not work went unrewarded. Children were given rations when they attended school classes. By April 1838, the mission had become almost exclusively a domain of the Woiwurrung, with only a few Boonwurrung individuals present. The mission was closed the following year.

In 1837, a British House of Commons Select Committee recommended the establishment of an Aboriginal Protectorate in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales. In 1838, Robinson was appointed Chief Protector and with him four Assistant Protectors.

In May 1838, Derrimut and others informed Christian De Villiers, commandant of the Native Police Corps, of the names of Aboriginal people attacking sheep on pastoral runs around Melbourne. Six alleged offenders were taken prisoner, and a further two arrested at Langhorne's mission station[liii]. Priestley speculates that it is possible that Derrimut was using the white men as unwitting agents in some longstanding matter of tribal justice[liv].

The Aboriginal Protectorate commenced operations in early 1839. In 1839, the Yalukit-willam people were served by two assistant protectors. That portion of their estate west of the Yarra was Edward Parker's responsibility and formed part of the 'Loddon District', and that portion south of the Yarra, was William Thomas' responsibility and in the 'Westernport District'. However, after Parker moved from Woiwurrung country in November 1840 on to the Loddon River in Djadjawurrung country, the Yalukit-willam became the responsibility of Thomas.

The establishment of the Westernport District was hampered, initially, by Chief Protector Robinson's refusal to allow Thomas to leave Melbourne. By August 1839, Thomas had

established quarters at Arthur's Seat, in Boonwurrung country, where his attentions outside of Melbourne were concentrated until August 1840. However, much of his time was spent assisting Robinson in Melbourne, attempting to 'break-up' the Aboriginal camps by the Yarra River, and in discouraging others from entering the town's vicinity. Those campsites that were on the south side of the Yarra River, at Yarra Falls and at Tromgin (now the Royal Botanic Gardens) were on traditional Yalukit-willam land.

Early entries in the journal of William Thomas kept from January 1839 reveal that the Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung had trouble obtaining game and vegetable food in the vicinity of Melbourne, and they were suffering from introduced diseases. Europeans objected when Aboriginal people entered fenced paddocks to hunt and, consequently, they were forced to subsist by begging and cutting bark and firewood for the intruders.

In the early years of the Aboriginal Protectorate, Derrimut and his family moved freely around Boonwurrung country. In July and October 1839, he visited the Wathawurrung people at Geelong. He visited Thomas' station at Tubberrubberbil (Arthur's Seat) in June 1840, and often camped near the Yarra Falls and at Tromgin.

In February 1839, William Thomas and his wife, Susannah, cared for Derrimut and his family who were suffering from influenza. Mrs Thomas gave them a quart of tea and bread every morning, until they recovered[lv]. Thomas noted that 'their gratitude was always evinced'. Derrimut's family included his mother Dindu, and his brother Tal.lar, aka Tom. In March 1839, Derrimut was recorded by Robinson as not having any wives, however, by October 1845, Maywerer, aka Maria, a Wathawurrung woman from Geelong had become his wife[lvi].

In March 1839, Langhorne reported to Robinson that he had received word that the Daungwurrung were coming to Melbourne to kill Derrimut for some supposed outrage he had been guilty of, in killing a native man of another tribe'[lvii]. In April 1839, Derrimut arranged a corroboree at Melbourne for visiting dignitary Lady Franklin[lviii].

In July 1839, reports circulated that Derrimut and others had been employed by some Europeans to massacre some Gulidjan people at Lake Colac. These reports were never substantiated[lix]. He was also accused of being implicated in the death of an Aboriginal youth named Peter, in the employ of George Langhorne, in September 1839[lx]. Robinson noted that the Woiwurrung told him that Derrimut, Mr King, and Billy Lonsdale had killed the youth, however when Robinson spoke to Derrimut on the matter, he denied the charge. The following day Thomas complained to Robinson that he had visited the native camp on the Yarra River where a drunken Derrimut 'threatened to throttle him'[lxi]. Derrimut was drunk again on 11 November 1839, and Thomas made the following entry in his journal:

> At night an awful uproar. A Sydney (Joe, late at Batman's) and a Port Phillip black (Derrimut) came at 10 o'clock, drunk, into the encampment. They had fallen in to the Yarra and were vociferating against the whites who Derrimut said had stole his hat and stick. He was going to spear his poor old mother. I

> got the woman in my tent. Was up till three o'clock. What an awful life I lead. Derrimut otherwise is very fond of his mother. Drunkenness and swearing is all that these people seem to have learned, and firing off a gun[lxii].

Derrimut was drunk again later in the month, and Thomas noted 'Derrimut came in drunk and capered around like a maniac. I went in among them but you might as well talk to gum trees'[lxiii].

Derrimut was considered by early observers to be unpredictable when he was drunk. GM Langhorne considered he had 'ferocious propensities'[lxiv]. The punt-keeper at the old-punt bridge, told Magistrate William Hull that Derrimut was 'a very dangerous man when he is drunk'[lxv]. Hull was to find this out in the early 1840s when he made a comment to a drunk Derrimut, who was hosting a corroboree, and in anger Derrimut attempted to spear him[lxvi]. There are times when Derrimut injured female companions[lxvii].

In late 1839, Daniel Bunce arrived in Melbourne, and he recounted that Derrimut 'was the first to greet us on our arrival'. Derrimut and three other leading Boonwurrung men led Bunce on an excursion to the Dandenong Ranges and to Western Port[lxviii].

Thomas abandoned the protectorate station at Arthur's Seat in September 1840, and established a second station at Narre Narre Warren that same month, only to abandon it in March 1842. From June 1842, Thomas was based at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River, where he visited Aboriginal camps in Melbourne.

From the time of his association with Fawkner, Derrimut carried firearms. For example, on 21 September 1839, he went to Gellibrand Point to shoot ducks for JP Fawkner[lxix]. In August 1840, an Act was proclaimed that prohibited Aboriginal people from possessing firearms without the written permission of a justice of the peace[lxx].

Derrimut was never a member of the Native Police Corps, but was critical of the generosity of their provisions: 'the police only walk [ie. drilled] and get plenty to eat and good clothes'[lxxi]. However, in November 1845, Derrimut was one of five *wayegerers* (messengers) who visited the Daungwurrung relaying information from Chief Protector Robinson[lxxii].

In June 1846, on government orders, Thomas removed the valuables from the *willams* of the Boonwurrung camp then wrecked and burnt them. He ordered the 51 residents to disperse. Thomas lamented that he had to order them to move every time a European objected. 'Poor fellows, they are now compelled to shift almost at the will and caprice of the whites'. Their hardship was intensified because there was no bark left in the district and they were now compelled to build 'mud huts'. The breaking up of camps continued unabated in the latter part of the 1840s. In January 1849, at one Boonwurrung camp, Thomas was asked 'where were they to go, why not give them a station'. On 29 February, the Yalukit-willam came to Thomas and pleaded for 'a country to locate themselves upon'.

Opposition to the Aboriginal Protectorate saw the formation of a Select Committee in 1849 to enquire into the Protectorate. The Committee recommended its abolition and the Protectorate formally closed in March 1850 when Chief Protector Robinson surrendered his office and handed his official papers over to La Trobe's staff.

In January 1850, Derrimut and others visited the Gippsland lakes, where they camped for some weeks before returning to Melbourne[lxxiii]. In March 1852, Robinson, preparing for his return to England, acquired a daguerreotype of Derrimut[lxxiv].

In place of the Protectorate, William Thomas was appointed 'Guardian of Aborigines' for the colony of Victoria. Thomas concentrated his efforts in the Melbourne district. By June 1852, he had secured 832 acres [367 ha] at Mordialloc, a favourite camping place of the Boonwurrung, and 1,908 acres [772 ha] at Warrandyte for the Woiwurrung peoples. The reservations were the result of a bargain he made with La Trobe who wanted them kept out of Melbourne. Thomas was authorised to issue occasional supplies of food and clothing to the aged and ill.

In the early 1850s, based at Mordialloc, Derrimut befriended an English lawyer cum professional game-shooter, Horatio Wheelwright, who lived near the Aboriginal camps at Mordialloc for several years. He camped on the beach on Alexander McDonald's 'Moody Yallock' station, which he described as 'the best fishing station in this part of the country'. Wheelwright explained that when he camped at Mordialloc, he 'lived on very neighbourly terms' with the Boonwurrung people, who 'generally had their miamies close to my hut; and as I never made too free with them, or gave them a promise I did not intend to keep, I was a bit of a favourite with them'[lxxv]. It is also clear that Wheelwright had a very high opinion of Derrimut:

> Some of our chaps I used to like very much; and when my old friend, King Dermot, is gathered to his fathers, I trust his prediction to me upon one occasion will be verified – that "When he tumbled down, he should go up long way and fly about, all same big one eagle-hawk"[lxxvi].

Derrimut was still living at Mordialloc in April 1856, for Daniel Bunce recounts meeting him there on 27 April[lxxvii].

In 1858, a Victorian government Select Committee enquired into the condition of the Aboriginal people of Victoria. The Select Committee was told of the Yalukit-willam leader Derrimut's despair as the immigrants built homes on his land – 'you have all this place, no good have children' – and Thomas had fought every European move to interfere with the Boonwurrung camp at Mordialloc. Hull informed the committee of Derrimut's fatalism:

> …if this committee could get Derimut and examine him, I think he would give the committee a great deal of valuable information with respect to himself and his tribe, which would be very interesting; he speaks moderately good English, and I was told by a black a few days ago that he was still alive, and that he 'lay about in St. Kilda'. The last time I saw him was nearly opposite the Bank of Victoria, he stopped me and

> said "You give me shilling, Mr Hull". "No", I said, "I will not give you a shilling, I will go and give you some bread," and he held his hand out to me and said "Me plenty sulky you long time ago, you plenty sulky me; no sulky now, Derimut soon die," and then he pointed with a plaintive manner, which they can affect, to the Bank of Victoria, he said, "You see, Mr Hull, Bank of Victoria, all this mine, all along here Derimut's once; no matter now, me soon tumble down." I said, "Have you no children?" and he flew into a passion immediately, "Why me have lubra? Why me have picanninny? You have all this place, no good have children, no good have lubra, me tumble down and die very soon now[lxxviii].

Bonwick interpreted this passage in a discussion on the 'decline' of the Aboriginal people of Victoria. 'They lose heart with the helplessness of their situation. Derrimut thus tells the sorrows of his people, when speaking to a magistrate in Melbourne, and pointing down the leading street of the city…'[lxxix]

Thomas told the Select Committee of the health of the Boonwurrung people and of their fondness for the Mordialloc reserve:

> Their general condition, as far as the necessaries of life are concerned … they want for nothing, nor need nor want. They are fond of their reserve, and when inclined, return to it, where are always tea, sugar, flour, tobacco, and soap, and have had from 1852 an annual distribution of a pair of good ordinance blankets. Their health, when they keep in the bush and are working with respectable farmers, their bodily health is as good as regular living Europeans. It is only when they stop for a week or two near a public inn, or with low characters, that their enervated constitutions are materially affected, which I have known so rapid that a few days have ended their career[lxxx].

The 1858 Select Committee recommended that reserves be formed for the various tribes, on their traditional hunting ranges where agriculture was to be combined with the grazing of livestock.

In 1860, though based at Mordialloc, Derrimut would frequently come to Melbourne and often become drunk and end up in the Melbourne Watch House. For example, Thomas found him in the watch house on 27 February 1860, and he 'gave him a severe lecture' and he had him released on the promise of returning to Mordialloc[lxxxi]. Derrimut returned to Melbourne in September 1860, and on 10 September 1860 Thomas once again released Derrimut from the watch house, and he noted in his journal 'get him out of town most miserable object'[lxxxii].

In June 1860, the Victorian government established a Central Board 'appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines'. Reserves were set aside in Victoria, and those peoples not served by a reserve were catered for by a second system, that of local guardians who functioned as honorary correspondents to the Central Board, and as suppliers of foodstuffs and clothing[lxxxiii]. The Mordialloc Reserve, decreased in size to

640 acres, was never gazetted as a reserve – it was set aside as a gentleman's agreement between Thomas and La Trobe. Thomas explained it as follows:

> The Yarra and Coast tribes have been supplied for years, by an arrangement between Mr La Trobe and myself, in order to prevent the five distant tribes from thronging Melbourne, and my impression is, that it has not cost Government for the Yarra and Coast tribes £80 per annum. I formed two depots, one at Mount Disappointment and the other at Moody Yallock, after a consultation with the blacks themselves. The arrangement has been successful and the metropolis freed from the frequent visits of upwards of 700 blacks with their dogs[lxxxiv].

The salting industry encroached on the Mordialloc reserve. The demand for salted fish grew with the influx of Chinese to the gold fields. Schnapper, which salted well, fetched between £1 to 30s per dozen, and at Mordialloc a canvas town of fishermen's' tents mushroomed between September and Christmas, when up to 50 boats fished the schnappers grounds. The Chinese found it more profitable to buy the fish at Mordialloc, and salt and dry them on large pieces of canvas spread out on the ground. The salting industry employed over a hundred people, and both Chinese and Europeans encroached on the Aboriginal reserve. In 1858, with 'apparently little use being made of the reserve, the locals, including the Chinese, approached the Board of Land and Works to sell the reserve as a township site, so that the fishermen could build homes'[lxxxv]. Thomas fought for the retention of the reserve, disputing local assertions that only two or three Aboriginal people used the area.

> There were, he wrote, over ten Bunurongs left and the area was frequently visited by the Yarra tribe. He had preached to between fifty and sixty Aboriginals on the reserve in October, 1857. He concluded that soon the blacks would be extinct; 'till then I trust not a perch will be wrested from them'. His trust was misplaced: two years later he was protesting against efforts to have the reserve declared a public commonage, but now his health was fading, and the battle was lost. In the opinion of the Commissioner of Lands and Survey, the Mordialloc Hotel and the numerous fishermen made the area 'unsuitable' for Aboriginals: they were better off elsewhere. 'Elsewhere' was suggested as Lyndhurst but this was vetoed by the Board of Land and Works who opposed the granting of Aboriginal areas within twenty-five miles of Melbourne[lxxxvi].

The reserve as included in the Mordialloc Farmers' Common, duly proclaimed in February 1861, consisting of 4,960 acres. A month later it was renamed the Farmers' Common at Mordialloc and Moorabbin, and its boundaries extended by 3,000 acres, carefully delineated to cover the entire northern half of the swamp.

Derrimut was once again in Melbourne in October 1861, and on 16 November 1861 he was in the Melbourne lock-up, and was brought before the Bench comprising Thomas,

Magistrate Hull, and Dr Eades. Thomas noted in his journal that he 'gave him [a] severe lecture'[lxxxvii].

On 7 July 1862, Thomas authorised a re-issue of blankets to Derrimut, noting in his journal:

> I authorize Derrimut – I fear has sold his pair of blankets – I state though a great drunkard – from his age & the service he rendered in preserving the lives of the 1st settlers Fawkner &c. – to let him have another pair[lxxxviii].

Derrimut was back in the lock-up on 17 October 1862. Thomas visited the Mordialloc reserve on 4 November 1862, taking with him an extra pair of blankets for Derrimut. At the reserve, Derrimut angrily asked why he 'let white man take away Mordialloc where black fellows always sit down'. The Lands Board had approved its sale and surveyors were already dividing it into allotments. The Boonwurrung feared they would soon see 'ploughs furrowing up the bones of their ancestors'. Thomas knew their dead had been buried there since 1839 and protested to the Central Board about the 'cruelty' of the Survey Department. These protestations came to nothing. On 31 December 1862, Thomas noted that Derrimut was still complaining about the surveyors[lxxxix].

Thomas met some Boonwurrung in Melbourne on 23 January 1863. He noted that 'they complain of country taken from them & no good white man – no good Governor – I try to pacify them – poor creatures they think Marminarta can do all for them I tell them Board bigger than Marminarta & Governor more big than Board – they said no more Blkfellows have country'[xc].

On 25 January 1863, Thomas whilst on his rounds in Melbourne learned that an Aboriginal man had been taken to hospital 'early in morning found drunk, bruised, and very ill'. Thomas went to the hospital and discovered that the 'Dr had ordered him immediately in a warm bath – found it King Deremut, the man had much trouble with him scrambling out of the bath till I pacified him and he went thro' the process'[xci]. Thomas visited Derrimut the following day, however by 28 January he had 'eloped from the hospital', Thomas noted that he was very anxious about Derrimut and went to see the police sergeant where he learned that by 3 o'clock Derrimut was seen drunk again.

Some 2,300 acres [931 ha] of land at Coranderrk were reserved on 30 June 1863 for east Kulin peoples, and within a week the sale of the Mordialloc reserve was announced. With this, the Boonwurrung had lost the last of their territory, however, nine old men and women remained near Mordialloc and Cranbourne where the last of them, Jimmy Dunbar and his wife Nancy, died in 1877[xcii]. On 6 July 1863, Thomas accompanied by John Pascoe Fawkner went to see Heales to 'protest against sale of aborigl reserve'.

Derrimut remained at Mordialloc where he lived with other Boonwurrung people such as George, Mary, and Mr Man. On 4 December 1863, he was readmitted to the Melbourne Hospital. Thomas noted on 11 December 1863 that he thought Derrimut was 'nearly blind'.

In January 1864, Derrimut was the subject of a report into his mistreatment by two nurses. A committee met on 5 January to consider the charge. Thomas attended the meeting and advocated that the two ward attendants not be discharged but removed to another ward, however he was over-ruled by the committee.

Confined in the hospital, Derrimut received regular visits from Thomas who brought him 'little comforts' such as oranges. On several occasions Thomas was accompanied by other concerned visitors such as Mrs Thomas, John Pascoe Fawkner, and Mr Warren the Honorary Correspondent. When Fawkner visited on one occasion, Derrimut grasped his hand and said 'Oh my Brother Johnny long long time ago'. He was much delighted to see Warren. However, it was the visits from his country-people that gave him the most joy. For example, on 8 January 1864, three men and a women from Mordialloc were in Melbourne and anxious to see Derrimut. Thomas made 'them deposit their swags near the gate'. He recorded their meeting, thus: 'Poor Derremut cried & so did Mr Man who hung his head on the breast of Deremut like Esau & Jacob, I was forced at length to separate them'[xciii].

On 29 January 1864, the *Argus* published a story on Derrimut, claiming 'he was completely recovered, he is now only kept in hospital until Mr Thomas the Protector of Aborigines can make some provision for his support'. Thomas wrote to Smyth on the matter: 'Derrimut has not recovered his left arm is still paralysed I visit him daily and take him in what he wants and this day and Mr Fawkner and will see to his conveyance to Mordialloc'[xciv].

Derrimut was reluctant to remain in hospital, and he regularly entreated Thomas to be allowed to return to Mordialloc, however Thomas persuaded him he was not well enough to leave the hospital. On 27 February 1864, Thomas received the following letter from J. Williams the superintendent of the Melbourne Hospital:

> I am requested to inform you that the aborig'l named in the margin [Derrimut], will not derive further benefit from a longer residence in the Hospital and to ask the favor of your kind offices for his removal. I may also remark that the overcrowded state of the institution renders it essential to relieve the wards by discharging as many of the least urgent cases as possible[xcv].

On this letter, Thomas wrote a 'private note to myself':

> Derrimut was about 20 years of age or 21 when he saved the lives of Fawkner & others – he was joined by Ningernoul 24 & Ben Benger 18 yrs – in agreement with Billibellary aged 30 yrs – these secured the lives of 1st settlers.

This is an interesting annotation, for the first time it identifies the leading Aboriginal men responsible for the intervention that forewarned the settlers of the impending attack.

Ningerranaro (or Ningernoul) belonged to the same clan as Derrimut; Billibellary was an eminent clan-head of the Wurundjeri-baluk[xcvi], the Woiwurrung clan adjoining the Yalukit-willam, and the clan of Dindu, Derrimut's mother. This scrap of information also confirms that Derrimut was not acting alone, that he was acting with the full authority of eminent Boonwurrung and Woiwurrung arweet and ngurungaeta. It confirms that the 'traitor' hypothesis is simplistic and of little value.

Thomas attended a meeting of the Committee of the Benevolent Society on 10 March 1864, concerning his application for admission of Derrimut to the Benevolent Asylum. The Asylum, in Victoria Street, North Melbourne, had opened on 27 November 1851[xcvii], and Cannon explains the people who were sent to the Asylum were primarily 'aged and incurable paupers'[xcviii]. Thomas, in a letter to Smyth, reported on the meeting:

> I was examined by the committee, stated forcibly that the Central Aboriginal Board for the Protection of Aborigines had always attended to his wants, were ready to build a hut for him, and have a man to look after him, but I considered, taking into his manner of living, that for his comfort the asylum was the fittest place for him to end his days.
>
> I stated particularly to the Committee that the Central Aboriginal Board would pay any charge the committee may require for his maintenance. After some time I was requested to retire. The chairman stated 'that if the committee admitted him I should receive a letter'. No letter came on Thursday or yesterday up to 2 p.m., a little after a note came to the hospital requesting Derrimutt to be forwarded to the asylum. Derrimut was put into a comfortable warm bath, clean and clan and forwarded[xcix].

Appendix 1.1 is a copy of Thomas's application for Derrimut's admission to the Asylum.

On 11 March 1864, Derrimut was transferred from the Melbourne Hospital to the Benevolent Asylum. Thomas compiled a brief history of Derrimut 'from the commencement of his living in the hospital to his admission to the Benevolent Asylum':

> Early on Sunday morning the 25th of Jan'y 1863 I visited the lock up at Melbourne after 3 of my blacks – find that Derrimutt had been found during the night helplessly drunk and paralysed in a water course and had been taken to the hospital by orders of the sargeant of police. I saw him the same morning, struggling with the man in the bath room he was pacified on my entrance and went thro' the ordeal. On the 27th however he had managed to get out of the hospital and on the 28th about 3 p.m. was seen drunk again. On the 4th February poor Derrimut was found in a most miserable state, had sold his clothes and paralysed and brought again once more to the Melbourne hospital where he has remained till his removal to the Benevolent Asylum on the 11th of March 1864[c].

Thomas visited Derrimut in the Asylum on 13 March, and Derrimut although he was very comfortable, complained that he was not receiving his three 'noblers' – Thomas promised he would try to secure these for him.

On 27 March 1864, Thomas visited the Benevolent Asylum only to find Derrimut 'comfortable but much weaker'. He saw the Medical Assistant who reported that he had all the comforts including brandy as per the hospital's sanction which he received both night and day[ci]. The Warden reported that Derrimut had been examined and it was found that his lungs 'are near gone'.

Thomas visited the Asylum on 14 April 1864, only to find Derrimut in a bad way and not expected to live much longer. Thomas stayed some time with him, and at the request of the attendant managed to get him 'to take an egg in his grog, nicely beat up'. Thomas requested to be informed immediately should Derrimut's condition worsen.

A small group of the Boonwurrung came to Melbourne on 16 April 1864 to see Derrimut, but as they were 'under the influence of liquor' Thomas would not permit them to see him. Thomas wrote in his journal 'Poor Derrimutt very much weaker'.

Thomas visited Derrimut the following day only to find that his condition had worsened, he 'cannot discharge his phlegm only by being racked up – he is so gratified at seeing me. I direct him to look up to that great Father of us all who will take his soul & mine if we very sorry for all bad done'.

As Derrimut's condition deteriorated, Thomas sought to arrange for a photographer to visit the Asylum and take his photograph. The photographer was unwilling to visit the Asylum, and Thomas stated 'if I can only get the likeness of the man I shall be satisfied – his price I will pay & take his apparatus – he demurs & says he might lose customers while absent'[cii]. Thomas's efforts to photograph Derrimut before his death were unsuccessful.

Thomas received a note from the Benevolent Asylum on 25 April, informing him that 'a great change has taken place in Deeremut he is raking'[ciii], and he visited Derrimut at 10 a.m. on the following day, and stayed half an hour with him. Although 'near his end he is sensible'. Thomas noted in his journal the exchange the two men had:

> Direct him as I had off before to the great father above – I was much pleased he pointed up every now & then his finger. 'There good marmar Bundgyl murrumbeek bar murrumbinna marmar – bondeep nge'. I said, 'Nulworen murrum bar soul'. He caught old of my hands squeezed it, said, 'Bondup nulworthy my soul'. I had a prayer with him, he said, 'Nangana murrumbenna barbar eran'[civ]. I thank the medical officers. The Drs enquire in the event of his death if I should have any objection to a post mortem examination – I stated I saw no objection for scientific purposes.

Later that day, Thomas learned that Fawkner had visited Derrimut on Monday 25 April. He also received a note from the Asylum, informing him that Derrimut had died in the afternoon at 4 o'clock, 26 April 1864. Thomas visited the Asylum the following morning and learned that Derrimut had died soon after Thomas had left – this surprised Thomas, as 'he was so sensible'. Thomas thanked the medical officers and they were anxious to know the details of Derrimut's interment.

Derrimut's body was buried in the Melbourne General Cemetery on Wednesday 24 August 1864, almost four-months after his death.

In the intervening period arrangements were made for a tombstone to mark his grave. On 7 May 1864, Thomas met Judge RW Pohlman, who informed him that he had forwarded one pound for 'tombstone to poor Derrimutt and if was needed he was ready to add and that every facility for removed his body to where me and Mr Fawkner wished'. The following day, in conversation with John Fawkner, Thomas learned that '£2.2 had been received from Judge Barry, and from Judge Pohlman and Williams £1 each'[cv]. Thomas gave £1 subscription to Fawkner on 13 May 1864.

Thomas was responsible for drafting the text for the tombstone. The following version is found in his journal entry for 16 May 1864:

> Derrimutt: The last of the chiefs of the Boonoorong or Western Port tribe died 26th of April 1864 at Benevolent Asylum aged about 52 years. He preserved the lives of the first colonists, when about to be massacred by the upcountry tribes – 300 were assembled together at Melbourne 1835 for that purpose. Wm Thomas.

Redmond Barry sent the following letter to Thomas on the matter of the inscription:

> Be so good as to present my compliments to Mr Fawkner and thank him for his courtesy in tendering me to the proposed inscription to be placed on the tombstone of the departed chief Derrimutt. The modest epitaph appears to me very suitable – I am unwilling to propose any alteration. It is probable that additional interest would be given to it were mention made of the person to whom the information was given. This monumental testimony of the enterprise of the first settlers and the lasting record of their names may prove valuable to the future history or Macauley of Victoria.
>
> A few colonists have erected this stone in memory of the native chief Derrimut who by timely information prevented the first settlers from massacre October 1835 by some of the up country tribes of Aborigines. He closed his mortal carreer in the Benevolent Asylum May 26th 1864 aged about 54 years.[cvi].

The tombstone was erected at Derrimut's grave in the Melbourne General Cemetery on Friday 26 August 1864 (see Figure 1.2). The stone has the following inscription, which confirms that several changes were made to previous drafts:

> This stone was erected by a few colonists to commemorate the noble act of the native chief Derrimut, who by timely information given October 1835 to the first colonists, Messrs Fawkner, Lancey, Evans, Henry Batman, and thier [sic] dependants; saved them from massacre planned by some of the up-country tribes of Aborigines. Derrimut closed his mortal career in the Benevolent Asylum, May 28th, 1864, aged 54 years.

It is curious that the date of Derrimut's death on the headstone is incorrect, as he had died on Tuesday 26 April 1864.

On 30 August 1864, Thomas visited Robert Brough Smyth and received a request from him 'to get skull of poor Derrimut'. The following day, Thomas went to the cemetery to enquire about getting the skull. He was told that he needed to obtain the consent of the Trustees, whose next meeting was planned for 13 September. Thomas reported this requirement to Smyth. Thomas went to the Trustees meeting on 13 September, but only two members turned up – not enough for a quorum – and the meeting was abandoned. They recommended Thomas submit a 'application to government'. Thomas wrote a formal letter to the Cemetery trustees on 11 October 1864:

> I have been solicited by a scientific gentleman who is about writing an elaborate work on the aborigines of Victoria the Trustees' permission to get the skull and pelvis of Derriemut, they will be photographed and careful measurements will be taken, after that they will be restored to the grave[cvii].

On this letter, Thomas wrote a memorandum:

> Dear Smyth, I have just rec'd this letter from the Trustees of the Melbourne Cemetery. No one but you & I know who that scientific gentleman is.

It is clear that RB Smyth is the 'scientific gentleman' about to write 'an elaborate work on the aborigines of Victoria'. Smyth's two-volume opus, published in 1878, was entitled 'The Aborigines of Victoria …', and he commenced collating information for his work in the early 1860s. In this work, Smyth includes an appendix devoted to craniology, written by George B. Halford, a professor of anatomy and physiology in the University of Melbourne, and whilst this does not contain any information on Derrimut, it does present the craniology of Jimmy Dunbar, a Boonwurrung man who died at Mordialloc in 1877. The other person who may be behind Smyth's interest is French phrenologist M. Sohier, who had established a phrenology practice in Melbourne in the early 1860s[cviii]. Research into the outcome of this request is continuing, however it seems that it was refused[cix].

Local historian, JB Cooper has discussed the last few years of Derrimut's life before his death:

> … for years before that he lived in the neighbourhood of St. Kilda and Prahran. He was a well-known figure to Prahran residents of those years, as he wandered about the streets with two aboriginal women and a number of miserable looking dogs. J.P. Fawkner frequently befriended him, but nothing could induce Derimut to give up the freedom that was his savage heritage. When he was carried to the asylum he was already in a dying condition[cx].

Derrimut's grave is an important mortuary site in Victoria, and is an important cultural site in Melbourne. Derrimut's name persists in the electoral district of Derrimut; the Parish of Derrimut (proclaimed in 1860), west of Melbourne; in Mount Derrimut; and the Mount Derrimut property north of the Truganina cemetery; and streets in Footscray and Sunshine.

Fels has commented on the value of biographical enquiry, arguing that 'it becomes not so much a question of examining the evidence of description, but rather of piecing together the fragments of information about individually named acting persons, making connections and making sense of them'[cxi]. She argues that the 'tiny details of Aboriginal lives and living are as necessary to an understanding of Australia's past as are the tiny details of European lives and living'[cxii]. This study of Derrimut is an example of the value of biographical research.

Derrimut looms larger than almost any other Aboriginal person in Melbourne's early history, with the possible exceptions of Billibellary and Benbow[cxiii]. During his lifetime, he suffered the abduction of his wife by sealers off Point Nepean in circa 1833; he witnessed the establishment of Melbourne in 1835; he visited Tasmania in 1836; and he saw numerous systems of government indigenous policy come and go, such as the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, and he saw the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines dispossess the Boonwurrung from their last piece of land at Mordialloc in the early 1860s.

How should we understand the historical actions and the life of Derrimut, the clan-head of the Yalukit-willam peoples? Was he a traitor to his people? Was he the saviour of Melbourne? On the other hand, was he a man of his people? There is no doubting his importance in the early history of Melbourne. That Derrimut prevented a massacre of Fawkner's party in late 1835 is clear. After his death in 1864, his memorialists believed his noble actions had 'saved them from massacre'. One contemporary, William Buckley, and later commentators, such as Massola, clearly perceived his actions were those of a traitor, however, this view is too simplistic. He may well have been acting to protect a party whose presence had been formally approved, or he may simply have been protecting the lives of his friends. The traitor hypothesis does not sit comfortably with his attempts, in the late 1850s and early 1860s, to secure and maintain his peoples' rights to live on traditional Boonwurrung country. These are not the actions of a traitor, who has turned his back on his people and his heritage.

He formed relationships with people as diverse as Chief Protector George Augustus Robinson, Assistant Protector and later Guardian William Thomas, the entrepreneur John Pascoe Fawkner, the botanist Daniel Bunce, the magistrate William Hull, and the professional game hunter Horatio Wheelwright. From what these men write of him, and what we know of their interactions with him, it is clear that Derrimut had gained their respect and affection and friendship. As a mark of his regard for him, Robinson ensured that when he left Victoria in 1852 to return to England, he took with him a daguerreotype of Derrimut, a Boonwurrung leader he had known for some 26 years. After his death, a group of leading men memorialised him by placing a tombstone on his grave that honoured his actions.

Was Derrimut, as a clan-head, 'a man of his people'? Did he care deeply about his people? Did he have their admiration and respect throughout the length and breadth of his domain? The evidence points strongly to this conclusion. He moved freely around the country of eastern Kulin clans, and only people who were respected were able to serve as waygerrers or messengers between language groups. There seems little doubt of his authority in the chronicling of his actions to ensure his people, the Boonwurrung, had ' a country to locate themselves upon'. The selection of the site at Mordialloc, an important Boonwurrung camping place, ensured his people had continuity with 'the bones of their ancestors'. However, after his people had the Mordialloc reserve wrested from them in July 1863, Derrimut's health deteriorated, and his last days were spent in the Melbourne Hospital and finally the Benevolent Asylum where he died Tuesday 26 April 1864.

Bibliography

Anderson, H. *Out of the Shadow: the career of John Pascoe Fawkner*. Melbourne, F.W. Cheshire, 1962.

Barwick, DE. 'Mapping the past: an atlas of Victorian clans 1835-1904' in *Aboriginal History*, Vol. 8, Part 2, 1984. 100-131.

Barwick, DE. 'This most remarkable lady: a biographical puzzle' in DE Barwick, J Beckett, & M Reay (eds) *Metaphors of interpretation: essays in honor of WEH Stanner*. Canberra: ANU Press, 1985. 185-239.

Barwick, DE. *Rebellion at Coranderrk*. Canberra: Aboriginal History Monograph 5, 1998.

Billot, CP. *John Batman the story of John Batman and the founding of Melbourne*. Melbourne: Hyland House, 1979.

Billot CP (ed.). *Melbourne's Missing Chronicle being the Journal of Preparations for Departure to and Proceedings at Port Phillip by John Pascoe Fawkner*. Melbourne: Quartet Books, 1982.

Blake, BJ. 'Woiwurrung, the Melbourne Language' in RMW Dixon & BJ Blake (eds) *The Aboriginal Language of Melbourne and Other Grammatical Sketches*, The Handbook of Australian Languages, Vol. 4. South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1991. 31-122.

Bonwick, J. *The Wild White Man and the Blacks of Victoria*. Melbourne: Fergusson & Moore, Melbourne, 1863.

Bride, TF (ed.). *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, South Yarra: Currey O'Neil, 1983 [first published 1898].

Brown, PL (ed.). *The Todd Journal 1835*, Geelong: Geelong Historical Society, 1989.

Bunce, D. *Travels with Dr. Leichardt in Australia*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1979. [First published 1859].

Burns, PM. *An Introduction to Tourism & Anthropology*, London: Routledge, 1999.

Campbell, AH. *John Batman and the Aborigines*. Malmsbury: Kibble Books, 1987.

Cannon, M (ed.). *The Aborigines of Port Phillip, 1835-39*, Historical Records of Victoria, Vol. 2A, Melbourne: Public Record Office, Victoria, 1982.

Cannon, M (ed). *Aborigines and Protectors, 1838-39*, Historical Records of Victoria, Vol. 2B, Melbourne: Public Record Office, Victoria, 1983.

Cannon, M. *Melbourne after the Gold Rush*. Main Ridge: Loch Haven Books, 1993.

Christiansen, P. 'Treaties and Lies' in http://www.dotlit.qut.edu.au/200101/liars.txt.

Christie, MF. *Aborigines in Colonial Victoria, 1835-86*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1979.

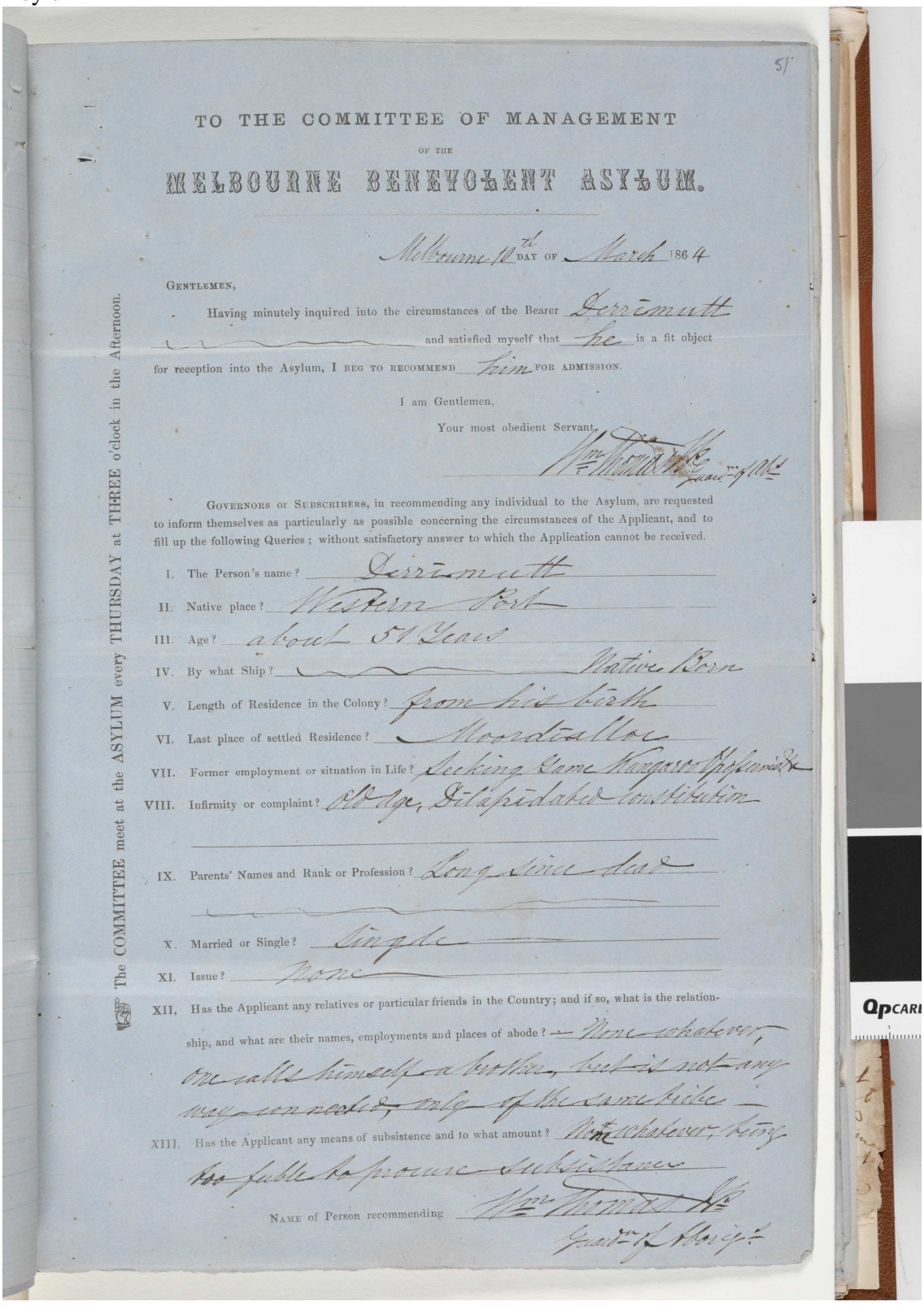
Clark, ID. *Aboriginal Languages and Clans, an historical atlas of Western and Central Victoria, 1800-1900*, Clayton: Monash Publications in Geography, No. 37, 1990.

Clark, ID (ed.). *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, 1839-1852*, six volumes, Clarendon: Heritage Matters, 2000a.

Clark, ID (ed.). *The Papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume 2, Aboriginal Vocabularies: South East Australia, 1839-52*, Clarendon: Heritage Matters, 2000b.

Clark, ID. *The Yalukit-willam: the first people of the City of Hobsons Bay*, Altona: City of Hobsons Bay, 2001.
Cooper, JB. *The History of Prahran From its First Settlement to a City*, Melbourne: Modern Printing Co. 1912.
No author. 'Derrimut' in http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/cais/ekulin/clan/people/Derri.htm.
Fels, MH. *Good Men and True, the Aboriginal Police of the Port Phillip District, 1837-1853*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1988.
Galbally, A. *Redmond Barry: an Anglo-Irish Australian*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1995.
Griffiths, T. *Hunters and Collectors the antiquarian imagination in Australia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
Hibbins, GM. *A History of the City of Sprinvale Constellation of Communities*, Port Melbourne: City of Springvale & Lothian Publishing Company, 1984.
Howitt, AW. *The Native Tribes of South-east Australia*, London: Macmillan, 1904.
Massola, AS. *The Aboriginal People*, Melbourne: Cypress Books, 1969.
Massola, AS. 'Mortuary and other monuments to Aborigines' in *Victorian Naturalist*, 87, 1970. 299-305.
Pascoe, R 'A Learning Community at St Albans: its prospects, its present, and its past' in http://www.sprint.net.au/~rpascoe/community/st.albans_folder/ARC/arc.html, 1998.
Pepper, P. & De Araugo, T. *What Did Happen to the Aborigines of Victoria, Vol. 1, The Kurnai of Gippsland*, Melbourne: Hyland House, 1985.
Plomley, NJB. *Weep in Silence A History of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement with the Flinders Island Journal of George Augustus Robinson, 1835-1839*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1987.
Priestley, S. *Altona, a long view*, North Melbourne: Hargreen Publishing, 1988.
Reynolds, H. *With the White People*. Penguin: Melbourne, 1990.
Robinson, GA. Papers Vol. 44, Correspondence and other papers, Flinders Island, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, ms. A7075, 1837.
Shaw, AGL. *A history of the Port Phillip District Victoria Before Separation*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996.
Smith, KV. *King Bungaree A Sydney Aborigine meets the great South Pacific Explorers, 1799-1830*, Kenthurst: Kangaroo Press, 1992.
Thomas, W. Papers. Mitchell Library, Sydney.
Troy, J. *King Plates A History of Aboriginal Gorgets*, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1993.
Tudehope, CM. 'Derrimut, an Aborigine of the Yarra Tribe' in *Victorian Naturalist*, 79, 1963. 288-295.
Victoria, *Report of the Central Board appointed to watch over the interests of the Aborigines in the Colony of Victoria. Presented to both Houses of Parliament*. Melbourne: 1861.
Victoria, *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on The Aborigines; together with the Proceedings of Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices*, Melbourne: John Ferres, Government Printer, 1858-9.
Wheelwright, HW. *Bush Wanderings of a Naturalist*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1979. [First published 1861].

Appendix 1.1 William Thomas's application for Derrimut's admission to the Benevolent Asylum



51

TO THE COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT

OF THE

MELBOURNE BENEVOLENT ASYLUM.

Melbourne 10th DAY OF March 1864

GENTLEMEN,

Having minutely inquired into the circumstances of the Bearer Derrimutt and satisfied myself that he is a fit object for reception into the Asylum, I BEG TO RECOMMEND him FOR ADMISSION.

I am Gentlemen,

Your most obedient Servant,

Wm Thomas J.P.

GOVERNORS or SUBSCRIBERS, in recommending any individual to the Asylum, are requested to inform themselves as particularly as possible concerning the circumstances of the Applicant, and to fill up the following Queries; without satisfactory answer to which the Application cannot be received.

I. The Person's name? Derrimutt

II. Native place? Western Port

III. Age? about 54 Years

IV. By what Ship? Native Born

V. Length of Residence in the Colony? from his birth

VI. Last place of settled Residence? Moordialloc

VII. Former employment or situation in Life? Looking Game Kangaroo Opossum &c

VIII. Infirmity or complaint? Old Age, Dilapidated constitution

IX. Parents' Names and Rank or Profession? Long since dead

X. Married or Single? Single

XI. Issue? None

XII. Has the Applicant any relatives or particular friends in the Country; and if so, what is the relationship, and what are their names, employments and places of abode? None whatever, one calls himself a brother, but is not any way connected, only of the same tribe

XIII. Has the Applicant any means of subsistence and to what amount? None whatever, too feeble to procure subsistance

NAME of Person recommending Wm Thomas J.P.

The COMMITTEE meet at the ASYLUM every THURSDAY at THREE o'clock in the Afternoon.

Figure 1.1. Oil painting of Derrimut by Benjamin Duterrau, Tasmania 1836

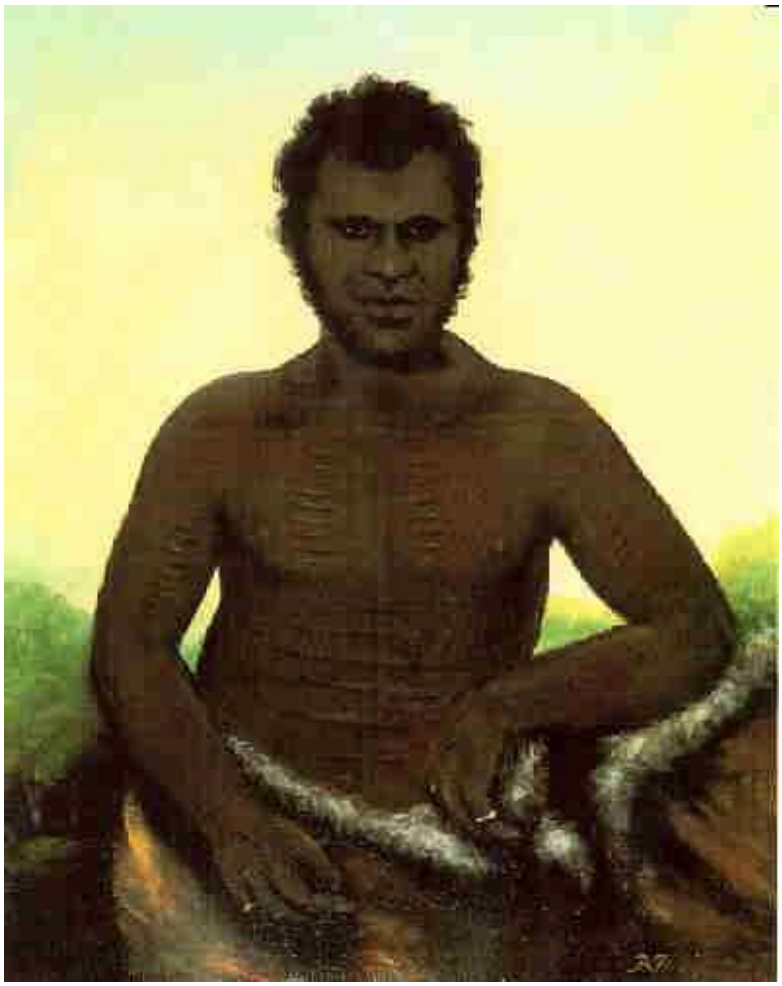


Figure 1.2 Derrimut's tombstone, Melbourne General Cemetery

[i] For example, http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/cais/ekulin/clan/people/Derri.htm describes Derrimut as 'one of the best-known Aborigines in the early days of Port Phillip'. http://www.sprint.net.au/~rpascoe/community/st.albans_folder/ARC/arc.html claims that Derrimut was 'rewarded' for warning the whites of impending black attack 'by having his name immortalised in the landscape'.
[ii] Tudehope 1963; Anderson 1962, Campbell 1987; Cooper 1912, Priestley 1988; Barwick 1998, Fels 1988, Christie 1979, Massola 1969, 1970, Pepper & De Araugo 1985.
[iii] Billot 1982, Cannon 1982, 1983, Plomley 1987, Clark 2000a,b, Victoria 1858-9.
[iv] Campbell 1987: 9.
[v] Massola 1969: 4.
[vi] Christie 1979: 52.
[vii] Christiansen n.d.
[viii] Griffiths 1996: 111.
[ix] Barwick 1998: 66.
[x] Barwick 1998.
[xi] Massola 1970: 303; Clark 1990.
[xii] Clark 1990: 368.
[xiii] Robinson 1837.
[xiv] Clark 1990: 368.
[xv] Clark 2000b.
[xvi] Robinson jnl 2/10/1839 in Clark 2000a.
[xvii] Robinson papers in Clark 2000b: 244.
[xviii] Robinson papers in Clark 2000b: 304. For more information on Queens Wharf see Eidelson 1997: 6-7.
[xix] Victoria 1858-9: 12. This is not the place for a detailed assessment of the implications of these attributions. They would appear to challenge Howitt's (1904: 71) delineation of the boundary of the Woiwurrung as 'from the junction of the Saltwater and the Yarra rivers, along the course of the former to Mount Macedon, thence to Mount Baw-Baw, along the Dividing Range, round the sources of the Plenty and Yarra to the Dandenong mountains, thence by Gardiner's Creek and the Yarra to the starting point'. One possible interpretation is that Derrimut is asserting matricentric rights, as his mother, Dindu, was a member of the Wurundjeri-baluk, and was personally associated with Narrm, the site of Melbourne (Robinson papers in Clark 2000b: 34).
[xx] Blake 1991.
[xxi] Howitt 1904: 71.
[xxii] Robinson jnl 30/12/1836 in Plomley 1987; Robinson Papers April 1847 in Clark 2000b.
[xxiii] Despite the fact that Barwick (1985: 227) considers Nan-der-gor-oke to be Elizabeth Maynard, one of the Port Phillip Aboriginal women living with sealers in Bass Strait, she does not provide any evidence to support this identification.
[xxiv] Priestley 1988: 19.
[xxv] Barwick 1984.
[xxvi] Barwick 1998: 24.
[xxvii] Billot 1982: 10.
[xxviii] Brown 1989:65.
[xxix] Campbell 1987: 138-9.
[xxx] Christie 1979: 51-2.
[xxxi] Tudehope 1963: 289.
[xxxii] Priestley 1988: 20.
[xxxiii] Barwick 1984: 106-7. It is not possible to assess the degree to which Derrimut's relationship with Fawkner and his party complied with traditional kinship systems.

[xxxiv] Massola 1969: 41.
[xxxv] Billot 1979: 173
[xxxvi] Burns 1999.
[xxxvii] Reynolds 1990: 1.
[xxxviii] Billot 1982: 61-2.
[xxxix] Hobart Town Colonist in Bonwick 1863: 14.
[xl] Cannon 1982: 47; Fels 1988: 9.
[xli] Anderson 1962: 88; Billot 1982: 95; Campbell 1987: 190.
[xlii] see Smith 1992 for a detailed discussion of Bungaree, a leading Aboriginal man from Sydney in the early 1800s who dressed in cast-off military clothing. In 1831, Major Thomas Mitchell rewarded Piper, his Aboriginal guide, for services rendered by presenting him with an officer's uniform and a brass gorget (see Troy 1993: 32-33).
[xliii] Fels 1988: 83-88. Fels regards the Aboriginal acceptance of uniforms as an example of acculturation.
[xliv] Thomas in Bride 1983: 405-6; Clark 2001.
[xlv] Anderson 1962: 94.
[xlvi] Bunce 1979: 61
[xlvii] JH Wedge to VDL Col. Sec. 8/10/1836 in Cannon 1982: 53.
[xlviii] Plomley 1987: 410.
[xlix] Plomley 1987: 410.
[l] Plomley 1987: 411.
[li] Lonsdale to Col. Sec. 7/1/1837 in Cannon 1982: 55.
[lii] Robinson report 12/1/1837 Colonial Secretary's Office, Tasmania.
[liii] Cannon 1982: 299.
[liv] Priestley 1988: 22.
[lv] Cannon 1983: 438.
[lvi] Clark 2000a: journal entry 25/10/1845; Clark 2000b: 15.
[lvii] Clark 2000a: journal entry 19/3/1839.
[lviii] Clark 2000a: Journal entry 4/4/1839.
[lix] Cannon 1983: 728.
[lx] Cannon 1983: 544.
[lxi] Robinson jnl 18-19/9/1839 in Clark 2000a; Thomas had no doubt that Derrimut was one of the child's murderers, and he noted in a fragment in his papers that he 'was so desirous that the parties might be punished that I wrote upon the subject to Mr Plunket Attorney General and rec'd an answer that nothing could be done'.
[lxii] Thomas jnl 11/11/1839 in Cannon 1983: 559.
[lxiii] Thomas jnl 27/11/1839 in Cannon 1983: 568.
[lxiv] Cannon 1983: 590.
[lxv] Victoria 1858-9: 110.
[lxvi] Victoria 1858-9: 9.
[lxvii] Cannon 1983: 571; Clark 2000a: Journal entry 25/10/1845.
[lxviii] See Bunce 1979: 64-79 for a full account of this excursion.
[lxix] Clark 2000a: Journal entry 21/9/1839.
[lxx] Priestley 1988: 24.
[lxxi] Fels 1988: 54.
[lxxii] Clark 2000a: Journal entry 26/11/1845.
[lxxiii] Pepper & De Araugo 1985: 95.
[lxxiv] Clark 2000a. The daguerreotype has not been found. Thomas, ten years later, tried to get Derrimut photographed, however he refused (see Thomas jnl 17/4/1862)
[lxxv] Wheelwright 1976: 260.

[lxxvi] Wheelwright 1976: 262-3. It is worth noting that the moiety of Derrimut's clan, Yalukit willam was Bundjil (eagle-hawk).
[lxxvii] Bunce 1979: 61.
[lxxviii] Victoria 1858-9: 12.
[lxxix] Bonwick 1863: 86.
[lxxx] Victoria 1858-9: 27.
[lxxxi] Thomas journal 27/2/1860.
[lxxxii] Thomas journal 10/9/1860.
[lxxxiii] At Mordialloc these were Mr G.H. Warren and Mr McDonald.
[lxxxiv] Central Board 1861: 26.
[lxxxv] Hibbins 1984: 47.
[lxxxvi] Hibbins 1985: 47.
[lxxxvii] Thomas jnl 16/12/1861.
[lxxxviii] Thomas jnl 7/7/1862.
[lxxxix] Thomas jnl 31/12/1862.
[xc] Thomas jnl 23/1/1863.
[xci] Thomas jnl 25/1/1863.
[xcii] Barwick 1998: 66. Barwick claims that two young Boonwurrung men went to Coranderrk where they 'found wives' and 'reared families there', however she is in error. One of these men, James Reece, was a Barkinji man from the Darling River, near Menindie. Some of his children were born at 'Western Port' and this must be the basis for Barwick's claim. Reece's marriage certificate confirms his Barkindji birthplace. The second man, Mongara (aka Dr Adam Clark), is Wathawurrung, and this is confirmed on his marriage certificate, and an 1846 census list found in Robinson's papers (see Clark 2000b: 222). Presumably, Barwick has conflated this Mongara with Mungara (aka Benbow, Mr Man), a leading member of the Yalukit willam.
[xciii] Thomas jnl 8/1/1864.
[xciv] Thomas correspondence 29/1/1864.
[xcv] Thomas correspondence 27/2/1864.
[xcvi] See Clark 1990: 385.
[xcvii] Shaw 1996: 221
[xcviii] Cannon 1993: 419
[xcix] Thomas correspondence 12/3/1864.
[c] Thomas correspondence 10/3/1864.
[ci] Dowling, the resident physician at the hospital, confirmed that 'Derrimutt whilst a patient here had six ounces of brandy daily, I think a certain quantity daily is absolutely necessary for him' Thomas Correspondence 18/3/1864.
[cii] Thomas jnl 19/4/1864.
[ciii] Thomas correspondence 25/4/1864, 'raking' as in dissipating.
[civ] Analysis of these passages by linguist, Dr Stephen Morey (pers com 10/12/2002), has provided the following translations:

Marmar	Bundgyl	murrumbeek	bar	murrumbinna	marmar	bondeep	nge
Mama	**bundjil**	**marrambik**	**ba**	**marrambinharr**	**mama**	**burndap**	**nge**
father	eagle	I	and	thou	father	good	there.

'There (in heaven) is our father-eagle (God), praise him'.

Nulworen	murrum	bar	soul.	Bondup	nulworthy	my soul..
Nalwa-rri-n	**marramba**		soul.	**Burndap**	**nalwa-dji**	my soul.
Take care	body	and	soul.	Good, praise	take care-PURP	

'He will take care of your body and soul'. 'Pray that he takes care of my soul'.

Nangana	murrumbenna	barbar	eran
Nganga-na	**marrambinherr**	[uncertain]	

See? you [uncertain]

[cv] Thomas jnl 8/5/1864.
[cvi] Thomas correspondence 21/7/1864. Macaulayesque is characteristic of or resembling the historical method or literary style of Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay (1800-1859), English historian.
[cvii] Thomas correspondence 11/10/1864.
[cviii] Galbally 1995: 154
[cix] The Thomas Papers, although they contain reference to the request, are silent on its outcome.
[cx] Cooper 1912: 17.
[cxi] Fels 1988: 86-7.
[cxii] Fels 1988: 87.
[cxiii] Articles on these men are in prep.