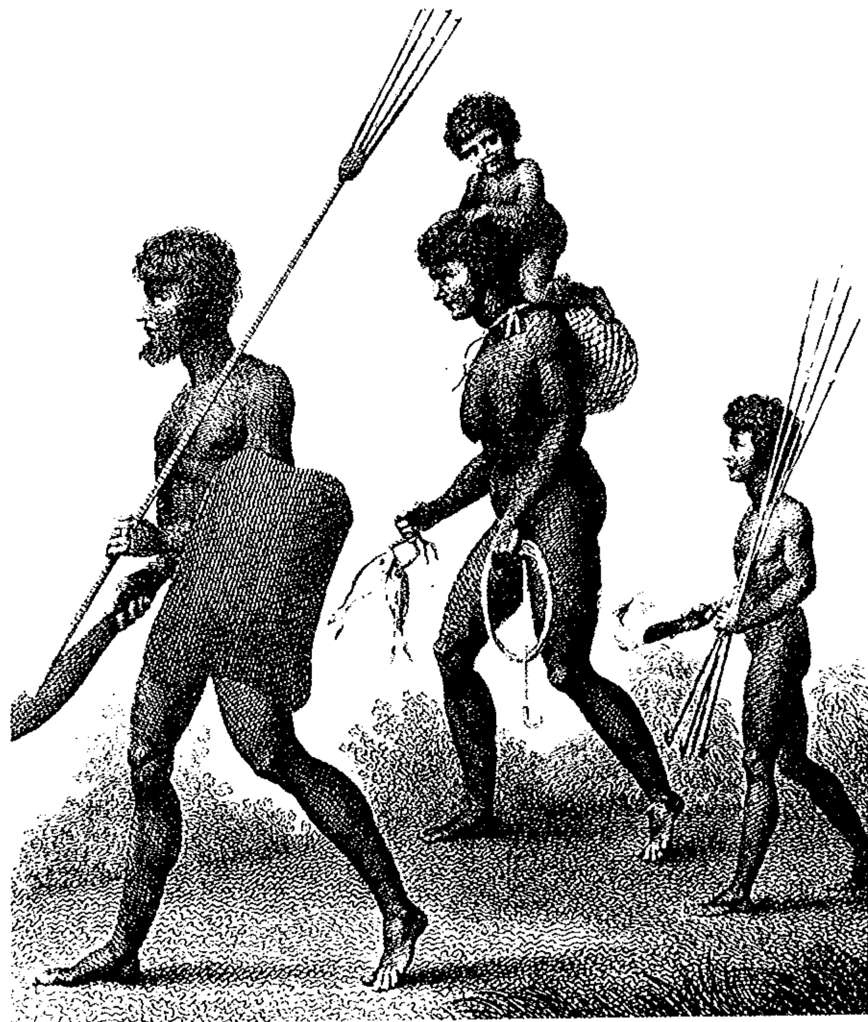
The Aborigines of Eastern Victoria and Far South-Eastern New South Wales, 1830 to 1910: An Historical Geography



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24 June 2002

Amendments in response to Richard Broome

1. p. 183 footnote
2. p. 184 Broome suggests that there is no evidence to support the statement that Aboriginal people were tortured in south-eastern Australia during the nineteenth century. The most well documented example comes from Orbost in the 1850s when an Aboriginal woman was held, tied up, in a small hut against her will and repeatedly raped and that hot coals were kept around the hut to ensure that she did not escape nor that she was rescued. She was rescued after several days by her husband and members of her family and the man responsible, Dan the Cook was killed. As a result of this action many Aboriginal people were killed in the Millie Massacre. This detention could be called simply rape or abduction but I think torture is more accurate a description. 'Once noticing that a woman, Noneginna, had a bad mark of a burn on her breast, I asked how it happened. She very quietly told me that some white fellow threw hot fat out of the frying pan upon her breast.' (Bulmer 1994: 60) Use the word brutality and cruelty instead.
3. p. 205 I am well aware of the fact that Stanner related the story of tea and tobacco to illustrate their flexibility and agency. I chose to use the story to illustrate a different point, namely that the addictive capacity of European goods was such that it was able to lure people away from that which from time immemorial had been considered to be of paramount importance, namely country. I saw this as a very powerful example of what may have occurred much earlier on the east coast of Australia.
4. p.206 Broome suggests that rather than 'begging' Aborigines were establishing/ asserting kinship and reciprocity from station holders. If this were so, the activity would have a traditional precedent, which as far as I know it doesn't. Reciprocity took the form of give aways to appropriate people in established and mutually acknowledged quantities and divisions. Begging for food and other goods may have been considered by Aborigines to be their due, as some payment for the use of their land, but it was not by any means the same as traditional reciprocity nor was it a mutually acknowledged arrangement. If this had been the case, pastoralists would have provided food and goods as a matter of course on Aborigines' arrival in stations and settlements, rather than them having to ask for it.
5. p. 206-7 On occasions Aboriginal women went willing to white pastoral workers, or were given to them by their men, as well as being abducted.
6. p. 209 Broome objects to the use of the word slave in the context of unpaid Aboriginal workers. They were slaves in so far as the work that they were expected to do was menial and unpaid. Not perhaps in so far as they were not 'owned' by the pastoralists and stripped of their freedom. Although there Aboriginal people were referred to by pastoralists as 'our blacks'. Stories from northern New South Wales (for example, Bill Cohen) describe a twentieth century scenario in which Aboriginal men were in a psychological thraldom to station owners and would come at their beck and call, even if it meant leaving wife and children, and had no expectation of financial remuneration. Under the assimilation practices of the twentieth century young boys and girls were isolated

from their families and country, locked up at night and subjected to hard labour and poor working conditions for little or no pay (for example, *Lousy Little Sixpence, Wandering Girl, The Calling of the Spirits*). Somewhere between the relative freedoms of the nineteenth century and the effective slavery of the twentieth century (up until the 1967 referendum), many Aborigines lost a sense of their right to justice. Bill Cohen's memoirs give no impression that he was aware of the terrible breaches of human rights that he experienced during all of his working life. He traded his right for a say in his working conditions for the privilege of being able to work at all in an historically time honoured industry, the cattle industry (where his father and grandfather had worked before him). Men from the far south coast (for example, Vince Bulger pers. com.) remember with great bitterness the years that they spent working as stockmen in isolation from their families at Red Hill station (Tumut), provided with nothing but meat that they had to kill themselves and that at cessation of employment the boss said that he wouldn't pay them. I also know first hand of stories from the Northern Territory in which men as young as 12 years, were put on to remote stations at a bore, isolated from friends and family, and expected to survive alone for up to three months in the early part of the twentieth century (Anon pers. com. 2002). These men were not paid. When an Aboriginal person is in the employ of non-Aboriginal people and living outside of his country (in the country of foreigners) he or she has no protection and no rights. Stolen children often felt too disempowered to make their own way home, especially if they had spent their childhoods in an institution. Serfs and serfdom. Breaking indentures is a big thing in the 19th century.

7. p.210 Stephen what do you think about this? Should I say; Despite the evident brutality of the convict system, scholars such as Hirst (Year) suggest that convicts actually had significant power and were controlled by incentive as much as by violence.
8. p. 214-16 I don't agree that my sentence puts movement in terms of a false dichotomy: reconciliation or starvation. The staple diet of Aboriginal people in much of the south-east was the starchy yam daisy root, myniong/munyang (hence the important item of a woman's toolkit, the yam stick). Within two years of the arrival of sheep at Port Phillip the yam daisy was all but eaten out (Gott 1983). The presence of cattle scared off the kangaroo from grassy meadows. Has Richard Broome ever tried to live off the land for any length of time? Very hard. Requires incredible knowledge! Very carefully timed journeys to coincide with harvesting of bush foods. A very carefully maintained balance with not much room for error I should imagine. Hence the existence of taboos. Hence the existence of rigidly maintained laws as to who receives what portion of a killed animal. Etc. etc. Living on bush tucker was/is no walk in the park. It's a very hard life. The fact that a few people could continue to stay out there until 1877 was probably only because most people didn't. Many others continued to move about, probably travelling with supplies of European flour, tea and possibly sugar and only relying on bush greens and meats on journeys.

9. p. 246 Why is it inappropriate to support a point on stereotypes of Aboriginal otherness with a reference on Gypsies?
10. p. 244 para 2. The reference for the first sentence should read (Ferry 1979: 26, Harris 19??:).
11. p. 246 para 3. Ditto.
12. p. 247 'Sable sons of the soil' condescending and patronising.
13. p. 254 Broome suggests that all Aboriginal worked for their livelihood either on or off the missions. Range of responses, use a term other than welfare. Passive resistence.

Additions to Errata
Re: page 335 and Figure 61

Betsy did not go to Delegate when she left Lake Tyers. From Tongio she travelled to Lake Tyers in 1884 with her father and brothers and sisters. She went to Coranderrk to be married in 1897 and later to Ebenezer where her children were born (Calita Murray 5 April 2003, Albury).

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Abstract

Patterns of movement and occupation were developed over millennia by the Aborigines of far south-eastern Australia in response to the terrain and the seasonal availability of resources including fresh water, plants, animals and artefact materials. This occupation was dynamic and change was stimulated by both intra and extra-group modifications of the political and economic circumstances of extended family units. These fluctuating fortunes resulted in expectations of, and strategies capable of responding to, what were then drastic events of abduction, small scale war and death.

However the European invasion brought even greater change that challenged the survival strategies of these people and their capacity to continue the occupancy, utilisation of resources and movement through their countries. This dissertation examines the ways in which the customary attachments to country of the Aborigines of far south-eastern Australia changed with the coming of Europeans by detailing the movement history of Aborigines in eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales in the period 1830 to 1910. It explores the impact on movement patterns of key nineteenth century events like capitalist ventures (the timber getting, pastoral and agricultural invasions), religious missions (segregation and reservation in the name of God and Empire) and racial discrimination (segregation of and later assimilation for Aborigines' social elevation).

The research found that seasonal movement practices were modified surprisingly little by the attempts to impose European value systems, lifestyles and capital works on Aborigines' physical and psychological landscapes. Furthermore its detailed genealogical and historical research shows that Aborigines continued to move more than the published ethnohistories suggest.

European occupation broadened the scope of Aboriginal movement through its disabling impact on the maintenance of traditional boundaries. Thus, extraordinary journeys were taken by Aborigines in both known and unknown territories of Australia and on oceanic voyages. There were migrations by extended families and communities in response to mission closure, for marriage and to avoid disease

or harsh mission management practices. So while some communities lost the connections with their home countries altogether, others managed to maintain strong ties to country despite migrating hundreds of kilometres. This study reveals a previously unwritten and largely unrecorded Aboriginal history which exists outside of, or obscured within, the published sources, and illustrates the resilience of a culture in the face of major change.

This thesis, except with the committee's approval, contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any other university or institution and affirms that to the best of my knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

…………………………………………………………………………..

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To my children Rachelle, Dylan, Sophie and Imogen who light up my world.

Disclaimer

There are culturally sensitive terms and usages contained within this thesis that have the potential to offend. I regret any offence caused to readers, however in the context of this historical research it is necessary that these terms, issues and names be discussed.

The signifier *half-caste*, an historic referent to first peoples having mixed (usually European) parentage or ancestry, is used where it is a direct quotation or in discussion of the term and the impact of the *Aborigines Protection* Acts.

The genealogical information has been derived from the public record and does not include material that is closed to the general public. When appropriate I have sought the approval of key Elders for inclusion of the use of family names and stories. However, there are bound to be others whose approval would have been valued but I was not able to find them. It is regrettable that I was unable to contact all Elders from all of the families.

There is also a warning that the text mentions *people who have passed away* (particularly in Chapters Four and Five).

Non-Aboriginal is directly used to refer to people who are not of Aboriginal descent, whereas *European* is used to refer to ideas and attitudes that stem directly from European culture and the non-Aboriginal colonists.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The nature of the problem and the purpose of the research

Aboriginal Australians evolved a way of life characterised by adaptation to Australian plant and animal foods and necessitated the regular movement of small groups. The procurement of food and water provided the basic incentive for these movements. Small journeys were made to procure water and firewood, visit an adjacent camp and access foods and raw materials nearby. Larger journeys were also made for vegetable and animal foods, raw materials for artefact manufacture, toward a new camp and for spiritual pilgrimages. The largest journeys were those taken to access special food resources in season (for example, bogong moth aestivation sites in summer), to meet with eligible marriage partners, for ceremonial gatherings, for law parties, war and payback excursions and to relay messages about ceremonial gatherings and other news of political or spiritual importance. The spiritual, social, political and commercial dimensions of life were inextricably linked with the economic. Thus the availability of food and water determined the route or possibility of a journey; how many?, where? and for how long?, depended on the complex social, spiritual and legal obligations of Aboriginal people.

Aboriginal Australians practised these customary journeys for perhaps 40,000 years subject only to changes in climate and physical landform and in the ownership of country as a consequence of territorial succession. However, in 1788 European men stepped onto the east coast and began a period of Australian history that changed the life patterns of Australian indigenous people. There is a huge lack of knowledge about the patterns of movement of indigenous Australians, in part because of the intricacies of recreating the events of Aboriginal movement. The reconstruction of these events requires a complex methodology which examines individuals and groups at a variety of scales. This involves an investigation of land ownership, language and political affiliations, and today has important consequences for land rights' disputes. It requires knowing where the Aboriginal people were at various times, and the routes and reasons for their movement. Such a study increases our

understanding of the importance of small groups in Aboriginal society in keeping with the work of Barwick (1984) and Clark (1990) for south-eastern Australia. This dissertation examines the ways in which the customary attachments to country of the Aborigines of far south-eastern Australia changed with the coming of Europeans in the period 1830 to 1910[1].

This dissertation proposes, within the defined study area (see Fig 1), to establish evidence for Aborigines' connection to country and patterns of movement at the time of European contact and to examine the impact on those patterns of movement of three major events in post contact Aboriginal history. First the research maps named or described groups at the time of first or early European contact. This involves a review and updating of the work of Tindale (1940, 1974) by accessing materials known to be unavailable to or unused by him, in particular the journals and papers of George Augustus Robinson (Journals 1840, 1841, 1842, 1844; Papers A7086 Volume 3) and the blanket distribution censuses of Tyers (1852-58) and Thomas (1857-1860) for Gippsland and Morris (1832) among others for south eastern New South Wales (1832-1851) (see Appendix 1). It is necessary to establish the whereabouts of pre-contact Aboriginal population centres in order to map the customary movements of these people. Similarly, this information is essential to interpreting the changes that took place in both the location of Aboriginal population centres and customary patterns of movement with the nineteenth century European invasion of Aboriginal lands in south-eastern Australia.

The second task (undertaken in chapter 2) is to describe the customary movements of the named groups. The length of journey will be examined in three categories: small (0-5 kms), medium (>5-15 kms) and large (>15-700 kms). It was decided to describe the habitual journeys in this way because the descriptions fitted both the observations of early European recorders and the later reconstructions of archaeologists based on the siting of camps relative to resources. The movement patterns of people are also contrasted with group size. There are differences in group size, distance and purpose between a collection of family groups travelling to the bogong moth harvest and a solo messenger travelling

[1] The subject of contemporary Australians' sense of belonging to country has been explored in detail by Read (2000).

both within and beyond the borders of his own country[2]. This analysis of the source material gives another dimension to the information about group size and purpose.

Using the information on numbers and movement the dissertation examines the Aboriginal community in the post contact historical period of the nineteenth century in three convenient stages:

[2] Messengers were customarily men in far south-eastern Australia.

QuickTime™ and a
decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

pastoral, mission and separation (which succeeded the 1886 (Victoria) and 1909 (New South Wales) *Aborigines Protection* Acts) eras. This information will make it possible to establish the extent to which movement patterns changed in the era of European settlement.

1.2 Aboriginal Australians: a semi-nomadic people

A nomad is one who literally roams 'from pasture to pasture' (*Oxford Dictionary* 1969: 542). There are many theories as to why Australians did not become semi-nomadic pastoralists or adopt agriculture and the more sedentary lifestyle which is a feature of agrarian life. First, Australian mammals were not suited to animal husbandry, being difficult to contain because of their propensity to hop and burrow. In contrast, Europe and America's hoofed mammals neither hop nor burrow and can be contained by timber fences or herders with dogs. Second, most of Australia's impoverished soils are relatively unsuitable for agriculture, when compared, for example, with the fertile volcanic valleys and coastal plains of New Guinea and south-east Asia. In addition, Australian flora and fauna have evolved to maximise opportunities in good seasons on the predominantly shallow Australian soils and to survive fire and drought. The only possibility for a sedentary lifestyle for human beings in Australia was the introduction of animals and plants from other continents or the selection and sustainable growth of strains of 'bigger' flora and fauna.

Highland New Guineans developed a lifestyle based on the economy of the pig and the sweet potato. Consequently, there appears to have been little investigation by the highlanders of the indigenous flora as a source of food (Matthieson 1962). If the first Australians were fisher folk who island hopped from south-east Asia and the Torres Strait, their greatest expertise would have been in fishing and accessing the foods of the sea-shore and estuaries. They may have brought with them root vegetables such as the sweet potato and been unable to find suitably productive soils in northern Australia to ensure both food and seed. Elkin (1938, 1974: 265) noted that the unpredictability of the climate in many arid regions of Australia necessitated both the small size of groups and a semi-nomadic lifestyle such that people travelled routes between water holes in dry seasons and between rains when they came.

The amount of effort invested by these groups in the protection of their countries' borders was inversely related to the degree of hostility or amity with neighbours and the political and cultural complexity of that relationship. In addition, degrees of nomadism were practised by groups inhabiting a variety of ecosystems in Australia ranging from arid zone peoples who typically travelled further during any year and less predictably than the peoples of south-eastern Australia. The peoples of the south-eastern region of the continent appear to have undertaken regular journeys during most years guided by reliable seasons which ensured supplies of food and other raw materials. This predictability allowed regular formalised gatherings of large numbers for ceremony, trade and the maintenance of social fabric. A characteristic of nomadism is a materially simple lifestyle and the personal possessions of a nomad consist only of the items which are necessary for conducting the tasks to which he or she has been born (through both gender and ability). Semi-nomadism in the context of indigenous Australians describes a lifestyle that was characterised by the regular movement of small groups (the size of the group directly correlating with the availability of resources) to seek food and other raw materials within country to which the group belonged and for which it had specific formalised ceremonial obligations.

Migration describes the movement or periodic movement of people from one country, region or place to another, whereas immigration involves coming into a new habitat or country for the purpose of residence (*Macquarie Dictionary* 2001). These definitions are not inclusive of all Aboriginal movement as the shorter journeys, for example those between a camp and water source, may only involve a distance of a few metres and are certainly not extra-regional. Longer journeys, such as pilgrimages to sacred sites, may have taken participants out of the home country or region are included within the *Macquarie* definition. Theories about the immigration of Aboriginal Australians from south-east Asia via land bridges and short sea voyages have been expounded from the first half of the nineteenth century (Fitzroy 1839) to the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries (Butlin 1993, Thorne 2001), losing some impetus when the genetic analysis of Aboriginal blood types failed to reveal consistent groupings suggestive of waves of migrations. The key features expressed in these theories are presented in Appendix 2.

1.3 What is known about Aboriginal movement?

In addition to commonly-used sources, this dissertation makes use of methodologies which combine source materials not usually considered in conventional studies. Records of Aboriginal movements and migrations are uncommon in the available records. Valuable information can be gleaned from a number of non-conventional sources including a combination of oral histories (written, taped and personally communicated), blanket distribution records and genealogies. Censuses (1891 and 1901 for New South Wales included Aborigines as a category and others taken by government agencies and private individuals), breast plates, school attendance records, gaol records, Aboriginal Reserve records, and genealogies (including birth, death, baptism and marriage records) of Aboriginal families were also used. No single one of these sources provides a comprehensive picture of Aboriginal movement in the nineteenth century, but when used in combination a profile was reconstructed. This method has proved particularly useful in the South Coast section of the study region for which the Aboriginal Protectorate (and accompanying records) was not established until 1883 and no staffed Aboriginal reserves existed until 1890.

Scholarly works on the movement of pre-contact and nineteenth century Aborigines in south-eastern Australia are few and were usually included as a section within a larger body of work. These works include Gaughwin and Sullivan (1984) on the boundaries and movements of the Western Port Aborigines, McBryde (1984) on Aboriginal trade in south-eastern Australia and Flood (1980) on the journeys undertaken by Aborigines to the bogong moth grounds of the Australian Alps. Contributions were also made by Byrne (1984) on the Aborigines of the 'Five Forests' on the far south coast of New South Wales, Fesl (1985) on Gippsland languages but including a *précis* of migrations to and from missions and reserves, Pepper and de Araugo (1985) on the history of Gippsland Aboriginal people and Avery (1994) on the archaeology of the Canberra region. Movement stories are also scattered throughout the works of amateur anthropologists such as Smythe (1878), Curr (1883, 1886, 1887), Howitt (1904), Matthews (1898, 1902, 1904, 1907, 1908, 1909) and Massola (1969) and in the papers, journals and reports of Robinson, Howitt, Bulmer, Thomas, Matthews, Tyers, Hagenauer and others.

Figure 2 depicts the portion of the study area which has previously been researched with respect to Aboriginal migrations, trade and movement patterns in the period 1830 to 1910. A study of the patterns of Aboriginal movement in south-eastern Australia is long overdue and contributes significantly to the discipline of geography through our understanding of the impact of government policy on the customary movements of Aboriginal people and the extent to which these movements were maintained.

The large size of the study area is a significant aspect of the unique contribution of this research project as it enables a consideration of long journeys which crossed large areas of south-eastern Australia like those described by Howitt (1904: 81, 262, 718) and others. It also allows for a comprehensive

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are needed to see this picture.

comparison of a relatively large number of Aboriginal groups, thereby providing a much larger database than previous studies. In addition, the subject of Aboriginal movement is also considered in a detail which is usually only applied to studies of smaller geographical areas. An interdisciplinary approach has been applied to the resource material so that sources from the disciplines of history, archaeology, sociology, botany, anthropology and linguistics have all been considered and utilised. But it is the detailed use of genealogical sources which distinguishes this thesis, and which enables a longitudinal perspective on individuals fine enough to track detailed movements and transcend the use of raw (or net) numbers of people - when often the aggregate census figures masked a story of great mobility. The latter is a problem not confined to indigenous people (see Thernstrom 1973).

An analysis of the ethnographic literature reveals a limited amount of information about movement events and what are rarely described are small journeys such as water collection and short distance food, medicine and fire wood collecting expeditions. This lack of information has been overcome to some extent by extrapolating descriptions of customary camp subsistence activities from recent anthropological studies in northern and central Australia (for example Myers 1986, Walsh 1990), to the nineteenth century for far south-eastern Australia. Information about archaeological sites is used to determine patterns of site use. However, the archaeological record reflects site sampling rather than site use, just as the ethnographic literature reflects only Aboriginal activity that was observed and recorded by Europeans rather than all activity undertaken by Aborigines.

The phrase *patterns of movement* suggests that there is an observable spatial arrangement and temporal trend in the variables describing when?, who?, where? and why? and that these tendencies can then be analysed, perhaps to show responses to European land use and Government Aboriginal policy. Yet the ethnographic literature suggests that a surprising number of purposes for movement were maintained during the nineteenth century despite massive changes experienced in the lifestyle of south-east Australian Aborigines (see Fig 3). While the reasons for movement have not altered substantially the location of journeys often changed with European land use. For example, although Aboriginal people moved onto missions and no longer practised a continuously semi-nomadic

lifestyle, their day-to-day activities still involved water collection, the collection of wood and gathering raw materials for artefact manufacture, bush food collection and, less frequently, travel away from home for fishing expeditions, ceremony, marriage, funerals and family reunions. Certain communities were able to maintain their spiritual and law business although little was recorded of these practices

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(apart from descriptions of initiation ceremonies which were said to be extinct) by nineteenth century recorders. Some evidence for the maintenance of spiritual and law practices comes from the understanding that contemporary south-east Australian Aborigines have inherited this knowledge from their spiritual custodians. Elkin (1938, 1974: 51) considers that Australian Aborigines were compelled by circumstance to a nomadic lifestyle of seasonal migrations because the flora and fauna of the country were not conducive to domestication. Dependence upon the vagaries of the food supplies required people to develop adaptive strategies:

> Most hunters and gatherers throughout the world have used two strategies to adapt to the peculiarities of their food supply. First, they have lived in small groups thinly spread across the land. ... Second, they have moved residence regularly. Although not necessarily travelling frequently or far, most hunters and gatherers have not lived continuously in the same place in the manner of farmers (Dingle 1988: 5).

The literature of movement

The factors which have acted as forces to impel people either away from a place or toward a destination are known as push and pull factors. The push (repelling) and pull (attracting) factors will also be considered throughout the discussion of Aboriginal migratory behaviour. These factors will be shown to alter with changes of European land-use necessitating massive life style changes for Aboriginal people. For example, in pre-contact times pull factors might be food resources, ceremonial sites, trade, pay-back, moon phases and potential marriage partners and push factors exhaustion of food resources[3] and site pollution. In post-contact times pull factors might be food resources, settlements, employment, money, alcohol, ceremonial sites, pay-back and potential marriage partners and push factors settler hostility and exhaustion of food resources. It may also be demonstrated that

[3] When and where possible, the exploitation of living resources in Aboriginal societies was organised so that plant and animal populations remained viable. This was achieved on the south coast by allowing any group to use only a designated range of resources at specific sites. This range would be different for each group and at each site and thus species' diversity and abundance were maintained for all. In other Aboriginal communities it was ensured by taboos on certain items by age, gender and degree of initiation. Food items, particularly with respect to meat, were also allocated by strict laws according to kin position.

site pollution ceased to operate as a push factor when circumstances changed to offer no viable alternative sites. Other likely post-contact push factors are dissatisfaction with the attitudes and actions of bosses and managers.

Robinson (1838-46), Howitt (n.d., 1888, 1904), Bulmer (n.d., 1994), Thomas (1840, 1846, 1848) and Lambie (1842-48) have left an invaluable record of Aborigines in far south-eastern Australia. However unfortunately there is a paucity of information about Aboriginal movement in the published works of amateur ethnographers such as Curr (1883, 1886, 1887), Smyth (1878) and Howitt (1904) and this topic can only be found by sifting through the papers of the recorders themselves and extrapolating from the biographies of Aborigines contained within the published works. Rather than reconstructing Aboriginal movements within their political context, Howitt was interested in presenting the political and social customs of the Aboriginal people that he met and came to know. This probably reflects the obsession of the late nineteenth century intelligentsia with the nation state and Howitt's ignorance of nomadic societies.

Gaughwin and Sullivan (1984) have described and discussed the migrations of Bunurong Aborigines between 1840 and 1850, five to fifteen years after permanent European settlement of the area (see table 1). They investigated the four journeys recorded by Assistant Aboriginal Protector Thomas and were interested to see firstly whether they kept within the territory described for the Bunurong and secondly whether 'clans' visited the country of other 'clans'.

Table 1
Journeys of the Bunurong described by Thomas (1840-1850)
(source: Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984)

Date	From	To	No. Days	Distance Travelled
Feb 1840[4]	Lyndhurst	Lang Lang and Tuerong	42	100 km
May 1840	Point Nepean	Sandy Point	8	111 km
July 1840	Hastings	Flinders	19	82 km

[4] This trip consisted of 10 days at Tuerong (see Tuerong Road adjacent to Devilbend Reservoir), travel of 38 km to Kunnung (Monomeith area) where they stayed eight days, travel of 17 km to Tobinerk (near Jetty Lane), staying less than three nights at the other seven camping places (Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984: 93).

1850	Melbourne	Arthurs Seat	_	74 km
1850	Dandenong	Shoreham	_	87 km

They concluded that the Bunurong-Bulluk moved freely within the territory described by Thomas but were unable to comment for other 'clans'; that sea travel was rare, canoes were predominantly used for river transport and the group that Thomas was travelling with knew the whereabouts and destination of all other groups. Thomas found that native paths appeared to be well used in Bunurong country and Hovell noted that they made travel through low-lying areas easier and quicker. They both observed that Bunurong foraging parties ranged in size from small fishing groups of a few women and children to groups of 30. Larger parties consisted of individuals from the Bunurong-Bulluk, other Bunurong 'clans' and some Woiworung. In February 1840 a group of 101 people camped at waterholes near what is now Hastings for 14 days after which they moved 10 km to another waterhole where they spent 10 more days together. After 24 days they had difficulty obtaining sufficient food for the group and held a council which decided that the group must separate into six parties (averaging four people per party) 'traversing the country from Mt. Martha to Cape Schanck'. Thomas observed that a journeying group rarely covered more than 14 kilometres in a day, travelling an average of three to four kilometres per hour due to the diversion around obstacles and the necessity of procuring food. He also noted that they stayed no more than three nights in one place and often only one. They arrived at the camp an hour before dark, when the women were engaged in starting the fires and collecting water, the men making shelters, all of which took only half an hour. In warm weather the shelters consisted of a few boughs placed to windward and in cooler weather bark sheets measuring six feet were made into a three-sided hut with a roof. These huts held two adults and three children. In a large camp one man had responsibility for the inhabitants of up to eight of these shelters (*miams*). A group of miams was placed at least 50 yards from the next group while miams within one group were only four metres apart. Therefore a group of miams would have consisted of between 30 and 40 people and a gathering of between 150 and 200 people. Thomas described groups of between five and seven foraging up to 10 kilometres from the camp. Thomas also mentioned that Woiworung obtained wives from the Goulburn (Seymour and Kilmore), Barrabool (Geelong to Ballarat), Devil's River (Benalla and Mansfield) and Coast tribe (Bunurong). Therefore women marrying Woiworung men

would have travelled at least 60 (Kilmore), 98 (Seymour), 75 (Geelong), 112 (Ballarat), 190 (Benalla) and 150 (Mansfield) kilometres[5] respectively. Gaughwin and Sullivan have suggested that the journeys were undertaken primarily to visit relatives as the travellers moved between the country of intermarrying clans.

They noted that the primary purpose for journeys into and out of Melbourne after European settlement was for the purchase of food, alcohol and other goods of European origin. Melbourne was also a traditional gathering site in precontact times at which the Woiworong, Bunurong, Barrabool, Nilunguon and Goulburn peoples would meet twice a year to settle disputes. The Bunurong-bulluk would camp on the south of the Yarra near the mouth. The record for the Bunurong suggested that they had a preference for living in large groups and that the network of interrelationships between Kulin groups involved them in regular meetings for social and ceremonial purposes (Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984, Ellender and Christiansen 2001).

McBryde (1984) examined trade and gatherings in south-eastern Australia, interpreting sources which describe events with an emphasis on western and central Victoria. She found that the literature of the late nineteenth century established that trade took place in goods specific to a particular country; trade was inter-tribal; it took place at large gatherings and inter-group meetings (especially initiation gatherings) and items travelled great distances due to 'an agglomeration of short distance transactions rather than bulk movement of goods to distant market centres along established trade routes' (McBryde 1984: 134). Gatherings took place at times of seasonal abundance, usually in spring or summer. Often several groups met together for trade, the settling of disputes and to conduct initiations. Chief Aboriginal Protector Robinson observed the utilisation of abundant seasonal foods to conduct gatherings based around the eel season at Lake Bolac (where the inland groups met annually) and the whale season at Tare-er (a coastal site where the coastal groups of western Victoria met annually). McBryde also found that gatherings were rarely held solely for the purpose of exchange and that trade usually took place as a secondary activity to the primary purpose of dispute settlement

[5] By the most direct available route.

and ceremony. Trade was described as the final activity which served to confirm or cement friendships. When groups were in need of 'rare and valued resources' messengers were occasionally sent to secure the goods from their owners.

Barwick's important work mapping Victorian 'clans' (1984) discussed the use of space by these 'clan' groups. In the following extract she highlights three critical aspects of the reconstruction of Aboriginal attachment to country: social structures, land tenure and what European observers perceived:

> Clan lands were exploited by residential groups (now termed bands) whose membership changes over time as nuclear families formed, aged and were replaced, and over the course of each year because the families and individuals entitled to make use of a specific clan estate were sometimes together, sometimes dispersed, sometimes journeying to other localities to fulfil the religious and family obligations of responsible adults in Kulin society. Over a lifetime a person might successively join bands in various localities, utilising various rights to make use of land owned by others. But clan membership was fixed at birth. Each person inherited clan (and moiety) membership from his or her father and retained that membership until death. The patrilineal clans so recruited were stable units owning particular territories: their members' sense of identity derived from their own recognition, and public acceptance, of their inherited responsibility for that land. Because religious duties tethered men to their own clan estate the bands residing in any locality usually had a core of male clan members, with their wives, sons, unmarried daughters and other relatives whose rights of access were acquired by descent or marriage. These relatives were most commonly the husbands, children (and grandchildren) of daughters who had married men of other clans yet retained and transmitted various rights to use and care for the resources of their natal clan. Near kinsmen of women married to men of the owning clan were able to visit this territory and use its resources, and members of associated clans of the same moiety also had certain privileges of access. The land tenure system of the Kulin permitted individuals to make claims on various relatives in order to use land beyond their own estate. Individuals 'born' on the land of another clan had lifelong access but did not acquire clan membership. 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. Europeans, who did not grasp this concept but merely noticed the fluctuating size and variable composition of observed groups without understanding the

> principles of recruitment, were prone to assume that Aborigines were nomads incapable of the responsibilities of owners and proprietors (Barwick 1984: 106-7).

Mulvaney (1976) reviewed the evidence of Aboriginal movement and its material manifestations. Despite an increasing interest during the 1930s in what was termed ceremonial economics (the various systems of barter and gift exchange), the studies of Stanner (1933), Warner (1937/1964), Sharp (1952), Thomson (1949), Berndt (1951) and Falkenberg (1962) were all single group specific and therefore described 'inward looking, localised, intergroup contacts' and often failed to name exact travel routes of goods or people. Mulvaney found that nineteenth century recorders provided more detail of actual locations than anthropologists working between 1920 and 1970. He made the distinction between 'short-distance, intragroup meetings and exchanges, and long-distance, intergroup activities'; and two dynamics within these exchange systems namely, primary, face-to-face contact between two groups or their representatives and secondary, indirect contact in which an item or ceremony may pass from one group to another along 'a traditional route'. Mulvaney found a correlation between distance travelled by individuals and geographic factors, in other words that 'tribal areas varied with environmental factors' (Mulvaney 1976: 78). From a sample of 19 recorded movements from a variety of environments in Australia, Mulvaney concluded that for forested, hilly or coastal situations with recorded journeys of between 32 and 190 km, 110 km was normal for intragroup activities; over 190 km was normal on the drier inland plains and 400 to 480 km was normal for the Carpentaria to Lake Eyre region. He found that the range of goods exchanged at gatherings represented the complete material culture of the groups concerned. Gatherings were timed to access seasonal abundance and occurred during spring and summer in south-east Australia, during winter in north-eastern Victoria and after significant rainfall, particularly that leading to floods, in arid regions. Trade routes which followed waterholes and rivers existed throughout Australia. Between 80 and 1000 people have been recorded as having gathered together, however, Mulvaney calculated that an assembly of between 400 and 600 people would have been practicable (to feed and water) for most ecological zones given favourable seasonal conditions. He found that it was common throughout Australia for messengers to inform about intertribal gatherings, for groups to follow particular rules about camp siting, and for women to be made available to visitors as sexual partners. Research into the speed of travel of traded items has

found that it was not uncommon for items to travel 30 km per day for 10 days (ochre in the Flinders Ranges), 23 km per day for 21 days (pituri in Central Australia) and a ceremony was shown to have travelled 1600 km in 25 years. Mulvaney concluded, in conferring with Roth (1897: 132) that the 'walk about' [or pilgrimage] was one of the most important practices of Aboriginal culture because of the ongoing breadth and depth of its impact on the society in terms of cultural exchange and opportunities for self-expression. Sedentary societies have typically endeavoured to control the wanderings of semi-nomadic people, making them the subject of discrimination, marginalisation, intolerance and misunderstanding[6]. This control was also applied in Australia but was unable to significantly limit or contain the Aborigines.

Traditional (pre-contact) movements in far south-eastern Australia

The patterns of movement which can be described as traditional or pre-contact are difficult to determine because they must be deduced from events which were recorded or experienced by Europeans in early contact times but were typical of customary pre-contact events. These include archaeological findings and theory and accounts in the ethnographic record from Aboriginal informants about events which supposedly took place in pre-contact times. The potential problems with this methodology are considerable. However the attempt is worthwhile in order to provide a foundation upon which to assess one aspect of the impact of the European invasion on Aboriginal society in far south-eastern Australia, namely the way in which patterns of movement were impacted.

Table 2 is a reconstruction from existing anthropological and ethnohistorical sources (for example, Thomas 1840, Howitt 1904, Byrne 1983, McBride 1984) of suggested distances travelled for various traditional activities during pre-contact times in Australia. This information is repeated below, with additions, in the subsequent tables 4, 6 and 7.

Table 2
The distance of pre-contact Aboriginal movement in far south-eastern Australia (as suggested by the ethnographic record)

[6] For example, the Kung, Tuareg and Masai in Africa, the Kurds and Bedouin in the Middle East, the Sami in Scandinavia and the Gypsies of central and western Europe have experienced persistent pathologisation of their culture by dominant settled regimes.

Purpose of movement	0-5 kms	>5-15 kms	>15 kms
Visit another fire within group	*		
Collect water, fire wood	*		
Collect materials for shelter	*		
Gather vegetable foods	*	*	
Hunt small game	*	*	
Gather medicines	*	*	
Gather materials for artefacts, ornaments	*	*	
Gather materials for weapons	*	*	
Hunt large game	*	*	*
Pilgrimage to care for site	*	*	*
To enforce the law	*	*	*
Leave site of recent death		*	
Travel to new camp		*	
Seek, steal a new wife		*	*
Inform about ceremony, war, payback		*	*
Travel to husband's country		*	*
Visit family		*	*
Attend ceremony, reunion, barter etc.		*	*
Payback excursion, war			*

Archaeological research in the study area has, in a majority of cases, been commissioned in response to a specific need, such as concern about the destruction of sites by logging operations (for example, Byrne (1981, 1983), Bowdler (1983), Hall (1991)). Therefore the sampling has been site- or regionally-specific to satisfy the concerns of interested stakeholders who are often Aboriginal communities, that a proposed development or exploitation will not disturb significant archaeological sites. Less commonly, particularly in the past three decades, such research has been undertaken as a matter of academic interest (Lampert (1971), Flood (1980), Coutts (1984), Kaminga (1992)) or from a concern with the systematic sampling of large areas. In such cases the sampling reflects the archaeologist's prior knowledge of the environment and preconceptions about likely deposit sites. Archaeological field sampling is usually instigated by legislation to ensure the survey of private commercial and public development sites. These surveys are typically limited by time and money and furthermore, certain sampling methods are favoured over others. For example, spot sampling is quicker and less labour intensive than the systematic digging and sampling of trenches or full metre quadrants. Because of the time and energy involved in finding and sampling sites, archaeologists tend to sample likely sites, rather than a whole region (depending on the purpose of the research). Once archaeological deposits have been found, their interpretation is limited because they only show what was at a particular site

(and the depth to which the site was sampled) and not what exists typically in the broader region. Therefore, the small scale traditional movements which are derived from the archaeological record are subject to these limitations and a certain amount of speculation is involved. In fact archaeologists are loathe to reconstruct Aboriginal cultural practices based on their findings alone and rely heavily on the ethnographic record.

The undated sources used in this thesis usually refer to the late pre-contact or early post-contact period. For example, an item in the Howitt papers states that Little Jack's father was made Jera-el (initiated) at Lake Tyers (Howitt 1053/3b). As one of Howitt's informants interviewed between 1876 and 1884, Little Jack was probably at least thirty years of age, and therefore born before 1850. His father would have been at least 26 when he was born and therefore born before 1824 and initiated c. 1837. Another example of the temporal ambiguity of these early records comes from Mitchell (1926): 'Early settlers speak of great numbers; 500 at one time was not unusual, e.g. Middlingbank, Bogong Mountains, Cooma'. At the time of Mitchell's writing there had been 100 years of settlement on the Monaro and he does not make clear what he means by 'early'. His phraseology suggests that he was writing about people with whom he had spoken personally. However, he could equally well have been writing of people who were known to his father or other acquaintances.

1.4 Major changes in the nineteenth century

Capitalist ventures

The impact of European explorers on the Aboriginal inhabitants as they passed through the study region was not apparently major. As far as can be determined, they neither introduced European animals, spread epidemics of disease, killed or abducted men, women or children, raped or otherwise had sexual encounters with women nor were they involved in the wholesale destruction of vegetation. By comparison, the earliest European exploiters of far south-eastern Australia, the sealers and timber getters may have been involved in all of the former. For example, Oldrey (1842) reported the presence of a 38-year old woman of mixed descent living at Bodalla in 1842 which sets her birth year at about

1804, well before pastoralists or on-shore whaling had been established on the south coast. Such information provides an explanation for the fact that watering ships along the south coast of New South Wales were met with hails of spears rather than proffered hospitality when they attempted to land on the south coast in the early 1800s (*Anon* 1805, *Anon* 1806, King 1806, *Anon* 1808, *Anon* 1812). It is probable that only a fraction of the early encounters between Aborigines and the first European invaders of their country was recorded. The reasons for this are three-fold. First, many of the sealers and timber getters were illiterate and held a position in society in which their life experiences were unlikely to have been recorded by others. Second, it is likely that many of the encounters took place during illegal activities, whether squatting on land or getting timber without a licence. Third, participants in acts of violence and exploitation knew that they were doing wrong in principle (despite prevailing beliefs in social Darwinism) and rarely reported their activities accurately to the relevant authorities for fear of reprisals (for example Meyrick 1840-47). The capitalist ventures were usually the establishment of pastoral runs with opportunistic harvesting of bark and cedar as a sideline. The pre-mission era spanned a time period which varies for each area dependant upon the date at which European settlers first had a significant presence in the area. The first missions undertaken by the invaders involved the exploitation of natural resources using the hired or forced labour of convicts, Aborigines and ticket-of-leave men and women.

As table 3 shows, there is a considerable range in the span of the pre-mission era between regions (27 to 92 years), although this span shows less variation (24 to 69 years) if the date is calculated from the advent of the pastoral industry in each region. Significant contact was defined as those encounters which resulted in face-to-face exchanges rather than the episodic observations of explorers such as Hume and Hovell who tended not to engage with the indigenous populations.

Table 3
Dates of first significant contact, pastoral activity and first Aboriginal staffed reserves by region (sources: various histories of these regions)

Region	Year of first significant contact (A)	Year first pastoralism (B)	Year first Aboriginal reserve (C)	Yrs A to C (and B to C)
Gippsland (Vic)	1806 (sealers)	1838	1862	56 (24)

North-east (Vic)	c.1835 (pastoralists)	1835	1862	27 (27)
Monaro (NSW)	c.1823 (pastoralists)	1823	1892	69 (69)
South coast (NSW)	1799 (ships)	1826	1891	92 (65)

Table 4 shows that European contact introduced a number of new purposes for movements into the lives of south-east Australian Aborigines. There is also the suggestion that pre-contact movements were maintained during the pre-mission era.

Table 4
The distance of pastoral era Aboriginal movement in far south-eastern Australia (as suggested by the ethnographic record) **(Items in bold are different to table 6) (sources: various)**

Purpose of movement	**0-5 kms**	**>5-15 kms**	**>15 kms**
Pull factors			
Visit another fire within group	*		
Collect water, fire wood	*		
Collect materials for shelter	*		
Gather vegetable foods#	*	*	
Hunt small game#	*	*	
Gather medicines#	*	*	
Gather materials for artefacts, ornaments#	*	*	
Gather materials for weapons#	*	*	
Hunt large game#	*	*	*
Pilgrimage to care for site	*	*	*
To enforce the law	*	*	*
Seek, steal a new wife		*	*
Inform about ceremony, war, payback		*	*
Travel to husband's country#		*	*
Visit family#		*	*
Attend ceremony, reunion, barter etc.#		*	*
Payback excursion, war			*
Travel to settlements for employment, food, barter, alcohol, stimulation, race meetings	*	*	*
Travel to rural properties for employment	*	*	*
Travel to traditional enemies country for company, marriage, safety			*
Travel with European explorers for employment			*
Travel with Native Police for employment			*
Push factors			
Leave site of recent death		*	
Flee hostile pastoralists, hutkeepers, settlers etc.	*	*	
Flee native police			*
Both push and pull factors			
Travel to new camp#		*	
Travel to (congregate at) safe havens		*	*
Travel to rural properties or settlements as sexual			

slaves, domestic labour or rural labour (abducted) * *

> # These items include the accessing of resources at non-traditional sites, and the forging of new alliances as a result of the pressure placed upon traditional resources by pastoralism, settlements and the protection of certain Aboriginal individuals and groups by the presence of armed or powerful Europeans.

It can be seen that most of the pre-contact journeys were stimulated by pull factors and it was only the event of a death or the permitted sustainable use of resources that pushed groups away from a site. Most of the movement purposes that emerged with European settlement can also be described as pull factors, although the push factors had devastating effects on social organisation and the maintenance of traditional custom and did not always involve a later return to the site from which people had been 'pushed'.

Religious missions

Having established capitalism in the new land, Europeans set about "converting the souls" of the "indigenes". The mission era is the phase characterised by the advent of Aboriginal Reserves in the region and ending with the *Aborigines Protection* Acts. Table 5 shows that this phase spanned between 17 and 24 years. Despite the existence of colonial borders after 1851 and separate systems of Aboriginal administration, Monaro people were encouraged to settle at Lake Tyers in the 1870s. Many north-east Victorian Aborigines were taken to Coranderrk near Healesville where they intermarried with new Aboriginal families and found their way to Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers. Monaro Aborigines preferred to live off missions although a population of between 20 and 30 was usually to be found at Delegate Reserve, working seasons on Monaro and East Gippsland pastoral properties and doing casual harvesting and whaling work on the south coast and Gippsland. South coast Aborigines continued to live at their favoured coastal sites and river valleys, often on Aboriginal reserves gazetted for a specific individual for his or her lifetime and later at Wallaga Lake staffed Aboriginal reserve. The regular seasonal work which was available on the south coast and the mild climate favoured a modified nomadic life (involving sedentary periods at the reserves and unofficial camps followed by a season of picking and other labour intensive rural work) for Aborigines who lived there during the mission era.

Table 5
Date of the first Aboriginal staffed reserves and the passing of the Aborigines Protection Acts by region (sources: various)

Region	Year of first pastoralism (A)	Year of first staffed Aboriginal reserve (B)	Year of Aborigines' Protection Act (C)	No. years between B and C
Gippsland (Vic)	1838	1862	1886	24
North-east (Vic)	c.1835	1862	1886	24
Monaro (NSW)	c.1823	1892	1909	17
South coast (NSW)	1826	1891	1909	18

Table 6 shows that the advent of missions introduced new purposes for movement into the lives of south-east Australian Aborigines. There is also the suggestion that pre-contact and pre-mission movements were maintained during the mission era.

Table 6

The purposes of Aboriginal movement during the mission era in far south-eastern Australia (as suggested by the ethnographic record) **(Items in bold are different to Table 7) (sources: various)**

Purpose of movement	0-5 kms	>5-15 kms	>15 kms
Pull factors			
Visit another fire within group	*		
Collect water, fire wood	*		
Collect materials for shelter	*		
Gather vegetable foods#	*	*	
Hunt small game#	*	*	
Gather medicines#	*	*	
Gather materials for artefacts, ornaments#	*	*	
Gather materials for weapons#	*	*	
Hunt large game#	*	*	*
Pilgrimage to care for site	*	*	*
To enforce the law	*	*	*
Seek, steal a new wife		*	*
Inform about ceremony, war, payback		*	*
Travel to husband's country#		*	*
Visit family#		*	*
Attend ceremony, reunion, barter etc.#		*	*
Payback excursion, war			*
Travel to settlements for employment, food, barter, alcohol, stimulation, race meetings	*	*	*
Travel to rural properties for employment	*	*	*
Travel to traditional enemies country for company, marriage, safety			*
Travel to rural properties or settlements as domestic labour or rural labour (abducted)		*	*

Travel to missions for safety, food, camp, care	*	*	*
Travel to another mission for marriage (arranged by missionaries)			
visit relatives and friends, visit sweetheart			*
Travel to rural properties or settlements as domestic labour or rural labour (endentured)	*	*	*
Push factors			
Leave site of recent death		*	
Flee hostile pastoralists, hutkeepers, settlers etc.	*	*	
Leave mission or Aboriginal Reserve due to closure	*	*	*
Push and pull factors			
Travel to new camp#		*	
Travel to (congregate at) safe havens (properties)		*	*

These items include the accessing of resources at non-traditional sites, and the forging of new alliances as a result of the pressure placed upon traditional resources by pastoralism, settlements and the protection of certain Aboriginal individuals and groups by the presence of armed or powerful Europeans.

It can be seen that most of the purposes for movement during the mission era were motivated by pull factors, although the movement of people on to missions and reserves was often one of a limited number of choices rather than being an act of unlimited free will. Most Aboriginal people were very reluctant to leave missions once their families were established there. Moving to safe havens, such as the Howitt's Eastwood property at Bairnsdale, combined pull factors (the Howitt's were generous and relatively respectful) and push factors (the hostility of many pastoralists who made it dangerous to attempt to reside on custodial lands).

The Separation Era

The *Aborigines Protection* Acts (Appendices 4, 5 and 6) resulted in family separations, particularly in Victoria. Aboriginal men, women and children were increasingly required to live among Europeans and to work for European employers for either a minimum wage, pay in kind (food, clothing, tobacco or alcohol) or no wage. They were required to seek the permission of station managers to marry or to leave and enter mission lands. Under the new legislation, Aborigines of mixed descent did not have the same rights to support or residency of proscribed lands as full-bloods, but full-bloods were assigned less intrinsic value than non-Aboriginal people. Children were removed from their families into children’s homes and foster ‘care’ to promote their assimilation and entry into the unqualified

labour force. The Acts, which had originally been intended to protect Aborigines from the exploits of unscrupulous employers and provide reasonable assistance, became another means by which Aboriginal people's lives were controlled, particularly their right to freedom of movement. The systematic removal of children for seventy years during the twentieth century was a great blow to people already experiencing severe disenfranchisement.

Table 7 shows that the *Aborigines Protection* Acts introduced new purposes for movements into the lives of south-east Australian Aborigines. There is also the suggestion that some pre-contact, pre-mission and mission movements were maintained during this era. It can be seen that the number of push factors increased during this period with people being forced away from the missions for a variety of reasons. The number of pull factors was still proportionately much higher in the period.

Table 7
The distance of Aboriginal movement after the Aborigines Protection Acts (1886, 1909) in far south-eastern Australia (as suggested by the ethnographic record) **(Items in bold are different to table 9) (sources: various)**

Purpose of movement	**0-5 kms**	**>5-15 kms**	**>15 kms**
Pull factors			
Collect water, fire wood	*		
Collect materials for shelter	*		
Gather vegetable foods#	*	*	
Hunt small game#	*	*	
Gather medicines#	*	*	
Gather materials for artefacts, ornaments#	*	*	
Gather materials for weapons#	*	*	
Hunt large game#	*	*	*
Pilgrimage to care for site	*	*	*
To enforce the law	*	*	*
Travel to new camp#		*	

Seek a new wife		*	*
Inform about ceremony		*	*
Travel to husband's country#		*	*
Visit family#		*	*
Attend ceremony, reunion, barter etc.#		*	*
Travel to settlements for employment, food, barter, alcohol, stimulation, race meetings	*	*	*
Travel to rural properties for employment	*	*	*
Travel to missions for safety, food, camp, care	*	*	*
Travel between settlements for employment			*
Travel to forests for employment		*	*
Travel to properties for seasonal work	*	*	*
Push factors			
Travel to rural properties or settlements as domestic labour or rural labour (abducted)		*	*
Travel to rural properties or settlements as domestic labour or rural labour (indentured)	*	*	*
Travel away from missions due to Aborigines Protection Acts, to play sport, employment etc.	*	*	*
Children of mixed descent travel to orphanages?			*
Push and pull factors			
Travel to another mission for marriage (arranged by missionaries), due to mission closure, visit relatives and friends, visit sweetheart			*

These items include the accessing of resources at non-traditional sites, and the forging of new alliances as a result of the pressure placed upon traditional resources by pastoralism, settlements and the protection of certain Aboriginal individuals and groups by the presence of armed or powerful Europeans.

Governance of Aboriginal affairs 1830-1910

Victoria

Ironically, the customary connectedness to country of south-east Australian Aborigines was arguably more devastated by the institutions and individuals that were charged with Aborigines' protection than by any other single aspect of the European invasion[7]. The Port Phillip Protectorate was established in 1839 by the British Colonial Government ostensibly to protect Aborigines from the depredations imposed upon them by the presence of squatters on their land. In what later became the colony of Victoria, but was then known as the Port Phillip District, the system consisted of a Chief Protector and four Assistant-protectors of Aborigines. The task of the Protectors was to learn the

[7] Present generations of far south eastern Australian Aborigines accuse the Aboriginal Protection system of not only failing to protect their ancestors from abusive Europeans but also of responsibility for breaking the chain of knowledge through which important cultural information passed and was thus maintained.

customs of their charges, to recommend laws and regulations for their protection and control and to set aside land for them to live on. The Chief Protector was George Augustus Robinson and the Assistant-protectors were Edward Parker (at Mt. Franklin near the current township of Daylesford), William Thomas (at Narre Narre Warren, now an outer eastern suburb of Melbourne), Captain Sievwright (at Mt. Rouse where the current township of Penshurst is sited) and James Dredge (in the Goulburn District at Mitchellstown near the current township of Nagambie) (Lakic and Wrench 1994: 13-22).

In 1848 C.J. Tyers, the Commissioner of Lands for Gippsland, responded to a questionnaire sent to him by the Colonial Secretary requesting the opinion of all Commissioners on the appropriation of land for Aboriginal reserves. He refused to recommend any specific sites saying that the choice should be 'left to the Protector'. In defence of his position he wrote:

> My experience of the character and habits of the Aborigines of this colony generally ... leads me to believe no inducement whatever will cause the Adults to exchange their erratic, and independent, and to them pleasant, mode of life (except for short periods) for one which manual labour and a fixed abode are the concomitants (Tyers 1848).

Others were not so circumspect. The Surveyor General T.L. Mitchell recommended that all squatting leases should provide an Aboriginal Reserve replete with an adequate supply of wood and clean water and that these reserves should be ensured and administered by the Commissioner of each squatting district who would also provide an annual Aboriginal census and rations (Mitchell 1848). Bingham of the Tumut River District recommended that a reserve be sited at Briatta (Bingham 1848), Lambie of the Cooma District recommended reserves be sited near the Uraganga River[8], at Bega or Pambula and at Hickey's Crossing (near Dalgety) on the Snowy River (Lambie 1848) and Smythe of the Murray District recommended the siting of reserves at Devil's (Delatite) River, the Ovens and Murray junction, at Albury and at Wangaratta (Smythe 1848).

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[8] A name not known from either historical or recent maps of the Monaro, but possibly an alternative name for the Umeralla river.

By 1849 the Protectorate system was deemed untenable due to its lack of popularity[9] with both the general public and the Colonial Government. However, when Victoria became an independent colony in 1851, William Thomas advised Governor LaTrobe to continue with the reserve system. Consequently in 1859 a Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines was established and over the following decade five Central Board reserves were established, namely, Coranderrk at Healesville, Ramahyuck at Lake Wellington in Gippsland, Lake Tyers in Gippsland, Lake Condah in south-western Victoria and Framlingham near Warnambool, also in south-western Victoria. The importance of these institutions cannot be overstated, as they remain significant aspects of the histories of all the Aboriginal families who spent time there.

There were intentions expressed as early as 1879 that all Victorian Aborigines be housed at Lake Tyers. There was a sub-manager from the Board for the Protection of Aborigines (BPA) stationed there from 1905 and in 1908 the Church of England handed Lake Tyers over to the BPA (Long 1970:17). Ebenezer, a Moravian mission established in 1859 in the Victorian Wimmera, closed in 1904 and Ramahyuck in 1908, stimulating a movement of families to Lake Tyers. Other reserves did not formally close until the mid-twentieth century but many families moved from Lake Condah and Coranderrk due to uncertainty about the future of their stations. Details of migrations between missions and reserves are discussed in greater detail in chapter Four.

New South Wales

Momentum for the establishment of Aboriginal reserves in New South Wales came in 1830, 42 years after the colony began at Botany Bay. The first New South Wales' reserve was established at the former Wellington Valley Agricultural Station, where the government staff were being withdrawn and nearby large numbers of Wiradjuri were perceived to be in need of 'aid and comfort' (Read 1994: 12). In 1830 the task of organising an Aboriginal reserve at the Wellington Valley site was taken over by the English Church Missionary Society, but lasted only 12 years and by 1850 the buildings were noted to be deserted (*ibid*: 21).

[9] Aborigines were considered to be primitive and therefore unworthy of equal opportunity or justice.

It was then not until 1874 that Maloga mission station on the Murray River near Moama was established by the Reverend Daniel Mathews (Long 1970: 24). The Reverend Gribble was so impressed with Mathews' work that he championed his cause in an 1880 speech to a group of 'influential' Sydney men who duly responded by forming the Aborigines Protection Association (Long 1970: 24-26). This Association advocated that Aboriginal mission stations be supported by a corresponding bureaucratic structure. This suggestion was followed in 1881 by the appointment of George Thornton, Member of Parliament and former Mayor of Sydney to the position of Protector of Aborigines. However it was not until 1883 that the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board (APB) was formed (Long 1970: 26).

The responsibility of the Protector of Aborigines in New South Wales was to determine the condition and needs of Aborigines throughout the colony (later the state) and the subsequent setting up reserves: 'for the uses of the aborigines, for purposes of forming homes, cultivation and production of grain, vegetables, fruit, etc., for their own consumption, this would prove a powerful means of domesticating, civilising and making them comfortable' (Thornton 1882: 2). By the advent of the APB in 1883 there were 18 Aboriginal reserves in New South Wales, a number which had risen to 145 in 1903 and 170 by 1910 (Long 1970: 28). However, these figures disguise the complexity and variety of use of the New South Wales reserves, some of which were granted only to an individual for his or her lifetime or until it was considered by the Board to be no longer required. Cameron (1987: 93) has pointed out that no individual reserves were granted after 1884 and that thereafter the APB promoted the centralisation of Aboriginal populations onto larger reserves (or to fend as best they might in European settlements and Aboriginal fringe camps). Condemnation of fringe camps was being loudly voiced by non-Aboriginal residents in the mid 1880s, particularly at Tumut and Gundagai, with the result that in 1887 a suitable site was sought for a managed station and in 1890, Brungle was gazetted for the Tumut and Gundagai Wiradjuri (Read 1994: 36). Aboriginal affairs continued to be managed and mis-managed by the states after federation in 1901.

1.5 Movement in the Post Contact Era

The research has been designed to show how the major events of European occupation have influenced Aboriginal movement. Existing ethnographic and historical accounts suggested that certain events such as massive population loss, European hostility and employment, led to increased Aboriginal mobility, whereas other events, such as living on missions had the effect of reducing the frequency and complexity of movement. The veracity of these perspectives will be tested against data drawn from Aboriginal population estimates, genealogies, a series of maps depicting various aspects of Aboriginal occupation and movement charts created from a range of ethnographic records describing seven variables of movement events.

Estimating populations

Population estimates, however methodologically problematic they may be, provide essential parameters for the analysis of both population decline and movement. Radcliffe-Brown's 1930 estimate for the population of the entire continent was 251,000 but also gave a probable figure of over 300,000, the first figure giving a density of 1 person per 31 square km (and allowing that certain environments do not support human habitation, 1 person per 18 square kilometres).

The population estimates shown in table 8 mask regional variations between the most favoured environments such as coastal New South Wales and Queensland (the coastline around Sydney is estimated to have supported 1 person per 0.5 square kilometres) and the most difficult environments such as the arid regions of New South Wales and Queensland near their borders with South Australia and the Northern Territory (the Walbiri had an estimated population density of 1 person per 90 square kilometres). However, Kirk (1983) has reviewed the literature about pre-contact Aboriginal populations and distribution within different landscapes. Kirk cited Tindale's theory that 'the ability of all members of the tribe to communicate regularly is an important factor in stabilising the tribe' and that for a tribe such as the Wiradjuri inhabiting nearly 100,000 square kilometres 'the maintenance of a

cycle of ceremonies held in different parts of the tribal territory and involving a regular movement of people around the territory assisted in giving coherence to this widely scattered tribe' (ibid: 59).

Table 8
Radcliffe-Brown's estimate of the Aboriginal population based on holding capacity
(source: Kirk 1983: 40)

	Popn (1000s)	**Persons per 100 km²**
Western Australia	52	49
South Australia	10	98
Victoria	11.5	21
Queensland	100	18
New South Wales	40	21
Northern Territory	35	39
Tasmania	2.5	28

Table 9 shows the estimated pre-contact populations for the four regions within the study area (Figure 1) and the density of occupation. Populations have been estimated from Radcliffe-Brown's population densities for Victoria and New South Wales (21 persons per 100 square kilometres) and Tasmania (28 persons per 100 square kilometres) giving a range, the upper limit of which is still probably conservative. Implicit in the attempt to determine a pre-contact Aboriginal population is the assumption that an optimal population existed in each geographical region subject to the availability of resources in that district. It would not be unreasonable to suggest that the relatively well-watered fertile regions of Gippsland, the North-east of Victoria and South coast of New South Wales supported twice the populations than those calculated from the south-eastern state averages[10].

Table 9
Pre-contact populations for the study region
(source: Radcliffe-Brown 1930)

	Area (km²)	**Population**	**Persons per 100 km²**

[10] Both Victoria (e.g. north-western) and New South Wales (e.g. western) have large areas which experience low and variable rainfall and have relatively impoverished soils. Tasmania has large areas which have a short growing season.

Gippsland	8,400	1,764 - 2,352	21 - 28
North-east	10,736	2,255 - 3,006	21 - 28
Monaro	6,075	1,276 - 1,701	21 - 28
South coast	10,150	2,131 - 2,842	21 - 28

The Aboriginal populations of far south-eastern Australia can also be estimated and extrapolated from a number of other sources. Oral history is acknowledged to be significant to this discussion of Aboriginal occupation and movement as the originator of a majority of the resources from which this dissertation has been constructed. It can be described as responsible for information about Aborigines in local histories, historical monographs, contemporary nineteenth century media and recordings made by anthropologists and ethnohistorians. The only primary sources that exist outside this category are the blanket distribution censuses and archaeological survey findings which could be described as respectively statistical and scientific information. The statistics about populations can be found in blanket distribution records (individuals), mission reports (individuals) and government records of honorary guardians (individuals). Government records of the protectorate era (individuals and families), recollections of early settlers (groups and families), newspaper reports (groups) are also available. Populations can be estimated based upon numbers of individuals counted (who were recorded post-contact, allowance being made for a population decline between first contact and first recorded population due to disease and homicide), numbers of family groups and the numbers of local 'named' groups (subject to an estimate of the size of the local group based on an estimate of the carrying capacity of the land). The smallest named unit of Aboriginal society typically consisted of an extended family group of about thirty people where the men identified with the named group[11] and the women originated from another named group. The size of these groups within the study area was not recorded before the loss of life which ensued within the first decade of the invasion (the small pox epidemics actually preceded first contact). Statistics from the first blanket censuses give figures for the number within a named group as between 9 and 300 although numbers are commonly less than 100. Leakey has defined a typical hunter-gatherer group:

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[11] Use of the term clan for south eastern Australia has been favoured by Clark (1990) and others but has not been considered appropriate by certain anthropologists nor by myself. I have chosen to refer to the smallest named groups as 'named groups'. This is further explained in section 2.2.

> The numerical composition of a foraging band, roughly thirty people, has been called one of the 'magic numbers' of hunter-gatherer life. ... It appears to be the optimum combination of adults and children for exploiting the widespread plant and animal foods that hunter gatherers live on: fewer than this and the social structure is weakened; more, and the work effort has to be increased in order to collect enough food for everyone (Leakey 1981: 99).

The process of reconstructing pre-contact Aboriginal populations has been extensively addressed by Butlin (1983, 1993)[12]. He analysed the impact on populations of two smallpox epidemics, venereal diseases, population recovery based on reduced infanticide, the effect of resource loss, random killing by whites and notional additional diseases such as measles and influenza. He calculated that by 1850, a period of sixty two years after the landing of the first fleet, the population of Aboriginal women would have been reduced by between 92.3% (smallpox at 2.2 times the base Indian fatality rate, notional diseases in 1820 and venereal diseases beginning in 1815) and 51.07% (smallpox at 1.0 times the base Indian fatality rate, venereal diseases beginning in 1815 and population recovery by reduced infanticide raising the probability of survival by 20%). Butlin's statistical models provide parameters within which calculations and estimations derived from recorded sources can be cross-checked.

Table 10 demonstrates that information about the numbers of individuals is provided by a majority of the categories of source material, however there are problems with all of these sources in terms of calculating total populations for any one year. For example, Bingham's 1842 records of 100 at Tumut, 100 at Murrenmurrenbung, 300 at Mitta Mitta, 300 at Oulong (Howlong) and the Hume (Murray) River and 100 at Mungaboruna (Bingham 1842) look like approximations or guesses. There is no guarantee that any single source counted all Aboriginal people present in a region. Even the 1891 government census has certain families missing from the areas where they are known to have been living (as demonstrated by birth, death and marriage registers) and the Delegate and Bombala census books have not been lodged at the Archives Office of New South Wales (and are presumed destroyed). The 1863 Victorian censuses, published in the third annual report of the Board for the Protection of

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[12] Lambert has continued Butlin's research (Butlin 1983) which suggests that Aborigines were deliberately infected with smallpox (Griffith 2001).

Aborigines, which Barwick has assumed to be inclusive (Barwick 1971: 292-3) appear to be based on the censuses taken at ration depots and missions and may have excluded stockmen working on remote stations like Wulgulmerang and Tongio. Government officials noted the difficulty of counting a nomadic population:

> The accompanying Census I am led to believe exceeds the actual number, for I found it very difficult to obtain a correct return from the Natives Shifting so frequently. The Births during the last year have been about equal to the Deaths (Lambie 1842).

Table 10
The derivation of population statistics for far south-eastern Australia (sources: various)

Source	**individuals**	**families**	**groups (estimate)**
explorers			*
blanket returns	*	*	
surveyors			*
newspaper articles			*
Robinson material	*		
Honorary guardians	*		*
Mission reports	*		
Government census	*		
genealogies		*	
Protectorate reports	*	*	
local histories			*
research papers	*		

While it is conceded that recorders such as Thomas, Tyers and Bulmer named people other than those they met at ration depots (including missions) and camps, there is no guarantee that these lists were exhaustive. People are known to have received blankets twice in one year (at two different locations) and conversely to have been absent from the count on a blanket return for several years. Protectorate reports occasionally mention the presence of a family living at a reserve by name but more commonly note the number of families. Genealogies provide information about the whereabouts of a family at the time of a birth, death or marriage but are not inclusive of all family members.

The maps

Maps present information in a way that is assimilated differently from text and are more in keeping with non-literate Aboriginal representations of landscape, such as the art forms which depict scenes from above in the same way as a map (i.e. a plan view). The recent work of cultural geographers and historians such as Jacobs (1986, 1993) and Huggins (1995) identifies mapping as a profoundly political process which has provided colonial powers with guides to the dispossession of indigenes and attempted to present a stable reality (land must be named and presented before it can be possessed). More recently, in Native Title debates, maps have divided and allocated space between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal interests and stressed a relationship between sacredness and authenticity and thus are used as instruments of power and identity formation (Jacobs 1986, Jacobs 1993 and Huggins and Jacobs 1995).

While I acknowledge the imperialist role of the map, I also see maps as the means for revealing the richness of Aboriginal occupation to post-colonial Australians. Although mapping is necessarily problematic (inaccurate, too static, too rigidly defined, two dimensional rather than three (height), four (time) or five (spirit) and open to conjecture by political stakeholders). But what better means of representation do we have? The task of graphically presenting this richness is a worthwhile exercise as it has the potential to promote depth of understanding and respect for past, present and future Aborigines. In addition the map mimics the form of traditional sand paintings which present flat landscapes and tell the stories of ancestral journeys and dreamings. Thus there is a cultural precedent for this form of presentation as having validity and meaning in Aboriginal experience. The ethnographic record is found within a vast array of sources and the assembly of these sources as a series of maps contributes to a new perspective on this information. The approach taken uses different mapping models from previous reconstructions: recognising small divisions of the whole Aboriginal population, showing named groups as foci (numbers on a map) in a region which was reported to be the group's country, and delineating boundaries or limits to territory in the language, ‘us’ and ‘them’ (the other), directional names and functional names maps.

Constructing the movement charts

At the core of the thesis are spreadsheets of movement events for each of the four regions. In some cases variables were taken from the raw data for 'when' (the year during which the journey took place), 'who' (the names of the individuals or groups who travelled), 'how many' (the number of people per travelling group), 'from' (from whence the journeys devolved), 'to' (the destination of the journeys), 'how far' (an approximate distance travelled on the journeys in kilometres estimated by the supposed or known travel route), 'where' (the travel route taken for the journey which was either known or supposed) and 'why' (the reason, either known or supposed for the journeys). 'How far' added to 'why' assists in an understanding of the reasons for travel and how frequently such journeys were taken post contact.

Establishing the distances travelled adds significantly to the ethnohistorical record. The existing record of Aboriginal journeys is not complete because European recorders were biased in what they observed. For example, they were less likely to see women than men, firstly because women were likely to avoid strange men, and secondly because women's inferior social status would have rendered them less noticeable. Recorders were unlikely to see Aborigines who wanted to pass unnoticed. Media-worthy stories were sensationalised and closely followed by the European public; for example, stories about prisoners' exploits that led to court appearances or gaol sentences, the 1850s Gippsland blood feud and stories about Aboriginal trackers looking for lost children or fugitives. Creating this data required answers to seven critical questions:-

When?

By establishing when journeys took place the data can be arranged into clusters for analysis both by decade and by the eras into which the dissertation is divided, namely the pre-contact, pastoral, mission and separation eras[13]. A number of events were not dated but counted as part of the pastoral era because typically they were reminiscences from early settlers about that period.

Who?

[13] There were insufficient data about the time of the year during which journeys took place and therefore this aspect was not considered.

Descriptors of 'Who' came directly from the source and where not specifically named were labelled as 'unnamed' on the spreadsheet. A decision was made to include the statistics of 'camps' even though they may be described as 'static' rather than dynamic events. However, people at a camp have both an origin (unless born at the site) and a destination (unless dying at the site) and until very recent times, would have been moving on when food, season, social and ceremonial commitments created the need. Therefore it can be said that statistics of people at a camp provide an incomplete record of a journeying group (lacking information about origin and destination). By including this data it was possible to analyse the statistics of camps in the 'how many' category.

How many?

The category of 'How many' was constructed with, wherever possible, the *numbers* of individuals within a travelling group and otherwise interpreted alternative descriptors such as 'numbers', 'small mob' and 'tribes'. Assumptions were made about the number of people implied by the descriptors provided by the sources in order to make these records accessible in the 'how many' category. To this end the terms 'small group', 'some', 'a few' and 'several' were deemed to describe between two and five people, the terms tribe, the blacks, groups and a number were deemed to describe between six and ten people, the terms 'large group', 'great number', 'great gathering', 'many' and 'considerable number' were deemed to indicate more than eleven people. For example, one record stated that at an unspecified date the Theddora tribe travelled from Livingstone to Dargo. This was interpreted as being a group numbering between six and ten people.

From and To?

The information for the categories 'From' and 'To' were derived directly from the source material. The census statistics found in the Protection Board reports for Victoria and New South Wales, along with the genealogical data and the New South Wales census statistics for 1891 and 1901 were also analysed. Genealogies were used to determine movement from which the location of one or more members of a family can be inferred. It has been assumed that the family travelled as a unit and that when a birth took place, a woman was residing in the same place as her partner and accompanied by her other

children (unless they were already married and demonstrably elsewhere). Births, marriages and deaths have been used to place individuals and family groups, including those present as witnesses. Baptisms and christenings will not be used to define a place of abode as families often travelled away from home for these events and typically had several children processed at the same time[14]. Movement events were created taking the last known location of an individual (which may be the place of birth) and the place of destination as the site of the birth, marriage or death. Although these reconstructions are necessarily artificial, they indicate an event that ultimately took place. The true series of events was probably more complex than these reconstructions suggest. For example, based on the information that the Smith family had a child in Bairnsdale in 1873 and another at Lake Tyers in 1875, a movement event is created in 1875 between Bairnsdale and Lake Tyers for the whole Smith family. In fact before the baby was born in 1875 the family may have travelled from Delegate to Lake Tyers. Alternatively the family may have arrived at Lake Tyers in 1873 and remained there for two years.

Another shortcoming of this methodology is the attempt to reconstruct the family as a travelling unit. Aboriginal families typically shared their children among childless family members (including married brothers and sisters and grandparents) and men were often leading lives that were independent of their wives and children and frequently took them away from home. However, without knowing details of the lives of the individuals concerned, constructing the family as a travelling nuclear unit is the least unlikely of the unknowns.

Primary school attendance records provide a more accurate account of the location of a family than the place of a birth, death or marriage, but few of the nineteenth century records have survived episodes of fire[15] (which were an irregular but devastating aspect of life in heavily forested areas of Victoria and New South Wales in the nineteenth century), a notable exception being those of the Turlinjah school, situated on the far south coast of New South Wales near Bodalla.

[14] However, baptisms and christenings will be described as movement events in their own right.
[15] Fire was also a euphemism for other forms of deliberate destruction of records.

Where?

The most likely travel route has been determined from accounts of known Aboriginal routes, those typical of particular landscapes and a consideration of the terrain. Sometimes the route followed the banks of rivers or utilised waterways but at other times this was more difficult to ascertain. For example, it is not obvious whether people would travel from Yea to Wangaratta via the King River (which takes in some very mountainous terrain) or via the Broken River or Fifteen Mile Creek. There may be several possibilities; that sometimes people went one way and sometimes others dependent upon inclination, season, and the whereabouts of friends and relatives. Travel routes were measured along the most likely and shortest available route. However, actual distances may have been considerably greater and people may have travelled by a more circuitous route. Therefore, the distance presented for any journey is probably conservative.

Within the study area, abundant information of Aboriginal travel routes exists for the Monaro. In Gippsland many of these routes have evolved into present day highways. However on the far south coast of New South Wales bridges across inlets (at Narooma, Wallaga Lake and Batemans Bay, for example) have shortened and altered the routes of north-south land journeys considerably.

Travel routes were analysed by assigning codes to geographical features through which people passed on a journey. Most journeys traversed more than one of these features (sea water, fresh water, river valley, lake, ridge top, coast, coastal hinterland, high country plain and inland plain), thus the number of features per journey was not uniform. For example, a typical Monaro journey might pass along a river valley, a ridge top and a high country plain, whereas a south coast journey might include coast, sea water and coastal hinterland in the route. The frequency with which these geographical features were encountered within an era and a region was measured.

How far?

Journeys were categorised as small (up to and including five kilometres; category one), medium (greater than five but less than 15 kilometres; category two), and large (greater than 15 kilometres; category three). The first two categories are not considered to be migrations, but the third category, depending upon the terrain covered[16], could be so considered. The distance categories were chosen to reflect the perspective of economic activity. The 'small' journey was determined to represent the maximum distance a group of women and children would travel to forage for food in a day[17] (Bell 1987: 239-51 in Dingle 1988: 12). The 'medium' journey was calculated to represent the maximum distance a group of hunters would typically travel in pursuit of game in a day. The 'large' journey category includes migrations which were not part of the 'out of camp' food procuring activities. Tindale, in describing the experiences of journeys made by southern Western Desert men, noted that a walk which was defined as 'e:la [sic], close by, was 3 to 5 miles (5 to 8 km), a normal day's walk of 10 miles (16 km) would provoke no comment, 'parari', a long way, might indicate about 20 miles (over 30 km) and 'parari pakorenjo', a tiresome distance was anything further than the latter' (Tindale 1974: 38-39).

There is an overwhelming emphasis on 'large' journeys in the ethnographic record. As previously stated many of the shorter journeys were seemingly not noticed by European recorders, perhaps due to their “mundane” domestic purpose. It is therefore to be expected that the dissertation will give the longer journeys more consideration and analysis. The distance has been estimated as the shortest possible route according to the information supplied and was calculated, where otherwise unavailable, using string spread along the route on a map of the largest convenient scale. Where very general terms such as “Gippsland” and “Monaro” were provided, distances were measured from Bairnsdale and Cooma respectively, the rationale being that these places are central to both regions and will minimise the probable statistical error. Journeys by the Omeo people (probably a term covering all high country Victorians) were taken from Omeo town centre and journeys to and from the 'south coast' were estimated from Batemans Bay.

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[16] For example when moving from one distinct ecosystem or terrain to another.

[17] However, this average is inconsistent with Thomas' 1840 records of the Bunurong-bulluk who foraged up to 10 km from camp (Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984: 93).

Why?

Reasons for journeys were rarely provided by the sources, consequently, they were often deduced from other information such as who?, when? and where?. A shortcoming of this methodology is that while my reconstructions of the reason for journeys are based on informed conjecture, substantiation is problematic.

The spreadsheets amply demonstrate the opportunity for safe passage offered to Aborigines in "enemy" country when accompanying white men either as guides or stockmen. For example, Omeo and Mitta Mitta people travelled under such protection to Gippsland, Gippsland people travelled similarly to Melbourne, south coast New South Wales people travelled west of the Tambo River and Omeo people travelled to Melbourne.

Information about the duration of journeys and the time spent in camps has been reconstructed from genealogies for the latter part of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century for the study region.

Analysis of the movement charts

The movement charts were constructed to determine and analyse the patterns of movement for Aboriginal people during the four periods. Not all variables were able to be stated for all movement events. Where a variable was not known, that event was not included in analysis for that time period. Variables were analysed in clusters of events both by decade and by era (pre-contact, pastoral, mission and separation) allowing for trends of change in patterns to be observed.

This exercise begs the question as to how complete a record can be achieved. What percentage of the total number of movement events was represented by my combined data? Were some areas likely to be better represented than others? Were the records for certain time periods more complete than others? I considered that the record would be poorest for the regions of Omeo, Monaro and far east

Gippsland and east of the present day Hume Highway and north of the Dividing Range. My reasoning emanated from knowledge of the regions' generally low population density, significant Aboriginal depopulation and remoteness from large population and administration centres (and thus from the control and interest of their government and church employees). Although the record of Aboriginal journeys was poor, it was probably *consistently* poor, continuing to reflect the biases of the European societies. However the data assembled is both innovative and substantial, providing the basis for much more substantive insight than has been possible to date. Hence this undertaking adds significantly to the understanding of Aboriginal movement in far south eastern Australia if, for no other reason, than the sheer volume of new material which has been gathered, studied and mapped as well as for the unprecedented level of detail and size of the study region.

1.6 Methodological issues

The research process involves a multi-disciplinary approach to both data collection and utilisation (Hay 2000: 123-43), drawing from the disciplines of history, geography, anthropology, archaeology, sociology and linguistics. The dissertation sits within the body of historical research, pioneered by Reynolds in *The Other Side of the Frontier* (1990) that considers frontier history from the perspective of Aboriginal people (see Attwood 2002: 7). In examining the source material and devising the text I asked the following questions:

(i) How did depopulation impact on Aboriginal small group community structure and customary behaviours?

(ii) How did the loss of experts impact on political, spiritual and social structures?

(iii) How did the loss of access to land impact on the above?

(iv) How were these losses experienced personally/psychologically?

(v) How did illness impact on social structures?

(vi) How did the alienation of country impact on social structures?

(vii) How did the culture shock of interfacing with technologically advanced cultures impact on social structures?

(viii) To what degree were the new knowledges integrated by Aboriginal societies? Was this integration uniform? Did it conform to a pattern? Why were some aspects of colonial cultures rejected? Why were some integrated?

(ix) Why did the colonisers fail to acknowledge the degree and repercussions of the trauma resulting from the invasion and colonisation of Aboriginal lands? Is it because 'we' at first, considered them to be sub-human and therefore incapable of deep and life-threatening psychological suffering? Is it because we carried the mindset of feudal hierarchical societies that structurally ignored the sufferings of the socially disadvantaged, where we had immediately positioned Aborigines?

(x) How did missions and reserves impact on social structures?

(xi) What were the repercussions of the Aborigines Protection Acts on social structures?

Oral history was used to cross-reference other source material, to add to and corroborate genealogies and provide detail about events which are absent from Government Records. In addition there was a detailed examination of patterns of movement through a range of variables including size and identity of groups, distance and place travelled, reasons for travel, season and year. These variables are set within both a chronological framework based on key nineteenth century events of political and social significance to Aborigines of south-east Australia and within a framework of European land-use practices.

Oral histories

The status of oral history is problematic for all historians but particularly for historians of non-literate culture where there is a lack of written documentation. Attwood and Magowan (2001) have noted that post-colonial studies about history have become cultural and political capital and that control of these stories is contested by both indigenous and non-Aboriginal people (*ibid*: xi). They ask the questions: Who owns the past?; Whose history is it?; Who has the right to tell it?; and On what terms can and

should it be told? They also describe the broadening contexts of both history and anthropology which have allowed for a merging of the two disciplines in historical discussion (*ibid*: xv). Ideally Australian historical texts are interpreted through collaborations of indigenous and non-Aboriginal readers thus maximising the range of interpretations through different subject positioning. Perhaps the non-Aboriginal historian has some advantage in interpreting the cultural context of colonial Europeans whereas the indigenous historian is undoubtedly in a better position to interpret the cultural context of Aborigines. There is now, and will continue to be, a place for all perspectives and contributions. Nevertheless, the opportunities for indigenous perspectives to be aired at all levels from grass roots to academic, must be ensured through social, legal and educational incentives.

In some cases academia gives more credence to 'the history of [indigenous peoples] based on evidence written by someone other than [the indigenous people] themselves' (Fontana 1969: 366). Fontana points out the importance of drawing upon the sources of archaeology, ecology, physical anthropology, historical linguistics, ethnography and oral testimony in any reconstruction of non-literate societies in order to cross-check the information provided by the 'one-sided, ethnocentric, documentary record' of primary documentary sources.

Vansina (1965: 366) describes three kinds of oral testimony; 'the eye-witness account, which includes reminiscences; rumour, which gives the latest information about the present and which is also therefore current events or news; and oral tradition, verbal testimonies which are reported statements concerning the past'. The primary concern with oral testimony for both historian and anthropologist is whether or not it is "true" within its cultural context and what that truth conveys to the recorder. The

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favoured method of checking the spoken word against the written word suggests that the latter is 'something more than verbal testimony put in writing' (*ibid*: 367). The most recent debate concerns interpretations and ownership of stories about the colonial past (Attwood and Magowan 2001: xi - xvii).

Figure 4 demonstrates the construction of oral history from oral testimony and distinguishes between eye-witness accounts (i), rumour, current events and news (ii) and oral tradition (iii). The typically single generation eye-witness accounts are exemplified in the study region by the reminiscences of McAlpine about south Gippsland Aboriginal society (Howitt n.d.). Rumour, current events and news are often multi-generational and are particularly evident in contemporary nineteenth century media where Aborigines were portrayed by colonial writers as unsophisticated, uncivilised and doomed. Oral tradition, which is constantly evolving and concerns the repositories of Aboriginal knowledge informed by myth, song, dance, poetry, artworks and artefacts, is encoded for multi-generational survival. The accurate transmission of knowledge is ensured by visual, audial and sensory triggers which are encoded in cultural artefacts. This is the tradition which was often recorded by anthropologists and oral historians and later appeared in anthropological and ethnographic journals and monographs.

In evaluating the importance of oral tradition it is important to consider the social function of the story, the way in which it is transmitted, the way it varies within one social group, 'the local criteria for historical truth' and the way in which the oral testimony operates as a system within the society of its origin (Sturtevant 1966: 26). Baker argues that oral history takes on an added importance when the subjects are people who are marginalised by the dominant society because such groups tend to be poorly recorded in written history (Baker 1989: 57). Fontana (1969: 369) has also noted that: anthropologists are likely to collect the oral history of everyday events among ordinary people whereas the oral historian of western societies tends to seek out the stories of extraordinary men and women, making a tacit assumption that the lives of ordinary people hold no value for the contemporary audience: primary documents are eye-witness accounts rather than oral traditions and

it is that characteristic for which they are valued. The value of nineteenth century indigenous oral testimonies is continually unfolding as anthropolgists, archaeologists and ethnohistorians increase their understanding of indigenous cultures, and indigenous academics and commentators contribute their perspectives (for example, Baker et al 2001).

The oral testimony relevant to this study originated in south-eastern Australia in the late eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The recorders were English, Scottish and Irish gentry, convicts, free settlers and gold seekers from many countries and social backgrounds. They held a variety of roles in society as church and government officials, pastoralists and employees. They spoke many different languages although English predominated and the dialects and pronunciation of English varied widely. The task of recording Aboriginal testimonies[18] was impacted by differences of language, secrecy by the informant (the withholding of information deemed inappropriate to the recorder due to gender, age or absence of proven cultural qualification) and lack of qualification by the informant (when the *informant* is not a socially sanctioned holder or appropriate transmitter of the required information). Additional factors were placation by the informant (giving the recorder either any answer, rather than none, or an answer that the informant perceives the recorder to want), ignorance (including failure by the recorder to understand and identify key social markers about Aboriginal groups and as a consequence the recorded material is less useful than it had the potential to be[19]) and intent (such as the intentions of recorder and speaker can vary widely causing the recorder to misconstrue the speaker's testimony).

Major works such as Smyth (1878), Curr (1883) and Howitt (1904), which are the ethnographic reference points for south-eastern Australia, have been derived from the eye witness accounts of a large number of men and women whose word cannot now be verified. Fortunately, Howitt and Bulmer left an extensive collection of working papers and field notes which allow the modern

[18] Assuming the recorder to be non-Aboriginal and the informant or speaker to be Aboriginal.
[19] For example, William Thomas, Protector of Aborigines in the Melbourne region, often failed to meaningfully name the Aboriginal groups mentioned in his diaries and reports (Ellender and Christiansen 2001).

researcher to make a comparison with the published works to ascertain whether potentially important material was omitted or significantly altered. As Howitt's published works are not all represented by the existing papers, it must be concluded that either many of his papers have been lost or remain in private collections, or that some of his written work was derived from secondary sources.

Thus, in answering the question 'Is it true?' (of oral history) there are many points to consider. There exists the "truth" according to the Aboriginal informant, the "truth" according to the oral historian and the many shades of partial truths and untruths that emerge for a variety of reasons around who has power in the interaction between the Aboriginal subject/s and his/her recorder/s. A comparison of the stories about the murder of Bookur alias Ned and the abduction of his daughter Bolgan alias Hopping Kitty in east Gippsland[20] shows that different versions of stories come about through not only the selection of available material but also through the *availability* of material.

The conflicting evidence provided by oral testimonies is not easily resolved. The extraction of knowledge, particularly about territory, is subject to a number of complications including the knowledge of the informant, the degree of animosity toward neighbours, the functioning presence of rightful custodians in a country[21] and the degree to which the informant wishes to give the recorder a response that he/she thinks he wants to hear. Descriptions of territory from the nineteenth century record conflict more often than not. The reconciliation of these conflicts involves establishing and implementing a hierarchy of sources of information. Furthermore the researcher must state the desired result of the investigation, which in this case is to establish, as closely as possible, the name, habitual range, boundedness and patterns of movement of Aboriginal groups at the time of first European contact and how these changed in response to the events of the pastoral invasion, missions and the Aborigines' Protection Acts. This statement informs the hierarchy of sources which is:

[20] Oral histories have been recorded from Larry Johnson, Kerlip Tom, Charley Alexander and Phillip Pepper. Written accounts appeared in Gippsland Times (3 August 1869), Smythe (1878: 479-482), Bulmer papers (Box 2 pp. 59-64), Howitt (1904: 352-353) and Pepper and De Araugo (1985: 147-49).
[21] This phrase refers to the ability of a people to carry out their sacred responsibilities and economic business in a country.

(i) earliest known Aboriginal informants[22] recorded by a reputable recorder[23].

(ii) earliest known reputable non-Aboriginal informants having direct contact with Aboriginal informants.

(iii) later Aboriginal informants recorded by a reputable recorder.

(iv) later reputable non-Aboriginal informants having direct contact with later Aboriginal informants.

(v) later reputable non-Aboriginal informants having secondary contact with earliest known Aboriginal informants[24].

(vi) non-reputable non-Aboriginal informants.

The pastoral era, from the time of first documented contact with Europeans to the beginning of the first Gippsland Aboriginal reserves in 1862[25], was a period during which Aboriginal society was most profoundly impacted and altered. Whole clans became extinct and estimates of total loss of Aboriginal lives during this time range between 94 and 96% (Butlin 1983: 147). The causes of the decimation of population include introduced diseases, the deliberate poisoning of food, alcohol, tobacco and water, gun shot wounds, murder by other means, alcohol induced hypothermia and disease, subnutrition, malnutrition and psychological illness (described as a 'failure to thrive'). Traditional food sources became locally extinct and inaccessible and competition for food drove people into dangerous situations; for example, the exploitation of the country of traditional enemies and making camp on the property of hostile pastoralists. The events of the pastoral era are considered in approximately chronological order. This involves examining Aborigines as guides for explorers, pastoralists and government officials; Aborigines in the sealing and whaling industries, pastoralism, the Protectorate

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[22] The reputation of Aboriginal informants is not being considered in this hierarchy as there is only the word of non-Aboriginal people as to their reliability and this is not considered adequate.
[23] A reputable recorder is deemed to be one whose work has been regularly shown to be reliable through cross referencing, such as G.A. Robinson, or one whose attitude to Aborigines and experience with them give his/her evidence respectability, such as John Bulmer.
[24] This category includes the family stories passed down in early settler families.
[25] As opposed to the speculated contact of south coast New South Wales Aborigines with Portuguese explorers and the undocumented contact of Gippsland and South Coast Aborigines with sealers and whalers.

system, the Native Police, mining and gold seeking and the first settlements (those which generally preceded towns with organised/gazetted subdivisions of small blocks such as Port Albert).

The mission era is examined in chapter 4, a period which was characterised by two phases (establishment and closure/resettlement) having different movements and temporal variations both between regions and colonies. The first phase comprised the gathering of people onto missions at the instigation of church and government parties concerned at the failure of Aborigines 'to thrive'. There will be a discussion of the perception by European and Anglo-Australian community leaders and bureaucrats that nomadic lifestyles were physically and psychologically unhealthy, promoted uncivilised habits and were to be discouraged. The nineteenth century discourse of Australian Aborigines as the pathologised 'other' will be contrasted with the historical and current debate about nomadism versus sedentarism. This reveals striking parallels with both the Australian (and other) frontier experiences and contemporary anti-Aboriginal racism. There will be a general discussion of the rationale behind the evolution of church mission reserves and government reserves in Australia beginning in Port Phillip in 1837. This is followed by a consideration of the missions which were established within the study area and will include a discussion of the lands allocated for Aboriginal use contrasting the often smaller and more ephemeral camping reserves which were devoid of capital investments or management, with the usually larger and longer term reserves and government and church mission stations. The reasons why Aborigines chose to live on missions and reserves and conversely why they chose not to will be considered.

The mission era was formalised thirty years later in the New South Wales section of the study area (Brungle and Wallaga Lake reserves began in 1890 and 1891 respectively) than it was in Victoria (Lake Tyers and Ramahyuck began in 1862) and I present an examination of the events that shaped this history and its impact on the Aboriginal communities. Southern New South Wales lands were 'taken up' as squatting runs, possibly as early as 1823 on the Monaro and 1826 on the south coast, well before the Victorian portion of the study area was first squatted in 1835 in the north-east and 1839 in Gippsland. Differences in the government policies of the two colonies about Aboriginal settlements

provide a point of contrast for discussions of dislocation, mobility, separation and the provision of care.

The second 'mission era' phase comprised the forced resettlement of mission residents due to the closure of missions and reserves that were no longer deemed politically and/or financially viable. Read (1994: xiv) has suggested that 'the administration of various governors, missionaries and Board officials seemed to follow a thirty-year oscillation between enthusiasm and disillusionment' with respect to the possibilities of largesse delivered to Aborigines in the form of rations, allocations of land and funding of missions and reserves. Issues discussed in this chapter include the journeys taken in moving from one mission to another, from a mission to a settlement or other venue and the opportunities and obstacles that these journeys involved.

The fifth chapter dealing with the separation era traces migrations made after the Aborigines Protection Act of 1886 in Victoria and 1909 in New South Wales. There is an examination of the concept of being *half-caste* and what this meant for Australian Aborigines and their managers. The forced removal of certain individuals and families as a result of The Aborigines Protection Act destroyed the balance that had been achieved by families on the missions and reserves in adaptation to massive change. South coast families from the Moruya region are shown to have moved to Kempsey, Nambucca and Macksville in response to fear of disease, loss of freedoms and disrespect.

Throughout the thesis, case studies of Aboriginal families are presented including families originating from each region representing a variety of lifestyles and involvement in the whaling, pastoral and agricultural industries.

1.7 The study area

The area under consideration (Fig 4) consists of parts of two Australian states - firstly eastern Victoria, east of a north-south line drawn from Cape Patterson to Cobram on the Murray and secondly far

south-eastern New South Wales, from the Victorian border to Conjola Creek and inland to the present Hume Highway, including the Monaro Plateau and the Australian Alps and north to Canberra.

The study area was chosen because I had established, through the course of research conducted on Aboriginal language groups and tribal boundaries in eastern Victoria, that the reconstruction of language and tribal groups determined by Tindale (1942,1974) required significant revision. Reconstructions of traditional language groups and clan organisation in Victoria had been undertaken by Barwick (1984) and Clark (1990) but eastern Victoria had yet to be examined. The Victoria - New South Wales border had no pre-contact political significance to Aboriginal people and I realised that the border groups, described by Howitt (1880, 1904) as the Ngarigo and the Bidawal, had important cultural links with the groups that he described as the Yuin (Tindale's Walbanja, Djiringanj and Thaua), whose country extended north along the New South Wales coast to Conjola Creek: 'In the old times the limits [of the Yuin prospective marriage partners] were- Bem Lake [Gippsland], Delegate, Tumut, Braidwood, and so on to Shoalhaven, and thence following the sea-coast to Bem Lake' (Howitt 1996: 262). I included the Wolgal group of the Tumut region because the remnants of this group were closely affiliated with the Ngarigo and Yuin as well as regularly visiting the Lake Tyers Government Reserve in Gippsland. I did not extend the study area to include the Ngunawal people of the Yass, Canberra and Queanbeyan area as this group has been given detailed attention by Jackson-Nakano (1994). The Aboriginal groups named by Tindale in 1974[26] for all of Australia , whose boundaries and movements will be reviewed and described in the course of this dissertation are the Taungurong, Pangerang, Kwat Kwat, Jeithi, Wiradjuri, Duduroa, Djilamatang, Jaitmathang, Minjambuta, Walbanja, Djiringanj, Thaua, Wandandian, Ngarigo, Ngunawal, Walgalu, Bidawal, Brabralung, Braiakalung, Brataualung, Tatungalung and Krauataungalung.

[26] Tindale mapped what he termed language and tribal boundaries for Aboriginal groups across Australia.

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are needed to see this picture.

The study area comprises four convenient 'regions' for consideration and requires a rationale for the separation of data for mapping and analysis (Figure 5). The North-east Victoria region comprises the area bounded by Seymour, Shepparton, Jerilderee, Culcairn, Tumbarumba, Adaminaby, Wulgulmerang, Ensay, Dargo and Warburton and includes Tindale’s 1974 tribe/language groups Taungurong, Pangerang, Kwat Kwat, Jeithi, Wiradjuri, Duduroa, Djilamatang, Jaitmathang and Minjambuta. Gippsland comprises the area bounded by Wonthaggi, Orbost, Mansfield, Omeo and the Gippsland coast and includes Tindale's 1974 tribe/language groups Bunurong, Wurundjeri, Bratauolong, Braiakaulung, Brabiralung, Tatungalung and Krauatungalung. Monaro comprises the area bounded by Goulburn, Braidwood, Araluen, Deua River, Bemboka, Bendoc, Gelantipy, Tongio, Corryong, Tumbarumba, Tumut, Gundagai and Canberra and includes Tindale's 1974 tribe/language groups Ngunawal, Walgalu and Ngarigo. South Coast (New South Wales) comprises the area bounded by the Snowy River, Cape Howe, Jervis Bay and inland to the Great Dividing Range and includes Tindale's 1974 tribe/languages groups Bidawal (Maap; Wesson 1994), Thaua, Djiringanj, Walbanga and Wandandian.

While these regions do not represent neat cultural or physiographical entities, they do broadly fall into both of these categories. North-east and Gippsland are divided by inappropriately named Great Dividing Range (Duncan 1982: 3) and were, and are still, inhabited by Aborigines from quite different language and cultural associations. The southern tablelands, of which the Monaro region is a part, were inhabited by groups speaking dialects of the same language and associating with both the Wiradjuri to the west and the south coast people to the east (although there was frequent feuding between Monaro and south coast peoples). The south coast people spoke at least three distinct languages and had a complex set of intermarriage and intercultural associations. The Monaro and south coast peoples also inhabited distinct physiographic regions.

1.7 Thesis outline

Chapter one discusses what was known about traditional patterns of movement in Australia, in particular the south-east, and describes the research methodology. The second chapter examines the

discipline of cultural mapping and presents the research findings about Aboriginal movement within the study area for the pre-contact era in both text and map form. In the third chapter, patterns of movement are described with respect to the events from initial contact to the first missions and compared, where appropriate, with those of the previous chapter. Chapter four discusses the establishment of missions, the importance of both official and unofficial camping reserves, and attempts to sedentarise and christianise Aborigines and are compared with previous patterns in both text and map form. The fifth chapter, which examines the effect of racially discriminating Aborigines' Protection legislation on movement patterns in both colonies, details the diversification of Aboriginal societies and is compared with previous eras. The final concluding chapter synthesizes the findings by region, and discusses the changes in Aboriginal movement that were observed across the study period.

Chapter 2

The pre-contact distribution of Aborigines in eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales

The anthropologist Elkin defined the clan as: '... a grouping of people related in one line only, through the father or through the mother, but not through both' (Elkin 1938, 1974: 117). There was insufficient information available on the small localised named groups to support the use of the term clan. In addition, the information about these groups (including territory description, census and names of members) was usually recorded many years (as many as 21) after first European contact which initially impacted on Aboriginal populations through disease, dietary changes and homicide. He defined a tribe as:

> .. a group of people related by actual or implied genealogy, who occupy and own a definite area of territory and hunt and gather food over it according to rules which control the behaviour of the smaller groups and families within the tribe' and also 'is a group of Aborigines who
> (i) inhabit and own a usually definite area of country;
> (ii) use a language or dialect peculiar to themselves;
> (iii) know themselves, or are known, by a distinct name, though sometimes it is difficult to learn what this is, and indeed, it may not exist;
> (iv) possess customs and laws which often vary in some degree from those of neighbouring tribes; and
> (v) have their own rites and beliefs which frequently differ from those practised and held respectively by the peoples around (Elkin 1938, 1974: 56-57).

He also points out that not every 'tribe' fulfils all five of the tribal characteristics. Within the study area the only term which would qualify as describing the super-group suggested by Elkin's definition is Waveroo, from north-east Victoria. The other known super-group names have proved to be either language names, the word for man or woman (such as Muk-rukut and Muk-kani for Gippsland and Yuin for the south coast) or the term for a collection of smaller groups (such as Mobullergunde at Twofold Bay) with an indeterminate territory.

Previous reconstructions of the distribution of the Aborigines of far south-eastern Australia have been somewhat uni-dimensional, mapping small groups[1] (Smyth 1878, Barwick 1984, Fesl 1985), directional names (Howitt 1880, 1904; Tindale 1940, 1974), languages (Tindale 1940, 1974, Eades 1976, Barwick 1984, Fesl 1985) and 'tribes' (Tindale 1940, 1974, Barwick 1985). However, my exhaustive examination of the ethnographic literature for the area, has suggested that Tindale (1940, 1974) misinterpreted the observations of early recorders and mapped together a range of categories without clarification, including pseudonyms (for example Bidawal), language names (for example Djiringanj), men's directional descriptors (for example Krauatungalung) and small group names (for example Wandandian). Subsequently, a number of cultural geographers followed the example set by Tindale (including Eades 1976, Barwick 1984, Fesl 1985, Horton 1994 and Clark 1996b) as Tindale had followed Howitt's example in Gippsland. The status of the information on the distribution of Aborigines at the time of first European contact obviously required my revision to incorporate George Augustus Robinson's field journals (1840-1844) which have contributed information about 44% of the named groups within the study area[2]. The complexity of the available information and the desirability of updating the reconstructions adding Robinson's significant contribution prompted me to create a series of maps describing Aboriginal occupational relationships in far south-eastern Australia. The maps in this dissertation consist of 'named groups' (which previous ethnographers of the study area have named clans), language groups and their variants, a Gippsland map showing gender specific directional names, a far south coast map showing functional names, maps for 'the other', gatherings and travel routes.

The purpose of the chapter is to establish patterns of movement and occupation in far south-eastern Australia in the period 1830 to 1910. This is achieved by a description of the sources examined and the methodology for mapping Aboriginal occupation in far south-eastern Australia. Maps and accompanying text are presented for pre-contact occupation both from the perspective of the four

[1] Although Smyth's map is titled 'Aboriginal Tribes of Victoria'.

[2] The percentage figure would be considerably higher if the area in which he travelled through between 1840 and 1844 was the only one analysed.

regions and for the whole study area including patterns of movement in a range of scales from large to small.

2.1 Boundaries

A boundary has a regionalising function which is to define and enclose an area and there are different degrees of boundedness (Sutton 1997: 51). By contrast, a territory may have undefined boundaries and may only be described by that which is characterised within it. In other words a territory may include certain dreaming sites, resource sites and ceremonial sites. Jacobs (1986) has critically examined the limitations of Aboriginal tribal boundary maps:

> Aborigines structure the landscape in terms of points and tracks of cultural and practical value. For an Aboriginal group it is the presence or absence of these structures within their own body of knowledge which demarcates territory. In the tribal territory maps of Tindale and others it appears that different occupational structures, and particularly the boundary, are relevant. These maps give the misleading impression, especially to the uneducated user, that the Aboriginal landscape is based on culturally homogenous and exclusive areas clearly marked by distributional organisation, as reflected in the countries of Europe, the states of Australia or land ownership, rather than the reality of Aboriginal society (Jacobs 1986: 3-4).

She quotes recent evidence that questions the existence of anything more than temporary tribal boundaries:

> The land claim process established under the N.T. Land Rights Act has further added to the body of evidence which shows that while tribal territory does exist it is not static and is rarely demarcated by fixed boundaries. It is now clear that two or more groups can share an interest in one area and that individuals belonging to one tribal group may, through circumstances of conception, birth or kin, have rights over part of other tribal areas. Tribal territory is now seen as culturally and spatially flexible (Jacobs 1986: 4).

Jacobs has not sought to be constructionist in her work with contemporary Aboriginal groups in South Australia but rather to determine how those Aboriginal people construct the tribe, if such an entity

exists for them. One of the significant points that emerged from her work with the Kokatha was the following observation:

> ... while anthropologists have placed Tindale's interpretation and representation of tribal territory into question Aborigines today are finding it a useful tool by which they can articulate their identity and interest in land in terms we dictated and we understand (Jacobs 1986: 6).

She concluded that the maps of Tindale and other ethnographers become important to Aboriginal people in proportion to their loss of 'internal structures', such as knowledge of the spiritual origin and stories of places.

Williams, working with the Yolngu of north-eastern Arnhem Land, found that boundaries existed in a variety of forms being identified through dreaming stories (where the 'spirit being' encountered the boundary with a neighbouring group) or marked by natural features (change of gradient, hills, rivers, vegetation types, soil type and any combination of the former) (Williams 1982: 141-43). She concluded that: 'Boundaries are, in general, only as precise as they need to be, and they may be precise or imprecise for a number of reasons' (Williams 1982: 146). Further evidence of the existence of boundaries was found in the necessity for seeking permission to enter land to which others belong and to which the stranger has no familiarity or relationship. Unsanctioned entry may result in expressions of hostility from the land itself and from the plants and animals of that country.

Young has described the variation in the restriction and delineation of territory relative to the availability of resources. She points out that:

> In the northern monsoonal country of Arnhem Land, where the resource base was much richer and more reliable, traditional territories seem to have been more firmly circumscribed by boundaries than those of the desert people, where food supplies were often far less abundant. ... In such times those from resource-deficient areas ranged into the country of their better endowed neighbours, and such incursions were wholly

> acceptable as a survival mechanism with which all might ultimately be faced (Young 1992: 257).

Within the study area, this principle would be supported if it could be demonstrated that people living in the high country of the Monaro plateau and sub-alpine areas travelled to the resource rich regions of the Murray River valley, Gippsland Lakes and coastal regions during the colder months of the year and particularly during early spring when root vegetables were least abundant. Young also found that in desert regions country is delineated by dreaming tracks (rather than boundaries) which cross and intersect those of other groups and that many sites are cared for by a number of groups or individuals. She observed the transference of spiritual responsibilities onto outsiders who had joined a desert group from another country noting the importance of such a practice in marginal country where small groups might occasionally die out (ibid).

Lines on a map

The process of the mapping of the world by sea-faring, exploring and conquering peoples was an act of propriety (Jacobs 1992: 100). The first act of conquest was to map the conquered territory and the second was to divide and assign the divisional naming system of the invaders. Ethnographers, who have until recently acted from within the political context of the first invaders[3], have created maps in order to systematise the territorial identity of the indigenes from the perspective of the nation state. The nation state is a political structure which promotes the importance (and value) of the largest identifying entities while ignoring or devaluing smaller group entities. It promotes the subjugation of the many by the few.

While Aboriginal societies had a range of political entities which performed tasks as the occasion required[4] the primary and strongest identifier for a majority of peoples in south eastern Australia was the small group consisting of an extended family and affiliates. Consequently, the country with which

[3] It could be said that Aborigines were the first invaders, however it could also be argued that at the time they entered the Australian continent there were no other human occupants and that therefore their entry did not constitute an invasion. Another perspective, one which is held by many Australian Aborigines, is that they evolved on the Australian continent.

[4] For example, large political entities were called into focus for ceremonies and in times of war.

an individual was most familiar and about which he or she could speak with accuracy and authority was the country of this smallest division. This same individual could speak also about the country of politically aligned neighbours where, perhaps, he or she had attended an initiation ceremony or participated in the settlement of a dispute. Less well known was the country of neighbours with whom there was enmity and with whom there may have been an ongoing feud involving reciprocal abduction of women or small skirmishes with some loss of life. After the invasion, the knowledge of neighbouring countries was greatly extended when Aboriginal stockmen accompanied their employers into the country of customary enemies and even further into the territory of peoples of whom they had no prior knowledge[5]. Ethnographers' desire to map the largest political entities has led to much confusion.

Thus the classist European felt the need to establish and understand Aboriginal political hierarchies that did not exist. This would give Europeans the knowledge about those Aborigines with whom he needed to do business; the head men, the chiefs or kings. With such men he could bargain, negotiate and, where possible, trade goods in exchange for their compliance[6]. While it is probably true that there was, for example, a head goomera to whom all south coast men deferred in matters of ceremonial protocol, there were other men whose roles were equally important. In other words there were a number of leaders having responsibility in their fields of expertise holding parallel positions of authority. Aboriginal society ensured that every fit person was given a role that interconnected her with the rest of the group and set up strands of reciprocity. No Aboriginal individual was born into a position whereby he or she had more intrinsic value than another and less able members of the society were carried without rancour by the more able (see, for example, Tonkin and Landon 1999).

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[5] For example, Granboroo alias George Gilbert (born 1826 Liverpool) travelled with his ex-convict employer Edmund Buckley from Liverpool to Woolwye and Beloca on the Monaro. In 1839 they went to Tongio-Mungie on the Tambo River and to Gippsland by 1844 where he worked for Edmund Buckley and Edmund's son Patrick Coady for 25 years (Dow 1996).

[6] Concrete examples of this process took the form of the awarding of breast plates to favoured Aboriginal men and women as symbols of their authority or merit or in exchange for promises of compliance.

By contrast the political trend in Europe across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had been toward regionalisation of governments and the colonisation of smaller political entities, cultural and language groups[7]. Effective government in Britain was based on organisational structures that carved the country into ever smaller pieces governed by ever less powerful and less important echelons of the governmental hierarchy. On such a rationale was the county and parish system based. Surveyors were sent to the farthest corners of the Australian continent to discover the local Aboriginal names for places that could be used for a system of parishes which was eventually imposed upon the whole country. Parish boundaries took little heed of geographical features, population or climate. Victorian surveyors were instructed to establish parishes of about 30 square miles (103 square kilometres), however some varied considerably. Parishes were often assigned an Aboriginal place name, which did not necessarily correspond to the place bearing the original name. Larger divisions of country consisted of counties and municipalities of varying size. Although the nineteenth century ethnographers were probably accessing the same Aboriginal informants as the surveyors and asking them similar questions, the surveying process served a very different purpose.

Tindale's later work represents a synthesis of both the nineteenth century ethnographic and twentieth century contemporary anthropological research that was available to him before 1974. From this ground-breaking beginning, cultural geography has moved into an examination of the realities of small groups and a marriage between anthropology and geography. Furthermore, the validity of putting lines on a map to represent the occupation of Aborigines has been critically re-evaluated.

Cultural representations

[7] There are obvious exceptions to this process such as the survival of Monaco and Leichtenstein, but imperialist usurpation of cultures has continued into the twentieth century denying the practice of minority languages (and variants thereof) and cultures throughout Europe, such as the Gaelic languages of United Kingdom and the Basque and Catalan languages of France and Spain.

Smyth (1878), Tindale (1940, 1974), Barwick (1984), Clark (1990) and Horton (1994) have mapped the occupation of Victoria by Aboriginal groups from the perspective of language and tribal territories[8]. Fesl (1985) mapped eastern Victorian 'clan' groups and their territories and Eades (1976) mapped far south-eastern New South Wales language groups.

The descriptions of territory given to Robinson, Howitt, Bulmer and Hagenauer tended to relate to a nearby physiographic feature (for example 'the country in the mountains crossing place of Tambo', Robinson 22/7/1844a). In describing the large directional divisions of the Gippsland people, Howitt made use of rivers and watersheds to define territory (Howitt in Smyth 1878: 36, Howitt 1880: 227-228). I contend that the very specific boundaries provided by Smyth (1878) and Howitt (1880, 1904) were generalised from information about places which were favoured resource sites. One notable exception to the absence of specific boundary descriptions is the territory described for the Wolgal by Howitt's Wolgal informants Yibai-malian alias Murray Jack, his daughter Janey Alexander and Mrangulla alias Singing Johnny.

Acceptance that the boundary lines drawn by ethnographers are constructs of the mindset of the European invaders (Jacobs 1993: 101), begs a question about the relationship they bear to Aboriginal perceptions of the boundedness of occupation (Jacobs 1989: 3-4, Sutton 1995: 49-60). My analysis of the ethnographic literature of far south-eastern Australia suggests that boundaries did exist between language speaking and culturally affiliated groups but that they were subject to change due to succession of territory; that in certain regions they were intercepted by a buffer zone of neutral territory; that in other regions (such as the area above the tree-line at approximately 1500 metres) there were resource sites that belonged to individuals or groups within the territory of another group and that the vigilance with which boundaries were guarded was subject to the current state of political affiliations. One can rely on attaching the names of political entities to specific sites with some degree of accuracy. Certainly such a process is less inaccurate than attempting to map Aboriginal political boundaries. A continuation of this line of reasoning raises the query that if lines on a map do not

[8] Groups within the study area were not included in David and Prescott's 1992 work *Aboriginal frontiers and boundaries in Australia*.

accurately represent Aboriginal occupation (which was and is a dynamic experience), is there anything to be gained, particularly for Aboriginal people, in mapping Aboriginal cultural and political boundaries with lines?

Under the Westminster system it is the responsibility of the elected government to govern the people according to parliamentary legislation. In order to effectively govern, the government needs to know where people are, what they are called and what their particular requirements are. In the first decades of European settlement, the country of origin of settlers was of great interest to the Colonial Government. By contrast, Aboriginal people were simply described by the category of Aborigine. Recent concern with designating Aboriginal country has come about through the Native Title claim process; legislation which protects Aboriginal sites of significance, promotes joint management of public land (national parks, state forests, council reserves and other Crown land) and the process of declaring Aboriginal Places[9]. European systems of government require that there be no vagaries with respect to territorial divisions. The issues around the designation of Aboriginal country are being examined in exhaustive detail for Native Title claims which have recently been lodged for certain areas within the study region (including the Lake Tyers, Yorta Yorta, Walbunja and Broulee Island Claims).

Aboriginal people unavoidably become involved in the requirements of non-Aboriginal legislature for the designation of specific country to Aboriginal groups for the purpose of legislated responsibilities (such as responsibility for Aboriginal sites, community, cultural, spiritual and social concerns). This process is a source of anger and frustration to traditional Aboriginal custodians who feel that their experience of connections to country is misrepresented. In addition they are aware that the process distances non-Aboriginal Australians from a potential understanding of Aboriginal country. As these constructed boundaries are legally recognised, the chance of their being understood to be a compromise between Aboriginal understanding and legislation becomes less likely.

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[9] The New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974 No. 80 provides for an Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Advisory Committee, the dedication, care, control and management of Aboriginal areas and the declaration and control of protected archaeological areas. Native title is considered under the 1993 Commonwealth Native Title Act and the 1994 New South Wales Native Title Act No. 45. The New South Wales 1983 Lands Rights Act has the capacity to grant lands to Aboriginal Land Councils.

Having accepted the inevitability of attempts to determine and map the boundedness of Aboriginal countries, the potential damage perpetrated by this undertaking can be minimised by an exhaustive understanding of the shortcomings of the process. First, lines on the map are a non-Aboriginal construct having varying degrees of approximation to one Aboriginal reality of boundedness of territory (from among the variables of language boundary, boundary of culturally affiliated groups and boundary of groups affiliated by marriage arrangements).

Second, the boundedness of territory suggested by lines describing a possible contact or pre-contact scenario has been derived from a range of sources including primary, secondary and tertiary information. These include Aboriginal informants who were born before contact (primary sources), the European informants who spoke with the former about these matters (secondary sources), Aboriginal informants who were told about pre-contact realities by relatives and knowledgeable community members (secondary and tertiary sources), and the settlers who related to Howitt the stories that Aboriginal informants had told them (secondary and tertiary sources). Many of the accounts were recorded decades after the contact period. Therefore they do not constitute a consistent set of sources and yet they have typically been assembled in reconstructions such as Howitt (1888, 1904), Smyth (1878) and Tindale (1974) to form boundary maps as though the sources of information were equally reliable and valuable.

Third, the spiritual, social and cultural perspectives of identification with country are lost altogether in this mapping process. It was the responsibility of community leaders having different areas of expertise and responsibility to describe country from the perspective of their knowledge. For example, the warrior knew his country in terms of frontiers with enemies and political affiliations with neighbours who could be called upon to conduct a war. The spiritual custodian knew his and her country with respect to the dreaming tracks and stories which related to the sites for which he or she was responsible and also knew which other groups (language, cultural and political) were involved in caring for those sites. The maker of implements knew his and her country in terms of the availability

of raw materials for manufacture, where those raw materials must be traded from and who the finished product might be traded with, how far both raw materials and finished product might potentially travel and which groups along the way were involved in trade. The political experts knew the history of group political alliances and the current state of that social dynamic. The marriage experts knew which groups marriage partners could be legally drawn from, promoted socially sanctioned marriages and arranged for the punishment of inappropriate alliances.

Fourth, the responsibility of any group or individual for country was subject to change due to a number of factors and possible scenarios. These included the take over of country by a neighbouring group as a consequence of superior force in battle, take over of country by a neighbouring group as a result of the inability of the custodial group to continue to perform the necessary duties toward the country (due to the death of hereditary site custodians) or changes in group access to resources as a result of altered political alliances. An accurate portrayal of these circumstances may require the creation of a series of maps to show changes in these political realities over time.

Language boundary lines ignore the complexity of language use within any community having multi-lingual speakers. For example, Linjerak, alias Snowy River Charley or King Charley, was known to have spoken Muk-thang (the language of the Brabrolung), Thangquai (the language of the Kroatun), Thawa (the language of the Twofold Bay area) and Ngarego (the language of the Monaro area) (Howitt 1053/3a). Women commonly married into a community which spoke a language variant different from that of her father (if not a completely different language), but it must also be remembered that she was likely to be bi-lingual herself as a consequence of her mother's language. In addition to the range of common use languages spoken within any community, there were languages which were used specifically for ceremonial business, so as not to endanger untrained people. No single language map can represent the variety and complexity of these realities.

The shortcomings and ambiguities of the mapping process can be alleviated by a number of strategies. The first issue is time-specific and is rectified by mapping boundaries using the disclaimer that they

only approximate the distribution of Aborigines for a particular historical time (and neither the era preceding the stated time nor necessarily after). To this end I have favoured the use of a thick grey line and the designation of certain boundary areas as neutral or mutual territory (which were neutral because disputes were not conducted over rights to them and mutual because they were used by more than one language speaking group). The second concerns degrees of boundedness. In terms of the cartographic methodology, the line itself may spread across a kilometre of territory where, according to written descriptions, no such neutral zone existed. Similarly two groups may have had, by mutual agreement, access to both sides of a watercourse but not beyond and the subtleties of this arrangement are not adequately represented by small scale maps. The process undertaken by ethnographers such as Tindale (1940, 1974) and others systematises and homogenises disparate scenarios. It demands decisions about boundaries for which the source material may not necessarily inform. For example, Tindale drew the boundaries of the Minjambuta of north-east Victoria 'principally by exclusion from surrounding known tribal areas' (Tindale 1974: 206). Ethnographers, with the exception of Fesl (1985), have not attempted to graphically represent small group boundaries, preferring to position the group name at a favoured camping region or between two such areas. An example of this methodology is the 1878 Smyth map in which boundaries were drawn between what he termed 'Petty Nations' (and are now acknowledged to be language groups), but smaller (aggregates of) groups were identified and positioned by the placing of the name. The small group names on the Smyth map were provided by Hagenauer who was unaware of their aggregate status which made appropriate positioning of them difficult. For example, the Woolloom ba Belloom-belloom included two groups; the Bellum Bellum between Woodside and Lake Reeve, and the Wollum Wollum on the Latrobe River at Longford. Smyth positioned the composite group north of the Latrobe River between Traralgon and Sale which misrepresents both groups, being at least 40 km from one group and on the wrong side of the river and west of the other.

The ethnographer inevitably encounters conflicting historical evidence of nomenclature and territory. My method in this thesis for discerning the most appropriate name and territory description is based on weighting hierarchies of sources. Sources are weighted on the strengths of degree of information

(whether primary, secondary or tertiary sources), reliability (whether the source has a demonstrable record of verified information) and degree of relatedness to the source material and/or informants (including the variables of time, distance and familiarity). Primary sources, reliable sources and recorders having a close relationship with informants or events are considered to be the most accurate. Where the record is poor, the maps reflect this paucity, having language regions described as 'unknown' and fewer named groups.

Wesson's boundary reconstructions

Tindale (1940, 1974) differs from Wesson (2000) on several counts. Tindale chose to map tribe/language groups because differences of language often also delineated a separate tribe. His single map, which covers the whole of Australia, most closely corresponds with my year 2000 language maps for north-east, Monaro and Maap and south coast and directional names' map for Gippsland.

Tindale

Tindale used 29 sources to construct the part of his map which falls within the North-east section of the study area (Figure 6). By comparison I used 33 sources and only 24% were the same as those used by Tindale (see 2.3 North-east languages). Although Tindale and I both placed eight language/tribal groups for this region, Tindale's Kwat Kwat and Pangerang are not included by me in this region. These differences originate from the emphasis Tindale placed on Mathews' evidence and his lack of access to Robinson's material. As a result of this bias Tindale placed the Theddora speakers on the Murray valley and Kiewa River rather than in the high country suggested by the Lhotsky, Robinson and Howitt informants. Surprisingly Tindale failed to use Lhotsky (1839) (whose Monaro contacts described the north-east people and their territories in 1834), nor did he use the Howitt papers. Tindale also cited the published works of Massola (1962, 1968) which are secondary materials relying heavily on Howitt's records for their information. The importance that I have placed on Lhotsky's early information about the Monaro and north east Victorian groups led me to place the Gundungerre

in a region which Tindale had assigned to the Jaitmathang, Ngarigo and Djilamatang. The existence of Wiradjuri speakers south of the Murray was suggested by two sources, but without Robinson's 1840 confirmation of the single account of the Emu Mudjug (Reid in Smyth 1878), Tindale was probably not confident of the status of this group as permanent residents. The group that Tindale named Djilamatang are difficult to place geographically. Tindale chose to give them tribal status and placed them at the upper Murray. I have also positioned them on the upper Murray but assigned them small group status as Wolgal speakers, the Wolgal having cultural and social affiliations with both the Wiradjuri of the lower Tumut River and the Ngarigo speakers of the Monaro plateau.

Tindale used 39 sources to construct his map showing language/tribal groups in the region shown on my Monaro language map, compared with my 19 sources (47% were the same as those used by Tindale) to construct a map of two different languages (Ngarigo, Ngunawal, Wolgal and Braidwood language being variants of a single language). The most significant difference between the two reconstructions is that the region I have assigned to Muk-dhang (the language of the Maap), Tindale named the Bidawal (a pseudonym given them by neighbours of the Monaro and Twofold Bay). Much of this area Tindale considered to be the province of east Gippslanders who were Thangquai speakers according to his informants (1053/3a, 1053/4a). However, the fact that Gippslanders called the Maap

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are needed to see this picture.

language 'kwai-dhang' (Mathews 1907: 347) supports the theory that the Krowuntunkoolong were disenfranchised Maap, forced by circumstance to become politically aligned with the people who lived west of the Tambo River.

Tindale used 34 sources to construct his map showing language/tribal groups in the region shown on my South coast language map compared with my 12 sources to construct a map of five language variants. However, three of my sources were the papers of Robinson, Howitt and Mathews which include the accounts of a number of important Aboriginal informants, whereas Tindale relied on the published papers of Mathews and secondary twentieth century reconstructions. While Thaua-aira is a distinct language, the languages north of the Bega River (Dyirringanj, Thoorga, Thurumba and Tharawal) appear to consist of a chain of variants. Tindale's map differs from mine considerably, again due to his assigning the Maap (Bidawal) country north to the Towamba River. I found insufficient evidence for Tindale's use of Walbanga in the record[10] to warrant its use as a named group (it is not a language name) and described the language group north of the Dyirringanj, as Thoorga from Wallaga Lake to Tomakin. The single remnant of Braidwood language suggests that a variant of the Monaro language was spoken in that region, therefore it is excluded from the area that Tindale assigned to the Walbanga. Furthermore, I positioned the Thurumba (Mudthung), an intermediate form of Thoorga and Tharawal, between Lake Conjola and Batemans Bay. Wodi-Wodi appears to be a language spoken between the Shoalhaven River and the Illawarra (and is probably a variant of Tharawal) but as it was outside my study region, I did not analyse its degree of relationship with Tharawal.

Tindale used 18 sources to construct his map showing Gippsland language/tribal groups in the region shown on my Gippsland directional names' map compared with my 22 sources (27% were the same as those used by Tindale) to construct a map of five directional groups. The outstanding differences between Tindale's interpretation and mine are not so much with the boundedness of the regions as with the conclusions we have each drawn as to what the terminology describes. Tindale interpreted

[10] Tindale's evidence for the term Walbanga comes from a single interview with a Wallaga Lake resident in 1938 (Tindale 1938).

these directionally named super-groups as tribes (they are not also language groups). However, I consider that describing them as tribes is illogical because together they form an even larger group with the characteristics of a tribe although there is no single name that they used for themselves, being a people who insisted upon gender specificity with naming systems. The information given to Howitt by Bulmer in 1881 about the directional namings of the Gunai challenges the accepted naming of groups which Howitt established in his 1880 publication with Lorimer Fison *Kamileroi and Kurnai:*

> ... One of your queries I think I can answer from my own knowledge of the language of the Kurnai. You ask the meaning of Kroatunkolong; it simply means men of the east. The word kolong being in the masculine gender. Braguolo is a male of any kind, and the kulong is merely expressive of a male[11]. So Kroatunkolong will mean Men of the east. When they intend women they say Kroatun Worcut or Yactun Worcat, women of the east or of the west as the case may be. Blacks I find always speak distinctly as to genders. They speak of Brajeraks and Lowajeraks. They seem to have no word equal to our Mankind to express men & women but men are spoken of separately and so are the women. This I think you may safely take as the true meaning of Kroatunkolong or its opposite (Bulmer in Howitt MOV).

Another difference between my directional names' map and Tindale's tribal map is that I have bounded the four large groups by rivers and placed the Kroatun between the Snowy and Tambo rivers whereas Tindale followed Howitt's lead (Howitt called the directional groups clans) in which territory was defined by watersheds.

Tindale made his task the review of all published sources (and a few unpublished sources) pertaining to Aboriginal tribes and languages which involved a consideration of even recent (mid- twentieth century) secondary and tertiary works. He compared the cartographic process employed by his Aboriginal informants with his own and appreciated the compromise that he was making:

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[11] There are several different versions of the masculine suffix. Bulmer gave both *kulong* and *wulung* and Howitt (1880) described it as *lung* meaning father. ' "Lung" - This word, which is found as a terminal in all the clan names, appears to be disused among the Kurnai generally, in what was probably its original sense. The Kroatungolung understand it as "father", in which sense it occurs in the language of their neighbours, the Bidwelli' (Fison and Howitt 1880: footnote 229).

> When we copy such sketches into a notebook and identify each place by written names, we are making an artefact foreign to them, but these are often most useful in studying the tribal situation (Tindale 1974: 40).

Tindale did not access the manuscript papers of Robinson, Mathews, Tyers or Howitt although he does refer to one William Thomas manuscript. By comparison, I made use of only primary (including the former papers) and some secondary source material, using the academic dissertations of Tindale, Barwick, Clark, Fesl and Eades to test the strength of my arguments.

Barwick

Barwick's concentration on the mapping of clans, as opposed to tribes, shows a major shift in thinking from Tindale's 1974 work. It demonstrates an appreciation of the importance of smaller social units and the need to investigate the ethnographic literature on the subject to provide a cohesive and critically researched series of maps for Victoria. It was Barwick's intention to map the clans for the whole of Victoria but illness interrupted her progress after the publication of the central Victorian chapter (Barwick 1984). A draft copy of a paper on north-east Victorian clans has been made available to the Native Title debate concerning northern Victorian claims, but is not available outside that forum. A comparison can be made between the map in Barwick's 1984 paper and my north-east named groups and language groups maps.

Barwick mapped eight 'clan' groups in a region where I have mapped seventeen *named groups*. Barwick's scholarship is consistently rigorous and innovative and I can only propose that she did not transcribe enough of Robinson's journals and sufficiently scan the local histories to gain access to these additional nine groups. I have positioned seven of the eight groups differently from Barwick based upon the descriptions of country provided by Robinson (Field Journals 1840-1844). A comparison between Barwick's clan map and my north-east language map reveals minor differences between the boundedness of the Waveroo (Barwick 1984) and the region where Minubuddong was spoken (see 2.3 North-east languages). Barwick includes the Mogullumbuk (Mogullumbidj) within Waveroo territory whereas I have assigned this language group a separate territory based on their differing language and

cultural affiliations. I have placed a Wiradjuri speaking group (Emu mudjug) south of the Murray river, whereas Barwick portrayed Wiradjuri speakers as custodians of the country north of the Murray River.

Clark

Clark has focused his detailed language and clan reconstructions on central and western Victoria primarily based on the journals and notes of Robinson (see Clark 1990). However, he has produced a report (Clark 1996) in which he mapped language areas throughout Victoria and reviewed the status of current research for each. Clark's 1996 map can be compared with my north-east, Monaro and Gippsland language maps. He has based the eastern Victorian sections on Barwick (1984), Tindale (1974) and Wesson (1994). He acknowledged that the research for this eastern part of Victoria was not his own and that my work was anticipated to complete a more comprehensive picture of the distribution of Aborigines for the region.

Use of the term 'clan' by Barwick and Clark to describe the smallest named social division in Victorian Aboriginal society, has met with considerable criticism, particularly from anthropologists. As Keen has pointed out: 'for a named group to be at all usefully described as a "clan" some kind of descent rule is required' and 'Most of the names recorded are place names to which a variety of suffixes are added, glossed as "people", "camp" or "pertaining to"' (Keen 1998: 14).

Fesl

Fesl's work on Gippsland languages 'Ganai: a study of the Aboriginal Languages of Gippsland' involved an estimation of the tribal boundaries of the Gippsland groups, the Omeo tribe, the Ngarigu speakers and the Maap (Bidawal) from nineteenth century sources (Fesl 1985). She made use of the term *tribe* and named tribal divisions of the Jaitmathang as Theddora-mittung, Kandangora-mittung, Gining-matong and Pallang-middah, and of the Bidawal as being Wakeruk and Dangiai. She found no divisions for the Ngarigu. She described the Gunai as 'a group comprising from three to five tribal groups' based on the works of Howitt and others but notes that the Gippsland region was not only

occupied by those said to be Ganai (Fesl 1985: 2.2). Fesl referred to the term Muk-dhang which the Gunai used to describe one of their languages but does not mention Nulit and Thanguai, which, according to Howitt's informants Billy Wood and Harry Stevens, were variants of Gunai language (Howitt 1053/3a). Fesl's boundary reconstructions differ from those of Smyth (1878), Howitt (1880, 1904), Mathews (1907) and Tindale (1974) (Wesson 1994: 52) despite the claim that much of the information regarding tribal locations was derived from Howitt (1880).

Eades

Eades set out to review the record for two south coast languages, Dharawal and Dhurga. She critically examined the works of Mathews (1900, 1901a, 1901b, 1901c, 1902a, 1902b, 1902c, 1903, 1904), Tindale (1938, 1940, 1974), O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966: 48), Wurm (1972: 137), Capell (1963, 1970) and Oates and Oates (1970: 139-141). Her 1976 map differs considerably from my South Coast languages map (see 2.3 South coast languages). She sets language boundaries between Eden and Bombala (Thawa-Dyirringan), from Wallaga Lake west to the Monaro plateau (Dyirringan-Dhurga) and from Jervis Bay west beyond the Shoalhaven River (Dhurga-Dharawal). By contrast I have bounded the Thau-aira by Mallacoota Inlet and the Bega River (Robinson 6/8/1844, 30/8/1844), the Jeringan by the Bega River and the Wadbilliga plateau (based on remnant vocabularies), the Thoorga by the Wadbilliga plateau to Batemans Bay (Mathews 1902b), the Thurumba to Lake Conjola (McKenzie 1872a, Mathews 1903) and Tharawal to the north of Thurumba. I have excluded the Braidwood-Araluen area from the Thoorga or Tharawal regions based upon the only available remnant vocabulary provided by Steve (Thompson)[12] of Braidwood (Larmer 1899).

Eades' information on Tharawal requires further clarification. Ridley's informant, Mrs Malone, a Shoalhaven woman and Tharawal speaker had a husband who identified himself as *Gwiyagal* (Eades 1976: 3). This term sounds somewhat like Guyangal (Jenbin and Merriman in Howitt 1050/2a) which describes the southern fisher people who spoke Jeringan. *Gurungada* appears to be Coolangatta, the area of north Shoalhaven Heads extending between Broughton Creek and Seven Mile Beach.

[12] Born circa 1851 and said to be a full-blood (Moruya Charge Book 1868, Braidwood Entrance Book 1868).

Gurungada probably represents a more accurate phonetic spelling for correct pronunciation. The 'Hooka tribe' refers to the people whose leader was Hooka alias Charley Hooka:

> whose land extended along the western shores of the lake from the mouth of Mullet Creek northerly to Budjong, now known as Killy's Creek, by the range on the north and on the west and south by Dapto and Mullet Creeks ... Hooka also claimed the two islands named and a considerable portion of the lake (Brown 1893 in Organ 1990: 354).

Eades chose not to include Thurumba as a variant of Thoorga and Tharawal believing it to be a small group name associated with the Wandandian people. I found no evidence of this name in the Wandandian area, although the language may have been spoken by the Wandawandahan group (see 2.3 South coast languages).

Because Eades did not have access to Robinson's letterbooks and journals she was unaware of this important information about the vocabularies and boundaries of the far south coast Aborigines. Robinson's informants make it clear that the same language was spoken by the Cape Howe, Genoa, Wangrabel, Twofold Bay and Pambula people whereas the Bega people spoke another language (Robinson 6/8/1844a). Although he did not name the language he provided three vocabulary lists for the region which were provided by one woman and two men from Twofold Bay and one man from Cape Howe (see 2.3 South coast languages). The lists have been shown to represent variants of one language. Robinson's 'Biggah' list compares favourably with Mathews' *Thoorga* (65% commonality) and less favourably with Bega Charley's *Tiringal* (27% commonality). When comparing these figures it must be remembered that Robinson's list was recorded in 1844 (only 18 years after European settlement), Bega Charley's list circa 1883 (when Howitt was in Bega for the initiation enactment and 57 years after European settlement) and Mathews' list was made in 1904 (a further 21 years after Howitt).

A critique of the sources

Robinson

Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines for Port Phillip from 1839 to 1849, is widely regarded as being the most careful and accurate reporter of Aboriginal named groups, customs, language and place names for far south-eastern Australia[13]. During the ten years that he was Chief Protector, his investigative journeys in the study region took him three times to the Ovens and King Rivers region (1840, 1841 and 1842) and in 1844 he travelled from Melbourne to Port Albert, Bairnsdale, Bruthen, Omeo, Ingebyra, Cathcart, Twofold Bay, Cann River, Bega, Nimmitabel, Queanbeyan, Yass, Gundagai, Wodonga and back to Melbourne (Figure 7). Robinson made a detailed journal of all his activities (Figure 8) and kept copies of all the letters and reports he sent.

Throughout these journeys he recorded and sketched the physical landscape, the flora and fauna, the people he met (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal), their dwellings and means of survival, Aboriginal customs, languages, names, ages, country of identity, spouses and children. In 1840 he recorded the names of 51 people within the north-east portion of the study area, in 1841 he added 102 names for the north-east, in 1842 another 24 and in 1844 he met with and recorded the names of 231 Aboriginal people from the far south coast, 149 from Monaro and Omeo, 68 from the Gundagai region, 91 from the Limestone region (which includes Yass and Yarralumla) and 153 additional names from the north-east region. In 1844 he recorded vocabulary lists and phrases of the Aboriginal languages of Twofold Bay (two variants), Cape Howe, Monaro, Bega, Omeo, Gundagai and Kiewa River. Robinson

[13] In Gippsland he found surprisingly few Gunai, probably because they felt under threat after the reprisal killings of so many made in response to Aborigines' killing of Ronald Macalister.

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

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Figure 8: Sample of Robinson's 1844 journal

saw fit to record the names of both men, women and children, whereas blanket distribution records, where they exist, for the south coast and Monaro show women and children only as numbers beside the name of father/husband.

The Robinson material is important for a number of reasons. First, it is an early post-contact record of the demographics of small groups. It provides information about the places people identified as the country to which they belonged, although the status of that identification is not clear (whether birth place, country of father's people, country of mother's people, conception country or country for which they had ceremonial responsibilities). It provides information about the range and boundedness of small named groups, the use of Aboriginal languages, cultural alliances between small groups and language groups and the dynamics of the frontier. Frontier dynamics included marriages between people of different races, the impacts of pastoralism, the impacts of the whaling industry, the existence and causes of violence of the frontier, the introduction of European diseases to Aboriginal communities and the social position of Aboriginal people in a mixed community. It provides information about the movements of Aboriginal people both within their country and into the country of 'others'. Lastly, it gives an 1840s' European commentary on the Aboriginal people of far south-eastern Australia. Robinson's records are critical to this discussion. His census data for the south coast can be compared with the 1839 and 1841 blanket distribution lists made by George Imlay. Robinson's material can be seen to be more detailed in its definition and understanding of people's identification with country. From these two sets of records it has been possible to determine who died within that three to five year period and who was absent due to seasonal work or other reasons (or was not present at the blanket distribution census). These very early records are particularly important historically as recollections of the first half of the nineteenth century by European settlers were not typically recorded[14].

[14] When researching local history, I have found that people who are in their seventies, eighties and nineties in 1990 (born 1900s, 1910s, 1920s) remember stories that were told them by their parents (born 1870s, 1880s, 1890s) but not so often those of their grandparents. Therefore, enquiries would have had to be made of this age group in the 1950s at the latest to access the stories of the 1840s.

Howitt

It is serendipitous that the region which Robinson's field journals failed to embrace with respect to Aboriginal occupation, was the subject of extensive research by Howitt, fed by the knowledge of John Bulmer at Lake Tyers government mission and to a lesser extent Friedrich Hagenauer at Ramahyuck Moravian mission. Howitt immigrated to Australia in 1852, the son of a journalist and gained fame as an explorer and rescuer of the Burke and Wills expedition (1861-62). From 1864-66 he was the Mining Warden and Police Magistrate at Omeo and then at Bairnsdale and Sale until 1889.

His anthropological research began amongst the Gunai who were employed to pick his hops at Bairnsdale in 1872. He had a particular fascination with kinship and leadership. In 1874 he pioneered the use of the questionnaire as a tool of social anthropology which he sent all over Australia to the local guardians of the Aboriginal Protectorate system. He used the reverse side of the excess questionnaires to write notes which may be found amongst his papers in the State Library of Victoria while examples of his 1874 questionnaire may be found at the Mitchell Library (Mulvaney 1971). During the 1880s further circulars were sent to his informants on the subjects of terms of relationship, government, law, astronomy, Aboriginal songs and ceremonial body painting or mutilation.

Howitt's fascination with, and understanding of, kinship put him in a unique position both as an anthropologist and in his interactions with Aboriginal communities, to whom the concepts of kinship are integral to all aspects of life. He tricked tribal elders into revealing important sacred business by showing them sacred objects (bull-roarers) which were in his possession (one of which he had made himself) and would traditionally have only been given to an initiated man of important status. He used the trust which this possession engendered to instigate the revival of traditional initiations in Gippsland and far south-eastern New South Wales. Howitt became a tribal brother of the Brabriwoloong and was privy to much of the men's business of the Brabriwoloong groups. Unfortunately, there are only a few accounts of the daily routines of Gippsland women from female observers (for example, Harrison n.d., Harrison 1924) although Mulvaney (1971) notes that Howitt sought elder women as informants at Ramahyuck.

The strengths of Howitt's work lie in his impressive field experience which spanned thirteen years from 1872 to 1885 and his persistent and thorough checking of his information with other sources. He pioneered questionnaire techniques, ethnomusicology and the field study of ritual beliefs. The ethics of his means of obtaining the trust of tribal elders would be unacceptable today, nevertheless, the ruse was employed without malicious intent. Mulvaney (1971) sees the primary weaknesses of his work as being the blindness created by his evolution-centred approach to the subject, his reliance on distant informants and the Europeanisation of his Aboriginal informants.

The contribution of Howitt to the material for this dissertation derives from his records of and interest in identification with country, language, cultural alliances and movement. Both Howitt and Bulmer were fluent speakers of Gippsland languages and were thus able to hear and understand (cultural conditioning notwithstanding) explanations of cultural realities which have no European equivalent . Howitt mapped the directional naming system of Gippsland, calling the super-groups 'clans' (Howitt 1880, 1904). He ignored the information given him by Bulmer which stated that these terms were always gender-specific and provided only the male terms for this naming system in his published works. He also mapped named groups for the whole of Gippsland which can now be shown to represent a variety of naming systems including pseudonyms (for example Biduelli), language names (for example Jajarung) and small named groups (for example, Mogullumbitch)[15]. Howitt's New South Wales' map shows only Wiradjuri, Wolgal and Yuin for the study region. These names can now be shown to refer to a language group (Wiradjuri), a super-group (Wolgal; which is possibly also the name of the language variant[16]) and the term for mankind (Yuin, which also means a man).

Howitt's interest in tribal and social organisation resulted in his inquiry into and recording of information about intermarriage among Gippsland and south coast groups. His accounts of specific marriages, abductions, elopements and matches that did not conform to rules of kinship (and subsequent skirmishes or battles) are particularly rich in information about cultural alliances and

[15] By 'small named group' I intend to convey the smallest group which was given a name.
[16] Other variants of the same language are Ngarego, Ngunawal and an unnamed Braidwood language.

movements. The prelude to and events of the initiation enactments in Gippsland (somewhere near Bairnsdale) and at Mumbulla Mountain provide additional information about cultural alliances and movements. For example, Howitt's informants described ten places from which participants traditionally[17] travelled up to 279 km to attend the Mumbulla Mountain ceremonies (Howitt 1904: 519-20). During the 1883 re-enactment participants travelled up to 308 km from as far away as Tumut (Howitt 1904: 527). Howitt also recounted in detail the events of several family feuds which occurred among the Gippsland, Monaro and Omeo peoples, further embellishing the record of cultural alliances and movements at that time.

Howitt chose to use the term Kurnai to describe both the men and women of Gippsland based upon corroborating evidence from Bulmer:

> At that time [1862] there were about 250 Aborigines in Gippsland district comprising the Brabolung, Bratowolung, the Dargo, Brayakoolung, Krowutunkoolong. They all spoke the same language and were all classed among themselves as Kani (Bulmer n.d.)

In the Gippsland languages, a literal translation of *kurnai* is a man, having a variety of alternative spellings and pronunciations including ganai, gunai, kurnai, gun-na, kanny, kani, kanai and kannai. Therefore *kurnai* means both a man and mankind as does *yuin* in many of the far south coast languages. This is in contrast to the word *bra* which means both man and husband.[18]

There is some confusion over the Gippsland language names provided by Howitt, specifically Nulert, Mukthang and Thangquai, because Mukthang and Thangquai are also names for the language of the Maap of far east Gippsland.

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[17] In times before the coming of white man when the normal cultural alliances were disrupted and new alliances were forged.

[18] This would appear to contradict Bulmer's information (Bulmer in Howitt MOV) stating that the Gippsland people 'seem to have no word equal to our Mankind to express men and women'. Perhaps the use of the term *gunai* changed over time taking on the patriarchal overtones of the English 'man' and 'mankind'.

Table 12 provides a list of Howitt's informants and their birth year showing that many of them were born before the arrival of European pastoralists. The arrival of pastoralists during the childhood and young adulthood of others of these men may have adversely affected the of transmission of cultural information.

Table 11
Howitt's Aboriginal informants for the study region and their year and place of birth (sources: Howitt papers MOV and SLV, Wesson genealogies)

Tribal name/s	European name	Place of birth	Year of birth
Bakualk?	Little Jack	Snowy River	1820s-30s
Tulaba, Karlba Guran	Billy McLeod	Bruthen	1831-35
May Yurn	Tommy Hoddinott (Arnott)	Port Albert	1842
	Billy Wood	Bushy Park?	
Umbara, Yowbit	Merriman	Gulaga	1835
	Bega Charley	Bega?	
Linjerak	Snowy River Charley	Snowy River	1839
Brupin		Bega?	
Bundawal	Bobby Brown	Raymond Island	1830
Wool-le-wool-le-wrat	Bobby Coleman	Port Albert region	
Jilbino	Jenny Cooper	Yackendandah?	1828
Jenbin	Bob Curran	Eden?	
	Long Harry		
Googumbah	McKay	Wellington R.	1838-41
	McFarlane's Johnny	Omeo	
	Mickey	Dalgety	
Mondebyerer?	Munday	Monaro	c.1820s
Tongyai	Tongai Jimmy	Mt. Ellery	c.1820s
	Jemmy Lawson	Maap	
Yibai Malian	Murray Jack	Tumut region	c.1820s
	Janey Alexander[19]	Tumut region	c.1850s

[19] Before her marriage to Charley Alexander, she was married to Harry Whittaker, known as Sarah Jane Whittaker and the daughter of Yibai Malian alias Murray Jack.

Mragula	Singing Johnny	Tumut region	c.1813
	Jimmy Scott	Port Albert?	1832

Mathews

Mathews was born near Narellan in New South Wales, the son of Irish parents. He followed his father into the pastoral industry until the death of his father in 1867. He gave up farming and began training as a land surveyor. In 1870 he took up his first post as a surveyor at Tamworth. He moved to Singleton in 1879 and Parramatta in 1889 but by 1895 he was devoting most of his time to anthropology.

Mathews was particularly interested in the recording and copying of rock art, the recording of grammar and specimen vocabularies and the social organisation of tribes. He was concerned with the evolution of kinship systems throughout Australia and how these systems relate to one another and he proposed theories about the evolution of these systems. He also described language groupings and compared language lists in his search for affinities of speech, moiety names and initiation ceremonies. In review he described groups which shared similar language as communities and aggregations of communities as nations (Clark 1990).

Elkin, his biographer (1975a, 1975b, 1976), claims that almost all of Mathews' basic information was recorded through first hand experience in south-eastern Australia. He disputes the claims of Mathews' critics who consider that much of Mathews' south-east Australian work was based on 'guided correspondence' and therefore of doubtful value. Elkin does concede that many of Mathews' first hand informants were remembering events that took place twenty or more years previously. Barwick (1984) and Dixon (1976) consider that all his work should be treated with caution. Barwick (1984) brings the reliability of Mathews' work under severe question, suggesting that he could not possibly have collected all of his Victorian information first hand because he spent only ten weeks over three years on field trips in Victoria and she further suggested that he 'doctored his field notes for publication'. Barwick considered that Mathews' field notes are more reliable than his published work. It is possible that Mathews was motivated to produce 'evidence' and theories that conflicted with Howitt's work

due to his celebrated 'pathological jealousy' of Howitt. In contrast, Fesl (1985) considered Mathews to be 'the most reliable of the early recorders in Gippsland'.

My experience of Mathews' works is that he covered a paucity of information by cross-referencing to his other papers. But as the reader follows Mathews' advice and refers to his other papers, she is met with contradictory and confusing statements and little hard evidence. For example, he describes the boundedness of north-east languages:

> The Thaguwurru and kindred tribes occupied the country drained by the Goulburn, Campaspe, and Ovens rivers, exclusive of a strip along the valley of the Murray, and were bounded on the south by the main dividing range' (Mathews 1902d: 86) and 'Minyambuta, a dialect of the Dhudhuroa, was the speech of the tribes occupying the Buffalo, King, Ovens, and Broken rivers, with the tributaries of all these streams (Mathews 1909: 278).

In describing the language of the Gippsland people between the Mitchell and the Tambo, he decided not only to ascribe the directional name to the language they spoke (Muk-thang), but also to ascribe Brabirrawulung to all Gippsland people (Mathews 1902d: 92). Bulmer responded to this misinformation by letter the same year:

> With regard to the meaning of the word *wulung* after Brabirralung, I think this is meaning a masculine termination. The meaning is men belonging to certain places, they only use it with regard to men. Brayakkolung, or men from the west, for women they would say Yakthun ookah, or a woman of the west. ... they are all named according to the point of the compass in which they reside... (Bulmer 1902 in Mathews n.d.).

It is not unjust to conclude that Mathews' work is unreliable and that he appeared, to an inexpert audience, more informed than he really was. These conclusions notwithstanding, his work makes a very important contribution to the body of ethnographic literature for far south-eastern Australia. Table 12 shows characteristics of the vocabularies collected in the region by Mathews which I have analysed to assist in determining language speaking areas. It can also be seen from the table that

Mathews' informants were born between 1825 and 1870 (with a majority born before 1850), which supports his persistent claim that his informants were elders who spoke their languages fluently. Although, as the table shows, Mathews lists were, in the main, not the only lists available for analysis, the sheer volume of information that he left through his informants makes his language record very important, apart from the contribution he has made to linguistics[20]. Compared with the Bench of Magistrates at Yass (108 words) for Nganawal, Mrs Carroll provided 269 words (Mathews 1904) and compared with Tongai Jimmy (26 words) and Jemmy Lawson (14 words) for Maap, Mathews' informant (possibly Harry Whittacker) provided 311 words (Mathews 1907).

Table 12
Mathews' contribution to remnant vocabularies in eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales, including year of record, informant's name and birth year and the number of words recorded (sources: Mathews papers, Wesson genealogies)

Name	*Year*	*Informants*	*Birth year*	*No. words*	*Reference*	*Sole ref.20*
Delegate	n.d.	Harry Whittaker	c.1870	20	Mathews n.d.	yes
Jirigan	n.d.	Annie Wood, Annie Benson	c.1845	-	Mathews n.d.	no
Thoorga	1902	[Edward] Walker, Annie Wood[21]	c.1840 c.1845	610	Mathews 1902b	no

[20] Mathews was the first ethnographer to present information about languages according to their linguistic structure and characteristics.
[21] In the 1960s Capell spoke to a number of Thoorga language speakers including Bill Johnson, Mr and Mrs Penrith, Henry Davis, Bill Hammond, Mrs Ernest Brierly, Mrs Rose Mumbler and Mrs Arthur Chapman (Capell 1963: S.22).

		Thooritgal				
Brabirrawulung	1902	Colin Hood,	c.1848	285	Mathews 1902d	no
		Donald Cameron,	c.1845			
		Billy Clark,	c.1840			
		Mary Clark				
Thurrawal	1904	[Robert] Andy,	c.1860			
		Mrs Timbery		438	Mathews 1904a	no
Ngunawal	1904	Mrs Carroll[22]	c.1828	269	Mathews 1904b	no
Wiradjuri	1904	Jack Bryant,	c.1864	387	Mathews 1904c	no
		Mrs Carroll,	c.1828			
		Billy McCrae,	c.1825			
		Mrs Susan Perry	c.1870			
Birdhawal	1907			311	Mathews 1907	no
Ngarrugu	1908			194	Mathews 1908	no
Dhuduroa	1909	Neddy Wheeler	c.1838	277	Mathews 1909	yes

In addition to the remnant vocabularies he recorded, Mathews made available (often contradictory and confusing) descriptions of the territories and tribes in which languages were spoken. He did not attempt to map the boundedness that he described. He also described the initiation ceremonies of several super-groups within the study area including the Maap. Between 1892 and 1917 he was sole or joint author of 126 papers which were published in journals throughout the world. Twenty-four of these papers are relevant to the study area. Seven describe initiation ceremonies, four are about tribal organisation, fourteen are about language and two about 'customs'.

Journalists

Nineteenth century journalists, such as Barlow writing for the *Moruya Examiner* between 1880 and 1890, had the task of representing Aborigines in a way that would stimulate the interest of the reading public without offending their sensibilities. Therefore, the bias in their writing provides insight into both the prejudices and the philanthropic tendencies of the *status quo*. Barlow, who disguised himself rather unsuccesfully as Wolrab, mingled with south coast Aboriginal residents and produced fictional narratives of supposedly true events including an account of the first sighting of a European sailing vessel and the footprints of white men at Tuross, a ceremonial gathering at Bendethera and a disastrous bird egging expedition to Baranguba (Montague Island). The veracity of these accounts is

[22] Probably Queen Lucy Hamilton Hume who married Ned Carrol.

not yet able to be determined because no cross references are known. They functioned to perpetuate the myth of the noble and mysterious but doomed savage[23].

Diarists

The diaries, journals, letter books, memoirs and field notes of government employees, pastoralists, managers and settlers provide a wealth of information for historical research. Most important of these for this dissertation are the field journals and letter books of Robinson which have been discussed above. Other works in this category that have added to the body of knowledge about Aborigines in far south-eastern Australia are the diaries of Baron Charles von Hugel writing of his 1833-34 Australian travels which included a visit to Twofold Bay (von Hugel 1994), Dr. E. Barker writing of his travels in south Gippsland in the 1840s (Barker n.d.) and Oswald Walter Brierly who was the manager of Boyd's establishment at Twofold Bay from 1843 to 1849 (Brierly 1843). G. Fead wrote of his life on the Victorian and New South Wales goldfields between 1853 and 1860 (Fead 1880), Hagenauer left letter books of his correspondence to church officials, friends and relatives about the residents and affairs of Ramahyuck mission station (Hagenauer 1876, 1879) and the Reverend Francis Hales of The Heart (near Sale) left a detailed diary (Hales n.d.) of his experiences of Gippsland in the 1850s and wrote of his encounters with local Aboriginal people. Other important sources are the memoirs of J. Jauncey, who lived and worked on Monaro and south coast pastoral properties from 1833 written circa 1889 (Jauncey 1889), Joseph Lingard, an English convict who worked as a cook on Monaro pastoral properties during the early 1840s whose kitchen was regularly visited by Aboriginal groups (Lingard 1846) and R.F. Payten's letter to A.S. Le Soeuf in which he remembered the events and proceedings which took place around gathering bogong moths (Payten 1949). Im addition, there are the memoirs of David Reid, one

[23] Many other nineteenth century journalists gave typically brief and occasionally sensationalised accounts of events on the frontier such as hostile encounters between Aborigines and Europeans (Sydney Gazette 16 Feb 1806, 6 April 1806, 15 May 1808, 3 September 1809, 23 June 1821, 24 September 1828, 29 October 1827, Argus 19 September 1812, 7 October 1815, Monaro Mercury 30 November 1878), friendly encounters between Aborigines and Europeans (Sydney Gazette 15 December 1821, 3 October 1828), Aboriginal gatherings (Queanbeyan Age April 1862, The Golden Age 5 April 1862, Argus 9 March 1847, 16 March 1857, 9 April 1863, Sydney Morning Herald 21 July 1868, 16 April 1883, Albury Banner 6 July 1883), Aboriginal occupation (Argus 5 October 1860, Ovens and Murray Advertiser 9 October 1857) and Aboriginal health and death (Illawarra Mercury 13 July 1860, Gippsland Times 12 January 1880). The great regret experienced by the modern day researcher is that these writers did not enquire and record more of the lives and thoughts of the Aborigines who were a part of their communities, working alongside white men and women as stockmen, whalers, fishermen, farm hands, cleaners, cooks, child minders, tree fellers, wattle barkers, scrub clearers, reapers and pickers.

of the Honorary Protectors of Aborigines during the 1860s about the early days of settlement in north-east Victoria (Reid 1905), the field notes of F.T. Rusden who surveyed on the south coast in 1833 (Rusden 1833), the memoirs of F. Shellard who was on the north-east Victorian goldfields during the 1860s (Shellard n.d.) and the memoirs of Mrs W. Thomas whose family lived and worked on Monaro pastoral properties in the early days of settlement (Thomas n.d.). The importance of these records lies in the fact that they were made (or experienced) in early contact times, providing an informal account of the frontier experience. The writer knew that his personal journal would not be an object of public scrutiny and he freely expressed (subject to the social constructs of his society) his innermost thoughts. These thoughts included perceptions of Aboriginal individuals and groups. The prevalence of fire as a destroyer of paper work before the widespread use of electricity for lighting, has probably meant that a vast amount of this material has been lost, in addition to that discarded by friends and relatives unappreciative or unaware of the value of the material after the writer's death.

Government records

The Government records of Aborigines in far south-eastern Australia are, at first glance, patchy, inconsistent and frustratingly incomplete. Formal records from the 1820s rarely mention the far south coast, however there are surveyors' reports from the south coast and Braidwood regions which feature several different spellings of Aboriginal place names (for example Hoddle 1828 and Florance 1828). Records from the 1830s consist of a number of blanket distribution records for the Monaro and south coast (for example Morris 1832 and Flanagan 1833), including places to which blankets were forwarded and surveyors' records (for example Rusden 1833). The 1840s brought further blanket distribution records, recommendations to the Colonial Government about policies for Aboriginal camping reserves and education and the potential for resettlement and casual employment (for example Barber 1841 and Sadleir 1841), correspondence to the Port Phillip Protector of Aborigines (for example Thomas 1840) and the informative reports of Crown Commissioner Lambie at Cooma whose region of consideration included both the Monaro and far south coast areas (Lambie 1841-48). During 1845-6 the New South Wales Legislative Council undertook an investigation into the condition of the Aborigines. A committee was appointed to undertake this task and a circular was sent to magistrates

and clergymen on behalf of local people. The circular posed eighteen questions and sought information about the number of Aboriginal people (and whether of mixed descent), whether that number had increased or decreased within the last ten years (and whether of children or adults) and the reason for a decrease. It also inquired of their condition and means of subsistence (and whether this had diminished recently), whether blankets had been issued in the district, whether medical assistance was supplied when needed, whether people were employed either regularly or occasionally by settlers and how they were paid (and their employment habits). Information was sought as to whether people of mixed descent were in the area and whether they lived according to the customs of other Aboriginal people, whether the 'labouring white population ... [had] any disposition ... to amalgamate with the Aborigines, so as to form families', the state of relations between settlers and Aborigines, whether Aborigines had recently destroyed settler property, the state of relations between Aboriginal groups (and whether their numbers were impacted by hostilities) and whether infanticide was practised (NSW Leg. Counc. 1845-6 in Organ 1990: 282-84).

The 1850s brought blanket distribution records from Tyers in Gippsland (between 1852 and 1858), a cessation of any record of the distribution of blankets on the Monaro, an isolated 1859 blanket census for Eden and Bega (Eden Bench of Magistrates 1859), reports to the Secretary of State for the Colonies[24] (for example Tyers 1853), surveyors records (for example Dawson and Pettit 1858) and the records of the Report of the Select Committee on the Aborigines of Victoria (for example Tyers 1859). The 1860s and 1870s resulted in the production of important records about Victorian Aborigines including the reports of the Central Board for the Protection for Aborigines (the first report being furnished in 1861), Bulmer and Hagenauer's lists of names of clients and reports on the day-to-day running of Lake Tyers and Ramahyuck mission stations. The gaol records that were a feature of the Protectorate Reports between 1862 and 1876 were particularly useful for this dissertation providing details of names, offence and the place at which the offence took place. Gaol records for New South Wales (Moruya, Gundagai, Eden, Nerrigundah, Narooma, Central Tilba, Braidwood) exist from 1862 through to the present time and include some information about Aboriginal clients (age, height, eye colour, hair

[24] This massive source of documents, affectionately referred to as the Col. Sec. reports, is unreferenced and therefore difficult to access without spending inordinate amounts of time.

colour, skin colour, idiosyncratic markings). The 1880s saw the commencement of the New South Wales' Protectorate system which provided reports on the condition of the Aborigines in regions from Albury to Wallaga Lake and included a census of Aboriginal inhabitants broken down according to age and whether of mixed descent. The 1880s and 1890s reports detailed the number of people supplied with rations, clothing, medicines, boats, how boats were used and their condition, schooling and the use of camping reserves (which families and how many individuals inhabited them). The 1891 and 1901 censuses identified Aboriginal people in New South Wales and are an important source of information on their whereabouts at this time. There are school attendance records for Turlinjah School on the south coast which indicate the presence of certain Aboriginal families at Turlinjah camping reserve (gazetted for William Benson and family in 1861) between 1883 and 1924. The birth, death and marriage records dating from 1788 to 1918 provide the most important record of the movements of families and individuals in New South Wales and Victoria although these records are patchy and sometimes inaccurate[25].

Although it must be appreciated that Table 13 does not show either the quality or quantity of the records for each decade in each region, it does demonstrate gaps in Government Records for Monaro between the early 1860s and 1889.

Table 13
Government records used in the dissertation as a primary source (by decade for each region within the study area) (sources: various Protectorate reports, blanket returns and court records)

	Gippsland	North-east	Monaro	South coast

[25] For example, in many cases a birth record exists but there is no death record for a neonatal death and *vice versa*. On Aboriginal reserves births were sometimes registered in batches and records do not reflect true birth dates. Many births, deaths and marriages were unreported in remote Australia during the nineteenth century and Aboriginal Australians were even less inclined to report these events than others, such reporting bringing unwanted attention from Government officials. In his concern over the lack of formality in the record keeping of Aboriginal birth, death and marriages Russell recomended to Gipps that : 'Any Native having only one Wife, who produced a Certificate of the Civil Marriage Contract having been performed between himself and her, by the Resident of the District in which he belonged, should be entitled to a small reward. That any Natives, who registered duly the birth of any of their Children, should be entitled to a small reward' (Russell 1841: 5). In addition Aboriginal people did not have the same bureaucratic status as non-Aborigines (not formally being recognised as people) and may not have been regularly encouraged to register. Fortunately for this dissertation Aboriginal family oral historians are able to complete family records where the formal records are inaccurate or missing.

1820s				*
1830s			*	*
1840s	*	*	*	*
1850s	*	*	*	*
1860s	*	*	*	*
1870s	*	*		*
1880s	*	*	*	*
1890s	*	*	*	*
1900s	*	*	*	*

Church records

There is a series of annual reports of the Melbourne Church of England Mission to the Aborigines of Victoria. Those which are of interest to this dissertation extend from 1861 to 1877[26]. In addition there is a number of papers and reports to the Moravian Church, London by Hagenauer referring to his work at Ramahyuck (Hagenauer 1875, n.d.).

2.2 Caring for country

> Country in Aboriginal English is not only a common noun but also a proper noun. People talk about country in the same way that they would talk about a person: they speak to country, sing to country, visit country, worry about country, feel sorry for country, and long for country. People say that country knows, hears, smells, takes notice, takes care, is sorry or happy. Country is not a generalised or undifferentiated place, such as one might indicate with terms like 'spending a day in the country' or 'going up the country'. Rather country is a living entity with a yesterday, today and tomorrow, with a consciousness, and a will toward life. Because of this richness, country is home, and peace; nourishment for body, mind, and spirit; heart's ease (Rose 1996: 7).

There is much controversy in a range of disciplines over appropriate terminology and the definition of territory or country. The sense of connection that Aboriginal people have with their country has been

[26] The seventh report of 1861 mentions the intention of the Church of England to establish a Gippsland Aboriginal mission. Bulmer is clearly the unacknowledged author of many of these reports, however contributions are also made by visiting clergy such as Archdeacon Stretch of Sale (10th Report 1864). Unfortunately it appears that a complete set of these Reports no longer exists, some being lodged at the Latrobe Library, Melbourne and others at the Trinity College Library at Melbourne University.

poorly perceived and understood by non-Aboriginal people until well into the twentieth century. American anthropologist Debra Bird Rose, who has worked with both Native Americans and Australian Aborigines, has understood and expressed this connection better than most modern observers. She points out that each country has:

> … its sacred origins, its sacred and dangerous places, its sources of life and sites of death. Each has its own people, its own Law, its own way of life. ... Each nourishing terrain, each promised land, was cared for. ... In addition to fire, other practices include selective harvesting, the extensive organisation of sanctuaries, and the promotion of the regeneration of plants and animals. Organised on a country by country basis, but with mutual responsibilities being shared along Dreaming tracks, and through trade, marriage, and other social/ritual relationships. Management of the life of country consititutes one of Aboriginal peoples' strongest and deepest purposes in life, as well as making up much of their daily lives in so far as it is still possible for people to take care of their country. ... A 'healthy' or 'good' country, is one in which all the elements do their work (Rose 1996: 9-10).

These concepts are so different from European perceptions of country that they have only begun to be understood in recent times as a result of the anthropological investigations of Stanner (for example, 1968: 230), Berndt and Berndt (1988[27]) and others (Hiatt 1984, Myers 1986, Williams 1986, Rumsey 1993, Smyth 1994).

The characteristics of the Aboriginal relationship with country are that country;

(i) is a living entity with a consciousness and a will toward life;

(ii) nourishes and informs;

(iii) responds reciprocally to care; and that

(iv) care of country consists of a combination of conservation, management, respect, celebration and visitation.

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[27] First edition of this work was in 1964 with R.M. Berndt the sole author.

Evidence of the existence of these four principles is difficult to find in the nineteenth century record. Despite numerous references to the holding of, and participation in, ceremonial activities (referred to as corroborees[28]), the early recorders did not link these activities to a reciprocal communion with the land. Typically, nineteenth century accounts describe the public behaviours of Aborigines such as their recreational pursuits, eating practices, celebrations, fights, battles, a perceived predisposition to travel often and without purpose and their dislike of sustained repetitive tasks (although the making of wood, bone and stone artefacts involved considerable repetitive and sustained application). It is rare to find mention of the custodianship of land and more subtle understandings of this relationship are absent. For example, the following quote does not even acknowledge Aborigines as custodians of their land but describes them as 'almost' owners: 'The [Monaro] country, in those days [of early settlement], was practically owned by them, as they were the only ones who penetrated its gorges and passes' (Mitchell 1927: 18). Robinson made a creditable attempt to record and understand this relationship as reflected in several of his journal entries:

> Engaged with Natives [from] Biggah. One Biggah [Native] asked me if I had seen his country, 'good place, budgery [beautiful] place, by and by you see', another said his country was cubboin [big]. [On] Monday [we] entered [the] head of Biggah [River] called Mumbuller or Mumbeller, belonging to Yow.e.ge, says it is his farm (Robinson 25/8/1844a).

Wherever Robinson met with Aborigines he recorded their names and country from which can be drawn a list of individuals in which there are often only two or three who identified themselves with a particular country. For example: 'Bob and Cockatoo claim this country [between Nimitabel and Rocky Flat] but have not been here for one or two years' (Robinson 4/9/1844a).

By contrast, Howitt (1904) described social divisions and inter-relationships without reference to custodianship of land and what that meant to the custodians. He did not assume that the relationship

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[28] Corroboree is a Dharug word from the Sydney area and was widely used by nineteenth century recorders to describe a gathering of people where song, dance, poetry, story telling, religious ritual or music was involved.

between named groups and land was purely economic as he had a fascination with ceremonies of initiation (in addition to his interest in kinship, marriage rules and religious practices). Therefore he simply named groups of people, the territory they claimed, their marriage, trade, ceremonial and language relationships and their histories of animosity or agreement. He was concerned with understanding the way in which people were socially categorised or, as he expressed it, *divided*, rather than the complex ways in which people identified with and connected reciprocally with country. Although Howitt's deep interest in Aboriginal kinship and religion set him apart from many nineteenth century recorders he is typical of others in his inability to see that which was wholly unfamiliar to him, namely a sense of the land itself as a living entity.

Many of the recorders presented a sentimental view in which a pathos for the 'inevitably doomed' original inhabitants was expressed. For example, the following extract, which does convey a sense of space and landscape, comes from the memoirs of a Gippsland settler who arrived in the mid-nineteenth century:

> We, who have seen the camps of many scores of old warrior blacks, with their gins and picanninies on the banks of Flooding Creek; who have listened to their wild and sorrow-laden death wailings; who have seen their weird firelit corroborees, where pipeclayed skeletons danced the strange rhythmic antics of long past generations, with military traditional precision and religious zeal. We, who have heard the monotous music of taut opossum skins, drummed by murderous waddies in the hands of practised gins--musicians of the tribe. They too, have passed, these strange hereditary owners of Gippsland. Small wonder that they lurked in secret places, and sought to kill the incoming white man, and stay his advance on their happy hunting grounds (Login 1977: 17).

This passage acknowledges hereditary ownership of country but suggests that the 'strangeness' of the people and their culture was part of the reason for their being successfully colonised and out competed by the 'civilised' European settlers.

Finding who was where

I relished the challenge of reconciling conflicting evidence from at least two pieces of information about a group or territory. By contrast, a single piece of evidence is not supported (or refutable) by any other. The most difficult tasks of synthesis were for the named groups of Gippsland for which there are the records of Robinson, Thomas, Tyers, Hagenauer, Bulmer and Howitt. Monaro information was provided by Lhotsky, Robinson, Lambie, Howitt, Mathews, Reid, Ryrie, Mackellar, Bulmer, Elrington, Jardine, Wilson and Allan. Additional information was provided by reports of land surveyors, the evidence of breast plates was combined and Aboriginal languages.

Hagenauer described a number of composite groups in his 1862, 1863 and 1866 Ramahyuck census records, Moravian papers and again in Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria* (1878). There is nothing in Hagenauer's correspondence to suggest that he was aware that these groups were heterogenous. The Noora-Warango-ba-Koorang-yong was a composite of three named groups (Noora, Warango and Koorangyong) including the word 'ba' which means 'and'. Hagenauer recorded a group who identified as Moomoo ba Ngattban (Macalister, Bushy Park, Mitchell etc.). Bobby Coleman told Howitt that njatbun means 'no-one', 'none' or 'nothing' in Gunai language. One possible explanation for this name is that there were a group of people who did not know what their country was[29]. The heterogenous groups encountered by Hagenauer were probably the remnants of depopulated and dispersed groups who gathered together to establish viable economic and social units. A deconstruction and synthesis of the names and territory descriptions used by Robinson, Thomas, Hagenauer, Bulmer and Howitt resulted in a list of 29 named groups and corresponding territories for Gippsland (Figure 9).

The task of rationalising the ambiguities and paucity of information arise for some of the groups named by Robinson in his 1844 journals. For example, 'Wonanger too mesmate long with

[29] By 1862 Europeans had been in Gippsland for 27 years and had both deliberately and unconsciously wrought havoc on the social fabric of Aboriginal society. The history of the Gippsland frontier was a particularly bloody one and many people were killed, displaced, orphaned, widowed and diseased and many became addicted to alcohol and tobacco. Bushy Park was one of the stations that Aborigines continued to frequent throughout the nineteenth century.

Worookunnee, Bellerer, Werookunnee supposed Gippsland' (Robinson 28/7/44a). A comparison of these names with those of Bulmer and Hagenauer established the Werookunnee as Hagenauer's Worreeke [+kunnee = Gunai] at Buchan (Smyth 1878: 37), the Bellerer as likely to be a separate east Gippsland or Monaro group and the Wonanger too as Bulmer's War nang gatty at Lake Tyers (Bulmer 1870). The Bellerer are most likely to be the Belloura or Billowerre of Cooma and the Upper Tuross River, although Cooma is a long way from Buchan and Lake Tyers (Robinson's informant had suggested that they were adjoining groups). Another example of Robinson's mention of adjoining groups comes from north-east Victoria about which he stated that: 'The Yowenillum are messmate with Mokealumbeet, the Dodora, then Tinnemittum, the Omeo' (Robinson 3/6/1844a) and 'On the top of the mountains by the Deberer plains [probably the Wabonga Plateau] are the Mokalumbeets and next along the Dividing Ranges are the Yattemittong, Tinnemittong, Worarerer mittong and other tribes eastward' (Robinson 1846:12). Corroborating evidence suggests that the high country groups in this area were, going from east to west, the Mogullumbidj, the Tinne mittong, the Yaitmathang (Omeo) and the Wurara midung. Therefore neither of Robinson's statements was quite correct.

The Belloura or Billowerre people presented a mapping dilemma because their territory was described as both near Braidwood (on the Monaro plateau) and near Wandella (in the south coast hinterland). Ryrie gave Belloura people blankets at Arnprior, near Braidwood, in 1834 and described them as living at or near Braidwood (Curraduckbidy), whereas Robinson described the Billowerre people as belonging to the country near Wondiller (Wandella). It appears that their country extended from the Murrumbidgee River (suggested by names Bolero and Bollera given to two stations on the Murrumbidgee River) to Cooma and down off the Manero Plateau onto the upper Tuross River where the 'Old' and 'New' Belowra stations are situated. This information adds support to the theory of an incursion of Monaro people onto the south coast, still remembered as late as 1939 by Tindale's Wallaga Lake informants (Tindale 1938-9).

QuickTime™ and a
decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

The ambiguities found in one source were usually able to be clarified by another source which then allowed both sources to be incorporated. Where it was not possible to clarify a source it was abandoned altogether. A paucity of information in the nineteenth century record necessitates blank spaces on the map. This was the case with information about the language spoken on the lower Mitta Mitta River by the Boengea mittong, the Jinne mittong and the Tinne mittong. The bulk of the ethnographic record did not support the case for this being a region in which Theddora language was spoken at the time of first contact, although this was suggested by Mathews (1909).

Determining tribes, clans, hordes, family groups and language groups

> In aboriginal concept, people of one's own tribe talk smoothly, intermarry "without trouble", live near one another so that one can talk to them from time to time, share a kinship system in common and meet together regularly or irregularly for initiations and for other ceremonies. They share knowledge of and may, with some restrictions, roam over a common territory. They almost invariably have a proper name for themselves. Their country is "good country", unlike that of other peoples; their own food is better; their *Pandorea* spearwood sticks are more plentiful and stouter; their water is sweeter than the poorer waters of others. Thus all its attributes place their home above all other territories. People of other tribes either are "rough" in speech or "hard to understand", even unintelligible; they live so far off that only ocasionally do they meet for initiation ceremonies; they often have incompatible features in their social organisation; they are utter strangers; they use different terms for familiar objects; they express themselves in different idioms; and they possess many different kinds of plants and animals. Their countries may be rocky instead of open plain country, sand hill instead of earthy, or the reverse (Tindale 1974: 38).

The term "tribe" appears early in the ethnographic record, having a long history of use in Europe to describe a community claiming a common ancestor; specifically each of the twelve divisions of Israel; political divisions of Roman people; a race of people; a class or set of persons; or a group in the classification of animals (Hoad 1986: 504). This general term took on a new life in the context of anthropology which blossomed at the turn of the century and the definitions of tribe, clan, band and horde have been widely discussed and hotly debated ever since. In Tindale's definition the tribe was

also that which was bounded. Tindale (1974) favoured the use of the term tribe as a descriptor to encompass those whom we identify with: in other words 'us'.

Robinson also used the term tribe quite freely in his journals and Government reports writing of 'the Mountain Tribes', 'The Maneroo tribe', 'the Buchan Tribe', 'Brogo and Biggah Tribes', 'Omeo tribe', 'Inyebyerer tribe', 'Delagat Hill tribe' and 'A Whole Tribe having been destroyed by the Yatemittongs and their allies' (Robinson 1844a, 1846), but he used it more loosely than Tindale. Where he is being specific Robinson used the term to designate the *smallest* named division. However, he also wrote of the Maneroo tribe which is a designation of a larger group than the Buchan tribe. Another term which Robinson uses in his 1844 journals is 'section' which appears to also represent the smallest named division. Less often he described an individual as belonging to a named group and in addition named a country that the individual identified with[30]. For example, Bunber.rone.ner alias Jemmy Wry Neck was recorded as both a Jinnon mitter, the group based around the Genoa River, and belonging to (and chief of) Timbillica, whereas the chief of the Jinnon mitter is named as Moko Moko alias Darby. Another example is Konite alias Peter who is named both as chief of the Ben mitter, the group based around Sydenham Inlet, and as belonging to Cann. The country with which these individuals identified may represent a place of birth, conception or responsibility.

The scientific age engendered an obsession with defining hierarchies of scale and the processes between and within those hierarchies. As a product of this age, nineteenth century ethnographers such as Howitt were fascinated with hierarchies of scale among Aboriginal populations. In his 1880 publication he suggested that the clan was a group of extended families descended from a common ancestor who shared a 'tract of country' (Howitt 1880: 215). The next sub-group which also had a name, he called a division having a rule of exogamy within the division but not within the clan. Applying Howitt's hierarchy for Gippsland gives the following result: Tribe (for example, Kurnai), Clan (for example, Kroatungalung), Division (for example, Wurnungatti). Howitt's 1904 publication defined his use of political and economic terms differently:

[30] This may have referred to either the country for which he/she was responsible or the country where he/she was born or both.

'(i) Nation is used to signify a group of tribes [which may attend great ceremonies and take part in them]

(ii) Tribe is used as meaning a number of people who occupy a definite tract of country, who recognise a common relationship and have a common speech, or dialects of the same

(iii) Horde, the primary geographical division of a tribe having female descent, for instance the Ngadi-ngani [of Lake Eyre]

(iv) Clan, the primary geographical division of a tribe with descent in the male line, for instance the Krauatungalung' (Howitt 1904: 41, 44).

The distinction between Nation and Tribe is problematic as both terms could equally well apply to Kurnai according to Howitt's definition. Table 14 lists the various terms used by selected ethnographers to represent hierarchies of scale. As the table shows, the term *tribe* was used to describe both language groups, dialect groups and sub groups of the dialect groups. Unfortunately Robinson used this term himself for all three scales of group.

Table 14
Terminology used by nineteenth century ethnographers to represent hierarchies of scale in Aboriginal populations of far south-eastern Australia (sources: Imlay 1839, Robinson 1844a, 1844b, 1846b, Smyth 1878, Curr 1887, Howitt 1880)

	1 **language group**	**2** **dialect group**	**3** **smallest named sub-group of dialect group**
Imlay (1839)			tribe
Robinson (1844)	tribe	tribe	tribe section
Smyth (1878)	petty nation		tribe
Curr (1887)	tribe	section	section, sept
Howitt (1880)	tribe	clan (M) horde (F)	division

Clark (1992: 29) has highlighted the difficulty of accurately estimating even the range and form of the smallest named groups, apart from the more obvious features of size, composition and function, due to the early disintegration of local organisation. He also examined Stanner's rationale for a distinction

between the economic aspects of land utilisation and the social-sacred aspects of land custodianship. However, none of these discussions adequately address the fundamental problem with these hierarchical definitions which is that they are all attempts by foreign cultures to rationalise a heterogenous collection of Aboriginal societies into a system which represents all those societies and their (possibly) disparate realities. The need of the dominant white culture to divine relevant units of social structure impedes our ability to perceive differences and characteristics of uniqueness among disparate groups. For example, in Gippsland the people defined themselves in a multitude of ways. These included a term for the gender-specific super-group which was the same across an area from Corner Inlet to the Snowy River and north to the high country (which in one way defined the 'usness' of the group). There are terms for the languages they spoke of which there were three in Gippsland. The part of that region they inhabited (which was not the same subdivision as the former) was assigned a defining term. There were terms for the super-group who was called upon to do battle with a common enemy and the super-group who shared initiation ceremonies. The groups with which marriage partners were exchanged and the group with whom items of trade were exchanged were also assigned terms. There were at least two degrees of set size of the smallest named groups. These eight social groupings were not only different from one another, but they were also subject to change in response to then current political climates. Any attempt by a foreign culture to impose a static and simplified social structure upon another society is an act of cultural colonisation and requires the subject group to take on an artificial face of simplicity and homogeneity.

A contrast to the Gunai are the people of the far south coast of New South Wales and the Victorian border country. The south coast people defined themselves in several ways. Terms existed for several super-groups including the terminology they used for men and women, the group who shared a common language and the group who shared a common means of livelihood (fisher people versus tomahawk people). Other super-groups were those who were called upon to do battle with a common enemy, the groups with whom marriage partners were legitimately exchanged, the groups from whom marriage partners were stolen, those who shared initiation ceremonies, the group with whom items of trade were exchanged and the group who shared a common totem. There were also small named

groups. It can be seen that not only are the Gippsland groups more complex than the currently used social unit terms allow but that they are substantially different from the south coast groups. It must also be remembered that these identifying characteristics were gleaned from records made in the nineteenth century. Had Aboriginal informants been sufficiently well understood in their own language by their recorders, they may have described other ways by which they defined themselves.

In light of my concern that unique Aboriginal identities are diminished by the imposition of a standard set of anthropological social units, I have chosen not to attach them to the smallest named groups of the people of far south-eastern Australia. Furthermore, the information about the named groups contains a number of variables and there is no guarantee that all groups represent the same degree of division. The confidence and precision with which contemporary and some modern observers used anthropological terms was often misplaced and misleading. Much of the recording of Aboriginal groups in the study region at the time of first European contact took the form of reports about Aborigines' spearing of cattle and was not concerned with describing culture or identity with country. Most of the data under consideration were recorded between sixteen and twenty four years after contact, long after the passing of many of the knowledgeable community leaders. It has been conservatively estimated that disease and homicide contributed to a halving of the Aboriginal populations within twenty years after first contact (Butlin 1983: 86, Lambert 2001). In 1939 Stanner estimated that five-sixths of the original population was wiped out in 150 years: 'a rate equivalent to the death every year of two large tribes numbering 1,700 souls' (Reynolds 1989: 17-18). The lack of knowledge about population losses makes it extremely difficult to determine the status of groups in the ethnographic record.

Clark has argued the importance of acknowledging the smallest named sub-group, the local group, and that in early examples of the mapping of the distribution of Aborigines, the focus was on larger groups: 'The clan was the landowning, land-renewing and land-sustaining unit of Aboriginal society. ... The band [which occupied a defined of country] then served as the land-occupying, land-utilising, and land-exploiting group' (Clark 1992: 30-31). I share Clark's enthusiasm for the reinstatement of the

local group as the basic and significant social and economic unit. However I have concerns about using any super-group identifier, such as language, to represent a group of people. The need to map super-group identifiers Australia-wide is understandable but the danger of this process is that viewers of such maps are not informed of the complexities of language use in Australia. Language boundary maps do not inform the reader that most Aboriginal people were at least bi-lingual, speaking the basic languages of both parents. Many people knew the use of a gesture language which allowed them to communicate with visitors and when they in turn visited outside of a region where an intelligible language was spoken. Language variants were often unintelligible to speakers of a different dialect due to slight differences of vocabulary and larger differences in pronunciation. Dialect chains are a feature of language variation whereby the difference between two adjacent variants is much less than the difference between two distant variants of the same language. Furthermore, special languages existed for ceremonial purposes (men and women separately) and the use of language was given to people at each stage of their learning (by comparison European based cultures use/d language to demarcate economic classes).

2.3 An Atlas of Aboriginal Occupation

A series of maps has been created for the four regions of the study area (see figure 5) to show the named groups, language groups, concepts of the other ('us' and 'them'), gatherings, patterns of movement and additional[1] occupation maps for each region. These maps establish the pre-contact Aboriginal occupation of far south-eastern Australia. The maps are presented in the following order for each region;

(i) named groups

(ii) language groups

(iii) additional naming systems (Gippsland and south coast regions)

(iv) us and them

(v) gatherings

(vi) short journeys (< 5 km)

(vii) medium journeys (6-15 km)

(viii) large journeys (> 15 km)

Named Groups

In each section on named groups, the label given to each Aboriginal group was chosen from a number of alternatives, usually from the earliest available record. The bracketed figures following the name are the earliest available census data and the year in which the recording was made. This information provides the reader with a perspective on the magnitude of the group with respect to other groups counted in the same year. The names of the groups are those by which 'they' called themselves and by which 'they' were known in their own language community. Alternative descriptions and names have been synthesised to include the different naming systems of Hagenauer and Howitt in Gippsland. The approach to mapping named groups has resulted in a number of previously unpublished and/or unaccessed names being mapped in all four study regions. The mapping of small groups

[1] Gippsland and the south coast were found to have an additional naming system unique to those regions.

demonstrates the direct relationship between people and water resources because each group can be seen to be associated with a specific, permanent fresh water source.

Languages

Language speaking groups are mapped using the name that people called their own language (and what this group called the language of their neighbours). However, the relationship between language speakers and territory is often complex. During the course of the 1973-74 Woodward Royal Commission inquiry into Aboriginal Land Rights it emerged that the assumed link between territory and language was untenable because very few people were found to speak only one language: 'Unlike most parts of the world, language boundaries in Aboriginal Australia are not significant boundaries, because people tend to be able to speak the languages of neighbouring regions as well as their own' (Rumsey 1993: 195). It was found that the most appropriate way to link people to country was through local descent groups but that 'language groups have probably become more important as clans have become less viable as a result of European invasion and settlement' (Rumsey 1993: 198).

The term 'tribe' has been avoided as a description of a community unit but there are large community divisions, such as the Waveroo of the north-east which are described under the named groups section.

The regions other than Gippsland were characterised by more than one language-speaking group. To determine language relationships for these areas both the ethnographic literature (which describes the territory of language speaking groups) and an analysis of remnant vocabulary lists have been used. The percentage of vocabulary that is shared can be used as a measure of relationship between two languages. From 0 to 40 percent commonality indicates two different languages that are not closely related, from 41 to 80 percent vocabulary commonality indicates dialects of the same language and from 81 to 100 percent vocabulary commonality indicates groups which share the same variant of a single language (Dixon 1980).

Language use and identity with country in far south-eastern Australia have been undergoing a process of rapid change from the first half of the eighteenth century through to the present time. People took language with them as they moved and the migrant language became incorporated into the language of the country of destination. This process is typical of the evolution of language on all frontiers but the events of nineteenth century Australian history accelerated the process and resulted in the complete loss of many languages and their variants. Language relationships in this dissertation have been derived from a comparison of vocabularies recorded at times as far apart as 1844 and 1907, during tumultuous episodes of Aboriginal migration, dispersion and dislocation. Furthermore, as the language comparison tables demonstrate **(pages 105-6, 154-5, 207-8)**, in many cases there are few words available for comparison and it is probable that small samples consist of the words for body parts, flora and fauna which have the greatest similarity across different languages. Another variable in the process of analysing language relationships is the recorders' idiosyncratic linguistic ability. Recorders heard and described language in different ways, subject to their own English dialect, linguistic knowledge, literacy and proficiency in languages other than English[2]. As Blake and Reid have stated: '... it is a pity that the colonisers were speakers of English, a language that lacks any consistent means of representing vowels. If Australia had been taken over by speakers of practically any other language, we would not have the problems we do in interpreting the notation of vowels in the early sources' (Blake and Reid 1995: 1).

Women took language with them when they married and taught that language to their children so that children often spoke two languages. Community leaders were expected to speak four or five languages fluently. Language territory is defined in this dissertation as the country in which speakers of a language are born, but from the time of birth those speakers moved regularly into the country of one or two other language speaking groups as the 'Gatherings' maps demonstrate. Models of language territory custodianship in the Northern Territory, where speakers carry on an unbroken tradition, show that a piece of land defined as being the country of one language speaking group, may

[2] For example, Howitt's proficiency in German must have impacted on his ability to hear more sounds in Gunai languages than a recorder who was only familiar with English. Bulmer was a fluent speaker of Gunai languages and would have both asked questions and understood answers more fluently than most recorders in Gippsland.

contain within it many sites belonging to other language speaking groups (Sutton 1997: 11). Similar scenarios probably existed in far south-eastern Australia when Aboriginal people were in a position to maintain their traditional responsibilities to country.

Us and Them

The ethnographic and linguistic record provides a wealth of terminology describing 'them' from the perspective of 'us'. This information lends itself to being mapped and promotes understanding of the richness and difference of the identity of one group in relation to another[3] - quite apart from European conceptions of Aboriginal 'otherness'. 'Us' includes those groups 'we' consider to be friends or affiliates at all times[4], with who 'we' share ceremonies and intermarry by arrangement and mutual agreement and possibly, but not necessarily, those with whom 'we' share a language. 'Them' includes those groups who we do not acknowledge to be friends or affiliates, with whom 'we' can only intermarry through conquering or stealth (either through abduction or illegal elopement) and with whom 'we' do not share ceremonies or language. Examples of the word for 'them' have typically been translated as 'wild man' and are therefore gender specific[5].

In any group social cohesion is enhanced by the perception that the 'other' is alien and hostile. Perhaps mountain people came by this reputation because they literally came down upon their enemies from above. The following quote from Smyth was told by a Wurundjeri or Bunurong man: 'It was a firm belief of the Aborigines of the Yarra and the Coast tribes that there were tribes of Aborigines very different from themselves in the mountainous parts of the colony; and it is certain that the men of Gippsland and those living on the highlands at the sources of the River Murray, and near

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[3] A commonly held misconception about Aboriginal Australians is that they were a homogeneous group. This was not so and is no more the case today. Aborigines of two different language speaking and cultural groups may have had no more in common than the French and the English do in Europe. However, two groups may have had strong cultural ties despite speaking different languages as exemplified by the Omeo and Maneroo peoples.

[4] During late spring and summer ongoing animosities with 'them' were waived to allow unimpeded access to bogong moth collection sites, which is an acknowledgement of the importance of this resource to the well-being of fellow humans.

[5] Which stands to reason as it was only men who were feared as warriors and abductors. However, the record shows that there was an acknowledged female counterpart (*lowajerak*) to the male *brajerak* as these women married into Gunai families.

the Great Dividing Range, were fiercer and bolder than the men living in the lowlands' (Smyth 1878: footnote 179).

Throughout the world there is also an exotic quality attributed to difference. Among the Aboriginal people of far south-eastern Australia the exotic reputation of 'other' women was fostered to encourage gene pool diversity without becoming so common as to destabilise the *status quo*. There was also a necessity to marry outside your own moiety or skin group. Raids were made by all groups for the women of other (usually enemy) groups. These abductions became the reason for pay-back attacks and battles. The importance of understanding the concept and nomenclature of the 'other' in interpreting the ethnographic record will be demonstrated in this dissertation. Previous studies which have mapped languages and tribes for this part of Australia have not distinguished between 'what we call ourselves' and 'what others call us'. Clarity about the use of these terms has supported an understanding of the relationship between Gundungerre, Yaitmathang, Ngarigo, Maap and Gunai peoples.

Gatherings

Groups of people gathered together for a variety of purposes. These included initiation and other ceremonies, fights, war conferences, conferences to decide ceremonial matters, and for the exploitation of special resources such as the bogong moth, swan eggs and whales. During these meetings there were a number of secondary activities that took place including trade in food, weapons, bags, rugs and clothing, the sharing of skills about manufacture, medicine and food preparation, the sharing of information about births, deaths and marriages and news, the performance of dances, songs, poetry and music, the meeting of potential marriage partners and the reunion of families and friends. Hagenauer wrote that when he first arrived in Gippsland in 1861: '... continual wandering for the sake of corroborees or petty quarrels and warfare were the order of the day' (Hagenauer n.d.).

The timing and purpose of gatherings was decided by the senior men and women. For example, Howitt made the following observation: 'I have constantly observed in those tribes with which I have

had personal acquaintance, that the old men met at some place apart from the camp and discussed matters of importance, such as arrangements to be made for hunting game, for festive or ceremonial meetings, or indeed any important matter' (Howitt 1904: 320).

It was usual for initiation ceremonies to be attended by members of a number of different language groups from whom marriage partners could be chosen. There were exceptions to this custom among the Gippsland people who only held these ceremonies within their own language speaking group (Howitt 1904: 511-12). The following account of an initiation gathering on the south coast provides a description of trade and the exchange of gifts following the main ceremonies:

> At the termination of these ceremonies, when the novices had gone away into the bush for their time of probation, and when the people were about to separate, there was held a kind of market, at which those articles which they had brought with them for exchange were bartered. It was held at some clear place near the camp, and a man would say, "I have brought such and such things", and some other man would bargain for them. ... The women also engaged in this trade, exchanging opossum rugs, baskets, bags, digging sticks (*Tuali*) etc. Not only were these things bartered, but presents were made to friends and to the Headmen by the other men. The women also gave things to the wives of the Headmen. A Headman who was held in great esteem might have as many things given to him as he could carry away (Howitt 1904: 718-19).

Gatherings were situated and timed to provide participants with adequate food and water and a large relatively flat clearing of sufficient size for a number of camps. Both the size and duration of the event were dependent upon the availability of food resources at the site. In later years, European land use practices made access to traditional food resources increasingly difficult and gatherings moved from their customary sites into towns and onto pastoral stations where food was procured by other means.

Some gatherings were unique to the far south-east of Australia such as those where the gathering, cooking and eating of the bogong moth was the object. Another event was the harvesting of beached whales which was limited to the few whale calving bays of the south coast. The season was indicated to the Maneroo people by the flowering of a particular wattle. In response to this signal they travelled

to beaches at Twofold Bay and other calving bays where whales often died. Walker recorded Aboriginal people feasting on both cooked and raw whale flesh at Shoal Haven (Nowra) in 1843: 'The Blacks on this coast feed voraciously on the flesh of Whales that are cast ashore from time to time, and sometimes they partake of it when in such a state of decomposition and in such quantity as to render themselves exceedingly ill' (Walker 1836 in Organ 1990: 207).

Seasonal summer gatherings were maintained wherever access allowed despite the huge lifestyle changes that followed European contact. The places where people gathered are referred to in the literature as 'favoured resorts' and include Lakes Entrance in Gippsland and Congo, Barlings Beach and Mystery Bay on the New South Wales coast.

The gatherings maps (Figs 13, 20, 27 and 35) show the approximate location of gatherings and, where available, the direction and distance (in kilometres) that participants travelled. The maps demonstrate the value of plotting gatherings despite the fragmentary nature of the ethnographic record for these events. By graphically presenting information about the numbers of people involved and the distance they travelled, a comparison can be readily made with the 'Us and Them' and 'Languages' maps to determine how 'typical' the gathering affiliations were.

The named groups, language groups, additional naming systems and 'us and them' maps are accompanied by descriptions extrapolated from the source material. For a fuller coverage of named groups and language groups including census statistics and profiles of community leaders see Appendix 9 *An historical atlas of the Aborigines of eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales*. The gatherings' maps were explained by extracts from the source material. The short journeys' maps were extrapolated from archaeological surveys (pre-contact) and the ethnographic record (post-contact) using known camp sites as a basis for the maps. The medium journeys' maps are drawn from the same region as the short journeys' maps but take in a larger area around the camp and reserve sites. The travel routes' maps were based on the ethnographic record for each region and map known journeys and routes. The journeys' maps are accompanied by a commentary which establishes

patterns of movement based on an analysis of the movement statistics using methodologies outlined in Chapter 1.

GIPPSLAND

(i) Gippsland Named Groups

The Gippsland Named Groups' map (Figure 9) comprises 31 groups including the Dooroc, which are a Maap group and also appear on Figure 24. Groups are most densely clustered about Lake King and the lower Mitchell, Nicholson and Tambo Rivers which may reflect either resource distribution or the location of knowledgeable Aboriginal informants. Despite the apparent absence of Gippsland Aborigines during Robinson's 1844 expedition, available evidence suggests that named groups appear to have been situated in all likely occupation areas. Group census statistics which show 100 or more probably represent the population at a time of the gathering of several groups. Each individual group is listed below along with the source in parentheses and then a brief description or quote of the territory.

Barbarere (Robinson 30/6/1844a)

'belonging to Lung lung Brareun' (Robinson 30/6/1844a). Robinson's journal describes Lung Lung Brareun as Poor Fellow Me Creek making these people a Corner Inlet group.

Bellum Bellum (Hagenauer 1863, 1866)

Woodside to Lake Reeve (Hagenauer in Smythe 1878: 37).

Beyowengar (Robinson 22/6/1844a)

A synthesis of the available information suggests that the Beyowengar was a group of Krauatun on the Tambo River at Ensay.

Binnajerra (Fison and Howitt 1880: 228)

Between Lake Reeve and the sea. Clan of the Tatungalung (Howitt papers).

Brt-brita (Fison and Howitt 1880: 231)

Ngrnagit (Bulmer 1870)

Jimmy's Point[6]. A clan of the Krauatungalung (Howitt 1904: 76).

Bullum Warre (Howitt in Smyth 1878: 325)

Clan of the Brabrolung at Mt. Taylor and Mt. Lookout (Howitt in Smyth 1878: 325).

Bundan-ruk (Dawson and Pettit 1858)

'Tribe of Macalister and Wellington River' (Dawson and Pettit 1858).

Bundah wark (Smyth map 1878)

Swan Reach people (Bulmer in Smyth 1878: 95).

Bunjil Daan (Howitt 1904: 76)

Welwenduk (Billy Wood n.d.)

Clan of the Braiakaulung, Maffra district; 'the country between the Avon, Macalister and Thompson Rivers. The name of a man. *Daan* is snow' (Howitt 1904: 76).

Bunjil Kraura (Howitt 1904: 76)

Woollum Woollum (Howitt n.d., Fison and Howitt 1880: 230)

'Bunjil kraura; All the country of the clan, west of [the Bunjil Daan]' (Howitt 1904: 76).

Dergo or Mountain Tribe (Tyers 1853)

'The Dargo River' (Howitt 1904: 76).

Drelin (Fison and Howitt 1880: 228; Howitt 1904: 77)

[6] The area between Kalimna and North Arm; a large part of which is now the township of Lakes Entrance.

'Drelin - Merriman's Creek' also clan of the Bratauolung (Fison and Howitt 1880: 228).

Karnboaleep (Robinson 30/6/1844a)

'belonging to Mr Jones at Mitchell' (Robinson 30/6/1844a). Jones was at Lucknow run.

Koonangyang (Hagenauer in Smyth 1878: 37)

Tirthung (Bulmer map in Smyth 1878: 36)

A synthesis of the available information suggests that the Koonangyang/Tirthung were a group utilising the Nicholson River.

Bunjil Nellung (Jimmy Scott n.d.)

Kutbuntaura (Fison and Howitt 1880: 228)

'...*Mooma and Ngat-ban*, from Stratford to Lake Victoria ... which are the equivalents of that group which, on the authority of "old Nanny", I have noted as "Bunjil Nullung" ' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 230).

Kutwut (Fison and Howitt 1880: 228, Howitt 1904: 77)

'Old Darby was at Foster all his [life] at this [side]... the kutwut division. Bunjil Gworun of Port Albert, Alberton, Tarraville - Yarram. The Juta-warra-warra spoke a little nulet. [...] where the Yanakie were are called Nanjet' (Bundawal n.d.).

Townsend marked an Aboriginal camp on a bend of the Jack River north of Gelliondale (Townsend 1841).

Munji (Fison and Howitt 1880: 227)

'Munji-North shore of Lake Victoria = there!' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 227, Howitt 1904: 76).

Nanjet (Harry Stevens n.d.)

‘The people at Yanakie ... are called by the name of the place - Nanjet - he says this name has something to do with the “badground” ’ (Harry Stevens n.d.).

Neur-run Bruthen tribe (Thomas 1860)

Tambo River. Clan of the Brabrolung (Howitt in Smyth 1878).

Ngarrawut (Fison and Howitt 1880: 229)

‘South side of Lake Victoria’ (Fison and Howitt 1880: 229; Howitt 1904: 77).

Nigothoruk (Howitt 1891: 17)

A synthesis of the available information suggests that the Nigothoruk were a group of the Braiaka utilising the Avon River and having stories associated with Mt. Kent. Howitt named a lower Avon River division of the Nigothoruk as Welwenduk.

Pal Pal (Tyers 1853)

‘Their land extended from the entrance to the Gippsland lakes to the island of Rotomah. They confined themselves to the Peninsula - hence their name Boul Boul which means peninsula or island. Their food was chiefly fish and Ngurang, a kind of root [*Convolvulus erubescens*]. The country is swampy.’ (Bulmer in Smyth 1878: 36).

Tirtalowa (Bulmer map in Smyth 1878)

‘Tirtalowa kani held the area between the Tambo and the Snowy River’ (Bulmer in Smyth 1878: 36).

Wonangertoo (Robinson 28/7/1844a)

‘Lake Tyers tribe occupied that tract between the entrance to the Lakes and Boggy Creek’ (Smyth 1878: 36).

Worreeke (Smyth 1878: 37)

A synthesis of the available information suggests that the Worreeke/Werookunnee was a group utilising the Buchan River region.

Wuk Wuk (Fison and Howitt 1880: 227, Howitt 1904: 76)

Murmung (Howitt 1053/4a, Howitt 1904: 76)

Lindenow Flat (Fison and Howitt 1880: 227).

Wy Yung (Fison and Howitt 1880: 227, Howitt 1904: 76)

Bairnsdale; waiung is the word for spoon-bill and is also spelt wahyang or waing (Wesson 1991).

Yowenjerre

Joto-worra-worra (Howitt 1053/4a)

'Bundawal says that at Yanakie and the left hand side of Anderson Inlet lived the Tarwin River people, these were the Juta-warra-warra division of the Bratauolung clan. On the opposite side of Anderson Inlet there were the Bunrong tribe' (Bundawal n.d.).

Yowung (Bobby Coleman n.d.)

'Yowung at Warrigal Creek, Tarra River' (Howitt 1053/3b).

Yunthur (Fison and Howitt 1880: 229, Howitt 1904: 77)

Adjoining and east of Drelin [at Merriman's Creek] (Fison and Howitt 1880: 229).

(ii) Gippsland Language Groups

The Gippsland Languages' map (Figure 10) shows the territories of the three Gippsland variants of Muk-thang, the name that Gunai called the language of the Maap, and the area which succeeded to the Gunai in which both the Muk-thang dialect Nulert was spoken and, most likely, a form of Bunurong language. There is a direct relationship between the language territories and the directionally named Gunai groups.

Gunggala-dhang (Mathews 1907: 347)

Description:

1. The Manero people called the language of the Gippsland mob *Kungela* (Mickey n.d.).

2. Gelantipy men call Gippsland blacks Gungala (Billy Wood n.d.).

3. 'The Birdhawal ... distinguish the dialect of the Kurnai as *gunggala-dhang'* (Mathews 1907: 347).

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Mukthang (Howitt 1053/3b, Billy Wood n.d.)

Description:

1. A similar language to the Kroatun language (Billy Wood n.d.).

2. 'Mukthang spoken by the Bratha and Braiaka including the Dargo [...]' (Howitt 1053/3a).

3. 'The Birdhawal call their own dialect *muk-dhang ...* The termination *dhang ...* means "mouth" and is symbolical of speech. ... the Kurnai call their own local dialect *muk-dhang ...'* (Mathews 1907: 347)

Nulert (Harry Stevens n.d.)

Nyulart (Howitt n.d.)

Description:

1. 'The Toto-warra-warra spoke a "little nulert" ' (Harry Stevens n.d.).

2. Spoken by Braika, Brataua, Tatung (Billy Wood n.d.).

3. 'Nulit spoken by Bratau and Tatung' (Howitt 1053/3a).

Thanguai (Howitt 1053/3a)

Kwai-dhang (Mathews 1907)

Description:

1. 'Thanguai - Krauatun at the Snowy and to the eastward' (Howitt 1053/3a).2. Thangquai. Spoken by Krauatun (Billy Wood n.d.).

3. '... the Kurnai call their own local dialect *muk-dhang,* and that of the Birdhawal tribe *kwai-dhang. Muk* means good or great, and *kwai* signifies rough ...' (Mathews 1907: 347).

(iii) Gippsland Directional Names

Figure 11, Gippsland Directional Names, shows five groups named according to their compass bearing from the Mitchell River people or, as with the Thaua rookut/ Bratauolung who were named as the fire

people. The territories associated with the directional naming system were also connected with language territories.

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Bra-bri-woolong (Bulmer in Smyth 1878: 36)

'claimed all the country watered by the Tambo, Nicholson, and Mitchell rivers with their tributaries, to their extreme sources, and west of the Mitchell River to Providence Ponds, with a (corresponding) frontage to the Gippsland Lakes' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 227, Howitt 1904: 76).

Brataualung (Howitt 1904: 77)

'claimed all the country from the Latrobe River to Cape Liptrap, and from the southern watershed of the Latrobe River to the sea' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 228, Howitt 1904: 77).

Brayakaulung (Howitt 1904: 76)

'claimed all the country west of Providence Ponds, watered by the Avon, Macalister, Thompson, and Latrobe rivers, down to the junction of the two latter, thence following the eastern side of the Latrobe to Lake Wellington, thence eastward by the Lakes to [somewhere] near Roseneath, thence northward(s) to the Providence Ponds' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 228, Howitt 1904: 76).

Krowuntunkoolong (Bulmer 1870)

A synthesis of the available evidence suggests that the Kowuntunkoolong utilised the country between the Tambo and Snowy rivers, upstream to Ensay and the Rodger River junction and including the watershed of Boggy Creek.

Tatungalung (Howitt 1904: 77)

'Tatungolung claimed all the country west of the Kroatun and east of the Brataua, and lying between the Gippsland Lakes and the sea, together with all the islands in the Lakes excepting Flanagan Island which belonged to the Brt-Britta division of the Kroatungolung clan' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 229, Howitt 1904: 77).

(iv) Gippsland Us and Them

Figure 12, Gippsland Us and Them, shows the direction of six 'other' groups of Aboriginal people from the perspective of the Mac Kani (the real men) and the Mac Rukut (the real women). It also shows the area ceded to the Gunai after extensive warfare with the Bunurong.

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Borro borro willum (Robinson 27/4/1844a, 1/7/1844a)

A synthesis of the available evidence suggests that Bori Boro Willum was a name given to the Kutbuntaura/Bunjil Nellung of Bushy Park by the Bun wurrung/Woi wurrung.

Brajerak (Long Harry and McKay n.d.)

' ... those [blackfellows] of Omeo and Monaro [were called] *Brajerak'* (Long Harry and McKay n.d.).

Kani (Bulmer in Howitt MOV, Bulmer 1902 in Mathews papers)

'I see you apply the term Kani as the description of a tribe. I think the term is used to express Blacks as opposed to Looern white man. ... I think when a man wanted to express his own people he would say Wraktun Kani' (Bulmer in Howitt MOV).

Ngur-au-it (Long Harry and McKay n.d.)

'The blackfellows over the mountains towards Jimenbuen are called Ngur-au-it' (Long Harry and McKay n.d.).

Tarrawarrackel (Hagenauer map in Smyth 1878)

A synthesis of the available evidence suggests that the name Tarrawarrackel was a name given to the Port Albert group by Bunurong and possibly also by Monaro and Omeo people meaning 'wild dogs of the Tarra' (from Warragal = wild dog). The Tarra River is considered to have been named after Charlie Tarra, an Aboriginal man from Goulburn N.S.W., who guided several parties of Europeans into Gippsland in 1840. The true name of the Tarra people was Yowung (see Yowung notes in Gippsland Named Groups).

Thurung (Howitt 1904: 41)

'Those living in the Western Port district of Victoria they called Thurung or tiger-snakes, because, as I have heard them say, "they came sneaking about to kill us" ' (Howitt 1904: 41).

To-tu-rung (Long Harry and McKay n.d.)

'Those blackfellows ... towards Melbourne [were called] *To-tur-rung* (black snake) ...' (Long Harry and McKay n.d.).

Waral (Long Harry and McKay n.d.)

'The Twofold Bay Blacks were called Waral meaning belonging to the country in the east a long way off. They were looked upon as Brajeraks' (Howitt MOV).

Wraktun kani (Howitt MOV)

Mac kani (Howitt MOV)

'I think when a black wanted to express his own people he would say Wraktun kani, men of the country, or even Mac kani, the real blacks. King Charley tells me they did not ascribe the Twofold Bay Blacks as Brajerak but as Kratungalong. Other Snowy River and Ben [Bemm River] men seem to have had interactions with them' (Howitt MOV).

'... in all these tales, in which a bird-man or reptile-man or animal-man takes part ... it is a *Muk-kurnai*. This may be translated as "eminent man or men", the Kurnai of the legend being thus distinguished from the Kurnai of the present time. The whole term may be fairly interpreted as "eminent ancestors," for they were not only the predecessors of the tribe, but also in one sense the *wehntwin*, that is, the grandfathers. It may be added that there are not only *Muk-kurnai* but also *Muk-rukut* (*Rukut* being woman) (Howitt 1904: 487).

(v) Gippsland Gatherings

Figure 13, Gippsland Gatherings, shows 20 gatherings described in the record for Gippsland. The other gatherings maps (Figures 20, 27 and 35) show occasions at which Gippsland people were present outside Gunai territory, although this was a practice that only began after European contact. This map probably reflects only a small percentage of the gatherings that took place within the living memory of the recorded Aboriginal informants and a still smaller percentage of those that typically took place in

Gippsland before European contact. The gatherings maps also record, where possible, the distance travelled.

1. '[Little Jack's] father was made Jera-el at Lake Tyers from which his mother was. Some of the Krautun used to go to Monaro or beyond Bega to be made Jerael but they had not any Jera-el themselves' (Howitt 1049/3b).

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

2. 'Billy the Bull and Lambi heard the following corroboree at Sale some years ago - Melbourne blackfellows brought it over. It was said to have come from Yass to Tumut, thence to the Murray and to Melbourne. Mr Bulmer heard it at the junction of Darling and Murray in 1860' (Howitt 1053/4a).

5. 'On the east of the Tarwin River was a small shallow Bay studded with ducks and swans and from mere wantonness [we] shot a great number which we regretted afterwards as we expended nearly all our ammunition and on our going into the forest again we saw a large encampment of Black fellows without their lubras (we supposed fully a hundred)' (Cuthill n.d.). The party arrived at Port Albert in February 1841.

6. '*Toolaba*'s first recollection of a Jereil was held at where Mr Bull lives on Reeves River beyond Shaving Point. He was then about ten years old [c. 1841] and his elder brother *Harry* was made Tootnurring. There were so many boys at the [jeraiel that?] they were [...] in the point extended for about ninety paces long. *Lamby* was made a young man then' (Howitt 1053/3b).

7. 'The jeraeil at which I was made a young man, was held just across the rising ground beyond the little morass on the Lucknow side of the river. Just on the rise of the road. It was ordered to be held by Bruthen Munji and Keung and it was they and their Kurnai who got the ground ready. Bruthen Munji had sent Lewin (news) by a Bai-un (messenger). When he arrived at where Bairnsdale now is and could see across the river, *Old Morgan* was walking first with his jagged spear and Murriwan in his hand and his bundle at his back - "all of us men and boys were walking a little behind him, and behind us the women. As soon as he got to the bend of the river Old Morgan stopped, all the women then spread out in a long line, sat down and beat the possum rugs. You could hear it almost to Lindenow. Then the women at the camp over the river answered them by beating on their rugs. Then we all crossed. We all camped together". For Jeraeil days there were games and hunting. Then the Jeraeil was formed. It was made of boughs like a brush yard thus. The high screen was turned towards the camp where the women were so that they might not see the boys' (Jimmy Scott n.d.). Jimmy Scott was born circa 1832.

8. At Eagle Point corroborees were exchanged between Gippsland and Melbourne Aborigines (Anon 1847). This information was recorded during the expedition to rescue the 'white woman of Gippsland' which left Melbourne in March 1847 by schooner.

9. 'During [his] return journey [Hale] saw a camp of over one hundred 'worrigels' at Tarraville, ...' (Hale c. 1848).

10. 1849 June 'Proceed to encampt Sth of Yarra, to my surprise I find it awful augmented - the Gippsland blacks had arrived ... counting them as well as I could 58.' Thomas named 1 man of 45, 20 men aged between 16 and 40, 19 boys 12 or under, 16 women aged between 14 and 40, 8 girls 12 or under (Thomas 1849).

1849 July '..proceed to Talleen where I was informed a great encampt was ... to my surprise find a great number about 20 at least fresh Gippsland Blacks ... I find that the blacks who saw the last batch of Gippsland blacks over the inlets [Kooweerup Swamp?] to their own country brought these back with them to their own district. ... a Gippsland lubra had a pickaninny, a female ... a party leave on the afternoon on their way to Gippsland. ... At Kunnunberreal find 11 [Gippsland blacks] 4 sick. ... find out the whole of the blacks in not less 6 encampts. within a space of 10 miles ... The Gippsland blacks thro mine beg of me to urge a spot for them by the River Tarrer where they may get food and medicine when sick ... the Tarrer blacks say they cannot leave while so wet. ... I leave them in 4 encampts about in all 40 being Gippsland Blacks and 14 westernport blacks ... 4 encampts about 32 miles from Melbourne in a circuit of 7 miles about 2 or 3 miles apart' (Thomas 1849).

11. 'I remember when about a hundred blacks, men, women and children went down to Gippsland under the protection of the whites and camped at Heyfield' (McFarlane's Johnny n.d.). 'A large camp of tribes from the country about Omeo, Bindi and Tongio came down to Gippsland and camped at Heyfield station' (John O'Rourke n.d.).

12. 'I then collected all the men from Bruthen, Wy-yung, and Binnajerra ... we got the Manero men to promise to help us, and then we went round the mountains to Omeo with them. There we got Nukong, their headman, also to help us, and he sent a messenger to the men at the Ovens River and Mount Buffalo to send help, and it was arranged that we should meet at the Bushy Park Station' (Howitt 1904: 350). This extract refers to a war party organising payback against a group of Dargo, Braiaka and Brataua men and took place between 1854 and 1856. This ongoing war appears to have had a devastating effect on the peoples of Omeo and Dargo. Tyers' census records show that of 15 men recorded between 1852 and 1857 (there may be some double counting through inconsistency of naming), four men were killed in 1854 leaving six widows and seven orphan children. There is no census record of Dargo people after 1857 when two men, two boys and five females were noted at an unnamed lake (Tyers 1852-1857). By 1859 there were only five people recorded for Omeo (Wills 1859).

13. 'The next jeraiel was at Bairnsdale about the time that "night came about dinner time"' (Howitt 1053/3b). On 1st February 1857, at 5.10pm an almost total eclipse was observable from Bairnsdale (Roberts 1997).

14. 1857 'The Gippsland Aborigines. A correspondent of the G.G. [Gippsland Guardian] writing from Sale observes, "Another very serious outbreak, which promises to be attended with much bloodshed, is confidently anticipated among the hostile tribes of the blacks in this district. There are at present about a hundred or more, comprising some of the Manero and other tribes encamped at a place called Orbost, on the Snowy River, the greater proportion of them armed with guns etc. It is almost a matter of surprise that the Government have not, long ere this, taken some active measures to suppress these continued murderous affrays among the aborigines: they are becoming an intolerable nuisance, and frequently seriously endangering the lives of the settlers and other residents up the country etc. etc. etc."' (*Argus* 16 Mar 1857 p.6).

15. 'After that there was another at B'dale where the township now is - Macleod and Jones lived at the Mitchell then' (Howitt 1053/3b). Jones was at Lucknow and Bairnsdale between 1847-1858.

16. ‘After [the 1858 Bairnsdale jeraeil] there was a large jeraeil at Bushy Park ...’ (Howitt 1053/3b).

17. ‘Last fight among the blacks was 7 years ago (1861), just before my arrival, it took place near Sale’ (Hagenauer letter books).

18. ‘31 March 1866; There is indeed a great gathering of wild blacks over at the Heart Station, but I trust that the police will be on the look out, and I shall also do my best to prevent evil [doings] there’ (Hagenauer n.d.).

19. ‘During the last few weeks [February 1868] however many messengers arrived here stating that my blacks should prepare for a great fight and appointed the time and place ... when I arrived on 4 March I found a great number of my blacks that morning [at] the place where the fight was to be [Lake Victoria]’ (Hagenauer letter books). Men had come from Ramahyuck, Raymond Island, Swan Reach and the Snowy River. ‘Hagenauer took constables from Stratford and Sale with him and he convinced them to lay down arms and weapons on the shore of the lake’ (Dow 1996).

20. April 1871 ‘About friendly games at the Entrance to the lakes with a number of white people from Sale, I must say that from an article in a local paper I saw a full report of it, and I and all here were sorry to learn that after many other things it ended in one of those horrible corroborees, which have not taken place in my district since my first coming among the natives’ (Hagenauer letter books).

21. This gathering is not shown on the map because the position of Werail is not known. ‘After that there was a large jeraeil at Bushy Park and then no more till ours at Werail’ (Tulaba n.d.)(see Figure 18). In 1884 Howitt assisted a number of Gippsland head men to conduct the first jeraeil in 25 years at which six boys were initiated. These head men included King Charlie, Tulaba (Billy McLeod). ‘After the occupation of Gippsland by the white people in 1842, these ceremonies were held at intervals for some twenty years. They then fell into disuse, and were only now revived in response to a message I

had sent round. The old men said they were glad to receive my message, and to hold the *Jeraeil*, for the reason that the Kurnai youth "were now growing wild"' (Howitt 1904: 619).

(vi) Gippsland Pre-contact short journeys

Figure 14 shows a reconstruction of possible pre-contact short journeys at Wammum (now Wilson's Promontory) based on the archaeological findings of the Victoria Archaeological Survey (now Heritage Division, Aboriginal Affairs Victoria) (Simmons 1989). The map shows three camp sites; site 1 at Cotter's Lake which at one time was filled with fresh water and is situated in banksia and casuarina woodland; site 2 behind the foredunes which is situated in coastal shrubland; and site 3 on the Darby River adjacent to swamp land. Journeys would have made between camps, into the nearby flatter country to obtain firewood, shelter materials, vegetable foods, medicines and other raw materials in season. Shell fish would have been been obtained from both the beaches and rock platforms and fish from the lake, swamp and shallow sea water. Fresh water would have been available at Darby River and Cotter's Lake and either been carried to Black Rock or dug for in the dunes.

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(vii) Gippsland Pre-contact medium journeys

Figure 15 shows a reconstruction of possible pre-contact medium journeys at Wammum also based on Simmons' survey report (Simmons 1989). The map shows three camp sites; site 1 which also appears in Figure 14 at Cotter's Lake, site 4 which is situated on Tidal River in coastal shrubland; and site 5 which is situated in coastal shrubland behind the beach at Picnic Bay. Journeys of between six and fifteen kilometres would have occurred when moving camp, when making a pilgrimage such as from site 4 to Mt. Oberon, to hunt large game which is abundant on the plains between Cotter and Yanakie and to gather materials, small game, medicines and vegetable foods in the swamps, coastal fringe and woodlands.

(viii) Gippsland Pre-contact travel routes

Figure 16 shows the routes of travel described or reconstructed through the ethnohistorical record for Gippsland. As has been previously stressed, the record only contains journeys that were known to have occurred or were observed. The map shows that the largest Gippsland rivers were all major travel routes; the Latrobe through to the upper Yarra and Goulburn rivers, the Thomson to Heyfield, the Avon to Bushy Park, the Mitchell to Dargo, the Tambo to Omeo and the Mitta Mitta river, the Snowy to the Monaro via either Suggan Buggan or Willis and the Bemm river to the Cann river valley and through to the Monaro via Buldah or Rockton. There was also extensive travel around the Gippsland lakes and along the coast between Lake Reeve and Corner Inlet. A canoe journey was described from the Lakes to Twofold Bay.

NORTH-EAST

(i) North-east Named Groups

Figure 17, North-east Named Groups, shows 21 groups where the highest density of groups occurs between the Ovens and Kiewa Rivers on both sides of the Murray. There is a paucity of information about the Mogullumbidj on the upper Ovens, King, Buffalo and Buckland Rivers. There is also little in

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the record about the people on the Murray Valley between the Mitta Mitta and Towong and those inhabiting the Cudgewa and Corryong Creeks. Information about Wolgal groups is non-existent, but it is likely that there were several groups in the Upper Murray district, at Tumut, Kiandra, Waleregang, Tooma and Tumbarumba. Recorded group size ranges from 9 to 300 but groups of over 100 people probably represent gatherings of several named groups. Each individual group is listed below along with the source in parentheses and then a brief description or quote of the territory.

Balung-karar (Howitt 1904: 827)

Ovens River and Wangaratta (Howitt 1904: 71)[7].

Bealite (Aitken 1859)

'There is another small tribe on the Delatite or Devil's River, numbering about 30, with which there is constant communication' (Aitken 1859).

Gilla matong (Mitchell 1981: 12)

One of four tribes described by Reid as congregating at Wahgunyah, Wangaratta, Wodonga and Yackandandah (Reid 1860).

Gomebung mittong (Robinson 23/9/1844a)

Gundagai, Adelong and Tumblong (Robinson 23/9/1844a).

Kindarener mitter (Robinson 30/9/1844a)

'country a small plain 20 miles north west [of crossing place]' (Robinson 30/9/1844).

Kubber mitter (Robinson 30/9/1844a)

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[7] Both Barwick and Clark have considered the term Balung-karar to be a variant of Pallengoillum and Palleranmitter which they consider to be one group. I have diverged from this position based on the lack of similarity between the descriptive terms and the distinctive territory descriptions.

‘country Billy Bong to [Murrumbidgee?] then to the Hume, speak Wayaradjeree’ (Robinson 30/9/1844a).

Mogullumbidj

‘Hill tribe; frequenting the heads of the rivers Ovens, Mitta Mitta and Murray’ in 1850 (Commissioner for Crown Lands 1850).

Pallengoillum (Robinson 13/5/1840)

‘the country at 15 mile creek belongs to Pallengo-il-lim to Hone.ne.ap [Merriman’s father] and Mo.me.gin.ner’ (Robinson 1841 F286).

Palleran mitter

‘Country of the Bulleran-mitter - extends from west bank of Hume to Ovens River and N to Panderambo and then towards the mountains’ (Robinson 1844d).

Pyrermitter (Robinson 30/9/1844a)

‘messmates with Kuber mitter, along with Waller Waller speak Wayradjeree’ (Robinson 30/9/1844a).

Tarrer mitter (Robinson 30/9/1844a)

‘country down Murry river below crossing place at Mr. Gordon McLeay’s station’ (Robinson 30/9/1844a). ‘This station is number 92 in the Upper Murray district, just north of the Murray River opposite Indigo Creek, on Thomas Ham’s map’ (Fels 1997:33).

‘Thurumatong or Little River ... on the banks of the Mitta Mitta etc.’ (Lane 1860).

Tinne mittong (Allan 1859)

'On the top of the mountains by the Deberer plains [Wabonga Plateau?] are the Mokalumbeets and next along the Dividing Ranges are the Yattemittong, Tinnemittong, Worarerer mittong and other tribes eastward' (Robinson 1846).

Torngallo mitter (Robinson 30/9/1844a)

'country along east side Murry from crossing place downwards, named
Bul ler der ro speak Wayradjeree' (Robinson 30/9/1844a).

Tumut (Bingham 1846)

A synthesis of the available evidence suggests that the Tumut people belonged to the country of the Tumut River watershed and during summer visited Yarrangobilly, Goobarragandra and the Bogong Peaks.

Unorring (Reid 1860)

The Wodonga people (Andrews 1920: 35).

Waveroo (Robinson 12/2/1841)

Robinson's descriptions of the term Waveroo show that it is inclusive of a number of smaller groups (Robinson 12/11/1842) but it is not clear whether this super-group is descriptive of a language or of a cultural affiliation. Clark has pointed out that -wurru is a language name affix (pers. comm. 1999), however at no time time did Robinson state that Waveroo represents a language. In fact he wrote that the language spoken by the people of the Waveroo region was Min u buddong (Robinson 1844d). It is possible that Min u buddong (probably pronounced min-you-bah-dong) was a variant of a more widely spoken Waveroo language. Mathews (1909) confuses the issue further by stating that Minyambuta (the same word as Min u buddong) is a variant of Dhudhuroa.

Wurar midung (Billy Wood 1053/4a)

'On the top of the mountains by the Deberer plains [Wabonga Plateau?] are the Mokalumbeets and next along the Dividing Ranges are the Yattemittong, Tinnemittong, Worarerer mittong and other tribes eastward' (Robinson 1846).

Yaitmathang (Howitt 1904: 827)

'The Yatte-mittongs are the original inhabitants [of Omeo] with whom the Mountain Tribes as far Eastward as Maneroo Downs are in Amity' (Robinson 1846).

(ii) North-East Languages

Figure 18, North-east Languages, shows eight language territories and a region that is

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not part of any known north-east language. The map shows the percentage commonality of vocabulary between sampled languages.

Theddora (Fison 1890: 47)

'the Theddora-mittung, occupying the sources of the River and its tributaries down to about the Gibbo Mountain, the Upper Kiewa River and the Ovens River to the Buffalo Mountain, thus being the neighbours of the Mogullum-bitch, the furthest out of the Kulin tribes' (Howitt 1904: 77).

Gundungerre (Robinson 1844d)

'Kandangora Mittung = Omeo Plains, Limestone River, Bindi, Tongeo' (Howitt 1054/2a).

Minubuddong (Robinson 1844d)

'Pal loo ang mitter - Nac in don dy or Nac er dan dy [Yackendandah?]; speak language Min u buddong' (Mullerminer alias Joe in Robinson 1844d).

Unknown Language

Mitta Mitta River apart from the upper section about the Bogong High Plains, Tallangatta Creek, the south bank of the Murray River between Albury and east almost to Waleregang, the headwaters of Cudgewa Creek. Named groups include the Boengea mittong, the Jinne mittong and the Tinne mittong.

Unnamed Kulin Dialect

'... the Mogullum-bitch, a Kulin tribe on the Upper Ovens River' (Howitt 1904: 103).

Wiradjuri

'The Woraggerry blacks extended from the Hume [Murray River] to Billy Bong, also to Barber's, nine miles west of the Hume' (Robinson 25/4/1840).

Wolgal (Howitt 1050/4d)

'From Kowumbut[8] down the river ... to Tom Groggin thence to Wheelers and Cudgewa and as far down as the Murray to Walariganya River joining the Murray - above Albury thence to Tumberumba - Adelong - Kilmore Creek to Tumut, thence from the Tumut to Gundagai - to Gloot - to Cullinbong and to Lambing Flat - thence to Yass - to Queanbeyan - to Micalago - Cooma - Kiandra - Lots Hole - Thelbingung Mountain - thence across to Kowombut [Cowombat Flat; head of Murray River]' (Mrangalla (singing Johnny), Janey Alexander and Murray Jack n.d.)

Yaitmathang (Howitt 1904: 827)

'The Omeo Blacks called themselves Ya-it-ma-thang. I have tried to get the meaning of the word but Jinny says it means the same as Brabelong but I suspect it means some peculiarity of the people as speech. I think it means people who speak quickly or it might refer to the term ya being much used as ya you (yes) and of course this is just speculation' (Bulmer 1881 in Howitt MOV). 'Hill tribe; frequenting the heads of the rivers Ovens, Mitta Mitta and Murray, on to Omeo tribe in the District of Murray; 60 men, 70 women and 20 children' (Commissioner for Crown Lands 1850).

(iv) North-east Us and Them

Figure 19, North-east Us and Them, shows via labelled arrows the animosities and enmities between north-east groups and 'others' at the time the record was made. The map also shows three terms for other groups from the perspective of three north-east groups. It is not known which group/s were referred to as Norimjer by the Palleranmitter, but it is likely that they were to the east and south-east.

Berbira (Howitt 1904: 256)

[8] *Kauwambat* means "woman" in the Wolgal speech (Howitt 1904: 78 footnote).

'..more serious cases [of stealing women] were those in which attacks were made on the Kulin by outside tribes, such as the Berbira from Gippsland. Such a case was when these blacks came over the Dividing Range to where Mansfield now is, and in the night surrounded some of the Yirung-ilam tribe. The Berbira, said my informant, were round them in a double line, and killed a number of men and a number of the children, whose heads were left in a row on a log, and they carried off five women. I may add that I had heard of this raid from the Kurnai, and was told that it was made in revenge for one made by the Brajerak some time before' (Howitt 1904: 256).

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Kanegaller (Robinson 17/6/1844a)

'This country [Ensay to Tongio] belongs to the Kanegaller or wild blacks; poor fellows all gone driven away' (Robinson 17/6/1844a). The fact that the Omeo people called 'wild men' goengaller or konegaler is extremely interesting from a cultural point of view because the term was later associated only with terminology that Manero people used of Gippsland people. The fact that it was used in 1844 by Omeo people (who would have included Theddora and Gundungerre) supports the premise that Gelantipy was once part of Gundungerre country and further supports the premise that the Omeo region and Monaro peoples had close cultural and economic ties.

Norimjer (Robinson 1844d)

'Norimjer; wild man' in the Minubuddong language (Robinson 1844d). Evidence from known associations suggests that this word referred to the Gippsland people.

The following statements are presented to demonstrate the friendships and animosities of north-east peoples and have been mapped with arrows labelled accordingly.

1. '[tribes of the Murray, Murrumbidgee and the adjoining country] proceeding to Bowna to fight with the Billabula tribe, whom they threaten to exterminate' (Anon 1838).

2. 'Ballingo-yallum belong to the Ovens tribe at Broadribs' (Robinson 20/4/1840). Robinson met with members of the Ballingo-yallum at Dockers station [Bontherambo] in 1840 in the company of Butherer ballucs ('a section of the Tardoongerang'), Pinegerines and Worileums.

3. 'Beyowengar, name of the tribe once inhabiting the country in the mountains crossing place of Tambo, same killed by the Ywa mittong and their allies.' (Robinson 22/6/1844a)

4. 'Sunday 29 September 1844. ... Came to a large camp of Natives in vicinity of crossing place, ... Monday 30 September 1844. Natives got two of my cards to send to the Ovens and Goulburn Blacks who they were anxious to come. ... Wednesday 2 October 1844. ... Number of Natives, about 250

Natives altogether. I counted 50 huts.' (Robinson September/October 1844a) Robinson met with Kindarener mitter (Wiradjuri), Kubber mitter (Wiradjuri), Palleran mitter (Waveroo), Pyrer mitter (Wiradjuri), Torngallomitter (Wiradjuri), Tarrer mitter (Wiradjuri), Waller Waller (Wiradjuri), Wodonga (unnamed).

5. [The Omeo] Tribe numbered 140 or 150; were friendly with the *Buffalo* tribe and the Maneroo and Queanbeyan tribes, they combined against their common enemies the Braidwood, Twofold Bay and Gippsland and those living near the borders of the Murray from below Albury. 'A nearly constant feud was waged between these tribes, and bloody contests frequently occurred. ... They recognised the tribal rights to certain grounds, but the boundaries were not always respected, as it happened frequently that they were overstepped during hunting excursions' (Helms 1895: 388).

6. 'I have not been able to obtain any information as to the tribes occupying the course of the Ovens lower than the Buffalo mountains. One of the tribes, allied to those on the Upper Goulbourn River, was located on the Buffalo River [Mogullumbidj], and representatives of it attended one of the great tribal meetings of the Wurunjerri tribe near Melbourne in the early forties of the last century. I was informed by one of the men (a Wurunjerri) who attended that meeting that that tribe was organised like his own' (Howitt 1904: 54).

7. 'A branch of the Wiradjuri, roving about the head waters of the Murrumbidgee, was known as "kunamildau" or "come by night", owing to their often attacking other tribes during the hours of darkness. They were probably the people we read of as "Geelamatong" or "swift" who are said to have raided as far west as Wangaratta, and were supposed to have been ultimately wiped out by a general rising of the various river tribes' (Andrews 1920: 35). Andrews refers to a Wiradjuri group known as *kunamildau*, but this term was given to Howitt by Merriman of Wallaga Lake, New South Wales (see South Coast Us and Them) and is not north-east Victorian terminology.

8. 'Each of these tribes had its own specific tribal area called a "bimble". The Ja-ita-mathang bimble was roughly in about Corryong and extended towards Omeo; the Woradgery bimble was slightly further down the Murray River, and extended a considerable way into the Riverina; (this latter tribe was also known as the Weri-ari or the No-no tribe); and the bimble of the Wolgal tribe was in the general area of Tooma and the Dargal mountains' (Mitchell 1981: 12).

9. 'The Ya-itma-thang tribe of the Omeo tableland attended the initiation ceremonies on the one side of the tribes on the Upper Ovens River [Mogullumbidj].

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(v) North east Gatherings

Figure 20, North-east Gatherings, shows 12 gatherings between first European settlement, in 1835, and 1863. The record of gatherings for this region is poor with large areas being unrepresented including the upper King, Buffalo and Buckland River regions, the upper Mitta Mitta River and Omeo and the Murray River above Mungabareena. The gatherings maps also record, where possible, the distance travelled.

1. 'Early settlers speak of 'great numbers'; 500 at one time not unusual, eg. Middlingbank, **Bogong Mountains**, Cooma' (Mitchell 1926)[9].

2. '... The Riverina natives made an annual camp at a spot close to the present Albury pumping station on their way to and from the high mountains each summer to feast on the bogong moths and consequently had big talks thereat' (Peck 1972: 267). 'Camps generally occupied were at Mungabareena, Walwa, Waleregang, Mannus Creek, on the Little River and at Lake Moodemere' (Andrews 1920: 35).

3. 'The Ya-itma-thang tribe of the Omeo tableland attended the initiation ceremonies on the one side of the tribes on the Upper Ovens River [Mogullumbidj], and those of the Wolgal and Ngarigo on the other. ... the Theddora branch of the tribe went to the *Kuringal* of the Ngarigo' (Howitt 1904: 565).

4. 1835: '500 to 600 men, women and children resident during a few months of each year at their headquarters on the elevated plain of Omeo' (Wills 1859). 'In 1842 they frequently assembled there in large numbers, and often killed many cattle belonging to squatters, whose stockmen, it is said, retaliated by firing on them ...' (Wills 1859).

5. 1838 'Yellowin was in the early days the principal meeting place of the Murray, Yass and Tumut blacks, many hundreds sometimes gathering there, and the Wilkinsons usually slaughtered cattle to

[9] This quote is repeated three times (once in the north-east and twice in the Monaro sections) so that each of the places named can be considered separately. The focus gathering place is indicated in bold.

feed them' (Perkins n.d.). 'The early settlers said it was common to see several hundred in a mob camping on the flats at Yellowin. ... There would be corroborees, and the men would cross the river and go over the hills north-east of Talbingo to a place on a creek where they held their initiation ceremonies. The bora rings of that sacred site are still to be seen today on a grassy flat on the banks of the creek now known as Rings Creek, a tributary of the Jounama.'
(Bridle 1988: 5)

6. 'Left the barracks ... Rode on to Broadribbs out sheep station 2 miles from Barnells[?] called at this hut left this keeping the E side of the river ... - at 5 miles from the last hut - nearby Broadribbs Head Station a tolerably good slab hut ... [fell in] with 8 natives at the cattle station' (Robinson 20/4/1840). This group of eight men may not be considered to constitute a large gathering, but it is nevertheless significant in showing that at this early post-contact time people from these places met, camped and travelled together. Robinson met Warileum from Pinegerine [Bangerang] country and a Pallengoillum from the Ovens River.

7. '... the natives were camping at Mr Dockers ... I found some of my old friends the Butherbulluc at Mr Dockers. ... took down their names. ... the natives said they had made a corroboree about me ... several of the natives gave me spears and other things. one gave me a necklace called too ger mun - of the Antlers of Crawfish' (Robinson 9/2/1841). Robinson met with 90 people of the Angoroke (Pingerine), Ang-go-rillum (Pinegerine), Pallengoillum (Waveroo), Butherbulluc (Daung wurrung), Palgerrerbarn (Wiradjuri), Unnamed (Pinegerine), Unnamed (Wiradjuri), Unnamed (Waveroo), Warilelum and Yarrer nillum (Daung wurrung).

8. 'A number of Ovens blacks came and camped on the King river ... - attended a corrobery of the blacks. The men danced with spears and boomerangs. Women danced. X the lagoon in a canoe. ... There were upwards of 60 natives present among whom was Merriman and other blacks I had met on a previous occasion' (Robinson 12/11/1842). Robinson lists meeting with people of the Worilelum,

Warren yillum (Daung wurrung) and Butherer bulluc (Daung wurrung) but names only nine out of the 60, so there may have been other groups represented at this gathering.

9. In late September at Wodonga Robinson met with 'about' 250 Kindarener mitter (Wiradjuri), Kubber mitter (Wiradjuri), Palleran mitter (Waveroo), Pyrer mitter (Wiradjuri), Torngallomitter (Wiradjuri), Tarrer mitter (Wiradjuri), Waller Waller (Wiradjuri) and Wodonga (unnamed) Aborigines (Robinson 30/9/1844a).

10. 'About 200 Aborigines camped at Lake Moodemere in 1851' (Andrews 1912: 15). 'Camps generally occupied were at Mungabareena, Walwa, Waleregang, Mannus Creek, on the Little River and at Lake Moodemere, near Rutherglen where as many as 500 to 600 were often to be found' (Andrews 1920: 35).

11. 1862 'In those days there were many blacks with an Aboriginal camp south of the junction of the two streams [Mitta Mitta and Tallangatta]. Here they gathered for corroborees' (Colquhoun 1953: 9-10).

12. 'At that time [c. 1863] there were anything up to 200 aborigines visiting the area, accompanied by almost as many dogs, hunting Boundary Creek and Cudgewa Creek before moving on. ... [Fish traps] were especially used at times of inter-tribal conferences, the Upper Murray being one of the centres where these large gatherings took place guarantee a supply of wild game at the time of the meeting ' (Carmody 1981: 43-44).

(vi) North east Pre-contact short journeys

Figure 21 shows a reconstruction of possible pre-contact short journeys at the Goobarragandra valley based on camp sites located by the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service (Hampson 2001). The vegetation at the three camp sites was characterised by (*E. camphora*), Apple box (*E. bridgesiana*), (*E. radiata*), Manna gum (*E. viminalis*) and Grey box (*E. microcarpa*) and would have

provided bulbs from orchids and lilies, fruits from dodder laurel (*Cassytha sp.*) and native cherry (*Exocarpus sp.*), nectar from bottle-brushes (*Calistemon sp.*), banksias (*Banksia sp.*), grevilleas (*Grevillea sp.*) and Hakeas (*Hakea sp.*); wattle gum and seed (*Acacia sp.*), and native mint (*Menthum sp.*). Fish (Murray Cod, Trout Cod, and Silver Perch), shellfish (Murray crayfish), waterfowl (Wood duck, White-necked heron and Ibis) and their eggs would have been obtained from the river and timbers for fires, shelter and artefacts from the adjacent forests. Small game (possum and lizards) would have been found in forests (LCC 1982, NPWS 1980)

(vii) North east Pre-contact medium journeys

Figure 22 shows a reconstruction of possible pre-contact medium journeys at Doomut (Tumut) and the Goobarragandra River valley based on the known existence of sites at these locations recorded by the

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New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service Heritage Officers[10] (Hampson 2001). The map shows three camps sites in a vegetation association of (*E. camphora*), Apple box (*E. bridgesiana*), (*E. radiata*), Manna gum (*E. viminalis*) and Grey box (*E. microcarpa*) (NPWS 1980); site 1 at the junction of Piper's Creek and Shelley Creek, site 2 between Shelley Creek and Goobarragandra River, and site 3 on Stony Creek. Journeys of over 5 km and up to 15 km would have been made when moving camp, to hunt large game including common wombat (*Vombatus ursinus*), grey kangaroo (*Macropus giganteus*) and swamp wallaby (*Wallabia bicolor*) and to gather materials, small game (brush-tailed possum, platypus, tortoise, lizards), medicines and vegetable foods (native raspberry, native cherry, yam daisy) in the tea-tree swamps and stringybark-candlebark forests.

(viii) North east Pre-contact travel routes

Figure 23 shows the routes of travel described or reconstructed through the ethnohistorical record for the north-east region. As has been previously stressed, the record only contains journeys that were known to have occurred or were observed[11]. Many of the journey routes have been reconstructed from a point of departure and a known point of arrival following the most likely path when taking into consideration terrain and the availability of water. The map shows that the major north-east rivers were all important travel routes; Billabong Creek to the Riverina region, the Goulburn and Broken rivers through to Yea, Alexandra, Gippsland, Mansfield, Murchison, Seymour, Port Phillip and the upper Yarra, the Ovens to Timbertop and Dargo, the Kiewa to Dargo and the Bogong High Plains, the Mitta Mitta to Omeo, the Dargo High Plains, Numlamungee and Gippsland, and the Murray to Billabong Creek, Lake Moodemere, Rutherglen, Howlong, Jindera, Wordonga, Mungabareena, Dora Dora, Walwa, Corryong and Mannus. Routes onto the high country were via the Tooma River, the Geehi River and across from Omeo to the Cobberas, Nine Mile Pinch, Suggan Suggan, Ingebyra and onto the Monaro Plateau, the Mitta Mitta, Ovens and Kiewa Rivers to the Bogong High.

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[10] I was given a general region rather than the specific location of sites to protect them from vandalism.
[11] No comprehensive investigation into the location and interconnectedness of sources of ochre, silcrete and greenstone found at north-east camp and manufacturing sites has yet been undertaken, however, it is possible that greenstone was traded from the quarry at Mt. William in central Victoria and red ochre from Canberra (Freeman 2001).

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MONARO

(i) Monaro Named Groups

Figure 24, Monaro and Maap Named Groups, shows 18 groups for the Monaro Plateau and far east Gippsland. These groups are evenly distributed throughout the region and probably represent most of the areas suitable for occupation. Each individual group is listed below along with the source in parentheses and then a brief description or quote of the territory.

Arralooin (Flanagan 1833)

Araluen [tribe] (Mackellar 1835).

Bolarer mittong

'... near to where the town of Cooma now stands and then known as Reid's Flat, the native name of which was "Beloraa". ... We ... afterwards formed another station on the coast ranges [Pindjera], at the head, nearly, of the Beloraa [Tuross] River' (Reid 1905: 16).

'The Bolarer and Jinne Mittong inhabit the Eastern and South Eastern extremity of the Mountains' (Robinson 1846).

Ben mitter (Robinson 24/7/1844a)

'Ben - Sydenham Inlet' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 227; Howitt 1904: 76).

Bingerer mitung (Robinson 19/8/1844a)

'country Bingerer, near Nimertebil Mountains at Rocky Flat' (Robinson 25/8/1844a).

Conchipmatong (Ellis 1989: 17)

A synthesis of the available evidence suggests that the Conchipmatong utilised the Manar and Mulloon region between the Bungendore Hills and Reedy Creek.

Dooroc (Dawson 1858)

'The Snowy River is also called *Doorack*' (Bulmer in Smyth 1878). 'Dooroc = the name of J. Macleod's station (Orbost) on the Snowy River' (Dawson 1858).

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Jineroo (Elrington 1833-1841)

Jinero, Mt.Elrington, County Murray (Elrington 1833-1841).

Karn (Robinson 28/7/1844a)

A synthesis of the available evidence suggests that the Karn was a group belonging to the Cann River from its mouth at Tamboon Inlet, a 'favourite resort of the Natives', to its source at Buldah.

Kyrerkong mittong (Robinson 14/8/1844a)

'Kyrer kong mittong: [Tribe at] Delaget Hill' (Robinson 16/8/1844a).

Wigwigley (Anon 1837)

'Crockbilly tribe; usually resort Buddawang Mountains on the East and the Shoalhaven River on the west' (Mackellar 1832).

Molongla (Elrington 1834)

Molonglo River (Robinson 12/9/1844a).

Mowenbar (Lambie 1841)

The Mowamba district (stations Moonbar and Mowenbah) was chosen by Lambie as a focus for blanket distribution between 1841-1847, presumably because it was a favoured region for a significant number of Maneroo Aborigines. Brierly and Pidjinboro met 'a portion of the Moneroo tribe' camped at the Mowamba River in January 1843 (Brierly 1843).

Mutong

Snowy River about Mutong (Dalgety) where Lambie took blanket distribution census data between 1841 and 1847. He proposed the gazettal of an Aboriginal reserve on the Snowy River at Hickey's Crossing 2km south of Dalgety (Lambie 1848). The Mutong group would have been the same one that frequented Brooks' Gejizrick run.

Ngai-mutch-mittang (Howitt 1050/2a)

'Ngye-mutch-mittang - Queanbeyan tribe' (Mickey n.d.).

Pangerre mittong (Robinson 12/8/1844a)

'Pang.er.re mittong: Limestone Blacks' (Robinson 12/8/1844a).

Pundeang mittong (Robinson 13/7/1844a)

'Pandeang mittong: belong to Liscomb's at [Bondi]' (Robinson 14/8/1844a).

Jinnoor mitter (Robinson 24/7/1844a)

'Jin noor mit tong: name of tribe head of the Mal lo koter [Genoa] River' (Robinson 14/8/1844a).

Wakeruk (Fison and Howitt 1880: 324)

'... Wakeruk tribe (Bidwelli) east of the Snowy River' (Fison and Howitt 1880: 324).

(ii) Monaro and Maap Languages

Figure 25, Monaro and Maap Languages, shows six language variants for the region, including Gundungerre for which no language sample exists. Broken lines represent boundaries between regions in which variants of the same language were spoken.

Unnamed Braidwood Dialect

Territory:

1. Upper Shoalhaven River, Mongarlowe River, Araluen.

Muk-dhang (Mathews 1907: 347)

'The Birdhawal call their own dialect *muk-dhang ...* The termination *dhang ...* means "mouth" and is symbolical of speech' (Mathews 1907: 347).

Ngarigo (Howitt 1050/2c)

'The boundaries of this tribe are well defined by the limits of the Manero tableland, being bounded on the west by the thed-dora of Omeo about the Cobberas; the kurnai about Gelantipy; to the south west by the Beduelli at the coast range and of the same range to the south from the coast tribes (murring). To the east they were bounded about by the Bong Bong by some tribe, to the north their neighbours were the Wolgal. The word Ngarigo is the name of the language they spoke - the distinctive name of

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this tribe being murring = man. This word however includes the coast tribes and the Wolgal' (Howitt 1050/2c).

Ngunawal (Mathews 1908a)

'... the Ngarrugu tribe, ... formerly occupied the country from Queanbeyan via Cooma and Bombala, to Delegate. Adjoining the Ngarrugu on the north from Queanbeyan to Yass, Boorowa and Goulburn, was the Ngunawal tribe ... a sister tongue of the Ngarrugu. The grammatical structure of these languages is closely similar, and several words of their vocabularies are almost identical' (Mathews 1908a).

(iv) Monaro and Maap Us and Them

Figure 26, Monaro and Maap Us and Them, shows five terms used by the Monaro people for other groups with arrows directing toward them. Four of these groups have a 'wal' or 'al' suffix signifying 'the people'. This is a version of the 'gal' described by Howitt as a possessive suffix (see South Coast Us and Them)(Howitt 1904: 81-82). Wolgal has the same word structure (Wol + gal) and may have been a term which, like Bid doo wal, was originally the name given them by others, but as a consequence of disenfranchisement, became the name that the group called themselves.

Biddoowal (Robinson 1844d)

'[In 1848] The old blacks said it was not them [who speared the cattle] but the Bidwell blacks ... who by the way are still wild, and have never been brought in ... they live somewhere out to this day towards Cape Howe' (McLeod n.d.).

Budara (Mickey n.d.)

'Mickey was born at Mutong near Buckley's Crossing [Dalgety] at Rutherford's Old Place - it is his country. His language is called Ngarego. That of Gippsland he calls Kungela. Wild blacks are called Budara. The Omeo language is called kundung-orur [kundoong-oroor]' (Mickey n.d.).

Gungala (Billy Wood n.d.)

Gelantipy men call Gippsland blacks Gungala (Billy Wood n.d.).

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Maap (Jemmy Lawson 1876)

Maap or Biduelli tribe has a subdivision Maapkoolong (Jemmy Lawson 1876). 'Koolong' is the male gender suffix which Jemmy would have used to indicate the men of the Maap. He would not have been able to speak for the women.

Onerwal (Robinson 1846)

'The Yass Blacks are designated Onerwal and the Limestone Koroinal' (Robinson 1846).

Waral (King Charley n.d.)

'The Twofold Bay blacks were called Waral meaning belonging to the country in the east a long way off. They were looked upon as Brajeraks' (King Charley n.d.).

(v) Monaro and Maap Gatherings

Figure 27, Monaro and Maap Gatherings, shows 17 gathering events over 39 years from between first European settlement in 1824 to 1863. There are only two gatherings recorded for Maap territory, probably only a small fraction of those which took place during these 40 years. The Monaro and Maap Gatherings map demonstrates the interconnectedness of Queanbeyan and Braidwood groups with the Wiradjuri to the north and west and the Goulburn groups to the north. The more southerly Monaro groups appear typically to have gathered with east Gippslanders and other local people. The gatherings maps also record, where possible, the distance travelled.

1. 'The blacks [of Badgery's Swamp] used to have a corroboree with the blacks down the mountain. They used to meet at the Cole [Coal] Hole, a valley on the right side of the Rocky Hall mountain' (Thomas n.d.).

2. 'In attendance at a corroboree at Queanbeyan was visitors from the lower Lachlan River, the Murrumbidgee River and 'all intervening districts' (Gale 1927: 64).

3. ‘My mother talked much about the Aborigines here [Berriedale District]. She could remember when they would come through at certain times of the year from Gippsland to meet the Monaro blacks.

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are needed to see this picture.

They would have a corroboree and a battle not very far from their home on the hill, in the range above the Cow Bed which is called Deegan's Range' (Suthern 1994: 207).

4. 'The early settlers speak of the aboriginal as existing in great numbers on Manaro. ... It was not unusual to see five hundred of them at one time and this is spoken of as being the case about **Middlingbank**, in the Boogong Mountains, and at Cooma' (Mitchell 1926: 18).

5. 'Different groups from the coast were known to have met at Kalkite and after a corroboree there travelled together to the Snowy Plains where a further corroboree celebrated the meeting of another group from Braidwood' (Payten 1949). Currak-da-bidgee '... September each year when the snow began to fall, the different sections of the tribe [Currak-da-bidgee] collect together and resort to the mountains at the foot of Mt. Kosciusko ...' (Jardine 1901: 52) 'The ... ceremonial ground called 'Kalkite' has been identified with a low circle of stones (called a 'bora ring') located near the junction of the Snowy River and Wollondibby Creek ... this area is now submerged under a modern reservoir, Lake Jindabyne' (Kamminga 1992: 107).

6. 'The early settlers speak of the aboriginal as existing in great numbers on Manaro. ... It was not unusual to see five hundred of them at one time and this is spoken of as being the case about Middlingbank, in the Boogong Mountains, and at **Cooma**' (Mitchell 1926: 18).

7. 'Not far below Jindabyne, where the valley of the Snowy River somewhat narrows between rather rugged hills, used to be in olden times a favourite camping place of the natives who assembled here (even within the knowledge of some settlers) in considerable numbers, mainly for the purpose of making stone implements' (Helms 1895: 403). Flood (1980) located this quarry and nearby camp site.

8. 1834; 'I saw a great corroboree once. At the lowest calculation there must have been 500 blacks present. They came from all directions. The festivities (at Rocky Plain) were of a high order. Tribal distinctions were made by embellishing the body ... with ... pigments of different hues ... Immediately

antecedent to the opening of the corroboree ... (the aborigines) affixed to their figures a quantity of tea-tree bushes which gave forth a rattle blending most peculiarly with the gyrations and hoopings of the sable revellers' (O'Rourke in Perkins n.d.).

9. 'In 1840 messengers [were] sent out to gather together the Tumut and Queanbeyan tribes to Bogong for the Bogong moth feast' (Howitt 1049/3b). 'W.P. Bluett of "Koorabri" Brindabella told me that the tribes from the Canberra Plains used to come over the Brindabella Range and up the valley, camping where his property was, then going on up into the Bogongs to join in the feasting. Bluett's property was at the head of the Brindabella valley and he had a vast collection of aboriginal implements turned up when ploughing' (Bridle 1988: 5).

10. 'When a child of five [Bigginook] had been present at a gathering of about 1200 Aborigines at Cooma with his sister Jubba. A large gum tree near the corner of the present Vale and Massie Streets, Cooma was set alight and about thirty picaninnies were playing around it when a large limb fell and struck Bigginook at the base of the head ...' (Gillespie 1984: 64).

11. '[The] Kuring-gal [initiation was] held at a place near Crisp's Station [Jimenbuen] beyond Buckley's Crossing [Dalgety] - on this [Gippsland] side of the Snowy River. There were people there from Manero and some Biduell - also one man from the Tumut River. ... Old Murray Jack was present' (King Charley with Neddy O'Rourke n.d.).

12. Bombala, 1859 Christmas 'The aboriginal owners of the soil are mustering around the township' (ex *Sydney Morning Herald* December 1859 in Perkins n.d.).

13. 1859 'The blacks are mustering around Queanbeyan in very great numbers, and have been holding an innumerable number of corroborees' (ex *Goulburn Herald* July 2 1859 in Perkins n.d.).

14. Measles epidemic at Emu Bank (Shumack 1967:151). In autumn 1862 or 1863 the south coast tribe paid a visit to the country of the Murrays. The group numbered 300 or 400 Aborigines camped near the house at Emu Bank (Shumack 1967:180).

15. 'During the last eight or ten days two or three tribes of blackfellows from Braidwood, Yass and Bland Plains, have visited this town ... assembling nightly for "corroboree" ' (*The Golden Age* 5 April 1862). 'On Tuesday Queanbeyan was invaded by a tribe of blacks of about 400 in number and they camped in Dr Hayley's paddock at The Oaks' (*Queanbeyan Age* April 1862).

16. 'In Braidwood district, in the course of a week or two, we are told that a very large gathering of Aboriginal natives will take place, for the purpose of celebrating one of their periodic festivals. The sons of the sable race are to come from all the neighbouring districts, including the Murrumbidgee, Murray and Lachlan, and it is thought by the 'darkies' who are at present arranging matters to receive their guests, that no less than 600 or 700 blackfellows will be present at the corroboree. The festival will take place at Tudor Valley, where a large ring is already formed for them to dance around. The 'natives' will appear 'painted and feathered', as is their custom on occasions of this sort; and, to wind up the proceedings, the young men eligible for marriage will undergo the interesting ceremony of having their front teeth knocked out' (Anon 1863).

17. 'In December 1872 a large corroboree was held on the Braidwood gold fields, at
which representatives from Broulee, Shoalhaven, and coastal districts attended' (Brennan 1907).

18. '... another series of groups ultimately met at the foot of 'Old Crackenback', a noted landmark. It was here [the Wollondibby Valley] on this corroboree ground that pitched battles were fought between N.S.W. and Victorian tribes. The 'old hands' stand firm on their statement that these were inter-tribal and not mere local brawls. ...As the groups met in converging on the tops, corroborees were held, followed by a further corroboree when the next group was encountered' (Payten 1949). 'The area of Wollondibby Valley in which the ceremonial ground was situated is sheltered from strong winds that

sweep down the mountains and ambient summer temperatures are about °C8 warmer than in the adjoining valley' (Kamminga 1992: 108).

19. 'The Ya-itma-thang tribe of the Omeo tableland attended the initiation ceremonies on the one side of the tribes on the Upper Ovens River, and those of the Wolgal and Ngarigo on the other. ... the Theddora branch of the tribe went to the *Kuringal* of the Ngarigo' (Howitt 1904: 565). This gathering has been mapped on Figure 34.

(vi) Monaro and Maap Pre-contact short journeys

Figure 28 shows movements of up to 5 km from the Monderragen camp situated on the confluence of the Bombala and Delegate rivers. Although the reference comes from an 1872 sighting (McFarland 1872), it is reasonable to assume that a site which supported thirty people had been in regular use

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before the pastoral era. The McFarland extract is presented in full because it provides an excellent eyewitness account of camp life which, apart from the modern addition of clothes washing, would not have changed little over millennia:

> In March '72, I came upon a "camp" of Aborigines at Monderragen ... It consisted of about 30 ... men, women and children ... The hour was noon; and most of the party were lying upon opposum rugs, under the shade of their "gunyahs", or rough bush screens against sun and wind; round each of which four or five mongrel dogs were prowling. Some of the men were roasting opossums and "monkeys" (Native bears); and one "gin" was washing clothes-using as a tub a piece of thick bark taken from the bend or elbow of a tree... Three other women were clearing a crossing place, at the nearest station [Quidong], from big stones ... An old fellow was engaged in the light pursuit of "boomerang" making; and several of the children were rolling on the sand, ... In the afternoon I met their chief huntsman, or provedore, as he returned from the "field". Over one shoulder (flapping on his breast) there hung the skins of three opossums, and a bear; dangling against his back were the bodies of the same; and upon the other shoulder he carried a quantity of honey in the comb, resting on a strip of bark: He was accompanied by a couple of dogs, and bore in his belt a good-sized tomahawk. ... Half an hour later the entire *posse* were enjoying a game of *ball*- throwing and catching it from hand to hand- and laughing, shouting, pushing and tumbling ... (McFarland 1872: 113-4).

The site obviously provided useful materials for artefact manufacture (balls, boomerangs, water carriers and food carriers), shelter and animal foods (possum, koala and honey).

(vii) Monaro and Maap Pre-contact medium journeys

Figure 29 shows medium (>5 to 15 km) pre-contact journeys for the Monaro and Maap region based on the findings of Flood (1980: 182) and the observations of McFarland (1872: 113). The Monderragen site (1) has been discussed in detail under short journeys. Sites 2 and 3 are adjacent to and on the Bombala river. Site 2 would have accessed water from a spring on the plateau feeding into the river below and would have been well positioned to travel to areas on the plateau frequented by kangaroo. Wombats would be plentiful about the rivers and creeks. Materials for artefacts, small game, vegetables and medicines would be found both along the rivers and creeks and on the higher plateau country. There

were probably camps situated where Aston, Cambalong and Bukalong Creeks meet the Bombala River which would have provided an intermediate camp between sites 1, 2 and 3.

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(viii) Monaro and Maap Pre-contact travel routes

Figure 30 shows the routes of travel described or reconstructed through the ethnohistorical record for Monaro and Maap. As has been previously stressed, the record only contains journeys that were known to have occurred or were observed. The map shows that the larger Monaro and east Gippsland rivers were all major travel routes; the Murray through to the Monaro plateau, Tumut and the Bogong Mountains, the Murrumbidgee to Yiyac, Queanbeyan, Cooma and the Bogong Mountians, the Shoalhaven to Braidwood and Goulburn, the Tambo to Bruthen and Buchan and onto the Monaro plateau, the Bemm and Cann rivers onto the Monaro plateau via Buldah or Bondi passes and the Genoa to Nungatta. Travel on the plateau avoided the Snowy valley and took routes across the flatter country wherever possible. For example, people travelled between Deegans Range and Delegate via Mutong, Matong and Currowong. Another example is the route from Snowy Plain to Coolamatong via Murlingbung (Rocky Plain). Journeys to Twofold Bay were made via Genoa river, Wog Wog Pass, Tantawanglo Mountain and Brown Mountain. Other parts of the far south coast were accessed via Conway Gap, Jillicambra and the Tuross river and Clyde Mountain and the Deua river.

SOUTH COAST

(i) South coast Named Groups

Figure 31, South Coast Named Groups, shows 32 groups distributed relatively evenly on predominantly coastal, estuarine or lower riverine reaches in the region. Census records for south coast groups were taken between 1832 and 1844 and are the most complete and representative within the study region. Each individual group is listed below along with the source in parentheses and then a brief description or quote of the territory.

Batemans Bay (Morris 1832)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised the inlet at Batemans Bay including Nelligen, Buckenbowra and Flat Rock Island.

Bemboka/Candelo

Benbuka and Candolo (Imlay 1841).

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Bherewarrie (Lamb 1836)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised the Bhewerre Peninsula and Sussex Inlet (Morris 1832).

Brogo (Imlay 1839)

'Brogo and Bega' (Imlay 1841).

Broulee (Oldrey 1843)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised a region from north of Congo to the Batemans Bay inlet but not including Bergalia.

Burgali (Flanagan 1833)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised the Congo and Bingi areas.

Burreel (Eden 1837)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised Burrill Lake, Ulladulla and Milton.

Corramy (Kinghorne 1840)

Jervis Bay Lagoon (Sussex Inlet) (Kinghorne 1840).

Currowan and Broomun (Oldrey 1842)

Two groups; one at Currowan and one at both Currowan and Broomun (Oldrey 1842).

Didthel

Mountains between Narriga and Ulladulla (Oldrey 1842).

Durare (Morris 1832)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised the Durras area from Flat Rock Island to Grasshopper Island and inland for 10 km.

Jerriwangalie (Lamb 1836)

Jerriwangalie (Lamb 1836).

Kialoha (Morris 1832)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised the current Kioloa State Forest area.

Kiora

Oldrey identified groups which described their country as Kiora; Kiora and Gundaree; and Wokoonga, Kiora and Gundaree (Oldrey 1842).

Mallokotan mitter

'... belonging to the Malaguta tribe, resident at Cape Howe and adjacent coast' (Imlay 1841).

Mullenderee

Oldrey recorded named groups which identified with the country as Dooga; Dooga, Mullendaree, Mokondoora; Gundaree (Oldrey 1842) and Duga; Gundary; Moyou; Mulendary (Oldrey 1843).

Murrah

Murrah River and Perround (Dry River) (Robinson August 1844a).

Murramurrang

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised Murramarang, Meroo Lake and Termeil Lake.

Nal ler kor mitter (Robinson 14/8/1844a)

'Twofold Bay blacks at Boyd Town called Nal ler kor mitter, country extend[s] to beyond Tarterer [Disaster] Bay [to the] south' (Robinson 14/8/1844a). This group included people who identified with Kiar (Kiah), Kyerno (east of Kiah), Mowarry Point, Tororaqua (Red Point at Wanderer's Tower), Towamber (end of Nulliker Beach), Ponebine (Womboyn).

Narrawallee (Morris 1832, Anon 1842)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised Narrawallee Inlet and Lake Conjola.

Panbula (Imlay 1839)

'Usually resort Panbula' (Imlay 1839).

Terosse (Oldrey 1842)

'Usually resort Terosse' (Oldrey 1842).

Jinnoor mitter (Robinson 24/7/1844a)

'Jin noor mit tong: name of tribe head of Mal lo koter [Genoa] River' (Robinson 14/8/1844a).

Wadder Waddo (Robinson 30/8/1844a)

'The Wadder Waddo tribe occupy the coast north of the Biggah River, speak a different language, hut constructed differently as above mentioned... My object in going down the river was to confer with the tribe on the north side [of the Bega River] called Wad.de. Wad.do, but we did not see any' (Robinson 30/8/1844a).

Wagamy (Kinghorne 1840)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised Beecroft Peninsula (Morris 1832).

Wagunga (Flanagan 1833)

Noorama (Lambie 1842).

Wallumla (Imlay 1839)

'Usually resort Wallumla' (Imlay 1839). This group includes people identifying with Tura (Head) and Wallagoot.

Wandawandahan (Morris 1832)

A synthesis of Morris' census records suggests that this group utilised the country inland from Perry Werry (Bhewerre Peninsula and St. Georges Basin), including Yarraman Creek and the Turpentine Range.

Wiacon (Imlay 1839)

'the Wiacon tribe, resident at Twofold Bay' (Imlay 1839). Weecoon is the Aboriginal name for Snug Cove and differentiated this group as belonging to the northern section of Twofold Bay where the town of Eden is situated (as opposed to the Nulliker mitter who were situated in the south at Nullica Bay).

Windilla (Lambie 1842)

Wandella (Lambie and Robinson).

Wonderral (Robinson 1844d)

'Won der ral is the native tribe belonging to Wollokor next to [blank]' (Robinson 1844d).

Worerker brimmitter (Robinson 1844a)

Worerker is place name, brim the source, mitter the people or speakers (Robinson 1844a). The 'Biggah' territory includes people identifying with Wariguburer, Mallinbarer and Tarraganda.

(ii) South Coast Functional Names

Figure 32, South Coast Functional Names, shows four regional divisions of territory based on the economic practices of the people. South coast Aborigines were broadly divided into fishing people and tomahawk people because of their dependence on these modes of food collection. The Yuin fisher people were defined by direction as northern (Kurial) and southern (Guyangal) Yuin and the Thau-aira fishing people had a third name (Kudingal).

Bemeringal/Yuin (Jenbin n.d.)

'The country of this tribe [Bemeringal] commences at the eastern side of Mallagoota Inlet thence by Mallagoota northwards including Bondi to near Delegate thence northward leaving Nimitibell and

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Cooma, a little to the left hand, Jimmycumbene, Braidwood including Eucumbyan thence round by the Conjola River to the sea' (Jenbin n.d.).

Guyangal (Jenbin n.d.)

'..the Murring ... claimed the country from Cape Howe to the Shoalhaven River, in New South Wales. They formed two large sub-tribes or sub-divisions, called respectively Guyangal and Kurial, from the words *guya*, "south", and *kuru*, "north", *gal* being the possessive postfix. The inland extent of their country included the fall from the coast range to the sea ...' (Howitt 1904: 81-82).

Kudingal (Robinson 30/8/1844a)

'Not only are the Coast Murring divided into the "southerners" and "northerners", but they are also divided into those who live on the coast and those who live inland. The former are the Katungal, from *Katung,* "the sea", called by the whites "fishermen". ... The Katungal commence at Moruya, and extend far up the coast including distant tribes' (Howitt 1904: 82).

Kurregal (Robinson 1844d)

Kurial (Howitt 1050/2c)

'..the Murring ... claimed the country from Cape Howe to the Shoalhaven River, in New South Wales. They formed two large sub-tribes or sub-divisions, called respectively Guyangal and Kurial, from the words *guya*, "south", and *kuru,* "north", *gal* being the possessive postfix. The inland extent of their country included the fall from the coast range to the sea ...' (Howitt 1904: 81-82).

Pyender (Robinson 30/8/1844a)

'A term applied to all blacks living in the woods and who live by climbing trees, from 'pyen' their word for tommy hawk' (Robinson 30/8/1844a).

(iii) South coast Languages

Figure 33, South Coast Languages, shows six language variants for the region including a shaded area in which two languages were equally dominant. The map also shows the percentage difference between the available remnant language vocabularies.

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Jeringan (Merriman 1881)

'From Jingellic eastward was the country of the Walgalu tribe, whose speech resembled partly the Dhudhuroa and partly the Dyirringan, a tongue spoken from about Nimmitabel to Bega' (Mathews 1909).

Mudthung or Thurumba (McKenzie 1872a)

'... Mudthung or Thurumba spoken by the aborigines of Braidwood, Ulladulla, Moruya and Jervis Bay' (McKenzie 1872a).

Thau-aira (Merriman n.d.)

'Rodney says Cape How, Tinnoor, Wongerebul, Twofold Bay, Panbuller all speak same language. The Biccer is another language. The tribe at Benn and Karn speak same language as the Buckun and probably Gippsland tribe' (Robinson 6/8/1844a).

Thoorga (Mathews 1902a)

'The Thoorga language ... is spoken by the aborigines scattered along the coast of New South Wales from Bermagui northerly to Jervis Bay. ... Adjoining the Thoorga on the south are the Jirrigan, Thawa and other communities. The speech of all the tribes mentioned is similar in grammatical structure, although differing more or less widely in vocabulary ...' (Mathews 1902b).

Tharawal (Merriman n.d.)

'... Thurawal, the [language] of the aborigines occupying the country from Wollongong to the banks of the Lower Shoalhaven inclusive' (McKenzie 1872b).

(iv) South coast Us and Them

Figure 34, South Coast Us and Them, shows seven versions of names for *other* which were used on the south coast to describe inland groups. There is no record of the terms for other which were used by the people north of Bermagui.

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Bim er rengal (Robinson 1844d)

'The country of this tribe [Bemeringal] commences at the eastern side of Mallagoota Inlet thence by Mallagoota northwards including Bondi to near Delegate thence northward leaving Nimitibell and Cooma, a little to the left hand, Jimmycumbene, Braidwood including Eucumbyan thence round by the Conjola River to the sea' (Jenbin n.d.)

Biddooal (Robinson 1844d)

'Bidwal; wild man' Cape Howe and Twofold Bay language (Robinson 1844d).

Boolokolele (Robinson 1844d)

'Boo.lo.kole.le; wild man' language of the Twofold Bay people (Robinson 1844d). This term possibly refers to the Wiradjuri.

Gunduwurk (Merriman 1881)

'Murrin territory means sister-in-law and country inhabited by them as described - extends to Gippsland - beyond this in the mountains men are Gunduwurk' (Merriman 1881).

Kunamildau (Merriman and Jenbin n.d.; Andrews 1920:35)

'Beyond the most distant Bemeringal known to the Yuin, namely at Kiandra, there were tribes they called Woradjera and also Kunamildan, or "come by night", who had at times crossed the mountains and killed the Murring' (Howitt 1904: 82).

Mobullergunde (Robinson 1844d)

Mo.bul.ler.gunde is a word in the Twofold Bay language that translates as 'all about blacks', and describes the Twofold Bay region people (which may have included those at Cape Howe and Mallacoota) (Robinson 1844d). This term was probably out of use forty years later, as Howitt was not told of it by his informants.

Munaremar (Robinson 1844d)

Munaremar is a word in the Bega language meaning wild man (Robinson 1844d). This term probably refers to the Wiradjuri or Yass Aborigines [Ngunawal] of whom the Bega people had a great fear.

Murring (Howitt 1884: 185)

'..the Murring ... claimed the country from Cape Howe to the Shoalhaven River, in New South Wales. They formed two large sub-tribes or sub-divisions, called respectively Guyangal and Kurial, from the words *guya*, "south", and *kuru*, "north", *gal* being the possessive postfix. The inland extent of their country included the fall from the coast range to the sea ...' (Howitt 1904: 81-82).

(v) South coast Gatherings

Figure 35, South Coast Gatherings, shows twelve gatherings for the region which took place between a hypothetical 1740[12] and 1883. This represents only a small fraction of the gatherings which would have taken place over this period of 150 years. The gatherings maps also record, where possible, the distance travelled.

1. 'In the earliest days it was recorded that there were 700 Aborigines living in that area. They had nothing to do with the Twofold Bay natives unless they came to Bega for corroborees but the Nariras at Cobargo was the next boundary which covered from the Bermagui River to Mt. Dromedary' (Smith 1966).

2. 'Sister Smith believes that Moon Bay and the headland of the Bega River was the chief centre for the whole area because the natives would travel up to four hundred miles to the gatherings there, to the initiation ceremonies and on Noel P. Ford's property, there are areas that he finds impossible to plough, particularly where they had the tooth ceremonies and other ceremonies. All living things

[12] The 1740 gathering was recorded as a fictional event (see Item 6).

were plucked out for years and nothing will grow there, that's the bunan rings, he has a lot on his property' (Smith 1966).

3. 'When white people first arrived [in the Ulladulla region, circa 1828] it was considered that there were about 600 blacks in the whole district, consisting of two tribes, the coastal and the Pigeon House blacks. The latter tribe extended also towards Braidwood, and at certain periods both tribes would meet in a friendly way on a mountain range between the Pigeon House and the coast known as Kingiman, meaning "meeting place" ' (Cambage 1916).

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

4. ‘Assuming that the *Bunan* was to be attended by the clans from Moruya, Bega, and Twofold Bay, that is, by both the Kurial and Guyangal, and that the meeting was to be near Bega, the following would be the procedure as the contingents arrived. The people from Braidwood, Ulladulla and Shoalhaven would accompany those from Moruya. With them, people from Broulee would occasionally come. Next would arrive those from Queanbeyan, then the Gurungatta from beyond Shoalhaven, with whom there might be even some from Jervis Bay; and all these people are true Kurial. ... The people from Twofold Bay would arrive about the same time, and bring with them some of the Bemeringal from the country along the coast range, being some of those living to the east of Ngarigo’ (Howitt 1904: 519-20).

5. ‘Different groups from the coast were known to have met at Kalkite and after a corroboree there travelled together to the Snowy Plains where a further corroboree celebrated the meeting of another group from Braidwood’ (Payten 1949) (see also Figure 27).

6. ‘My mother was the first white child born at Towamba - born 5th December 1850. Our Grandfather [John Stephenson] was in charge of Towamba for Ben Boyd, head stockman. We believe it was the only house there then, the remains of the old cottage was across the river opposite Bollman’s. Old fruit trees [were] there in our time at Towamba. Granny [Eliza Fairweather] often told us of the wild blacks from the tablelands meeting the coastal tribes and holding corroborees on the flats [Blackfellow’s Point] where Bollman’s farm was in our time. Granny sat up all night and watched them while Grandfather was away with cattle to Boydtown, all the company she had a tame black gin’ (Stephenson 1958).

7. Barlow wrote a fictional account of a gathering of 3,000 Aborigines in 1740 held annually at Easter time at Bendithera, at the junction of the Con Creek with the Deua River. He posited this as an annual event the timing of which was estimated by moon cycles. People came from Broulee, Gundary, Tuross, Wandellow, Cooma, Bredbo, Wyambene and ‘scores of intermediate places’. Although the

genre is historical fiction, Barlow's work needs to be considered to be based on fact, as he was known to have interviewed many knowledgeable Aborigines (Barlow 1890).

8. '... once a year the Monaro tribes would come down [to Bega] and there would be a great fighting between them' (Anon 1920).

9. 'This evening went on shore[13] in South Twofold Bay and witnessed a very interesting corroberry by the Maneroo Natives, they were on a visit to their coast friends to introduce it, was compared and arranged by Al.mil.gong, and Omeo Black from Tongio-mungie. There were about 60 or 70 Blacks present including the Twofold Bay ... Dance commenced late in the finest acclivity of hill[14], singular effect, men had a broad streak of white round small of arm and legs, women were covered with white spots and white down of birds, cheeks and round forehead, their bodies also reddened. Three sheets of bark had been prepared - painted; the centre one represents women, the two outer - men. Three women danced with boughs beside and behind the back ... each side alternately changed side. It lasted about an hour and a half. The last was by men entirely. ... The Twofold Bay, like the whites, were spectators' (Robinson 14/8/1844a).

10. On 19 August 1844 Tur.rul/Un.nin.jer alias Teapot, a Wiacon man, died of venereal disease aged 50 at Twofold Bay. Tur.rul's brother was Neerimbine alias Jemmy the King, who was responsible for digging his grave to the satisfaction of the elders. His wife was Punjer.mille alias Picerloap and came from Dollykyo. He was buried two days later. 'The Maneroo Blacks who had left, were sent for and returned to witness the funeral. ... Biggah blacks came over to funeral of Tea Pot' (Robinson 19/8/1844a, 21/8/1844a).

11. 1860 'I remember meeting a messenger about 1860, who was on his way up from the coast to meet the Maneroo Tribe to inform them that they were to assemble to meet a tribe from the Murray River. ... The meeting subsequently took place and a corroboree was held' (Jardine 1901).

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[13] Robinson was living aboard Boyd's ship 'Wanderer' during his stay at Twofold Bay.
[14] The wording suggests a place where the hillside creates a natural amphitheatre.

12. 'April 16 Bega 1883 - About 150 aborigines have mustered here for a great corroboree, which is to come off next week. The men and their families came from Monaro, Gippsland and the south etc.' (ex *Sydney Morning Herald* 16 April 1883 in Perkins n.d.)

1883: 'ABORIGINAL INITIATIONS - "The Gippsland Times states that Mr. A.W. Howitt, who has recently returned from a trip to Bega, which he undertook in order to be present at a gathering of the blacks to witness the initiation ceremonies of the young men in the rights & privileges of manhood, informs us that the result of his trip has been eminently satisfactory. The number of blacks present was not so large as was first anticipated, for in consequence of the numerous delays in organising the matter, a large number of them got tired of waiting and left the district. The Gippsland contingent did not put in an appearance at all, in consequence of meeting with bad weather on the road, and the leader, King Charlie, getting laid up with opthalmia, they were forced, when within some 35 miles of Bega, to give up the journey and return. The men present were what are known as "tree climbers" & "fishermen" or members of the inland and sea coast tribes. The ceremonies, which, in the native language are known as Kooringal, and at which the women of the tribes are prohibited from attending, were carried out in accordance with the ancient laws of the blacks and lasted exactly 30 hours. Mr. Howitt states that he was present at the whole of these ceremonies, alot which, it is believed, has never hitherto fallen to any white man; but the exact nature of the ceremonies will not be made public until the issue of a book he proposes publishing on this subject....' (Anon 1883).

'The Yuin ceremonies of initiation were attended by people from a district included by Shoalhaven River, Braidwood, the southern part of Manero, and Twofold Bay' (Howitt 1904: 718).

'Having received notice from Yibai-malian [alias Murray Jack] and Brupin that the people were assembling for the *Kuringal*, and having sent off my contingent of the Kurnai under the guidance of my messenger from the Snowy River [King Charley], I went to the south coast and there found about one hundred and thirty blacks, - men, women, and children, - waiting for me. They represented mainly the

two great divisions of the Murring of the south coast, but there were also people from as far as Bateman's Bay and Braidwood, who accompanied the Shoalhaven contingent. Besides these there were also a few of the Biduelli. After waiting a few days for the Kurnai, I learned that owing to their guide having been attacked by opthalmia, they had returned from the coast range before descending to the sea-coast where we were waiting for them' (Howitt 1904: 527). Charley Alexander (Kroatun), his wife Janey Alexander (Wolgal) and their child were also present as was Umbara alias Merriman from Wallaga Lake.

(vi) South coast Pre-contact short journeys

Figure 36 shows south coast pre-contact short journeys based on Byrne's findings and reconstructions (Byrne 1984: 7). He found several camp sites around Lake Wapengo from which shellfish, fish, crustacea and vegetable foods could be gathered. The eucalypt woodland would have provided bark

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for shelter, artefact materials, medicines and firewood. There are many small streams in the region which do not show up on maps of even this large scale but would provide an ample supply for many people. The land forms in this region, including rugged coastal ranges, numerous inlets and large rivers, would have resulted in shorter daily journeys than equivalents in Gippsland, north-east and the Monaro.

(vii) South coast Pre-contact medium journeys

Figure 37 shows south coast pre-contact medium movements based on Byrne's findings (Byrne 1984: 7). As mentioned above, the terrain would have precluded medium journeys for gathering foods and other raw materials and the rich resources of the area were available within 5km of camp sites at Mogareka, Wapengo and Aragunnu. Medium journeys would have been made moving from camp to camp.

(viii) South coast Pre-contact travel routes

Figure 38 shows the routes of travel described or reconstructed through the ethnohistorical record for the south coast. As has been previously stressed, the record only contains journeys that were known to have occurred or were observed. The map shows that the major south coast rivers, both the valleys, banks and on the water, were all travel routes although the nature of the terrain is such that river valleys were followed until it became more expedient to follow ridgelines. Many of the travel routes on the south coast map are assumed, the record providing only the outset and arrival points of most of the journeys. As well as north-south travel following the coast, south coast people made journeys to and from the Monaro. North-south travel was intercepted by the numerous inlets which characterise this region. The inlets were either crossed by canoe or circumscribed. The Monaro plateau was accessed via;

(i) the Genoa and Cann rivers and the Bondi pass,

(ii) the Towamba river, Burragate and the Coal Hole,

(iii) Tantawanglo Mountain,

(iv) the Bega River and Brown Mountain,

(v) the Tuross river, Jillicambra and Conway Gap and through to Nimitabel or Kybean,

(vi) the Deua river, Araluen, Jembaicumbene and Braidwood,

(vii) Currowan creek, Bolaro, Monga and Braidwood or Northangera,

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(viii) from Pigeon House (Didthel) to the Clyde river, Currockbilly range, Monga to Braidwood or Northangera,

2.4 Patterns of Aboriginal movement before European contact: a comparison

Despite an inevitable paucity of recorded information for the Pre-contact period, it has been possible to analyse the movement events that were described as having occurred before the successful invasion of pastoralists. Journeys have been analysed for the variables of group size (how many?), distance travelled (how far?), travel route (where?), which is shown for the Pre-contact movement maps[15]; figures 14-16, 21-23, 28-30 and 36-38) and reasons for movement (why?).

Group size

Only 17 events were recorded for this era in Gippsland of which a significant majority were small groups of between two and five people. By contrast the six north-east events were spread across small groups (2-5), medium groups (6-10) and large groups (over 11). Very few Monaro records exist from the period; one citation of an individual, one medium group and one large group. The south coast record notes four events of two small groups (2-5) and two medium groups (6-10). The accounts of gatherings in which the size of the population has been given, support Mulvaney's (1976) assertion that between 400 and 600 was a practicable number for available resources during times of seasonal abundance (for example, 500 at Middlingbank, the Bogong Mountains, Cooma[16] (Mitchell 1926) and Rocky Plain (O'Rourke 1910) on the Monaro; 300-400 at Emu Bank in 1862-3 (Shumack 1967: 180); 600-700 in 1863 at Braidwood (Anon 1863); 500-600 at Omeo (Wills 1859) and Lake Moodemere (Andrews 1920: 35) and 'several hundred' at Yellowin (Bridle 1988: 5) in the north-east; and 600 at Kingiman (Cambage 1916) on the south coast).

Distance travelled

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[15] Many of the routes shown on the large scale movements maps have been taken from descriptions of events that were not specifically Pre-contact but which can be reasonably assumed to have represented 'traditional' routes, whereas the statistical analyses were made strictly according to dates for the records.

[16] A challenge to Mulvaney's theory states that 1200 were gathered at Cooma (Gillespie 1984: 64) circa 1860 (Wesson genealogies).

As mentioned in the methodology section, very few small (0-5 km) and medium (>5-15 km) journeys were recorded and these have been extrapolated from the archaeological record and later from what is known about the accessibility of resources such as water, firewood and vegetable foods. Of the eight recorded events for Gippsland, seven fell into the 3c category[17]. Both of the two north-east events were in the 3c category. The two Monaro events were in the 3b category as was the single south coast event. This information probably says very little about the distances travelled by far south-eastern Australian Aborigines but suggests that there was a greater likelihood of the survival of oral history about the movement of Aboriginal people when it concerned large or long distance journeys. It is also important to note that an indicator of distance was less frequently recorded than an indicator of group size. Therefore it is difficult to make comparisons with Thomas' 1840-1850 observations (Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984) for the Western Port Bunurong-Bulluk of journeys of up to 14 kilometres per day or Mulvaney's (1976) reconstructions of trade journeys (32-190 kilometres for forested, hilly or coastal journeys). Certainly the resource-rich environments of the far south coast suggest that journeys of up to five kilometres would have achieved the same end as a range of journeys in a more demanding environment which supports Mulvaney's assertion that 'tribal areas varied with environmental factors' (ibid: 78). This is further corroborated by oral tradition for the far south coast which asserts that the coastal people did not move far or often because it was unnecessary (Ellis 1999).

Travel route

A broadly typical pattern of travel routes emerged for each region and is shown in Figure 39. Gippsland and the south coast share the same pattern whereby coastal journeys take in a combination of coast, coastal hinterland and sea water (by canoe) and inland journeys follow rivers, creeks and lakes onto ridge tops and high country plain. Gippsland and the south coast share the physical feature of large bodies of fresh water which are/were[18] regularly inundated with sea water when heavy rains cause the sand bars at their mouths to break. The north-east journeys were more likely to follow rivers. People were sometimes transported in canoes, particularly along the Murray and for the

[17] To make the most of the recorded information the large journeys (16+ km) have been further divided into three categories; 16-50 km (3a), 51-100 km (3b) and 101+ km (3c).
[18] Prior to the alteration of the Gippsland Lake's entrance position, which is also kept open by regular dredging of the lakes alternating between fresher and more saline.

crossing of rivers. Many north-east journeys consisted of traverses across rivers utilising inland plains. Access to the high country followed a similar pattern to Gippsland and the south coast regions where a river was followed until the terrain became too steep and a ridge top was favoured to reach the high country plains. Monaro journeys had another distinctive pattern and were characterised by travel across the high country and inland plains between camps which were sited at lakes, swamps, creeks and rivers. Monaro people also travelled off the plateau to the south coast and Omeo following ridge tops and down onto creeks and rivers.

Of the six travel routes described for the Gippsland pre-contact era, they are all coastal and two cross bodies of fresh water. For the north-east there are two journeys noted which make use of river valleys, ridge tops, coastal hinterland[19], high country plains and inland plains. The record has two travel routes described for the Monaro pre-contact era, both on high country plain. There is one travel route noted for the pre-contact era on the south coast which includes river valley, ridge top, coast and coastal hinterland. There is insufficient information about trade routes to either support or challenge Mulvaney's assertion that trade routes followed waterholes and rivers, although at first examination it appears undeniable. However, archaeological findings from the mountainous country of the coastal hinterland of east Gippsland (Flood 1980, Hall 1991) and far south-eastern New South Wales show that ridgelines were followed as terrain became steep (Byrne 1984: 9).

Journeys in the far south-east of Australia did not generally involve travel through an enemy territory to reach the country of an ally and could not, therefore, be said to have a modifying influence on travel routes. One notable exception are the bogong moth sites, which are not always positioned adjacent to the territory of the group which has gathering rights of them. The Gunai, who had a reputation for animosity with the Bunurong and groups to the north and east, had a possibly changeable relationship with the Maap and Monaro peoples who preferred not to travel into Gunai territory beyond the Tambo River. In the north-east, the alliance between the Omeo, Buffalo and Monaro peoples would have increased the likelihood of journeys between the two regions and discouraged journeys to

[19] North-east peoples travelled to coastal regions for a variety of reasons including ceremony and war.

Braidwood, Twofold Bay and Gippsland. Similarly, the gathering recorded at Wodonga in 1844 (Robinson 1844a) suggested a preference for journeys between southern Wiradjuri countries and those of the lower Kiewa and Ovens rivers. The alliances between upper Ovens and Goulburn groups would have promoted journeys between the two regions. On the northern Monaro, gatherings were shared with groups from central (Lachlan river, Bland Plains) and southern (Gundagai) Wiradjuri, whereas southern Monaro gatherings at Jimenbuen were inclusive of groups from the central Monaro (Cooma), Maap and Wolgal (King Charley with Neddy O'Rourke n.d.). South-eastern Monaro groups had changeable alliances with the Thau-aira and those from north of the Bega river with Thoorga and Thurumba but also with the Thau-aira (Howitt 1904: 519-20).

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Reasons for travel

Seventeen movement events were recorded for Gippsland for the pre-contact era of which 11 were in order to move camp, and the other six for war, abductions and employment. For the north-east the eight recorded events were for reasons of war and moving camp. The Monaro region has only two events for which the reasons for movement were recorded or can be deduced and these were for gatherings or to move camp. For the same period on the south coast the reasons for the three recorded movements were a gathering, to move camp and for war. The recorded reasons for travel are unable to support Mulvaney's (1976) assertion that pilgrimages took place for cultural exchange and self-expression, however, the evidence of gatherings that took place and the interpretations provided by anthropologists, do support him.

Unfortunately the written record referring to the pre-contact era for far south-eastern Australia is very sparse and cannot be used to make *decisive* statements about trends in Aboriginal movement.

Chapter 3

Jumped up blackfellas

> It is hard to meet a stranger. Even the greatest extravert meeting even the meekest stranger knows a certain dread, though he may not know he knows it. Will he make a fool of me mock my image of myself invade me destroy me change me? Will he be different from me? Yes that he will. There's the terrible thing: the strangeness of the stranger (Le Guin 1975: 130).

> By tokens of kindness, offering them biscuits, together with the assistance of a domesticated native of their party, they were able to make friends, though the blacks would on no account touch or approach the horses. From the natives they ascertained that the clear country before them, which was very extensive, was called Monaroo (Mitchell 1927).

The European invasion of the east coast of Australia began with the landings of Captain James Cook and his crew in 1770 and was compounded by the arrival of the first fleet eighteen years later. However the incursions of sealers, whalers and other sea travellers began a process of more profound change on Aboriginal society. The contact period of European invasion, exploration and settlement wrought change on every facet of Aboriginal life in far south-eastern Australia. The first contact for many coastal Australians was the sight of large ships out at sea from which a smaller ship embarked to find fresh water. Stories of hostile encounters in which the visitors were speared and Aborigines shot appeared regularly in newspapers of the early nineteenth century (for example, Anon 1805) and suggest a history of animosity between the traditional custodians and the European visitors. Unfortunately for Aborigines the visitors' behaviour was not monitored by European law enforcers or any witnesses who were in a position to curtail or report their behaviour (for example, King 806).

It was the custom of sealers to take Aboriginal women as slaves for labour and sex and there are accounts of Aboriginal women being taken from Phillip Island and Gippsland to the Bass Strait islands (Plomley 1966). The earliest encounters between European men (sealers, whalers, timber getters and other sea travellers) and Aboriginal women also would have been responsible for the first introduction to Aboriginal communities of venereal diseases and other contagious viral diseases such as influenza

and measles. Butlin estimated that syphilis was responsible for the death of 75% of Aboriginal women (and many of the men) and a drastic reduction in the number of healthy newborns (Butlin 1994: 69).

Table 5 (in section 1.9) showed the year of first significant contact in each of the four regions of the study area. The first recorded influx of Europeans to Gippsland was in 1806 when the harvesting of seals began on the Victorian coasts and in the north-east in 1835 as pastoralists officially[1] moved sheep onto runs at Mungabareena (Albury) and Omeo. Similar events took place at Monaro in 1823 when Campbell moved sheep to Delegate and Waterholes and on the south coast from 1799 during the period that ships took on fresh water at safe harbours like Twofold Bay with increasing frequency. The first cedar was harvested from Shoal's Haven (Nowra) in 1812. Three years later in early 1815 a party of cedar cutters met their deaths at the hands of the traditional custodians somewhere near the Shoalhaven river (Anon 1815) and Berry, the first European pastoralist on the Shoalhaven in 1822, related that the Aborigines eventually 'killed all the sawyers or forced them away' (Berry 1838). There were no cedar getters at the Shoalhaven by 1822 (ibid). Tilba Tilba was probably the southern limit of the tree (Costin 2000) where in all likelihood it was locally harvested to extinction. In 1846 Meares reported the use of Aboriginal women for sexual services by cedar getters in the Illawarra: '... white men, working among the mountains as cedar cutters, have cohabited with black women for months together; in one instance for two years, but the connection has always ceased immediately on their return to a settled part of the district' (Organ 1990: 283).

In common with stories from other parts of Australia the first white visitors to Twofold Bay were thought to be the ghosts of their ancestors, a circumstance which caused the Aborigines to leave the area for several days:

> ... [Toby's father] began telling us of his own boyhood and how the first white men came to Twofold Bay - where upon all the natives fled in terror to the hills. Presently one or two of

[1] The study region was beyond the boundaries of the nineteen counties where selection was formally permitted. Consequently this country was occupied informally before it was acknowledged in records. Local historians have suggested that Campbell was at Delegate as early as 1827 and the Pendergasts at Omeo before 1836 (Ingram 1996).

> the bolder spirits returned to approach the intruders but were horrified and terrified at the colour of the white men whom they took to be spirits of their own departed ancestors - who as Toby had put it had "jumped up again all white". In time however friendly feelings replaced those of fear and they assisted the white men to build huts by bringing them bark (Brierly 1842).

However, this account of the establishment of 'friendly feelings' does not quite tally with the thirty years of guerrilla war which took place between the beginning of the nineteenth century[2] and the establishment of on-shore whaling enterprises which have been described by Wakefield (n.d) and others: 'Dr Imlay ... added some exciting details of the carnage and merciless predatory warfare which is constantly going on between the stockmen and the unreclaimed tribes which hover on the outskirts of the pastoral tracts'[3]. At this time (circa 1841) there were small disjunct pastoral settlements along most of the far south coast and extending up the major river valleys and inlets.

In the first years of contact land-based Europeans appear to have been avoided wherever possible by the traditional custodians. Hume and Hovell make numerous references in their journals to evidence of the Aboriginal occupation of the Monaro and north-east Victoria through the sighting of recently attended fires and discarded mussel shells, but they rarely sighted people (Hume and Hovell 1824). As late as May and June 1844 Robinson travelled between Port Albert and Omeo and did not meet with any of the local Aborigines apart from a few employed on stations, but on the south coast and at Omeo, where the history of sustained contact was longer, Aboriginal people were already resigned to the presence of Europeans and were exploring the potential of the relationship.

The pastoral (or pre-mission) era was characterised by three distinct phases. During the first phase there was intermittent contact with sea going vessels and their crews which landed in sheltered harbours to take on fresh water, and for the harvesting of cedar and wattle bark. There was intermittent contact with explorers and surveyors who typically travelled with local Aboriginal guides

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[2] See Attwood (2002) for a discussion of the historiography of the Australian frontier wars.

[3] At this time (circa 1841) there were small disjunct pastoral settlements along most of the far south coast and extending up the major river valleys and inlets.

and some, like Robinson, also engaged the services of Aborigines from other regions. There was irregular contact with frontier pastoralists who attempted, often unsuccessfully, to establish lone cattle runs in remote locations outside the nineteen counties. This was probably the time during which most European diseases were introduced. There was early contact with bushrangers, shipwreck survivors and escaped convicts. These initial contact experiences spanned the period from approximately 1800 through to at least 1842 when Peter Imlay, with eight hundred cattle, was forced to withdraw from the Orbost area (MDHS 1980: 16). This first phase was characterised by guerrilla warfare to which traditional custodians were well suited by their expert knowledge of terrain. This allowed them to move quickly, quietly and invisibly and during the early contact era they usually outnumbered their adversaries. Some Aboriginal lives were lost in this war but the basic structure of Aboriginal societies was maintained and it can be assumed that customary religious and seasonal festivals continued to take place for several more decades.

The second phase was characterised by European settlers and visitors demonstrating, through various measures, their determination to stay and carry on their enterprise, which at this time was generally related to pastoralism. This period, which probably began on the Monaro in the 1820s and spanned a period of thirty years, was the most violent in Australia's history of interracial conflict. Aboriginal people were shot, poisoned, tortured, raped and starved. In the remote rugged country surrounding the border of eastern Victoria with New South Wales there were no non-Aboriginal witnesses to these atrocities apart from family members or fellow culprits who had every reason to maintain silence. In addition to genocide by gunshot and poison, Aboriginal people in the study area were dying from the introduced diseases of influenza and venereal disease (Mackellar 1835, Robinson 1844a).

The third and final phase of this pastoral era came about in response to the second. It appears that Aboriginal deaths had so reduced the number of functioning members that their societies were in complete disarray. The shock experienced by the surviving members must have been so profound that many would have suffered severe depression to the point of losing any will to live. The depth of this process has been poorly acknowledged to date, even by historians specialising in the documentation of

massacres[4]. The maturation of Australia as a nation will require that we come to an understanding that the early contact experiences of Aboriginal people caused profound trauma comparable to that of the Jewish and Romany holocaust victims of the Second World War. The trauma and shock of this subjugation was inter- and multi-generational and was accompanied by increasing dysfunction at family and societal levels.

Alcohol and tobacco were introduced to Aborigines as items of barter from the earliest contact times. Crown Lands Commissioner Bingham at Tumut stated that in 1841 his Aboriginal employees preferred to be paid in fresh meat and tobacco (Bingham 1841). Their addiction to tobacco was counted as a sign of increased civilisation. Paradoxically, nineteenth century accounts abound in accounts of the difference in appearance, stature and health of Aborigines who had not yet been introduced to the vices of civilisation[5]:

> [Batemans Bay] is very seldom frequented by Vessels, on account of its being open to the sea. ... [The Batemans Bay people] are the cleanest blacks that I have yet seen in the colony: they have no cuttaneous sores upon them. ... They are not contaminated by whites. ... I have learned from good authority that the blacks at Twofold Bay are already contaminated, and are made so by the whites who go there in vessels; and illtreat them (Harper 1826).

During his 1844 east Victorian and southern New South Wales journey, Robinson wrote in his report to the Governor:

> As a People the Aborigines are rapidly on the decay. They are greatly reduced. They are but remnant Tribes. Sections are extinct. Their diminution is attributable to several Causes. In their petty feuds and intestine strifs [sic] several have been sacrificed but hundreds have fallen victims to the dire effects of European disease. Variola or Small Pox often of a confluent description [having a merging tendency], Influenza, Febris [fever] and Syphilis

[4] For example Elder (1988), Gardner (1983, 1987) and Clark (1995).

[5] Conflicting accounts about the nature of 'civilisation' and the success or otherwise of its imposition on Aborigines demonstrate Europeans' ambivalence about just what civilisation consists of and how desirable an outcome it is. There is a tacit suggestion that if civilisation were to be defined and investigated too closely, certain Europeans' lack of civilised traits may erode the 'other' status of Aborigines.

have extended their baneful influences to the remotest parts of the Interior. The latter [syphilis] is now almost general throughout the land. Opthalmia in some parts is Indemic. Cutaneous effection is peculiar to the Natives and prevalent (Robinson 1846a).

Tangible evidence of the destruction of Aboriginal society during this period comes from the names of the local Aboriginal groups that Hagenauer's informants gave him for central Gippsland. The names are all composites, and one name, Moomoo[6] ba Ngattban translates as the Moomoo (from Bushy Park) and the *nobodies* or *nothings*. The greatest insult that one Aboriginal person could bestow upon another (before being introduced to the English repertoire) was to call him or her an orphan[7] meaning one who has no country. Therefore those identifying themselves as nobodies can be imagined to have been experiencing dislocation, disorientation and deep grief. Other composite groups, such as Noora-warango-ba-koorang-yong (Hagenauer 1863) describe three groups (the Bruthen, Buchan and Nicholson River peoples) who had probably combined forces for safety and in order to reconstruct a complete functioning social unit.

The hangings of seven white men in 1838 for the massacre of Aborigines at Myall Creek in northern New South Wales, a diminution in the number of Aborigines[8] and a steady increase in the number of European settlers entering the study area during the 1850s probably contributed to a reduction in the number of Aboriginal people murdered by whites. Not only did pastoralists (and the associated service industries) pour into far south-eastern Australia, but gold miners also arrived in droves during the 1850s and 1860s turning Yackandandah, Beechworth, Kiandra, Adaminaby, Craigie and Delegate overnight into tent villages. Aborigines travelled considerable distances to participate in the opportunities for employment and new experiences[9]. Criminal activities typical of goldfields' culture

[6] Moomoo does not translate as the colloquial 'arse'. 'Moom' for 'arse' was not in use in Gippsland at this time. The central Gippsland word for buttocks is ghearan.
[7] The ordinary word used for "orphan" is *Yetherun*, but *Baia-quung*, which also has that meaning, is one of the most offensive terms which can be applied to a Kurnai, and in the old times would require to be expiated by spear-throwing, or recourse to other weapons' (Howitt 1904: 346).
[8] Rendering Aborigines both less threatening and less available.
[9] Two Gippsland sisters from the Metung region, Elizabeth Thorpe and Emma Booth went to the goldfields, probably at Delegate, where they worked as cooks and laundry workers. As a result of this move, Elizabeth married a Maap man Neddy O'Rourke (and later settled at Lake Tyers) and Emma

including gambling, prostitution, alcohol consumption and opium smoking were encouraged and were practised by Aboriginal communities in these places, being aspects of the barter economy of the time. The unhealthy goldfields lifestyle further reduced Aborigines' resistance to European diseases.

Table 15 summarises the features of the pastoral era and how they changed over the three phases. Pastoralists followed in the wake of explorers and felt themselves to be in competition with the traditional custodians for the right to graze their cattle on Aboriginal land. Itinerant travellers introduced disease, abused and abducted women and killed (and were killed by) some Aborigines. The guerilla wars initially waged by Aboriginal groups became impossible in the event of superior numbers of Europeans and the loss of able bodied fighting men who were killed by disease and homicide. Diseases were probably introduced during the first sexual encounters and immunity to them was non-existent. Furthermore, the effects of diseases were exacerbated by malnutrition, subnutrition and psychological distress. The fabric of society, which was maintained in the first phase despite considerable loss of life, would have been shattered by the massacres and deaths due to disease during the second phase and resulted in the broken societies of the third phase (which were gathered together in Gippsland on missions in 1862).

Table 15
Characteristics of three phases of the pastoral era (sources: various histories of these regions)

	Phase 1 (10-30 yrs)	**Phase 2 (15-20 yrs)**	**Phase 3 (10-45 yrs)**
Gippsland	1806	1838	1854
North-east	1824	1835	1852
Monaro	1823	1823	c.1857
South coast	1797	1826	1844
	explorers	pastoralists	pastoralists
	frontier pastoralists	-	-
	sealers, whalers	whalers	gold miners
	bushrangers	bush rangers	-
	ship wrecks	ship wrecks	-
	kangaroo, wallaby	cattle, sheep	cattle, sheep
	cedar getters	diseases introduced	whalers
	diseases introduced	diseases rampant	diseases rampant
	women stolen	women stolen	women stolen
	guerrilla warfare	massacres	fewer massacres
	some deaths	huge loss of life	many deaths

had children who took the surname McLeod, including Celia and Arthur (Norman 1999, Wesson genealogies).

social fabric intact	holocaust and breakdown of social fabric	breakdown of social fabric

3.1 Disease and death

> 'Mr Weatherhead [of Mallacoota] said that the Yass Blacks had had the small pox. ... Vast numbers of the natives of New Holland have had the small pox and large numbers have died from its virulent effect here by their intercourse with Europeans. The sufferings of the natives have been aggravated wthout corresponding benefit:
> 1. European disease: small pox most destructive, influenza, syphillis baneful, fever and other ippedemics [sic] &c.
> 2. European vices: contracted through European barbarity and cruelty' (Robinson 1844a).

Australians had no contact with (and therefore no immunity to) European diseases. Consequently when European colonists arrived in Australia a majority of the Aboriginal inhabitants were rapidly killed and the colonists soon outnumbered the Aborigines[10].

Deaths caused by disease and other aspects of the European invasion can be examined in a number of ways. Butlin explored the impact of the European invasion on the Aboriginal population in south-east Australia through smallpox (which largely preceded contact with Europeans themselves), gonorrhoea, syphilis, whooping cough. measles and influenza, the loss of resources (food, medicine and animal skins) and other deaths caused directly by Europeans. Using the evidence of the rate of deaths from smallpox in India, where there is some immunity to the disease, he postulated two models, one in which the deaths were 1.6 times the Indian rate (45% mortality) and another in which they were 2.2 times the Indian rate (60% mortality).

The accepted opinion has been that there was no incidence of smallpox within the study area. However a closer examination of the journals of Bennett (1834) and Robinson (1844d, 1846a), the demography (Oldrey 1832, Anon 1834, Imlay 1839) and customary journeys of far south-eastern

[10]By contrast the colonisers of Africa never outnumbered the indigenous people and post colonial Africans are now grappling with rationalising the presence of their diverse ethnic groups within national borders established during the colonial era.

Australian populations (Thomas 1840b, Murphy 1845, Thomas in Smyth 1878: 136-7, Howitt 1904: 519-20, Barwick 1984: App 1) and the behaviour of the smallpox virus in human populations (Butlin 1983) suggests otherwise.

In April 1789 smallpox killed at least half the Aboriginal population of Port Jackson and, in their attempts to avoid the epidemic, others took the disease into communities to the north, west and south (Organ 1990: 5). A second epidemic began in 1829-30 in Bourke and Bathurst, moving down the Murray Darling River system and finally affecting western Victorian Aborigines (Butlin 1983: 28). Grant found both men and women with the characteristic scars of smallpox at Jervis Bay in 1801 :

> 'Many of the men and women I saw here were, in all appearance, marked with the small-pox, and on my pointing to some of the crew that had marks of that order, the natives made signs that they proceeded from the same disease' (Grant 1801).

In December 1821 Charles Throsby met a group of five men, thirteen women and seventeen children between Sutton Forest and Jervis Bay in which several of the elder women were marked with smallpox (Throsby 1821). These people were possibly the Wandawandahan, although an absence of known reference names makes it difficult to determine his exact whereabouts from the journal entry. Harper saw no evidence of smallpox on the people he met at Batemans Bay in 1826 (Harper 1826) nor did Dumont D'Urville in the same year at Jervis Bay (Dumont d'Urville 1826). Dumont D'Urville was at Jervis Bay twenty five years after Grant and the elder women that Grant had observed as displaying signs of smallpox may have died within that time. Bennett observed virulent smallpox (*thunna thunna*) at Goulburn (between 1832 and 1834; second epidemic); where he noted that adults suffered more than children and that the disease did not kill children[11] (Bennett 1834). Robinson wrote of his 1844 journey through Gippsland, north-east Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales: 'Many of the Natives are strongly marked by small pox' (Robinson 1846a). He was told that the 'Yass' blacks had contracted smallpox, but whether this referred to those people who lived at Yass township or was a

[11] This observation concurs with WHO 1979 statistics which shows the most susceptible age group to be 0-4 followed by 40 to 49 and then 50-59 (Butlin 1983: 67).

more general term for the Aborigines of the Monaro plateau it is difficult to determine[12]. Possibly Robinson was speaking of the Gundagai people and not in general terms, however he makes no mention of Gundagai people being marked with smallpox in his field journal of the time. In support of a more general spread of smallpox in the region is the evidence of Aboriginal language words for smallpox noted by Robinson for the Bega and Kiewa River languages (Robinson 1844d). A newspaper correspondent calling himself 'Pioneer' wrote in 1892:

> The Monaro blacks from being numerically very strong, were shortly reduced by a disease which was pronounced to be smallpox, and which killed in a very short time, more than half of them. From beyond Sydney and also along the coast until it finally reached this district, its virulence destroyed many thousands of the poor creatures (Perkins n.d.)

If smallpox failed to penetrate into far south-eastern New South Wales, north-east Victoria and Gippsland, it is surprising on a number of counts. The circumstances that would have necessitated its containment concern Aboriginal movement and are presented below (the phrases in bold support the possibility of smallpox in these areas):

(i) no movement of contaminated people between Jervis Bay and further south in 1789 (first epidemic). **Jervis Bay people are known to have participated in initiation ceremonies near Bega (Howitt 1904: 519-20),** although this practice may have been a post -contact phenomenon.

(ii) no movement of contaminated people between Port Phillip and Gippsland or north-east Victoria in 1789 (first epidemic) or 1830 (second epidemic). **Mogullumbidj (upper Ovens River) people are known to have attended ceremonies at the Merri Creek (Thomas in Smyth 1878: 136-7). Bunurong and Gippsland people were actively at war with one another and regularly stole one another's women (Barwick 1984: App 1 and Thomas 1840b).**

(iii) no movement of contaminated people between Goulburn (NSW) and further south in 1834 (second epidemic observed by Bennett). **The Goulburn Aborigines are known to have joined up with the Bungonia and Braidwood people in 1845 (Murphy 1845).**

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[12] Robinson's Bega guides spoke of their fear of the Yass blacks which probably refers to any Monaro group on a mission of aggression. It is hard to imagine that Yass people would have travelled through the territory of another group (the Monaro people) to oppress a coastal group unless the Monaro had given permission or were in some way involved.

It is just possible that individuals carrying the disease did not have contact with any group within the study area and that Robinson's non-specific observations (Robinson 1846) of smallpox scars refer to people from the Wiradjuri group at Gundagai and the Ngunawal at Yass[13]. However, it appears more likely that both smallpox epidemics were experienced by groups on the far south coast and interior. The failure of observers to record smallpox sufferers may be a result of the time lapse between the epidemics and first settlement of those areas (apart from a few very remote early pastoral runs near the Victoria-New South Wales border) by which time the Aboriginal population would already have been decimated. The geographical barriers to land- based travel in much of the study area would have made it difficult for infected individuals to move freely and would effectively have hampered the spread of the disease. In fact the rugged terrain of the study area rather than the death of all susceptible persons may have been the deciding factor in halting the disease.

Smallpox has been shown to kill 100% of those infected within the fifty to sixty age group and to be an extreme risk to infants and pregnant women (Butlin 1988: 65). Recovery from the disease requires that sufferers are provided with food and drink. The translation of these factors to the population of the study region means that; those individuals born before 1739 would not have survived the epidemic and many of the women who were pregnant in 1789 and children born after 1786 would have died. The earliest age estimates of Aboriginal people (men only) for the study area come from the Monaro (1834), Murramurrang (1832) and Twofold Bay (1839) at which times the oldest men were said to have been born between 1768 and 1777, making them between twenty one and twelve at the time of the first epidemic. Corroborative evidence for the first smallpox epidemic comes from the 1832 Murramurrang blanket count for which there were only five men (4%) in the 35-39 age group born between 1793 and 1797 and twenty two men (18%) in the 30-34 age group born between 1798 and 1802. Given that these ages are only estimates, the former group may have been slightly older than Morris' estimates suggest

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[13] Robinson does make a distinction between small pox and a skin disease that was peculiar to Aboriginal people (Robinson 1846a). Barwick also considered it more likely that the pock marks observed on a small percentage of men at Port Phillip in 1803 by Grimes and Tuckey (Bonwick 1883) were the result of this indigenous skin disorder which pre-dated European contact and was a combination of ringworm and impetigo (Barwick 1984: footnote 116).

or alternatively the epidemic may have arrived in the region later than 1789. Evidence against the occurrence of such an epidemic in the study region is an absence of stories in Aboriginal oral traditions of deaths from disease on a massive scale. One explanation for this silence is that Aboriginal people may have avoided speaking of such events if it was considered, as is quite likely, that the causes were supernatural.

If smallpox did affect Aboriginal communities within the study area, the otherwise mysterious disappearance of large groups of people such as the Wolgal of Tumut and the upper Murray could be explained. There was known to be a massacre associated with Bringenbrong station in the north-east but there is no estimate of the number of people killed (Carmody 1981: 19). Robinson also noted the extinction of whole groups in his 1844 report, however there are no groups mentioned in the journals whose deaths are unaccounted for. For example, he described the killing of a whole Gippsland group at Battle Point on the Tambo River but states that they were killed by the Omeo people. Similarly he stated that the Yowenjerre on the Tarwin were killed by the Bushy Park Gippsland people. He describes the area between Buchan and Twofold Bay as being thinly populated offering the explanation that these people had been killed by Twofold Bay Aborigines and their allies in an 'exterminating' war[14] (Robinson 1846a). However, such an animosity does not concur with other information about the relationship between the far east Gippsland people and the far south coast people who exchanged marriage partners and moved freely in one another's country. One site which is possible as the resting place of numbers of people killed in an epidemic is Boney Point on Lake King. The site has been loosely associated with a massacre based upon the name of nearby Slaughterhouse creek. However, reasons for the large number of unburied skeletons vary between tales of tribal battles and killings by whites (Gardner 1983).

[14] In fact the literature suggests that it was massacres and random killings by European travellers and settlers that accounts for the small numbers of people encountered in 1844. For example, there is Wellings' account of a massacre of the Bemm people (Wellings 1932), Platts' account of the massacre of the Delegate people (Platts 1989: 157) and Burgess' account of the massacre of the Nungatta people (Burgess 1995).

In 1844 Robinson found syphilis much in evidence and spreading rapidly at Twofold Bay (where two men died in August) and at Wodonga (Robinson 1846a). Brierly also reported a high incidence of venereal disease and that most of the men (both black and white) stationed at Mowarry in 1844 were: 'laid up with the venereal in various shapes' (Pearson 1985: 9). In the same year a group of Wodonga pastoralists petitioned Robinson to supply the services of a doctor free of charge to Aborigines in their region (Huon et al 1844).

Evidence of venereal disease was noticed by Robinson in 1836 whose informants Derremart and William Buckley told him it was new to the Aborigines of Port Phillip (Barwick 1984: 116). Robinson met many men with one missing eye in 1844 (Robinson 1844a) who had probably contracted opthalmia during birth through the gonorrhoea infection of their mothers. In 1846 Rev. James Allan noted that both syphilis and tuberculosis were causing deaths in all age groups at Braidwood and that although the natives had an effective cure for syphilis in the native hickory [*Acacia implexa*], they succumbed to the symptoms of tuberculosis (Allan 1846). In the same review Flanagan described the principal diseases at Broulee on the south coast as skin disorders and venereal diseases (Flanagan 1846). Wills noted the presence of the 'worst form of venereal' [syphilis] among the Omeo Aborigines (Wills 1859). Bulmer at Lake Tyers mission believed that venereal disease was spread by European hut keepers and prostitution and that 75% of women and many of the men may have died from syphilis[15]. The majority of a doctor's business in Gippsland during the 1840s and 1850s was reported to be the treatment of venereal diseases (Bulmer 1994: 69).

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[15] Syphilis probably arrived in Europe from the Americas in 1500 and immediately created an epidemic moving from the Mediterranean to the rest of Europe. The disease has three stages; the first taking up to three months after contamination to reveal the infection, the second which begins several weeks or months after infection takes the form of a rash (and emulates many common skin diseases) and subsides without treatment; the third stage does permanent damage causing inflammations which obstruct blood flow and cause chronic abscesses and scarring. During the first and second stages the disease is curable, but by the third stage the damage to tissues, organs and the nervous system can only be arrested. Until 1910 the only effective, though unreliable and dangerous, medical treatment for syphilis was mercury (Wingate 1988: 460). Gonorrhoea, a bacterial disease which takes effect three to seven days after infection, will ultimately cause sterility in either sex and blindness in newborns. It causes pain and discomfort in men but is often undetected by female carriers (Wingate 1988: 211).

Butlin pointed out that the first voyages from Europe were too slow to permit the transfer of childhood diseases such as measles, whooping cough and rubella (Butlin 1983: 41). However by 1820 ship design and oceanic route selection had improved and the trip was fast enough to allow a passenger contaminated with measles to arrive in Port Jackson. Throsby described tuberculosis as the most common form of disease among Shoalhaven people in 1821 (Throsby 1821) and Allan described it as one of the major diseases among Aborigines at Braidwood[16]. Tuberculosis was an ever present threat in post contact Aboriginal communities and thrived in the over-crowded conditions of mission huts in the late nineteenth century.

Berry met many people affected with influenza at the Shoalhaven in 1822 (Berry 1838; cf. Throsby 1821). In 1835 at Strathalan, near Braidwood, the community experienced a severe epidemic of influenza which caused the evacuation of the surviving Aborigines:

> The whole of the Blacks enumerated in this [blanket census] list were exceedingly ill with the influenza or Catarrh at this time of distributing the Blankets [so that] no information could be obtained from them, several died of the complaint at this place and the moment the others got better they left the place and have not been seen since (Mackellar 1835).

Lambie noted the death of five Aborigines in an influenza epidemic in 1847 on the Monaro (Lambie 1848) which was probably the same epidemic that decimated the Pal Pal of the Gippsland Lakes in about 1848 (Tyers 1852a). If such was the case, all groups lying on the travel route[17] between the two were probably infected and experienced some loss of life. An epidemic was noted at Milton-Ulladulla in 1860 in which a number of the older Aboriginal people died (Anon 1860). Influenza epidemics affect the whole community and new strains emerge every ten years for which there is no immunity, however the most vulnerable are those whose general resistance to disease is low. Clinical depression

[16] Tuberculosis is a disease which thrives in conditions of over-crowding (because of repeated exposure to the bacillus), bad ventilation, lack of sunlight, lowered resistance caused by other diseases and malnutrition. Resistance is low in populations to which it is new, in newborns, after puberty (especially among girls) and in old age (Wingate 1988: 486-87).

[17] People may have travelled via Omeo and down the Tambo or via the Snowy River, Buchan and Lake Tyers (which would suggest that the disease came with the itinerant Monaro/Omeo stock workers and their families). Alternatively it may have been associated with the search for the white woman of Gippsland (see below).

from the holocaust experience made all Aboriginal people particularly vulnerable to disease. However, complications were particularly serious. Wingate has pointed out that most of the twenty million deaths during the 1918-19 pandemic were not due to the influenza itself but caused by pneumonia 'to which the influenza made people highly vulnerable' (Wingate 1988: 262).

Table 16 summarises the above information showing that smallpox observed at Jervis Bay and Wandandian was almost certainly associated with the first epidemic. It suggests that Robinson's 1844 count of Aboriginal people possibly represented only 15% of an original pre-contact population. Whole groups were probably destroyed without trace by smallpox. Customary ceremonial, travel and trade practices would have been disrupted and required the forging of new alliances (for example, Hagenauer's recorded census groups). The loss of key 'office bearers' such as the main fighting man, the main hunter, the magician, the weather expert, the doctor, the genealogist, the herbalist, the basket maker, the artefact manufacturers, the song writer, the poet, the dancers and the musicians would have had enormous impact in the small groups whose structure ensured an important role for all able members of the community. Aboriginal society was organised so that teachers had a one-to-one relationship with a pupil who was suited to learning a particular skill or vocation. Without the experience of knowledgeable women the whole group may have been unable to procure sufficient food and without the head fighting man the whole group was vulnerable.

Table 16
Epidemics of the major diseases causing death, sterility and disability among Aborigines in the study area (sources: Grant 1801, Throsby 1821, Mackellar 1835, Robinson 1844a, Allan 1846, Lambie 1846-7, Bulmer 1893, Shumack 1967, Butlin 1983)

	smallpox	**influenza**	**venereal disease**	**measles**
First year in Australia	1789	1822	1788-1815	1820
Epidemics	1789-93 & 1829-31 1801 (Jervis Bay) pre 1821 (Wand'ian) pre 1844 (Bega?) pre 1844 (Kiewa R.?)	1821 (Shoalhaven) 1835 (Braidwood) 1836 (coast & Monaro) 1838 1846-47 (Monaro) 1860 (Ulladulla)	1844 (Wodonga & Twofold Bay)	1858 (Molonglo) 1862 (Molonglo) 1872 (Queanbeyan) 1873 (Molonglo) 1893 (Lake Tyers)

Table 17 lists some of the unexplained deaths of Aboriginal people that emerged from Tyers' 1852 to 1858 blanket censuses. Sites of death, particularly mass deaths, would have been avoided for many years limiting the number of available favoured camping places.

Table 17
Unexplained deaths in Gippsland from the early contact period (source: Tyers 1852-58)

Cause of death	Year	Region	Number
Unknown	1851	Tarra	1
	1854	Mitchell, Swan Reach, Dargo	5
	1855	Plains	1
Homicide	1852	Tarra	1
	1854	Tarra	1
	1856	Bushy Park	1

The following extract comes from Bulmer at Lake Tyers during the mission era, but describes a time honoured practice which was certainly the custom in earlier times:

> My young men have not been so regular in their attendance as they were last month; they moved with the tribe about a week ago. The reason why the tribe left me was on account of the sickness of two girls, one of whom has just died. The blacks had an idea that the place made them ill; this is generally the idea, and a soon as they get sick, they move from the place in which their sickness begins (Bulmer in Melbourne Church of England Mission 1867).

There would have been a reduction in inter-group aggression due to the death of perpetrators and victims and members of their families who could maintain the grievance procedures. The deaths of pregnant women would have resulted in a reduction of women in the fifteen to forty-five age group, which together with the deaths of infants in 1789 (see above re 1832 Murramurrang census) would have resulted in a great dearth of children born from 1789 onwards. The necessity of avoiding 'sickness country', the sites of epidemics and mass deaths, would have made the task of messengers more difficult and possibly involved lengthy detours.

Butlin has suggested that the (post-smallpox) written record of Aboriginal occupation, may not reflect a pre-smallpox scenario because some groups were completely extinguished by one of the epidemics (Butlin 1983: 67). In fact it becomes important to define European contact in terms of first encounters with foreign diseases rather than with people.

Succession: taking over country

The task of caring for country where there were no living custodians or appropriate heirs provided a number of complex problems. It is not known how much time was needed to spell 'sickness country' before normal ceremonial business could resume[18]. One of the outcomes of early contact epidemics was the succession of country to another Aboriginal group. Several examples of succession of country from one group to another are suggested by the ethnographic record.

(i) Gippsland

In the recorded history of Gippsland there have been two such events. The first involved a dispute over the country of the Tarwin River Yowengerre (a Bunurong group) and Tota-warra-warra (a Gunai group) through the killing and conquest of the Bunurong by Gunai.

There are many pieces of evidence which support the Bunurong custodianship of the area both including and to the east of the Tarwin River. First and most important is the story of Lohan and his wife Lohan-tuka who inhabited the mountains of Wilson's Promontory. Lohan was a Wurundjeri ancestor who watched over the welfare of the people who had followed him from Birra-arrung (the Yarra River) to south Gippsland (Howitt 1904: 485). It is very unlikely that such an important ancestral being would take up residence in the country of an enemy. Secondly, in 1841 Townsend recorded only the Bunurong names for Wammum (Wilson's Promontory) and Long (Corner Inlet) (Townsend 1841). Thirdly, in 1844 Robinson was told that all but two of the Yowenjerre, a Bunurong group of the Tarwin River and Wilson's Promontory, had been killed by Borri Borro willum (Kutbuntaura/Bunjil Nellung

[18] The period of about fifteen years which must lapse before the name of a dead person can be spoken may have significance in this context too.

of Bushy Park). Further corroborating evidence is provided by the history of the blood feud between Bunurong and Gunai.

The history of events in the succession of country between the Tarwin River and Deep Creek is complex. The first recorded part of this story was of an event that took place before 1835. According to Barak, a head man of the Woi wurrung of the Yarra River basin:

> 'long before white men came to Melbourne', Mordialloc people went to the Tarwin River to feast on native cabbage where they encountered members of the Port Albert group (Kutwut) who had been eating the food without permission. Consequently, the Mordialloc men followed the Port Albert and killed a number of them. In retaliation, Port Albert warriors went to Western Port and killed Bun wurrung men. These events set up an ongoing blood feud (Barwick 1984: App 1).

The following account from Thomas supports the claim that the extermination of Bunurong from Wilson's Promontory and east of the Tarwin took place before 1835:

> He told me pointing to the mountains that all the blacks from Wilson's Promontory and Perrongy to Kirkbilloc; all this country where we now were [near French Island, were] dead - not one left - Twofold Black fellows[19] long time ago killed many many (Thomas 1840b).

Hayden, who travelled with Robinson between Melbourne and Port Albert in 1844, gave the following account of the precautions taken by Bunurong men entering Gunai territory after the succession:

> Our natives, who had now left their own part of the country, appeared by a ceremony they performed, to consider they were intruding on an enemy's territory. I noticed when they camped in the evening they invariably cut a number of boughs and twigs, and made a kind of leafy throne, on which they reposed (Haydon 1844).

[19]'Twofold Bay Blacks' appears to have been used, post-contact, as a general term describing anyone east of 'us' in the context of 'those we fear'. There is no record of the Nulliker mitter or Weecoon people of Twofold Bay raiding in west Gippsland. There may have been some Twofold Bay people present in a party of Monaro people that raided Wurundjeri country in the early part of the19th century.

The six Bunurong and Woi wurrung native police who accompanied the Robinson party gave him the following explanation:

> The country extending from Tolengorme River near Chisholm's [Anderson's Inlet] to Wommum, Wilson's Promontory, belonged to the Yowengerre - now extinct, Extirpated by the Borro Borro Willun Gippsland Blacks. The chief of the Gippsland Tribe is Wormgorng and is alive. The chief of Wormum of the Yowenjerre was Purnine, native place Wormum, is dead (Robinson 1844a).

Tyers recorded another chapter in the blood feud that took place in 1846 or 1847 when:

> at least 30 of the Corner Inlet Tribe were killed at one time by a party of Melbourne Blacks under Yal Yal and Billy Lonsdale, between the Tarwin and Corner Inlet, five or six years ago (Tyers 1853).

By the 1870s the succession was well established and Howitt's informants described all the country east of the Tarwin as belonging to the 'Toto-warra-warra [who] spoke "a little nulert" ' (Harry Stevens n.d.).

The second example of succession relates to the Gunai east of the Tambo and the Maap who lived east of the Snowy River. Howitt described the Krautun as an anomalous group who practised no initiation ceremonies of their own, nor did they participate in the ceremonies of others (Howitt 1904: 511). One explanation is that the country east of the Tambo River was at one time the territory of the Maap who intermarried with both the Gunai, Monaro, Omeo and far south coast peoples. This would explain Bulmer's statement that the Tambo River was a boundary beyond which Monaro and Maap were not prepared to go[20] (Bulmer n.d.). It would also account for the confusing and often contradictory use of the terms Buckun (which was used to describe a large mountainous region, as a geographical reference point and also as a prefix denoting a specific group of Buchan people, for example Buchan Gelantipy),

[20] And was one of the reasons for the choice of Lake Tyers as a mission site.

Krauatun (which was used to refer to people as far east as Mallacoota) and Twofold Bay blacks (see previous footnote).

There is no record of the events that preceded this succession. It was noted that Maap guerilla campaigns to defend their territory were initially successful against invading European pastoralists (as Aborigines were elsewhere in Australia[21]). In 1838 Aboriginal attacks frustrated Andrew Hutton's attempts to settle at Genoa River with five stockmen and five hundred cattle. Hutton's party were forced to abandon both their cattle and huts. Robinson was told that in 1839 seven bushrangers had travelled from Twofold Bay south along the coast into Victoria and quarrelled with their Aboriginal hosts. The quarrel resulted in the deaths of five of the bushrangers at a place north of Cape Howe. A sixth man was killed at Ram Head. The remaining man used his gun to shoot one Aborigine and then returned to Twofold Bay (Robinson 25/7/1844a). Two years later (1841) John Stevenson and James Allen tried to establish a cattle run at Cann River, but also abandoned the venture after persistent Aboriginal attacks. In 1842 Peter Imlay took eight hundred cattle from Nungatta to Orbost but Aboriginal attacks forced him to withdraw from the area: 'After mustering five hundred cattle and driving them back to Nangutta, Imlay sold his lease, brand and remaining cattle to John MacLeod' (MDHS 1980:16). Another story, predating 1844, told of a man who was travelling east from Buchan and was killed by local Aborigines while he slept (Robinson 1844a).

James O'Rourke, a north-east Gippsland pastoralist, gave an account of the relationship between pastoralists and Aborigines on the frontier of that region. His account does not admit to the killing of any Aborigines but describes undisguised hostility and hints at reprisal killings:

> A number of New South Wales blackfellows came over into Victoria as far as Buchan. The New South Wales blacks were never very bad - nothing like so bad as the Victorian blacks, who were very troublesome about Cape Everard to the head of the Delegate River. This used to be called Bidwell, and the Bidwell blacks were a wild lot. They would make raids

[21]For a comprehensive description of guerilla campaigns in western and central Victoria see Christie 1979 pp. 53-80.

> and steal and maim, and were a terror to everyone. ... I never heard that they [pastoralists] shot any of them but they gave them a great scaring (O'Rourke 1910).

Oral histories tell of the extermination of whole groups of Aboriginal people at Nungatta, the upper Cann valley and Tubbut by poison and gun shot (Burgess 1995, Platts 1989, Wellings 1932). There must certainly have been a major depopulation of the east Gippsland area to account for Robinson's July 1844 observations that:

> The extensive tract of Country between Buckan and Twofold Bay is very thinly inhabited by Aborigines. An exterminating warfare by the Twofold Bay Natives and their allies has nearly depopulated the Country, happily their feuds have ceased and the few that remain live in peace (Robinson 1846a).

The explanation given of an inter-tribal war between the Twofold Bay and Maap peoples is not verified by any other nineteenth or twentieth century account. A massacre of Aborigines at the Millie Swamp near Orbost in 1851 killed another group[22].

As a consequence of these combined events, the country between the Tambo and Snowy Rivers and Maap coastal territory was severely depopulated and succeeded to Kroatun Gunai. Despite this terrible history, during the mission era Snowy River people preferred to stay in their own country working at Orbost station and only made use of Lake Tyers mission to visit relatives and in their old age.

(ii) Monaro

A scenario that is supported by the record is the succession of Gundungerre territory to the Monaro people. In 1834 Lhotsky was told that the Gundanora lived west of the Snowy River and in the Alps (Lhotsky 1835: 106). Kungela/Gungala/Goengaller/Kanegaller was the word used by the Yaitmathang of Omeo to designate 'the other' or 'wild men', specifically the Gunai of Gippsland (Robinson 1844a, 1844d). Howitt's informant Billy Wood told him that it was Gelantipy men (Wurara

[22] For an account of massacres in Gippsland see Gardner (1983, 1987, 2001).

midung) who called the Gunai men Gungala (Billy Wood n.d.) suggesting that Gelantipy people were linguistically more closely connected with the Omeo than the Monaro people. Robinson's description of the *Wurara midung* as a Monaro group may have referred to their cultural affiliations, rather than their linguistic connections.

Another example of territorial invasion was observed by Jauncey who noted: 'that the Monaro people had been encroaching on the coastal territories since the beginning of the century' (Cameron 1987: 41). Robinson also observed that 'Yass Blacks and others of the Interior', 'a much superior force', were constantly 'making incursions' on the Bega Aborigines (Robinson 1846a). The reference to 'Yass Blacks' is probably a general term referring to inland groups or Ngunawal speakers including the Yass region people. Conversely, it may be a reference to the Kunamildau, a Wiradjuri group, who killed Merriman's father, Ugaridgera circa 1835. In 1830 Monaro people were victorious in a battle with south coast people at Cobargo in which sixty lives were lost. Robinson met 43 Monaro Aborigines at Twofold Bay in August 1844 who had congregated there for the winter and spring whaling season. Robinson's observations about Belloura/Billowerre people suggest that there may have been a movement of this group from the upper Murrumbidgee and Cooma regions to the upper Tuross River at the 'Old' and 'New' Belowra stations. A succession of country at Wandella (and Yowrie) to the Monaro is implied by Robinson's statement that:

> A Maneroo Black Chief residing at Badgeries flat[23] called Turm.ban.der.lar is king over the Maneroo and Wandellar. ... [He is a] Good hand at fighting (Robinson 1844d, Tindale 1939).

Alcohol: dulling the pain

In nineteenth century European society alcohol had a significant social role being an accompaniment to both midday and evening meals and was also a social lubricant within all social strata. In western

[23] Badgery's flat is in the Mt. Marshall area between Cathcart and Mt. Marshall. This man is not listed by Robinson for Wandella, Maneroo or Cathcart elsewhere in his journals.

societies of the late twentieth century 10% of alcohol consumers suffered a degree of alcholism[24] (Wingate 1988: 18). Alcholic beverages were customarily given to servants as a part payment for services during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Brennan 1873). The Europeans from whom Aborigines learnt European social customs, were initially law breakers (convicts and bushrangers) and the lower echelons of free settlers including miners. They used many colloquialisms[25], swore frequently and salaciously, drank heavily and smoked tobacco when and where it could be procured. Nineteenth century commentaries deplore the fact that Aborigines had been introduced to the English language by such characters, ignoring the fact that it was the very class system of English, Scottish and Irish society that promoted the exaggerated differences in behaviour between two economically distant groups of people. The following newspaper entry for the deaths of three Aboriginal men at Ulladulla demonstrates an attitude of equating class with addictions[26]:

> Old Pickering was remarkable for sobriety and gentleness of disposition, and, old as he was, he was the best bark stripper among the race in this neighbourhood. Paddy was still more remarkable for sobriety: he never having been known to taste grog of any kind, and *what is still more strange for his class*, he did not smoke tobacco. Tommy was not very remarkable for anything but old age (Anon 1860). [my italics]

Bennett noted that alcohol was included in provisions and gifts given to Aborigines on the Goulburn Plains circa 1834 (Bennett 1834). Throsby noted that unfamiliar food and the consumption of alcohol were probably responsible for many Aboriginal deaths in 1821 at Shoal Haven (Nowra) (Throsby 1821). Protector Thomas recorded in 1846 that many of the men employed in the Native Police Corps had become alcoholics by the time they left service, following the example of men like Walsh and Dana (Thomas 1846). Alcohol rapidly became a cause of profound social and personal problems for Aboriginal people. It was inadvertently responsible for behaviour that led to exposure (and thereby increased the chances of contracting pneumonia, influenza and tuberculosis), memory loss,

[24] 'A chronic progressive, relapsing, and eventually fatal disease, characterized by exessive and compulsive drinking' (Wingate 1988: 18).
[25] Many of these men (and few women) used an English dialect which dropped consonants (on words beginning with them) and added them to words which began with vowels.
[26] 'Class' in this context may alternatively refer to the grouping or 'ilk' of Aborigines, rather than making an economic distinction.

promiscuity, prostitution, increased aggression and crime. In thirteen years (1862 to 1876) of Victorian gaol records reproduced in the Board for the Protection of Aborigines reports, 62% of all offences within the study area were alcohol-related (BPA 1863 - 1876). Between 1862 and 1910 38% of charges recorded for Aborigines at Moruya, Eden, Gundagai, Nerrigundah, Narooma and Central Tilba were alcohol-related (Moruya Warrant and Charge Books, Gundagai Charge Book, Eden Charge Book, Nerrigundah Summons Book, Narooma Charge Book, Central Tilba Charge Book). Lockhart, the Crown Lands Commissioner for Murrumbidgee, voiced his concern about the Aboriginal use of alcohol in a letter to the Colonial Secretary in 1854:

> The tribes of the upper or eastern portion of the district where the white population is most numerous have of course suffered most from their intercourse with white men. Public houses are so numerous - and notwithstanding the Colonial Act[27] - making it a penalty of £5 for any person to supply a Native with spirits - Publicans are so rapacious - that these tribes are ... in a constant state of intoxication - they work for their white neighbours - insist upon being paid in money - and spend their wages in vilest drunken debauchery. ... Mode of remuneration: food, clothing and tobacco (Lockhart 1854).

By the 1850s alcohol was an established aspect of many Aboriginal communities for which addicts would prostitute themselves or their wives and daughters and perform entertainments or work: 'The Aborigines on their occasional visits here [Yackandandah] are frequently intoxicated. I have seen them throwing the boomerang for the amusement of the miners, etc., and this, no doubt, caused them to be treated [with alcohol]' (Lane 1859). Sometimes this payment consisted of a cocktail of 'the worst rum ..., a heavy dash of bad tea and a strengthening decoction of tobacco-water' (Brennan 1873). Aboriginal alcoholics, who were not allowed to buy alcohol themselves, could usually find white alcoholics to buy it for them. Government reports of the late nineteenth century described Aboriginal alcoholics at Green Cape, Bega and Moruya (NSW Leg. Counc. 1883).

[27] There was a general order issued by Governor Macquarie in 1818 prohibiting the giving of spiritous liquors to Aborigines (Anon 1818). This Act was consolidated and amended in 1838 (Gipps 1844b) and 1867 (Gipps 1879).

Alcohol provided temporary respite from the depression caused by the multifarious changes of circumstance in which Aboriginal people found themselves. The same service was given by opium, which was introduced by Chinese miners in the gold mining camps at Yackandandah, Beechworth, Kiandra, Delegate, Craigie, Majors Creek and Nerrigundah. There can be no doubt that the consumption of alcohol contributed to Aboriginal deaths by reducing their resistance to disease, increasing the number of aggressive interpersonal encounters, reducing a sense of responsibility for behaviour, increasing the incidence of prostitution and increasing the tendency to sleep while intoxicated and unprotected from the weather. Addiction to alcohol also impacted on mobility, motivating Aborigines to seek out sources of alcohol and places where barter might include exchange for alcohol (for example mining camps, townships and some pastoral stations).

3.2 Dwindling resources

As Europeans moved into Aboriginal countries with their sheep and cattle, certain of the Aborigines' staple vegetable foods were displaced or favoured by these European ruminants (and therefore rapidly became locally extinct). Early accounts state that kangaroos left an area at the first scent of cattle: 'The ordinary means of subsistence has diminished, inasmuch as the kangaroos retire as soon as the land is stocked' (Lambie 1845: 40). In the area surrounding Port Phillip it was estimated that sheep ate out the yam daisy (*Microseris lanceolata*), the staple starch component of the diet of the Aborigines, in less than two years (Dredge 1839). Furthermore, sheep and cattle polluted, compacted and muddied water holes, lakes, streams and marshes with their hooves and dung. Pastoral settlements were often established in the heart of favoured camping areas because of the proximity of fresh water, level ground and good grass which supported kangaroos:

> ... the localities selected by Europeans, as best adapted for the purposes of cultivation, or of grazing, are those that would usually be equally valued above others, by the natives themselves, as places of resort, or districts in which they could most easily procure their food. ... The injustice, therefore, of the white man's intrusion upon the territory of the aboriginal inhabitant, is aggravated greatly by his always occupying the best and most valuable portion of it (Eyre 1845 in Reynolds 1989: 27).

Pastoralists proceeded to 'ring' the chosen 'run' of mature trees; the habitat of possum, koala and of trees for barking and artefact manufacture. The responses of frontier pastoralists to traditional custodians ranged from indiscriminate hostility to cautious hospitality.

Finding food

Gott (1983: 12) has suggested that the destruction of the yam daisy by sheep (which favoured the leaves of the plant), had a significant negative impact on the diet of Aboriginal people in Victoria, South Australia and the southern highlands of New South Wales. This starchy root was at one time both abundant and easily harvested and was gathered throughout the year with the exception of early winter. Mitchell observed that children lived on little else on the Bogan River, New South Wales in 1839 (Mitchell 1839 in Gott 1983). In the Western District of Victoria Tuckfield recorded that: 'murnong and other valuable roots are eaten by the white man's sheep, and their [Aborigines'] deprivation, abuses and miseries are daily increasing' (Tuckfield 1840 in Gott 1983: 12). There are no accounts of *Microseris lanceolata* being harvested by Aborigines within the study area. Its presence on the northern Monaro would have been threatened by sheep and increased the stress experienced by the traditional custodians in consequence of other aspects of the invasion. The fate of the yam daisy illustrates the impact of pastoralism on just one Aboriginal food. Unfortunately, most nineteenth century European observers were unfamiliar with Australian flora and ignorant about Aborigines' diet and therefore the impact of the extinctions of other plant foods is less well documented.

As a consequence of the diminution and extinction of food resources by pastoralism it can be assumed that Aborigines were forced to range further for the same returns. An extension of range would have contributed to both the forging of new alliances between groups and additional stress from pre-existing traditional animosities (and initially required a greater energy intake). There is supporting evidence of increased warfare in the early contact period:

> The tribe being threatened with war by the white stranger, if it attempts to get food in its own country, and with the same consequences if it intrudes on the lands of a neighbouring

> tribe, finds itself reduced to make choice of certain death from starvation and probable death from the rifle, and naturally chooses the latter (Curr 1886,Vol 1: 106).

This scenario was experienced by many groups who were typically enemies: the Bunurong and Gunai, the 'Yass blacks'[28] and the Worekerbrimmitter (Bega), the Wigwigley (Braidwood) and Broulee peoples. However, a false simplicity is conveyed when a single aspect of the contact experience is considered in isolation. The perceived increase in hostile encounters between Aboriginal groups must be viewed in conjunction with the fact that the Aboriginal population was also decreasing due to the multitude of factors outlined at the beginning of the chapter.

The impacts of the pastoral industry on Aboriginal lands occurred in stages. Initially the cattle and sheep were accompanied only by squatters and their shepherds who built basic bark or slab huts in an area suited to the stock and adjacent to a fresh water supply (for example, Eyre 1845 in Reynolds 1989: 28). Next, more substantial buildings were constructed including dwellings and sheds and yards for sheep washing and cattle dipping and branding. The presence of the 'stations' and 'runs' of squatters would have inhibited access to traditional foods where the relationship with Europeans was hostile.

Dietary changes

It has been shown that pastoralism reduced accessibility to Aboriginal food and water resources. In far south-eastern Australia fresh water is plentiful and reliable and Aboriginal people were rarely prohibited access to all available clean water sources by pastoralists, as they were in more arid parts of Australia (where pastoralists are known to have fenced off water holes to keep Aborigines out). However, their favoured camp sites where fresh water was readily accessible, particularly those places suited to large gatherings, were rapidly taken up for pastoralism and their use by cattle fouled the water and destroyed useful riparian plant species.

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[28] Possibly referring to the Took e yang mittong at Yass but the term may be a generic one applying to all high country peoples.

Aborigines responded by abandoning traditional camps and making dietary changes or modifications. Those who were forced to access water downstream from cattle probably experienced an increased incidence of digestive tract disorders. Europeans quickly introduced Aborigines to flour, sugar, tea, biscuits, tobacco and alcohol in part as some measure of compensation for annexing the best land. The circumstances of Aboriginal people in this early contact period left them susceptible to an addiction to sugar, refined starch, caffeine, nicotine and alcohol. They began to make regular visits to pastoral settlements for supplies of food, tobacco and alcohol:

> When the white man is of the opinion that the tribe has been so weakened and subdued that his small party has no longer anything to fear if moderate precautions are taken, ... the tribe is allowed to 'come in', as it is termed; that is, to make its home at some appointed place at or near the establishment of the station-holder. From this epoch, a few of the men of the tribe receive occasional employment on the station, for which they are paid in food. The refuse of animals slaughtered for station use is also generally given over to the tribe. Food is also received by the Blacks from some of the men in payment for the prostitution of their wives and daughters (Curr 1886 Vol 1: 106).

Stanner noted the social dysfunction that ensued in the Fitzmaurice region of the Northern Territory as a result of the addiction to tobacco and tea:

> The evidence [of the absence of the traditional custodians from the Fitzmaurice River], and discussions with natives who lived there as children, satisfied me that the aboriginal explanation is correct. They say that their appetites for tobacco and to a lesser extent tea became so intense that neither man nor woman could bear to be without. Jealousy, ill-will and violence arose over the division of small amounts which came by gift or trade. ... Individuals, families and parties of friends simply went away to places where the avidly desired things could be obtained (Stanner 1958).

Apart from addictive stimulants such as tobacco, sugar and tea, flour was valued by Aborigines because of its range of uses, pleasant taste and ease of preparation. The breakdown or re-interpretation of traditional law which allowed men to prostitute their wives and daughters for tobacco and alcohol came also to include bartering for food. The fringe camp lifestyle where European

foods and substances of abuse were available would not have fostered the use, practice and teaching of traditional food gathering techniques and knowledge. The effort required to bargain a pound of flour must have been weighed up against the effort required to collect (walking to the site with bags or coolamons and children), winnow and grind an equivalent amount of flour from native seed.

In far south-eastern Australia Aboriginal people were able to travel between congenial pastoral settlements on their habitual journeys, however, the position of both welcoming and hostile stations would have modified the route (whereby journeys took in the congenial and avoided the hostile). Thus a movement culture can be projected in which Aboriginal people travelled about within an extension of the pre-contact range. Their activities consisted of visiting important ceremonial sites, accessing food resources wherever possible and bartering, working and begging at pastoral settlements for the substances and foods to which they were becoming increasingly partial and addicted. Pastoralists had no understanding of the reasons for the often sudden departure of Aboriginal people from station camps, lacking a detailed knowledge of seasonal availability of foods, Aboriginal religious obligations and ritual journeys (whose timing is triggered by natural or supernatural phenomena including the appearance of certain flowers or dormant plants, phases of the moon or wisdom gained in visions by seers).

Dietary changes included a preference for European foods and stimulants such as tea, sugar and refined flour and probably a decrease in the variety and quantity of traditional indigenous foods. The European foods required less energy expenditure for energetic intake and were lower in vitamins and fibre. Caffeine is an appetite suppressant as well as a stimulant and tea, tobacco and alcohol are toxins (as well as appetite suppressants) which increase stress on the liver. As a consequence of imbibing these substances Aboriginal people would have become less active, less resistant to disease, have a lower metabolic rate and become reliant on fast release energy sources and stimulants (from low fibre

and sugar products which are accompanied by a corresponding energy 'low' when the source is exhausted[29]).

3.3 The abduction of women and children

Records from the early contact period contain many stories of the abduction of Aboriginal women by European men. It was less common for the taking of children to be reported but this is perhaps because children in European society were not considered to have intrinsic rights but to be the property and at the whim of their guardians. Because the rights of Aboriginal adults in terms of non-Aboriginal Australian society had not been formalised after contact, Europeans felt no compunction in their abduction of Aboriginal children. On the contrary there is a suggestion that Europeans considered that by removing Aboriginal children from their parents and society they were giving them an advantageous start in life. This rationalisation of ethnocide caused the abductors to feel justified in raising these children as slaves for domestic, farm labouring and sexual services.

The abduction of women was an Aboriginal practice but was a matter that often took place between traditional enemies and the woman was usually taken far from her father's country and expected to be rescued by her rightful (or promised) husband, her father or brothers. Sometimes the woman was happy with her new husband and chose to stay with him. The contact experience was quite different. Women were stolen from their people and kept incarcerated, often at gunpoint. Aboriginal women were also stolen by sealers and whalers who took them by ship to remote islands in Bass Strait and occasionally to New Zealand (Robinson 1838: 6, Dunbabin 1925: 7, 18, Plomley 1966). Most of these women never saw their families again. However, whalers who abducted Aboriginal women at the on-shore Twofold Bay whaling stations (and not all Aboriginal women living with whalers were abducted) allowed the women contact with their own people. Robinson noted five Aboriginal women living with non-Aboriginal whalers including a Maori from New Zealand and five ensuing offspring (Robinson August 1844a). At Twofold Bay an Aboriginal man who was outraged at his wife living with a whaler, killed her and then disappeared to avoid retribution (Brierly 1844, Robinson 1844a).

[29] By comparison slow release energy sources such as high fibre unrefined starches release energy into the body gradually and no energy low is experienced.

Aboriginal people understood the loneliness of the isolated shepherds and would have provided them with sexual partners had the women been allowed to maintain their normal camp life of gathering, teaching, conducting ceremonies and caring for children and elders. However, the hut keepers and stockmen were unable to allow the woman this degree of freedom and tended to steal and detain the women[30]. The practice of abducting women was vigorously opposed by Aboriginal men. The following account refers to pastoral employees on the south coast:

> The cause of the Blacks being hostile is this, the Government men [convicts] taking their Gins from them, and I am assured by the Corpl. that he has seen one of Mr Hawdon's assigned servants in possession of one of the native Black Women and one of Doctor Imlay's servants also (Darley 1834 in Smithson 1997:148).

A common response to these abductions was that the Aboriginal husband would attack and sometimes kill the man who had taken (and was often mistreating) his wife. The European settlers of the district would respond by killing whole camps of Aboriginal people. This practice led to a government directive prohibiting stockmen from 'detaining' Aboriginal women in their huts (Anon 1839). For example, cases occurred at Burnima and Murdering Range (Allen 1983: 8) and at Orbost and the Millie (Tyers 1851, Pepper 1980: 48-9, Pepper and De Araugo 1985: 100-1). Oldrey at Murramurrang believed that European men who fathered Aboriginal children should be required to make a financial contribution to their upkeep (Oldrey 1842).

One of the effects of the abduction of women and children was that their kin took sometimes extraordinary journeys to recover them. Such a story in the oral history of the Wergaia (Wotjobaluk), relates how male kin from Western Australia (probably Minang, as the women hailed from Albany) travelled on foot across the continent to Ebenezer mission at Lake Hindmarsh to take back their wives/daughters who had been shipped to Victoria to marry and 'settle' men who could not find

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[30] Aboriginal women were tied up, locked in huts and generally mistreated.

appropriate wives (Kennedy 1990). A second story comes from north-east Victoria where the Wheeler family had an Aboriginal boy at Colac Colac station whose presence was unexplained:

> On one of the rare occasions when the meat cask was empty, Mary hid a little black boy in it when the other members of his tribe arrived at the homestead looking for him. She gave the natives some food and after a time they gave up the search and went away (Carmody 1981: 54).

This boy probably grew to be the man known as Neddy Wheeler who was much photographed by Washbourne, was Mathews' language informant for Dhudhuroa language (Mathew n.d.) and a friend and informant of T.L. Mitchell of Tangambalanga (Mitchell 1981).

The abduction of women and children had far reaching effects and was a practice that continued well into the twentieth century causing intergenerational trauma and loss of vital community knowledge. Those who were fortunate enough to return to their own families and country may have been taught in their absence that Aboriginal people were of less value than their European counterparts and that their culture was simple and uncivilised. As a consequence, their reorientation was difficult and confusing and often left them unable to find a valid position in either society. These forced removals heralded the beginning of a crisis of culture and identity in which Aborigines were subjected to criticism from their own people who claimed that they were 'not black enough'[31]. In addition to extraordinary journeys, these abductions contributed to the loss of community knowledge, resulted in the births of children of mixed descent, increased psychological trauma (of both the victims and those left behind) and stimulated Aboriginal hostility which ultimately resulted in Aboriginal deaths[32]. All these factors had a destabilising effect on Aboriginal society, particularly on the continuity of women's

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[31] This crisis continues today triggered by issues of ancestry, politics and family culture (see chapter 5).
[32] Sometimes Aboriginal men retaliated in kind and abducted white women and children (for example Noolup alias Jemmy the Rover at Queanbeyan and Black Harry (Wilson) at Bombala) but the repercussions of their actions were severe. Harry Wilson was hanged for his offence of raping a white woman (Anon 1859).

knowledge[33]. The mixed descent children would have looked to their mother's Aboriginal husband as their father when growing up in a camp environment. However women isolated from their own people would have encountered great difficulty in raising children without the conventional support structures of Aboriginal society where relatives performed the roles of teachers and carers.

An example of an Aboriginal woman who lived isolated from her people was Margaret O'Brien, born circa 1828, who married a William O'Brien with whom she had at least three children. James Allan of Braidwood described her in 1851 as being of mixed descent, civilised[34], literate, baptised by the Roman Catholic priest, married by the Presbyterian Minister the Reverend G. Kogie and a good housekeeper (Allan 1851). Margaret would probably have been one of the first Aboriginal children of mixed descent born in the Braidwood region as first recorded European settlement was 1826.

On rare occasions Aborigines reciprocated and stole a European woman or girl. Known examples are Noolup alias Jemmy the Rover and an unnamed man from the upper Murray. Shellard, a gold prospector, mentions a sizeable 'tribe' who had a French woman living with them for two years in the Benambra region during the late 1850s gold era. In rescuing this woman from the group, Shellard, the woman and their male companion killed many Aboriginal people (Shellard n.d.).

3.4 Aborigines as slaves, employees and 'pets'

A combination of factors resulted in reduced mobility for Aboriginal people. Malnutrition, subnutrition and disease would have lowered the energy levels and fitness of people whose nomadic lifestyle depended upon the ability of all members of the society to regularly travel distances averaging ten kilometres per day (see section 1.4). Nineteenth century European society expected Aboriginal people to vanish by assimilation or 'decline'. Assimilation required that they live in houses and work

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[33] Women not only lost their children but as young women were stolen, older women lost appropriate custodians for their knowledge. Knowledge is not inherited in Aboriginal society but given one-on-one to an individual who is deemed worthy of the teaching.

[34] Allan's response to Rev. W.B. Clarke's questionnaire categorised the Aboriginal inhabitants of Braidwood as 'civilised' (those who dwell in houses), 'half-civilised' (those who work for Europeans but live in camps) and 'uncivilised' (presumably those who neither work nor live in houses).

for Europeans while occupying the lowest social stratum or live in camps on the edge of pastoral settlements. European society was prepared to ignore the social dysfunction in Aboriginal families in exchange for cheap domestic and rural labour, although it endeavoured to keep Aboriginal camps out of sight (on the fringes of European settlements). Aboriginal people eventually became dependant upon some European commodities and took up seasonal work on rural properties, bark harvesting in forests, whaling at Twofold Bay during winter and spring and domestic work at settlements.

The tyrannical methods by which order was maintained in the English penal system were also used in Australian convict penal settlements[35]. British and Scottish settlers, in their Eurocentric myopia, had a tacit expectation that Aborigines would accede to the notion of their (Aborigines') lowest status and as part of the bargain agree to work hard for little or no reward in tasks that had no meaning for them. Not surprisingly, when they had a choice, Aborigines did not take to a lifestyle of permanent full-time work for a boss. They opted for the most flexible options where seasonal or stock work included mobility and time to visit relatives and significant places, to conduct important ceremonies and to hunt and gather. For this work Aboriginal people were paid variously in food, tobacco, goods, alcohol, money (more rarely) or not at all.

3.5 Fleeing aggression

The task of this section is not an exhaustive examination of European-Aboriginal hostilities[36], but to set the scene of this aspect of the early contact experience and explore the ways in which it modified customary Aboriginal movement.

Many unarticulated tensions exacerbated relations between black and white on the frontier. Europeans perceived Aborigines to be in competition with their livestock (and their livelihoods).

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[35] For example, Lingard's account of 1700 men at the Sydney Barracks in 1835: 'Flogging went on every day except Sunday; I have known as many as twenty-nine flogged on one single morning, till their backs were as red as a round of beef ... I have seen men come in from their work, and bathe each other's shirt out of the wounds on their backs, the shirt having grown in whilst at work' (Lingard 1846: 24).

[36] This topic has been covered and discussed by Christie (1979), Gardner (1983, 1987), Elder (1988), Cannon (1990), Clark (1996a), Reynolds (2001) and Ellender and Christiansen (2001).

There was competition for the land itself and for the right to obtain a living from the land, which for Aborigines consisted of hunting and gathering and for Europeans of timber and bark harvesting, pastoralism and agriculture. Not only did aggression between Aborigines and Europeans pose a severe threat to life and health, but aggression between Aboriginal groups took on a new dimension when warriors were armed with the white man's weapons. Previously, inter-group battles had been fought with lethal weapons but required skill and deliberate intent to do so and more often only caused a wound. These fights served the purpose of reducing tension, restoring honour and maintaining social balance rather than causing grievous bodily harm.

One of the best documented early contact stories in Australia, involved the supposed abduction of a shipwreck survivor in late 1845, one Miss McPherson, whose ship was lost between Melbourne and Sydney (Anon 1858b):

> About Christmas [1848] Nash of the Black Police reported finding part of a Bible at the Heart, near a place called Marley Point. He found it at a Blacks' Camp, where he thought he saw a white woman among the gins. A great many people went out to see if they could find her. I went out with a blackfellow, ULMIN of Omeo, who was then living with me at Buchan. ... It was said she was down at the Snowy River- that the blacks had removed her out of the way of the whites to a place called Duroc [Orbost] (McLeod n.d.).

This evidence was sufficient to inspire a story of her abduction by a group of central Gippsland Aborigines and the myth was for a time apparently supported by Gippsland Aborigines[37]. No trace of either a live woman or her body were ever found. An 1858 article by the *Sydney Morning Herald* Monaro correspondent suggested that the fictional woman was only a figurehead from a shipwreck (Anon 1858). Tragically for the Gunai, the strong emotion that was fuelled by this story led to intervention *on her behalf* by the Native Police and a blind eye was turned to the more than 50 Aboriginal deaths that occurred during the search (Tyers 1859). It was convenient for Europeans to blame the Aboriginal deaths on other Aborigines, namely the Native Police who were made up of

[37] The reasons for Aborigines' perpetuation of the white woman story have mystified historians and others since its inception. It may have been an example of Aborigines humouring the white man as the best way to avoid unnecessary conflict.

traditional enemies of the Gippsland people including Omeo, Monaro and Bunurong men. However the behaviour of Gippsland settlers, who boasted of their Sunday shooting parties which took place after church, and in which Aborigines and not kangaroos or foxes were the target (Anon 1993, 1999), makes their innocence in this matter unlikely (Gardner 1987: 33-50). Captain Dana was witnessed killing Gippsland Aborigines by Kung-gud-bar (Jacky Warren) who accompanied the Native Police (Edgar 1865: 74).

The search for the white woman of Gippsland led to a number of extraordinary journeys for Aborigines including Kung-gud-bar who was about nine years of age at the time and became the official interpreter of the Native Police Corps because of his language skills (Tyers 1847; Anon 1847)[38]. Other Aborigines involved in the search were Yal-Yal, a Bunurong man and Toby and Tommy from Gippsland (Fels 1987: Appendix p. 333).

The ingress of Bunurong Native Police to Gunai country in 1846 began a pattern of movement of people between Gippsland and Melbourne. Thomas was surprised to find 58 Gippsland people at the South Yarra camp in June 1849. Some of these people gave birth or died in Woi wurrung and Bunurong country at Point Nepean, South Melbourne and Sandy Point[39].

Aboriginal people were accustomed to the possibility of a surprise ambush from enemies. Aboriginal groups living adjacent to a group with whom they had an enmity would have been constantly alert to potential danger from that quarter. In addition it was common practice for women to be abducted by an enemy group from their parents' or husbands' camp. In these circumstances the variables were ones which both sides knew well and included skills in the use and manufacture of weapons, bravery

[38] He was the son of an important Pal Pal man Bun-geel-leen who, with his two wives Mumbalk and Parley and their children Wurrabool (John) and Thomas, was taken to Melbourne for questioning by the Superintendent in June 1847 (VPRS 90). Bun-geel-leen and his family died in Melbourne as a result of incarceration and disorientation; Bun-geel-leen and Mumbulk in 1848, Parley in 1851, Wurrabool in 1856 and Thomas in 1865. Kung-gud-bar was sent to the Merri Creek school for Aborigines in June 1848 (Thomas 1848) but he ran away from the school to join his brothers at the Narre Narre Warren Native Police headquarters (Dana 1848 in Fels 1987: 292).

[39] VPRS 4467 Series 10 Unit 11.

and strategic knowledge. Hostile encounters with Europeans involved unknown factors including horses, guns and inhumane behaviour.

In the first pastoral phase, Aborigines avoided Europeans and suffered the loss of some lives. Gippsland Aborigines were rarely seen in the first decade of contact. This apparent elusiveness must have involved a considerable modification of their customary travels[40] as European settlers had taken up runs throughout the district focused around fresh water sources and unforested ground. But in the second phase, when European hostilities were deliberate and premeditated, Aborigines would have been forced to modify their lifestyle and journeys still further to avoid being found. In 1845, Eyre wrote of the desperation caused by hunger that drove Aboriginal people to risk death by gunshot. When squatters or their managers were consistently and demonstrably aggressive Aborigines were faced with the terrible choice of having to leave their country until circumstances changed or remain and risk constant danger. There was no guarantee that another country would be safer and neighbouring groups were likely to be experiencing the same set of circumstances. When Aboriginal people, for reasons of safety, no longer spent a majority of time in their own country, site custodians would still have made every effort to continue visits to important ceremonial sites. They found sanctuary in marshes, mountainous areas and remote valleys:

> It is at present impossible to ascertain the numbers of aborigines in Gipps' Land, owing to the wildness of their habits, leading them to inhabit a part of the country almost inaccessible to the settlers; dense scrubs, extensive morasses, and lofty and scrubby mountains, afford them a secure retreat; it is supposed to be not less than one thousand' (Tyers 1845) and '[Tyers] said some of the Kunai now lived in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, avoiding as far as possible any contact with the whites (Wannon 1847).

Five years later Tyers wrote:

[40] Small parties of men or individuals may have kept discretely out of site with ease but a larger travelling group including women, children and dogs would be more difficult to conceal.

> The Maneroo and Omeo Tribes still wander over the District, encamping at the several Stock Stations where they can obtain food. A very few of those are occasionally employed as stockmen, Shepherds, &c. The wild Blacks, or Natives of Gipps Land, are much reduced in numbers by disease and collisions with the neighbouring tribes. These occasionally visit some of the Stock Stations, but can seldom be induced to work (Tyers 1852a).

Aboriginal people left these remote retreats to obtain meat, which was often stolen:

> ... McMillan passed on the information that two of his cows had been speared within a mile of his head station at Bushy Park on the open plain and that the natives were all heading for the hills (Pepper 1985: 33).

This situation was forced on Aboriginal people because kangaroos reacted adversely to the presence of stock. Between 1844 and 1852 (four and thirteen years after the advent of the pastoral industry in Gippsland) traditional enemies from the Monaro, Omeo and Western Port had entered Gippsland as seasonal workers, the Gippsland population had been reduced by an estimated figure of over 90% and a small number of Gippsland people had begun to visit squatting stations.

Europeans shunned marshes because of a perceived association with disease. Mountainous areas reduced mobility, were less favourable environments for their sheep and cattle and provided ample cover for Aborigines and bushrangers. Conversely those Europeans who were operating outside European law found the mountainous regions of Victoria and New South Wales to be a haven of remote gullies and caves where horses and stolen goods could be hidden. Nineteenth century literature cites many instances of alliances between Aborigines and European outlaws (see 3.6 White man's law).

There were European pastoralists who attempted to 'smooth the dying pillow' of the Aboriginal groups who lived on and about their runs. These were the men who became Honorary Protectors under the Aboriginal Protectorate system, a voluntary position in which they were responsible for the distribution of an annual blanket allowance of one blanket per adult and half a blanket per child. This

distribution within the study area is shown in Figure 40. The Honorary Guardians were not immune to corruption and sometimes not only failed to make returns on the blankets they received but were also known to have used the blankets for private domestic purposes including use as lining for houses.

The pastoralists who provided protection, occasional shelter, employment and food developed a special relationship with the Aborigines who lived on and about their runs. Very often Aborigines took the surnames of these European men or had them bestowed upon them and their families. Noteworthy benevolent families were the McLeods, Howitts and Logins in Gippsland; the Mitchells and Reids in the north-east; the Imlays, Davidsons, Bates and Hoyers on the south coast and the Brooks, Thompson, McGufficke, Crisp, Cosgrove and Whittacker families on the Monaro (Young 2001). William and Elizabeth Montgomery who took up The Heart station in 1853 provided a welcoming and safe haven for the local Aborigines. Consequently, the land surrounding their house became a regular camp en route to other parts of Gippsland and continued to be a destination for swan egging in spring (Cowie et al 1977: 103). Members of these families may have been involved in the deliberate killing of Aborigines. Macmillan was considered by his contemporaries to have been generous and kind toward Aborigines and yet he is implicated in some of the very earliest Gippsland killings of Aborigines (Gardner 1987: 33-50). Far from being an act of reconciliation, 'coming in' to the

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are needed to see this picture.

stations was an act of desperation and dire necessity for Aboriginal people who would otherwise have starved. The last man known to have come to live among whites was Tongai Jimmy who lived in the

mountainous border country of the Snowy River and upper Cann valley. Howitt puts the year at approximately 1871 (Howitt 1996: 80) but it was not until 1877 that many of Tongai Jimmy's people visited Lake Tyers, led by Yibai Malian. These people were at that time considered to be the last wandering people left in Gippsland (Melbourne Church of England Mission to the Aborigines 1877).

3.6 White man's law

> ...as we ourselves have laws, customs, or prejudices, to which we attach considerable importance, and the infringement of which we consider either criminal or offensive, so have the natives theirs, equally perhaps, dear to them, but which, from our ignorance or heedlessness, we may be continually violating, and can we wonder that they should sometimes exact the penalty of infraction? do we not do the same? or is ignorance a more valid excuse for civilised man than the savage? (Eyre 1845 in Reynolds 1989: 27).

In addition to competition for the right to exploit Aboriginal country, Europeans continually breached Aboriginal law by both word and deed. As Eyre suggested, from the outset Aboriginal law was assigned less value than British law or none at all. Furthermore, Europeans continually infringed their own laws. European law might have offered Aborigines some protection had it been enforced, but it rarely was[41]. Many runs within the study area were taken up outside the nineteen counties for which a fourteen year lease could be granted legally. As Eyre pointed out, these settlers were not only 'beyond the protection of the laws, [but] also free from their restraints' (Eyre 1845 in Reynolds 1989: 27). Legal scenarios of the early contact period can be summarised thus:

(i) Aboriginal law was either not respected or not known. Aborigines were not perceived to be within their rights when defending their own laws against Europeans in matters such as trespass, theft, abduction, vandalism and abuse. In 1816 Governor Macquarie made a proclamation prohibiting Aborigines from carrying any spears, pursuing their customary punishment against transgressors of customary law at or near Sydney or other settlements, such practices being 'repugnant to British laws' (Law Reform Commission 1986: 36).

(ii) British law was considered by European settlers to be the only law.

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[41] For a discussion of the historiography of law and order on the Australian frontier see Attwood (2002: 7, 9)

(iii) Europeans frequently flouted their laws and went unpunished. Certain environments and places were considered to be 'beyond the law' including sealers camps, cedar getters camps, smuggling havens like Port Albert before 1844, some pastoral settlements and goldfields settlements. European law enforcers did not have an effective presence in settlements within the study area until the gold rushes of the 1850s and 1860s[42].

(iv) Aborigines could not give evidence at their own trials as they were not considered to be fit witnesses[43] nor were they British subjects (Law Reform Commission 1986: 39-40).

(v) Nevertheless, Aborigines were tried and punished under British law, even when the dispute was between two or more Aboriginal parties. While the appropriateness of this course was questioned, it continued to be practiced to various degrees (Law Reform Commission 1986: 37). Aborigines were not always given an interpreter to assist them in stating a case.

(vi) A double standard was in operation whereby settlers complained volubly of Aboriginal law-breakers, demanding the posting of additional police, but observed a code of silence about the murders of Aborigines by Europeans and generally treated police with contempt.

Events in which Aboriginal people were killed or abused by Europeans received little or no newspaper coverage and have thus become invisible to historians except where specific, often undated, references have survived in local histories. These cases would rarely have had non-Aboriginal witnesses apart from the perpetrators. One exception was the Myall Creek massacre in which two humane overseers ensured that the seven European perpetrators were brought to trial (Christie 1979: 45).

The goldfields' police presence ensured the keeping of records about Aboriginal law-breakers. For the study area there are records of Aborigines charged in Victoria between 1866 and 1876 and in New South Wales between 1862 and 1910. The Victorian records appear in the Protectorate Board reports

[42] Even then policemen were perceived to be 'other' by many members of the goldfields communities who preferred their own means of dispute settlement.
[43] In 1842 Bingham expressed his concern about this shortcoming in the legal process whereby Aboriginal employees who came from unallied country had inadequate protection from the potential hostility of the local Aborigines: 'the want of a law by which the evidence of an Aboriginal native could be received by the Crown Commissioners, ... deters many of the young lads from attaching themselves to the settlers at out stations, and becoming useful and good servants' (Bingham 1843). See also Nelson (1963: 66).

whereas the New South Wales records are an incomplete set of archival documents from charge books, duty and occurrences books, entrance books, summons' books and court house registers held at the Archives Office of New South Wales and in private collections. During the 1860s a common offence for Aborigines was 'absconding from hired service' for which sentences of up to 3 months gaol were given (Eden Charge Book). This charge refers to the British Masters and Servants Act and was applied to Aborigines as they were all considered to be wards of the British Empire (Brennan 1907: 208). Despite New South Wales being granted Responsible Government in 1856, the charge was still being made as late as 1871 in the existing records for the study area[44]. One of the often expressed complaints by European employers about Aborigines was that they had a disinclination for sustained repetitive work and would rarely stay to complete a task for the required time. The context of employment was foreign to Aborigines from a number of perspectives, firstly, that of working for an individual, for the good of that individual only, in exchange for money or consumable items. Secondly, the tasks themselves had meaning only within European culture. Aborigines absconded from hired service, refusing to take up the position of peasant underclass or to participate in a system of labour which was demeaning, meaningless and tedious.

Native Police

> The young men are taking a decided inclination towards The Mounted Police Corps; they make efficient and useful messengers and even Constables where the duty does not require anything beyond a strict obedience to orders (Simpson 1851).

During the 1840s Aborigines were employed to assist with the implementation of European law as policemen and trackers with the Border Police who were stationed at Maffra (central Gippsland), Bombala (Monaro) and Albury (north-east) and as assistants at the goldfields. A detailed examination of the history of the Native Police at Port Phillip has been made by Fels (1987). :

> It has long been customary in this colony to resort to the asssistance of Aborigines in tracking offenders, or bushrangers; and for some years past, [...] has endeavoured

[44] The process of revision of British Customary Laws is not yet complete.

> permanently to attach 2 or 3 aborigines to each party of Border Police, as well as to the more regular force called the Mounted Police; but it is only in the Port Phillip District that a Corps consisting entirely of aborigines has been established (Gipps 1844).

The frequent deaths of recruits from the Woi wurrung and Bunurong, of which the Native Police Corps was composed, necessitated that the net be spread wider to take men from Gippsland, Omeo and Monaro (Robinson 1846b). Fels listed two Monaro men (Jacky and Monday), four Gippsland men (Kung-gud-bar alias Jacky Warren, Tommy, Long John and Paddy) and one Omeo man (Jargiar alias Injebyra) who enlisted between 1845 and 1851 serving for up to four years (Fels 1987: 288, 290, 292, 302, 318, 333). The Native Police were required to intervene in situations where complaints had been lodged by settlers about depredations of their stores and stock by Aborigines and to provide a moral role model:

> [to] have the effect of checking the collisions between the white population and aborigines .. [and] it may prove one of the most efficient means of trying to introduce more civilised habits among the native tribes (Fitzroy 1848).

Many Native Policemen were employed in the search for the White Woman of Gippsland in which Gippsland Aborigines were shot and killed both by Corporal Dana and the troopers in his charge. Thomas, the assistant protector for Port Phillip, Western Port and Gippsland, recorded a series of biographies of Native Police from 1838 until they left his district. They tell a much repeated story of Bunurong Native Policemen who absconded from service and travelled between Melbourne and Gippsland or Melbourne and the Delatite River during the 1840s[45].

[45] 'Kur-rek-Kur-rek remained but a few months in the police. Afterwards he was continually going to and fro to Gippsland, where he died some time in 1848'; 'Ner-rim-bin-uk ... continued in the force some time; getting tired of it, he left and for some years rambled along the Goulburn to the Devil's River and Moogolumbuk tribes'; 'Pee-rup ... after leaving [the police] was scarce in his district for a month's continuance, going to and fro with others purchasing or stealing Gippsland lubras'; 'Tomboko ... went a few trips to Gippsland after the death of his lubra, where he now is, and has been for the last eighteen months shepherding'; 'Wi-gee-gulk ... was in the force nearly two years. After returning from the Murray River ... he has led a dissipated life. He is at present (if alive) in Gippsland'; 'Yam-mer-book ... on leaving the police he commenced, with others, to go to and fro to Gippsland, and is, for what I know, still alive in Gippsland ...'; 'Yeap-tune ... is still alive with the Devil's River tribe' (Thomas n.d. in Bride 1969: 406, 408, 410, 411).

These accounts support the suggestions that service with the Native Police promoted access and addiction to alcohol and that the Native Police forays into Gippsland forged new alliances between Gippsland and Melbourne Aborigines despite the fact that many Gippsland people were killed by Native Police gunfire. Consequently Bunurong men travelled into Gippsland, probably enjoying the novelty of the experience and looking forward to appraising the qualities of exotic Gippsland women. Gippsland and the mountains north of Melbourne at this time were both less settled by Europeans and more dangerous to Aborigines than Bunurong country. Gippsland pastoralists were making a concerted effort to rid the country of Aborigines but at the same time Gippsland contained remote regions of mountains and swamps where food could be harvested and where there was a reasonable chance of avoiding contact with Europeans.

The Victorian Native Police Corps was finally disbanded in 1852 due to strong opposition to their presence on the Victorian goldfields (Barret and Kenyon 1936: 33). The Native Police experience involved the Aboriginal employees in extraordinary journeys. Under the protection of their roles, guns and European bosses they travelled into the country of traditional enemies. This relationship was exploited to promote the killing of local Aboriginal peoples under the guise of self-protection during the White Woman of Gippsland saga.

Blacktrackers

> This colour of our skins will disappear through intermarriage because, unlike other dark races, there are no 'throwbacks' with the Aboriginal. It'll just disappear eventually. I told an old full-blood black tracker this once. He thought for a while, then looked at me and said, "How will the white man find his way then?" (Simon 1978: 27).
>
> I made a habit ... of carrying a small pocket compass, but when I was accompanied by a native the pocket instrument was quite unnecessary. At any given moment my guide could show me the direction of the place to which I was heading and walk straight to it, no matter how far away from it we might be (Dawson 1830).

The tracking skills of Aborigines, which were taught to assist in the capture of game animals, were harnessed by Europeans when seeking missing persons or animals. Aboriginal trackers were called on

to find missing children, fugitives, bodies of the deceased, stock and horses. The most skilled trackers achieved considerable status and fame in the broader community. As Bennett noted 'they track the beasts with an accuracy seldom or never attained by a European' (Bennet 1834). 'Black-trackers' were as much a part of normal police procedure as 'native' guides were a part of exploration teams. The understaffed police force who often had little experience of the geography of an area would probably have been both literally and metaphorically lost without the Aboriginal trackers. The allowance for the keep of an Aboriginal tracker was 2s. a day from which the employer purchased flour, sugar and tobacco and shirts at 8s. each, moleskin trousers at 10s. and boots from 12 to 15s. a pair. There were still two Aboriginal trackers stationed at the Police Paddocks at Dandenong, Melbourne in 1911 (Haydon 1911: 400). Usually it was men who were employed as trackers but women were taught the same skills and were sometimes employed by the police service (Haydon 1911: 389).

Serendipitously records of police trackers in New South Wales exist on the Police Salary Registers in the New South Wales State Archives from 1882. From 1887 to 1902 and 1908 to 1916 trackers were listed for Braidwood, Yass, Wee Jasper, Cooma, Jindabyne, Animbo, Eurobodalla, Emu Flat, Bombala, Bibbenluke, Reid's Flat (Bunyan), Buckley's Crossing (Dalgety), Delegate and Cathcart within the study area. The amount of time spent by trackers at stations in shown in Table 18.

Table 18
Duration of time Aboriginal trackers spent at police stations (source: NSW Police Salary Registers AO NSW mf 1970)

Place	1880s	1890s	1900s	1910s
Animbo	1888	1893-97, 97-98, 99-1900	1900-02, 1908-1910	1910-12
Bibbenluke		1895-97		
Bombala		1895		
Braidwood		1894-96		1913-16
Buckley's Crossing		1897		
Cathcart		1898		
Cooma	1887-98	1898-1900	1900-02, 1908-09, 1909-10,	1910-11 1912, 1913-14
Emu Flat		1893-96, 96-1900	1901-02	
Eurobodalla	1887			
Reid's Flat (Bunyan)		1896, 1896-97, 1898, 1898-99,	1901	
Wee Jasper		1893, 1894-96, 1896, 1897,	1900-1902	

1898-1900

Table 19 shows the way that one tracker moved between police stations from Bombala on the southern Monaro to Animbo on the Dividing Range near Captains Flat, a distance of 160 km.

Table 19
The movements of one tracker between police stations in the study area (source: NSW Police Salary Registers AO NSW mf 1970)

Place	**1895**	**1896**	**1897**	**1898**	**1899**	**1900**	**1901**	**1902**
Bombala	*							
Bibbenluke	*	*	*					
Cooma				*	*	*		
Animbo						*	*	*

Certain families proved to be particularly gifted as trackers and their formal employment in this role was multi-generational and included a number of siblings. Table 20 shows the formal employment of the Yass Grosvenor family of police trackers within the study area and adjacent country. It can be seen that the men were employed for one, three, six, seven and nine years making journeys from home of between 37 km (Yass to Wee Jasper) and 150 km (Yass to Cooma). Such journeys were within the

Table 20
Movements of the Grosvenor family of trackers between police stations in the study area 1897-1902 and 1908-1916
(source: NSW Police Salary Registers AO NSW mf 1970)

The letters in the table refer to the first names of family members.

Place	**1897**	**1898**	**1899**	**1900**	**1901**	**1902**	**1908**	**1909**	**1910**	**1911**	**1912**	**1913**	**1914**	**1915**	**1916**
Animbo	?	J	I	I		A								I	
Braidwood												J	J	J	J
Cooma				I	I	I			C	C					
Wee Jasper	A						J	J	J	J	J	C	C	C	C
Yass	A							C		R	R	R	R	R	R
Young			R	R	R	R									

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customary scope of travel for this group (see Figure 30). If the 'R' at Young is the same man as the 'R'

at Yass, then he probably worked across a sixteen year time span (at the very least, because the records after 1916 are missing).

In summary, the employment of Aboriginal people as trackers and policemen took them away from their home countries to be stationed near places where conflict between settlers and Aborigines was at its most intense. From these outposts the men and women undertook journeys in the course of their tasks which may have been within the territory of traditional enemies or outside of any known experience of their own people. The roles of tracker and policeman offered Aboriginal people some status within European society but may have promoted conflicts within their own communities, the role being perceived as a compromise of their more traditional responsibilities. The Native Police presence in enemy territory appears to have forged alliances between traditional enemies as demonstrated by the presence of 49 Gippsland people in Bunurong territory in 1849. However, tracking provided Aboriginal men with employment which offered mobility, respect for their culturally sanctioned skills, a valid position in the European community which valued a uniquely Aboriginal skill, a degree of autonomy and monetary reward.

Guides

Aboriginal guides were indispensable to the explorers and surveyors of the first contact period, where their skills as guides, hunters, canoe manufacturers and drivers, water-finders and trackers were all exploited. Guides usually took Europeans only as far as the borders of their own country. For example, Robinson's guides for the journey between Bemboka and Nimmitabel explained their refusal to continue beyond the creek at the base of Brown Mountain as being due to their fear of the 'Yass blacks' (Robinson 1844a). Clarke had three guides leave him at or between Muriong and Mowamba and another two left at the junction of the Thredbo and Wallendibby Rivers suggesting that these places were borders to the country within which they had right of ingress (Clark 1860).

However, some guides left their country and travelled with European pastoralists into places of which they had no prior knowledge[46]. It was rare for Aboriginal guides to be mentioned by name in the ethnographic record[47] and still more rare for one of their names to be given to a landscape feature, as was the case with the Tarra River (Robinson 1844a)[48] and the township of Tarraville. Furthermore, Taralaga's name was used to identify the traditional custodians of the Port Albert and Tarraville area who were dubbed the Tarra warriguls (Thomas 1860) meaning the wild dogs of the Tarra[49]. It is not recorded whether he ever returned to his country of birth. In all he travelled over 1000 km between Parramatta and West Gippsland into the country of people of whom his ancestors would have had no knowledge, isolated from those who could have interpreted the landscape and biota for him. Howitt noted that the alliance between certain Gippsland groups and sections of the Omeo Brajerak 'was an innovation brought about by intercourse with the whites'. He also enquired as to the result of introducing Europeans into the country of a host Aboriginal group and was told by Gippsland men that 'if the offender were Brajerak he would be killed wherever found; but, if one of their own people, the old men might probably endeavour to get rid of him by "bulk" (magic)' (1880: 221-2).

The following story about Aboriginal guides demonstrates that the opportunities offered by the experience of guiding, under the protection of European pastoralists, led to a semi-permanent migration for a whole family. The journeys of the brothers 'Toole' are shown in Figure 42. Two brothers of the Belloura people, who were custodians of a region between the upper Murumbidgee

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[46] For example, Taralaga alias Charlie Tarra from the Goulburn Plains came to Gippsland from Parramatta in the company of Macarthur, Riley and Strzelecki in 1840 reaching Western Port in May (Cuthill 1959: 9). Taralaga then went to Melbourne and in June set out again with Riley, Rutledge and a second Aborigine named Pigeon to recover Strzelecki's horses that had been abandoned near Koornalla (Corinella), returning to Melbourne in August. In late 1840 or early in 1841 he travelled by the ship "Singapore" to Port Albert where Brodribb, Kinghorne, McLeod, Rankin, McFarlane, Kirsopp and four others established a depot to service their Gippsland runs. In March 1841 the above men successfully returned to Melbourne by land marking a route for bullock drays (Cuthill 1959: 11-13).

[47] For example Dawson, the second Government Surveyor of Gippsland, wrote in 1858 that 'the Blackfellow who is now with me [and I] ... have just returned from exploring' (Dawson 1858). This unnamed guide was responsible for the very important language and place name lists that survive via Dawson's notes and the Gippsland parish names.

[48] The Tarra River was originally known in one language as Blindit'yin meaning platypus (Smyth 1878).

[49] The name that they conferred on themselves was Yowung and Kutwut (Bobby Coleman 1053/4a), see Figure 9.

and upper Tuross rivers, named Orion alias Tom Toole or Stop a Bit (born circa 1799) and Koit.be alias Dick Toole (Ryrie 1834, Robinson 1844a) were guides for George Curlewis and his party showing them routes both through and off the Monaro plateau. In October 1833 Koit.be and Orion guided Curlewis' party (of which John Jauncey was a member) from Krawaree (where they bought cattle) to Bunyan [at that time known as Reid's Flat] and then 'zigzagging through [the] Monaro'. Eventually they chose an area on the Snowy River where they occupied a run on the opposite bank from Iron mungie (Jauncey 1889-90). By November the party was on the move again taking a route off the Monaro plateau via Kydra, Kybean, Tuross and Yowrie to the far south coast where they selected the Narira station site. The party returned to the Monaro and in February 1834 brought down the cattle and a number of men to erect a hut and yards only to find that their claim had been pre-empted by Wilson of Braidwood. Koit.be and Orion claimed that there was better country on the coast so they guided the party north to Tilbodelbo (Tilba Tilba) where a heifer station was established (Jauncey 1894).

By June, Orion was back on the plateau where he, along with his three wives and daughter, were counted in the blanket distribution census at Arnprior, Ryrie's station near Braidwood. He identified himself as a Belloura man usually living about Curraduckbidy (Braidwood) (Ryrie 1834). In August 1844, Robinson met the two guides and a third brother (Kote Birns alias Saucy Tommy) at the Bega River (with a group of Aboriginal people who identified variously with Brogo, Bemboka, Wandella, Murrah, Mumbler, Wallumla and Candelo) and they described themselves to him as Wattche be and told Robinson that Koit.be had been 'made [a] king by white men' (Robinson 1844a). These men were travelling considerable distances south and east of their custodial country. It seems likely that they spent much of the year working for Curlewis and others on the south coast as none of the three were named in blanket distribution counts for the Braidwood area after 1834.

What is particularly interesting about Jauncey's accounts is that they describe Koit.be and Orion's prior knowledge of extensive areas of both the Monaro *and* the far south coast. The fact that Robinson's Bemboka guides feared to travel up Brown mountain because of the 'Yass' blacks suggests

that Monaro Aborigines were successful aggressors at this early contact time. Another famous guide was Koromung alias Slarney or Larnie born circa 1814 who was a Yaitmithang clever man or magician (Robinson 1844). Koromung took Gray, Brown and Wells onto the Bogong High Plains in 1851 via the Bundarra River, Mount Cope and Mount Fainter (Harding 1967: 35).

Aboriginal guides showed Europeans around their country, usually only venturing beyond their custodial borders under duress. For example, Macmillan appears to have coerced Jemmy Gibber on threat of death to continue to travel with him beyond the borders of Jemmy's country which was approximately six days walk from Currawang (Macmillan 1853 in Bride 1969: 203). The accounts of Currie's 1823 expedition to the Monaro suggests that an unnamed man was coerced into showing the party to the best mountain passes:

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are needed to see this picture.

June 8th ... we were fortunate enough to fall in with two natives, who like the others we had met were much frightened; indeed more so than those, for they fled like deer the instant they saw us, and being pursued by us on horseback, ran with great agility to the tops of the trees; but succeeding at last in getting them down, we compelled one of them to go with us to show us the best way to Lake Bathurst ... (Field 1825).

The guides were usually men but Ainslie was said to have been guided onto the Duntroon Plains by an Aboriginal woman (Shumack 1967: 151) whose daughter by him, known as Nanny Ainslie, married a William Duncan and had three children.

Guiding was another way[50] in which Aborigines had an opportunity to enter the country of traditional enemies under the protection of Europeans and their guns.

3.7 Maintaining traditional patterns of movement

The picture of a long line of travelling blacks is still in our minds eye, "Kangaroo Jack," perhaps, leading, clad in a simple 'possum rug secured by a wooden thong, carrying spears, shield and boomerang. Mary following, dressed maybe, in a grey Government blanket, with a goodly load of grass bags and baskets slung on her back, packed to overflowing with everything the family owned in the way of food or utensils, a picaninny or two surmounting all, in a fold of her blanket. ... Generally families travelled together. At times a whole tribe would camp in the neighbourhood. On one occasion there was a large camp near us, on the bank of the Heart morass' (Cowie et al 1973: 29).

Land-based travel was conducted along a network of paths which were maintained by both firing and regular use by a sufficient number of walkers. The paths were approximately one metre wide and connected all ceremonial and camping sites throughout Australia (Ellis 1999). There are many references to these paths in the ethnohistorical literature suggesting that they also provided travel routes for explorers and early pastoralists[51].

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[50] Others were Native Policing, droving, stock work and tracking.

[51] Many of these travel routes have become, with some modifications, part of Australia's modern road system.

In October 1824 Hume and Hovell were directed to find one of these paths which followed the present day Hume Highway near Gundagai:

> ... after passing through a fine valley of limestone, situated between the mountains and the river, and which we named Limestone Valley ... Notwithstanding, it evidently appears that the path which we are now upon is the one which the natives had before described to Mr. Hume. Moreover, the appearance of the land, the mountains between which the river runs and another creek which is at a little distance from us, all appear to correspond with the natives' description ... I have little doubt ... as their hut is still standing by the side of the path ...

They continued to see Aboriginal paths after crossing the Murray river and entering the Ovens river valley (Hume and Hovell 1924). In 1839 a party of travellers from Yarralumla was led from Cooleman Plain 'by a native track through the mountains to Uriarra, then down the Murrumbidgee River bed and on to Yarralumla which they reached on horseback' (Wilson 1968: 105-109) and Dr. Hobson found a 'well beaten path which [he] soon found to be the track of the natives by the bones of kangero [sic], turtle shells and mussel shells' at Reedy Creek in north-east Victoria (Hobson 1839). In 1844 Robinson followed Aboriginal paths through the heath from Bitangabee Bay to Disaster Bay (Robinson 1844a). The tracks which cross the deep Snowy River gorge, providing routes between the Monaro plateau and Omeo, were undoubtedly of Aboriginal origin but are not named as such in the literature (for example, Clarke 1860: 118, Fead 1880: 30). However Daley (1917: 167) noted that the Omeo to Bruthen track was an Aboriginal route which would have been taken by Robinson in 1844. Robinson's whole 1844 journey would have closely followed Aboriginal paths as he had both local and Bunurong guides for most of the route. In addition, only six years had elapsed from the first permanent pastoral settlements in Gippsland (north-east nine, Monaro twenty one, south coast eighteen) and these paths were probably still used to a significant extent by the Aboriginal population. However, as a result of

Aboriginal depopulation in the early contact period the tracks would have become overgrown and closed, particularly in heathland and forests having a dense understorey[52].

The traffic of hard hoofed animals such as horses, sheep and cattle introduced by Europeans would have maintained the presence of these paths even when human traffic had lessened. So the travel routes which became popular stock routes and routes for travellers on horse back would have been kept open and rapidly lost the appearance of having once had a solely human use. The presence of wild brumbies (which favour the high plateaus of the southern tablelands of New South Wales and Victoria) (Gooding 1983: 491) and wild would also have quickly changed the appearance of these paths.

There is an interesting 1860 reference to a European girl who ran away from her father at Boorowa to live with an upper Murray Aboriginal man named Dick Cooper. Dick was said to be a good bushman and to be familiar with 'the mountains by bye paths' (Anon 1860) and he is probably the Dick Cooper who was custodian of the bogong moth site named Dicky Cooper's Boogong. William Whittakers makes reference to him at Tubbut in June 1864 in a manner that suggests that he was a familiar and regular visitor to the station (Whittakers n.d.).

Fences came into general use for the conservation of summer feed, to assist with catching horses and working bullocks, to keep bulls and stallions separate from the rest of their respective herds and keep grazing animals out of cultivation paddocks[53]. Buxton (1967: 38) noted that by 1853 there were many post and rail fences built in the Albury district, particularly for use as horse paddocks. In another six years the erection of fences had become widespread in the Riverina and by 1863: 'Travellers like the evangelist J.J. Westwood ... were frequently 'balked by fences' or 'bewildered with fences and creeks' (ibid: 39, Attwood 1989). The positioning of fences took no heed of the pre-existing Aboriginal

[52] Compaction studies, promoted by the racing industry, have evaluated the quantity of human foot traffic required to maintain the openness of tracks.

[53] A popular misconception has been that when shepherds went to the goldfields, pastoralists compensated by erecting fences, however their response was simply to allocate more sheep to each shepherd (Buxton 1967: 42).

pathways and in heavily settled areas access along these routes was hampered causing considerable distress to Aboriginal people. Harry Stevens[54], who was born before the invasion, was said to have given up travelling to Melbourne when there were too many fences (Anon n.d.: 174). The same sense of disenfranchisement and distress is experienced today when Aboriginal people visit sites where their access is now blocked by the existence of fences[55] (Wesson 1996: 19, 20).

The impact of sealing and whaling

The harvesting of whales in winter and early spring had been the focus of activity for Aborigines on the coast of south-eastern Australia before the arrival of Europeans. There is no account suggesting that Aborigines travelled from Gippsland to the south coast for the whale calving season before the arrival of Europeans but there is quite a possibility that this was the case, whales being a rich source of animal fat when cold weather is prevalent. In addition, the average winter temperatures on the south coast are significantly higher than Gippsland. However, stories in the ethnographic literature about the attraction for Aborigines of the Twofold Bay whaling industry are many and varied. People travelled from the Snowy River in far-east Gippsland, Cape Howe, Genoa, Bega, Pambula, Maneroo (Monaro) and Moruya either to participate in or observe the activities and perhaps to bypass customary restrictions on entry into the country of the Mobuller gunde of Twofold Bay (Robinson 1844a).

Twofold Bay has been a favourite calving site for a variety of smaller coastal whales including the southern right whale. The whales travel from Antarctica to Byron Bay feeding along the New South Wales' coast. They are known to have calved at Twofold Bay between August and November after which they return south again to the coldest continent (Kesby 2001). An anonymous 1828 reporter described them as crowding into the bay 'in shoals'. Thomas Raine had taken up a cattle station at Bega in 1826 and installed John Campbell as manager, consequently he was informed of the seasonal migration of the whales into Twofold Bay in mid-year. In May or June 1828 Thomas Raine sent John Irvine to Twofold Bay to harvest, predominantly, the southern right whale and in August he returned

[54] The account names him as Charley Stevens.

[55] Barbed wire, designed to keep out cattle and sheep, is particularly offensive.

with sixteen tons of oil and twenty tons of whale bone, leaving behind a further eighty or ninety tons of oil which awaited shipping back to Sydney. At this time whale-bone, which was used in women's corsets, was worth £180 per ton (Dakin 1963: 48). Raine began the first shore-based whaling business on the Australian mainland, probably at Snug Cove, where Brierly observed in 1843 'the melancholy remains of a whaling party who had built a few wretched huts and deserted them, leaving behind markers of their calling in the shape of whale bones' (Brierly 1843). By 1830 Raine had also taken up a cattle station at Mt. Dromedary (Morris 1830). In 1834 there were two shore-based enterprises at Snug Cove in Twofold Bay probably run by the Imlay brothers (George, Alexander and Peter); one for salting beef and another described as a 'whale fishery' exporting live cattle, horses, wattle bark, salt meat and whale products. The Imlay brothers also combined whaling with cattle production and exploited land between Bega and Mallacoota Inlet (Pearson 1985: 5). Boyd was the next whaling entrepreneur to arrive at Twofold Bay intent on making a fortune based on shipping, grazing and whaling. A base was constructed at East Boyd south of Munganno Point (ibid: 9).

The exceptional abilities of Aborigines as whalers were soon exploited by the Imlays[56] and the itinerant whalers from Van Diemen's Land. George Imlay undertook the role of Honorary Guardian for which he made an annual census of the Aborigines of the region and distributed blankets to them from 1835 (Anon 1835) to at least 1841 (Imlay 1841). Imlay reported that the Aboriginal whalers made up entire crews of whaling boats, that they lived in huts, slept on beds, used cooking utensils and made bread from flour. They resided on the opposite side of the bay from the European employees and were paid the same wages as the Europeans (Imlay 1839, Lambie 1842). Figure 43 shows the location of whaling stations at Twofold Bay and Figure 44 shows the known pastoral era journeys made by Aborigines to participate in or observe the whaling industry. During this early phase of contact it was difficult for European bosses to hire a reliable non-Aboriginal workforce in so remote a situation for seasonal work. Pearson (1987: 8) has pointed out that the increased competition at Twofold Bay coincided with the end of convict transportation. European on-shore whaling operations were able to employ Aborigines who were accustomed to visiting whale calving sites during the season. In addition to the

[56] And possibly also by Raine.

fact that they were some-time residents, Aboriginal whalers, both men and women, proved themselves to have remarkably keen eyesight, good boat handling skills, strength and stamina (Brierly 1842). The impact of the industry on Aborigines' customary lifestyle was enormous, perhaps more so than the pastoral industry, in that for 130 years Aborigines made up an increasingly significant portion of the whaling workforce and Aboriginal whalers and their families became a sub-culture within Aboriginal society whose members intermarried. Certain Aboriginal families are known to have had at least three generations of whalers[57].

Seasonal whaling was an occupation which accommodated many aspects of customary Aboriginal lifestyles including semi-nomadism, the fostering and appreciation of keen athletic and hunting skills and an outdoor existence incorporating the use of favoured camp sites and food resources. However many new factors were introduced into Aborigines' lives at the same time. Whalers brought syphilis into the Aboriginal communities[58] and Brierly observed that within six years most of the men of all races at the station were 'laid up with the venereal in various shapes' (Robinson 1846a). Whalers took Aboriginal women as concubines and servants, much as the sealers had before them, except that these new liaisons were taking place in view of their former husbands. Not surprisingly the latter took

[57] Establishing a connection between existing Aboriginal surnames and precontact names would probably add at least one more generation.
[58] It is possible that it had arrived earlier via the crews of watering vessels.

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exception to the situation and sometimes violence ensued. Robinson's 1844 journey brought him into contact with a Maori named Davis the Tiger who had lured Dindowlkan, alias Rosey, a 'good looking lass', from her husband Ummerkeen, alias Long Jack. Perhaps what proved irresistible was Davis the Tiger's prowess as Boyd's head whaler: he was reputed to have killed 52 whales in one season.

Robinson was told of five Aboriginal women living with whalers: Tulerminggun, alias Mary, was a Pundeang mittong cohabiting with Jim Parish at Boydtown, Nernungeror alias Sally was a Waokoon residing with Joss at Boydtown, Rosey was living with Davis the Tiger at Boydtown, an unnamed woman was living with Old Harry at Bittangabee Bay and Nuckern, alias Biddy, was a Jinnoor mitter living with Otehite Bill at Kiah Inlet (Robinson 1844a).

Table 21 shows the number of Aboriginal whalers employed in the industry between 1839 and 1846, a period for which there are detailed reports and journals covering the topic. Aborigines continued to be employed seasonally as whalers until the cessation of operations in 1928.

Table 21
The number of Aborigines employed in the whaling industry during the early contact period (sources: Imlay 1839, Lambie 1842, 1847, Robinson 1844a, 1846b)

Year	No. boats manned by Aborigines	No. Aborigines employed in whaling	Notes
1839	2	12	8 whales captured[59], Aboriginal families live in huts, they are reliable employees, women employed to wash and have been taught to sew (Imlay 1839).
1841	3	18	Aborigines employed on the same terms as European whalers, Aboriginal families live in huts, use cooking utensils, make bread from flour, return to prevous existence at the end of the season (Lambie 1842).
1844	2	12	'The whaling season had commenced [mid July] and the natives were congregating in large numbers -' (Robinson 1844, 1846).
1846		15	'Last season, a greater number of the young males, belonging to the tribes on the Coast, engaged in the Shore Whale Fishery than on any former occasion; and

[59] Eight whales normally represented between half and two-thirds of the annual catch at a whaling station (Pearson 1987: 9).

> there are now in addition about fifteen young men at sea in vessels employed on that service' (Lambie 1847).

Although the whaling industry relatively speaking, brought a number of benefits to the Mobullergunde and their neighbours through well paid seasonal work, the large influx of strangers into their country threatened the integrity of their culture (Wesson 1999:11-15). Thau-aira language appears to have lost currency before other south coast languages as Mathews does not appear to have been able to record a Thau-aira speaker during his south coast field trips (Mathews 1902, 1904, n.d.). The loss of integrity of Thau-aira language was probably due to the large influx of Aboriginal migrants (speaking languages other than Thau-aira) from the north, south-west and west who sought work in the shore-based whaling industry, which was at its peak in the mid 19th century. Of the 180 people met by Robinson during July and August at Twofold Bay, only 68 (38%) would have been Thau-aira speakers by birth while 71 (39%) were Jeringan and Thoorga speakers and 37 (21%) Ngarigo speakers.

Pastoralism

As mentioned previously, many Aboriginal guides brought explorers into the country of traditional enemies under the protection of Europeans and their guns. In the first years of settlement the explorers primarily were concerned with the search for pastures suitable for sheep and cattle. Because of various push factors including pleuropneumonia in the cattle and lack of sufficient growing land for the expanding herds (Legg 1984) pastoralists moved into Gippsland and north-east Victoria from both the north, via the Monaro plateau and Hume and Hovell's route, and from the south, via Port Phillip Bay and Twofold Bay. The close cultural association between the Monaro and Omeo peoples ensured that when experienced stock workers were sought for pastoral runs in Gippsland, they took up the opportunities to explore countries that customarily were dangerous. In 1843 Lambie noted that three of the Monaro Aboriginal stock workers who took cattle and sheep into Gippsland from the Monaro had stayed there for a time but two preferred to return to their own group (Lambie 1843). But five years later he reported that:

> A few of the blacks accompanied some graziers, who removed their stock into Gipps'Land, and indeed great numbers now pass the greater part of the year in that District. ... the difficulty of obtaining anything approaching a correct [Census] has been greatly increased from so many of the Maneroo Tribes migrating to Gipps'Land, and intermixing with those who inhabit the Country extending along the Ninety Mile Beach (Lambie 1848).

Lambie's latter comment supports the theory that many Monaro people were counted as Snowy River people in the Tyers and Thomas censuses of the 1850s and 1860s. The change may have been instigated by the presence of Omeo and Monaro men in the Native Police Corps which entered Gippsland in 1845 to investigate rumours about the White Woman of Gippsland[60]. In 1846 John Campbell McLeod had several Omeo men with him when they encountered 40 Buchan people at the Murrindal River (McLeod 1874). In the same year Tyers noted that Aborigines living in Gippsland consisted of both those hailing from 'Omeo, Maneroo, the Mitta Mitta, and other districts bordering on Gippsland' and between 800 and 1000 'Warrigals, or wild blacks - aborigines [sic] of Gippsland' (Tyers 1846). In 1851 and again the following year Tyers observed that although the Monaro and Omeo peoples were still present in Gippsland, travelling between stations where they begged for food, they were rarely employed as stock workers and shepherds[61] (Tyers 1851, 1852a). Ten years later (and in 1864) Hagenauer noted the presence of Omeo people in his census of Brayakkolung/Yakthun worcut (Hagenauer 1862b, 1864b) and Bulmer noted that both Omeo, Monaro and Bidwell (Maap) 'settled' at Lake Tyers mission station[62] (Bulmer n.d.).

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[60] Two Omeo men, Cobbawn Johnny (Jargiar) and Dan (Corridjung) shot two Gunai at Lake Wellington (Fels 1987: 189).

[61] The Gunai termed the Omeo and Monaro peoples Brajerak/Lowajerak, those whom we fear, but regularly stole their women (Lowajerak) as wives and vice versa. After the search for the White Woman the Omeo-Monaro learnt the superiority of guns as defence and felt more confident to explore the milder climate and richer resources of Gippsland. A corrollary of this migration was, perhaps, an increase in cross-cultural marriages between the two groups. One such marriage took place between a daughter of Kaiung and Emma , of the Bunjil nellung/Kutbuntaura group, and Bittocoit alias Billy Blue of Omeo. In 1855 Bittocoit was mistreating his wife and her father objected. In the ensuing fight Kaiung speared Bittocoit who died. The paybacks that developed from this killing took months to resolve and involved people from the Ovens River, Mt. Buffalo, Omeo, Monaro, Bruthen, Wy-yung (Bairnsdale) and Binnajerra (Ninety Mile Beach) (see 2.3 Gippsland Gatherings) (Howitt 1904: 350).

[62] Some people based themselves at Lake Tyers but travelled for much of the year, others only came for a vist. The only permanent 'settlers' from these groups were Jilbino alias Jenny Cooper (Yackandandah) and Jack Hay(es). Others such as Yibai Malian alias Murray Jack, Jammy Lawson, Old Mundy and Jemmy Thompson visited occasionally (Bulmer 1870).

The second phase of pastoral settlement involved the ringing of large trees and shrubs to promote the growth of grasses to feed cattle, sheep and horses. In Australia trees and shrubs had been a source of materials for shelter, canoes, weapons, string (for clothing, nets, bags and ornaments), tanning bark and fish poisons for the traditional custodians, as well as being hosts to communities of food animals. The loss of the large trees suitable for procuring bark for shelter and canoe materials would have been felt most keenly. Within the once heavily forested regions of the study area, of which parts of the Monaro plateau are the only exception, clearing initially was carried out on a small scale, involving the enlargement of existing treeless selections.

Pastoralism was opposed vigorously by Aborigines during the first and second phases of the pastoral era (see Table 16) and it was not until phase three that resignation and a degree of acceptance emerged. The first recordings of ongoing interactions between pastoralists and Aborigines in the study area come from the reminiscences of Joseph Lingard, a convict assigned to Campbell at Delegate[63]. In 1840, as the transportation of convicts was about to end, the Colonial Government set up an inquiry into the plausibility of employing Aborigines on pastoral runs as an alternative to encouraging the immigration of free settlers from Europe. The responses to this inquiry have provided a wealth of information about race relations on pastoral settlements in 1840-41. A number of strong opinions emerge from the settler informants including the perception that Aborigines would never make suitable workers owing to their preference for traditional customs (which were advocated and insisted upon by community leaders), their dislike of staying in one place for long, their uneasiness at being stationary targets for tribal enemies and their dislike of sustained repetitive tasks:

> I consider their wandering habits, which appear to be guided by those who possess most influence in the tribe, completely prevent their being voluntarily attached to any establishment in any capacity. As they have never remained in one place more than a few days at a time upon my station, and even then shifted their camps to different parts of it during their stay, I am unable to state any means by which they might be induced to remain

[63] Lingard observed stays of two weeks in 1837 by the local group, the Pandeang mittong, headed by Kundopemar alias Billy Goat (Robinson 1844a). The group returned to the station after two months absence. Lingard also noted their participation in sheep washing (Lingard 1846).

> permanently in any capacity on an establishment; but as some have expressed a great desire to ride on horseback, a few might be useful as stock keepers ... They have no steady habits of labour, and whatever they undertake is performed by fits and starts ... I can form no estimate of their numbers in this neighbour hood as they merely pay flying visits and are generally accompanied by natives from other tribes (Ryrie 1841).

Some settlers such as Docker at Bontherambo and Barber at the Hume (Murray) River conversely found Aborigines to be reliable and dedicated workers:

> Under the circumstances[64] I determined to employ the Aboriginal Natives as shepherds and watchmen. I cultivated a more intimate friendship with them in September last. I gradually employed them and found them to be excellent shepherds, faithful and honest and I now have the pleasure to report that they have the sole charge of my sheep consisting of between 6,000 and 7,000 young and old, thus engaged, fourteen men receive regular supplies of food and clothing and eight or ten more are occasionally employed (Docker 1840).

Tasks typically undertaken by Aboriginal employees on pastoral stations were clearing, shepherding, driving bullocks, planting potatoes, stock work, sheep dipping, collecting firewood, grinding wheat, weeding, looking for stray stock and bark stripping. Women often undertook the same work as men (Bingham 1841, Mackenzie 1841) although later they were more commonly employed as domestic servants to prepare meals, wash clothes and clean. South coast Aborigines were employed in the same tasks although Lambie's early annual reports only mention sheep washing (Lambie 1842). Robinson's 1844 censuses tell a different story through the European names given to Aboriginal men[65].

John Peter of Yass considered that intertribal friction was responsible for Aborigines' nomadism and that training Aborigines as pastoral workers was a waste of time when they continued to participate in tribal wars in which they might be killed (which often happened). Another concern raised about the

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[64] By which Docker refers to isolation and difficulty in obtaining European employees.

[65] For example, Murumbine alias Tommy the stockman who was looking after Imlay cattle at Bittangabee, Jackey the stockman of Candel, Moerumrokear alias Track him in Charley of Tura (Robinson 1844a) and from the blanket censuses Wyoonoo alias Workingman Tommy, Wyander alias Workingman Sammy, Madigal alias Stockyard, Waragal alias Stockman Tommy, Whenoll alias Workman (Morris 1832, Eden 1837, Flanagan 1839).

employment of Aborigines on pastoral properties was that the European servants were jealous of them and therefore treated them badly (Peter 1841, Rae 1841). Peter's recommended solution was to keep the two groups separate (in the work place). He felt that if the law was appropriately applied to intertribal aggressors and individuals, Aborigines would have less reason for continual movement (Peter 1841).

During phase two, Aborigines were noted to visit stations for stays which did not exceed a few weeks when they were prepared to barter certain foods and other items in exchange for work. McKenzie of King-parrot Creek observed that his itinerant pastoral workers stayed between two and six days (Mckenzie 1841). The 1841 informants noted payment with the following items; wheat, potatoes, flour, rice, sugar, fresh meat and tobacco for the itinerant workers and clothing, blankets, pipes, knives and tomahawks for the semi-permanent workers (Peter 1841, Roadknight 1841, Mollison 1841, Mackenzie 1841). More rarely individual Aborigines stayed for a few months or even years (Barber 1841, Shelley 1841).

The next twenty years of pastoralism (1840-60) saw massive change in the European use of south-east Australian resources and an adaptation by Aborigines to their place in the pastoral industry. The countries of Aboriginal groups were taken over by pastoralists and dual occupancy was not always an option. Groups that were tolerated by European settlers attached themselves to stations. Goodall (1996: 57) has pointed out that the discovery of gold in New South Wales (1851) and Victoria (1854) reversed pastoralists attitudes to Aborigines as employees as a result of losing their European workforce to the gold fields. For the first time Aborigines were offered reasonable conditions and payment in return for their services. Many individuals, particularly young Aboriginal men[66], became permanent stockworkers and were attached to stations, having occasional visits to relatives at their camps.

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[66] I can find no record for the study area of Aboriginal women working in the pastoral industry as drovers as they did in others parts of Australia.

3.8 Patterns of Aboriginal movement during the pastoral era: a comparison

This time period provides a majority of the journey events for analysis, particularly for the Monaro and south coast where it spans 64 years. Journeys have been analysed for the variables of group size (how many), distance travelled (how far), travel route (where) and reasons for movement (why).

Group size

One hundred and seventy nine events were recorded for this era for Gippsland, a majority (41%) being large groups of over 11 people. There were also significant numbers of other categories; 8% individuals, 21% small groups and 37% medium sized groups. No large groups were observed for the previous era and most of the groups observed in that time were small. The north-east region statistics show a similar trend with most of the events (40%) describing the movements of large groups and the other categories having only between 15 and 23% of the events. The events recorded for the previous era were so few as to be incomparable. The Monaro statistics followed similar trends to Gippsland and the north-east for this era with 28% being small group movements and 35% large groups. However the proportion of individual travellers and medium sized groups was smaller, being only 18%. Forty percent of the south coast groups were also large, 26% were small, 18% individuals and 15% medium. A general trend can be observed across the study area that a majority of the observed travelling groups numbered over 11 people. In addition small groups of up to five people were more common on the Monaro and south coast than medium sized groups of between six and ten. These statistics are likely due to the fact that large groups are noteworthy and that small (family) groups are typically derived from the genealogical data.

Distance travelled

In common with the previous era, most of the Gippsland journeys (62%) recorded were over 101 km with considerably fewer being in categories 3a and 3b and only two medium journeys (3%) of between five and 15 km. The north-east region also had 61% of journeys over 101 km and 19 and 20% in categories 3a and 3b. The Monaro showed a remarkable similarity in trends with 57% of journeys over 101 km, 25% over 51 km and 14% over 16 km. Five journeys (4%) were recorded for the medium

category. The south coast statistics were quite different having only 25% of journeys in the longest category of over 101 km, 31% over 51 km, 30% over 16 km and 13% in the medium category. There were also three small (0-5 km) journeys (2%) recorded. These statistics show that recorded Gippsland, north-east and Monaro journeys were most likely to be over 101 km and that short and medium journeys were rarely recorded. In addition, recorded south coast journeys are shown to be significantly shorter on average than those of the other regions. There are two possible explanations for this phenomenon. Firstly, the south coast terrain with its regularly intersecting inlets and hilly hinterland would have proscribed movements. Secondly, the wealth of genealogical information for south coast families outside of the mission era has allowed the analysis of family movements in considerable detail.

Travel route

During the pastoral era most of the recorded Gippsland journeys (57%) were along river valleys and/or around lakes with an additional 20% involving travel along the coast. By contrast, north-east journeys were more consistently varied with 36% along river valleys and lakes, 20% along ridge tops, 19% on high country plains, 15% on inland plains, 7% on coastal hinterland (as visitors to Gippsland!) and 4% across fresh water. Monaro journeys were predominantly along river valleys and lakes (42%) and high country plains (34%) with a significant number (22%) on ridge tops. South coast journeys were again considerably different from the other regions having journeys using consistently varied terrains: 28% in coastal hinterland, 23% along the coast, 18% along river valleys and around lakes, 12% along ridge tops, 10% in sea water (which becomes fresher when the inlets are closed) and on high country plain. This category provides the greatest variety across the four regions as might be expected by their significantly different geography. Factors which will have impacted on this information are the difficulty of observing off-track movement in hilly terrain such as north Gippsland and in sparsely populated country such as the Victorian-New South Wales border country.

Reasons for movement

A majority of the Gippsland movements for this era (44%) involved moving camp or home. Other significant factors were war parties and attacks of non-Aboriginal people and their property (23%) and employment (20%). Gatherings accounted for another 7% of journeys for Gippsland. In the north-east region moving camp or home involved only 29% of journeys, whereas 25% were for gatherings, 17% for war parties and attacking whites and 15% for employment. The Monaro was similar with 41% for moving camp or home, 20% for employment and 18% for gatherings. Less than ten percent accounted each for family visits and war parties. Fifty one percent of south coast movements related to moving home or camp and only 24% to employment and family visits. Given that the observable journeys were skewed to include only the largest, the reasons for the journeys must also be unrepresentative. However trends may still be observed between regions. Moving camp or home was the biggest single reason for movement across the regions. War parties were a significantly recorded factor in Gippsland journeys during this era and not elsewhere, possibly because of isolation from large population centres where recorders were based. Employment was also a major region for travel through the study region.

It is difficult to compare pastoral era patterns of movement with the pre-contact era equivalents for which there were insufficient data. However, the predictions of table 7, showing potential push and pull factors for the pastoral era, were borne out by closer examination. Extraordinary journeys resulted from employment as guides, whalers, barkers, stock workers and tree fellers, labourers and domestic servants, black trackers and native police. Dwindling populations and resources caused longer journeys to be undertaken to access foods and other materials and marriage partners. The first phase of the post-contact experience during which inter-tribal conflict was exacerbated, resulted in an increase in the frequency of journeys undertaken for war and the settlement of blood feuds. The hostility of some pastoralists meant that whole groups had to move both more frequently than was customary but out of synchronicity with seasonal harvests and into the country of traditional enemies.

Chapter 4

On to the missions

> There was Jim Moy, for example. He was a real man of Purfleet. It was he who kept the tribal law and order around the place. He was not only very tall, but strong and thickly built with it, so he was just the man to keep the tribal system alive. I guess he would have been about 16 stone. ... There was no fooling around with old Jim and everybody knew it. He carried out the law to a tee. If anyone of those people did something wrong, he would severely punish them. ... He demanded total respect for the Aboriginal law and teachings. ... When the Protection Board appointed a manager and made Purfleet their first 'official' station, it proved to be the finish of poor old Jim. Almost straight away he began to deteriorate. He'd lost his position of authority. You see, and he'd nothing to live for any more. Anyway it wasn't too long after the Manager arrived that he got so sick he had to go to bed and stay there (Simon 1978: 113).

> Some of the old ones still think they must wander about for a little to see their old hunting grounds and friends here and there. Their wandering habits however are decreasing considerably and will cease in due time altogether (Hagenauer 1868).

The Colonial Governments were being pressured by concerned settlers to 'do something' about the Aborigines who were spearing their cattle and bringing out the worst in their assigned convicts and other employees[1]. The first missions and reserves were not perceived to be successful by the broader community and therefore the Governments were hesitant about a possible next step. The Aboriginal Protectors were concerned that Aborigines would either fail to gather at the designated sites or would come in such small numbers as to make the operation insupportable. In 1848 the British Colonial Office sought comments from the district Commissioners for Crown Lands about a proposal to alienate lands for the use of Aborigines. The most detailed response among these despatches to the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales came from T.L. Mitchell who expressed both concern and understanding about the issues confronting Aborigines at the time. He advocated the provision of a regular supply of meat and flour, clothing and care for the aged; that reserves be staffed by qualified medical practitioners rather than unqualified supervisors; that a regular census be taken of the

[1] Displays of uncivilised behaviour on the part of low class Europeans served to perpetuate the caste system but to confuse the divide between Aborigines and Europeans.

inhabitants; that squatters also supply rations at their stations; and that Aboriginal people always be assured access to water and wood and sites on rivers where they could fish (Mitchell 1848). The five responding Crown Commissioners of New South Wales (including the Port Phillip District) were aware that Aboriginal people valued their freedom very highly. Bingham at Tumut suggested that they would have to be persuaded gradually towards the idea of a settled life, be offered large reserves to enable them to continue to hunt and gather[2] and that positioning of reserves must take into consideration neighbouring traditional enemies (Bingham 1848).

Church missions largely preceded government reserves in Australia and were formed at the instigation of organisations such as the Church and London Missionary Societies following the call of their members to evangelise the heathen (Ferry 1979: 26). The first Australian missions at Lake Macquarie (Awabakal country), Wellington Valley (Wiradjuri country), Buntingdale (Wathaurong country), Merri Creek (Woiworung country) and Port Phillip (Boonwurrung country) were created in the far south-east on large rivers, lakes or creeks on gently undulating lands that have since become prime pastoral (or ultimately residential) land. In response to the Crown Commissioners' recommendations (outlined above), 35 formal camping reserves, each of one square mile were established in 1850 in New South Wales (Goodall 1996: 55) but these were ephemeral and there are few records of them in the study region.

Missions became increasingly important as home base for Aborigines during the nineteenth century. The term 'mission' covers a multitude of legal and cultural entities including church based missions consisting of land procured and staffed by a religious organisation, government-based missions where the land was owned and staffed by the state and unstaffed government gazetted camping reserves which were intended for the use of a particular Aboriginal group/s (for example Delegate) or individual and his/her family (for example Turlinjah). Certain camp sites, such as the Latrobe bridge at Sale, were not formally gazetted but were nevertheless important as part of a chain of camps between significant destinations. Many accounts have suggested a strong demarcation in behaviour

[2] A suggestion which was also made by Orton of Buntingdale mission near Geelong, Victoria (Nelson 1965: 66).

between those families and individuals who lived on the missions and those who lived away (for example Attwood 1989). However, my research has uncovered an extremely strong connection by all Aboriginal people to official camping reserves, unofficial camping sites, government missions and religious missions.

Missions failed to offer a lifestyle of sufficient attraction to lure Aborigines from their customary courses and were therefore short lived. Government officials and missionaries had assumed that Aborigines would, when presented with a 'superior' way of life, see the error of their ways and come over to the side of the morally and socially right(eous). It was also thought that life for Aborigines during the spread of pastoralism had become so dangerous (due to murders) and tenuous (due to disease, poor nutrition and alcohol) that Aborigines would realise that their best chance of survival lay on the missions. However, despite the ever present danger to life and limb, Aborigines developed a lifestyle of 'coexistence' with pastoralism (Goodall 1996). This consisted of a yearly round of exploitation of traditional foods and raw materials (for barter with Europeans and consumption by the group) and seasonal labour supported by Government rations in periods when other resources were scarce. Aborigines attended missions and visited reserves for reasons which differed markedly to those envisaged for them by church missionaries and government agents.

The Aborigines who intermittently attended the first missions continued to die of diseases, gunshot, poisoning, abduction, malnutrition and subnutrition as they had during the early contact period. Mission attendees continued to be lured by European settlements where alcohol and tobacco could be procured. The poor choice of some early mission sites, on contested or unhealthy ground, also caused Aborigines to abandon missions (Nelson 1965: 65). Although the Aborigines camped at missions because they were typically sited on traditional camps, it was not until customary sources of food (on sites away from missions and reserves) became unreliable that families began settling on the missions. Once settled, they often had their children and spent their latter years on mission stations.

Nelson (1965: 65) has suggested that the Aboriginal followers of the first missionaries saw hope for the salvation of their remnant tribes in Aborigines' 'alienation ... from the influence of both European and traditional native culture'. But this hypothesis is not corroborated by the ethnographic record for south-eastern Australia. By contrast, contemporary (late twentieth century) Aborigines from the study region have stated that the continuity of traditional knowledges was destroyed by mission policies and practices (for example, Paton 1997). Traditional information and skills were maintained by responsible knowledge bearers secretly operating outside that system. The survival of this knowledge is suggested by evidence such as the periodic absences of certain men and women from Ramahyuck (Hagenauer 1873, 1874, 1875b, 1876b), histories (both oral and written) describing particular men and women as knowledgeable and the persistence of those knowledges within late twentieth century communities (for example Thomas 1979, Brown 1979, McLeod 1979).

It was not until 1859 that a Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines was established in Victoria. Land use in the small colony of Victoria quickly became intensified, first with the uptake of land by pastoralists and then with the rush for gold (Goodall 1996: 88). The relative remoteness of the study region from the major centres at Sydney and Melbourne and the difficulty of travel during the nineteenth century contributed to a reluctance by the New South Wales Government to act on the behalf of Aborigines except in the spasmodic distribution of blankets and certain rations.

Australian missionaries attempted to overcome the poor attendances of Aborigines first by moving with the nomadic groups and second by encouraging children to remain at the missions while their parents travelled (Ferry 1979: 29). In 1836, Langhorne at Port Phillip proposed to travel with nomadic groups, establish village communities which barred adult male members (in order to break the continuity of men's knowledge and authority) and establish markets in Melbourne to sell their fish (Nelson 1965: 60).

4.1 Settling the wanderers

The invaders saw themselves as an intrinsically civilised society; one which is sedentary, Christian (compassionate and humane) and morally correct. In addition, European society seized the opportunity to project unwanted characteristics including nomadism, promiscuity, polygamy, infanticide, cannibalism, shamelessness, primitiveness and simpleness on to the other; the Aborigine (see Shuinear's 1997 analysis). Other racial and cultural attributes: black skin colour (more fully expressed as 'blackness'[3]), and an absence of agriculture (appropriate use of the land) and commodities for European trade[4] or the domestication of edible animals (for meat, dairy products and wool) contributed to perceptions of Aborigines as inferior. Christian missionaries viewed the settling of the heathen indigenes as an opportunity to gain a place in heaven. Government employees and other interest groups saw opportunities for exercising religious, cultural and physical control as well as a need to provide physical safety and care for orphaned children, widows, the sick and the elderly[5]. It was thought possible to keep Aborigines apart from sources of alcohol and from environments promoting prostitution, which were to be found in the settlements, while endorsing and encouraging others, such as the wearing of clothes and European work practices (for example Green 1877[6]).

Nineteenth century administrators of Aborigines had a dislike of and evident frustration with Aborigines persistent semi-nomadism. The reasons for this dislike and frustration were not often made explicit in the contemporary literature because primary sources were written by people who thought it was self-evident that Aborigines should be settled. There were never complaints in the written record about blackness, although there were sneering allusions to it (for example, 'sable sons of the soil'); thinly veiling tacit agreements that blackness was a shortcoming about which Aborigines could do nothing and beyond which they could not rise. It is notable that up until 1847 the Colonial authorities were anti-squatting and therefore consistently promoted sedentarism and spatial concentration on the part of the non-Aboriginal population as well.

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[3] For a discussion of blackness see p.211.

[4] By contrast 'even the Asiatics' could be said to grow or manufacture goods for international trade.

[5] Ferry (1979) has provided a good overview of the establishment of missions in south-eastern Australia before 1845.

[6] '[Lake Tyers] was selected with the view of inducing the wild and wandering natives to visit an Aboriginal station without bringing them into the more settled parts of Gipplsand' (Green 1877).

Race relations on the Australian frontier can be compared with those of other settler societies in New World colonies by an examination of cultural and racial characteristics which are considered in popular culture to constitute significant, and therefore confronting, differences. These variables are presented in table 22 which shows that, by comparison with the 'Old World' Europeans who were both sedentary, white or pink-skinned, had domesticated a number of animals (including horses, cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, cats and dogs) and practised agriculture, Australian Aborigines shared only the domestication of the dog[7]. The table also demonstrates that within the continents of Africa, Asia and America peoples displayed different combinations of these characteristics. For example, in Africa there were, and are, both semi-nomadic and sedentary peoples of both black, brown and olive skin colours, some of whom, but not all, practice agriculture.

Table 22
Cases of indigenous cultures in 'New World' countries

Patterns of movement	***Skin colour***	***Domestication of animals?***	***Domestication of plants?***	***Continent/ country***
semi-nomadic	black	yes (cattle)	no	Africa (Masai, Watusi)
semi-nomadic	brown	no	no	Africa (Kung)
semi-nomadic	black	yes (dingo)	no	Australia (throughout)
semi-nomadic	olive	yes (horse, cattle)	no	Africa (Bedouin)
semi-nomadic	yellow	yes (horse, sheep)	yes	Asia (Mongolia)
semi-nomadic	red	yes (horse)	yes	America (Sioux)
sedentary	black	yes (cattle)	yes	Africa (Zulu)
sedentary	red	no	yes	America (Hopi)
sedentary	red	yes (horse)	yes	Asia (Tibet)

[7] The dingo arrived about 7,000 years ago via the Indonesian Archipelago. It most closely resembles dogs, and their fleas, that are still common in parts of Indonesia.

An examination of the European interface of sedentary and nomadic peoples is informative[8] particularly as the focus of this study is movement, rather than blackness, pastoralism or agriculture. McVeigh has suggested that at one time everyone was semi-nomadic and that at 'certain points in the history of different social formations, the sedentary/nomad distinction was much more ambiguous than it is in contemporary societies' (McVeigh 1997: 11). European history attests to the power of nomadic groups and the vulnerability of sedentary settlements through the conquests of Attila the Hun and the Golden Horde (McVeigh 1997: 12).

Shuinear (1997) has explored the Irish situation and found that the need of sedentary societies to pathologise nomads as the 'other' manifests in a variety of ways. First, they create the 'super-nomad', from a mythical past, to which all other nomads are unfavourably compared including, unsurprisingly, all contemporary nomads[9]. This sounds much like the mythology of the 'real Aborigines' who were (and still are) depicted as the only true 'noble savages'[10] and with whom all contemporary Aborigines compare unfavourably. Secondly, traditionally nomadic peoples continued to be pathologised even when they had become sedentary. In Australia, while Aborigines were similarly damned they were encouraged to live on the fringes of European settlements so as to be available for casual employment:

> [Though Thornton wished] to see the half-caste civilised, educated, and cared for, yet they should not be permitted to grow into a pauper of *quasi* gipsy class, but taught to be able and compelled to work for their own living, and thereby ultimately merge into the general population (Thornton 1882).

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[8] The fear and distrust of nomadism and nomads was reflected in European attitudes toward the Romani. The Romani-European interface provided a prototype for the ways in which Aborigines were treated by Europeans in Australia although there were other discourses in operation such as those about 'blacks','primitives' and 'evolutionary links' (see Fannon 1965).

[9] These mythical people are also fantastically empowered with the ability to lay curses, steal children and tell fortunes (McVeigh 1997: 12). This mythological status is also used to repudiate the complaints about discrimination and oppression by contemporary Gypsies because they are denied authenticity (McVeigh 1997: 17).

[10] As Woolmington has pointed out the Noble Savage, 'the Native whose every want was supplied by nature, and whose life was an example to materialistic Europeans', had a long and impressive lineage (Woolmington 1973: 13). His emissaries included Captain James Cook (1768-71), Watkin Tench (1789) and much later the missionary John Bulmer (for example 1994: 70).

By contrast, Gypsies were nomadic immigrants to Afghanistan, Turkey, Egypt, Europe and Russia, the countries of predominantly sedentary peoples, between the fifth and eighteenth centuries. The original Rajasthani migrants would have been black-skinned semi-nomadic cattle herders who, to some extent, intermarried with their hosts, thus reducing the degree of difference in skin colour. Eastern European and Middle Eastern countries had a multi-cultural history involving races of many skin colours, as did Italy and Greece through the conjunction of black Africans and Indians, white-skinned northern Europeans, olive-skinned Mediterraneans and Middle Easterners and yellow-skinned Mongols. Western and northern Europeans had less exposure to and therefore less tolerance of the brown-skinned, black-haired land-less Gypsies. The negative image that built up around European Gypsies over thirteen centuries, as a class of nomadic outlaws and troublemakers, contributed to myths about nomads and was a factor in the problematic race relations on the Australian frontier.

The great benefits of the traditional Aborigine's nomadic lifestyle were noted by Aboriginal Protector Robinson when he observed that the Aborigine had no rent to pay, was never in debt and was not compelled to work by another (Robinsons 1844a). Kendall examined the history of loss, and provision, of camping sites for 'travellers' in the United Kingdom:

> The creation of a Traveller[11] 'homeplace' is viewed as particularly threatening by the sedentary society due to the Travellers' real or perceived nomadism. Thus they are seen as difficult to control and/or monitor but especially threatening is their perceived freedom of movement. It is this perceived ability or potential to cross space more easily than the sedentary society which leads to fears that at any moment they have the ability to invade 'your area' because 'they' are not subject to the same spatial constraints as the rest of 'us'. ... Travellers threaten the hegemonic and social separation of society. ...Travellers' nomadism contradicts the assumption that only people with power have the ability to move freely. ... They oppose attempts at spatial and social exclusion and have the ability to cross into, for example, 'middle class space' (Kendall 1997: 78).

[11] Kendall uses the term 'traveller' to refer to all contemporary nomads whether culturally of traditional Gypsy origin or part of a new wave of nomads who have chosen nomadism as a n expression of personal and political freedom.

The bonding capacity of a commonly perceived 'other'[12] provided a means of overcoming the class differences[13] that structured social interactions in Europe. However these distinctions may have been a hindrance to the smooth functioning of Australian colonial society, particularly in remote regions where cooperation was a matter of survival. One of the uncomfortable things about nomads is that they remind sedentary peoples of who and where they used to be and how they used to live. Nomads still exhibit behaviours which sedentary peoples have (largely) given up (and therefore disdain as uncivilised). Nomads remind sedentary peoples that the commons were taken into private ownership by the most powerful members of the society in legal or illegal acts constructed by the powerful[14]. McVeigh has pointed out that there is an intrinsic connection between nomadism and ethnicity (or race) and that the forcible attempt to stop nomadic peoples from travelling has genocidal implications (McVeigh 1997: 16).

On the other hand McVeigh analysed attitudes to nomadism in western societies including Britain, Ireland, continental Europe and the Middle East:

> Social evolutionism assumes that somewhere in history societies shifted from travelling to sedentary modes of existence. In addition it assumes that this shift was both total and irreversible. Furthermore, social evolutionism almost inevitably regards this shift as a 'good thing' -- as a movement upwards towards civilisation, security and modernity (McViegh 1997: 10).

The creation of camping reserves for Aborigines in south-eastern Australia probably met with resistance from adjoining lessors and land owners because the reserves promoted nomadism, although there is no surviving record to support this. What has remained are patronising accounts of

[12] This aspect of colonialism persists into the twentieth century, for example smoothing the way for white South African policemen to migrate to and practice in Western Australia.
[13] Watson (1984) and Clark (1992) have made a Marxian class analysis of the alienation of the Aborigines; Watson making a connection between the alienated crofters and the Aborigines that were in turn dispossessed.
[14] 'Nomads, by their very existence, bear witness to this unjust and brutal transformation [of common ownership to private possession of land] and underline the continued illegitimacy of contemporary property relations' (McVeigh 1997: 21).

Aborigines participation in civic events such as horse races and sporting carnivals in which they are caricatured as comics or primitives. Nothing is said of their domestic arrangements.

The inability to control the movement of nomadic people like the Australian Aborigines was a source of great frustration to census takers. For example, New South Wales Crown Commissioner Lambie, whose task it was to report annually on the condition of people, found that they were not in one place for long enough to be accurately counted or assessed:

> The accompanying census [of Monaro Aborigines] I am led to believe exceeds the actual number, for I found it very difficult to obtain a correct return from the Natives Shifting so frequently (Lambie 1842).

If a group were camped for a number of weeks in one place, there is every likelihood that a portion of the group was elsewhere; either hunting, visiting, performing ceremony, conducting payback or investigating potential employment. However, the journeys of Aboriginal people were mythologised and mystified by European intellectuals along with notions of the 'noble savage'. No useful attempt was made to understand them until the late nineteenth century through recorders such as Howitt and Mathews.

4.2 Living on a mission

Missions began with an often misplaced desire to convert Aborigines to christianity and proletarianise them[15]. Although they were encouraged to embrace the culture of the European working classes, Government agents (managers, Protectors and Local/Honorary Guardians) had a deep seated apprehension that Aborigines would emulate European notions of civilisation while remaining basically nomadic. Hence they were encouraged to attend church regularly, live in permanent

[15] Attwood (1989: 87) argues that both missionaries and other European decision makers preferred to shape Aborigines as peasantry rather than proletariat because they feared that 'an inclusionist policy would result in Aborigines being cast(e) down and out as a working class, especially in light of European racial prejudice'.

dwellings, sew, cook on stoves, eat European foods, till the soil and plant crops, build permanent houses and cease their regular journeying.

Religious zealots found ample opportunity to occupy the moral high ground and justify a desire to take control of the spiritual welfare of people whose own spiritual systems were highly developed over millenia but at best poorly understood. Their agents, the missionaries, also took it upon themselves to control the cultural lives of Aboriginal people when they were at the mercy of the mission administration system, rewarding desired behaviours with food and the right to move on and off reserves and conversely withholding these rights when they perceived undesirable behaviours. This cultural control took the form of banning corroborees, the speaking of Aboriginal languages, the use or possession of weapons and the conducting of spiritual business.

Contrary to the view that they passively accepted the invaders' institutions, Aboriginal people themselves developed an opportunistic attitude toward European endeavours. Aborigines considered that any provision of food and clothing was small compensation for the colonisation of their lands and the deaths of their people. Therefore, initially, Aborigines visited mission and reserve sites, taking what was on offer, politely attending church services when the timing coincided with their stay, and leaving when readily available food resources dwindled or other business beckoned. In 1863 Bulmer found that while the local people camped at Cunninghame Arm, five miles from Lake Tyers Mission, the women visited him to obtain flour and the men remained at the camp fishing, a camp similar to that depicted in Plate 1 (Bulmer 1863). Three years later, during a flour shortage, attendances at the Mission were low (Anon 1866).

Movements were made between missions for marriage, for reasons of personal preference, for visiting friends and relatives, to arrange marriages, to meet prospective partners and due to mission closure (Wesson genealogies, Harrison 1994). Missions operated as repositories of knowledgeable elders, prospective marriage partners and teachers. To a very limited extent, they performed some of the functions of a traditional gathering. Despite cautionary warnings about the potential for discord by

early advisors such as Mitchell (1841), missions also brought together small groups who customarily did not meet for any purpose other than war and consequently these groups had ongoing disputes (Hagenauer letterbooks 1867, Bulmer n.d.). Missions popularly came to be conceived as the last and only treasuries of Aboriginal culture where community leaders were based. Missions were contrasted with stations and other small settlements where relatively few Aborigines lived in comparative isolation. However, records and histories (Hagenauer 1873, 1874, 1875b, 1876b) suggest that knowledgeable elders moved as much as possible through their countries and spent only a small percentage of the year in attendance on mission stations.

QuickTime™ and a
decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Plate 1: 1860s camp at Lake Tyers

Although Aboriginal people within the study area are not documented as having been forced onto missions at gunpoint, many of them were coerced against their will[16]. Once people had been established on missions they soon discovered that there were many disadvantages to the life including reduced autonomy and mobility. The traditional system of reciprocity, which was enshrined in customary law (and avoided the necessity of the words for please and thankyou), mutated under the impact of European civilisation into a dependence on welfare which Aborigines considered their due. Consequently they were disinclined to undertake tasks which mission managers and other government agents saw as appropriate exchange for the rations which were supplied at missions, reserves and other depots. The welfare culture which evolved at missions during the nineteenth century is probably the most enduring and problematic aspect of mission culture for Aborigines today.

However the following almost idyllic account of the daily round at Ramahyuck was penned by Reverend Login who was the first resident minister in north Gippsland and presents a nostalgic view of mission life as a golden age:

> Life was placid at Ramah-Yuck. The old women gathered tussocks for baskets and silver-grass for dilly-bags, rolling the grass on their thighs to make suitable strands for weaving. The young women washed served and cooked. The children played their games, and joined in hunts for turtle eggs at the lake-side, where the small mounds of freshly turned yellow clay showed the presence of nests. The men worked the crop and stock at the station, or went out as harvesters, shearers, and stockmen to the surrounding settlers (Login 1977: 31-32).

Moving on and about

[16] For example, in 1891 the New South Wales Welfare Board Minutes recorded that the Eden Police had suggested that the only formally recorded Aboriginal family at Eden be removed to Wallaga Lake but that if (Charlie) Adgery and his family could not be *induced* to go they could not be forced (8/1/1891); however a year later there was a suggestion that if clothing and rations were withheld and they were told that they *must* shift, they might decide to leave (4/2/1892). Initially a compromise was made whereby his camp was moved to Cocora, one and a half miles from the Eden township, and the site of an old Aboriginal camp, where a hut was built for him (18/2/1892). Eventually he and his family were removed to Wallaga, where Charlie died of pneumonia within twelve months at the age of 70 .

Profiles of the lives of families who lived off the missions have been constructed from genealogies, employment stories and government camping reserve records. The ethnographic literature provides a brief overview of the movements of people both onto and off missions and reserves in the nineteenth century. The staffed missions, in particular Ramahyuck in Victoria, were the most carefully and comprehensively recorded. This information will be covered in three sections dealing first with Victorian missions, then with the Camping Reserves and lastly with New South Wales missions. Aboriginal people in the study area during the first two decades of pastoralism were extremely vulnerable to the depredations of snipers and others of murderous and abusive intent. In Victoria, staffed reserves in the study area were established within thirty years of pastoralism but in New South Wales not until 1890. Table 23 shows the year of gazettal, size, duration, staffing and existence of dwellings on camping and mission reserves in the study area for Victoria and New South Wales. Although these statistics provide some insights into the relative significance of the sites for their Aboriginal users, the detailed expositions of them which follow (see 4.2) demonstrate that there is little direct correlation between duration and importance. For example, Turlinjah was much more important and to a greater number of far south coast people than Mongarlowe 1, although both were in existence for thirty seven years and Mongarlowe 1 was more than four times the size of Turlinjah.

This table also shows that the administrators of Aborigines in New South Wales lagged behind Victoria in the establishment of reserves within the study region[17]. In Victoria staffed reserves of a large area (between 640 and 2356 acres), were established within 27 years of the first pastoralists in the respective areas. By contrast New South Wales governments were slow to respond to Aborigines' needs in the study area. The first reserves, gazetted between 31 and 63 years after the permanent settlement of the first pastoralists (see Table 6), were unstaffed and camping reserves (of between 5 and 344 acres) were designated for the use of an individual and her or his nuclear family unit. However the staffed reserves at Brungle, Wallaga Lake and Delegate were more extensive (up to 341

[17] Goodall has described the gazettal of 35 Aboriginal reserves in 1850, each having an area of one square mile. Three of those described, at Currawong-Jimbuen, Tathra and Eurobodalla, fall within the New South Wales section of the study area. These reserves appear not to have been used much by their Aboriginal clients due perhaps to the difficulty of communicating concepts such as 'Crown Land' and 'special reservation' (Goodall 1996: 55).

acres) and the two former reserves have had continuous Aboriginal occupation, now as Aboriginal Land, through to the present time. While four of the Victorian reserves were church based (Lake Tyers was Church of England, Lake Condah and Framlingham were initially Anglican and Ramahyuck was Moravian), the Victorian Aborigines Protection Board, 'acting on public pressure and concern for the surviving Aborigines' (Caldere and Goff 1991: 13), established large staffed reserves in the same decade at Mt. Franklin, Lake Hindmarsh (Ebenezer), Mohican (later transferred to Acheron then finally

Table 23: Missions and government reserves in eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales (Sources: Andrews 1912, Tyers Letterbook 1851, Warner n.d., Barwick 1971, 1984, Caldere and Goff 1991, AO NSW R2847, McGuigan 1984, Felton 1992)

Year	Name	Reserve No.	Staffed	Size (acres)	Duration (years)	No. years after permanent pastoral runs	State	No. dwellings
1861	Wagonga Heads	-	No	180-250	-	31	NSW	-
1861	Lake Tyers	-	Yes	2000	139+	22	Vic	yes
1862	Tangambalanga	-	Yes	640	11	27	Vic	-
1863	Ramahyuck	-	Yes	2356	45	24	Vic	yes
1875	Moruya	246	No	24.75	11	45	NSW	-
1877	Blackfellow's Pt.	345	No	40	45	47	NSW	0
1877	Tuross	346	No	56	37	47	NSW	-
1877	Tarourga Lake	347	No	40	92	47	NSW	0
1878	Tuross River	378	No	40	-	48	NSW	-
1879	Mongarlowe 1	51	No	140	37	49	NSW	1
1880	Turlinjah	553	No	32	37	50	NSW	5
1883	Tathra	895	No	112	10	53	NSW	1
1883	Moruya Heads	-	No	344	2	53	NSW	-
1884	Tomakin	112	No	40	-	54	NSW	2
1885	Mongarlowe 2	148	No	8.75	8	55	NSW	-
1889	Brungle	9971	Yes	65	112+	54	NSW	yes
1889	Milton	8772	No	5	-	59	NSW	2
1890	Brungle	12489	Yes	3	111+	55	NSW	yes
1891	Lake Moodemere	-	No	21	46	56	Vic	-
1891	Wallaga Lake	13939	Yes	341*	109+	61	NSW	yes
1892	Ulladulla	15675	No	21	c.34	59	NSW	10
1892	Delegate	15784	Yes	10	65	61	NSW	three
1893	Tathra	17616	No	55	32	63	NSW	-
1893	Currawan	17546	No	60	63	63	NSW	several
1896	Cuppacumbalong	23076	No	270	3	65	NSW	-
1900	Brungle	30722	Yes	65	101+	65	NSW	yes
1909	Brungle	-	Yes	142	46	79	NSW	yes

*In 1963 an area of 21 acres at Akolele was revoked from the Wallaga Lake Aboriginal Reserve (AR 13939).

Coranderrk in 1863) and Yelta and eventually took over responsibility for both Framlingham and Lake Condah[18].

Victorian Missions

In eastern Victoria the two first and only staffed missions were established in 1861 and 1862, in Gippsland where there were no Government camping reserves, and therefore no formalised alternatives to mission life. However, the rugged terrain of north Gippsland and the many swamps and lakes of south Gippsland allowed Aborigines to continue to spend much of their time at traditional and informal camps throughout the region. Others frequented the properties of hospitable pastoralists such as the McLeods of Buchan and the Howitts of Bairnsdale. Figure 45 inlcudes the initial movement of people on to the Victorian Missions and Camping Reserves. Both Lake Tyers and Ramahyuck were situated on lakes in Gippsland where fresh water streams converged with the lakes offering the resources of both riparian and lacustrine environments and of adjacent marine and estuarine environments. Tangambalanga reserve was sited close to the Kiewa river in the gently undulating Kiewa valley and close to the confluence of the Mitta Mitta and Murray rivers where feasts of fresh water resources were to be harvested from both riparian and swamp environments. Bulmer identified the first groups that came to Lake Tyers as hailing from the Nicholson (Koonangyang/Tirthung), Mitchell (Wuk Wuk/Murmung), Tambo (Neurrun), Swan Reach (Bundah Wark), Lake Tyers (Wonangertoo) and Snowy River (Dooroc/Worreeke)[19] (Bulmer 1863). Archdeacon Stretch reported three 'tribes' camped at Lake Tyers in 1864 (Stretch 1864) which probably consisted of contingents from the Dooroc and Worreeke, who would have camped together, the Koonangyang or Tirthung and the Wuk Wuk or Murmung. By 1866 Bulmer only had a small semi-permanent group of ten young men and three children on the station with another contingent of over 20 of the Wonangertoo camped at Reeve's River (today's Cunninghame Arm). From this vantage point they

[18] The site for Coranderrk was selected by the Woi wurrung and Taungurong after the failure of Acheron and Mohican stations; Framlingham was chosen as a site to replace the failed Yelta mission by representatives of the Melbourne Anglican Mission Committee but was taken over in 1866 by the Central Board after a funding crisis; Lake Condah was established in 1869 and became a government mission in 1913. An attempt was made to remove Framlingham residents to Lake Condah in 1867, but traditional animosities caused 60 people to refuse this assimilation and the idea was dropped (Calder and Goff 1991: 13-16).

[19] The group names come from Robinson (1844a), Bulmer (1863) and Hagenauer (1863).

visited the station to do enough work to earn some tobacco (Bulmer 1866). The following year he reported that his ten young men moved away with the rest of the group after the death at the station of two young girls (Bulmer 1867) and in 1868 more Dooroc/Worreeke were expected (Bulmer 1868).

QuickTime™ and a
decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Lakes Entrance appears to have always been a favoured summer camp and when in the early 1860s Europeans began to share the resort, cricket matches were played between a Lake Tyers team and a non-Aboriginal team from Sale (Login 1973: 82). In 1870 Bulmer took a census of married men to determine the intermarriage relationships for the region for Howitt (Bulmer 1870), however it is not certain that all these men were present at Lake Tyers. There were 32 men named coming from the Snowy River (8), Bruthen (2), Pal Pal (6), Lakes Entrance (4), Monaro (5), Lake Tyers (2), Maap (1), Sale (1) and Bairnsdale (1); their wives came from Wolgal (2), Snowy River (5), Lakes Entrance (4), Gippsland plains (6), Mitchell (9), Mt. Buffalo (2), Lake Tyers (1), Maap (2), Monaro (1) and Pal Pal (1).

The next important migration to Lake Tyers took place in 1877 when Yibai malian (Murray Jack) brought 43 Wolgal, Monaro and Maap '*the last* remnants of the tribes of Aborigines from beyond the mountains' which included his three widowed daughters and their children (my italics). The adults of this group were described as being addicts of both alcohol and opium (Bulmer 1877). Hagenauer reported another visit by the Maap to Lake Tyers in June 1879 (Hagenauer n.d.).

The first groups to visit Ramahyuck were composites of two or three once autonomous groups of people who appear to have coalesced to achieve a viable economic unit. Hagenauer described the west Gippsland Aborigines in 1861 as conducting a lifestyle of 'continual wandering for the sake of corrobories [sic] ... petty quarrels and warfare were the order of the day'. In 1863 these groups consisted of the Bunjil kraura/Woollum Woollum and Bellum Bellum from Merriman's Creek, Lake Reeve and the Latrobe River, the Yowung of Port Albert, the Bunjil nellung/ Kutbuntaura and Wuk Wuk/Murmung of the Bushy Park and Mitchell River (Hagenauer 1863). Hagenauer names Nicholson, Tambo, Lake Tyers and Snowy River people in this census but Ramahyuck clients were primarily drawn from west of the Mitchell. Hagenauer was initially quite active in his endeavours to settle the wanderers in the vicinity and either made journeys into Aboriginal camps himself or sent trusted envoys on his behalf. In 1865 he was frustrated that many of the young men were employed on cattle and sheep stations and unavailable to assist at Ramahyuck (Hagenauer n.d.). Ramahyuck residents also went during the summer to the Gippsland lakes on fishing trips:

[January 1866] Number of children now reduced on account of the blacks having gone to the lakes and taken the children with them. Some of them fetched back several times but they

> run away over and over again. The little girls which had run ... have been taken by an old black woman to the Mitchell River (Hagenauer n.d).

In July 1866 he sent a trusted Aboriginal resident, James Matthews, to Port Albert to pursuade the last two old men to come to Ramahyuck but they were both ill and disinclined to make the journey. James and another resident, Charles Jacobs, then went to the Mitchell River in August to bring in the Wuk Wuk/Murmung but they were employed in bark stripping and had no desire to leave. Hagenauer felt that he could do better than his emissaries and in January 1867 travelled by steamer to the Mitchell and Lake Tyers where his object was 'to bring the gospel to them and induce them to come to the station and settle down'. In April 1871 both Hagenauer and Bulmer visited a group of Gippsland Lakes people who would settle on neither station, hoping to convince them of the advantages of mission life. His 1874 report claimed that the men did not spend much time away from the station and in 1875 that 'the desire to wander about is gradually dying out among them'.

Hagenauer saw one of his first tasks as being to replace traditional cultures with those of Christianity. His prohibitions brought rebellion and exodus. The practice of leaving a site after a death had taken place there also caused many a mass exodus in the early years of Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers. Hagenauer interfered with the implementation of Aboriginal law by bringing in constables from Stratford and Sale and persuading opposing parties to lay down arms.

In addition to problems that Hagenauer caused by his disallowance of most customary behaviours, there were also problems for marriageable men and women in finding appropriate partners in the first decade after the establishment of Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers (Hagenauer n.d.). The search for these partners took them to Coranderrk, north-east Victoria, the south coast and the Monaro and the marriages, in turn, brought the women to Gippsland mission stations where they bore children. Other extraordinary journeys were taken by orphans, who were seen to be particularly vulnerable to abuse. Robert 'Sam' Hamilton came to Ramahyuck from Rockhampton where he was found on his dead mother having survived a massacre in the early 1870s (Leason 1934: 17). Sam was then sent to

Ramahyuck by an unnamed woman[20] (Hagenauer n.d.). Several years later (1882) another young orphan was brought to the station from St. Kilda and was described as 'degraded and causing trouble' having been 'living with whites' (Hagenauer n.d.).

I have analysed the available genealogies for Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers[21]. The occurrence of birth, marriage and adult death at the missions has been interpreted as representative of a significant committment to, or vote of approval for, what the mission stations were offering to Aboriginal people. These statistics show that during the 1860s few families chose to have their children, to be married or to die on either Ramahyuck or Lake Tyers missions but by the 1870s both missions were well patronised. At Ramahyuck thirteen families had children, four marriages took place and adult deaths in six families occurred while at Lake Tyers five families had children and five marriages and adult deaths occurred in six families. By the 1880s the population had increased considerably at Lake Tyers with fifteen families having children, eight marriages, and adult deaths in seventeen families. Only the number of families in which adult deaths occurred increased during this decade at Ramahyuck. The mission era families from which the above statistics are drawn[22] were Arnott, Bolden Brindle, Bull, Cameron, Clark, Coleman, Connolly, Cooper, Darby, Ellis, Fitchett, Foster, Gilbert, Kramer, Lamby, Logan, Pepper, and Peters at Ramahyuck. At Lake Tyers for the same era the families were Blair, Brindle, Bull, Bumberrah, Chase, Cooper, Green, Hammond, Harrison, Hayes, Jennings, Johnson, McDougall, McLeod, Morris, Mutton, Newkong, O'Rourke, Patterson, Perry, Rivers, Thorpe, Thomas, Thompson and Wilson (Wesson genealogies).

Thus it took 20 years before the missionaries had tangible evidence, in Aborigines' choices to conduct the major events of their lives on missions, that a significant number of Aboriginal people had made a substantial committment to mission life. Perhaps during the first two decades of the mission era the

[20] Possibly the wife of one of the perpetrators.

[21] I have included in the analysis only those individuals who give birth, married or died as an adult (over twenty or married) , rather than a complete list of all those people known to have been included in census counts.

[22] I have included in the analysis only those individuals who give birth, married or died as an adult (over twenty or married) , rather than a complete list of all those people known to have been included in census counts.

gradual depletion of resources, such as bush foods and suitable camp sites, meant that the certainties provided by mission life became more attractive. Alternatively, two decades may have been the time required by Aboriginal people to adjust to and accept some aspects of mission life such as spending a long time in one place and living under the patronage of a European father figure.

Camping Reserves

> There were always blacks travelling through and they were welcome to stop with us as long as they liked. Stewart and Dora often had visitors. Many of them were old fellows, the kind of dignified blackfella you used to see all the time. ... At times there were as many as one hundred and fifty blacks on the Track (Tonkin 1999: 60)[23].

The first formal camping reserves were established in Victoria by Chief Protector Robinson and Assistant Protector Thomas between 1839 and 1859 (Calder and Goff 1991: 7-11) to provide Aborigines with some surety of a place to camp with a supply of fresh water, firewood and theoretical immunity from harassment by hostile landowners. Rations were distributed to reserve dwellers by the local Honorary Guardians of Aborigines. These reserves ranged in size from one acre at Duneed near Geelong to 2,000 acres at Gayfield on the lower Murray (Caldere and Goff 1991: 18) and were sited on traditional camps. The first formal camping reserves within the study region were established in New South Wales in 1850 at Currawong-Jimenbuen, Tathra and Eurobodalla and each had an area of one square mile (Goodall 1996: 55) but as these were ephemeral and poorly recorded phenomena they will be given little attention in this review. Formal camping reserves in New South Wales were different from those in Victoria in that they were gazetted for a single individual (and his/her family) for his/her lifetime. However, it was customary for Aboriginal people to live as groups of families and most of the formal reserves were used by more than one family at any time. One advantage of the camping reserve lifestyle over that of missions was that there was no resident manager and therefore

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[23] This quote refers to Jackson's Track at Labertouche in west Gippsland that was an informal camping reserve on private property between the 1940s and 1962.

fewer rules. Conversely the presence of a manager at missions probably ensured better or more regular access to rations and more substantial accommodation.

Informal camps (those which were not specifically set aside for the use of Aboriginal people but were sited on Crown or private land) continued in regular use until the 1960s when access to regular money, cars and buses radically changed the nature of journeys for Aboriginal people[24]. Informal camps, which for example were once sited at river crossings, were often places where bridges were built and gave some shelter for campers during inclement weather. Many of these camps were very important to Aboriginal people in the post-contact period, not just as links in the chain of the journey, but as home bases. For example the camps around Eden such as Cattle Bay and Aslings Beach were not formally gazetted but were home to the Aboriginal families employed in the whaling industry and in service to European settlers of Eden township. One of the disadvantages of informal camping areas was that there was a possibility of being forcibly removed by government officials or private land owners or leaseholders.

A large reserve of 250 acres was gazetted in 1861 at Wagonga Heads and may be the same reserve that was mapped as 180 acres (between present day Kianga and Dalmeny). The reserve appears never to have been cleared or cultivated although boats were provided to people living at Wagonga Heads in 1876 and 1881 and some rations were still being provided in 1894 (BPA NSW 1885, 1889, 1892, 1895). Mr Hunt the first pastoralist at Wagonga distributed 50 blankets in 1835 and Thomson at Buckenbowra distibuted 20 in the same year although his 1834 census was 23 adults (Thomson 1834). Therefore it can be assumed that at least 50 Aboriginal people were using the Wagonga area regularly in 1835. In 1842 Oldrey gave blankets to a group of four families (15 men, women and children) who ranged over Wagonga, Kiora and Gundary to the Moruya River (Oldrey 1842). The first families recorded as having children at Wagonga[25] were John and Janey Carter and Robert and Elizabeth Andy in the late

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[24] By the late 1960s there were enough families living in towns througout Gippsland and the far south coast to allow the links in the chain of a journey to consist of house stops rather than bush camps.
[25] It was not until 1885 that Narooma, originally Noorooma, took precendence as the premier town in the area.

1870s and early 1880s. These were probably the families that used the boats provided by the Government in 1876 and 1881 from which they caught fish for their families which were sold locally to supplement the income provided by other employment. Later in the 1880s other Aboriginal families spent time in the area including Richard and Catherine Piety, James and Rosa Chapman, David and Mary Wilson and John and Jane Duren. John Duren worked as the puntman taking people across Wagonga Inlet for several years (Wesson genealogies). In the 1890s additional families moved into the area including Margaret and Martin Connell, Catherine and Dennis Murphy, William and Amy Chapman and James and Emily Carter. It is not known where the families were living but as there were many mixed marriages among them it is possible that they moved during this period from the temporary housing at the Reserve to permanent housing at Wagonga settlement and Narooma. Members of these later families were later born in the Moruya area, showing that they occupied a similar geographical region to a group met by Oldrey in 1842 (Wesson 2000: 132).

In 1862 a reserve was gazetted at Tangamballanga adjacent to the Kiewa River station of the renowned Thomas Mitchell. Mitchell provided annual reports on the people who annually collected blankets at the Reserve. The first census made by Lane described 41 people at Tangamballanga who were the survivors of three or four 'tribes' each numbering 200-300[26] and ranging an area of 2,000 square miles (Lane 1862). Green noted 45 people in both the 1863 and 1864 censuses but by 1869 there were only six people at the Reserve and 20 who were away on the Mitta Mitta River (BPA 1869). Some people came yearly for their blankets, clothing and tomahawks but did not otherwise make use of the Reserve. For example, in 1873 Green observed a family living 'fifty miles above Mr Mitchell's'[27] possibly at Bright (see Wesson 2000: 71 (BPA 1873). Others came monthly for the rations of flour, sugar, tea, tobacco and soap and the married couples made the Reserve their home base from which they supplied Beechworth and other neighbouring towns with fish (Mitchell 1866). In the same year Mitchell noted the scarcity of traditional food sources as a result of the exploitation by both free selectors and miners in the region and that Aborigines were only kept from starvation by the provision of regular rations

[26] The three or four 'tribes' mentioned would have been the Palleranmitter (Kiewa River), the Tarrer mitter, the Jinne mittong and the Gilla matong.
[27] This family which includes three children was possibly based in the Cudgewa-Corryong region.

(BPA 1869). The single men and women were more mobile and made a living harvesting bark, making possum skin cloaks to sell as well as selling fish and working on pastoral properties (BPA 1868). In 1869 Mitchell recommended the removal of children of mixed descent to the school at Coranderrk (BPA 1869) however six children remained at Tangamballanga in 1872 (BPA 1872).

The records of Aborigines charged in the north-east with criminal offences provide vital information of their existence and presence at a time (1863-1873) when little other information for the north-east region has survived. These people were: Benalla Jemmy and Tommy (Smith) at Beechworth; Biddy, Dick, Fanny, Frank, Georgy, (Benalla) Jemmy, Kitty Kilwalla, John Lowder, Tommy Millar, Neddy (Wheeler), Peter, Fanny Reid, Sally, Fanny Smith, Tommy (Smith) and Charlotte all at Wangaratta; Edward Wheeler at Oxley; Ned Wheeler at Yackandandah; and Tommy Reilly at Bright (BPA 1863-1873). Tangamballanga reserve closed in 1873 and the last residents are known to have moved to the townships of Corowa, Kiewa, Gundowning, Yarrawonga, Mulwala, Wahgunyah, Wangaratta and Melbourne, pastoral stations at Kiewa, Tarrawingee and Gundowning, informal camping reserves at Lake Moodemere and the Ovens River, an to formal staffed missions at Ramahyuck, Maloga and Coranderrk (Wesson genealogies, BPA Reports 1884-94, Coranderrk Burial List, Wangaratta/Wahgunyah Correspondence Files 1879-1905, Smith 1990). For example, Paddy Swift was a Pallengoillum (Ovens River) man who married Violet, the daughter of Bundoway (alias Tommy Bond or Barnes) and Jenny, circa 1882. Violet and her sister, Victoria were probably born at Tangamballanga in 1861 and 1867 respectively. Tommy and his wife and daughters probably moved to Lake Moodemere with the closure of Tangambalanga as they were recorded for the Wangaratta-Wahgunyah district in 1879 and 1880 and then Tommy alone 1885 (AA B313). Paddy and Violet soon moved to Maloga mission and had a son Charlie in 1882 but they then moved apart. Violet was soon living with George Allen, a Kuber mtter Wiradjuri with whom she had five children. The place of birth of the children gives an indication of the movements of Violet and George during this time; in 1882 on the Edwards River, 1883 the Billabong River, 1887 Maloga mission, 1891 and 1898 Cummeragunya mission. Between 1882 and 1888 Paddy and a wife named Sally travelled with Daniel and Janet Matthews (Maloga missionaries) to England (Parbury 1986: 77). Circa 1885 he is recorded

without a wife in a group 'belonging to Waygunyah and Wangaratta' by Guardian Alexander Tone (AA B313). Paddy later married a Jenny or Janet Locke from the Illawarra who had previously been married (in Blacktown, Sydney in 1877) to one of Illawarra emigrant King Mickey Johnston's sons. Paddy probably met Janet in Sydney. There are no children recorded for their marriage. His fourth wife was Emily Manager whom he married in 1896 in Sydney (Wesson genealogies). The journeys of Paddy and his families have been mapped in Figure 46.

The first time Aborigines in the Moruya area are recorded as employing European land use practices on their own land was in 1840. An unknown Aboriginal man and his wife cultivated land on 'the right bank'[28] of the Moruya River for several years where they erected a hut and grew potatoes and other vegetables (Lambie 1844, 1845, 1846). The Moruya camping reserve, also on the southern bank of the river, of twenty four and three quarter acres was notified in 1875 for William 'Bill' Campbell and his family[29] where they were noted by the Board in 1882 to be 'remarkably well off' and to 'earn the same wages as Europeans' (APB 1883). In 1880 Bill was working on the construction of the Montague Island lighthouse and was living near the Bermagui wharf (Pearl 1978: 118). By 1883 the Board commented that the Moruya reserve was 'not used by Aborigines. They do not seem to require it' (AO NSW R2847) and later in 1885 noted that it was neither cleared, cultivated nor occupied (APB 1885). In 1883 Howitt

[28] He probably refers to the south bank as the river was the northern limit of his area of jurisdiction.
[29] William, a Tilba man, and his wife Margaret (nee Nixon) Campbell had six children between 1873 and 1883 (Wesson genealogies).

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are needed to see this picture.

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Plate 2 : Daniel and Janet Matthews with Paddy and Sally Swift

(Parbury 1986: 77).

noted seven men, five women and five children for Moruya (Howitt n.d.). The Aboriginal families in the Moruya and Broulee regions at this time were the Bolloways, Campbells, Chapmans, Marshalls and Pietys (Wesson genealogies).

Other smaller camping reserves in the Moruya area were gazetted over three years between 1877 and 1880 for specific individuals; Merriman at Tarourga Lake (R347), William Benson at Turlinjah (R553), Neddy Walker near Borang Lake (R378), Richard Bolloway at Tuross Inlet (R346) and Yarroro at Blackfellow's Point (R345). There may have been another reserve at Brou Lake for which there is no notification in the official records apart from an 1890 reference stating that it was occupied by two Aborigines who were cutting the scrub for future cultivation[30]. Neddy and Merriman came from south of their reserves at Wandella and Gulaga respectively (Robinson 1844a). Merriman spent his final years at Wallaga Lake mission after working as a farm hand at Bega and Tilba Tilba and residing at Turlinjah. He spoke three languages as a boy because he lived with three different language speaking groups during his youth (Baessler 1895: 17). The Board noted that by 1883 the reserve had not been inhabited for three years (AO R2847), although is difficult to imagine how this was ascertained. Richard Bolloway has been attributed two birthplaces, Brou Lake and Mullenderee. He married a Batemans Bay woman and had six children between 1873 and 1885, most of them registered at Turlinjah, which became William Benson's reserve[31]. Yarroro has not been traced from the existing records. The William Benson reserve was, for 37 years, a formally acknowledged camping reserve and was abandoned and presumably revoked when William Benson died in 1917. Turlinjah was very important for the Thoorga speaking families living between Wallaga Lake and the Moruya River, situated in the group's heartland with some shelter from winter winds (not afforded by many of the coastal reserves), high enough to be out of the reach of floods, having ten of the thirty two acres suitable for cultivation and good access to oyster beds. Five slab huts were built (Warner n.d.) and

[30] This may be a reference to Merriman's reserve at Lake Tarourga, or result from some confusion about the siting of the reserve.

[31] The records show that Richard and Louisa had already had three children at Turlinjah before their own reserve was gazetted in 1877, however Turlinjah may have been the closest acknowledged registration point to Tuross Inlet.

roofed with galvanised iron circa 1889 (APB 1891-2). The families noted to have spent time at Turlinjah, apart from William Benson and his children, were Bolloway (1870s, 1880s, 1900s), Andy (1890s), Carter (1890s), Campbell (1880s, 1890s), Chapman (1890s,1900s), Cross (1900s), Jabberah (1880s), Thomas (1880s,1890s), Johnson (1890s), Mumbler (1890s), Walker (1890s) and Stewart (1890s, 1900s). In 1890 there were 24 people recorded living on the reserve[32]. By 1891 the Board noted that Turlinjah was the only reserve in the Moruya district that was resided on by Aborigines (APB 1892-3). After William Benson's death, the land was sold by auction, the huts were demolished and burnt, and the land ploughed and cropped (Warner n.d.).

There were two reserves at Mongarlowe near Braidwood; the first gazetted in 1879 for Mary Ann Willoughby and the second in 1885 for Margaret Bryant. Mary Ann Mills of Goulburn, daughter of Mary Ann (Aboriginal) and John Mills married John Willoughby at Braidwood in 1854. John left her a widow in 1888 by which time she had had six children born between 1856 and 1873 (Wesson genealogies). By 1891 only Mary Ann and one son were living on the reserve where they grew maize and potatoes and were not dependant in rations from the Board (APB 1891-2). The second reserve was gazetted for Margaret Bryant and was adjacent to her European husband's portion of 42 acres. By 1893 it was revoked as there was said to be 'no Aborigines in the District' (APB 1893), although the census records show three Aboriginal people at Mongarlowe until 1902, when only one elderly woman (possibly Mary Ann Willoughby) remained for the next seven years (APB 1891-1911). Margaret and William Bryant had four children, one born soon after gazettal of the reserve. It appears that Margaret was able to make good economic use of the government policy of gazettal of Aboriginal reserves for the use of an individual and her family, to extend the size of her husband's existing property.

Blackfellow's Lagoon (also known as Black Ada's or Cohen's Lake) on the Bega River between Tathra and Bega was, as the name suggests, a traditional camp site. Bayley (n.d.) quoted Thomas Healey's observation that the area was commonly used by up to fifty people, some of whom worked for wages

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[32] These 24 would have consisted of William Benson and his three charges (Esther Carter, Emily Jabberah and Minnie Jaberrah), Robert Andy and his wife and two children, William Campbell and his wife and two children, Donald Johnson and his wife and six children and either Governor Stewart and family or James Walker and family (Wesson genealogies).

and others who sold honey and fish (Bayley in Cameron 1987: 78). In 1883 the Bega police constable recommended that each Aboriginal family be given 40 acres on the Bega River (APB 1884). The reserve of 100 acres was gazetted for George Cohen and his family in the same year but continued to be used by other families. Cohen made a living by fishing and leasing a part of the reserve to a European named Lavington for £9 per year. Cohen was paid the money every three months and used it to purchase rations and clothing (APB 1885). Although Cohen died in 1885 the reserve was still in use in 1891 (APB 1891-92). At the height of its use in 1885 up to 27 people were camped there at any one time including the Cohen family who were permanent residents and had erected a hut, depastured horses and had six acres fenced for cultivation where they grew oats (APB 1885). Cohen was first recorded in an 1859 blanket census for Bega (Eden Bench of Magistrates 1859) and then in Howitt's 1883 census when he had a wife and two daughters and received three blankets annually (Howitt n.d.)[33]. In 1893 a second Tathra reserve (R17616) replaced the revoked 112 acres (R895) with a 55 acre reserve that partly overlapped the original reserve and was extant until 1925 (Cane 1992: 36). The second reserve was possibly created for Jack Hoskins and his wife and two children who were noted in 1891 to be using the place occasionally (AO NSW R2847), probably seasonally.

The camping reserve at Tomakin was inhabited by Tommy Bollard[34] and his wife Rosie and Tommy Tinboy of Currowan and his wife Charlotte of Moruya (Wesson genealogies, AO NSW R2847). By 1888 only Tommy Bollard and Rosie were in residence until at least 1890 where they were self-sufficient; fishing and growing vegetables and maize and living in a two-roomed weatherboard dwelling with a shingled roof and separate kitchen (APB 1889, 1891).

The five acre reserve at Milton (R8772) was gazetted for Tom Cooley in 1889 where he lived for at least a year. In 1889 he had already been living on the land for some time and had fenced off an area for cultivation where he grew potatoes, pumpkins and corn and had erected two bark dwellings (AO

[33] Other families in the Bega area in 1883 were (Bega) Charley, Tallboy, Byalba, Jack Hoskins, Peter Blucher and Zachariah Wood (Howitt n.d.).

[34] He may be the same man as Tommy Constable or Holland of Twofold Bay (Eden Bench of Magistrates 1859).

NSW R2847). The larger Ulladulla reserve of 21 acres became a significant and enduring community entity and performed a role similar to that provided by Turlinjah for the southern Thoorga groups. Although it was only gazetted in 1892, government assistance had provided some significant capital assets such as fishing boats to the Ulladulla community in 1876, 1883 and 1887 (APB 1889) to promote Aborigines' self-sufficiency. The Board reported in 1891 that:

> The aborigines at Ulladulla- i.e. the strong and able bodied-have the means at their disposal to earn a first-class livelihood, having two well-found boats in close proximity to one of the finest fishing grounds in the Colony; but they will not avail themselves of this to the fullest extent, and this is partly due to their indolent habits, but chiefly to local residents, who nurse them with the idea that the Government ought, without exception, supply them all with rations. The present employment of these Aborigines is as follows:- Some earn a livelihood fishing, others work for local farmers, and a few at a saw-mill. Some are occasionally employed stripping wattle bark, whilst others find employment loading and unloading steamers. A few single adult females earn a living as domestic servants. 14 old and infirm aborigines and 13 children are supported by the Board. ... The camps are frequently visited by the police and reasonable complaint is inquired into and reported to the Board (APB 1892).

The reserve was known to Ulladulla residents as Darkie's Hill and was inhabited not only by Aboriginal people but also by African Americans[35] (Howard 1985: 27). Forty three Aboriginal people were noted to be in residence at the time of gazettal in 1892 and 41 were counted in the 1891 census including the Bowner, Davis, Flynn, Friday, Johnson, Kerry, McLean, Morris, Parsons and Williams families (New South Wales Census 1891). Other families connected with Ulladulla in the 1880s and 1890s were Bonnier, Brown, Butler, Campbell, Chapman, Cooley, Evans, Licey, Nyberg, Nye and Pittman (Wesson genealogies, Dunn genealogies). The reasons behind the clustering of darker skinned peoples into one living area are complex. The black man or woman is not only *other* but *black* . Blackness has been equated with the shadow, hidden or unwanted side or both society (broad scale) and self (small scale). The pathologisation of dark skinned people differs from the pathologisation of

[35] These included Charlie Domingo from central America (Howard 1985: 27), Francis Licey and Francis Butler from north America (who, at different times, both married Jane Brown of Braidwood) (Wesson genealogies).

for example, nomads and jews, only in the mythological archetypes from western caucasian societies that are drawn upon (Fanon 1968: 158-61). Aboriginal people were less likely to marginalise the outcasts of European society because their rejection was a point of commonality. Current research into 'whiteness' in western societies (for example Ignatiev 1996, Ignatiev and Garvey 1996) has suggested that it will not be until we have understood the concept of "race" as a social construct that discrimination on the basis of skin tone will cease (Jopson 2000).

The closure of Tangambalanga in 1873 left the Kiewa River people of north-eastern Victoria with no camp site sanctioned by European law. Many were likely to have used traditional sites wherever possible. It was not until 1891 (18 years later) that a second reserve was gazetted at Lake Moodemere, a traditional gathering site. Two hundred people were estimated to be camped there in 1851 (Andrews 1912: 15) and on another occasion there were between 500 and 600 people gathered (Andrews 1920: 35). In 1879 and 1880 the Victorian BPA counted between fourteen and sixteen men, women and children in the Wangaratta-Wahgunyah area who were probably based at Lake Moodemere and the outskirts of Wangaratta. These families were Barlow, Bond, Brangy, Reid and Smythe (BPA 1879-80). By the 1890s the families were Barber, Barlow, Brangy, Friday, McCrae, Swift, Wellington, Westal and Wheeler (BPA 1896).

Delegate reserve on the Monaro plateau was another camp site that had a long tradition and also became a place of historical significance for Aboriginal people. Delegate was one of the camps on a major route into Gippsland and journeys between Gippsland and the Monaro for work maintained the use of this traditional route. The Delegate region drew Aborigines from other parts of the Monaro during the gold rushes of the 1860s where they became accustomed to many aspects of Austro-European settlement life, working as casual labourers and domestic servants[36]. However they continued to move about the Monaro, east Gippsland and the south coast as they had before the invasion and used the colonial border crossing to avoid interference and monitoring by Protectorate

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[36] In 1883 Howitt made a census of 11 men, 6 women and 11 children for the Monaro (Howitt n.d.).

authorities from either state. Families at Delegate, that the Board had designated to be Victorian, were denied rations in 1895 (APB 1896).

In 1883 Aboriginal men based at Delegate were employed in hunting, droving and mustering cattle (APB 1884). The formal gazettal of Delegate reserve in 1892 promoted the provision of materials for at least three slab huts for thirteen adults and three children (APB 1892-3) and fences in 1893 (APB 1894). Monaro families known to have been associated with Delegate were Brindle, Hayes, Hoskins, McLeod, Moffatt, Mundy, Rutherfords, Solomon, Tongai and Whittaker. The families living at Delegate in 1906 were Arnott, Lawson, Mundy, McLeod, Rutherford and Tongai (Mathews n.d.).

Thomas Golden (Tom) Brown and his family were living at Currowan in 1880 where he worked for James McCauley on the Clyde River getting timber and stripping bark (Pearl 1878: 77-8) and where his children attended the local school (APB 1891-2). A reserve of 60 acres at Currowan was gazetted in 1893, had an attached (albeit informal) Aboriginal cemetery and a number of permanent dwellings. A year after its formal gazettal the Board noted that:

> a fair quantity of timber has been felled to fence in the land, and three acres have been enclosed for the cultivation of maize. The tools and farming implements supplied by the Board have proved very acceptable, and are being made good use of. The Aborigines are cultivating wattle and substantial dwellings, and it is probable they will soon be independent of Government aid (APB 1894).

Oldrey's 1842 and 1843 censuses describe two groups who utilised the Currowan region on the Clyde River; one of which was also connected to Brooman and included Tommy Tinboy (later at Tomakin reserve) and Koondee Karlee alias Tommy (aged four in 1842) who is probably Thomas Golden Brown, son of Wandera and Kalloar (Oldrey 1842, 1843). The Brown family (also known as Golden Brown) continued to be associated with the Clyde River well into the twentieth century. Other families having an association with the area were the Dixons, Donovans and Pittmans (Wesson genealogies).

Two hundred and seventy acres in the Naas valley at Cuppacumbalong station in the Queanbeyan district was gazetted for the use of the northern Monaro peoples 'to enable them to carry on cultivation and make homes for themselves' (APB 1895, 1896). At this time at the reserve, there were six adults and nine children who were supplied with rations and clothing. In 1897 they also received farming implements and seed (APB 1897). The Aborigines Protection Board census for 1896 shows five women, three men and thirteen children (APB census 1896), but by 1897 the number was reduced to only one woman and four children (APB 1897 census). But in response to claims that it was not in use, the reserve was revoked after only three and a half years (Register of Aboriginal Reserves).

It can be seen from the intricate genealogical reconstructions, along with the relevant government reports, that the role of formal camping reserves was subject to a number of variables. The reasons for gazettal of reserves in Victoria were different from New South Wales and their role in Aboriginal protection was shorter lived. In Gippsland, by the 1890s missions and informal camps were the usual places of abode, whereas on the far south coast there was only one mission and both formal and informal camps were important. On the Monaro there were no staffed mission stations. The camping reserve at Delegate and to a lesser extent a series of informal camps, were intermittently used (including those at Quidong (McFarland 1872), Moonbah (Brierly 1842, McGufficke 1998), Hickey's Crossing (Lambie 1848), Currowong (McMillan 1839), Little Paupong (Wellsmore 1998), Cooma Airport, Cobbin Creek, Kalkite (Jardine 1901, Payten 1949, Kamminga 1992: 107, Anon 1998, Wellsmore 1998), Crackenback (Payten 1949) and Blackfellow's Hill (Stone 1998)). Semi-permanent camps on pastoral properties such as Little River and Gegedzerick on the Monaro were also a feature of life for Monaro Aborigines in the late nineteenth century (Wesson genealogies, Young 2000: 190)[37]. In the north-east the upper Murray peoples had two consecutive gazetted camping reserves which were important as ration depots but the informal camps on Crown land and pastoral properties were

[37] Information about Monaro Aborigines on pastoral properties is only emerging through genealogies as descendants enquire about their ancestors. For example, an Aboriginal woman is known to have lived and died at Little Plain station near Delegate where she married a station worker and bore three children.

probably preferred. The assistance and facilities offered to the people of the upper Murray[38] and Monaro was inadequate for their needs and was a significant factor in their almost total abandonment of these areas by the early twentieth century. The available information about the use of formal and informal camps has been limited by the fact that missions were always under threat from settlers who felt that good arable land should not be 'ceded' to Aborigines. Therefore mission managers were in a position of having continuously to defend the viability of missions, promoting an impression of their successful attendance and the gradual decline of semi-nomadism (for example, Hagenauer notebooks n.d.).

New South Wales Missions

The long period of time over which New South Wales authorities organised and established the Aborigines Protection Board has a positive side for historians and the history of Aboriginal movement. By the time a significant number of missions and reserves were established in the study region, all mission families had European surnames and are therefore easier to trace to late twentieth families (and the European families that they worked for). Connections between families recorded in early censuses taken in the 1830s and 1840s and those of the missions have to be made from oral histories and police records. The first staffed mission in the study area in New South Wales was Brungle in 1889 (with additional lands being added in 1890 (3 acres), 1900 (65 acres) and 1909 (142 acres)), followed by Wallaga Lake in 1891. Although Brungle was situated on a boundary between the Tumut Wiradjuri and the Tumut Wolgal, Wolgal descendants had largely moved out of the area by 1889 and were either living in north-east Victoria, on the Monaro or in Gippsland. Howitt's Wolgal informants were Yibai Malian, his daughter Janey and Mrangula the bard. Janey already had three children when she came to Lake Tyers in 1876 (Hagenauer (n.d.). One of them was probably Harry Whittacker whose descendants now live throughout southern New South Wales (Wesson genealogies). The fate of her children to Charley Alexander after she was killed at Bombala in 1891 is not known, but they may have been sent to Warangesda (APB 1892). Another of Yibai Malian's three daughters was possibly Yenonah alias Elizabeth Dixon, photograped by Kerry at Brungle. Elizabeth was married four times to

[38] Brungle mission at Tumut was eventually a semi-permanent home to a number of Ngunawal and Wiradjuri families but was not favoured by upper Murray families.

Ngunawal men from Yass and Boorowa. Her descendants live in southern New South Wales (Wesson genealogies). Neddy Wheeler and Mary Jane[39], of north east Victoria were descended of a Wolgal woman 'Queen' Mary (or Maryann) from Welaregang (Mathews n.d.). As she had married a Barwidgee man, the family stayed in Victoria. Mary Jane's daughter married a Loddon man and moved to Framlingham and their descendants now live throughout Victoria (Wesson genealogies).

The history of Wiradjuri missions has been extensively researched by historian Peter Read (Read 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1994). Brungle was established in response to complaints about Aboriginal fringe dwellers from the European residents of Tumut and Gundagai (Read 1994: 36). Read has pointed out that only one tenth of the population at the reserve consisted of local Aboriginal families in 1899 (Read 1994: 37). Others had come from Cootamundra, Gunnedah and further afield (Wesson genealogies). Many people chose to camp at the mission boundary where all the benefits of rations and company could be achieved without the disadvantages of lost autonomy (Read 1994: 38). The 1891 census lists Brungle families as Broughton, Clements, Collins, Freeman, Green, Morey, Morley, Nelson, Phillips, Pierce, Poddam, Taft, Walker and Walter (AO NSW). Read made an important observation about the movement of people at Brungle:

> The daybooks and diaries of the officials show that the populations were in constant motion between the managed stations, Warangesda and Brungle, the new unmanaged reserves such as Cowra and Yass, and the unofficial fringe-camps outside the towns. People from Brungle journeyed to Warangesda for a few months, or to Hay, Gundagai, Cowra, Wee Jasper, anywhere, in fact, where they had relatives. ... the managed reserves were becoming the focal points of new, but fundamentally traditional movement patterns. ... Only about half the population of Warangesda and Brungle, and the other managed [Wiradjuri] reserves could be considered even semi-permanent. Numbers were certainly increasing each time the census was taken: *but the people were different*. The stations were becoming convenient stopping places, at the expense of the Board and the Aborigines Protection Association, for the people wishing to visit their relatives and generally move about their country (Read 1994: 42-3).

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[39] Possibly Mary Jane Milawa.

In 1891, 341 acres adjoining Wallaga Lake also became a staffed reserve. The area has always been extremely important to far south coast Aboriginal communities for its spiritual heritage. The richness of its natural resources allowed regular use by a comparatively large and densely settled Aboriginal population. There is no evidence of massacres of Aborigines by Europeans in this area; conversely European settler families are proud of their tradition of harmonious and mutually beneficial working relationships with local Aborigines (Hoyer 1996).

The Aboriginal school at Wallaga Lake preceded the mission gazettal by four years. The first school inspector observed that while some Aboriginal families camped at Wallaga Lake[40], many others lived in huts and gunyahs on farms in the district where some of the adults worked (Cameron 1987: 87). The inspector promised both food and clothing to children who attended and reported that 'the blacks camped on the reserve say that all the aboriginal children about will be brought to that place to go to school and to get the good things promised' (Cameron 1987: 61). Cameron considers that the influx of people to the Wallaga Lake region can be partly attributed to the 'attraction of schooling and the school rations' (Cameron 1987: 62). A fairly typical ration consisted of flour, sugar, tea, soap, tobacco each month and blankets, tomahawks and clothing annually (Mitchell 1866). In 1890 there were rations issued by the Aborigines Protection Board at Wallaga Lake to some 31 adults and 37 children (Cameron 1987: 20). In the 1891 census the families present at Wallaga Lake mission were recorded as Brierly, Camden, Chapman, Green, Johnson, McLeod, Mumbla (Mumbler), Pickalla, Thompson, Walker, Walkerden and Whyno (New South Wales Census 1891). Of these eleven families only two were local, the others originating at Eden (1), Gippsland (1), Gundary-Bodalla (2), Broulee (1) and Monaro (2) (Wesson genealogies). Ten years later the 1901 census named the Andy, Ashby, Roberts (or Bobbo), Carter, Chapman, Davis, Haddigaddy, Noble, Penrith, Piety, Stewart and Walker families (Commonwealth Census 1901). Of these twelve families two were local, the others came from Eden (3), Ulladulla (1), Gundary-Bodalla (3), Jervis Bay (1) and Cootamundra-Yass (1) (Wesson genealogies) and only two of the families were the same as those named in the 1891 census. These statistics support Read's observation that staffed reserves were initially used as stopovers of variable duration for

[40] In 1883 Howitt recorded a blanket census for Wallaga of nine men, six women and five children (Howitt n.d.).

journeys which perpetuated pre-contact traditions. The advantage of staffed reserves over camping reserves was that rations were more reliably distributed and facilities were superior. However, the personalities of the manager and other staff had the potential to impact on many aspects of the quality of life of mission dwellers including the freedom to express oneself in culturally appropriate ways.

The nineteenth century Turlinjah school records give some indication of the duration of the stays of Aboriginal families living and travelling through the far south coast region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The statistics derived from these records presented in Table 24 show that overall a large proportion (57%) of children spent less than a year in the same school at any one time.

Table 24
Duration of school stays at Turlinjah Public School between 1883 and 1910 (source: AO NSW 1/9890)

Duration of stay	**Number**	**Percentage**	**Cumulative Percentage**
less than one month+	19	42	42
1-3 months	2	4	46
4-6 months	2	4	50
7-9 months*	3	7	57
10-11 months	0	0	57
1-3 years	12	27	84
4-6 years	4	9	93
7-9 years	3	7	100
10-11 years	0	0	-

+includes entries where the length of stay was not stated
*includes category 'part year'

The table shows that 27% of the children received between one and three years of schooling in the same place. However, the children's movements were not always identical with those of their parents. It was customary for Aboriginal parents to leave their children with an appropriate guardian while they made journeys for employment, fishing or visiting. While it is true that mission life resulted in reduced movement (or increased settlement) by certain families, the school records for the mid twentieth century show that semi-nomadism was still a way of life for many long after the end of the study period in this dissertation. This data is analysed for Wallaga Lake during the first half of the twentieth century in tables 25 and 26.

Table 25
Durations of school stays at Wallaga Lake Aboriginal School between 1926 and 1949 (source: AO NSW 1/5763)

Duration of stay	**Number**	**Percentage**	**Cumulative Percentage**
less than 1 month*	27	17	17
1-3 months	14	9	26
4-6 months	6	4	30
7-9 months	5	3	33
10-11 months	2	1	34
1-3 years	52	33	67
4-6 years	21	13	80
7-9 years	26	17	97
10-11 years	4	3	100

*includes entries where the length of stay was not stated

Table 26
Previous places of residence and destination or occupation of students at Wallaga Lake Aboriginal School between 1926 and 1949 (source: AO NSW 1/5763)

Previous residence	**Number**	**Destination**	**Number**
(new student)	1	(left district)	6
Batemans Bay	4	Batemans Bay	9
Bega	6	Bega	12
Cobargo	1	Berry	1
Jervis Bay	4	Bodalla	2
Lake Tyers	2	Bombala	2
Moruya	4	Central Tilba	6
Nowra	11	Cobargo	6
Orbost	16	Cumeroogunga	3
Tanja	4	(Domestic duties)	16
Tomerong	1	Falls Creek	3
Victoria	2	(Farm labourer)	7
		Jervis Bay	4
		Lake Tyers	1
		Moruya	3
		Moss Vale	3
		Narooma	4
		Nowra	20
		Orbost	11
		Tanja	5
		Turlinjah	1
		Ulladulla	1
		Unemployed	1
		Victoria	3

This data shows that by the mid twentieth century, children at Wallaga Lake were much more likely to receive between one and three years of continuous education at one school than fifty years previously at Turlinjah reserve. However, there were still a significant number of stays (34%) amounting to less

than one year at Wallaga Lake School. Students were travelling with their families between Victoria and Nowra; as far south and west as Orbost and Lake Tyers mission and as far north as Roseby Park reserve.

When the staffed reserve was established in 1891, certain Wallaga Lake and Twofold Bay families developed a particular seasonal round which involved spending the whaling season between June-July and October-November at Twofold Bay and the off season at Wallaga Lake (Wesson genealogies and see Fig 44). There was a sub-group within the Wallaga Lake Aboriginal community consisting of whalers and their wives and children whereby the children of whalers tended to marry one another (Wesson 1999: 24). By the 1900s there were 23 families[41] who had an occasional association with Wallaga Lake (Wesson genealogies). Ten of these families were associated with whaling and six were local Guyangal (see figure 32).

The New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board census data has been summarised in Table 27[42]. It shows the most substantial populations clustered about the staffed reserves at Wallaga Lake and Brungle and large groups at Milton-Ulladulla (including reserves 8772, 15675 and 17546) and Moruya (including Eurobodalla, Turlinjah and reserves 345, 346, 347 and 378). A massive migration of Aboriginal people to the Wallaga Lake area is suggested as the population increases by 89% between

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[41] These families were Adgery, Andy, Piety, Ashby, Bunjil, Carpenter, Mumbler, Carter, Chapman, Connell, Ellis, Little, Noble, Parsons, Penrith, Thomas, Stewart , Walker and Woods (Wesson genealogies).

[42] The APB (NSW) statistics are divided by age 20-39, 40-59, 60+, children, sex (except of children), and descent (whether full-blood or of mixed descent). An analysis of the figures from 1889 to 1913 revealed certain trends for the study area: for the north-east (including Albury, Brungle/Tumut, Corowa, Batlow, Tumberumba, Walbundrie, Tooma and Wee Jasper) there were unaccountably few women in the 60+ age group, the number of full-blood children decreased steadily over time whereas the number of mixed descent children was consistent over the same period; for the Monaro (including Animbo, Araluen, Braidwood, Cooma, Dalgety, Michelago, Nimitybelle, Queanbeyan, dlegate, Mongarlowe, Captain's Flat, Emu Flat and Gininderra) a steady increase over time in the number of young men of mixed descent, by 1908 all the 60+ men and women were of mixed descent, an increase in the number of mixed descent older women over time, a decrease in the number of full-blood children over time and a big drop in overall numbers (37%) between 1896 and 1897 suggesting an exodus from the region or an epidemic; for the south coast (including Batemans Bay, Bega, Cobargo, Eden, Eurobodalla, Milton, Moruya, Nelligen and Ulladulla, Wallaga Lake) the number of full-blood men and women (20-59) decreased over time, the number of young men of mixed descent increased and there were, by contrast with the north-east and Monaro regions, substantial numbers of older men and women (60+), of both mixed descent and full-blood, over the time period.

1890 and 1891. The Wallaga Lake population is shown to fluctuate yearly but between 1891 and 1904 is never less than 86 nor more than 177. The total population for the New South Wales section of the study region has been calculated to determine whether there was significant immigration to the area from the north, west and south during the establishment of staffed reserves or whether people just relocated from adjacent areas. Depending on a stable rate of natural increase, the population will remain stable where net immigration is equal to net emigration. The highest total populations correspond to years when Wallaga Lake numbers are also high, suggesting that immigration into the far south coast region which occurred with the advent of the mission exceeded net emigration at this time and that the immigration was exceptional (not simply a result of good seasons or increased employment opportunities). The genealogies show that these immigrants came from Jervis Bay, the lower Shoalhaven, Yass, Cootamundra, Gundagai and Gippsland although the great majority came from within the New South Wales study region.

Table 27
Aboriginal populations in far south-eastern NSW from the Aborigines Protection Board 1889-1910 (source: APB 1890-1911)

Region	**1889**	**1890**	**1891**	**1892**	**1893**	**1894**	**1895**	**1896**	**1897**	**1898**	**1899**	**1900**	**1901**	**1902**	**1903**	**1904**	**1905**	**1906**	**1907**	**1908**	**1909**	**1910**
Albury	1	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	2	-	3	2	-
Animbo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1
Araluen	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Batemans Bay	2	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	10	16	16	23	26	27	-	30	29	23	26	40	32	48
Bega	13	4	4	1	4	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Braidwood	7	6	5	8	-	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	4	4
Brungle	78	88	93	48	100	77	94	95	103	105	105	96	96	120	-	105	111	97	86	87	77	100
Captain's Flat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	3	-	3	3	2	2	2	2	-
Cooma	2	2	6	3	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1
Corowa	15	-	-	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dalgety	2	2	6	7	6	5	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	6	6	7	10
Delegate	-	21	14	16	16	21	25	24	22	21	21	21	21	22	-	25	25	17	28	20	21	19
Eden	14	8	8	23	8	19	28	26	30	23	23	12	15	9	-	22	13	5	10	4	3	1
Emu Flat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	2	2	1	1	-	-	-
Michelago	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mongarlowe	-	4	4	5	-	2	1	1	5	2	2	2	3	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Moruya#	110	115	26	45	10	49	39	44	21	21	21	41	11	13	-	21	22	6	22	18	23	13
Narooma	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nelligen	13	10	6	17	-	9	9	9	15	9	9	10	9	9	-	11	11	10	3	3	3	7
Nimitybelle	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	1	-	- -
Queanbeyan	10	10	11	11	-	14	18	21	5	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	10	13
Tooma	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tumbarumba	-	1	2	2	-	3	-	7	7	6	6	3	3	4	-	3	3	4	4	6	7	11
Ulladulla (& Milton)	75	73	59	-	-	69	60	63	-	-	-	-	53	30	-	50	57	43	44	9	13	26
Wallaga Lake (& Cobargo)	11	10	93	86	121	132	150	147	159	116	116	96	135	165	-	173	177	151	-	157	152	115
Total	**356**	**360**	**341**	**290**	**282**	**436**	**480**	**481**	**393**	**343**	**343**	**311**	**384**	**415**	**-**	**454**	**459**	**373**	**238***	**369**	**361**	**371**

*Not including Wallaga Lake #Includes Eurobodalla and Turlinjah

Overall perspective

The form, duration, timing, purpose and habitation of missions and reserves can be seen to have a variety of expressions even in a relatively small section of south-eastern Australia. The Victorian Gippsland missions were established in 1862 at a time when Aboriginal labour was at a premium due to the rush of Europeans to the gold fields, whereas the New South Wales Wallaga Lake and Brungle missions began after the gold had all but gone. Thus the Victorian missions were slow to attract many people for a significant amount of time, whereas Wallaga Lake and Brungle had large populations within the first decade of operation. The potential for conflicts on missions between traditional enemies was enormous. Added to this was the unaccustomed figure of the mission manager who imposed patronage and restriction along with engendering dependency through the distribution of food, clothing and tobacco. At first the conflicts that took place on the Gippsland missions were allowed to be solved using traditional weapons and solutions but managers became intolerant of what they perceived to be an excessive amount of fighting and began to intervene in disputes. When traditional solutions were prohibited by the managers, problems were resolved in secret or away from the mission and sometimes resulted in death.

By contrast, government camping reserves were much less restrictive and took an enormous range of forms. As a political statement, the camping reserve was more likely to be interpreted by Aboriginal people as a formal acknowledgement of sovereignty and compensation for loss of Aboriginal land than the mission which always had a strong political and social agenda of assimilation. The reserves at Tangambalanga, Lake Moodemere and Delegate would have had the same problems over conflict as missions but most of the New South Wales reserves were intended for the use of an individual and his/her family giving that person the right to choose and expel fellow residents. The fact that most reserves were sited on country appropriate to the recipient (his/her own country), along with the absence of management, promoted a degree of autonomy on reserves which was impossible on missions.

Reserves ranged in size from small (five acres at Milton) to large (640 acres at Tangambalanga); from ephemeral (two years at Moruya Heads) to long-term (65 years at Delegate); in use by a single individual (Tom Cooley at Milton) to use by many families (Turlinjah and Ulladulla); informal camps such as those at Aslings Beach, Eden and the Latrobe bridge (Sale) to formally gazetted reserves; from sites where no 'improvements' were made (Lake Tarourga) to sites where areas were fenced and cultivated and permanent dwellings erected (Tomakin); reserves that were 'off the beaten track' (Lake Tarourga, Brou Lake) and those that were important stopovers on major travel routes such as Gippsland to Nowra along the coast (Turlinjah) and Gippsland to Jindabyne via the Snowy River (Delegate). Another variation among camping reserves is the phenomenon of Aboriginal women acquiring land adjacent to that of their European husbands (Mongarlowe 1 and 2). The one factor that can be generalised across both missions and camping reserves is that a majority were sited on traditional camping grounds.

4.3 Life on the outside

Missions were established in Victoria roughly three decades before New South Wales at a time when Aboriginal society was in disarray due to massive losses of population from disease, homicide and malnutrition and the colonisation of Aboriginal lands by European settlers and gold seekers. By contrast New South Wales Aborigines within the study area were not provided with camping or staffed reserves until four or five decades after the holocaust period at a time when there was less overt conflict and a degree of acceptance of the invasion. In these middle years in New South Wales a co-existence was established in which Aborigines worked either full or part-time as domestic servants, labourers, stock workers and harvesters for European settlers. It may have been easier for New South Wales Aboriginal families to make a viable living away from missions when Wallaga Lake and Brungle were established in the 1890s, than it was for Victorian families in the 1860s. It was generally very difficult to support a family on the wages of an Aboriginal stockman or labourer as demonstrated by the stories of Charlie Hammond and Donald Cameron who chose to leave or stay away from missions in Victoria.

During the Victorian mission era 'roving' single men, and groups of men travelling without their wives and families, worked on stations either full-time at one station or part-time at a range of properties. In addition there were some women who travelled with their husbands and were employed as domestic servants while their husbands worked as labourers and stockmen. There were also families, such as the Hammonds at Tongio, who lived in houses or huts at stations or settlements on the money earned by the husband and such domestic work as the wife could obtain and carry out while bearing and caring for her children. The gold rush had lured away many of the itinerant European labourers who had supported the pastoral industry for seasonal and stock work and consequently Aboriginal labourers were more assured of a job. A majority of the women and children appear to have eventually made a base at Lake Tyers, Ramahyuck and Coranderrk although many families left the missions over summer and took paid work picking and bark stripping (for example AA B356 Item 10A) and supported themselves fishing, hunting and harvesting bush foods (see Plate 3). Wherever possible, Honorary Guardians and missions managers persuaded parents to leave their children under supervision[43] at missions hoping that the children might be Europeanised more readily than, and in the absence of, their parents. North-east Victorian children were separated from their parents and sent to Coranderrk, a distance of over 300 km.

Another factor which caused people to stay away from missions was their childhood experiences. Donald Cameron was a Wimmera man who followed Hagenauer from Ebenezer mission to Ramahyuck. Donald's wife, Bessie Flower, was a West Australian girl from Albany as were Emily Peters, Rhoda Tanatan and Nora White. These people were dislocated from their own families and country to a degree which would have made them outsiders on any eastern Victorian mission.

In New South Wales there are several categories of people who tended to live away from missions: Aboriginal women who married non-Aboriginal men, Aboriginal pastoral workers, fully initiated and responsible Aboriginal men and women and those whose connectedness to country was particularly strong. These people may have had time-consuming religious responsibilities or were perhaps free

[43] Which is not to be confused with 'care', a word which suggests love and nurturing.

spirits who found the regulation of mission lifestyles unbearably oppressive. Aboriginal women who married European men were considered to be the responsibility and business of their husbands and were not necessarily counted in censuses or taken into account by local honorary guardians. Therefore these women tended to become invisible as Aborigines. For example Margaret Bryant and Mary Ann Willoughby at Mongarlowe and Helen Lassie at Little River (Delegate) appear to have led lives which were separate from the Aboriginal communities at Delegate, Currowan and Braidwood. Allan commented in his 1851 census made at Braidwood that although the Aboriginal woman Margaret O'Brien had two or three children to her European husband, Allan supposed that 'their father will take charge of their education'. A second family of a woman named Sally is mentioned by Allan: 'I think there are three halfcast children belonging to the dairyman of a Captain Coghill[44] who lives at Buckenbore, near Batemans Bay. Perhaps the father will try to get them taught to read' (Allan 1851).

[44] Sally is probably Sally Gundary and the dairyman, Henry Chapman.

QuickTime™ and a
decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Plate 3: Women fishing at Lake Tyers 1872

An examination of the early history of missions and camping reserves has revealed that far from settling the wanderers, they provided convenient stopping places for revictualling, visiting and leaving children in the care of appropriate relatives for both European (at the closest school) and Aboriginal education. For example, Bulmer noted in 1865 that men who spent most of the year engaged as stockmen used Lake Tyers as a resting place between jobs. The life on missions or staffed reserves suited particular individuals who found comfort in the predictability and order of the routines and the opportunity to have a diminished reponsibility for one's welfare. However, many preferred the open road and the bush, autonomy and the opportunity to maintain traditional links with country. There were possibly as many expressions of lifestyle after the advent of missions as there were Aboriginal people who chose not to live on them. Missionaries and government officials made every attempt in their annual reports to present a version of events suggesting that visits to missions and reserves by Aborigines were steadily increasing and that Aborigines were being inexorably Europeanised. But many of the older people spent much of their time away from the missions in their roles as spiritual custodians and teachers. Contrary to the myth of mission sedentarisation, these elders would have made it their business to watch over the young men and women who were working on stations, making sure that Aboriginal law was not being broken and that those who were ready for instruction were provided with appropriate teachings. Missions and camping reserves were inextricably linked and all families had some kind of link to a mission. However, living permanently on a mission may have been perceived by Aborigines as a strategy of last resort as some current families, whose history kept them substantially independent of missions, are proud of their achievement.

Aboriginal historians are very fortunate that a series of monthly records from December 1873 to May 1876 have survived for Ramahyuck mission at Lake Wellington, Gippsland (Hagenauer 1873-76). These records show daily attendances, deaths, births and occupation for this period. In 1873 the mission had been established for eleven years. Of particular interest is information about people who were away from the mission and how they were occupied which suggests that particular elders were attending to spiritual business. Many others spent a majority of their time on the mission. Information

that was available to Hagenauer about time spent away from the mission by some individuals and family groups is summarised in Table 28. The table shows the percentage of total time between December 1873 and May 1876 spent away from the mission, the way that the time was spent and where people went.

Hagenauer optimistically wrote in 1868 that 'some of the old ones still think that they must wander about for a little to see their old hunting grounds and friends here and there. Their wandering habits are however decreasing considerably and will cease in due time altogether' (Hagenauer n.d.) but a decade later, as the above table shows, many of the elders spent a lot of their time in regular journeying. In November 1877 five young men[45] left Ramahyuck to look for work but Hagenauer was concerned that they would end up begging rather than working. By August 1879 three of them (William Wood, Alexander Barton and Harry Flower) had died of causes which Hagenauer described as 'bad lives' (Hagenauer AA B313). In 1883 Hagenauer was still bemoaning the propensity of elders to spend the summer months at the Lakes where they were vulnerable to the temptations of alcohol. He was also frustrated by the fact that Howitt gave people money which gave them the freedom to continue 'wanderings, journeys or other things'. Young mission men at this time were still finding the prospect of stock work enticing (Hagenauer n.d.). There was a significant group of the Snowy River people living and working on stations around Orbost including Joe Banks, Andrew and Catherine Chase, Harry and Sally Derrimungie, Wargyle (King Tom) and Keelumbedine (Queen Mary). Bulmer wrote of the Snowy River people:

> The Snowy River people were a quiet lot of fellows. They had been by some means [the Millie Massacre] been greatly decimated. After the establishment of the station [Lake Tyers] they were not more than twenty all told and as they had a great love for their country, many of them never settled at Lake Tyers (Bulmer n.d.).

[45] Albert Darby, William Wood, Alexander Barton, Harry Flower and Albert Prince Ngary (Hagenauer AA B313).

Perhaps their love for country was no greater than the next man or woman's but the circumstances of sparse European settlement, sympathetic employees and unimpeded access to traditional sites made co-existence possible.

Table 28

Time spent by Ramahyuck residents off the mission 1873-76 (sources: Hagenauer 1873, 1874, 1875b, 1876b)

Name	% time away	Occupations	Destinations
Billy and Clara Bull	55	fishing, hunting, bark stripping	Lakes, Bairnsdale
Jones	63	bark stripping, unknown	Lindenow, Lakes
Billy & Mary McLeod	96	bark stripping, unknown	Howitt's, Bairnsdale, Lakes
James & Lissy Scott	74	fishing, hunting	Latrobe River, Sale, Lakes
Charley Buchanan	93	bark stripping, unknown	Howitt's, Bairnsdale, Dargo
Kangaroo Jack	63	bark stripping, unknown	Howitt's, Bairnsdale, Lakes
Long Harry	100	unknown	Lakes, Bairnsdale
Mackay	93	unknown	Glenmaggie, Lakes, Bairnsdale
Lamby & wives	88	unknown	Bairnsdale
Tally	41	bark stripping, unknown	Bairnsdale, Lakes
Toby	85	unknown	Lakes
Jones	63	bark stripping, unknown	Lindenow, Lakes, Bruthen

Cameron (1987), in his investigation of far south coast Aboriginal history, has commented on the consistent mobility of nineteenth century Aborigines. He found that people continued to move about after the establishment of Wallaga Lake, seeking medical treatment, to avoid epidemics, for employment and to visit relatives, and even after the occurrence of a death. In 1888 the Wallaga Lake residents were reported to have sought medical treatment at Bega, Moruya and Sydney. In 1895 men

were absent from the station with shearing and cricketing contracts and Inspector Reece bemoaned the difficulty of maintaining a register of school children due to the 'nomadic propensity of the parents' (Cameron 1987: 59-60).

Mission closure: pushed from pillar to post

Within the study region only four of the Aboriginal reserves gazetted between 1861 and 1893 are extant and those are in a much reduced form. The camping reserves were typically sited on land that was unsuitable for agriculture and therefore drew no protest from surrounding freehold landowners or lessees. Many of these sites are still Crown Lands. Possibly as a consciously cynical gesture, reserves were allocated to people in their latter years knowing that the land would not be 'tied up' for long (see Table 29).

Table 29
Age of camping reserve recipients at time of gazettal (sources: Wesson genealogies, McGuigan 1984, AO NSW R2847)

Year	Name of reserve	Name of recipient	Age of recipient	Death
1861	Wagonga Heads	Unknown	-	-
1862	Tangambalanga	Upper Murray peoples	-	-
1875	Moruya	Unknown	-	-
1877	Blackfellow's Point	Yarroro	-	-
1877	Tuross	Richard Bolloway	46	1886
1877	Tarourga Lake	Merriman	52	1904
1878	Tuross River	Neddy Walker	c.60	1900
1879	Mongarlowe (R51)	Mary Ann Willoughby	c.47	-
1880	Turlinjah	William Benson	60	-
1883	Tathra (R895)	George Cohen	c.63	1885
1883	Moruya Heads	Unknown	-	-
1884	Tomakin	Tommy Bollard	71	1892
1885	Mongarlowe (R148)	Margaret Bryant	c.48	-
1889	Milton	Tom Cooley	48	1892
1891	Lake Moodemere	Upper Murray peoples	-	-
1892	Ulladulla	Unknown	-	-
1892	Delegate	Monaro & Maap peoples	-	-
1893	Tathra (R17616)	Jack Hoskins	c.61	1900
1893	Currowan	Thomas Golden Brown	56	1909
1902	Batemans Bay	Unknown	-	-

However, in Victoria during the latter half of the nineteenth century the push by Europeans to take up all lands suitable for pastoralism and agriculture put a constant pressure on the government to

reconsider the viability of Aboriginal reserves. In fact, there was significant renewal of the 'land hunger' under the auspices of closer settlement from the early 1890s (Legg 1984, Whelan 1977). The BPA was repeatedly asked to justify the spending of money at sites that could only demonstrate dwindling or infrequent use. The result of these pressures was the closure of most of Victoria's staffed reserves during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As each reserve was closed, pressure was put on existing reserves which were also under threat and newcomers were not necessarily welcome.

The movement of communities between missions and reserves in Victoria has been summarised by Fesl (1985). The movements which were in response to closure or threatened closure are shown in Table 30.

Table 30
Movement of Victorian communities between missions and reserves due to closure or threat of closure (sources: Fesl 1985, Caldere and Goff 1991, McGuigan 1984, Wesson genealogies)

Decade	**From**	**To**	**Distance (km)**
1860	Mt. Franklin	Coranderrk	187
	Lake Condah	Framlingham	110
	Ebenezer	Ramahyuck	657
1870	Yelta	Coranderrk	662
	Ouyen	Coranderrk	535
	Tangambalanga	Coranderrk	415
	Tangambalanga	Ramahyuck	569
1880	Ouyen	Ebenezer	155
1890	Framlingham	Lake Tyers	556
	Framlingham	Lake Condah	112
	Lake Tyers	Wallaga Lake	340
	Wallaga Lake	Lake Tyers	340
1900	Ebenezer	Lake Tyers	751
	Ramahyuck	Lake Tyers	94

1910	Lake Condah	Lake Tyers	684
1920	Coranderrk	Lake Tyers	335

Moving on to missions had taken a lot of adjustment for the families that chose to settle on them. Mission closure was fiercely contested and involved further upheaval in the lives of the families concerned. It also involved some long journeys in the endeavour to find a place to raise a family and find work. The moves were not always a success.

Although the following account from Read (1994: 70-1) describes the demolition of Warangesda and the removal of its last residents, an event which took place after the study period, it typifies the cycle of destruction and removal that was put into place when missions and camps were closed:

> On 17 October 1924 the demolition party arrived to knock down the houses, shoot the dogs and truck away the remaining inhabitants. Local tradition at the Point has it that Jim Turner, who had accompanied Gribble on his journey to found Warangesda fifty years before, was the last to leave. He defended his home at gunpoint until at last the roof was pulled down on top of him. ... Hetty Charles lived with her parents in tents and tin sheds for years. ... after several years of wandering [Bushy Howell's family] were camped at the Narrandera Sandhills. Others went wherever they knew their kinsfolk were safely living ... Dispersal in practice was coming to mean that Wiradjuri people shifted from one part of their country to another ... By 1926 there were only two remaining safe living areas for the refugee families: the Narrandera Sandhills and Condobolin.

Moving families from one part of Victoria to share the mission space at Coranderrk, Ramahyuck, Lake Condah and Lake Tyers with the traditional owners would have created frictions that exacerbated already trying circumstances. The brunt of the blame would have been taken by the immigrants rather than the Government employees who designed the system. Many of the more settled mission families were outsiders including those from the Wimmera, Liverpool (NSW) and Albany (WA) (Wesson genealogies). Table 30 shows the huge distances that people moved in coming to the missions in Gippsland and indicates that return journeys would have been problematic and expensive. The fate of the migrant families has been to spend generations as outsiders among the communities of traditional

custodians despite the inevitable intermarriages that have occurred. The ramifications of these moves continue to impact on the lives of these families in their endeavours to establish claims to Native Title which are nullified by interruptions to their continued occupancy of country.

4.4 Patterns of Aboriginal movement during the mission era: a comparison

This chapter has shown that there were no clear cut demarcations between mission and reserve residents and those who chose to live away. During the mission era, all Aboriginal people had connections with a mission or reserve to a greater or lesser extent. The least connected would have visited relatives and friends, perhaps sought rations at specified times, or used the missions and reserves as meeting places or stopovers. A more connected group humoured missionaries and managers into believing that they belonged to a mission or reserve (for example Long Harry and Billy and Mary McLeod, see Table 28) but spent most of their time away until, perhaps, very old age. A third category associated themselves with a variety of missions and reserves, travelled extensively, worked intermittently and continued to conduct customary traditions of ceremony and law. For example Merriman, who worked as a farmhand in Bega and Tilba until the late 1870s, was associated in 1877 with his 'own' reserve at Lake Tarourga (north of Narooma), and in 1891 with Turlinjah, but was considered to be a resident of Wallaga Lake both in 1883 (APB 1883) and at the time of his death in 1904 (Wesson genealogies). However, Merriman was also a lawman with responsibilities which necessitated regular travel to ensure that the law was upheld throughout Yuin territory, the region of his jurisdiction. The most closely connected category were those people who, through personal experience or inclination, became most thoroughly engaged in the mission lifestyle where they lived, married, bore children and died.

During this period a number of new journeys were undertaken based upon traditional patterns. For example, although women continued to move to their husband's country for marriage the journeys they made were sometimes both of longer duration and greater distance than pre-contact[46].

[46] For example, a number of girls who had been orphaned through epidemics of influenza and measles had been cared for by the Albany Magistrate and his wife and taught to read, write and sing hymns. Six of these girls were sent from Western Australian to marry men at Victorian missions; Rachel

(i) Gippsland mission era short journeys

Figure 47 shows the Ramahyuck village circa 1888 and short journeys which were made between the buildings (based on Massola 1970). Distances travelled to access basic amenities such as water and firewood would have been equivalent to pre-contact times although the wood gathering would have required increasing distances to maintain a stockpile. Vegetation at Ramahyuck consisted of communities of forest red gum (*E. tereticornis*), white stringybark (*E. globoidea*) and shining peppermint (*E. nitida*) ` forests which included understorey plants such as wattles (*Acacia so.*), bottle-brushes (*Calistemon sp.*), banksias (*Banksia sp.*) and tea-trees (*Leptospermum sp.*) and adjacent to Lake Wellington, communities of swamp paperbark (*M. ericafolia*), common reed (*P. communis*), chaffy saw-sedge (*G. filum*) (LCC 1982). Vegetable foods would have been procured by a short visit to the private (behind each cottage) or communal vegetable gardens. By 1888 bush foods were probably severely depleted in the village environs. Many short journeys took place but for very different purposes. For women and children moves within the village were often between buildings, for example, from cottage to school, ration house or another cottage. For men, the journeys were more likely to have been between home and the gardens, paddocks or sheds.

(ii) Gippsland mission era medium journeys

Figure 48 shows Ramahyuck village and the journeys that are known to have been made by residents between 1873 and 1876 for hunting, fishing, bark stripping and charcoal production. Fishing and hunting trips provided mission residents with the opportunity to access traditional foods, medicines, artefact materials and game.

Warndekan married Nathaniel Pepper, Nora White married Charles Foster, Bessie Flower married Donald Cameron, Ada Flower married James Clark, Rhoda Tanatan married James Fitchett and Emily Peters married James Brindle (and later John Ellis) (Wesson genealogies).

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(iii) Gippsland mission era travel routes

Figure 49 suggests that most of the pre-contact travel routes for large journeys continued to be used during the mission era, although very little activity was recorded in the regions of Wilsons Promontory and the Tarwin River.

(iv) North-east mission era short journeys

Figure 50 shows a reconstruction of possible mission era short journeys at Tangambalanga camping reserve based on its positioning relative to the Kiewa river (Land Victoria No. 61/33, L901 1861 Proclamation 258). The map shows a camping area situated close to the Kiewa river in the south-west corner of the reserve where the current township of Kiewa is sited. BPA reports suggest that Tangambalanga was never patronised by large numbers of Aboriginal people, the maximum being 27 who received monthly rations. The vegetation at Tangambalanga consisted of forest communities of narrow-leaf peppermint (*E. radiata robertsonii*), long-leaf box (*E. goniocalyx*), river red gum (*E. radiata*) and broad-leaf peppermint (*E. dives*) which have understorey species including other eucalypts, cypress pine (*C. columellaris*), grass trees (*X. australis*), wattles (*Acacia sp.*), heaths, grevilleas and peas (LCC 1977: vegetation map). Tangambalanga residents walked to the river for water, fish and shellfish, into the forest for firewood, artefact timbers, vegetable foods, medicines and small game. Residents would have travelled west to Mitchell's station to obtain their monthly rations. Others, residing on the Mitta Mitta and elsewhere (suggested by the BPA reports), would have had longer journeys to receive rations. There may have been some barter between reserve dwellers and settlers, especially the Mitchell family, in which fish, small game and artefacts were exchanged for money and other goods. An early map (ibid.) indicates the existence of a bush track from Yackandandah to the Mitta Mitta running through the centre of the reserve which would have been used to access the Mitta Mitta and Murray rivers as well as Yackandandah and the Goulburn region.

(v) North-east mission era medium journeys

Figure 51 shows a reconstruction of possible mission era medium journeys at Tangambalanga camping reserve based on its positioning relative to the Kiewa and Mitta Mitta rivers. The map shows a camp

on the Mitta Mitta situated in (veg. description), an easy day's walk from the Tangambalanga camps. Journeys of up to 15 km would have been made to seek large game including wombat, grey kangaroo

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and wallaby, and to gather materials, small game (possum, platypus, tortoise, lizards), medicines and vegetable foods (name them), for work and to barter fish, eggs and game.

(vi) North-east mission era travel routes

Figure 52 shows the routes of travel during the mission era described or reconstructed through the ethnohistorical record for the north-east region. The map shows that fewer large travel routes were described in the record for the mission era than for the pre-contact era, suggesting the possibility that these routes were less frequented. This can be attributed to several factors. First, loss of life of Aboriginal people due to the causes outlined in chapter 3. Secondly, the movement of people out of the north-east area into Gippsland (for example, Jilbino), the central region (for example, the Brangy, Lee and Spider families), the lower Murray (for example, Paddy Swift) and onto stations where their movements were not monitored by Protection Board officials (for example, Charlotte Wheeler). Thirdly, the written record of Aboriginal people's movements during this era may have been very poor.

(vii) Monaro mission era short journeys

Figure 53 shows a reconstruction of possible mission era short journeys at Delegate camping reserve. Its position adjacent to the Delegate township ensured opportunities for regular employment in the houses and businesses. Rations would have been obtained at the Delegate Police station. The vegetation at the reserve consisted of remnant vegetation from two eucalypt associations; Snow gum (*E. pauciflora*)- Black sally (*E. stellulata*) and Red stringy bark (*E. macrorhycha*)- Scribbly gum (*E. rossii*) and would have provided lilly and orchid bulbs, banksia nectar, native cherry fruits (*Exocarpus sp.*), wattle gum and seed (*Acacia sp.*), beard-heath berries (*Leucopogon sp.*), kangaroo apples (*Solanum sp.*), mints (*Mentha sp.*), yam-daisy roots (*Microseris scapigera*), blushing bindweed roots (*Convolulus erubescens*), native raspberry fruits (*Rubus sp.*) (Costin 1954: 337-40, 387-92). As well as water, fish, shellfish, platypus and tortoise would have been obtained from the Delegate river and timbers for fires, shelter and artefacts from the adjacent forests. Small game (possum and lizards) would have

been found in forests and waterfowl and their eggs in the adjacent swamps. Permanent slab dwellings were erected at Delegate camping reserve.

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(viii) Monaro mission era medium journeys

Figure 54 shows a reconstruction of possible mission era medium journeys at Delegate camping reserve. Journeys of over 15 km would have been made to seek large game including wombat, grey kangaroo and wallaby, and to gather materials, small game (possum, platypus, tortoise, lizards), medicines and vegetable foods (name them), for work and to barter fish, eggs and game. Aborigines are known to have worked at the Little Plain and Delegate stations. The sacred mountain of Delegate is also a medium journey from the reserve. The camping reserve was positioned on a traditional site and was also on a traditional route from Orbost and the Brodribb river via Bendoc which went through to Bombala (and the south coast), Nimmitabel and the northern Monaro. As well as this main north-south route, a westerly journey via Tubbut took travellers to Suggan Buggan, Gelantipy and Buchan.

(ix) Monaro mission era travel routes

Figure 55 shows the routes of travel during the mission era described or reconstructed through the ethnohistorical record for the Monaro region. Fewer large travel routes were described in the record for the mission era than for the pre-contact era, suggesting the possibility that these routes were less frequented. The records suggest that by 1890 the traditional pathways had been superceded by bullock tracks as routes for Aboriginal movement. In addition, the written record of Aboriginal people's movements during this era may have been very poor.

(x) South coast mission era short journeys

Figure 56 shows a reconstruction of possible mission era short journeys at Wallaga Lake Aboriginal station. Its position adjacent to the Tilba townships ensured opportunities for regular employment in the houses, businesses and dairy properties. Rations would have been obtained from the ration depot positioned near the manager's house at the station. The vegetation at the reserve was characterised by White stringybark (*E. globoidea*), Blue-leaved stringybark (*E. agglomerata*), Forest grey gum (*E. cypellocarpa*), Woollybutt (*E. longifolia*), Spotted gum (*E. maculata*), River peppermint (*E. elata*), and Grey myrtle (*Backhousia myrtifolia*) and would have provided a variety of orchids and lillies, geebungs

(*Persoonia sp.*), apple berry fruits (*Billardiera sp.*), native raspberry fruits (*Rubus sp.*), dodder laurel fruits (*Cassytha sp.*), kangaroo apples (*Solanum sp.*), macrozamia seed kernels (*Macrozamia communis*), beard heath berries (*Leucopogon sp.*), native cherry fruits (*Exocarpus sp.*), pigface (*Carpobrotus sp.*), wattle gum and seed (*Acacia sp.*), tree fern hearts (*Cyathea australis*) and native spinach greens (*Tetragonia

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tetragonoides). Fish, shellfish, waterfowl and their eggs would have been obtained from Wallaga Lake and timbers for fires, shelter and artefacts from the adjacent forests. Fishing from canoes with hand made nets and lines manufactured from hand made string, was replaced with wooden boats and jute lines and nets. Small game (possum and lizards) would have been found in forests and waterfowl and their eggs would also have been found in the adjacent swamps north and south (for example, Bobundara swamp). Snake island, where for a number of years crops were grown by station residents, is situated four kilometres by water from the station. Merriman's island, where the local group (headed by Merriman) was camped before the gazettal of the station (Anon 1879), is one kilometre from the station by water. The Pacific Ocean, which is periodically separated from the lake by a barrier of sand dunes, provides opportunities for ocean fishing off rocks and surf beaches, and is one and a half kilometres east of the station. Water was dug from the dunes and then conveyed by rowing boat (APB 1890: 10).

(xi) South coast mission era medium journeys

Figure 57 shows a reconstruction of possible mission era medium journeys at Wallaga Lake Aboriginal station. Journeys of up to 15 km would have been made to seek large game including wombat, grey kangaroo and wallaby, and to gather materials, small game (possum, platypus, tortoise, lizards), medicines and vegetable foods (name them), for work and to barter oysters and fish. Aborigines are known to have worked at Tilba cheese factories and dairies and had long histories of working with the Bate and Hoyer families (Hoyer 1996). The sacred mountain of Gulaga is also a medium journey from the reserve and is associated with creation stories. The station is positioned on a traditional travel route for north-south journeys to the Shoalhaven and the Victorian border.

(xii) South coast mission era travel routes

Figure 58 shows the routes of travel during the mission era described or reconstructed through the ethnohistorical record for the South coast region. The map suggests a reduction in the number of travel routes for large journeys between the pre-contact and mission eras.

Group size

Despite the difference of seventeen years between the mission era periods in Victoria and New South Wales, roughly equivalent numbers of movement events were recorded for the two states (north-east 88, Monaro 89 and south coast 73), the exception being Gippsland (282) with more than three times the

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number of the other regions. By contrast with the previous era, the mission era records show that the most common number of people journeying were individuals in Gippsland, the north-east and south coast. The next most common are the small groups of two to four people in Gippsland, Monaro and south coast. The large groups are recorded only third most common of the four categories. Therefore it can be said that during this era observed group size had changed from large groups to individuals being the most frequent. On the south coast no large groups were observed during this period.

Distance travelled

The New South Wales events are poorly represented for this category because, of the journeys that were recorded, there is rarely both an outset and a destination. The most frequently recorded journeys for Gippsland (39%) were large journeys of between 16 and 50 kilometres, followed by large journeys of over 100 kilometres (27%). Compared to the previous era, when 62% of journeys for this region were over 100 km, the statistics suggest that the mission era involved shorter journeys. Similarly, fifteen of the sixteen events recorded for the north-east were over 51 kilometres.

Travel Route

One trend suggested by the recorded movements is that established dray tracks, which tended to be inland of the coastal strip to avoid inlets and seasonal swamps, became preferred routes for Aboriginal people. This may also have been because origins and destinations of the bullock tracks were more likely to be European settlements (including stations and towns) and missions than traditional camps and in Gippsland these settlements were situated inland of the coast. Otherwise the results show similar patterns to the previous era; extensive use of natural routes such as river valleys and lakes in Gippsland and the north-east, river valleys, lakes, ridge tops and high country plains on the Monaro and sea water, coast and coastal hinterland on the south coast.

Reasons for movement

Throughout the study area the reasons for movement were most commonly recorded as change of home or camp. This increased during the mission era by an average of ten percent. However, it does

not reflect a simplification of lifestyle around the reasons for movement. On the contrary, people now moved between missions and reserves due to gazettals, closures and draconian and abusive mission managers. People were much less likely to be involved in overt wars and attacks on European settlements and people, reducing in number by an average of 15% in Victoria and 5% in New South Wales[47]. There was considerable travel around the implementation of white man's law during this era for assault, theft, vagrancy, trespass (!) and alcohol related charges. These journeys contributed to 27% of the Gippsland, 44% of the north east, 1% of the Monaro and 6% respectively of the south coast events.

Ferry (1979: 35) has pointed out the hypocrisy of one group of Europeans attempting to imbue Aborigines with a particular moral code on missions while a second group of Europeans outside the missions broke all those same codes. Aboriginal society was classless and culturally homogenous within the group[48] and the concept that one group within a society lived by a different set of rules from a second group would have been strange to them.

Australian Aboriginal cultures were fundamentally incompatible with sedentarism because Australian bush foods can only be gathered in sufficient quantity and variety through constant movement. By contrast sedentary societies, such as those of Polynesia, more readily incorporated the presence of missions and the changes they wrought on the customary lifestyle (Ferry 1979: 28). Due to a combination of financial contraints and a desire to promote habits of industry, missions in Australia never offered Aborigines a complete diet and required them to continue to access bush foods. Of course this became increasingly difficult as resources were exploited without respite.

[47] The fact that Aboriginal communities were discouraged and forbade traditional publicly displayed practices for conflict resolution may have contributed to problem levels of privately executed abusive behaviour in Aboriginal households.
[48] However, it could be said that men and women had different cultures within that homogenous culture, as did initiated and non-initiated etc.

Chapter 5

After the Half-caste Act

Outcast, Halfcaste

I met a lad the other day, his name I do not know.
When I asked him where he came from he answered soft and low.

I'm just an outcast and an halfcaste in this town.
There's a tribe that doesn't want me, and the white man turned me down.
They say I'm just an inbetween, neither white nor brown.
I'm just an outcast, and a halfcaste in this town.

I'll never dance the corroboree, or chant like all the rest.
Nor enter into manhood, with the markings on my chest.
I can never go to parties, or stand a mate a shout.
The blackman doesn't want me, and the white man turned me out.

My eyes then filled with tears, as I heard this tale of woe.
My mind then wandered through the years, to the days of long ago.
Before this town accepted me, I was sad and blue.
'Cause I was just an outcast and an halfcaste too.
(Duroux 1992)

By 1880 Aboriginal people had largely adjusted to the Protectionist system that had for so long governed their lives and which had more recently focused their patterns of movement on and around the mission stations and reserves after 1862. After all, Aborigines had been saved from extinction, if only to 'smooth their dying pillow', and the worst excesses of abuse on the frontier had disappeared.

Protectionism itself was not under threat; in fact there were calls for additional powers of the state to increase 'equilibrium and order'. But by the mid 1880s a range of voices was clamouring for change. Criticisms arose from within the Aborigines Protection Board in Victoria where Hagenauer began underlining the idleness of unemployed able-bodied Aborigines and their persistent mobility, whilst outsiders such as a loose coalition of frontier pastoralists including Curr, Dawson, Ogilvie and,

ironically, Howitt were highlighting the over dependence of Aborigines on the State, the seemingly endless cycle of poverty and ill-health, and the apparent isolation from mainstream society. And the bureaucrats railed at the high cost of the system. Many thought wasteful the increasing numbers of Aborigines of mixed-descent who, by their 'genetic endowment' had the potential to be like Europeans, but had failed to assimilate and continued to fraternise with full-bloods thereby hampering efforts to integrate both groups into the broader community.

The challenge was to modify the Protection systems in such a way as to manage both groups; full-bloods on the one hand who could be effectively 'written off' as a dying race and those Aborigines of mixed-descent who still had limited prospects for assimilation and inclusion whilst they remained on the missions and reserves. Segregation emerged as the apparent solution to both these ills.

The segregation movement eventually resulted in the enactment of 'half-caste' legislation in Victoria in 1886 and much later in New South Wales in 1909. These Aborigines Protection Acts resulted not only in a tragic era of separation through the fragmentation of families and whole communities but also in a distinctive geography of mobility. The spatial aspects of segregation and the impacts on identity, community and culture form the focus of analysis in this chapter.

5.1 The political and bureaucratic contexts

Attwood (1989) has made a thorough examination of the bureaucratic context, evolution and implementation of the 1886 Aborigines Protection Act in Victoria. He focussed on the part played by Hagenauer, who became secretary of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines in 1889, and the histories of Coranderrk and Ramahyuck. Attwood considers that the Victorian Act was significantly different from other colonies because by 1886 the proportion of Aborigines to Europeans in Victoria was less than in other colonies and territories and therefore posed less of a threat to mainstream society. In addition, compared to Victoria, the dispossession elsewhere was either more recent (in Queensland, Western Australia, South Australia and the Northern Territory) or more complete (in Tasmania and New South Wales). Indeed, the later New South Wales legislation (1909) was even more

paternalistic and segregationist than the earlier Victorian version[1] (Read 1994, Attwood 1989: 97). Attwood has theorised that the Aborigines Protection legislation had its origins in the policies of the early nineteenth century humanitarians who shaped the 1886 Victorian Act and all subsequent Commonwealth Acts (Atwood 1989: 81-2). This small group of middle-class males, who dominated the ideology of the churches and the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines, believed that Europeans were superior to Aborigines, that it was the duty of such superior peoples to colonise 'unused' or 'vacant' lands and to exploit their resources, to provide the ousted indigenes with the necessities and comforts of life before their race died out and to manage Aborigines' lives with paternalistic compassion. They favoured policies of segregation which were partly shaped by a consciousness of earlier failed assimilationist policies (see Chapter 4).

Victoria

The first Aborigines' Protection legislation entitled 'An Act to provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria' (see Appendix 4) was passed in 1869 and provided a model for other colonial governments. This Act gave the colony of Victoria control over the conditions of Aborigines' employment, their place of residence and the care and custody of their children. The practice (and concept) of 'protection', which in subsequent decades became synonymous with invasive and interventionist practices, was initially intended to check the European exploitation of Aborigines and to control Aborigines 'for their own good'. In this Act Aborigines were defined by culture rather than race: 'every Aboriginal native of Australia and every Aboriginal half-caste or child of a half-caste, such half-caste or child habitually associating and living with Aboriginals, should be deemed to be an Aboriginal within the meaning of the Act ...' (Appendix 4).

Throughout the 1870s the humanitarians were positing that Aborigines were no longer disappearing and that the segregationist mission model was proving to be successful (Atwood 1989: 84). However, there were opponents of the humanitarian stance finding a voice in some frontier pastoralists and

[1] The New South Wales legislation covered every aspect of life from racial category, rights of egress and exit, shelter, food, employment, parenting, schooling, conduct and law; whereas the Victorian Act was primarily concerned with racial category and employment contracts and secondarily with the care of neglected children (BPA 1887, Anon 1958).

public servants including Curr (whose contact was with the Yorta Yorta), Ogilvie, Dawson (Victorian Western District) and Howitt (Gippsland). Through their experience as employers and amateur anthropologists these men knew Aborigines as both custodians of a rich cultural heritage and as capable and independent employees and residents (*ibid*: 85). They considered the mission system to be responsible for increasing Aborigines' poverty and a growing dependence on the State embodied by the paternal figure of the mission manager. The opponents' influence was considerable and helped to shape a growing move toward assimilation of Aborigines into the wider community. In the late 1870s a feud amongst Aborigines at Coranderrk, perceived to have been between those of mixed descent and full-bloods[2] (ibid: 89), gave policy makers further justification for discrimination on grounds of genetic inheritance while still allowing them to satisfy the humanitarians that Aborigines (within the meaning of the new definition of Aboriginality as full-bloods) would continue to be provided for by the government.

Conditions at Ramahyuck were deteriorating in the 1870s, partly due to Hagenauer's own poor health and periodic bouts of depression which made him particularly pessimistic (ibid: 90). Attwood believes that Hagenauer's Ramahyuck experience caused him to seek solutions toward 'equilibrium' and 'order' which culminated in advocating increasing State power through additional rules, regulations and youth training schemes (ibid: 92). The 1881 Protection Board inquiry into the condition and management of Coranderrk concluded that missions were responsible for pauperising and isolating Aborigines and that these problems could be addressed by inclusion and assimiliation whereby mixed bloods could eventually 'pass as whites' and full-bloods stay at missions until the last of them died out (ibid: 93). Attwood found that the stereotypes of 'half-castes' were inconsistent in the record even within one time period, one state and according to one individual (for example, Hagenauer) and could be described as arbitrary (ibid: 99). He considered that the 1886 Act was more inclusionist than absorbsionist and that the process of its making was very different from its enactment. As a result of the enactment, the distinction between full-bloods and mixed bloods was encoded into discourses of Aboriginality where previously these concepts had been 'vague and inconsistent' (ibid: 100). In

[2] The divergence of opinion by Coranderrk residents had its origin in cultural rather than genetic distinctions (ibid: 89).

addition, the Board's belief in the efficacy of racial categorisation was increased and Aborigines integral part in Australian identity was increasingly denied (ibid: 101).

New South Wales

The 1883 New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board (APB) was formed at the height of European imperialism and at a time when Social Darwinism was politically influential. Thus, Europeans saw themselves as the product of the 'fittest' societies on earth. It was reasoned that if Aborigines did not rapidly acquire European habits, they would inevitably die out. Aborigines of mixed descent were considered to be more endowed with inherent "Europeanness" and were therefore better candidates for reform than full-bloods who, it was perceived, had no way out of their dilemma. All Aboriginal people were seen to be a threat to the 'racial purity of Australian society' (Gahan 1997: 19), so it was important to separate Aboriginal people from all other Australians and those of mixed-descent from full-bloods. Although strategies to discourage the practice of traditional cultures had been in place from first contact, Aboriginal people continued to observe traditional practices and beliefs and live very different lives from the invaders. The separateness of Aboriginal cultures frustrated Aboriginal managers (Goodall 1996: 119) who realised that these people could not be deported as undesirable aliens and could not always be ignored[3].

Policy makers within the APB believed that all Aboriginal people required custodial paternal care (APB 1883: 2) because of their lack of power and familiarity with European customs and that the assimilation of people of mixed descent could best be achieved through promoting a European work ethic. It was considered that if Aboriginal people worked more, they would have less time for "immoral pastimes" and would be less in need of support from the State. The psychological impact of

[3] This frustration has, in part, expressed itself in the 'White Australia' policies of the twentieth century Federal Government, the 'writing out' of Aborigines from Australian histories (including the naming of Europeans born in Australia as 'natives') and oppressive legislature which has both segregated Aborigines from other Australians (both overtly on missions and reserves and covertly through racist behaviours which discourage interaction of any sort with the wider Australian community) and caused them to become the most poorly educated and lowly paid strata of society. The gap left by the loss of their traditional cultures was filled by the most impoverished non-Aboriginal popular culture where the prioritised human qualities included the ability to have a 'good time', physical strength, aggression, the ability to win a fight, the ability to consume or withstand the effects of alcohol and a propensity to gamble.

one hundred years of dispossession and the subsequent loss of traditional resources were conveniently forgotten. In order to encourage Aborigines to embrace European work practices it was considered that they needed a European education, which contrasted strongly with traditional education in that the former was physically inactive, indoor, passive, large group and had a high pupil to teacher ratio. APB managers believed that once the change to European education and work practices became established a momentum would be achieved and the process would become commonplace. However, there was no legislation to support the implementation of these policies and initially the APB was frustrated in its attempts to pursuade Parliament to support its recommendations. Before the 1909 Act the APB's powers were confined to the allocation of reserves, the distribution of rations, the supply of building materials, tools and other mission and reserve requirements and the encouragement of childrens' participation in education using rations as an incentive (APB 1883-1915). Between 1883 and 1909 neighbouring European settlers put pressure on the APB to revoke reserves and withold or withdraw rations as they saw Aborigines receiving the charity of the State with no apparent exchange in kind. APB managers felt that the institution needed more control over Aborigines' lives.

The notion of *protection* in 1883 in New South Wales was Christian insofar as policy makers within the APB believed that Aborigines needed to be protected from their new behavioural tendencies and their heathen traditions. Protection would therefore save their souls from eternal damnation (Goodall 1996: 88-89). There was considerable concern by Board members that Aborigines' persistent mobility caused the childrens' European education to be inconsistent (APB 1888: 2). Later in the 1890s Protection Board officials viewed this as particularly problematic because Aborigines were experiencing high unemployment due to the economic depression and were seen to need a skills base and a familiarity with European culture to position them for any employment. In addition, protection referred to shielding Aborigines from abusive Europeans and access to alcohol, both of which were considered to promote undesirable social behaviours including women's immorality and the pregnancy of very young (early teen) and unmarried mothers[4].

[4] The divergence of opinion by Coranderrk residents had its origin in cultural rather than genetic distinctions (ibid: 89).

Contrary to the expectations of Protection officials and policy makers throughout the Australian colonies, Aborigines were not dying out, nor did people of mixed descent prefer to live apart from their full-blood relatives and acquaintances. They continued to identify themselves as Aboriginal and in turn be identified by others as Aboriginal (APB 1888: 2). Furthermore, the New South Wales Aboriginal population was increasing (Goodall 1996: 119).

The APB was able to pressure the New South Wales parliament by stressing the adverse conditions of reserves as places of abode for future productive workers and the Aborigines Protection Act was passed in December 1909 with subsequent amending Acts in 1915, 1918 and 1936[5]. The 1909 Act directly controlled Aborigines' daily practice of work, preparation and training for work, the kind of work undertaken, the age of Aboriginal employees, work contracts and labour indentures, where people worked and the amount of wages or payment in kind for work. It also indirectly controlled the extent to which Aborigines associated with one another, with Europeans and with European culture. The attempted separation of Aborigines on the basis of racial endowment was not just physical but psychological, endeavouring to cause Aboriginal people of mixed descent to perceive themselves as intrinsically different from full-bloods.

Penalties and rewards were imposed by Board officials as a consequence of the implementation of the Act resulting in the removal of individuals from reserves and stations and the withholding of rations. After the Act the APB still encouraged the farming of reserves and it also segregated living on the basis of skin colour. The Board also controlled who could farm on the reserves and stations. But many New South Wales reserves were revoked under pressure from non-Aboriginal settlers who wanted to use the land themselves. Within the study area the revocation of reserves took place steadily from the 1880s (two revoked), to the 1890s (three revoked) and the decade after the Act (three revoked).

The 1909 Act gave the Board the power to make a direct correlation between the 'degree of Aboriginal blood' and the capacity to work. This resulted in the removal from missions of all men designated

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[5] These amending Acts were deemed necessary to 'consolidate the Board's' authority as a result of inadequacies in the 1909 Act.

'able-bodied', particularly those of mixed descent, and increased the capacity of people of mixed descent to 'merge' with the broader Australian community. There was a suggestion that Aboriginal people who were 'almost white' should not be living with Aborigines, receive Government assistance or mix with full-bloods[6]. For example a 1914 circular which was sent to all APB managers and New South Wales police directed them to 'rid' all reserves and stations of 'quadroons' and 'octoroons'. The removal of children supposedly was only to apply to 'neglected' children (APB 1907: 4), but the 1909 legislation served to promote the removal of Aboriginal girls of child-bearing age (twelve years and over). The training of young girls as domestic servants also reduced the prevalence of early sexual activity and pregnancy (effectively controlling fertility). Furthermore, it promoted learning about European house keeping and materialism (APB 1910: 4), training in working-class occupations and expectations and the prevention of their association with communities and family (Gahan 1997: 32).

Protection was a major issue for the State of New South Wales because the prevailing attitude was to perceive all Aborigines as children, placing duty of care with the State (the APB), the churches (missionary societies and charities) and concerned citizens (Honorary Guardians, champions and charitable organisations). It was also was an issue for Aboriginal people whose most vulnerable members were given no choice but to become reliant on State welfare. What the State did not acknowledge, or perhaps understand, at the time of the legislation was that treating adults as dependant children makes their assimilation as useful adult citizens at best temporary and ultimately impossible. The potential of this trained domestic and labouring workforce was always going to be conditional upon their propensity to accept being a subject people with the political status of children. European power blocs have battled for centuries in their attempts to keep their peasant majorities passive, powerless and productive. It is a battle that must be lost as the human spirit triumphs. Prior to European colonisation Aboriginal people had no history of subjugation and no system of social hierachy to support its implementation. Therefore the so-called protection strategies were always doomed to failure and were probably never at any time manifestly successful. What the protection policies do appear to have achieved at least, perhaps unwittingly, is a successful break in the

[6] Resting on the assumption of the inherent superiority of European societies and peoples.

continuity of traditional knowledges through the removal of children to institutions and domestic service.

Gahan has commented that despite the enormity of the impact of the Board's legislation: 'The effects of the Board's policies were not uniform or consistent throughout the period of its administration. The experiences of numerous Aboriginal communities in New South Wales under the control of the APB were as different as they were similar' (Gahan 1997: 32). For example, while 'almost all the young men of Warangesda and Brungle had to leave' as a result of the 1909 Act (Read 1994: 51), at Wallaga Lake in 1910, 90% of the residents were of mixed descent (APB 1910).

5.2 Moving between Victoria and New South Wales

The Victorian Act of 1886 added to the significant controls that were established by the 1869 Act under which conditions of employment, place of residence and the care and custody of children were managed by the State. New South Wales was forty years behind Victoria in formally instituting these controls in the 1909 Act. None of the analysts (Read 1994, Cameron 1987, Goodall 1996, Long 1970) offer an explanation as to why this should have been so. Read summarised his position thus:

> [The New South Wales Government] established the Aborigines Protection Board, created hundreds of Aboriginal reserves, steadily lost control over them and then, misdiagnosing the cause, rushed headlong to the conclusion that only the greater use of force, expressed through a new Aborigines Protection Act, would enable it to proceed to its self-appointed task of turning its black citizens white (Read 1994: 29).

Perhaps the size of New South Wales, which allowed Aborigines to avoid large European population centres, and the distance of many of the centres of Aboriginal population from Sydney resulted in a blindness to the issues which caused concern in Victoria on the part of APB officials. The two pieces of State legislation, inclusive of the 1869 Victorian Act, potentially amounted to very similar outcomes for Aborigines. However, the contexts in which they were implemented varied widely; the Victorian legislation was colonial whereas the New South Wales Act was passed under Federation. There are

many stories from the study area which depict the chaos and rootlessness caused by expulsion as a result of the Acts. For example, 'sixty exiled half-castes left Coranderrk [in Victoria] for Cumeroogunya [in New South Wales] after 1886, and there was constant visiting until Coranderrk was closed [in 1950]'. The 1909 New South Wales Act resulted in 150 people of mixed descent leaving Cumeroogunya betwen 1909 and 1915 to live at Barmah on the Victorian side of the Murray (Barwick 1971: 297).

John Ellis, a man of mixed descent born in the first decade of the Gippsland mission era at Ramahyuck, was the son of Brabriwoolong stockman Jack Ellis and Minang woman[7] Emily Peters and a friend of Phillip Pepper's father Percy. John was one of the men expelled from Ramahyuck at the age of fifteen as a result of the 1886 Act. In 1896 he had been working at Cumeroogunya in New South Wales but he left seeking permission from the Victorian Board to go to Lake Condah Aboriginal Reserve in Victoria. While he was waiting for the Board's reply he stayed at the unofficial Aboriginal settlement at Fish Point, Lake Boga started by Jackson Stewart (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 35). In refusing his request, the Board official stated that he should have remained at Cumeroogunya and he was alternatively advised to go to Point Maclean station in South Australia (ibid). Three years later, in 1899, John was at Wallaga Lake where he married Hannah Davis (nee McGrath). John and Hannah's two children were born at Wallaga Lake in 1906 and Bundarra, between Tamworth and Inverell, in 1910. John was back living at Wallaga in 1919 when he died after a twenty three year battle with tuberculosis (ibid; Wesson genealogies).

Timing

The most obvious impact on the implementation of the legislation in the two states is the time differential. In 1886, Victoria was a colony in its own right having experienced the impact of a number of significant gold rushes with the attendant waves of mass immigration of people from all over the world and the prosperity which this brought to many areas of the colony. Despite the potential for tolerance and benevolence in such a diverse society (including Europeans, Americans and Asians as

[7] From Albany in Western Australia.

well as indigenous Australians), late nineteenth century Victoria favoured a strongly English identity. This ensued because of the heritage and history of England and her success as a colonial power, with English language and its attendant culture dominating all otherness. By contrast, in 1909 New South Wales was one of a number of states of the new federal Commonwealth of Australia, providing a new context for the impact and political significance of regional events. Recently federated Australia was even more narrowly-focused than its colonial predecessors and promoted a nation of 'white' people, encouraging the migration of white-skinned peoples from throughout the world and discouraging others.

The extent to which Aboriginal people made selective use of the different legislation existing in New South Wales and Victoria is difficult to determine. Certainly government officials continued to be frustrated by the movement of people between missions and into the border country of the Monaro and east Gippsland especially when they regularly crossed the state borders. However, records do not suggest that this movement was significantly increased as a result of the Aborigines Protection Act legislation. Because the Victorian Aborigines Protection Act legislation long preceded the New South Wales legislation there were some non-customary moves from Victoria to New South Wales to avoid the effects of the 1886 Act. For example, the Yorta Yorta people, whose territory extended both north and south of the Murray river, considered that neither Victoria nor New South Wales governments were providing appropriate assistance (Jackomos 1972). When the Reverend Daniel Mathews established a mission at Maloga in 1874 on the New South Wales side of the river, it was patronised by YortaYorta who were at the time living predominantly in Echuca (ibid). In 1888 the APB caused the removal of all Maloga buildings three miles up the river to a new site named Cummeragunja (ibid). The enforcement of the 1909 New South Wales Act caused many of the able-bodied men to be evicted, resulting in the migration of many Cummeragunja families back to Victoria (ibid).

Remoteness

The previous example from Yorta Yorta territory demonstrates the difficulties that border regions create for administration and the recipients of its procedures. As has been commonly observed in

histories of Gippsland and north-east Victoria, remoteness allowed a culture of lawlessness in the new Australian colonies. This culture benefited Aboriginal people, insofar as they were less likely to be harassed by bureaucracies, and in other ways disadvantaged them, insofar as the perpetrators of criminal behaviour were less likely to be made accountable than in the more densely settled districts. There could be said to be an inverse relationship between remoteness from centres of civilisation and control[8].

The Snowy and Murray rivers had always been important boundaries (see 2.3 Gippsland and North-east languages sections) but the State border created in 1851 was freely crossed by Monaro, Maap and Thauaira peoples who had always intermarried. Snowy River *Dooroc* people had a history of involvement in the first whaling enterprises at Twofold Bay. The Monaro, Omeo and Maap, in particular, are recorded by government officials in the nineteenth century as regularly moving between the Monaro camps and Gippsland from the 1840s. Later, young men who had lived at Ramahyuck and Lake Tyers and then travelled to New South Wales, were said (by Hagenauer and Bulmer) to have picked up 'bad habits'. However, men and women continued to intermarry across the state border and to maintain family ties. George and Agnes Thomas remembered the Monaro families living at Newmerella under the Newmerella Hill where the river used to be and that they travelled down the Snowy by canoe[9] (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 76).

The lives of Charley and Janey Alexander were tragic but full of interesting stories linking the pair to some of the major recorded episodes in east Gippsland Aboriginal history during the mission and separation eras. Charley Alexander was the full-blood son of Bookur alias Neddy (who had Dooroc, Worreeke, Monaro and Yaitmathang ancestry) and Pot alias Mrs Neddy born circa 1850. The whole family were survivors of the Millie Swamp massacre in 1851 near Orbost during which Charley's sister Bolgan alias Kitty was shot in the leg (Pepper and Araugo 1985: 147). Bolgan was the object of desire

[8] To escape the jurisdiction of the (home colony), they crossed the border.
[9] It seems unlikely that they were still travelling by canoe after 1886, when the Thomas' moved first to Newmerella from Lake Tyers. What is more likely is that George remembered the Monaro people travelling by canoe when he was a young stockman with Billy Thomas in the 1870s.

of two men; Tommy Doughboy employed at Genoa by the Alexander brothers and Tooloo Kaat alias Paddy Gul Gul, a former native policeman (see 3.6) and a Wonangertoo. Tommy Doughboy invited the family to join him whaling at Twofold Bay in 1861 when Charley was ten and Bolgan about fifteen (Smyth 1878: 479). Under the protection of James and Robert Alexander, who had selected the Genoa run in 1842, Tommy Doughboy held up Bookur's family at gun-point, demanding Bolgan. Bookur was fatally wounded in the process and Doughboy took Bolgan from her mother. However a revenge party returned to Genoa, speared Doughboy and retrieved Bolgan. Although Tooloo Kaat and Bolgan were later able to marry, their time together was short lived as they were murdered in February 1869 at Lake King, probably by relatives of Tommy Doughboy (Anon 1869).

Three years later (1872), when Charley was about twenty, an expedition was organised to investigate the death of Bookur and the role of the Alexander brothers. The members of the expedition were Alfred Howitt, Kirlip Tom (Bookur's brother), Charley Alexander, Senior Constable Hall and Senior Sergeant Furnell (VPRS 937 Unit, 234 File E215). They were unable to find Bookur's remains, nor were the Aboriginal men able to positively identify Robert Alexander, possibly being too afraid of the consequences. Four years after this expedition, in 1876, Yibai Malian alias Murray Jack led the remainder of the Maap to Lake Tyers as well as by his three widowed daughters and their ten children one of whom, Sarah Jane 'Janey' Whittaker, married Charley Alexander (Hagenauer 1876). Janey Alexander was an important informant for Howitt on the customs and traditions of the Wolgal (Howitt n.d.). There is no explanation for Charley and Janey leaving Victoria to live on the Monaro (Figure 59) as there is no suggestion that either were of mixed descent. Perhaps Janey preferred the high country and wanted to raise her children in familiar surroundings but by 1891 Charley and his wife were living at Cooma (1892 NSW census) where he came increasingly under the influence of an addiction to alcohol (Bulmer 1994: 66). His killing of Janey in May 1892 was probably alcohol related and resulted in a twelve month imprisonment at Goulburn gaol (Helms 1895: 402). However he was not hanged as the jury expressed some doubt of his guilt (Bulmer 1994: 66). The fate of their children and Janey's children from her previous marriage is not certain. There was a suggestion that they

should be sent to Warangesda or be boarded out (APB 1892b). There is a strong possibility that Yibai Malian's other two daughters settled at Brungle and that Janey's children were sent to live with them.

Discretionary control

The degree to which policies were implemented by different managers varied. Hagenauer, as author of the Victorian Act, had a particular enthusiasm for and interest in the perceived success of the legislation. He had had a particular agenda in its development and sought to achieve a certain outcome; he had a vision. Men like Bulmer and Stahle were charged with implementing a set of rules without the accompanying vision and were more concerned by the hardship that people experienced under its influence. One feels that they interpreted the laws only as literally and incrementally as they were forced to do periodically by the Protection Board. One example of the difficult moral choices that the Act forced managers to make concerned Phillip Pepper's aunt and uncle Fred and Annie Carmichael:

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

> The missioner at Lake Condah Aboriginal Station, north-west of Port Fairy, advised Fred Carmichael in 1900 not to marry 'this half-caste girl', Annie Thorpe. Regulations in force were such that a part-Aboriginal person could not receive rations on the reserve and as Fred wished to marry Annie Thorpe he would have to Leave Lake Condah and therefore lose his cottage and his supplies. ... Fred married Annie in May 1900 and defied authority by taking her to live in his cottage at Lake Condah. The missioner gave Fred his rations but his wife was not permitted to receive food. This troubled the missioner so much that he asked the Board to request the Solicitor-General to make a decision giving an interpretation of the law regarding Annie, but the Board refused to refer the matter further. The missioner was upset, but accepted the decision. Annie and Fred left their home on the station. After trying to live outside for three years, Fred, Annie and their child returned to Lake Condah. The missioner asked the authorities to let the Carmichael family live permanently on the station. This request too was refused (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 53).

Although the legislation in the two States had the potential to result in the same outcomes, differences were created by the discretionary practices of managers, guardians, champions, police and Board officials. For example a minimum of control appears to have been exercised by the Wallaga Lake manager in 1911, where able-bodied men of mixed descent were allowed to continue to reside at the station as long as they either worked on the station under the direction of the manager or worked for wages off the station and supported their wives and children (Trenchard 1911). However, the APB census figures show a decrease of 37 residents at Wallaga Lake between 1909 and 1910, a loss of 24% of the station population (APB 1910, 1911). Perhaps the men described in Trenchard's report as 'away from the station working' were not considered by the manager to be residents although their families continued to make a home at Wallaga and the absent men were named as head of those households. A minimum of supervision seems to have also prevailed in 1895 when Baessler (1895) described the circumstances at the station:

> the "natives" are given just enough support to ensure that they do not die of starvation. By doing this much the conquerors consider themselves to have satisfied both duty and conscience. The reserves are generally under the charge of a government official, who

> administers them in a patriarchal fashion, a job which leaves him with plenty of time free to do other things (ibid: 1). . . . Any of the blacks who took a dislike to a station were free to move to another, and under no obligation to stay there once he got there, but could move on to another or back to the first: every reserve was obliged to take him in . . . The whole set-up works against any attempt to turn the blacks into useful citizens, and the conquerors have no intention of doing so. They are happy enough to let the people lead an easy life, but will shed no tears when the last of them dies and the land reverts to them (ibid: 11).

Assumptions have been made, and were probably made at the time, that a person's degree of Aboriginality is a readily identifiable trait. No explanation was provided as to the way in which managers were required to determine Aboriginality under the new policy of segregation; whether by appearance, the blackness of skin tone; or by a knowledge of ancestry, questioning residents about the degree of Aboriginality of their parents and grandparents. It has been stated previously that early observers such as Robinson noted significant differences in skin tone among far south coast people who were all considered to be full bloods. Station managers were not required to have any formal qualifications and archival letters attest to their poor literacy skills. As a result of these shortcomings, they would have had difficulty organising employment, foster placements and travel arrangements for Aboriginal station residents.

Mission and reserve closures

Mission and camping reserve closures that took place after the Aborigines Protection Acts were, in Victoria: Steiglitz camping reserve (1901), Ebenezer Mission (1904), Duneed camping reserve (1907), Tallageira camping reserve (1907), Ramahyuck Mission (1908), Gayfield camping reserve (1910) and Lake Condah Mission (1913-19) from where residents were sent to Coranderrk, Cumeroogunya, Framlingham and Lake Tyers missions (see Plate 6). These closures took place because they were perceived to be poorly patronised, because non-Aboriginal farmers and others continued to pressure the BPA for access to, and use of, the Aboriginal reserve lands and because the existence of a legitimate Aboriginal reserve resulted in satellite Aboriginal fringe camps in nearby towns (see, for example, Read 1994). By 1917, under a policy called the Concentration Plan, all Victorian Aborigines, whether of

mixed or purely Aboriginal ancestry, were expected to move to Lake Tyers under threat of the withdrawal of Government assistance. By 1923 there were 230 Victorians living at Lake Tyers (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 78-9).

Nine camping reserves within the study area were revoked after the 1909 New South Wales Act and three of these, Turlinjah, Ulladulla and Delegate, were probably still in use at the time (see Table 24, chapter 4). The APB recorded a population decrease of 43% in the Moruya area, 10% at Delegate and an increase of 100% in the Ulladulla area after the Act (APB 1910, 1911). The residents of Moruya and

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Plate 6: Aborigines leaving Coranderrk for Lake Tyers (Cannon)

Tuross camping reserves probably moved to Turlinjah, which closed in 1917, and other extant reserves such as Wallaga Lake, Ulladulla and the unofficial camps at Batemans Bay which also experienced a 50% increase in inhabitants at this time. Reserve closure would have concentrated expelled families onto already well patronised camping areas, stretched existing resources and required an increase in Aborigines' customary hospitality.

The second Tathra reserve (R17616) was not revoked until 1925. At this time the previously resident Hoskins family was moving between Wallaga Lake (members of the family were resident at Wallaga in 1911) and camps on the outskirts of Bega. When the Willoughby family left Mongarlowe, four of the surviving children went to Sydney and one stayed at Major's Creek (McGillicuddy 2001). Lake Moodemere residents moved south to Melbourne, Shepparton, New South Wales towns or the Aboriginal reserve at Cumeroogunya. Currowan was revoked in 1956 but the principal Currowan families moved to Kempsey, Nambucca, Macksville, Ulladulla and Moree. Delegate was not revoked until 1957 but many families left around the time of the Aborigines Protection Act and settled at Tarraganda, Jervis Bay and Roseby Park.

Mission and reserve closures in Victoria ultimately concentrated people at Lake Tyers, Framlingham and Cumeroogunya and forced them out into townships and a few unofficial camps. By contrast in New South Wales, perhaps because we know more about the early twentieth century employment history of Aborigines, it can be seen that seasonal employment provided men with winter or year round work in timber mills and whole families with summer and autumn picking work which enabled them to pay open market rental or to camp in humpies on the properties of seasonal employers[10] (Tindale 1939: 766, Rayner n.d., South Coast Labour Council 1963, Rowley 1971).

Pioneering families

[10] 'Employment is obtainable, at up to 8/- per day on small farms, particularly at seasonal work, such as bean picking, maize planting and as dairy hands. There are busy seasons and slack. Timber (sleeper cutting principally) work is available' (Tindale 1939: 66, writing from Wallaga Lake).

Despite their relatively recent exposure to European social structures many Aboriginal leaders have[11], and continue to demonstrate, a remarkable facility with understanding political processes, which affords them the opportunity to be informed about legal matters and to understand the subsequent implications. It is likely that the ramifications of the Aborigines Protection Acts were well understood by key Aboriginal leaders and that measures were taken wherever possible to ameliorate their impact on people's lives. Their way of dealing with all non-Aboriginal people was to inform them as little as possible about their lives, particularly about important matters, and to play ignorant, uninformed or not responsible when pressed. The world of understanding and information that exists behind this facade has always been less than obvious and is sometimes difficult for non-Aboriginal people to appreciate and access. Within Aboriginal communities knowledges are shared, where appropriate, comprehensively and with great alacrity. This process would have prevailed at times of all the great changes, including the closures of missions and reserves, the Aborigines Protection Acts and other legislation which impacted directly or indirectly on people's lives. This promoted discussion about possible outcomes among knowledgeable elders and other statesmen and women to optimise outcomes. Aboriginal people continued to be supremely adaptive.

One of the adaptations was to send or utilise the feedback of a scouting group or family to examine the possibilities of life in a new town and/or occupation. This process sometimes occurred passively, as when families of mixed descent were expelled from missions or reserves after the Acts:

> One of the first Aborigines to get his own land was Jackson Stewart and they had quite a little settlement of their own at Fish Point [near Lake Boga, Victoria], because other people sent out of the reserves joined up with them and worked. They got their supplies from the Lake Boga store and if there was any cases of hardship amongst them that got reported to the Aboriginal Board, they sent them blankets sometimes, to pick up from the store (Pepper and De Aruago 1980: 35).

[11] For example, the early deputations for land rights to representatives of the Queen (Victoria) by Taungurung elders in 1859 (Barwick 1984: 127) and Braidwood elders in 1872 (Smithson 1997: 211).

The households established by these forerunners then became unofficial stopovers on the north-south (New South Wales) and east-west (Victorian) coastal routes. For example, George and Agnes Thomas' and Billy and Lily Thorpe's households became an integral part of the coastal route between Eden and Bairnsdale (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 51). The success of the Victorian settler Thomas household at Newmerella paved the way for the adjustment of other Aboriginal families[12] into the region where seasonal picking and timber work was available in the early to mid-twentieth century. This process probably first came into being when pastoralists made it impossible for Aborigines to continue to live in their own country. It would have been important to determine the status of other Aboriginal groups, whether they were prepared to welcome migrants, what the venue offered in terms of lifestyle and how many could be accommodated. A mid-twentieth century example of this process was the community at Jackson's Track which was pioneered by Stewart Hood (Tonkin and Landon 1999). The processes of adaptive pioneering also occurred actively, when far south coast families or individuals moved to Kempsey to work in the New South Wales north coast timber mills and/or because conditions on the far south coast missions and reserves were adverse.

The Kempsey phenomenon

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century certain South Coast Aboriginal families were so distressed by the prevalence of disease epidemics[13] and the restrictive attitudes and practices of mission managers and local Protectors that they sent representatives of the family north to look for better conditions. These individuals were responsible for determining the viability of a potential move for other family members. There does not appear to have been a traditional precedent for the Kempsey - far South Coast connection as Howitt's informants, who were recorded relatively late in contact history, stated that the northern limit for Yuin marriage exchange partners was the Shoalhaven River (Howitt 1904: 262).

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[12] The payment of bills for rental and basic foods, seeking employment and relating socially to non-Aboriginal people were challenges to Aboriginal people who had grown up in the closed culture of missions and reserves. The scouts would have already discerned hostilities, empathies and employment opportunities.

[13] For example at Wallaga Lake in 1902 influenza killed two children and in 1905 a pneumonia epidemic claimed the lives of three older men and two babies (APB 1903, 1906).

The pioneers of this movement may have been the two Marshall sisters, Elizabeth and Catherine (Bridget). Along with their husbands Patrick Brown and William Donovan, they headed north from the Broulee area and were at Nambucca in 1885 where Bridget's second and Elizabeth's fourth children were born. The Donovans return briefly to Milton in 1889, but the family migrated to Nambucca (by 1891) and thereafter both families settled permanently in the Nambucca, Macksville and Kempsey areas (Wesson genealogies). James and Rosa Chapman were the next couple to investigate the opportunities of the north coast and their first child was born at Kempsey in 1889. However, the Chapmans returned to the Moruya area within two years where a further nine children were born (Wesson genealogies). The next known wave of south coast migrants left for the north in 1908 possibly in response to a fear of the repercussions of the (proposed) Aborigines Protection Act. Trenchard's 1911 comments ('fear of possible action by the Board under the New Act, which has been much exaggerated') suggest that the Half-caste Act had gained a large and fearsome reputation (Trenchard 1911: 4). The Donovans and Chapmans had started a trend which was taken up by other families partly in response to a fear of family separation. The men were said to have 'followed the timber' north in their quest for better living conditions (Ellis 1999). Work in the timber mills and logging industries was familiar and offered reasonable pay, fair conditions, accommodation and few bills.

Table 31 shows the parental origins of children known to have been either born or living at Kempsey around the turn of the century[14] and the places of origin of the south coast families are depicted in figure 60.

Table 31
South coast origins of children born or living at Kempsey around the turn of the century (source: Wesson genealogies)
Names in bold show parents who originated in the Kempsey area.

Year	Origin of mother	Origin of father
1889	Turlinjah	Mynora (Moruya)
1898	Nerriga	Araluen
1899	Broulee	NSW
1900	Broulee	Unknown
1901	Nerriga	Araluen

[14] I have excluded the births from the adjacent towns of Nambucca and Macksville to limit the amount of data in the table.

1904	Nerriga	Araluen
1906	Nerriga	Araluen
1906	Broulee	Unknown
1908	Eden	Monaro
1908	South coast	Unknown
1908	Broulee	NSW
1909	**Kempsey**	Wallaga Lake
1910	**Kempsey**	South coast
1913	Moruya	Broulee
1916	**Kempsey**	South coast
1917	Broulee	Unknown
1918	Unknown	Kiama
1918	Turlinjah	**Nambucca**
1920	Moruya	Unknown
1923	Turlinjah	**Nambucca**
n.d.	Moruya	Nowra
n.d.	Nerriga	Araluen

There were seven known nuclear families of south coast origin who migrated to the Kempsey area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, comprising fifteen people. It can also be seen from Table 34 that there is a strong correlation between families from the Broulee, Moruya and Turlinjah areas (the Burgali, Teross and Broulee groups) and the Kempsey migrations. Three of the children were born of a South Coast father and a Kempsey mother, suggesting that the man had migrated while single. Interestingly the South Coast origin families tended to intermarry once they were established in Kempsey, much as the whaling families of Eden tended to intermarry at Wallaga Lake (see 3.7).

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Another facet of this process has been the tendency for members of these families to return to their South Coast heartland: 'This is always the pattern which Aboriginal families followed. They would go right back to the original area they were born ...' (Ardler 1991).

5.3 The lives of Victorian Aborigines during the Separation Era

The Protection Board Reports

The Victorian BPA Reports provide examples of European attitudes to peoples of mixed descent both before and after the implementation of the Act. In 1884 Hagenauer considered that both the presence of 'half-castes', the taking on of the (worst) habits of Europeans and a habitual dependence on Government charity had irrevocably changed the Gunai. This was in stark contrast to a 'better' group which existed during a mythological golden age when missions were first established (1861-62) in the region (Hagenauer 1884)[15]. Hagenauer also viewed people of mixed descent as having less motivation and independence than 'others' (Hagenauer 1887), although it is not clear whether he compared them with other Aborigines or other Europeans.

After the passing of the Victorian Act in 1886, mission managers responded variously to the banishment of residents. Stahle, the manager at Lake Condah, was concerned that older people should not be forced to comply with the regulations but that children and younger adults could reasonably adjust to the changes expected of them (Stahle 1887). Hagenauer was one of the managers who made a point of carrying out the regulations to the letter of the law, expounding on the success of the Act in Gippsland where Aboriginal families were said to be:

> nearly all comfortably settled down and earning fair wages, and one man with wife and five children had, during the twelve months, saved between £20 and £30 from his wages, and hopes soon to buy a little cottage with some land from his own exertions. All of

[15] And yet Hagenauer's letterbooks are highly critical of many of the first mission residents (Hagenauer n.d.).

> those parents who have children the proper age send them to the State schools, and also to Sunday schools in their neighbourhood. There can be no doubt about it that the new law has conferred a great benefit on these people, which will be more and more observed in days to come, especially if the law is strictly carried out (Hagenauer 1888).

In the following year he was able to say that all 29 people of mixed descent who had left Ramahyuck were employed with 'useful work' and were 'in general doing well' (Hagenauer 1889). Stahle was concerned that these people found difficulty in obtaining appropriate housing[16] which created additional hardships when illness occurred (Stahle 1890) and he considered them all to be 'struggling' for a living (Stahle 1891). Bulmer was able to state in 1890 that all the Lake Tyers residents of mixed descent were employed by 'respectable families' (Bulmer 1890) but in 1892 only some of them were said to be doing well and earning 'sufficient to keep themselves respectably'18 (Bulmer 1892). In 1892 Hagenauer was still bemoaning Aborigines' propensity to wander: 'sometimes either [to] visit their friends at other stations, or receive visits from them ...' (Hagenauer 1892). Plate 2 shows a group of Lake Tyers residents in 1886.

The 1890s depression made conditions particularly difficult for the mission outcasts because Aboriginal men and women were competing for work and charity in a racist society in which many non-Aboriginal people were also unemployed and equally desperate for the necessities of life. In addition, urban Europeans were moving in unprecedented numbers into the countryside in search of work. Stahle noted that (with the compliance of the Board) many Aboriginal people had been supplied with food at the government station to ward off starvation (Stahle 1893). Bulmer observed a migration by many Lake Tyers residents to the Monaro in 1893, perhaps to assess the opportunities of

[16] These problems were so persistent that even after more than seventy years (by 1962) the Department of Aboriginal Affairs was no better prepared to accommodate Aborigines from Jackson's Track into the community as evidenced by Daryl Tonkin's story: 'It turned out that no real plans had been made to move the people into houses in the town immediately. The shire had set aside a bush paddock of about four acres with some saplings on it along the Princes highway near the Drouin golf course, and the volunteers from the church had managed to build a two-room house on it ... One house where they thought two rooms could accommodate two families! They crowded the Roses and the Hoods into the house, and for the rest of the families, the shire provided tents. ... Well, they were all pretty disgusted. They had been told that their life at Jackson's Track wasn't good enough to bring up children ... And where had they ended up?' (Tonkin and Landon 1999: 263-4).

the newly gazetted Delegate Reserve[17] (Bulmer 1893). He felt that the young men and women of mixed descent were poorly prepared for working and earning money in the wider community. Bulmer quoted a fellow ex-resident who stated that the men of mixed descent usually squandered whatever they earned on gratuitous pleasures rather than necessities: 'Those young fellows will work till they earn 4/-. They will then go and hire a bicycle for 4/- a day and will flash about till evening, and when they go home will have nothing to eat' (Bulmer 1994: 67).

[17] This visit is not reflected in the APB census figures for Delegate or Cooma (APB 1893).

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decompressor
are needed to see this picture.

Plate 2: Group at Lake Tyers 1886

The Victorian mission manager's reports support the suggestion that mission residents were poorly equipped to make a success of life in small towns and stations in south-eastern Australia. They lacked skills as employees and financial managers and had a limited knowledge of European-Australian society and expectations[18]. In addition there existed deeply held assumptions in the European-Australian psyche about the superiority of the colonisers and the inferiority of the colonised. Fanon (1968: 93) considered this inevitable phenomenon to be based upon myths held by the colonisers about *blackness,* upon which was imposed the values of otherness, sinfulness, night-time/absence of light, absence of civilisation and closeness to nature/animal/beast. In addition, 'obviously', particularly with the increasing influence of Social Darwinism, the process of colonisation was perceived to be inevitable and the colonised race as demonstrably inferior because they had been colonised.

How successful were the Aboriginal 'settlers' (or mission outcasts) and how were they perceived by their European-Australian neighbours? The experiences and responses of Europeans varied markedly. Against all odds some Aboriginal families made a success of the move and came to be widely respected in their communities by both Europeans (albeit with a degree of patronage) and Aboriginal people[19]. Regrettably very few records survive of late nineteenth century European-Australians' perceptions of their Aboriginal neighbours. Even less survives of the contemporary (late nineteenth century) Aboriginal perspective of these stories. Fortunately some oral histories about this era were passed down through two or three generations and recorded in the mid to late twentieth century (for example Gilbert 1973, Pepper and De Araugo 1980, 1985). These are described in the next two subsections.

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[18] In fact, a collection of mini-societies based around country towns and larger centres which were also changing rapidly.

[19] There was a perception in late twentieth century Aboriginal communities that families that lived on missions 'did it hard' and are somehow more authentic than other families, whereas families that 'never lived on missions' are proud of their independence and see themselves as more self-sufficient than others. The 'tall poppy' syndrome is particularly prevalent in Aboriginal communities and perhaps misunderstood as emanating from the low self-esteem of the most underprivileged. An alternative interpretation is that the impetus for discouraging individual enterprise comes from the social structure (will) of the tribe which insists that only that which is good for the group can be fostered. The development of the individual over and above the needs of the tribe is considered by the group *will* to not be in the best interests of that entity.

The Hammond family; stories of hardship and loss

Charley Hammond appears to have been a survivor of the Murrindal massacre (see Gardner 1983) after which he was found in a hollow log by the killers and raised by one of them (after whom he was named) to be a stockman (Grove 1925). The Aboriginal Charley Hammond and his Yaitmathang wife Annabelle McLeod began married life on a ten acre block at Bruthen where six of their children were born between 1863 and 1878. They were unsuccessful in their attempts to have the land granted to them and by 1880 were living near Omeo at Tongio (where Jimmy was born) and survived on the pay that Charley could make in station work (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 73). When Annabelle became ill a few months after giving birth to her seventh child, the local doctor refused assistance without the surety of payment and she died soon after (Attwood 1989: 17, Wesson genealogies). Charley and the children came to live at Lake Tyers in the following year (1884) but because Annabelle had been of mixed descent, Board policy decreed that by December 1886 the children were not welcome at Lake Tyers and the family was obliged to move again in 1889 (Attwood 1988: 16). They returned to Bruthen but circumstances were such that Charley was unable to adequately support the family and they became destitute. Hagenauer decreed that Charley and his son Jimmy (alias 'Muns') return to Lake Tyers and that Kate go into service. Charlie's grand-daughters Teresa and Matilda, the children of Eliza Hammond and Charlie Newkong, were sent to a reformatory school at Royal Park in Melbourne (ibid: 17, Wesson genealogies). Eliza had also been sent off the mission (Attwood 1989: 17). When Charley died in 1891, mission residents complained that he had been killed by the Half Caste Act (Attwood 1988: 17). After Charley's death, Bessie went first to Delegate and then to Ebenezer in western Victoria where a husband was found for her. She had three children at Ebenezer between 1900 and 1911 (Harrison 1994, Wesson genealogies) but was obliged to move yet again to Lake Tyers after the closure of Ebenezer mission. Jimmy spent his youth as a stockman in the high country and in his later years retired to the Bega area where he became a familiar figure in the town and travelled regularly between Orbost and Bega.

Jimmy used two routes, one via the coast road and a second via the mountains through Bonang, Delegate, Bombala and Candelo and his mode of transport was a bicycle (Foster 1997). Figure 61

shows the migrations of two generations of the Hammond family. The Hammond family story describes moves from one potentially *permanent* home to another in contrast to the traditional movements which occurred between camps. The latter were known to be transitional but part of a regular seasonal round (and thus permanent in a different sense). This distinction is important and shows the Hammonds to have made a cultural shift toward perceiving the permanent house and self-sufficient garden as the most desirable or effective mode of accommodation. Such a state of affairs may have ensued as a result of Charley and Annabelle's isolation from traditional teachers and

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support networks and their exposure to the conditioning of Europeans (at Gippsland pastoral stations and missions).

The Victorian Thorpe and Thomas families: stories of success and acceptance

Two families who were expelled from Lake Tyers as a result of the 1886 Act optimised the available opportunities. Billy Thorpe and George Thomas were said to have survived a tribal battle between the Swan Reach and Port Albert peoples and as a result of the battle were left without their parents[20] (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 38). They were rescued by Kitty Johnson née Bull (ibid: 78) and spent some time at Lake Tyers mission where they were taught to read and write. They both worked as stockmen before marriage and travelled extensively throughout the Monaro and Gippsland. With the implementation of the Act, Billy chose to settle with his wife Lily (nee Wilson) at Cunningham (now Lakes Entrance) where he worked for the Roadknight family at Merrangbaur (Bulmer n.d.). Like many other nineteenth century Aborigines, Lily had tuberculosis and only three years after their move to Cunninghame she died leaving Billy to care for four young children. Billy's second wife was a Warnambool woman, Sarah Dawson (ibid). Two of Billy and Lily's daughters were sent into service in private homes in Melbourne for seven shillings per week (ibid), probably at age fourteen in 1896 and 1899. When there was insufficient work in the Cunninghame (Lakes Entrance) area in bark stripping and other clearing or maintenance work, Billy worked back at the mission fencing and was also given government assistance with blankets and rations. He was able to buy ten acres at Lakes Entrance on Thorpe's Lane for half a crown per acre, a total of £1 5s where he grew beans and potatoes (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 51). George and his wife Agnes 'Ma' Thomas (nee Patterson) established themselves at Newmerella and worked for pastoralists and other settlers at Orbost where George contributed to the clearing and draining of the Snowy river flats and cattle mustering on Numeralla station (Newmerella Progress Association 1978: 26). Within a few years of their establishment on the river bank (ibid) the Thomas' lost all their possessions in a fire and had to start again from scratch (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 75).

[20] Although Pepper does not state the date of this battle, it is likely to have been a facet of the 1855-56 blood feud begun in response to Bit-to-cort's mistreatment of his wife, who was Keung's daughter (see Wesson 2000). At this time George would have been a lad of ten and Billy would have been a baby (Wesson genealogies).

The Thomas and Thorpe families have been depicted in local and family histories as exceptionally able to adapt to the expectations of European settlers. George and Agnes raised eight girls and five boys who were famous for their needlework, chip carving, piano and organ playing, being the first car owners in Newmerella and for their participation in the first World War (Newmerella Progress Association 1978: 26). They also illustrate the high degree of geographical mobility of south-east Australian Aborigines during the nineteenth century.

5.4 New South Wales stories from the Separation Era

The New South Wales Act did not always serve to remove Aborigines of mixed descent from stations and reserves. Table 32 shows the relative proportions of people of mixed descent living in far south-eastern New South Wales three years either side of the new Act. It can be seen that large numbers of people of mixed descent occupied reserves after the 1909 Act and that in fact proportionally their numbers had increased. After 1909 numbers increased from two to ten percent one year after the Act and from two to fifty-two three years after the Act (with the exception of Brungle which recorded a drop of five percent after three years).

Table 32
The proportion of Aborigines of mixed descent living on Aboriginal stations and reserves in far south eastern New South Wales 1905-1912[21] (source: APB reports 1905-1912)

Station or reserve	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1912
Brungle	57%	61%	62%	62%	73%	78%	68%
Delegate	24%	35%	50%	30%	43%	53%	60%
Moruya	77%	50%	77%	61%	48%	77%	100%
Queanbeyan	-	-	-	71%	90%	92%	89%
Ulladulla	-	93%	95%	89%	-	96%	97%
Wallaga Lake	62%	72%	-	75%	87%	90%	90%
Overall	**61%**	**72%**	**72%**	**71%**	**78%**	**82%**	**80%**

Table 33 shows the proportion of people of mixed descent not living on stations or government reserves at the time of the annual census[22]. These figures also show a high proportion of the total

[21] The 1911 figures do not appear in the APB reports.
[22] Certain individuals among the far south coast population were very mobile and regularly relocated.

Aboriginal population as being of mixed descent. The proportion of people of mixed descent living off government reserves and stations can be seen to be slightly higher than those living on them, but not significantly so.

Table 33
The proportion of Aborigines of mixed descent living away from Aboriginal stations and reserves in far south-eastern New South Wales 1905-1912 (source: APB reports 1905-1912)

Place	**1905**	**1906**	**1907**	**1908**	**1909**	**1910**	**1912**
Batemans Bay	69%	74%	92%	85%	78%	79%	64%
Dalgety	-	83%	83%	83%	86%	80%	88%
Nelligen	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Tumbarumba	66%	66%	-	83%	86%	91%	25%
Overall	**61%**	**72%**	**72%**	**71%**	**78%**	**82%**	**80%**

The figures for people of mixed descent living away from missions are compared with an overall proportion of mixed descent people for the whole region (shown on the table in bold). It can be seen that the overall increase, was representative of the trend both on and off stations and reserves. The slight drop in the overall proportion of mixed descent people between 1910 and 1912 may have been due to a net migration out of the region, perhaps into the Kempsey area.

Thus in far south-eastern New South Wales the new Act did not serve as intended, at least initially, to remove people of mixed descent from stations and reserves and concentrate them in fringe camps. However, reports from the APB which provide insights into the attitudes to the new Act by station managers and reserve guardians throughout New South Wales, suggest that elsewhere in the State the Act was more vehemently imposed. Section 8 of the Act redefined Aboriginality such that 'only people already receiving rations or who lived on an official reserve were defined as Aborigines' (Read 1994: 55). Every attempt was made to discourage people from continuing to live on reserves (ibid: 55):

> Section 14 of the Act actually provided for Aborigines to be driven both from reserves and from towns ... less than a year after the Act was passed there were complaints of

former Warandgesda residents camping along the river ... By 1909 the population of Yass was larger than ever as people expelled from Brungle and Warangesda began arriving at the town reserve. Relations between blacks and whites steadily deteriorated ... by 1912, when expulsions became a common event, the potential for a major confrontation between Aborigines, the Board and the town councils grew ever stronger ... By 1920, fifty-one men had been expelled from Brungle, ... Where could they go? No sooner had they been expelled from the reserves than the white townsfolk would complain of mushrooming fringe-camps (ibid: 57).

A Wiradjuri woman, Mary Lyons, recalled how her family had:

> … trailed up and down the river for a while after they had all been expelled. Then they made their way up-river to another reserve, at Grong Grong, where they may have thought themselves safe at last. But the Grong Grong reserve, unknown to her parents had already been revoked and returned to the farmers ... [later a magistrate ordered] that the family return to Narrandera so that the children could attend school (Read 1994: 60-1).

The 1900 report stated that the Board had decided to remove the Aboriginal Camp at La Perouse and offered to build huts and provide rations and clothing for them at Wallaga Lake to induce them to leave:

> A change was considered desirable for many reasons. In the first place, there were a number of young children growing up in idleness, who were not attending school or learning any useful trade or occupation; whereas at the Station at Wallaga Lake they would be under the control of the Board's Manager, and would have to go to school, and when they became old enough, to work. Another reason was that the Camp [La Perouse] was a centre of attraction for undesirable Aborigines, who, by reason of the facility which it offered for their accommodation, were always trying to get to Sydney, and who, when they did reach the metropolis, could not without difficulty be induced to return to their own districts (APB 1901).

Thus La Perouse was perceived to be a place from which Aboriginal people moved into Sydney town where their lives could not be monitored or controlled. In 1901 young men and women were said to be apprenticed to 'suitable European homes' where they were employed as domestic servants and labourers (APB 1903). In 1902 a number of 'questionable characters were turned away' from Brungle station and the manager took proceedings against an Assyrian hawker who was found on the station at night playing cards with the residents (APB 1903). The 1903, 1904 and 1905 APB reports found that able-bodied Brungle men were working off the station at shearing and fencing but that some migrant (non-resident) men of mixed descent caused trouble at the station and had to be removed by force (APB 1904, 1906). This account begs the question of how a *bona fide* resident was defined and what instructions were given to managers to assist them in determining such matters. Was this someone whose ancestors had originally inhabited the Brungle area or someone whose ancestors had taken residence when the station was first gazetted? Was it someone who was neither able-bodied, nor of mixed descent? In 1904 some Wallaga Lake men were permanently employed on local dairy farms in dairy work and cheese making earning up to £2 per week (APB 1906). The 1906 APB report noted that several of the Wallaga Lake men were employed at whaling, while others found casual work with local farmers. Some of the women sold craft products, including baskets and boxes, and photograph frames decorated with shells (APB 1907).

A detailed report about conditions at Wallaga Lake in 1911 exists because members of the local Tilba Protection Association complained to the APB about the station's management. The report by two members of the NSW APB, Trenchard and Beardsmore, provides detailed information about the whereabouts, occupation, accommodation and work habits of station residents in 1911. Many of the working men were absent at the time of the visit but all had houses which were, or had been, assigned to them. Many of these men and their wives were of mixed descent but the report made no suggestion that there had been any attempt by management to oust the families entirely, and perhaps this was cause for concern by the APB officials. The attitude of the station management seemed to be that as long as working men of mixed descent were not dependent on Government support they were welcome to have their families housed at Wallaga Lake station and to visit their families occasionally.

However, Trenchard observed that the numbers of station residents were 'much reduced in consequence of there being plenty of work obtainable, and fear of possible action by the Board under the new Act, which has been much exaggerated' (Trenchard 1911: 4). Trenchard was most critical of individuals who were in good health but not employed, but a man of mixed descent who was the station overseer was praised as a good worker and a responsible family man. By contrast, Victorian mission managers had expected any family of mixed descent to set up house on a pastoral station (for example, Charley and Annabelle Hammond at Tongio) or near a township (for example, George and Agnes Thomas). At Wallaga Lake station the managers did not appear to have discriminated at all between those of mixed descent and full bloods but rather between those who were prepared to work and those who were not. Nor was there discrimination between those who worked on the station and those who worked away.

The 1909 APB report stated that the men were more inclined to accept employment than formerly but that there was still reluctance on the part of some men of mixed descent who, it was hoped, would soon leave the station (APB 1910). The 1911 Brungle report stated that 'The new Act has been responsible for the abolition of idling and laziness on the part of the able-bodied, and many of the men during the year have obtained work at neighbouring stations. Those boys and girls who have been apprenticed from the station have given satisfaction to their employers, and express no desire to return to the station' (APB 1912). In the following year three girls were sent to the Cootamundra Home:

> The Home at Cootamundra is likely to prove a big factor in bringing about more satisfactory arrangements as regards the young aboriginal population. By weaning them from the charms of camp life, and providing them with comfortable homes and congenial employment, their lives will be brightened up, and they will realise the advantages that are to be gained by striking out for themselves. In a very few years, if the Home proves the success that is anticipated, the aboriginal [sic] life at the Mission Stations will be a thing of the past (APB 1913).

In 1913, the station population comprised 73% of mixed descent (APB 1914).

5.5 Separation from the known and loved

Another outcome of the Victorian and New South Wales Aborigines Protection Acts was to separate from their families men who remained at missions and camps with relatives, or to encourage men to support their families in a social and political climate that made an adequate standard of living impossible. After the Act, men of mixed descent had no legal right to government assistance. In Victoria only the very enterprising or very lucky families were able to survive and thrive in country towns and on pastoral properties after the Half-caste Acts. A nuclear family that was isolated from its kin had no teachers (Aboriginal children were not taught directly by their biological parents), no repositories of knowledge (knowledge was stored with the community elders) and no assistant carers, gatherers, cooks and cleaners (a service provided by various relatives).

Traditional population control practices had been discouraged and largely expunged by the late nineteenth century in far south-eastern Australia. Consequently healthy Aboriginal women at this time in regular partnerships usually had at least eight children (Wesson genealogies) and sometimes as many as fifteen. Caring for and feeding a large number of children on the poor wages given to Aboriginal stockmen and domestic servants was a challenge. The situation became untenable if either partner became ill.

The separation of spouses destabilised social structures in many ways including increasing the likelihood of infidelity by both partners in circumstances where the appropriateness of liaisons and the breaking of traditional marriage laws could not be monitored by elders. It also interfered with the continuity of men's knowledges although there is some suggestion that elders journeyed to young men's places of employment to instruct them and/or arranged for their instruction apart from places of employment (see 4.3 and table 29). Women who were isolated from their menfolk at missions and reserves would have had the whole responsibility (and burden) of providing the community elders and children with bush foods and meats, where previously large game had been provided by men. Perhaps one point in favour of the much maligned rabbit is that it was able to provide Aboriginal women at the turn of the century with a source of meat that carried no traditional taboos!

Stolen children

The removal of children from their families became commonplace after 1909 when, as a result of the Aborigines Protection Act (New South Wales), all Aboriginal children were made wards of the State. All far south coast, north-east and Monaro families have a member who was stolen or sent into service, a children's home or some other institution[23]. These practices caused Aboriginal people, in fear of subsequent removals of their children, to be periodically on the move in their efforts to evade police, local guardians, school teachers and other agents of the Aborigines' Protection Boards. Settling into permanent housing like white people was not an option when families were under constant threat of separation. Parents went to elaborate lengths to ensure that their children were either not found (they were hidden in the bush, in creek beds, cellars and sent to live with remotely located relatives) or if found were not perceived to be fair complexioned (their skins darkened with boot polish or soot). The kitchens of Aboriginal families were kept clean and stocked with food (an absence of food in cupboards was sufficient grounds for removal of children) and clean.

Many of the institutions which were established to receive and house the stolen children began to operate after 1910, which is the end date of the study period. However the 1909 Act formalised practices which gained momentum during the first half of the twentieth century and deserve examination as exemplifying the repercussions of the Act (Miller 1985: 140, DOCS 1998: 13-4). There are twentieth century records which survive to show the distances that New South Wales Aborigines were forced to travel, often alone, away from familiar surroundings and people as a result of the policies of the Aborigines Protection Board. Infants and young children from the far south coast were sent to Bomaderry Babies Home at Nowra from 1908 (Wesson genealogies) and from three years of age (Anon 1944) girls were sent to Cootamundra from 1911 (Kabaila 1995: 30, DOCS 1988: 21), while boys of between seven and seventeen years were sent to Kinchela from 1924 (Miller 1985: 146, DOCS 1998: 74). Girls travelled from the Monaro, far south coast and Illawarra (Wesson genealogies) to the Cootamundra Home and after spending their early teens learning domestic skills were then put into

[23] It was predominantly, but not exclusively, children of mixed descent who were taken from their families.

'service' to wealthy families in Sydney or on country properties (Miller 1985: 141, 147-8, DOCS 1998: 14, Morgan 1994: 63) where they were worked extremely hard and sometimes returned to their families pregnant with the boss's child (Morgan 1994: 64). Boys also came from the Monaro, far south coast, Shoalhaven and Illawarra to Kinchela Boys Home (Wesson genealogies) after which they were sent to work as farm hands, dairy hands, poultry farm workers and house workers. Figure 62 shows the journeys of stolen children from the study area to the institutions for children in New South Wales. It can be seen that the distances children were taken from their usual places of residence would have made parental visits both time consuming and expensive. Parents were often unaware of their children's whereabouts, especially after they had been sent into domestic or farm service. Children were raised in institutions without loving families, traditional culture or language and some grew into adults with psychological disturbance, poor parenting skills, low self-esteem and only a superficial knowledge of the wider world. Their poor preparation for adulthood left them vulnerable to abuse by unscrupulous employers and others in the community.

Living on missions and camps had given them no experience in money management, an essential skill in the European-Australian world. They were used to being able to hunt and gather foods and artefact materials which, at missions and permanent camp sites, would have become increasingly depleted. They had also been largely isolated from non-Aboriginal communities.

Many separated mothers lost the will to live and became either insane or drank themselves to death. The genocidal policies not only disabled the children who were stolen but also those who were left, both adults and children. Trauma promoted addiction, and the use of alcohol increased as a result of family separation. The children who were left probably experienced irrational guilt at not being taken, wondering why they had been spared.

Changes of identity

Mary Duroux's 1992 poem which introduces this chapter epitomises racism; the judgement on grounds of race of Aborigines both by their own people and others. Some aristocratic Europeans had briefly

QuickTime™ and a
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are needed to see this picture.

perceived Aborigines to be at best 'noble', but unfortunately 'savage', and those Aboriginal people of mixed descent were deemed to be *less than* the original noble savage (for example Bulmer 1994: 70). They were seen to have acquired the worst that European society could offer; either by association or descent. Such discrimination was perpetrated not only by Europeans but also by disenfranchised Aborigines who found the complexity of expressions of Aboriginality increasingly difficult to contextualise (it was becoming harder to say what being an Aborigine in a now predominantly European society was). Aborigines were mixing with Europeans in a larger variety and greater complexity of ways; as employees, co-workers, tenants, partners and fellow citizens (albeit not formally acknowledged and as wards of the State having only the legal status of children).

The first Aboriginal babies of mixed descent were often rejected by their Aboriginal mothers who had a tradition of allowing unwanted or defective children to die in the best interests of the survival of the group. European intervention changed this practice and resulted in the gradual introduction of a number of children of mixed descent. It is possible that a whole range of responses occurred, invoked by European cultural propaganda about the shamefulness of being black, primitive and therefore 'less than'[24].

The question of belonging and identifying is not unique to Australian Aborigines. Individuals in many communities are offered the opportunity to consider the value of identifying with a less powerful minority within a more powerful group which may also be a coloniser. Continuing to identify with the minority offers *unity in adversity* which is strongly bonding, but identification with the majority offers the potential of increased power[25]. Another factor is that the powerful majority

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[24] In continental Indian society paler skins are considered to be more desirable (for example Seth 1993), but this value system may be a post-colonial phenomenon. Among contemporary Aboriginal communities there is considerable ambivalence about blackness versus Aboriginality. Whereas blacker skin confers a greater likelihood of experiencing racial discrimination at the hands of the non-Aboriginal community, it also lends some status and irrefutable evidence of Aboriginality. Conversely a fairer skin allows the option of 'not identifying' but behoves the individual to prove her/his Aboriginality behaviourally.

[25] European conditioning about Aboriginality has also promoted the perception by Aboriginal women that marrying a non-Aboriginal man is an upwardly mobile social move. Conversely, a non-Aboriginal woman who married an Aboriginal man was likely to experience social ostracism.

enjoys the exotic element[26] that the minority brings to its community so long as the minority does not become powerful or significantly influence existing political structures. In post World War II Romania the Government's attempts to assimilate Gypsies, by the destruction of their settlements (Fonseca 1995: 167), had many parallels with the experiences of Australian Aborigines. The following account examines late twentieth century attitudes to Gypsies:

> 'The sedentary person's fear of the nomad is an ancient one, and modern polls still attest to it. ... At various times [Gypsies] have been forbidden to wear their distinctive bright clothes, to speak their own language, to travel, to marry one another, or to ply their traditional crafts. Their horses have been shot and the wheels removed from their wagons, their names have been changed, their women have been sterilized, and their children have been forcibly given for adoption to non-Gypsy families (a practice in Switzerland until 1973). ... But Gypsies have confounded predictions of their disappearance as a distinct ethnic group, and their numbers have burgeoned. ... Gypsies have regularly been undercounted, both by regimes anxious to downplay their profile and by Gypsies themselves, seeking to avoid bureaucracies' (Godwin 2001: 78-81).

Practices of annihilation and fears of the nomad persist well into modern times and include responses to the Sami who have been systematically persecuted throughout Scandanavia (even in the name of eugenics) until the 1930s at least. One response by governments was to ignore people of mixed descent, describing them as 'not really Aboriginal'. The category of 'half-caste' further implied an absence of social place (and at worst an absence of humanity), neither one thing nor the other[27]. To be half-caste was somehow to be a 'problem', but in truth the problem was with the European-Australians, who were responsible both for the creation of those of mixed descent[28] and for their

[26] 'The more exotic Gypsies appear to be, the more "genuine" they are considered and, paradoxically, the more acceptable they become (in the local imagination, if not the local pub). Whoever best fits the stereotype wins. Gypsies wearing their traditional clothes - are "safely" in the realm of folklore, and it is the business of folklore to domesticate, or defang, the strange. Gypsies who have abandoned their traditional dress are no longer so good to look at; accordingly, they are not recognised as a tribe but as a nuisance' (Fonseca 1995: 239).
[27] The way in which the term half-caste was (and is) used makes it into a sneer and an insult (just a half-caste, only a half-caste); a statement that these people are most certainly not Aborigines and neither do they have any other valid classification.
[28] Although the term 'mixed descent' is used it might be more accurate to refer to mixed skin colour. Aborigines throughout the Australian continent had been intermarrying with those of other cultures,

outcasting. A corollary of this position was to insist that these individuals assimilate into the wider community.

By the late nineteenth century, children of mixed descent were raised and accepted by their Aboriginal communities as were all children, whether full-blood or non-Aboriginal. However, all Aboriginal children regularly experienced exclusion from schools from the mid-nineteenth through into the twentieth century. The following is a media release at the turn of the century, based on the response of a senior sergeant of police responsible for the protection of Aborigines at Singleton after attending a Parents and Citizens meeting called to discuss the attendance of Aboriginal children at the local school:

> What they were dealing with was the half-castes, and the half-caste was not a desirable class to have mixed up with their own children ... The greatest objection parents could have if Aboriginals were educated at the public schools, was that their own children had to sit by, and play with them, and there was a certain familiarity which grew during school life which was likely to stick to the children after they had matured ... As far as he was concerned he would like to see all the half-castes out of the town (Anon 1909).

The selective perceptions of bureaucrats and policy makers allowed for an acknowledgement that Aboriginal women were sometimes 'poorly treated' by non-Aboriginal men (see chapter 3) but the children born of these unions were not considered to be the joint responsibility of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities[29]. Nevertheless, people of mixed descent, particularly men, were considered to be more fit for work than full bloods, having more of the 'right stuff' (the genetic endowment that promotes responsible and reliable work practices) (Attwood 1989: 89, 96, 99). Although many of the children of mixed unions had fathers with considerable social prestige in the non-Aboriginal community, managers and policy makers sought only to prepare them to occupy the lowest tiers of Australian society. To this end, children whose parents had died and many of the

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some of whom were characterised by distinctive physical traits. However, mixed descent is used in this dissertation to describe people of mixed ancestry, usually those of European-Australian Aboriginal ancestry.

[29] The shame of the non-Aboriginal community was transmuted into discrimination and Aboriginal women's morality was blamed for the birth of children of mixed descent by a society in which women were and are given a larger share of responsibility for upholding the moral integrity of the community.

children of mixed descent were taken from their communities and put into homes at Bomaderry (from 1908), Cootamundra (1912 to 1975[30]), Singleton (from 1918 to 1925) and Kinchela (from 1925) to be trained as labourers and domestic servants (Long 1970, Miller 1985: 124, Kabaila 1995, Gahan 1997: 28, Jopson 2001).

> The institution [Singleton] accommodates an average of 30 Aboriginal boys who are taken from Reserves and looked after on the Home until they are of an age to enable them to go to employment, when they are placed out under supervision of the Board's Inspectors (APB 1920).

Expulsion

Aboriginal people of mixed descent who were forced to leave missions and government reserves not only had to relinquish a lifestyle to which they had become accustomed and a place which they knew, but to experience the shattering of memories about the places which used to be known. Countries changed irrevocably as a result of nineteenth century settlement by Europeans. The camps which were once favoured were likely to have been the most sought after for settlement and to have been cleared of vegetation, had the surface water disturbed, been altered by and covered in the built structures of European settlement such as houses, sheds, factories, shops, hotels, mines, fences, animal yards, roads and railways. These changes may have rendered sites unrecognisable and thereby alienated them from the care which Aboriginal site custodians provided; whose responsibility it was to keep sites 'energised'. The number of predominantly non-Aboriginal people inhabiting old Aboriginal camps may have grown to an extent that made them daunting to an Aboriginal person. Old pathways may have been fenced off or become major traffic routes. Places which once provided the raw materials for foods and artefacts may have been destroyed by capital works such as drainage, clearing and the building of structures for European settlement. An increase in the number and variety of exotic plant and animal species would have occurred. Changes in the demography of the home country would have included not simply an increase in the population, but also an increase in the population density,

[30] In 1969 control of the institution was transferred to the New South Wales Youth and Community Services Department and it became a home for girls of all races until its closure in 1975 (Kabaila 1995).

an increase in the number of men and younger people, a decrease in the number of Aborigines (in most regions) and a proportional decrease in the number of Aborigines to Europeans, Chinese and other migrants and perhaps a seasonal increase in the number of migrant Aborigines (in regions where temporary employment was favourable to Aboriginal employment).

These changes in physical environments were accompanied by changes in the inner environments of the expelled individual, having been given the message that they were no longer Aboriginal as far as bureaucracies were concerned. However, the feedback from the non-Aboriginal communities in which they found themselves was that they were undoubtedly Aboriginal, outcast and other. Therefore opportunities of employment for Aborigines were limited and when they got a job, the experience was often oppressive and abusive over and above that experienced by the least powerful members of colonial and federal society.

The expectations of the individuals concerned can best be determined by referring back to the four principles of Aboriginal relationship with country (see 2.2 Caring for country);

(i) country is a living entity with a consciousness and a will toward life

(ii) country nourishes and informs

(iii) country responds reciprocally to care

(iv) care of country consists of a combination of conservation, management, respect, celebration and visitation.

The expectations of an expelled individual or family about the state of their country would have been modified by the extent and breadth of experience spent working or visiting away from the mission or reserve and the stories about the state of country that had been conveyed by other visitors. For example, Jimmy 'Muns' Hammond spent a lot of time off Lake Tyers learning about the value of money:

> There was another fellow we called Muns. He was Jimmy Hammond and anything he did he asked for the money for the work. He kept nickin' off the station when he wasn't supposed to and that's how he learned the worth of money. When these blackfellas left

> the stations or didn't do as they were told by the manager, or gave any cheek-stood up for themselves they got shifted away to another station. Sometimes a whole family was sent away or just one from a family, and if they were young men or women they mainly got sent to the homes. Muns was a real devil, he would go off visiting the Aborigines he knew. ... After Muns finished his schooling he worked on and off the station (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 73) (see also 5.3).

The Ramahyuck records of the mid-1870s (Table 28) show that a number of mission residents spent significant proportions of time away from the mission at other Gippsland properties and settlements, but that the majority of destinations were not large population centres but rather 'old hunting grounds and friends here and there' (Hagenauer n.d.). Historical records definitely give the impression that fewer women moved as freely or as often about the country as men. When women did travel it was usually in the company of their husband/partner or father and family, although there are many exceptions to this generalisation such as the request of two north-east Victorian women, Lizzie and Eva Brangy, to travel from Wangaratta to Coranderrk in 1881 (AA B313/1), presumably to visit family at Coranderrk. Auntie Eileen Morgan recalls her childhood perceptions of the late 1920s that: '... we thought we were the only Aborigines in Australia. ... It was only when the Wallaga Lake Gumleaf Band travelled around that we became aware there were other people like ourselves' (Morgan 1994: 69).

Aborigines' understandings about country would have been challenged by the fact that Europeans were seen to violate sacred laws without apparent repercussions. The Europeans acted without any perception of the importance of these laws, which were revealed to knowledge holders so that all people could behave in a way that would maximise cosmic stability. The experience of returning to countries which had undergone massive change would have caused people to challenge their most deeply held beliefs to determine whether they still had application. What were traditional custodians to do when they no longer had access to their sites that required conservation, management, respect, celebration and visitation? How were they to know how to live when they were no longer nourished and informed by country? How was the country to stay alive without ceremonies and visitation from spirit family? What was the role of a site that was masked (covered, hidden or altered) by the built

environments of European settlement? The answers to these questions concern traditional custodians into the present time and are behind the drive for protection and conservation of Aboriginal sites and the acquisition of lands for Aboriginal ownership. The loss of function of sites is a cause of profound grief and would have been particularly difficult for those individuals who had responsibility for the spiritual and ceremonial business of the sites.

Aboriginal children were told about their home country in the form of family oral history to familiarise them with important places, events, skills and resources: 'When we were kids we went to Granny's for holidays and she told us a lot of different stories. ... She was always talkin' about a big water hole near one of their camps' (Pepper and De Araugo 1980: 33-34). Many of the Gippsland and far south coast people that I have worked with have cited examples of being given knowledge as children about the whereabouts of water holes so that they would know where the water was at any camp site. Other information that is passed on to children includes the position of safe river crossings, camp sites and the haunts of spirit entities. Such knowledge, along with stories about past experiences, would have created a rich and colourful set of expectations about home countries.

Comparisons can be made between the experience of Aborigines returning to home countries and the late twentieth century children of migrant Australians returning to their parent's country of birth. The home country is experienced partly as was expected but is also different from how the parents of those children remembered it. The returnees are caught between two worlds- as is their generation. The language variant that their parents still speak may have long gone from functional use in the birth country. The second generation children of migrant Australians are considered to be Australian in their parent's birth country and to have strong Australian accents. By contrast, at home in Australia they might be considered to be 'wogs' and to have, for example, a strong Italian-Australian or Greek-Australian accent.

Issues of identification with country plagued Aboriginal migrants whose position may have been usurped by a second group of Aboriginal migrants. For example, far south coast migrants returning

home after several generations in the Kempsey area, were confronted with being told by other Aboriginal families that they don't belong on the far south coast and are now considered to come from the north coast. A transference occurs so that rather than questioning the rights of the invaders, the onus is constantly on Aboriginal people to prove to other Aboriginal families their rights to be in a country.

A second situation occurred when expelled families and individuals were thrust into a stranger's country. This involved a different set of challenges because people were not prepared by the knowledge and memories of family members and other teachers. Thus the geography of the area was unknown, as were resources, camps and crossings. The traditional custodians of the new country may have been enemies of the individual's group or have an existing feud with that group. Traditional language would have been substituted for Aboriginal English which was understood, to a greater or lesser extent, by all Aboriginal peoples by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The shattering of expectations possibly experienced by traditional custodians moving back into their home countries would not have been felt by this group. Perhaps the residents of Cumeroogunya and Lake Boga had compassion for strangers like John Ellis, having resolved their own experiences of disenfranchisement. The enmities that loomed large when Lake Tyers was established probably faded as the men and women who had been born before the mission era passed away. However, even at the current time tolerance and acceptance of migrants is not a foregone conclusion and a feud between two groups at Wallaga Lake who originate from different places is ongoing.

A third circumstance that ensued as a result of the Act was that migrant full-bloods were given more rights to country than were the mixed descent traditional custodians. For example, as a result of the Act and through John Bulmer, Gunditjmara (Dhauwurd wurrung) and Wergaia full-bloods from Lake Condah and Ebenezer missions were allowed to remain at Lake Tyers and Ramahyuck while the mixed-descent Gunai custodians were expelled. This situation would have been unbearable for the traditional custodians and put the new-comers into a very awkward political position which was not of their own making. It would have been particularly difficult if the expelled young men and women

were chosen knowledge holders whose older relatives were left on the missions and reserves to settle the score with the migrants.

5.6 Patterns of Aboriginal movement after the Half-caste Act: a comparison

Group size

In Gippsland, the size of groups recorded on the move was substantially reduced after the Act by comparison with the mission era; thereby continuing an observable trend since contact. Only 10% of the groups were large, whereas 64% of the recorded movements were by a single individual or a small group. A similar trend was apparent in the north-east region after 1886 with 67% of events recorded as being a single individual (24%) or a small group. However, in the north-east this trend was already manifest in the mission era. On the Monaro only four events were recorded post 1909 and these were of three single individuals and one small group. Although this sample is too small to be considered significant, it does support the trends observed for Gippsland and the north-east. The eight events recorded for the south coast after 1909 show 75% as a single individual (50%) or small group and only 13% as a large group. This was a similar trend to that observed during the mission era when 77% of events were individuals and small groups and none were large compared with the pastoral era when 39% of observed movements were of large groups and only 46% were individuals and small groups. These statistics suggest that the Aborigines Protection Acts promoted the bureacratic machinery of family separations which began during the mission era.

Distance travelled

The Gippsland record is poor for small and medium journeys and the majority of recorded events (86%) are for journeys of over 100 km. This is very different from the previous (mission) era in which only 27% of the journeys were of this length. This scant record (of 29 events) suggests that Aboriginal people in Gippsland were moving less around the local landscape but still making long journeys to visit family friends and important sites. The north-east record has only five events for this period, one journey over 16 km and four of over 100 km. Once again the north-east figures support the Gippsland

trend although five events cannot be taken to be statistically significant. There are only two records of journeys of over 100 km in this category for the Monaro and seven for the South Coast (two between 51 and 100 km, four over 100 km) between 1909 and the end of 1910. These very scant statistics suggest minor changes to the trends suggested by the previous eras, however, apart from Gippsland, overall journeys within the study area were only slightly (18-20%) more likely to be longer after the Aborigines Protection Acts than they were in previous eras.

Travel routes

Travel routes in Gippsland during this era were similar to those from the pastoral era and followed generally river valleys and lakes (33%), ridge tops (23%), high country plains (18%) and the coastal hinterland (15%). This is exactly the same percentage (89%) of usage for these routes as during the previous era. Only thirteen events were recorded for the north-east during this era and the travel routes were predominantly using river valleys and inland plains, whereas in the previous era the journeys regularly used ridge tops and high country plains. Although it is inappropriate to draw conclusions from limited samples, the results suggest a simplification of travel routes after 1886, perhaps due to an increase in the use of roads and modes of travel other than walking. Travel on horseback, by bullock dray, train and steamer increased the speed of journeys and reduced the necessity to walkers for following water courses wherever possible. While most Aboriginal people would have had limited access to these vehicles, they did use them when on offer (particularly when travel was paid for by the Aborigines Protection Board) and their use by Aborigines increased from the late nineteenth century.

Individuals or families leaving a mission or reserve as a result of the Aborigines Protection Act had their outward journey funded and directed, however no return trip was given any kind of financial support. The regular use of privately owned cars as a means of transport was not commonplace until the 1960s when cars became affordable to a majority of Australians.

There were six travel routes described for the Monaro after 1909, showing a similar trend to the previous era. Of the eighteen South Coast journeys recorded during 1909 and 1910, 67% of them

utilised the coast and the coastal hinterland. This compares favourably with the previous era in which 76% of journeys used the same routes.

Reasons for movement

The reasons for movement in Gippsland after the Act changed markedly. There were fewer recorded journeys to move home, a similar proportion of journeys related to visiting relatives, marriage and death and for employment, and significantly more journeys as a result of mission closure or policy. There were no journeys for revenge, war or attacks on Europeans compared with 9% in the previous era. Reasons for movement were also very different after 1886 in the north-east. Most of the journeys were for employment (52%) and moving camp or home (36%), whereas in the mission era only 4% of journeys had been employment related. There were only three reasons for movement recorded for the Monaro after 1909 for family visits, marriage or death, employment and miscellaneous causes such as court appearances. In the previous era 69% of the events were for employment. Reasons for movement on the South Coast showed some changes in trends to the previous. There was a substantial decrease (30%) in the proportion of visits for family, marriage and death and an increase in the journeys for employment and other causes, although due to the small number of samples for the era this can not be said to be statistically significant.

Push and pull factors

The Aborigines Protection Acts operated as powerful push factors forcing Aborigines of mixed descent to leave reserves. Other push factors operating during this era were the ongoing intolerance of some sectors within the non-Aboriginal community manifesting as racism. When the individuals concerned were in positions of power within the lives of Aboriginal people, such as mission and reserve managers, local Protection Board Guardians, police superintendents, staff at shops and employers, they became catalysts for movement away from the source of hostility (for example, the Kempsey immigrations and the Cummeroogunya emigrations).

Pull factors during this era included the attainment of employment, visiting family for reunions, companionship, housing, teaching, births, marriages and deaths and seeking a suitable marriage partner.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

6.1 The Broad Perspective

This dissertation was conceived as an investigation of the various factors influencing the changing geography of Aboriginal occupation and movement in the period following the European invasion. For this reason a particularly large area and a long time period were chosen so that a range of potentially important variables (events, processes) could be evaluated.

The dissertation has established the occupation and movement of Aborigines in far south-eastern Australia and their responses to the land use practices and management of the European invaders over the period 1830 to 1910. The analysis showed the response was far more complex than previous interpretations had suggested and was shaped not only by European land use and the policies and implementation of Aboriginal management but also by Aboriginal values. The power of the latter was particularly evident in the political and cultural affiliations demonstrated by the groups who supported one another during the 1855 Gippsland blood feud and the individuals who shared initiation ceremonies in the nineteenth century. It is clear that the European choice of sites for development and exploitation, landscape modification, and the introduction of non-indigenous plant and animal species, all contributed to disenfranchising and impoverishing the Aborigines of the study region. The Aboriginal Protection system which endeavoured to compensate them for the loss of, access to, and use of traditional resources provided what was perceived by all to be a poor (if financially expensive) substitute in rations and reserves and never satisfied either Aboriginal people themselves, the guardians and Protectors who implemented the policies or the European newcomers whether sympathetic or hostile. Given the scale of these changes I had expected to find a gradual diminution of movement activity over time from pastoral era semi-nomadism to separation era sedentarism. However, the dissertation demonstrates that, despite the systematic oppression experienced by Aborigines as a result of Colonial, state and Commonwealth policies and management, they continued to practice their traditional cultures, including customary journeys, whenever

appropriate and possible, while benefiting and suffering from selected aspects of the imported cultures.

European occupation forced catastrophic change in the lives of the Aborigines in the study region and new geographies were forged. But these were not entirely the reaction of a dispossessed and defeated people. To facilitate comparison, many of the new spatial realities were the product of ingenuity, resourcefulness and spatial expression of their changing Aboriginality.

6.2 Some Key Themes: Stability, Diversification and Change

A synthesis of the disjointed information about the Aboriginal groups that occupied (and still occupy) eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales, and their subsequent expansions throughout the study region, revealed several categories of identification with territory. Thus the groups of people were reconstructed as moving about their countries in particular and complex patterns within spiritual, geographical, political and economic contexts. In pre-contact times this equilibrium had the potential to be disturbed by the relative power and aggression of neighbouring groups, possibly resulting in succession of territory. It was disturbed two centuries ago as a result of the invasion of Europeans at Port Jackson in 1788. The highly contagious and rapidly transferred smallpox was the first significant foreign impact on the Aborigines of the study region and spread through a chain of victims from the Eora of Port Jackson and preceded actual contact with the first European explorers and boat people. Among those Aboriginal groups of the study area that were stricken by the disease the structure of their societies would have been devastated and by comparison the later intermittent skirmishes and occasional loss of life resulting from interactions with explorers, sealers, cedar getters and sailors from watering vessels, would have been minimal. It was not until tenacious pastoralists permanently squatted in their countries that the lives of south-east Aboriginal people were, once again, seriously threatened. The losses of Aboriginal lives that ensued as a result of this land use practice now seem unconscionable but were typical of frontier exchanges in many settler socities. Patterns of movement were disrupted as Aboriginal people went through cycles of war, death, disenfranchisement, dispossession, addiction, disease and adjustment. It was during the pastoral era

that movements were first observed and recorded, and governments and church groups became concerned about, and acted on behalf of the, perceivably, doomed peoples. Aborigines were offered a haven of sorts at church missions where their cultural practices were threatened in the name of God. Movement was particularly discouraged as being symptomatic of an unproductive and unsustainable way of life.

Aboriginal lifestyles began to diversify in response to various events experienced during the persistent immigration of Europeans and growth of the colonial society. They took on selected practices and customs from a range of socio-economic groups and races within the migrant European society. Although these Aboriginal communities were made up of individuals with sometimes very different experiences of Aboriginality, they were considered by the invaders to be as homogenous as circumstances demanded. At times they were combined as the 'primitive and doomed other' and alternatively categorised by dichotomies such as, for example, 'civilised' or 'uncivilised' (Allan 1851). Distinctions were made based upon skin colour, age, skills valued by European society, linguistic ability, marital custom, dress code, shelter preference and addictions. These opportunistic characterisations are still apparent in the post-colonial twenty-first century. While this categorising is justifiable as a functional convenience (allowing managers to meet the needs of focus groups), it masks our indifference to and ignorance of the identifying distinctions that had, and now have significance for Aboriginal people themselves and contributes unconsiously and insidiously to the evolution of Aboriginality: Aborigines are more or less aware of their internalisation and naturalisation of colonising value systems. This dissertation makes a significant step toward illuminating the impact of cultural imperialism on both our understanding of and action with regard to Aboriginal occupation.

One corollary of the diversification of Aboriginal behaviours and customs was that understandings and expectations became less predictable and impacted on the maintenance of all traditions including those surrounding marriage, family and spiritual responsibilities. It is probable that for some groups, when and if appropriate custodians were not found, certain knowledges were lost with the passing of their custodians.

While some routes of travel became dangerous or impossible as a result of the invasion, other routes opened because borders dissolved, new political alliances were forged and Aborigines journeying through foreign territories could travel under the protection of Europeans and/or a fear of their guns. Consequently Aboriginal people took extraordinary new journeys for employment, safety, marriage and adventure.

In response to Aborigines Protection legislation, many people of mixed descent were expelled from missions and had government assistance withdrawn. Victorian missions and reserves were revoked and closed so that only a handful, including Lake Tyers in Gippsland, were left and thus many full-bloods moved from western Victoria to Lake Tyers. In New South Wales, the Wallaga Lake mission had eleven families at its inception but only two were local, others coming from Gippsland, the Monaro and other parts of the far south coast (Bodalla and north of the Moruya and south of the Bega rivers). People moved from the south coast to Kempsey connecting up northern and southern sections of the coastal route which had previously reached only to Sydney. This route, which in pre-contact times had met the barriers of rivers which bounded territory at the Tarwin, Tambo, Snowy, Genoa, Bega and Moruya rivers, was now a thoroughfare although the once extensive network of 'native' pathways were often intercepted by fences and obscured by other capital works. Thus the study area is shown to be appropriately large, in that it usually includes both the families who moved from the countries of their forbears and the countries they moved to, and appropriately small in providing an opportunity for detailed knowledge of those families and countries.

The immigrant Aborigines were not necessarily welcome in the new countries and their old countries had changed beyond memory. The information that was passed on about camps and resources did not necessarily concur with the new landscape inhabited by the white strangers and their houses, fences, introduced animals and plants, roads, railways, dams, cleared paddocks, sheds and shops. The *other*, before contact, had black skin and 'looked like us' (albeit with minor variations) despite having strange

practices and desirable wives/husbands. But after the invasion he/she increasingly became identified as a white skinned invader who was overtaking Aboriginal countries in a seemingly endless stream.

However, despite the invasion of Australia by the most culturally alien and geographically antipodean people on earth, Aborigines were able to maintain important aspects of their relationship with country, one another and the spirit world. They continued to move at will in ways that were culturally appropriate (despite periodic incarceration in European gaols and mission stations). They continued to relate to, and tolerate one another, as valued members of society despite mixed parentage and according to social custom. And above all, although their expressions of Aboriginality were dynamic, their sense of Aboriginality was never lost. This dissertation found that Aboriginal cultures maintained stability in the face of ongoing external pressure. This stability can be seen in a number of ways:

(i) in connections to country through stories and visits.

(ii) In the maintenance of travel routes.

(iii) In the maintenance of a semi-nomadic lifestyle.

(iv) In the maintenance of key values;

  (a) the importance of country
  (b) the importance of a spiritual world view (through mythology, the existence of spirit entities, the knowledge of an afterlife, the sentience of animals, plants and rocks)
  (c) respect and care for elders
  (d) the importance of community
  (e) the importance of family/kin

6.3 Overview of the study region

Figures 63 to 66 combine the four regions for pre-contact named groups (figures 9, 17, 24 and 31), languages (figures 10, 18, 25 and 33), gatherings (figures 13, 20, 27 and 35) and travel routes (figures 16, 23, 30 and 38) at a smaller scale than presented in earlier chapters. There was a consistently high density of groups throughout hospitable environments within the study area: below 500 metres where

winter temperatures are comfortable for humans; in river valleys, although groups existed about 65 kilometres up the valleys in the north-east and Gippsland but only about 20 kilometres up the south coast valleys where rugged mountain ranges occur. Figure 63 shows named groups most densely clustered about the Gippsland Lakes and within about 25 kilometres of the sea on the south coast; but more sparsely spread along the Murray valley and about 65 kilometres up its tributaries, on the south Gippsland coast, up the Latrobe, Avon, Mitchell, Snowy, Murrumbidgee, Molonglo and Shoalhaven rivers; and a few scattered groups above 500 metres on the Monaro plateau, the Limestone Plains and the upper Tambo river. Given similar geography and availability of resources, I would have expected an equivalent high density of occupation in the Murray valley, although the Murray groups may have achieved a similar population density with fewer larger groups. However, a significant difference is not discernible in the first available census data which show that north-east groups averaged 66 people and Gippsland averaged only slightly fewer at 60 people per group. The Monaro and upper Murrumbidgee groups were positioned above 500 metres but below the winter snowline. Of the 103 named groups shown although 72% of the total existed below 500 metres, 79% of the Monaro and Maap groups lived above 500 metres. There is an interesting juxtaposition of groups in the lower Tambo/Murrindal/lower Snowy river region which supports my theories of succession of Maap country by the Gunai and north-east groups by the Monaro (see section 3.1).

Figure 64 shows that physiography in general and watersheds in particular were significant factors affecting the distribution of language groups in south-eastern Australia. Wiradjuri speakers inhabited

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country that was typically north of the Murray River on the Murray and Murrumbidgee floodplains which was relatively flat. South coast language groups were east of the Great Dividing Range escarpment having rivers running west to east. Ngarigo speakers occupied habitable high country plains including tributaries of the upper Snowy and Murrumbidgee rivers. The Muk-dhang (Maap) territory consists of a rugged coastline surrounding densely forested mountainous regions whose large rivers flow north and west into the Snowy and south into Bass Strait. The Gunai occupied the country south of the Great Dividing Range with large rivers which flow south and south-west into Bass Strait. The north-east language groups were north of the Great Dividing Range and south of the Murray having rivers which run north into the Murray. A comparison of the named groups and language territories shows that there were more named groups (15) that spoke Nulert than any other language[1] in the study region. This is followed by Mukthang speakers of which there were nine groups, then Thurumba/Mudthang (eight groups), Toorka (eight groups) and Thauaira (seven groups). Interestingly no groups are shown to be Theddora speakers indicating a significant gap in the record for this region. The absence of groups shown to be Theddora speakers probably indicates that these people were displaced within the first one or two decades of contact history and their name/s were not recorded, events which Robinson referred to generally in his 1844 journals for the south-east.

Figure 65 demonstrates that there is a paucity of recorded high country gatherings, possibly due to a combination of remoteness and few observers. However, I would have expected a more thorough utilisation, especially seasonally, of suitable high elevation sites than the record provides or suggests such as Howitt Plains, Dinner Plain, Dargo and the Playground. Given the density of occupation of the south coast demonstrated by the named groups map, the gatherings' record for this region is unexpectedly poor. The Snowy River has been shown to have been significant to the Aborigines of the Monaro and East Gippsland because of its importance as a boundary, a water source, a travel route, the density of its archaeological record of occupation sites, and as a haven during inclement weather. Therefore I expected that a greater number of gatherings would have been recorded for suitable Snowy river sites such as Willis-Biddi and Jacobs River. A comparison of the named groups' map (Figure 63)

[1] Partly as a result of the succession of Bunurong territory west of Corner Inlet, which added two groups who spoke both Nulert and Kulin.

and the gatherings' map suggests that both the Queanbeyan-Braidwood and Gippsland sites are well represented in the record.

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Figure 66 shows that similar types of geographic features were commonly used as travel routes throughout the study region: the major rivers at lower elevations were used including the Murray, Murrumbidgee, Snowy, Genoa, Mitchell, Latrobe, Tambo, Clyde, Billabong, Goulburn, Avon and Thompson rivers; the coast lines and coastal hinterland were also typically chosen except for the most rugged parts of the far south coast; the high country ridgelines became travel routes on the upper reaches of major rivers as the elevation increased including the Tambo, Snowy, Genoa, Towamba, Bega and Murray. The most reliable records of travel routes exist for Gippsland and the east coast south of Bega. The record for the high country travel routes is surprisingly good given the apparently low population density and the poor record of gatherings for this area.

Gippsland records from the pre-pastoral era suggested that small groups travelled long distances (more than 16 kilometres) along the coast and river valleys or lakes for the purpose of moving camp. In the pastoral era, large groups predominated followed by medium and small groups and individuals making long journeys along river valleys, lakes and the coast for moving camp, wars or attacks and employment. By the mission era it was most common for people to travel alone with small, medium and large groups along rivers, lakes and coastal hinterland for moving camp, family matters and employment respectively being less common. Similarly during the separation era the record suggests that a majority of journeys consisted of individuals travelling alone with medium and large groups for moving home, family matters and movement between missions and reserves being less common. Large groups were probably more noteworthy and therefore more likely to be recorded.

North-east records from the pre-pastoral era suggested that all sizes of groups travelled along river valleys or lakes for the purpose of moving camp. In the following pastoral era, large groups dominated followed by medium, small groups and individuals making long journeys predominantly along river valleys, lakes, ridge tops, high country plains and inland plains for moving camp, gatherings, employment and wars or attacks. By the mission era it was most common for individuals to journey alone followed by large and small groups along rivers, lakes and inland plains for moving camp. Similarly during the separation era the record suggests that small groups, individuals and large

groups were journeying long distances for employment and moving home. The records show a significant number of journeys for gatherings and wars or attacks during the pastoral era, that long journeys were most likely to be observed and that travel routes along river valleys and inland plains continued to be used during the nineteenth century. The record for the north-east region was less detailed and substantial and more anecdotal than the other regions because it had no staffed reserves to provide regular and ongoing information about individuals, nor were the early recorders as conscientious as public servants like Lambie for the Monaro.

Monaro records from the pre-pastoral era were too small to be statistically significant, however, they suggested that individuals, medium and large groups travelled long distances (more than 16 kilometres) on high country plains for the purposes of gatherings, moving camp and employment. In the following pastoral era, journeys by individuals were more frequent followed by large, small and medium groups making long journeys along river valleys, lakes, high country plains and ridge tops for employment, moving camp, gatherings and family matters. By the mission era it was most common for large groups followed by small and medium groups to travel along high country plains and river valleys for employment and moving camp. The separation era records are too sparse to demonstrate any trends, however they suggest that most journeys were made by individuals; small groups moving long distances along the high country plains for employment and family matters were the next most common. The Monaro results have possibly been skewed by the availability of a particular set of statistics for black trackers which provides a substantial amount of information for the period 1888-1916. Three variables (group size, distance and reason for travel) have had the totals boosted by these statistics for individuals, long journeys and employment. The ethnographic record suggests that during the pastoral and mission eras people moved regularly between camps at Delegate and other parts of the Monaro and Gippsland (both central and far east) and the south coast but because many of these accounts give no suggestion of descriptors or numbers, they have not been included in the movement charts and an erroneous impression is given, that most of the Monaro mission era journeys were motivated by employment. The pre-pastoral and separation era samples were too small to be statistically significant.

South coast records from the pre-pastoral era were too few to be statistically significant, however they suggested that small and medium groups travelled long distances (more than 16 kilometres) for the purpose of gatherings, moving camp and wars or attacks. In the following pastoral era, large groups dominated followed by small groups, individuals and medium groups making long journeys along predominantly coastal hinterland, coast, river valleys, lakes and the sea for employment, moving camp and family matters. By the mission era it was most common for individuals and small groups to travel long distances across coastal hinterlands, coast and the sea for family matters, moving camp and employment. The records from the separation era were also too few to be statistically significant, however they suggest that individuals were journeying long distances through coastal hinterland, coast and the sea for employment, moving home and family matters. The paucity of the pre-pastoral and separation era records make it difficult to establish trends for this region but one observable trend was that the same routes were chosen through the coastal hinterland, coast and the sea for employment, moving camp and family matters throughout the study period.

Academic discussion of Aborigines' interactions with forests is relatively recent and was initiated by the far south coast Aboriginal communities' formal objections to the logging of Mumbulla Mountain in the late 1970s. Archaeologists in eastern Australia had tended to excavate sites on the basis of their accessibility (minimal vegetation cover) and likelihood (given current theory) of producing maximum finds for minimum effort. Thus most twentieth century archaeological sites were riverine or coastal. Perhaps our reluctance to explore the occupation of forests had its origins in the European experience of forests as the lurking place of bears, wolves and social outcasts. My work adds to the previous two decades of research (Egloff 1979, Byrne 1981, Byrne 1983, Bowdler 1983, Byrne 1984, Feary and Borschmann 1999) and questions Howitt's published information which suggests that far east Gippsland was a territory occupied only by social outcasts. My findings point to a rich occupational history in which the coastal and coastal hinterland peoples of far-east Gippsland had strong connections with and journeyed regularly to the Monaro and far south coast. The population losses observed by Robinson (1846), Lambie (1842-48) and Howitt (1904) were probably a result of introduced

diseases (Robinson 1844a) and killings by Europeans of the Bemm River (Wellings 1932), Nungatta (Burgess 1995) and Dooroc (Orbost) (Pepper and de Araugo 1985) peoples, rather than as a result of tribal battles (Robinson 1846b) or *Terra Nullius* (Howitt 1904). Thus east Gippsland can now relinquish its reputation as a cultural backwater and be fully integrated as a region having a rich history of the Aboriginal use of both its forests and coast.

6.4 Theoretical contributions and methodology

This dissertation contributes to our knowledge of the historical geography of Aboriginal people in south-eastern Australia in the period from first contact to the early twentieth century. Its multi-disciplinary synthesis of a wide range of methods and sources provides a solid foundation not only to stimulate future debate on Aboriginal occupation and movement in the study area, but more widely offers a useful model for comparison with the geographies of indigenous peoples in colonial societies the world over. It also provides useful insights into race relations on the frontier during this period throughout Australia.

One of the obvious shortcomings of the methodology was that there was no means to determine how representative of movement events the sampling of the recorders was either chronologically, during the four eras, or spatially, across the four regions. In addition the measurement of distances did not allow for the meandering behaviour described by Thomas (Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984) for a typical travelling and foraging group, nor the deviations which would have been necessary to avoid obstacles and other unexpected occurrences, but artificially used the only known distance based on current routes. The genealogical record for the nineteenth century is patchy at best and particularly poor for Aboriginal records. Abundant records probably reflect the conscientiousness and presence of a recorder rather than bearing any relationship to the number of events that took place. Ending the study period at 1910 created problems with sampling the separation era in New South Wales because there were only two years to sample. However, within the study region my sampling and methodology was consistent.

The exposition of the Kempsey phenomenon demonstrated the significance of the genealogical methodology, without which the story would have remained hidden. The movement charts and their analysis, the occupation and movement reconstruction maps, the identification of three phases during the pre-mission or pastoral era, the detailed and broadly regional Aboriginal history for south-eastern Australia and the discussion of the colonial management of Aborigines in south-eastern Australia have also contributed to Aboriginal historical geography. The examination of movement contributes to migration studies through a discussion of theories of Aboriginal immigration onto the Australian continent, migration within Australia and migration within far south-eastern Australia. The discussions of nomadism and perceptions of 'the other' on the frontier in colonial societies make theoretical contributions to colonial, race and migration studies. For example, because of their semi-nomadic lifestyle, Australian Aborigines were compared unfavourably with, and given similar prejudicial treatment to, the Gypsies of Europe, but in addition they were discriminated against for the colour of their skins, their religious beliefs and the fact that they had not domesticated plants or animals.

Stability, diversification and change were exposed by the genealogical methodologies used in this dissertation combined with the records of birth, death and marriages, blanket censuses, oral and written histories and gaol records. Oral traditions were shown to be valid sources of ongoing historical knowledge, and to be of particular importance when considering less literate societies including indigenous peoples and lower socio-economic classes in colonial society. My methodology demonstrates that Aborigines are visible in the European historical records and that their presence only requires to be drawn out. Taken together, this information made it possible to display occupation and migration information. As the richness and complexity of Aboriginal occupation unfolds, *Terra Nullius* loses credibility.

The movement charts' methodology facilitated analysis whereby trends in group size, distance travelled, travel route and reasons for travel could be observed chronologically by era and ultimately across the whole study period. The charts also provided the means to synthesize new information

from the scant ethnohistorical record. For example, a descriptor of numbers such as 'the blacks' was interpreted as a medium-sized group of between six and ten people and could then be fitted within concrete parameters after which the figures could be analysed. From the information concerning an outset and destination, a travel route was proposed from the most likely course based on terrain and the availability of water. The information about group size, date, ethnohistory, outset and destination was combined and synthesised into a reason/s for travel, which could then be compared with other events and analysed. I was thus able to increase the amount of data available for analysis by using existing records and informed constructions. In particular, I found that river valleys were the most commonly used travel route in Gippsland and the north-east, whereas on the Monaro it was the high country plain and on the south coast, the coastal hinterlands.

Another strength is that the methodology can be applied to regions of Australia where the European invasion took place early in the course of that history and traditional cultures were poorly, if at all, recorded (Tasmania, Victoria and south- eastern New South Wales).

In using the methodology it is important to ensure that sufficient data are available, and retrieved from the record, to make the creation of movement charts worthwhile. One of the strengths of the methodology is its meticulous exploration of possible sources which is necessarily a time-consuming exercise. This exploration can only be achieved through processes of networking and liaison with members of both Aboriginal and European communities, particularly elders, in the region of consideration.

Where to now in Aboriginal cultural analysis?

The methodology could be usefully applied in other parts of Australia, particularly those places which have not been the subject of anthropological investigation during the last fifty years, because of a perceived paucity of authentic cultural knowledge. Determining patterns for the whole continent would allow for a comparison of the different categories of occupation between regions. A further challenge will be to map the richness of Aboriginal occupation by incorporating the spiritual

dimension; mapping the tracks of spirit entities and ancestors (for example Byrne 1984). This work will have to be guided by the relevant Aboriginal communities to ensure that only the stories that can be viewed by children and uninitiated men and women are used. Resources could also be mapped, requiring the collaboration of botanists, showing the availability of foods, particularly plants, and other raw materials for each named group. This work could be presented at a variety of scales to incorporate both the detail of vegetation communities and the broad sweep of trade routes. Political alliances may be mapped to demonstrate and acknowledge their chronological dynamism. For example, the alliances demonstrated in the 1850s Gippsland blood feud were probably different from those of pre-contact times. All of the above mentioned aspects of occupation (spiritual, social, political and economic) could be mapped not only for the nineteenth century but through into the present time and would have particular application (as do the historical maps) for Native Title claims.

My work does not support the historical notion of passive indigenes shaped by imperialist processes and value systems. The degree to which Aborigines steadily, and at times doggedly, maintained their traditional cultural practices (while at the same time accepting useful innovations like glass, steel and guns) was surprising. Inevitably they were impacted by the land uses and management of colonial society, policy and management but the degree to which they *did not change* is, I believe, hidden from non-Aboriginal people through their lack of appropriate cultural capital.

Appendix 1

Summary of blanket censuses for eastern Victoria and far south-eastern New South Wales: 1832-1883

Contents

Year	**Tribe/Place**	**Taken**	**Recorder**	**Source**
1832	Batemans Bay	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Broulie/Moruya	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Crockbilly	Strathalan	Mackellar, D.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Canga	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Durare	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Jarvis Bay	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Kialoha	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Mooramorrang	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Mullinderry	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Narrawallee	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Perrywerry	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Pigeon House	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Ulladera	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1832	Wandawandahan	Murramorang	Morris, W.	4/7092 AO NSW
1833	Arralooin	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1833	Browley	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1833	Burgali	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1833	Burgurgo	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW

1833	Jinero	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1833	Kiyora	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1833	River Moorooya	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1833	Mullandarie	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1833	Wagunga	Mullandarie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834		Bookenbour	Thomson, W.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834	Browley Boat Hbr.	Mullanderie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834	Burgurgo	Mullanderie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834	Crockbilly	Arnprior	Ryrie, S.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834	Hagen Hope	Janevale	Anon	4/2219.1 AO NSW
1834	Jembaicumbene	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834	Jineroo	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834	Lumley	Lumley	Futter, R.	4/2219.1 AO NSW
1834	Molongla	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1834	Monaroo	Janevale	Anon	4/2219.1 AO NSW
1834	Namwitch	Janevale	Anon	4/2219.1 AO NSW
1834	Moorooya River	Mullanderie	Flanagan, F.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1835	Araluen	Strathalan	Mackellar, D.	4/6666.B3 AO NSW
1836	Berrima	Bong Bong	Anon	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Bherewarrie	Erowal	Lamb, J.	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Bong Bong	Bong Bong	Anon	4/2302.1 AO NSW

1836	Broughton Creek	Bong Bong	Anon	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Curraghbilly	Bong Bong	Anon	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Erowal	Erowal	Lamb, J.	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Jeriwangale	Erowal	Lamb, J.	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Kangaroo Ground	Bong Bong	Anon	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Murramarang	Erowal	Lamb, J.	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1836	Winjecarrabee	Bong Bong	Anon	4/2302.1 AO NSW
1837	Browley	Mullandera	Flanagan, F.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1837	Burreel	Ulladolla	Eden, A.H.?	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1837	Narrawelly	Ulladolla	Eden, A.H.?	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1837	Mullandera	Mullandera	Flanagan, F.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1837	Murramarrang	Ulladolla	Eden, A.H.?	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1837	Pigeon House	Ulladolla	Eden, A.H.?	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1837	Wigwigley	Braidwood	Eden, A.H.?	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1838	Jarvis Bay	Shoal Haven	Plunkett, P.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1838	Jinero	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1838	Ulladullah	Shoal Haven	Plunkett, P.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1839	Batemans Bay	Shannon View	Flanagan, F.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Bega	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Brogo	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Browley	Shannon View	Flanagan, F.	4/2433.1 AO NSW

1839	Burrier	Burria	Mackay, A.K.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Genoa	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Wagamy	Jervis Bay	Threlkeld, L.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Jinero	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Malaguta	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Mullandurree	Shannon View	Flanagan, F.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Panbula	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Wallumla	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1839	Wiacon	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/2433.1 AO NSW
1840	Berruary	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	Erowal	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	Jerouangla	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	Jervis Bay	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	Jinero	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	Parma	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	St Geo Basin	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	Wandandian	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1840	Wollimia	Erowal	Campbell, C.J.	4/2479.1 AO NSW
1841	Bega	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Benbuka	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Biggah		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Bowdally, Birgalea and Gundary	Lambie 1842		

1841	Brogo	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Cape Howe		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Currawang	Queanbeyan	Faunce, Capt.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Hongong	Queanbeyan	Faunce, Capt.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Jinero	Mt. Elrington	Elrington, Mjr.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Maharatta		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Maringlo	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Mowenbar		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Noorama		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Omeo		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Pampula		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Panbula	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Snowy River		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Tantawangla	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1841	Tolbodelbo		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Twofold Bay		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842
1841	Windella, Marabrine and Bowerga	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1842	
1841	Wiricanoe	Twofold Bay	Imlay, G.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Batemans Bay	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Bengalee	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Biggah		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Boat Alley, Borgalia and Gundary	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843	
1842	Broomun	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW

1842	Broulee	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Cape Howe		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Currowan	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Didel	Ulladulla	Anon	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Dooga	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Gundaree	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Kiora	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Maharatta		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Mokondoora	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Mowenbar		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Mullendaree	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Narrawallee	Ulladulla	Anon	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Norama		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Omeo		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Pambulla		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Snowy River		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Terosse	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1842	Tolbodelbo		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Twofold Bay		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843
1842	Windelli, Marabrine and Bowerga	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1843	
1842	Wokoonga	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Batemans Bay	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Biggah		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844

1843	Boat Alley	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Broulee	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Cape Howe		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844
1843	Currowan	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Duga	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Gundary	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Gundary, Birgalea and Boatally	Lambie 1844		
1843	Jarvis Bay	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Kiora	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Maharatta		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844
1843	Mowenbar		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844
1843	Moyou	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Mulendary	Broulee	Oldrey, W.	4/1133.3 AO NSW
1843	Pambulla		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844
1843	Snowy River		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844
1843	Twofold Bay		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844
1843	Wagonga, Tilba Tilba and Myrha	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844	
1843	Windella, Marabrine and Bowerga	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1844	
1844	Murraumbla	Queanbeyan	Anon	4/2663.5 AO NSW
1844	Queanbeyan	Queanbeyan	Anon	4/2663.5 AO NSW
1845	Biggah		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845
1845	Cape Howe		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845

1845	Gundary, Birgalea and Boatally	Lambie 1845		
1845	Maharatta		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845
1845	Mowenbar		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845
1845	Pambulla		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845
1845	Snowy River		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845
1845	Twofold Bay		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845
1845	Wagonga, Tilba Tilba and Myrha	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845	
1845	Windella, Marabrine and Bowerga	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1845	
1846	Biggah		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847
1846	Cape Howe		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847
1846	Gundary, Birgalea and Boatally	Lambie 1847		
1846	Maharatta and Cambelong	Lambie 1847		
1846	Mowenbar		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847
1846	Pamboola		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847
1846	Snowy River		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847
1846	Twofold Bay		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847
1846	Wagonga, Tilba Tilba and Myrha	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847	
1846	Windella, Marabrine and Bowerga	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1847	
1847	Biggah		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848
1847	Cape Howe		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848
1847	Gundary, Bogalea and Boatally	Lambie 1848		
1847	Maharatta and Cambelong	Lambie 1848		

1847	Mowenbar		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848
1847	Pamboola		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848
1847	Snowy River		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848
1847	Twofold Bay		Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848
1847	Wagonga, Tilba Tilba and Myrha	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848	
1847	Windella, Marabrine and Bowerga	Lambie, J.	Lambie 1848	
1849	Gippsland	South Yarra	Thomas, W.	ML 214/11
1851	Braidwood	Braidwood	Allan, Rev. J.	ML 139/25
1852	Tarra	Port Albert	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1852	Mitchell	Mitchell River	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1852	Dargo		Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1854	Dargo		Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1854	Tarra	Port Albert	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1854	Mitchell	Mitchell River	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1854	Murry	Unnamed lake	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1854	Lake	Unnamed lake	Tyers, C.J.	ML A1426
1855	Tarra	Port Albert	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1856	Tarra	Port Albert	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842

1857	Dargo	Unnamed lake	Tyers, C.J.	ML A1426
1857	McMillan	Unnamed lake	Tyers, C.J.	ML A1426
1857	Mitchell	Mitchell River	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1857	Gippsland	Moody Yallock	Thomas, W.	ML 214/14
1858	Tarra	Port Albert	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1858	Mitchell	Mitchell River	Tyers, C.J.	ML A842
1858	Snowy River	Unnamed lake	Tyers, C.J.	ML A1426
1859	Eden	Eden	Eden Bench Mag.	BVGS MF 2680
1859	Bega	Eden	Eden Bench Mag.	BVGS MF 2680
1860	Neur-run Bruthen	Nicholson & Bruthen R.s	Thomas, W.	ML 214/16
1860	Tambo and Buchan	Buchan River	Thomas, W.	ML 214/16
1860	Tarra, Warragul or Port Albert	Port Albert?	Thomas, W.	ML 214/16
1860	Woor-yearl	Mitchell River	Thomas, W.	ML 214/16
1863	Doowarracka ba Daan	Ramahyuck	Hagenauer, F.	Moravian Papers NLA
1863	Moomoo ba Ngattpan	Ramahyuck	Hagenauer, F.	AA B312 Item 9
1863	Nicholson, Mitchell, Tambo,			
	Swan Reach, Lake Tyers	Lake Tyers	Bulmer, J.	AA B312 Item 9
1863	Snowy River	Lake Tyers	Bulmer, J.	AA B312 Item 9
1863	Tarrawarrackal	Ramahyuck	Hagenauer, F.	AA B312 Item 9
1863	Wookarrenta ba			

	Koonagwrengba	Ramahyuck	Hagenauer, F.	AA B312 Item 9
1863	Woolloom ba Bellum Bellum	Ramahyuck	Hagenauer, F.	AA B312 Item 9
1883	Eden	Eden	Howitt, A.W.	MOV HP 9/3
1883	Bega	Bega	Howitt, A.W.	MOV HP 9/3
1883	Moruya	Moruya	Howitt, A.W.	MOV HP 9/3
1883	Wallaga	Wallaga Lake	Howitt, A.W.	MOV HP 9/3
1883	Manero	?Delegate	Howitt, A.W.	MOV HP 9/3

Appendix 2

Summary of the anthropological theories of Aboriginal migrations to Australia

(roughly in chronological order)

1. Tasmania and Australia were first populated by a group Africans who inadvertently arrived in New Zealand or Tasmania driven by storm winds (Fitzroy 1839).

2. Davis (1846) suggested that Tasmanians, originating on the mainland and undertaking a canoe voyage, were driven by favourable winds from King George's Sound to the west coast of Tasmania.

3. Pritchard (1847) proposed that a negrito race migrated through New Guinea and onto the neighbouring island, including Timor and thence to Australia.

4. Comparing languages between 1842 and 1846 Latham (1882) considered that because the Tasmanian language1 had more in common with New Caledonian languages than Australian, the migrants who populated Tasmania must have taken an east coast route from the north rather than a route through the centre of the continent.

5. Eyre (1845) proposed that Australians first landed on the north-west coast between 12° and 16° latitude and moved across the continent in three groups.

6. McGillivray (1852) pointed out the difference in physiognomy between the papuans of New Guinea and the Torres Strait islands and the people of Cape York, refuting the theory of New Guinea as part of the original route of the migrating Australian people.

7. Tasmanian Australians were once part of a larger group which accessed the mega continent which included Australia and New Zealand, isolated only when the land bridges between New Zealand and then Victoria were cut off for several thousand years during which time, presumably, they expressed slightly different physical, linguistic and social characteristics (Bonwick 1870).

8. Giglioli (1874) expounded the view that Australia had two races of immigrants. The first woolly haired race, which colonised both Tasmania and what is now the mainland, was eventually outcompeted by a second group and only survived in the geographic isolation of Tasmania.

9. Ridley (1875) suggested that Australians island hopped from New Guinea to Cape York from where they migrated to the south and west.

10. Tasmanian Australians bore greater similarities to Andaman Islanders than did mainland Australians and may have originated from a different migratory group than mainland Australians (Roth 1890).

11. Smyth (1878) considered that all Australians must at one time have resembled Tasmanians and that Australians represent a second wave of migration. Futhermore, that several streams of migration occurred; one from the north-east which followed the coast and ended at Gippsland, and a second which divided at the Gulf of Carpentaria where one group moved to Western Australia and another to Cooper's Creek and the Murray-Darling River systems.

12. In 1886 Curr proposed that Australians originated from a ship or canoe load of African negroes who landed on the north-west coast spreading throughout the continent along the north, west and east coasts and through the interior.

13. Mathew's more elaborate and considered theory (1889) suggested that Australians were originally Papuans or of mixed Papuan-Melanesian descent (Group A) who arrived in the north by way of New Guinea and inhabited the entire continent (including Tasmania). A second wave of migrants (Group B) with fairer, straighter hair arrived on the north-west coast, moved into the interior and continued to move south-east. In this process there was intermarriage between the first group and the second and the first group became dominant. Next a third group (Group C), probably Malays,

arrived from the north in an intermittent stream mixing with the other earlier arrivals (Groups A, B and A-B).

14. Fraser (1892) posited that Australians were a negroid group that originated in Babylon, migrated to southern India, the Malay Peninsula, Papua, Timor and thence to Australia.

15. Rusden (1897) made the suggestion that Australians originated among the Deccan tribes of India who were pushed out by invaders, island hopping until they arrived in Australia. He believed that the Tasmanians were also out competed by a superior force on the mainland and fled by canoe to Tasmania.

16. Howitt (1904) considered all previous theories and together with his own observations concluded that Tasmanian material culture was simpler than that of the mainland Australians and that they were followed by a second wave of migrants who were better armed and more materially sophisticated. Furthermore, that both Tasmanians (Group A) and Australians (Group B) arrived on the north-east coast of the mainland island hopping on rafts or deep sea canoes either from the Indonesian Archipelago or via New Guinea and the Torres Strait. He believed that Tasmanian culture survived intact until the arrival of Europeans because Tasmania was physically isolated from the mainland.

17. Howitt strongly supported the theories of Flower and Lydekker (1891) which proposed the original Australians to be frizzy-haired Melanesians, such as the Tasmanians, mixed with a race of black-skinned caucasians.

18. Elkin (1938, 1974: 5) was able to say, with advances in the understanding of human variation and relationships and paleontology, that very early types of Australoid man (as opposed to Caucasian, Mongoloid and Negroid) originated in the islands north of Australia, especially Java. These people spread north to Malaya and India and south to New Guinea and Australia and in the process of

selection gave rise to the many sub-races which are known as Papuan and Melanesian. Pockets of Australoid people could be found in Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia, New Guinea and Australia. He suggested that migration within the Australian continent was from the Kimberley to Arnhem Land and Cape York Peninsula, around the northern coast and down the east and north-west coasts. Another probable colonising route was from the Gulf of Carpentaria or the Sahul Land up the Queensland rivers to the Diamantina River and Coopers Creek to Lake Eyre and eastern South Australia; from the Queensland coast to the headwaters of the Barwon River and thence to the Murray-Darling River system; from the north-west to the south-east and the Great Australian Bight. Elkin based his theory on the evolution of 500 Australian languages on vagaries of the Australian environment:

'Knowing the Australian environment we can realise how the variety came about as the food-gatherers and hunters slowly settled now here, now there, as their numbers increased and groups hived off seeking new waters and food-gathering grounds. But each group or congeries of groups was isolated for months of the year, and in bad times for longer periods. This was an effect of Australian geographical conditions, the dry periods in most years, times of drought, and of the necessity for food-gatherers and hunters to live for the greater part of each year in small groups so as to avoid stripping the area within hunting distance of their available waters of all animal and plant foods. Such isolation, together with adaptation to different conditions, results quite quickly in differences of words, meanings, and even of grammar. Dialects and different languages arose in this way, and there were some outside influences in parts of the north' (Elkin 1938, 1974: 17-18).

Elkin cites blood-group patterns and fingerprint studies to refute the theory of Australians originating from three distinct racial waves (although members of the same racial group may have arrived in several migrations over many centuries or milennia). Both the blood-group and fingerprint studies demonstrated that present day Aborigines are one people and distinct from all others that had been previously studied.

19. Birdsell (1977 in Kirk 1983: 18) postulated routes for the migration of people onto Sahul Land (Australia and New Guinea) during the Pleistocene involving a sea voyage of at least 50 to 100

kilometres. The first route is through Sulawesi to Halmahera and Wiageo, the second via Sulawesi, Seram and Aru Islands and the third from Java to Sumbawa, Flores, Timor and either onto Aru Island or north-east Australia. He had first posited a tri-hybrid theory of migration in 1950 which was slightly modified by 1977. Birdsell suggested the first wave of migrants to have been 'Oceanic Negritos' whom he termed Barrineans, whose living decendants still inhabit the Andaman Islands and Semang in Malaysia and at the time of European contact were found in the rain-forests of north Queensland and in Tasmania. The second wave, the Murrayans, who survived to the contact period in parts of the Murray River watershed, displaced the Barrineans in all areas but Tasmania and the north Queensland rainforests. The third wave, the Carpentarians, arrived during the final stages of the last glaciation (10,000 BP) and displaced the Carpentarians in all parts of the country except the marginal areas of the south-east and south-west (Birdsell 1977 in Kirk 1983: 89).

20. Bowdler (1977 in Kirk 1983: 32) suggested that the first Australians were expert users of marine environments and would therefore have first colonised the coast, possibly quite rapidly, utilising first the marine, then the estuarine and then the riverine environments. Expansion inland would have followed the Murray and its tributaries, at which time the Willandra Lakes system had permanent water. For 10,000 years between 18,000 BP and 8,000 BP, at the height of the last glaciation, there would have been extensive use of coastal and estuarine sites that are now under water. For the last 10,000 years Tasmanians were isolated from mainland Australians, which can be demonstrated from the tool kits of both groups.

21. Thorne (2001) considered that *Homo sapiens* originated in South-East Asia and simultaneously also in Africa, Europe and North Asia. His theory is supported by the DNA analysis of Mungo Man discovered at Lake Mungo in New South Wales, which was found to have no similarity with that of other ancient people including Neanderthals, ancient Aborigines (30,000 years old) and present day Aborigines (Fannin 2001).

APPENDIX 3: MOVEMENT CHART SUMMARIES FOR GROUP SIZE, DISTANCE, ROUTE AND REASON

Group Size (1 single individual, 2 small group (2-5; some, a few, several), 3 medium group (6-10; tribe, the blacks, group, a number), 4 large group (11+; great number, great gathering, many, considerable number)

GROUP SIZE PER DECADE

Gippsland	1	2	3	4	
n.d.	1	2	10	3	16
-1829		1 (100)			1
-1839	2	13	4	3	22
-1849	5	13	15	26	59
-1859	5	17	29	31	82
-1869	**38**	23	15	57	133
-1879	**57**	50	7	16	130
-1889	**16**	14	16	10	56
-1899	5	12	7	2	26
-1910	**6**	6	1	1	14

North-east	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	
n.d.	2	0	10	5	17
-1829	2	2	1	4	9
-1839	6	4	5	7	22
-1849	18	14	8	31	71
-1859	8	6	11	10	35
-1869	26	6	4	27	63
-1879	18	10	1	7	36
-1889	6	8	1	3	18
-1899	7	7	5	8	27
-1910	1	9	0	0	10

Monaro	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	
n.d.	1	3	10	5	19
-1829	1	0	2	2	5
-1839	3	12	5	22	42
-1849	13	12	4	37	66
-1859	8	18	4	8	38
-1869	15	11	14	5	45
-1879	12	3	6	4	25
-1889	39	11	4	4	58
-1899	31	26	11	25	93
-1910	24	12	2	13	51

South Coast	1	2	3	4	
n.d.	0	0	11	2	13
-1829	0	3	2	1	6
-1839	3	17	9	41	70
-1849	10	31	16	171	228
-1859	5	4	0	0	9
-1869	7	14	4	3	28
-1879	12	8	2	0	22
-1889	20	7	4	0	31
-1899	23	17	4	0	44
-1910	15	12	14	1	42

GROUP SIZE PER ERA

Gippsland 2	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	
pre-pastoral -1837	2	12	3		17
pastoral 1838-1861 (+n.d.)	12	37	57	77	183
mission 1862-1885	104	81	29	69	283
After the Act 1886-1910	17	22	16	6	61
Total	135	152	105	542	

North-east 2	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	
pre-pastoral -1834	2	2	3	4	11
pastoral 1835-1861 (+n.d.)	35	25	34	64	158
mission 1862-1885	47	21	5	23	96
After the Act 1886-1910	10	18	5	9	42
Total	94	66	47	100	

Monaro 2	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	
pre-pastoral -1826	1	0	1	2	4
pastoral 1827-1891 (+n.d.)	94	77	52	91	314
mission 1892-1908	49	30	9	32	120
After the Act 1909-1910	3	1			4
Total	66	104	57	123	

South Coast 2	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	
pre-pastoral -1825	0	2	1	0	3
pastoral 1826-1890 (+n.d.)	57	82	47	118	304

mission 1891-1908	31	26	17	0	74
After the Act 1909-1910	4	2	1	1	8
Total	92	112	66	119	

Distance travelled: 1 small (0 - 5 km), 2 medium (>5 – 15 km), 3 large; 3a (16 – 50 km), 3b (51 – 100 km), 3c (101+ km)

DISTANCE TRAVELLED PER DECADE

Gippsland	1	2	3a	3b	3c	Total
n.d.			6	3	8	**17**
-1829						**0**
-1839				1	7	**8**
-1849		1	2	3	19	**25**
-1859			4	5	18	**27**
-1869			11	8	14	**33**
-1879	18	6	41	11	17	**93**
-1889			4	2	25	**31**
-1899			3		11	**14**
-1910					5	**5**
Total	**18**	**7**	**71**	**33**	**124**	

North-east	1	2	3a	3b	3c	Total
n.d.	1	0	4	4	10	**19**
-1829						
-1839	0	0	0	3	11	**14**
-1849	1	0	8	9	30	**48**
-1859	0	0	3	6	9	**18**
-1869	0	0	5	3	5	**13**
-1879	0	0	0	6	5	**11**
-1889	0	0	0	1	9	**10**
-1899			1			**1**
-1910					1	**1**
Total	**2**	**0**	**21**	**32**	**80**	

Monaro	1	2	3a	3b	3c	Total
n.d.		2	4	5	12	**23**
-1829				2		**2**
-1839		1	7	4	7	**19**
-1849		1	2	10	22	**35**
-1859			4	6	10	**20**
-1869		1	6	4	11	**22**
-1879			3	4	4	**11**
-1889			2	4	25	**31**
-1899				9	14	**23**
-1910				3	11	**14**
Total	**0**	**5**	**28**	**51**	**116**	

South Coast	1	2	3a	3b	3c	Total
n.d.			3	5	2	**10**
-1829				2	1	**3**
-1839	1	8	23	14	4	**50**

-1849		11	20	17	16	**64**
-1859		1		1	2	**4**
-1869	1		5	5	6	**17**
-1879		2	2	7	10	**21**
-1889	1	1	3	7	14	**26**
-1899		6	7	9	19	**41**
-1910	3	1	8	12	15	**39**
Total	**6**	**30**	**70**	**79**	**89**	

DISTANCE TRAVELLED PER ERA

Gippsland 2	**1**	**2**	**3a**	**3b**	**3c**	**Total**
Pre-pastoral						
-1837	0	0	0	1	7	8
Pastoral						
1838-1861	0	2	14	13	47	76
Mission						
1862-1885	18	8	51	19	36	132
After the Act						
1886-1910	0	0	4	0	25	29
TOTAL	**18**	**10**	**69**	**33**	**115**	**245**

North-east	**1**	**2**	**3a**	**3b**	**3c**	**Total**
Pre-pastoral						
-1834	0	0	0	0	2	2
Pastoral						
1835-1861	1	0	19	23	60	103
Mission						
1862-1885	0	0	1	9	16	26
After the Act						
1886-1910	0	0	1	0	4	5
TOTAL	**1**	**0**	**21**	**32**	**82**	**136**

Monaro	**1**	**2**	**3a**	**3b**	**3c**	**Total**
Pre-pastoral						
-1826	0	0	0	2	0	2
Pastoral						
1827-1891	0	5	28	37	91	161
Mission						
1892-1908	0	0	0	11	23	34
After the Act						
1909-1910	0	0	0	0	2	2
TOTAL	**0**	**5**	**18**	**35**	**76**	**134**

South Coast	**1**	**2**	**3a**	**3b**	**3c**	**Total**

Pre-pastoral -1825	0	0	0	1	0	1
Pastoral 1826-1890	3	24	53	53	54	187
Mission 1892-1908	2	5	14	16	25	62
After the Act 1909-1910	0	0	0	2	4	7
TOTAL	**6**	**29**	**67**	**71**	**83**	**257**

Travel route: 1 sea water, 2 fresh water, 3 river valley or lake, 4 ridge top, 5 coast, 6 coastal hinterland, 7 high country plain, 8 inland plain

TRAVEL ROUTE BY DECADE

Gippsland	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**TOTAL**
n.d.	3		11		5		2		**21**
-1829									**0**
-1839			3		6				**9**
-1849	1	3	15	1	3	1	3	2	**29**
-1859		1	24	3	10		1	1	**40**
-1869	3	1	25	1	6	4	1	1	**42**
-1879	0	2	58	9	1	58	4	1	**133**
-1889	7		29	13	2	9	10	4	**74**
-1899	1		9	3	5	13	2	3	**36**
-1910			4	1	3	4		1	**13**
	15	**7**	**178**	**31**	**41**	**89**	**23**	**13**	397

North-east	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**TOTAL**
n.d.		2	19	12			15	1	**49**
-1829									**0**
-1839		3	9	5		6	5	6	**34**
-1849		1	33	14		6	10	24	**88**
-1859		2	17	11		4	11		**45**
-1869			8	3			3	3	**17**
-1879			11	5			1	6	**23**
-1889	2		11	2			1	7	**23**
-1899									**0**
-1910									**0**
	2	**8**	**108**	**52**	**0**	**16**	**46**	**47**	279

Monaro	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**TOTAL**
n.d.			21	16		2	21	1	**61**
-1829							2		**2**
-1839			17	9		1	7	1	**35**
-1849			34	24			27	1	**86**
-1859			18	14			17		**49**
-1869			17	10			15		**42**
-1879			6	7		1	10		**24**
-1889			18	13	1	1	30	1	**64**
-1899			13	5	1	1	24	1	**45**

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
-1910			6	2	1	1	13		23
	0	0	150	100	3	7	166	5	427

South Coast	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
n.d.			9	8	1	1	8		27
-1829			2	2	2	2	1		9
-1839	19	1	17	10	31	26	7		111
-1849	15	1	23	13	42	38	9		140
-1859			2	2		1	2		7
-1869	3		9	8	6	8	6		40
-1879	2		5	5	12	12	5		41
-1889	7		4		15	19	1		46
-1899	12			2	21	41	3	1	80
-1910	12		2	2	23	38	3		80
	70	2	77	52	152	191	45	1	589

TRAVEL ROUTE BY ERA

Gippsland 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	TOTAL
Pre-pastoral -1837			2		6				8
Pastoral 1838-1861	4	4	54	4	19	1	6	2	94
Mission 1862-1885	9	2	99	17	7	66	10	6	216
After the Act 1886-1910	3		13	9	2	6	7	0	40
	16	7	168	30	34	73	23	8	358

North-east 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Pre-pastoral -1834			2	1		2	1	1	7
Pastoral 1835-1861		8	77	43		15	41	32	216
Mission 1862-1885	1		24	8		0	4	12	49
After the Act 1886-1910			5	1				3	13
	1	8	108	53	0	17	46	48	285

Monaro 2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Pre-pastoral -1826							2		2
Pastoral			132	94	1	5	128	4	364

1827-1891									
Mission			17	5	1	1	34	1	**59**
1892-1908									
After the Act			1	1	1	1	2		**6**
1909-1910									
	0	**0**	**150**	**100**	**3**	**7**	**166**	**5**	431

South Coast 2	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	
Pre-pastoral									**0**
-1825									
Pastoral	47	2	66	40	109	114	39	0	**417**
1826-1890									
Mission	23		4	4	43	76	6	1	**157**
1891-1908									
After the Act									
1909-1910									
	70	**2**	**70**	**44**	**152**	**190**	**45**	**1**	574

Reasons for movement: 1 gatherings or petitions, 2 camp or home, 3 war or attack Europeans, 4 elopements or abductions, 5 family visits, marriage or death, 6 census statistics, 7 employment, 8 mission movement, 9 travel routes, 10 miscellaneous

REASONS FOR MOVEMENT BY DECADE

Gippsland	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	
n.d.	6	4	10	3			1		2		**26**
-1829		1									**1**
-1839	2	13	3	2			4				**24**
-1849	3	22	17				17			3	**62**
-1859	3	20	17		2	26	19			1	**88**
-1869	4	58	16	1	12	11	11			26	**139**
-1879	7	67	3	0	14	1	15	1	0	22	**130**
-1889	2	15			20	4	8	10		3	**62**
-1899		12			8		3	7			**30**
-1910		3			5		1	5			**14**
	27	**215**	**66**	**6**	**61**	**42**	**79**	**23**	**2**	**55**	

North-east	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	
n.d.	4	4	8	1	3		1		4	2	**27**
-1829		6									**6**
-1839	3	5	6		2		6				**22**
-1849	35	13	7		1		12	3		3	**83**
-1859		15	10				9			4	**38**
-1869		21	2	1	3	6	1	4		25	**63**
-1879		12			1	1	3	4		15	**36**
-1889		14			1		1	2		1	**19**
-1899		13			1		13	1			**27**
-1910					1		9				**10**
	42	**103**	**33**	**2**	**13**	**7**	**55**	**14**	**4**	**50**	

Monaro	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	
n.d.	15	1	4	1	1		2		6	1	**31**
-1829	2	2					1				**5**
-1839	7	6	5		1	15	5			1	**40**
-1849	2	8	2		2	25	26				**65**
-1859	11	7	2		3	2	10			4	**39**
-1869	8	12	2		2	1	9	2		4	**40**
-1879	4	3			4		2			1	**14**
-1889		9			7	7	25	3		1	**52**
-1899		6			4	51	24	7		1	**92**
-1910		6			2	30	11			1	**50**
	49	**60**	**15**	**1**	**26**	**131**	**115**	**24**	**6**	**14**	

South Coast	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	
n.d.	7	1	1						4		**13**
-1829	1	1	2				1				**5**
-1839	2	6	8	2	1	49	3				**71**
-1849		8	2			88	25				**123**
-1859		2			1		5				**8**
-1869	1	7			8	1	6			10	**33**
-1879		7			10		9			42	**68**
-1889	1	15			20	12	9			17	**74**
-1899		14			35	86	6	7		12	
-1910		13			23	55	20			5	**116**
	12	**74**	**13**	**2**	**98**	**291**	**84**	**0**	**4**	**86**	

REASONS FOR MOVEMENT BY ERA

Gippsland 2	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**		**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**Total**
pre-pastoral -1837		11	1	2			3				**16**
pastoral 1838-1861 (+n.d.)	15	59	48	3	2	30	41		2	5	**205**
mission 1862-1885	12	123	17	1	40	9	29	6	0	50	**187**
After the Act 1886-1910		23			19		7	17			**65**
Total	**27**	**216**	**66**	**6**	**61**	**9**	**78**	**23**	**2**	**55**	570

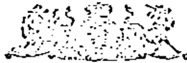
North-east 2	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**		**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**Total**
pre-pastoral -1834		6	2								**8**
pastoral 1835-1861 (+n.d.)	42	49	29	2	6	6	28	3	4	9	**178**
mission 1862-1885		36	2		4	1	4	9		41	**97**
After the Act 1886-1910		16			3		23	2			**44**
Total	**46**	**71**	**33**	**3**	**13**	**7**	**55**	**14**	**4**	**50**	327

Monaro 2	1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10	Total
pre-pastoral -1826	2	1					1				**4**
pastoral 1827-1891 (+n.d.)	47	51	15	1	21		81	12	6	1	**235**
mission 1892-1908		8			5	75	31			1	**120**
After the Act 1809-1910							2			1	**3**
Total	**49**	**60**	**15**	**1**	**26**	**75**	**84**	**12**	**6**	**3**	362

South Coast 2	1	2	3	4	5		7	8	9	10	Total	
pre-pastoral -1825	1	1	1								**3**	
pastoral 1826-1890 (+n.d.)	11	49	12	2	44	159	58		4	69	**408**	
mission 1891-1908		22			52	131	22			14	**241**	
After the Act 1809-1910		2			2	1	4			3	**12**	
Total	**12**	**74**	**13**	**2**	**93**	**291**	**84**		**4**	**8**	664	**6**

APPENDIX 4: ABORIGINES PROTECTION ACT VICTORIA (1869) (Board for the Protection of Aborigines 23rd Annual Report 1887)

VICTORIA.



ANNO TRICESIMO TERTIO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

No. CCCXLIX.

An Act to provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria. [11th *November* 1869.]

Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of Victoria in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows (that is to say):—

Interpretation. 1. Save where there is something in the context repugnant thereto or inconsistent therewith the following words shall have the respective meanings hereby assigned to them (that is to say)—

The word "Governor" shall mean the person administering the Government acting by and with the advice of the Executive Council.

The word "Minister" shall mean the responsible Minister of the Crown administering this Act.

The word "Board" shall mean the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines.

Regulations. 2. It shall be lawful for the Governor from time to time to make regulations and orders for any of the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and at any time to rescind or alter such regulations (that is to say):—

(I.) For prescribing the place where any Aboriginal or any tribe of Aborigines shall reside.

(II.) For prescribing the terms on which contracts for and on behalf of Aboriginals may be made with Europeans, and upon which certificates may be granted to Aboriginals who may be able and willing to earn a living by their own exertions.

(III.) For apportioning amongst Aboriginals the earnings of Aboriginals under any contract, or where Aboriginals are located on a reserve the net produce of the labour of such Aboriginals.

(IV.) For the distribution and expenditure of moneys granted by Parliament for the benefit of Aborigines.

(V.) For the care custody and education of the children of Aborigines.

(VI.) For prescribing the mode of transacting the business of and the duties generally of the Board or any local committee hereinafter mentioned and of the officers appointed hereunder.

And every such regulation or order shall be published in the *Government Gazette*, and any publication purporting to be a copy of the *Government Gazette* and containing any such regulation or order signed by the Minister shall be received in all courts of justice as evidence thereof.

Board of Aborigines. 3. There shall be in and for Victoria a Board to be styled the "Board for the Protection of Aborigines," consisting of the Minister and such and so many persons as the Governor shall from time to time appoint to be members thereof, and the persons who at the passing of this Act shall be the members of the Board for the protection of the Aborigines are together with the Minister hereby appointed the first members of such Board. The Governor may from time to time appoint other persons either as additional members of or to supply any vacancies in the said board, and may remove any member whether by this Act appointed or hereafter to be appointed: Provided that in the absence of the Minister such member as shall be annually elected by the board as vice-chairman shall preside at the meetings of the board.

Officers. 4. The Governor may from time to time appoint a local committee consisting of three persons to act in conjunction with the said Board, and also officers to be called local guardians of Aborigines, and may also at any time abolish such local committee or remove any such member of a local committee or a local guardian; and such local committee or guardians shall perform the duties assigned to them respectively by this Act or any of the regulations to be made thereunder.

Bedding, &c., not to be sold. 5. All bedding clothing and other articles issued or distributed to the Aboriginals by or by the direction of the said Board shall be considered on loan only and shall remain the property of Her Majesty, and it shall not be lawful for the Aboriginals receiving such bedding clothing and other articles to sell or otherwise dispose of the same without the sanction of the Minister or such other person as the said regulations may direct.

Offences. 6. If any person shall without the authority of a local guardian take whether by purchase or otherwise any goods or chattels issued or distributed to any Aboriginal by or by the direction of the said Board (except such goods as such Aboriginal may be licensed to sell), or shall sell or give to any Aboriginal any intoxicating liquor except such as shall be *bonâ fide* administered as a medicine, or shall harbor any Aboriginal unless such Aboriginal shall have a certificate or unless a contract of service as aforesaid shall have been made on his behalf and be then in force, or unless such Aboriginal shall from illness or from the result of any accident or other cause be in urgent need of succour and such cause be reported in writing to the Board or a local committee or local guardian or to a magistrate within one week after the need shall have arisen, or shall remove or attempt to remove or instigate any other person to remove any Aboriginal from Victoria without the written consent in that behalf of the Minister every such person shall on conviction be liable to a penalty not exceeding Twenty pounds or in default to be imprisoned for any term not less than one month nor more than three months.

Breach of regulations. Obstructing officers. 7. If any person shall violate the provisions of any regulation made under or in pursuance of this Act, or shall obstruct the Board or local committee or any local guardian of Aborigines or other officer in the execution of his duty under this Act or the said regulations, every such person shall on conviction forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding Twenty pounds.

2. Section eight of the Principal Act is hereby repealed.

Repeal of sec. 8 Act No. 349.

3. The term "half-caste" whenever it occurs in this Act shall include as well half-castes as all other persons whatever of mixed Aboriginal blood.

Meaning of half-caste.

But when used elsewhere than in this and the next succeeding section the term shall unless the context requires a different meaning be read and construed as excluding such half-castes as under the provisions of this Act are to be deemed to be Aboriginals.

4. The following persons shall be deemed to be Aboriginals within the meaning of the Principal Act:—

Who to be deemed Aboriginals.

(1.) Every Aboriginal native of Victoria.

(2.) Every half-caste who habitually associating and living with an Aboriginal within the meaning of this section has prior to the date of the coming into operation of this Act completed the thirty-fourth year of his or her age.

(3.) Every female half-caste who has prior to the date aforesaid been married to an Aboriginal within the meaning of this section and is at the date aforesaid living with such Aboriginal.

(4.) Every infant unable to earn his or her own living the child of an Aboriginal within the meaning of this section living with such Aboriginal.

(5.) Any half-caste other than is hereinbefore specified who for the time being holds a licence in writing from the Board under regulations to be made in that behalf to reside upon any places prescribed as a place where any Aboriginal or any tribe of Aboriginals may reside.

5. The Board in addition to the powers conferred upon it by the Principal Act with respect to Aboriginals shall have full power and authority to act in the execution of this Act and the regulations hereunder in those particulars made applicable by this Act or such regulations to half-castes; and for that purpose any money granted for the benefit of Aboriginals shall be equally available for the purpose of carrying this Act and the provisions hereof relating to half-castes into effect.

Board empowered to carry Act into execution with respect to half-castes.

6. Every half-caste who prior to the date of the coming into operation of this Act has been maintained or partly maintained from moneys granted by Parliament for the benefit of Aboriginals shall, subject to any regulations to be made in that behalf, on satisfying the Board of his or her necessitous circumstances, be entitled to claim to such extent and for such time as the Board may from time to time direct not exceeding the periods hereinafter limited for the receipt of the same respectively all or any of the benefits following (that is to say):—

Provision to allow half-castes heretofore maintained at public expense certain benefits for a limited period.

(1.) To be supplied with rations or their equivalent in money as the Board may determine. Provided that this benefit and the right to claim the same shall cease and be determined after three years from the date of the coming into operation of this Act.

(2.) To be supplied with clothing. Provided that this benefit and the right to claim the same shall cease and be determined after five years from the date of the coming into operation of this Act.

(3.) To be supplied with blankets. Provided that this benefit and the right to claim the same shall cease and be determined after seven years from the date of the coming into operation of this Act.

7. The Board may if it thinks fit from time to time licence any half-caste to reside and be maintained upon any place or any of the places now or hereafter to be prescribed by the Governor as the place or places where any Aboriginal or any tribe of Aboriginals shall reside, and such licence may at any time withdraw, and when withdrawn may renew; and so long as any such licence remains in force the provisions of this Act relating to half-castes shall cease to apply to the half-caste holding the same.

Half-castes licensed in certain cases to reside with Aboriginals.

8. The Governor may from time to time make regulations and orders in respect of half-castes for any of the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and at any time may rescind or alter such regulation (that is to say):—

Regulations.

For prescribing the conditions on which the Board may licence any half-castes to reside and be maintained upon the place or places aforesaid where any Aboriginal or tribe of Aboriginals now or hereafter reside, and for limiting the period of such residence, and for regulating the removal or dismissal of any of such persons from any such place or places.

For the supply to half-castes entitled to the same of rations clothing blankets or other necessaries or any medical or other relief or assistance.

For prescribing the conditions on which half-castes may obtain and receive assistance to enable them under and by virtue of the provisions of any law now or hereafter to be in force relating to the alienation or occupation of Crown lands to select acquire hold enjoy and be possessed of any such Crown lands for any estate or interest therein and the nature and amount of such assistance.

For prescribing the conditions on which half-caste infants may be licensed or apprenticed to any person or persons.

For the transfer of any half-caste child being an orphan to the care of the Department for neglected children or any institutions within the said colony for orphan children subject to the provisions of any law now or hereafter to be in force for the transfer of orphan children to the said Department or such institutions as aforesaid.

To enable the Board to exercise care and oversight in the management or condition of half-castes during a period of seven years from the date of the coming into operation of this Act.

For the furnishing of periodical reports on the condition and progress of half-castes during the said period.

And every such regulation or order shall be published in the *Government Gazette*, and any publication purporting to be a copy of the *Government Gazette* and containing any such regulation or order signed by the Minister shall be received in all courts as evidence thereof.

9. If any person violate the provisions of any regulation made under or in pursuance of this Act, every such person shall on conviction forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding Twenty pounds, and such penalty may be enforced before any justice.

Breach of regulations. Recovery of penalties.

By Authority: Robt. S. Brain, Government Printer, Melbourne.

16. A special meeting may be convened at any time by the secretary.

17. Three members of the Board shall form a quorum.

18. The secretary, or one of the members acting as secretary, shall keep minutes of the proceedings at each meeting, which shall, if correct, be confirmed at the next meeting.

19. The directions of the Board to its officers shall be given through the secretary, or, in his absence, in such manner as the Board may think right, and the secretary, or acting secretary, shall conduct all correspondence [and certify all accounts approved by the Board—*Rescinded*].

And the Honorable Sir James McCulloch, Her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Victoria, shall give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

J. H. KAY,
Clerk of the Executive Council.

IN pursuance of the provisions of the Act intituled *An Act to provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria* (No. 349, § 2), the Governor, with the advice of the Executive Council, has rescinded the 14th and 19th of the Regulations bearing date the 13th of February 1871, and published in the *Government Gazette* of the 24th of February 1871 (pages 338, 339.)

JOHN A. MACPHERSON,
Chief Secretary.

Chief Secretary's Office,
Melbourne, 6th March 1876.

REGULATIONS MADE UNDER THE ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE PROTECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE ABORIGINAL NATIVES OF VICTORIA.

At an Executive Council held at Government House, Melbourne, the 16th day of July 1880.

PRESENT:

His Excellency the Governor

Mr. Service	Mr. Gillies.
Mr. Kerferd	

WHEREAS, by the 2nd section of the Act of the Parliament of Victoria numbered 349, it is enacted that it shall be lawful for the Governor from time to time to make regulations and orders for, among other purposes therein mentioned, the care, custody, and education of the children of Aborigines, and at any time to rescind or alter such regulations: Now therefore His Excellency the Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, doth make the following Regulations, that is to say:—

Regulations.

1. Every Aborigine located on any station connected with or under the control of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines under the age of 14 years shall, when so required by the person in charge of such station, attend any school at or near such station at such times as he may direct.

2. Every Aboriginal male under 14 years of age, and also all unmarried Aboriginal females under the age of 18 years, shall, when so required by the person in charge of any station in connexion with or under the control of the said Board, reside, and take their meals, and sleep, in any building set apart for such purposes.

ROBERT RAMSAY,
Chief Secretary.

And the Honorable Robert Ramsay, Her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Victoria, shall give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

ROB. WADSWORTH,
Clerk of the Executive Council.

VICTORIA.

ANNO QUINQUAGESIMO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

No. DCCCCXII.

An Act to amend an Act intituled "*An Act to provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria.*" [16th *December* 1886.]

BE it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows (that is to say):—

Short title and construction.

1. This Act may for all purposes be cited as "*The Aborigines Protection Act* 1886," and shall be read and construed with the Act No. CCCXLIX. hereinafter referred to as the "Principal Act," and shall come into operation on the first day of January One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.

APPENDIX 5: ABORIGINES PROTECTION ACT VICTORIA (1886)
(Board for the Protection of Aborigines 23rd Annual Report 1887)

VICTORIA.

ANNO QUINQUAGESIMO VICTORIÆ REGINÆ.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

No. DCCCCXII.

An Act to amend an Act intituled "*An Act to provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria.*" [16th *December* 1886.]

Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows (that is to say):—

Short title and construction.

1. This Act may for all purposes be cited as "*The Aborigines Protection Act* 1886," and shall be read and construed with the Act No. CCCXLIX. hereinafter referred to as the "Principal Act," and shall come into operation on the first day of January One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven.

... guardian or other authorized agent of the Board, after making such inquiries as he or they may think necessary to enable him or them to judge of the propriety of approving the contract, shall forward the same with his or their opinion thereon to the Board.

5. The Board, if satisfied of the propriety of approval, will cause their approval, signed by the secretary, to be endorsed on the contract, and will return the same to the local guardian or committee, and post a copy thereof with such approval endorsed to the address mentioned in the contract.

6. The Board may modify any such contract at the time of approving the same by directing all or any part of the money payment payable to the Aboriginal to be made to some local guardian or other person specified in that behalf instead of to the Aboriginal himself, and shall in such case endorse such direction in manner hereinbefore provided with respect to their approval; and after the time at which the approved contract so modified would in course of post have reached the address given in the contract, the contractor shall not be entitled to credit under the contract for any payment so directed to be made unless made as directed.

7. Any money to be received in pursuance of any such direction shall be applied at the discretion of the receiver for the benefit of the Aboriginal or of any member of his family, subject to any express direction given by the Board, and shall in every case be accounted for to the Board as hereinafter directed, or upon application by the secretary at any time.

8. The Board may, at their discretion, grant to any Aboriginal, able and willing to earn a living by his own exertions, a certificate in the subjoined form, signed by the secretary, which certificate shall not remain in force for more than six months from its date or the date of its last renewal; and any such unexpired certificate may be renewed for six months by the endorsement of the date of renewal, and signature of any member of the Board, local guardian, or member of a local committee, who, in the exercise of his discretion, shall think fit to renew the same.

Certificate under the Aborigines Protection Act.

This certificate was issued on the day of 18 to an Aboriginal named , aged about , height about , and known or distinguishable by the following peculiarities [*state if any*], he having represented himself as able and willing to earn a living by his own exertions.

The effect of this certificate, while in force, is as follows :—

It authorizes him to enter into a binding contract of service for any time during which this certificate remains in force.

It permits a European to harbor him without incurring any penalty.

It does not authorize any person to sell or give him any intoxicating drink or affect the penalty for so doing, or confer any other exemption from penalties under the said Act.

This certificate will not remain in force after the day of 18 , unless renewed in the meantime by the date of renewal, and signature of some member of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, local guardian, or member of local committee being written thereon; and it will not remain in force after six months from the date of the last renewal.

Secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines.

(III.)—APPORTIONMENT OF EARNINGS.

9. Where a number of Aboriginals are located on a reserve, and where they cultivate fields and gardens, or raise and keep live stock, or otherwise by their labors produce marketable goods, the Board may from time to time order the sale of any produce or live stock or goods, and out of the net proceeds of sale pay to the Aboriginals who have labored on the reserve such sums as the Board may deem right, having regard to the kind and amount of labor performed by each.

(IV.)—DISTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE OF MONEYS.

10. In the third month of every year, or so soon after as practicable, the Board shall submit for approval by the Governor a statement showing in detail the quantities of the rations, clothes, medicines, live stock, and other things which they propose to distribute amongst or employ for the benefit of Aboriginals for the ensuing twelve months, and an estimate of the amount to be expended in the purchase and carriage thereof, and of the amount to be expended in salaries and wages and travelling and other expenses for the like period.

11. Once in every year the Board shall submit to the Governor a statement for the past year, showing in detail the quantities of the several things distributed and the quantity remaining on hand, and the amount of actual expenditure in salaries, wages, travelling and other expenses for the like period.

12. Every local committee, local guardian, or other person entrusted by the Board with the distribution of any stores or other things, or the application of any moneys received from the Board, or from the employer of any Aboriginal, shall furnish the Board with a monthly statement in detail of all stores and other things received and distributed, and of all moneys received and disbursed, and showing the balances on hand of stores or other things, and of moneys unexpended up to, and inclusive of, the last day of each calendar month.

(V.)—CUSTODY OF CHILDREN.

13. The Governor may order the removal of any Aboriginal child neglected by its parents, or left unprotected, to any of the places of residence specified in Regulation I., or to an industrial or reformatory school.*

(VI.)—SECRETARY.—[*Rescinded.*]

(VII.)—MODE OF TRANSACTING BUSINESS.

15. An ordinary meeting of the Board shall be held in the first week of every month, on a day to be named by the vice-chairman.

* By the Act 349 the following are deemed Aboriginals:—"Every Aboriginal native of Australia, and every Aboriginal half-caste or child of a half-caste, such half-caste or child habitually associating and living with Aboriginals, shall be deemed to be an Aboriginal within the meaning of this Act; and at the hearing of any case the justice adjudicating may, in the absence of other sufficient evidence, decide on his own view and judgment whether any person with reference to whom any proceedings shall have been taken under this Act is or is not an Aboriginal."

Who to be deemed Aboriginals.

8. Every Aboriginal native of Australia and every Aboriginal half-caste or child of a half-caste, such half-caste or child habitually associating and living with Aboriginals, shall be deemed to be an Aboriginal within the meaning of this Act; and at the hearing of any case the justice adjudicating may, in the absence of other sufficient evidence, decide on his own view and judgment whether any person with reference to whom any proceedings shall have been taken under this Act is or is not an Aboriginal.

Recovery of penalties

9. All penalties under this Act may be enforced by summary proceeding before any justice.

REGULATIONS AND ORDERS MADE UNDER THE ACT TO PROVIDE FOR THE PROTECTION AND MANAGEMENT OF THE ABORIGINAL NATIVES OF VICTORIA.

At the Executive Council held at Melbourne the 13th day of February 1871.

PRESENT:

His Excellency the Governor.

Sir J. McCulloch | Mr. Wrixon.

WHEREAS by the 2nd section of the Act of the Parliament of Victoria numbered 349, intituled *An Act to provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria,* it is amongst other things enacted that it shall be lawful for the Governor from time to make regulations and orders for any of the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and at any time to rescind or alter such regulations, that is to say—

I. For prescribing the place where any Aboriginal or any tribe of Aborigines shall reside.

II. For prescribing the terms on which contracts for and on behalf of Aboriginals may be made with Europeans, and upon which certificates may be granted to Aboriginals who may be able and willing to earn a living by their own exertions.

III. For apportioning amongst Aboriginals the earnings of Aboriginals under any contract, or where Aboriginals are located on a reserve the net produce of the labour of such Aboriginals.

IV. For the distribution and expenditure of moneys granted by Parliament for the benefit of Aborigines.

V. For the care, custody, and education of the children of Aborigines.

VI. For prescribing the mode of transacting the business of, and the duties generally of the Board, or any local committee hereinafter mentioned, and of the officers appointed hereunder.

Now therefore His Excellency the Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, doth make the following Regulations and Orders, in which the words "Governor" and "Board" are intended to have the meaning attached to them by the Act:—

(I.) PLACES OF RESIDENCE.

1. Provision will be made by the Board for the residence of Aboriginals and tribes of Aboriginals at the following places:—

Coranderrk.
Lake Wellington.
Lake Tyers.
Lake Condah.
Framlingham.
Lake Hindmarsh.

(II.) CONTRACTS AND CERTIFICATES.

2. No contract with any Aboriginal for any service or employment for a longer period than three months shall be of any validity as against such Aboriginal, or as an exemption from the penalty imposed by section 6 of the Act, unless such contract shall have been approved by the Board, or the Aboriginal shall at the making and during the continuance thereof hold a subsisting certificate, to be issued as hereinafter provided; but this regulation shall in no way affect the validity of any such contract as against the person entering into it with the Aboriginal.

3. Any person desiring the approval of the Board to any such contract, shall apply therefore by transmitting to the local guardian or other authorized agent of the Board in or nearest to the district in which the applicant resides, an application signed by him in the subjoined form (hereinafter referred to as the contract) :—

Contract submitted for the approval of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines.
Particulars of Contract.

Name, residence, and occupation of employer.
Name of Aboriginal.
Nature of work or service to be performed.
Date from which service under the contract is to commence or has commenced.
Money payment as wages or otherwise, and the time or times when payable under the contract.
Rations (if any) to be given in addition to money payment (if any), and quantity and quality of rations agreed to be supplied.
Name and address to which the applicant desires communications in reference to this application to be posted.
Date of application.

Signature of applicant.

APPENDIX 6: ABORIGINES ACT 1890 VICTORIA
(Board for the Protection of Aborigines 26th Annual Report 1890)

No. MLIX.

An Act to consolidate the Laws relating to the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria.

[10th *July*, 1890.]

BE it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly of Victoria in this present Parliament assembled and by the authority of the same as follows (that is to say):— *Act No. 349.*

1. This Act may be cited as the *Aborigines Act* 1890, and shall come into operation on the first day of August One thousand eight hundred and ninety. *Short title and commencement.*

2. The Acts mentioned in the Schedule to this Act to the extent to which the same are thereby expressed to be repealed are hereby repealed. Provided that such repeal shall not affect any regulation order or appointment made or declared or any licence granted under the said Acts or either of them before the commencement of this Act. *Repeal.*

3. Save where there is something in the context repugnant thereto or inconsistent therewith, the following words shall have the respective meanings hereby assigned to them (that is to say):— *Interpretation. Ib. s. 1.*

"Board" shall mean the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines: *"Board."*

"Governor" shall mean the person administering the Government acting by and with the advice of the Executive Council: *"Governor."*

"Minister" shall mean the responsible Minister of the Crown administering this Act. *"Minister."*

4. The term "half-caste" whenever it occurs in this Act shall include as well half-castes as all other persons whatever of mixed aboriginal blood; but when used elsewhere than in this and the next succeeding section the term shall unless the context requires a different meaning be read and construed as excluding such half-castes as under the provisions of this Act are to be deemed to be aboriginals. *Meaning of half-caste. "The Aborigines Protection Act 1886" s. 3.*

5. The following persons shall be deemed to be aboriginals within the meaning of this Act:— *Who to be deemed aboriginals. Ib. s. 4.*

(I.) Every aboriginal native of Victoria:
(II.) Every half-caste who habitually associating and living with an aboriginal within the meaning of this section completed the thirty-fourth year of his or her age prior to the first day of January One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven:
(III.) Every female half-caste who had prior to the date aforesaid been married to an aboriginal within the meaning of this section, and was at the date aforesaid living with such aboriginal:
(IV.) Every infant unable to earn his or her own living, the child of an aboriginal within the meaning of this section, living with such aboriginal:
(V.) Any half-caste other than is hereinbefore specified who for the time being holds a licence in writing from the Board under regulations to be made in that behalf to reside upon any place prescribed as a place where any aboriginal or any tribe of aboriginals may reside.

6. It shall be lawful for the Governor from time to time to make regulations and orders for any of the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and at any time to rescind or alter such regulations (that is to say):— *Regulations. Act No. 349 s. 2.*

(I.) For prescribing the place where any aboriginal or any tribe of aboriginals shall reside:
(II.) For prescribing the terms on which contracts for and on behalf of aboriginals may be made with Europeans, and upon which certificates may be granted to aboriginals who may be able and willing to earn a living by their own exertions:
(III.) For apportioning amongst aboriginals the earnings of aboriginals under any contract, or where aboriginals are located on a reserve the net produce of the labour of such aboriginals:
(IV.) For the distribution and expenditure of moneys granted by Parliament for the benefit of aboriginals:
(V.) For the care custody and education of the children of aboriginals:
(VI.) For prescribing the mode of transacting the business of, and the duties generally of the Board or any local committee hereinafter mentioned and of the officers appointed hereunder:
(VII.) For prescribing the conditions on which the Board may license any half-castes to reside and be maintained upon the place or places aforesaid, where any aboriginal or tribe of aboriginals now or hereafter reside, and for limiting the period of such residence and for regulating the removal or dismissal of any of such persons from any such place or places: *"The Aborigines Protection Act 1886" s. 8.*
(VIII.) For the supply to half-castes entitled to the same of rations clothing blankets or other necessaries or any medical or other relief or assistance:

"*The Aborigines Protection Act* 1886."

(IX.) For prescribing the conditions on which half-castes may obtain and receive assistance to enable them, under and by virtue of the provisions of any law now or hereafter to be in force relating to the alienation or occupation of Crown lands, to select acquire hold enjoy and be possessed of any such Crown lands, for any estate or interest therein, and the nature and amount of such assistance:

(X.) For prescribing the conditions on which half-caste infants may be licensed or apprenticed to any person or persons:

(XI.) For the transfer of any half-caste child, being an orphan, to the care of the Department for Neglected Children or any institutions within Victoria for orphan children, subject to the provisions of any law now or hereafter to be in force for the transfer of orphan children to the said Department or such institutions as aforesaid:

(XII.) To enable the Board to exercise care and oversight in the management or condition of half-castes during a period of four years from the first day of January One thousand eight hundred and ninety:

(XIII.) For the furnishing of periodical reports on the condition and progress of half-castes during the said period.

And every such regulation or order shall be published in the *Government Gazette*, and any publication purporting to be a copy of the *Government Gazette* and containing any such regulation or order signed by the Minister shall be received in all courts of justice as evidence thereof.

Board of Aborigines. *Act No.* 349 *s.* 2.

7. There shall be in and for Victoria a board to be styled the "Board for the Protection of the Aborigines," consisting of the Minister and such and so many persons as the Governor shall from time to time appoint to be members thereof. The Governor may from time to time appoint other persons either as additional members of or to supply any vacancies in the said Board, and may remove any member whether by this Act appointed or hereafter to be appointed. Provided that in the absence of the Minister such member as shall be annually elected by the Board as vice-chairman shall preside at the meetings of the Board.

Officers. *Ib. s.* 4.

8. The Governor may from time to time appoint a local committee consisting of three persons to act in conjunction with the said Board, and also officers to be called local guardians of aborigines, and may also at any time abolish such local committee or remove any such member of a local committee or a local guardian; and such local committee or guardians shall perform the duties assigned to them respectively by this Act or any of the regulations to be made thereunder.

Board empowered to carry Act into execution with respect to half-castes. "*The Aborigines Protection Act* 1886" *s.* 5.

9. The Board shall have full power and authority to act in the execution of this Act and the regulations hereunder in those particulars made applicable by this Act or such regulations to half-castes; and for that purpose any money granted for the benefit of aboriginals shall be equally available for the purpose of carrying the provisions hereof relating to half-castes into effect.

Provision to allow half-castes heretofore maintained at public expense certain benefits for a limited period. *Ib. s.* 6.

10. Every half-caste who prior to the first day of January One thousand eight hundred and eighty-seven was maintained or partly maintained from moneys granted by Parliament for the benefit of aboriginals shall, subject to any regulations to be made in that behalf, on satisfying the Board of his or her necessitous circumstances be entitled to claim to such extent and for such time as the Board may from time to time direct not exceeding the periods hereinafter limited for the receipt of the same respectively all or any of the benefits following (that is to say):—

(I.) To be supplied with clothing: Provided that this benefit and the right to claim the same shall cease and be determined after two years from the first day of January One thousand eight hundred and ninety.

(II.) To be supplied with blankets: Provided that this benefit and the right to claim the same shall cease and be determined after four years from the first day of January One thousand eight hundred and ninety.

Half-castes licensed in certain cases to reside with aboriginals. *Ib. s.* 7.

11. The Board may if it thinks fit from time to time license any half-caste to reside and be maintained upon any place or any of the places now or hereafter to be prescribed by the Governor as the place or places where any aboriginal or any tribe of aboriginals shall reside, and such licence may at any time withdraw, and when withdrawn may renew; and so long as any such licence remains in force the provisions of this Act relating to half-castes shall cease to apply to the half-caste holding the same.

Bedding &c. not to be sold. *Act No.* 349 *s.* 5.

12. All bedding clothing and other articles issued or distributed to the aboriginals by or by the direction of the said Board shall be considered on loan only, and shall remain the property of Her Majesty, and it shall not be lawful for the aboriginals receiving such bedding clothing and other articles to sell or otherwise dispose of the same without the sanction of the Minister or such other person as the said regulations may direct.

Offences. *Ib. s.* 6.

13. If any person shall without the authority of a local guardian take whether by purchase or otherwise any goods or chattels issued or distributed to any aboriginal by or by the direction of the said Board (except such goods as such aboriginal may be licensed to sell), or shall sell or give to any aboriginal any intoxicating liquor except such as shall be *boná fide* administered as a medicine, or shall harbor any aboriginal unless such aboriginal shall have a certificate or unless a contract of service as aforesaid shall have been made on his behalf and be then in force, or unless such aboriginal shall from illness or from the result of any accident or other cause be in urgent need of succour and such cause be reported in writing to the Board or a local committee or local guardian or to

a magistrate within one week after the need shall have arisen, or shall remove or attempt to remove or instigate any other person to remove any aboriginal from Victoria without the written consent in that behalf of the Minister, every such person shall on conviction be liable to a penalty not exceeding Twenty pounds or in default to be imprisoned for any term not less than one month nor more than three months.

Act No. 349 s. 7. **Breach of regulations. Obstructing officers.** *"The Aborigines Protection Act 1886" s. 9.*

14. If any person shall violate the provisions of any regulation made under or in pursuance of this Act, or shall obstruct the Board or local committee or any local guardian of aborigines or other officer in the execution of his duty under this Act or the said regulations, every such person shall on conviction forfeit and pay any sum not exceeding Twenty pounds.

Recovery of penalties. *Act No. 349 s. 9.*

15. All penalties under this Act may be enforced by summary proceeding before any justice.

SCHEDULE.

Section 2.

Date of Act.	Title of Act.	Extent of Repeal.
33 Vict. No. 349 ...	"*An Act to Provide for the Protection and "Management of the Aboriginal Natives of "Victoria*"	So much as is not already repealed.
50 Vict. No. 912 ...	"*The Aborigines Protection Act* 1886" ...	The whole.

APPENDIX XXII.

Aborigines Act 1890.

REGULATIONS.

At the Executive Council Chamber, Melbourne, the eighth day of September, 1890.

PRESENT:

His Excellency the Governor.

Mr. Gillies	Mr. Dow
Mr. Deakin	Mr. Patterson
Dr. Pearson	Mr. Anderson.

WHEREAS by the 6th section of the Act of the Parliament of Victoria numbered 1059, intituled *An Act to Consolidate the Laws relating to the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria*, it is amongst other things enacted that it shall be lawful for the Governor from time to time to make regulations and orders for any of the purposes hereinafter mentioned, and at any time to rescind or alter such regulations, that is to say :—

I. For prescribing the place where any aboriginal or any tribe of aboriginals shall reside:

II. For prescribing the terms on which contracts for and on behalf of aboriginals may be made with Europeans, and upon which certificates may be granted to aboriginals who may be able and willing to earn a living by their own exertions:

III. For apportioning amongst aboriginals the earnings of aboriginals under any contract, or where aboriginals are located on a reserve the net produce of the labour of such aboriginals:

IV. For the distribution and expenditure of moneys granted by Parliament for the benefit of aboriginals:

V. For the care, custody, and education of the children of aboriginals:

VI. For prescribing the mode of transacting the business of, and the duties generally of the Board, or any local committee mentioned in the said Act, and of the officers appointed thereunder:

VII. For prescribing the conditions on which the Board may license any half-castes to reside and be maintained upon the place or places aforesaid, where any aboriginal or tribe of aboriginals now or hereafter reside, and for limiting the period of such residence, and for regulating the removal or dismissal of any of such persons from any such place or places:

VIII. For the supply to half-castes entitled to the same of rations, clothing, blankets, or other necessaries, or any medical or other relief or assistance:

IX. For prescribing the conditions on which half-castes may obtain and receive assistance to enable them under and by virtue of the provisions of any law now or hereafter to be in force relating to the alienation or occupation of Crown lands, to select, acquire, hold, enjoy, and be possessed of any such Crown lands for any estate or interest therein, and the nature and amount of such assistance:

X. For prescribing the conditions on which half-caste infants may be licensed or apprenticed to any person or persons:

XI. For the transfer of any half-caste child, being an orphan, to the care of the Department for Neglected Children, or any institutions within Victoria for orphan children, subject to the provisions of any law now or hereafter to be in force for the transfer of orphan children to the said department or such institutions as aforesaid :

XII. To enable the Board to exercise care and oversight in the management or condition of half-castes during a period of four years from the first day of January, One thousand eight hundred and ninety :

XIII. For the furnishing of periodical reports on the condition and progress of half-castes during the said period.

Now therefore His Excellency the Governor, by and with the advice of the Executive Council, doth make the following regulations and orders, in which the words "Governor" and "Board" are intended to have the meaning attached to them by the Act, and the words "Prescribed Station" in Part VII. of such regulations shall mean "any place now or hereafter to be prescribed by the Governor as the place where any aboriginal or tribe of aboriginals shall reside.

(I.) PLACES OF RESIDENCE.

1. Provision will be made by the Board for the residence of aboriginals and tribes of aboriginals at the following places :—

Coranderrk.
Lake Wellington.
Lake Tyers.
Lake Condah.
Lake Hindmarsh.

(II.) CONTRACTS AND CERTIFICATES.

2. No contract with any aboriginal for any service or employment for a longer period than three months shall be of any validity as against such aboriginal, or as an exemption from the penalty imposed by section 13 of the Act, unless such contract shall have been approved by the Board, or the aboriginal shall at the making and during the continuance thereof hold a subsisting certificate, to be issued as hereinafter provided ; but this regulation shall in no way affect the validity of any such contract as against the person entering into it with the aboriginal.

3. Any person desiring the approval of the Board to any such contract shall apply therefor by transmitting to the local guardian or other authorized agent of the Board in or nearest to the district in which the applicant resides, an application signed by him in the subjoined form (hereinafter referred to as the contract) :—

Contract submitted for the approval of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines.
Particulars of Contract.

Name, residence, and occupation of employer.
Name of aboriginal.
Nature of work or service to be performed.
Date from which service under the contract is to commence or has commenced.
Money payment as wages or otherwise, and the time or times when payable under the contract.
Rations (if any) to be given in addition to money payment (if any), and quantity and quality of rations agreed to be supplied.
Name and address to which the applicant desires communications in reference to this application to be posted.
Date of application.

Signature of applicant.

4. The local guardian or other authorized agent of the Board, after making such inquiries as he or they may think necessary to enable him or them to judge of the propriety of approving the contract, shall forward the same with his or their opinion thereon to the Board.

5. The Board, if satisfied of the propriety of approval, will cause their approval, signed by the secretary, to be indorsed on the contract, and will return the same to the local guardian or committee, and post a copy thereof with such approval indorsed to the address mentioned in the contract.

6. The Board may modify any such contract at the time of approving the same by directing all or any part of the money payment payable to the aboriginal to be made to some local guardian or other person specified in that behalf instead of to the aboriginal himself, and shall in such case indorse such direction in manner hereinbefore provided with respect to their approval ; and after the time at which the approved contract so modified would in course of post have reached the address given in the contract, the contractor shall not be entitled to credit under the contract for any payment so directed to be made unless made as directed.

7. Any money to be received in pursuance of any such direction shall be applied at the discretion of the receiver for the benefit of the aboriginal or of any member of his family, subject to any express direction given by the Board, and shall in every case be accounted for to the Board as hereinafter directed, or upon application by the secretary at any time.

8. The Board may, at their discretion, grant to any aboriginal, able and willing to earn a living by his own exertions, a certificate in the subjoined form, signed by the secretary, which certificate shall not remain in force for more than six months from its date or the date of its last renewal ; and any such unexpired certificate may be renewed for six months by the indorsement of the date of renewal and signature of any member of the Board, local guardian, or member of a local committee, who, in the exercise of his discretion, shall think fit to renew the same.

Certificate under the Aborigines Act 1890.

This certificate was issued on the day of 18 to an aboriginal named , aged about , height about , and known or distinguishable by the following peculiarities [*state if any*], he having represented himself as able and willing to earn a living by his own exertions.

The effect of this certificate, while in force, is as follows :—

It authorizes him to enter into a binding contract of service for any time during which this certificate remains in force.

It permits a European to harbour him without incurring any penalty.

It does not authorize any person to sell or give him any intoxicating drink or affect the penalty for so doing, or confer any other exemption from penalties under the said Act.

This certificate will not remain in force after the day of 18 , unless renewed in the meantime by the date of renewal, and signature of some member of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, local guardian, or member of local committee being written thereon ; and it will not remain in force after six months from the date of the last renewal.

Secretary to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines.

(III.) APPORTIONMENT OF EARNINGS.

9. Where a number of aboriginals are located on a reserve, and where they cultivate fields and gardens, or raise and keep live stock, or otherwise by their labours produce marketable goods, the Board may from time to time order the sale of any produce or live stock or goods, and out of the net proceeds of sale pay to the aboriginals who have laboured on the reserve such sums as the Board may deem right, having regard to the kind and amount of labour performed by each.

(IV.) DISTRIBUTION AND EXPENDITURE OF MONEYS.

10. In the third month of every year, or so soon after as practicable, the Board shall submit for approval by the Governor a statement showing in detail the quantities of the rations, clothes, medicines, live stock, and other things which they propose to distribute amongst or employ for the benefit of aboriginals for the ensuing twelve months, and an estimate of the amount to be expended in the purchase and carriage thereof, and of the amount to be expended in salaries and wages and travelling and other expenses for the like period.

11. Once in every year the Board shall submit to the Governor a statement for the past year showing in detail the quantities of the several things distributed and the quantity remaining on hand, and the amount of actual expenditure in salaries, wages, travelling, and other expenses for the like period.

12. Every local committee, local guardian, or other person intrusted by the Board with the distribution of any stores or other things, or the application of any moneys received from the Board, or from the employer of any aboriginal, shall furnish the Board with a monthly statement in detail of all stores and other things received and distributed, and of all moneys received and disbursed, and showing the balances on hand of stores or other things, and of moneys unexpended up to and inclusive of the last day of each calendar month.

(V.) CUSTODY OF CHILDREN.

13. The Governor may order the removal of any aboriginal child neglected by its parents, or left unprotected, to any of the places of residence specified in Regulation I., or to an industrial or reformatory school.

14. Every aboriginal under the age of fourteen years located anywhere in Victoria shall, when so required by the person in charge of the nearest station, attend any school at or near such station at such times as he may direct.

15. Every aboriginal male under fourteen years of age, and also all unmarried aboriginal females under the age of eighteen years, shall, when so required by the person in charge of any station in connexion with or under the control of the said Board, reside, and take their meals, and sleep, in any building set apart for such purposes.

(VI.) MODE OF TRANSACTING BUSINESS.

16. An ordinary meeting of the Board shall be held in the first week of every month, on a day to be named by the vice-chairman.

17. A special meeting may be convened at any time by the secretary.

18. Three members of the Board shall form a quorum.

19. The secretary, or one of the members acting as secretary, shall keep minutes of the proceedings at each meeting, which shall, if correct, be confirmed at the next meeting.

20. The directions of the Board to its officers shall be given to the secretary, or, in his absence, in such manner as the Board may think right, and the secretary, or acting secretary, shall conduct all correspondence.

(VII.) HALF-CASTES.

21. On the recommendation of the general inspector or the manager of a prescribed station, the Board may in cases of illness, infirmity, or other necessitous circumstances, issue a licence, signed by the secretary of the Board, to any half-caste or child of half-caste to reside for a period of three months upon any prescribed station; and the Board may renew such licence for a like period as often as it may think fit, and may at any time cancel such licence.

22. Any half-caste or child of half-castes who may be permitted under a licence to reside at a prescribed station shall be under the control of the manager of such station, and shall strictly adhere to the regulations of the Board for the management of such stations.

23. Any half-caste or child of half-castes may, with the approval of the Board, be dismissed and removed from any prescribed station for misconduct on the advice of the manager of such station or the general inspector.

24. Any half-caste who may be permitted to reside on any prescribed station shall receive the following supply of rations weekly :—7 lbs. of bread or 8 lbs. of flour, 2 lbs. of sugar, ¼ lb. of tea, 7 lbs. of meat when obtainable, and rice, oatmeal, and salt, in such quantities as the manager of the station may think necessary.

Children under ten years of age shall receive half of the above supply of rations.

25. Any half-caste or child of half-castes who may be permitted to reside on any prescribed station shall be supplied with clothing and blankets as heretofore, and medical attendance and comforts may be granted by special permission of the Board.

26. Every able-bodied half-caste and aboriginal residing on a prescribed station shall do a reasonable amount of work, and any one persistently refusing to do so when required shall have his supplies stopped until he resumes work.

27. If any half-caste having his supplies so stopped use the supplies of any half-caste child, or in any way deprive any half-caste child thereof, he shall be reported to the Board.

28. The granting of railway passes to half-castes shall be limited to urgent and needful cases only, and travelling discouraged and prevented as much as possible.

29. Before any half-caste can receive any assistance from the Board to select or acquire Crown lands or private property, or to improve the same, the Board must be satisfied that he is sober, honest, and industrious ; and if living on a prescribed station, he must produce a certificate to that effect from the manager of such station, or from a respectable householder if not living on a prescribed station.

30. Loans may be made by the Board to any such half-caste on the security of such property for the purpose of enabling him to erect boundary fences, or houses, but such assistance shall not exceed half the cost thereof, nor £100 in the aggregate.

31. In exceptional cases the Board may advance money towards the payment of rent or purchase money of any land acquired by a half-caste on the security of such land, further security being taken that any money advanced by the Board shall be repaid with interest if required before any sale or assignment of such land shall be made by such half-caste.

32. All leases, licences, or titles of land upon which the Board has advanced money shall be in the custody of the Board.

33. The general inspector, with the approval of the Board, may license or apprentice, in a lawful manner, to any trade or occupation any male or female half-caste child over fourteen years of age to any person or persons of approved respectability.

34. Girls shall not be apprenticed or sent to service to single gentlemen, or hotel or boarding-house keepers.

35. Half-castes licensed to service and apprentices shall be provided with female protection and sleeping accommodation to be approved of by officers authorized by the Board to inspect them.

36. All persons to whom boys or girls are licensed or apprenticed shall properly feed and lodge them, and also provide them with medicines and medical attendance when necessary, and also see that their persons, clothing, &c., are kept clean and healthy.

37. One-half of the wages of every half-caste child licensed to service and of every apprentice shall be paid quarterly, viz:—on the 1st January, April, July, and October—and sent by the employer to the general inspector of the Board, who shall have such money placed to such child's credit in a savings bank, and paid to such child at the end of his or her service or apprenticeship, and the other half shall be paid to the child at the end of each quarter's service or apprenticeship.

38. Apprentices and half-castes licensed to service shall be allowed, when practicable, to attend divine service and Sunday school, and their moral training shall be duly cared for by their employer.

39. If within three months after the execution of any indenture the employer shall not be satisfied with the apprentice, the child may be returned to the Board, and the indenture shall be cancelled.

40. In the event of any change of residence by any employer, written intimation thereof shall be given by him at once to the general inspector of the Board.

41. Every employer shall forward to the general inspector as often as he shall require written reports on the conduct of any child in his service or apprenticed to him, and shall allow such child to write to the Board at such times as he may deem necessary.

42. In the event of any child becoming seriously ill, dying, absconding, leaving, or meeting with an accident, information shall at once be given by the employer to the general inspector of the Board, and in the event of a child absconding, information shall also at once be given by the employer to the local police, who shall take immediate steps to recover and return the child.

43. The Board shall provide a printed form of application for the use of those who desire to obtain children as apprentices or servants, and such form shall be filled up with the following particulars :—

Form of Application.

(*a*) Name, address, profession, or occupation of applicant.
(*b*) Whether married or single.
(*c*) Religious denomination and family of applicant.
(*d*) Ages of male members of family.
(*e*) Particulars of sleeping accommodation.
(*f*) Name of child applied for.
(*g*) Description of work to be performed or trade to be learned by child.
(*h*) Reference to two reliable persons (one if possible a minister of religion) as to the respectability of the applicant.

44. The following shall be the form of indenture:—

Form of Indenture.

This indenture witnesseth that   the general inspector of the Board for the Protection of the Aborigines, doth, with the consent and by the direction of the Board, put   apprentice to   And the said   doth put h   self apprentice to   to learn the business of a   and, after the manner of an apprentice to serve from A to O until the full term of

years from thence next following to be fully completed and ended, during which term the said , h said m , faithfully shall and will serve and h lawful command everywhere gladly do to the best of h power and will not from the service of h said m day or night absent h self, but in all things as a faithful and honest apprentice shall and will demean and behave h self towards h m and all h family during the said term. And the said doth hereby covenant with the said and the said that the said shall teach and instruct or cause to be taught or instructed after the best way and manner that can in the trade or business of a , finding and allowing unto the said board, lodging, and washing, and also paying unto the said remuneration for h services as follows, from four to ten shillings per week.

And for the true performance of all and every the covenants and agreements aforesaid either of the parties bindeth himself or herself unto the other firmly by these presents.

In witness whereof the parties above said to these indentures interchangeably have set their hands and seals the day of , One thousand eight hundred and .

Witness to the signature of
Witness to the signature of
Witness to the signature of

45. Any half-caste child being an orphan and not otherwise required by the manager of a station may be transferred to an orphanage or to any of the branches of the Department for Neglected Children at the direction of the Board, who shall issue a certificate to that effect.

46. Any member or officer of the Board may from time to time, for the purpose of inspection and report, visit those receiving assistance under section 6, sub-section IX., or those licensed out to service or apprenticed, or those in any way under the control of the Board.

And the Honorable Alfred Deakin, Her Majesty's Chief Secretary for Victoria, shall give the necessary directions herein accordingly.

G. WILSON BROWN,
Clerk of the Executive Council.

APPENDIX 7: ABORIGINES PROTECTION ACT OF NEW SOUTH WALES (1909) (Law Book of Australasia 1958: 1-16)

ABORIGINES PROTECTION ACT, 1909-1943.

THE Aborigines Protection Act, 1909, is reprinted as amended by—

Aborigines Protection Amending Act, 1915, No. 2. Assented to, 15th February, 1915.

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act, 1918, No. 7. Assented to, 12th March, 1918.

Police Regulation (Amendment) Act, 1935, No. 13. Assented to, 13th March, 1935.

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act, 1936, No. 32. Assented to, 10th July, 1936.

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act, 1940, No. 12. Assented to, 22nd May, 1940. Date of commencement, 14th June, 1940: Government Gazette No. 88 of 14th June, 1940, p. 2525.

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act, 1943, No. 13. Assented to, 25th June, 1943. Date of commencement of s. 2 (3), for certain purposes, 25th June, 1943; for all purposes, 5th July, 1945: s. 2 (1) (2) and Government Gazette No. 68 of 5th July, 1945, p. 1165.

Reference may be made to the following Acts:—

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act, 1940, *s.* 2 (2): dissolution of the board for the protection of aborigines.

Aborigines Protection (Amendment) Act, 1943, *s.* 2: reconstitution of the Aborigines Welfare Board.

Attachment of Wages Limitation Act, 1957, *s.* 10: attachment of moneys due to employees of, and contractors to, the board constituted under this Act.

Act No. 25, 1909.

An Act to provide for the protection and care of aborigines; to repeal the Supply of Liquors to Aborigines Prevention Act; to amend the Vagrancy Act, 1902, and the Police Offences (Amendment) Act, 1908; and for purposes consequent thereon or incidental thereto. [Assented to, 20th December, 1909.]

BE it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of New South Wales in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the "Aborigines Protection Act, 1909," and shall come into force on a date to be fixed by proclamation of the Governor in the Gazette. *Short title.*

[1.] Date of commencement, 1st June, 1910: Government Gazette No. 72 of 11th May, 1910, p. 2486.

By Act No. 13, 1943, s. 1 (3) this Act, as amended by subsequent Acts and by Act No. 13, 1943, may be cited as the Aborigines Protection Act, 1909-1943.

ss. 2, 3.

Repeal.

2. The Acts specified in the Schedule hereto are, to the extent indicated, repealed.

Interpretation

3. In this Act, unless the context or subject matter otherwise indicates or requires:—

Substituted definition, Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (i) (a). Amended, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (a) (i).

"Aborigine" means any full-blooded or half-caste aboriginal who is a native of Australia and who is temporarily or permanently resident in New South Wales.

New definition added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 4 (a).

"Adopted boarder" means a child who, if under the maximum age up to which he is compelled by law to attend school, is allowed by authority of the board to remain with a foster parent without payment of an allowance or, if over the maximum age up to which he is compelled by law to attend school, is allowed by authority of the board to remain with the foster parent on terms and conditions which do not require that the whole or any part of any wages earned by the child be paid to the board on behalf of such child.

Substituted definition, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (a) (i).

"Board" means the Aborigines Welfare Board, constituted under this Act.

New definition added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 4 (a).

"Boarded-out" means placed in the care of some foster parent for the purpose of being nursed, maintained, trained or educated by such person or in such person's home.

New definition added, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (a) (ii).

"Child" means an aborigine under eighteen years of age.

New definition added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 4 (a).

"Foster parent" means any person with whom any child is boarded-out or placed as an adopted boarder.

Amended, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (a) (ii).

"Liquor" means and includes wine, spirits, beer, porter, stout, ale, cider, perry, or any spirituous or fermented fluid whatever capable of producing intoxication and also includes methylated spirits.

Repealed, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (a) (iii).

"Local Committee" * * * * *

"Prescribed" means prescribed by this Act or the regulations.

Amended, Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (i) (b).

"Reserve" means area of land heretofore or hereafter reserved from sale or lease under any Act dealing with Crown lands, or given by or acquired from any private person, for the use of aborigines.

"Regulations" means regulations in force under this Act.

"Stations" means stations on reserves.

New definition added, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (a) (iv).

"Ward" means a child who has been admitted to the control of the board or committed to a home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act.

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s. 4.

Aborigines Welfare Board.

4. (1) There shall be a board to be called the "Aborigines Welfare Board" which shall consist of eleven members.

Amended, Act No. 13, 1935, s. 7 (1).

(2) (a) The person for the time being holding the office of Under Secretary, Chief Secretary's Department, shall be a member of the board and shall be the chairman.

Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 2 (1).

(b) The remaining members of the board (in this section referred to as "appointed members") shall be appointed by the Governor.

Amended, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 2 (3) (a).

Of the appointed members—

(i) one shall be the Superintendent of Aborigines Welfare;

(ii) one shall be an officer of the Department of Public Instruction;

(iii) one shall be an officer of the Department of Public Health;

(iv) one shall be a member of the police force of or above the rank of inspector;

(v) one shall be an expert in agriculture;

(vi) one shall be an expert on sociology and/or anthropology;

Amended, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 2 (3) (b) (i).

(vii) two shall be persons nominated by the Minister for appointment;

New sub-paragraph added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 2 (3) (b) (ii).

(viii) two shall be aborigines one being a full-blooded aborigine, and the other being either a full blooded aborigine or a person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood nominated for appointment, in accordance with the regulations, by aborigines or persons apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood possessing the prescribed qualifications.

New paragraph added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 2 (3) (b) (ii).

(c) The term of office of a member nominated pursuant to sub-paragraph (viii) of paragraph (b) of this subsection shall be three years. Upon the expiration of the term of office of any such member he shall be eligible from time to time for reappointment.

(3) The provisions of the Public Service Act, 1902, or of any Act amending that Act, shall not apply to the appointment of appointed members, nor shall any member of the board, in his capacity as such member, be subject to the provisions of any such Act.

(4) An appointed member shall be deemed to have vacated his office if he—

(a) dies;

(b) resigns his office by writing under his hand addressed to the Governor;

(c) ceases to reside in the State;

(d) becomes bankrupt, compounds with his creditors or makes an assignment of his estate for their benefit;

(e) becomes an insane person or patient, or an incapable person within the meaning of the Lunacy Act of 1898;

(f) absents himself from two consecutive ordinary meetings of the board except on leave granted by the board.

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ss. 4—5.

New subsection added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 2 (3) (c).

(4A) If the office of a member nominated pursuant to subparagraph (viii) of paragraph (b) of subsection two of this section becomes vacant otherwise than by reason of the expiration of his term of office, the Minister may nominate an aborigine or person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood for appointment to the vacant office for the remainder of the term for which his predecessor was appointed. Any person appointed in accordance with this subsection shall be eligible for reappointment.

(5) The board shall annually elect one of its members to be vice-chairman.

(6) (a) The procedure for the calling of meetings of the board and for the conduct of business at such meetings shall, subject to this Act and to any regulations made in relation thereto be as determined by the board.

(b) Four members of the board shall form a quorum and any duly convened meeting of the board at which a quorum is present shall be competent to transact any business of the board.

(c) At any meeting of the board the chairman or in his absence the vice-chairman shall preside.

If both the chairman and the vice-chairman are absent the members present shall elect one of their number to preside at the meeting.

(7) No act or proceeding of the board shall be invalidated or prejudiced by reason only of the fact that at the time when such act or proceeding was done, taken or commenced there was a vacancy in the office of any member of the board.

(8) Each member of the board shall be entitled to receive allowances to cover expenses incurred by him for conveyance and subsistence in travelling upon business of the board at such rates and in such circumstances as may be prescribed.

Except as provided in this subsection no fees or remuneration of any kind shall be paid to a member in respect of his services as such member.

Incorporation of board. New section added. Act No. 13 1943, s. 2 (3) (d).

4A. (1) The board shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and a common seal, and may sue and be sued in its corporate name, and shall for the purposes and subject to the provisions of this Act, be capable of purchasing, holding, granting, demising, disposing of or otherwise dealing with real and personal property, and of doing and suffering all such other acts and things as bodies corporate may by law do and suffer.

(2) The common seal shall be kept in the custody of the chairman and shall not be affixed to any instrument except in pursuance of a resolution of the board. Any instrument executed in pursuance of any such resolution shall be attested by the signature of any two members.

Superintendent and other officers and employees. Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 2 (1).

5. (1) The Governor may, under and subject to the provisions of the Public Service Act, 1902, as amended by subsequent Acts, appoint a Superintendent of Aborigines Welfare and such other officers and employees as may be necessary for the administration of this Act.

ss. 5—7.

(2) The Superintendent of Aborigines Welfare and other officers and employees shall be subject to the provisions of the Public Service Act, 1902, as amended by subsequent Acts, during their tenure of office.

Committees. Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 2 (1).

6. The board may appoint committees at such times and for such purposes as the board may think fit.

Each committee shall exercise and discharge such functions and duties as the board may determine.

Duties of board.

7. (1) It shall be the duty of the board—

Amended, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (b) (i).

(a) to, with the consent of the Minister, apportion, distribute, and apply as may seem most fitting, any moneys voted by Parliament, and any other funds in its possession or control, for the relief or benefit of aborigines or for the purpose of assisting aborigines in obtaining employment and of maintaining or assisting to maintain them whilst so employed, or otherwise for the purpose of assisting aborigines to become assimilated into the general life of the community;

(b) to distribute blankets, clothing, and relief to aborigines at the discretion of the board;

Amended, Act No. 12, 1940 s. 3 (b) (ii).

(c) to provide for the custody and maintenance of the children of aborigines;

(d) to manage and regulate the use of reserves;

Amended, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (b).

(e) to exercise a general supervision and care over all aborigines and over all matters affecting the interests and welfare of aborigines, and to protect them against injustice, imposition, and fraud;

New paragraph added, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (b) (iii).

(f) to arrange for the inspection at regular intervals of each station and training school under the control of the board, by the Superintendent of Aborigines Welfare and one or more of the other members of the board, or by one or more of such other members.

New subsection added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 3 (a).

(1A) The board may, with the consent of the Minister—

(a) acquire by purchase or lease or otherwise any land for the purposes of sale, lease or transfer, in accordance with the provisions of this subsection;

(b) erect buildings on land so acquired;

(c) sell or lease any such land with any buildings thereon to any aborigine or person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood on such terms and subject to such covenants and conditions as the board may from time to time determine;

Without prejudice to the generality of paragraph (c) of this subsection the board may, under that paragraph, sell land to an aborigine or person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood on terms and conditions which provide that upon payment by such aborigine or person of such amount of the purchase money as may be specified in the

contract the land will be transferred to him on condition that he executes a mortgage in favour of the board in such form as it requires for the balance of purchase money with interest at the rate fixed by the contract.

New subsection added, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (b) (iii).

(2) The board may on the application of the parent or guardian of any child admit such child to the control of the board.

Control of reserves. Amended, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (c).

8. (1) All reserves shall be vested in the board, and it shall not be lawful for any person other than an aborigine, or an officer under the board, or a person acting under the board's direction, or under the authority of the regulations, or a member of the police force, to enter or remain upon or be within the limits of a reserve upon which aborigines are residing, for any purpose whatsoever:

Proviso added, Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (ii) (a).

Provided that the board may, by permit in the prescribed form, authorise, subject to such terms and conditions as it may think fit, any person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood to enter or remain upon or be within the limits of any such reserve.

Amended, Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (ii) (b).

(2) The board may remove from a reserve any aborigine or other person who is guilty of any misconduct, or who, in the opinion of the board, should be earning a living away from such reserve.

(3) Any building erected on a reserve shall be vested in and become the property of the board, also all cattle, horses, pigs, sheep, machinery, and property thereon purchased or acquired for the benefit of aborigines.

Removal to reserves, etc. New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (c). Amended, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (d).

8A. (1) Where an aborigine or a person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood is, in the opinion of the board, living in insanitary or undesirable conditions, or should in the opinion of the board be placed under control, a stipendiary or police magistrate may, on the application of the board, order such aborigine or person to remove to a reserve or place controlled by the board, or, if such aborigine or person is but temporarily resident in this State, to return to the State whence he came within a time specified in the order.

(2) Any such order may on a like application be cancelled or varied by the same or another stipendiary or police magistrate.

(3) Until such an order is cancelled every aborigine or other person named therein in that behalf shall be and remain under the control of the board while he is in this State.

(4) The manner of making application under this section and the procedure to be adopted thereon and in connection therewith shall be as prescribed by regulations made under this Act.

Enticing aborigine to remove from reserve. New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (c).

8B. Whosoever, without lawful authority or excuse the proof whereof shall lie on him, removes an aborigine or causes, assists, entices or persuades an aborigine to remove from a reserve shall be guilty of an offence against this Act

Removing aborigine from New South Wales. New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (c).

8C. (1) Whosoever, without the written consent of the board, removes or causes to be removed from New South Wales to any place outside New South Wales any aborigine shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

This subsection shall not apply to the removal by any person of any child, of whatever age, of such person.

(2) The board, before giving its consent to the removal of an aborigine from New South Wales, may require that a bond be entered into with it in such sum as it considers sufficient by the person seeking the consent and two sufficient sureties approved by the board, conditioned to secure the proper supervision, care and treatment of the aborigine during his absence from New South Wales and his return to New South Wales within a specified time or within such time as the board may from time to time fix, and to secure the performance of such other conditions in the interest of the aborigine as the board may in its discretion impose as a condition of giving its consent.

Supply of liquor to aborigines. Amended, Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (iii); Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (d).

9. Any person who gives, sells, or supplies, except in case of accident, or on the prescription of a duly qualified medical practitioner, any liquor to any aborigine or person having apparently an admixture of aboriginal blood, shall be guilty of an offence against this Act. Nothing in this section shall affect the operation of the Liquor Act, 1912, as amended by subsequent Acts.

Wandering with aborigines.

10. Whosoever, not being an aborigine, or the child of an aborigine, lodges or wanders in company with any aborigine, and does not, on being required by a justice, give to his satisfaction a good account that he has a lawful fixed place of residence in New South Wales and lawful means of support, and that he so lodged or wandered for some temporary and lawful occasion only, and did not continue so to do beyond such occasion, shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

Constitution and establishment of homes. Amended, Act No. 2, 1915, s. 2 (i); Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (iv). Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (e).

11. The board may constitute and establish under this Act homes for the reception, maintenance, education and training of wards and may assign a name or names to such homes.

Apprenticeship and placing in employment. New section added, Act No. 2, 1915, s. 3. Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (e).

11A. (1) The board may, by indenture, bind or cause to be bound any ward as an apprentice or may, where apprenticeship conditions are not applicable or desirable, place any ward in other suitable employment.

(2) The indentures of apprenticeship and agreements shall be in the forms prescribed and shall contain provisions to the satisfaction of the board for the maintenance, training, care and religious instruction of any ward concerned and for the due payment of any wages payable thereunder. Such indentures and agreements shall be exempt from the provisions of the Stamp Duties Act, 1920-1939.

[9.] Supply of liquor to aboriginal, or person having apparently admixture of aboriginal blood, is offence, apart from qualification introduced by s. 49 of Liquor Act, 1912: *Coleman v. Dodd*, (1923) 23 S.R. 599; 40 W.N. 150; 13 Austn Digest 396. Special leave refused: (1923) 32 C.L.R. 616 (note).

(3) All wages earned by any ward except such part thereof as the employer is required to pay to the ward personally as pocket money, shall be paid by the employer to the board on behalf of such ward and shall be applied as prescribed.

(4) The wages due by any employer or person on account of any ward may be sued for and recovered in the name of the board, or any officer authorised by the board in that behalf, in any court of competent jurisdiction, for the benefit of such ward.

Placing of wards in homes pending apprenticeship or employment. New section added, Act No. 2, 1915, s. 3. Amended, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (e). Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (e).

11B. (1) Where a ward is not regarded by the board as ready for placement in employment or for apprenticeship, such ward may be placed in a home for the purpose of being maintained, educated and trained.

(2) Where the board is satisfied that any ward is not likely to succeed in his employment or as an apprentice, the board may, with the approval of the employer or guardian of such ward, cancel any indenture of apprenticeship or agreement, and may place such ward in a home for the purpose of being maintained, educated and trained.

Securing observance of conditions of apprenticeship. New section added, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (e).

11C. Upon complaint made by the board or any officer authorised by the board in that behalf, that any person with whom any ward has been placed in employment or apprenticed is not observing or performing the conditions of any indenture of apprenticeship or agreement or is unfit to have the further care of such ward any magistrate or justice may call upon such person to answer such complaint, and on proof thereof a children's court established under the Child Welfare Act, 1939, may order such agreement to be terminated and may direct that the ward be sent to a home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act pending arrangements for further employment or apprenticeship.

Authority of board. cf. Act No. 17, 1939, s. 23. New section added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 4 (b).

11D. (1) The board shall be the authority to—

(a) admit a child to its control;

(b) provide for the accommodation and maintenance of any child admitted to its control until he is apprenticed, placed in employment, boarded-out, or placed as an adopted boarder;

(c) pay foster parents such rates as may be prescribed;

(d) direct the removal or transfer of any ward (other than a ward who has been committed to an institution for a specified term);

(e) apprentice, place in employment, board-out or place as an adopted boarder any ward (other than a ward who has been committed to an institution for a specified term);

(f) approve of persons applying for the custody of wards and of the homes of such persons;

(g) arrange the terms and conditions of the custody of any ward;

(h) direct the restoration of any ward (other than a ward who has been committed to an institution for a specified term) to the care of his parent or of any other person;

(i) direct the absolute discharge of any ward (other than a ward who has been committed to an institution for a specified term) from supervision and control.

(2) (a) The board may, under and in accordance with subsection one of this section, board out any child to the person for the time being in charge of any charitable depot, home or hostel and may make to the person in charge of such charitable depot, home or hostel, payments in respect of such child at the rates prescribed for payments under paragraph (c) of that subsection.

(b) Where payments are, in accordance with paragraph (a) of this subsection, made to the person for the time being in charge of any charitable depot, home or hostel an officer appointed for the purpose may, at any time inspect such charitable depot, home or hostel and make such examinations into the state and management thereof and the conditions and treatment of the children and young persons (being inmates thereof) in respect of whom the payments are so made, as he thinks requisite, and the person for the time being in charge of the charitable depot, home or hostel shall afford all reasonable facilities for such inspection and examination.

(c) In this subsection "charitable depot, home or hostel" means a depot, home or hostel established or maintained by a charitable organisation and used wholly or in part for purposes analogous to the purposes referred to in subsection one of section twenty-one of the Child Welfare Act.

(3) The board may, upon such terms and conditions as may be prescribed or as it may, in any special case, approve, place a ward as an adopted boarder in the care of a foster parent.

When such ward is over the maximum age up to which he is compelled by law to attend school and is to be employed by the foster parent, but the foster parent is unable to pay the prescribed rate of wages the consent of the board and of the ward shall be obtained before he is so placed in the care of a foster parent.

(4) Payment to a foster parent for any ward shall not extend beyond the time when the ward shall have attained the maximum age up to which he is compelled by law to attend school unless—

(a) the ward is an invalid or is otherwise incapacitated; or

(b) the case possesses unusual features which call for special consideration,

and the board authorises such payment.

(5) On attaining the maximum age up to which he is compelled by law to attend school a ward shall, except in the circumstances referred to in subsections three and four of this section, or except in such other circumstances as may be prescribed, be apprenticed or placed in employment.

Boarding out from charitable institutions. cf. Act No. 17, 1939, s. 24. New section added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 4 (b).

11E. The board may remove any child from any charitable institution, depot, home or hostel supported wholly or in part by grants from the Consolidated Revenue Fund and cause him to be apprenticed, placed in employment, boarded-out, or placed as an adopted boarder.

ss. 11F—13.

Extension of period of supervision. cf. Act No. 17, 1939, s. 25. New section added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 4 (b).

11F. The board may cause to be visited and inspected any child who has been a ward for any period not exceeding two years after the date upon which such child attains the age of eighteen years.

Deductions from payments to foster parents. cf. Act No. 17, 1939, s. 26. New section added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 4 (b).

11G. The board may deduct from the payments due to any foster parent such amount as may be deemed equivalent to the loss occasioned by the neglect of such foster parent to keep outfits up to the standard prescribed.

Wards absconding, etc. Amended, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (f). Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (e).

12. (1) If any ward placed in a home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act, or any ward placed in employment or apprenticed, is absent without the leave of the board, or of any officer authorised in that behalf by the board, any member of the police force or any officer of the board may apprehend such ward and convey him to such home or back to his employer.

(2) Any magistrate or justice may issue a warrant for the arrest of any ward who has absconded or been illegally removed from his proper custody.

(3) Where any ward who has absconded or has been illegally removed from his proper custody is arrested, he shall, as soon as practicable, be brought before a children's court established under the Child Welfare Act, 1939.

(4) Any ward who absconds from his proper custody shall be guilty of an offence against this Act, and such court may—

(a) order the offender to be punished by one or more of the methods of punishment referred to in Part XI of the Child Welfare Act, 1939;

(b) exercise any of the powers enumerated in subsection one, subsection two, or subsection three of section eighty-three of the Child Welfare Act, 1939; but where it decides to exercise the power referred to in paragraph (d) of subsection one or paragraph (c) of subsection two of that section it shall commit the child to the care of the board to be dealt with as a ward admitted to the control of the board; and where it decides to exercise the power referred to in paragraph (c) of subsection one or paragraph (d) of subsection two of that section, the court shall commit the child to a home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act; or

(c) return the ward to his former custody.

Protection of wards. Amended, Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (vi); Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (g). Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (e).

13. (1) Whosoever without the consent of the board or of any officer authorised by the board in that behalf or of the officer-in-charge of any home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act, as the case may be, holds or attempts to hold any communication with any ward who is an inmate of such home or enters or attempts to enter any

ss. 13, 13A

such home or any premises belonging thereto or used in connection therewith, and does not depart therefrom when required to do so, or after being forbidden so to do by the board or any officer so authorised or of the officer-in-charge of such home, as the case may be, holds or attempts to hold any communication, directly or indirectly, with any ward who is an inmate of such home, shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

(2) A person shall be guilty of an offence against this Act if he—

(a) ill-treats, terrorises, overworks or injures any ward; or

(b) counsels, or causes or attempts to cause, any ward to be withdrawn or to abscond from any home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act, or from the charge of any person with whom he is placed or to whom he is apprenticed or to escape from his proper custody; or

(c) knowing any ward to have so been withdrawn or to have so absconded or escaped harbours or conceals such ward or prevents him from returning to such home or person or to his proper custody; or

(d) having the care of any ward—

(i) illegally discharges or dismisses or attempts to discharge or dismiss him from any home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act,

(ii) illegally detains him in any home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act,

(iii) neglects him, or

(iv) does not well and truly observe, perform and keep all the covenants, conditions and agreements contained in any indenture or agreement entered into by him respecting any ward, and which by such indenture or agreement he has bound himself or agreed, to observe, perform or keep.

Neglected and uncontrollable children. New section added, Act No. 2, 1915, s. 4. Amended, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (h). Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (e).

13A. (1) Any justice may, upon oath being made before him by any officer authorised by the board in that behalf, or by any member of the police force, that having made due inquiry he believes any child to be a neglected or uncontrollable child—

(a) issue his summons for the appearance of such child before a children's court established under the Child Welfare Act, 1939; or

(b) in the first instance issue his warrant directing such child to be apprehended.

(2) Any person having the care, custody or control of a child may apply to a children's court established under the Child Welfare Act, 1939, to commit the child to the control of the board or to a home constituted or established under section eleven of this Act upon the ground that he is an uncontrollable child.

(3) The expressions "neglected child" and "uncontrollable" shall respectively have the meanings given to those expressions in the Child Welfare Act, 1939.

(4) Any officer authorised by the board in that behalf or any member of the police force may, although the warrant is not at the time in his possession, apprehend any child for whose apprehension a warrant has been issued under this section.

(5) Any child apprehended as a neglected or uncontrollable child shall be taken to a place of safety or to a shelter constituted or established under the Child Welfare Act, 1939, and as soon as practicable thereafter shall be brought before a children's court established under that Act.

(6) Any child charged as a neglected or uncontrollable child shall be brought before a children's court established under the Child Welfare Act, 1939.

(7) The provisions of sections eighty-one and eighty-two of the Child Welfare Act, 1939, shall apply, mutatis mutandis, to and in respect of any proceedings against a child under this section:

Provided that where the court decides to exercise the power referred to in paragraph (d) of section eighty-two of that Act, it shall commit the child to the care of the board to be dealt with as a ward admitted to the control of the board, and where the court decides to exercise the power referred to in paragraph (e) of that section it shall commit the child to a home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act.

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In case of unfair treatment, board to remove aborigine. New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (i).

13B. In any case where an aborigine is living with, or employed by, any other person, and the board has reason to believe that such aborigine is not receiving fair and proper treatment, and is not being paid a reasonable wage, or the board is of opinion that his moral or physical well-being is likely to be impaired by continuance in such employment, or that he is being influenced to continue in such employment, the board shall have the power to terminate same and remove the aborigine concerned to such reserve, home or other place as it may direct. For the purposes of this section any officer of the board, or member of the police force, shall have access to such aborigine at all reasonable times for the purpose of making such inspection and inquiries as he may deem necessary.

Employer to pay wages to Superintendent in certain cases. New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (i). Amended, Act No.12, 1940, s. 3 (f).

13C. In any case where it appears to the board to be in the best interests of the aborigine concerned and/or of his wife and/or children the board may direct employers or any employer to pay the wages of the aborigine to the Superintendent of Aborigines Welfare or some other officer named by him, and any employer who fails to observe such directions shall be deemed to have not paid such wages. The wages so collected shall be expended solely on behalf of the aborigine to whom they were due and/or of his wife and/or children, and an account kept of such expenditure.

Actions—by whom instituted. New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (i).

13D. All actions and other proceedings against any person for the recovery of wages due to an aborigine who is, or has been, employed by such person, or for any breach of an agreement made with an aborigine, may be instituted and carried on by, or in the name of, an officer of the board, a member of the police force, or any other person authorised by the board.

Power to remove aborigines camped in the vicinity of townships. Amended, Act No. 7, 1918, s. 2 (vii).

14. The board may cause any aborigines who are camped or are about to camp within or near any reserve, town, or township to remove to such distance from the reserve, town, or township as they may direct.

Medical examination and treatment. New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (j).

14A. The board may authorise the medical examination of any aborigine or person having apparently an admixture of aboriginal blood and may have such aborigine or person so examined, removed to and kept in a public hospital or other institution for appropriate curative treatment, or may require such aborigine or person to undergo such treatment as and where provided.

Any such examination shall be performed only by a medical practitioner authorised in that behalf either generally or in a particular case by the Chief Medical Officer of the Government.

Illegal possession of blankets

15. Every blanket or other article issued by the Government or by the board to any aborigine shall be considered to be on loan only, and to be the property of the board, and any unauthorised person other than an aborigine who has in his possession or custody any blanket, or other article or portion thereof, which reasonably appears from the marks thereon or otherwise to have been so issued shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

Maintenance of children under sixteen years by near relatives. Amended, Act No. 2, 1915, s. 5; Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (k). Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (g).

16. (1) Where an aborigine under sixteen years of age has been admitted to the control of the board and is a ward, or where any order has been made by a children's court established under the Child Welfare Act, 1939, committing an aborigine under sixteen years of age—

(a) to the care of any person; or

(b) to the control of the board; or

(c) to a home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act,

the near relatives shall be liable to pay for or to contribute towards his maintenance.

(2) The provisions of Part XII of the Child Welfare Act, 1939, shall, mutatis mutandis, extend to and in respect of the maintenance of any such aborigine and the liability of the near relatives in respect of such maintenance.

For the purposes of such extension—

(a) a reference in that Part to the Minister shall be construed as a reference to the board,

(b) a reference in that Part to an institution shall be construed as a reference to a home constituted and established under section eleven of this Act, and

(c) a reference in that Part to the Director shall be construed as a reference to the Superintendent of Aborigines Welfare.

Penalties, etc. **Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. (3) (g).**

17. (1) Any person guilty of an offence against this Act shall be liable, upon summary conviction, unless some other penalty or punishment is expressly provided, to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds or to imprisonment for one month, or to both such penalty and imprisonment.

(2) Proceedings for an offence against this Act or the regulations may be taken before a court of petty sessions.

Proceedings. **Substituted section, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (g).**

18. Proceedings for an offence against this Act or the regulations may be instituted in the name of the board by any officer or employee of the board or member of the police force.

Proof. **New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (l).**

18A. In any proceeding for an offence against this Act or upon a breach of a regulation made thereunder, the averment in the information or complaint that any person therein named or referred to is an aborigine or the reference in the information or complaint to such person as an aborigine shall be sufficient evidence of the truth of such averment or reference unless the contrary is shown to the satisfaction of the court.

Tribunal may determine whether person is aborigine or not. **New section added, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (l).**

18B. In any legal proceedings or inquiry, whether under this Act or otherwise, if the court, judge, coroner, magistrate, justice or justices do not consider that there is sufficient evidence to determine whether a person concerned or in any way connected with the proceedings or inquiry is or is not an aborigine, such court, judge, coroner, magistrate, justice or justices having seen such person may determine the question according to his or their own opinion.

Exemption of aborigines from provisions of Act and regulations. **New section added, Act No. 13, 1943, s. 3 (b).**

18C. (1) The board may upon application in writing issue to any aborigine or person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood, who, in the opinion of the board, ought no longer be subject to the provisions of this Act or the regulations or any of such provisions, a certificate in or to the effect of the prescribed form exempting such aborigine or person from the provisions of this Act or the regulations specified therein. Upon the issue of such certificate and until such time as such certificate may be cancelled as hereinafter provided, the provisions specified in such certificate shall not apply to or in respect of the aborigine or person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood named in the certificate and any such aborigine or person shall be deemed not to be an aborigine or person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood within the meaning of the provisions of this Act or the regulations specified in such certificate.

(2) The board may at any time cancel any certificate issued under this section and any person to whom any such certificate has been issued shall,

upon being notified of such cancellation, return the certificate to the board.

Any person who fails to return any such certificate within the time specified in any such notification shall be guilty of an offence against this Act.

(3) Nothing in this section contained shall operate so as to preclude any aborigine or person apparently having an admixture of aboriginal blood to whom a certificate under this section has been issued from being nominated or appointed as a member of the board or from holding office as such.

Inspection of aboriginal stations, &c. **Amended, Act No. 13, 1935, s. 7 (1); Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (m); Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (h).**

19. Any station or reserve on which aborigines are located, and any buildings, and the stores, stock, and any other matter or thing thereon or therein, or any home or institution in which any aborigine is resident may be inspected by any member of the board, or, by any person authorised by the board in that behalf. The person making such inspection shall report thereon to the board.

Delegation. **New section added, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (i).**

19A. (1) The board may, from time to time, by resolution delegate to any person either generally or in any particular case or class of cases such of the powers, authorities, duties or functions of the board as may be specified in the resolution: Provided that no such delegation shall have any force or effect unless and until the same has been approved by the Minister.

(2) A delegate while acting within the scope of any such delegation to him shall be deemed to be the board.

(3) The board may by resolution revoke any such delegation, and in such case shall submit a full report of the circumstances to the Minister.

Annual report. **New section added, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (i).**

19B. The board shall as soon as practicable after the first day of July in each year submit to the Minister a report of its proceedings during the next preceding year.

The Minister shall cause such report to be laid before both Houses of Parliament.

Regulations. **Amended, Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (n) (i).**

20. (1) The Governor may make regulations not inconsistent with this Act prescribing all matters which by this Act are required or permitted to be prescribed or which are necessary or convenient to be prescribed for carrying out or giving effect to this Act, and in particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing power may make regulations for all or any of the matters following:—

Amended, Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (j) (i).

(a) Prescribing the mode of transacting business and the duties generally of the board, committees and persons appointed or employed to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(b) Authorising entry upon a reserve by specified persons or classes of persons for specified objects, and the conditions under which such persons may visit or remain upon a reserve, and fixing the duration of their stay thereupon, and providing for the revocation of such authority.

s. 20.

Amended. Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (j) (ii).

(c) Prescribing the mode of distribution and expenditure of moneys granted by Parliament for the relief or assistance of aborigines.

(d) Apportioning amongst or for the benefit of aborigines the earnings of any aborigines living upon a reserve.

Amended. Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (j) (iii).

(e) Providing for the care, and custody of aborigines.

Substituted paragraph. Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (j) (iv).

(f) Prescribing the conditions on which wards may be apprenticed or placed in employment under this Act, the form and contents of agreements, appointments, apprenticeship articles, and other instruments and documents, the minimum rates of wages of wards so apprenticed or placed in employment, and the liabilities of persons in respect of the welfare of wards apprenticed to or placed in their care.

(g) Providing for the mode of supply to aborigines of rations, blankets, and other necessaries, or any medical or other relief or assistance.

Amended. Act No. 12, 1940, s. 3 (j) (v).

(h) Providing for the control of aborigines residing upon a reserve, and for the inspection of wards placed in employment or apprenticed under this Act.

(i) Maintaining discipline and good order upon reserves.

(j) Allotting land on any reserve for occupation by individuals or families.

Repealed. Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (n) (ii).

(k) * * * * * * *

(l) Imposing any penalty not exceeding ten pounds for the breach of any regulation.

(2) Such regulations shall—

(i) be published in the Gazette;

(ii) take effect from the date of publication, or from a later date to be specified in such regulations; and

Amended. Act No. 32, 1936, s. 2 (1) (n) (iii) (iv) (v) (vi).

(iii) be laid before both Houses of Parliament within fourteen sitting days after publication if Parliament is in session, and, if not, then within fourteen sitting days after the commencement of the next session. But if either House of Parliament passes a resolution, notice whereof has been given, at any time within fifteen sitting days after such regulations have been laid before such House disallowing any regulation or part thereof, such regulation or part shall thereupon cease to have effect.

SCHEDULE

Reference to Acts.	Title or short title.	Extent of repeal.
31 Victoria No. 16	Supply of Liquors to Aborigines Prevention Act.	The whole.
No. 74, 1902 ..	Vagrancy Act, 1902	Section 4 (l b), and the definition of "aboriginal" in section 3.
No. 12, 1908 ..	Police Offences (Amendment) Act, 1908	Section 3.

Appendix 8: Stories of Aboriginal whalers

Whaling families

The following stories about Aboriginal whalers and their families exemplify the modifications to traditional patterns of movement that evolved during the pre-mission era in the study area, particularly due to the commitments of employment by Europeans.

The Thomas family

Peter Thomas was the first member of the Aboriginal Thomas family to hold that surname. The Thomas' were involved in whaling at Twofold Bay for three generations. Peter was probably born between 1833 and 1840 at or near Braidwood. He had three wives; Louisa Burn at Braidwood in 1863, then after Louisa's death, Charlotte Burn in 1877 at Eden and later Nyaadi alias Hannah McGrath circa 1885 (Morgan 1994, Wesson genealogies).

Peter's wives had children at Eden in 1878, 1886 and 1888, Wollongong in 1880, Glebe (Sydney) in 1882. Nyaadi's first marriage was to Harry Davis of Comerang with whom she had three children born between 1871 and 1876 at Wallaga Lake and Congo. Police records show that Peter was also at Eden in November 1884. These events suggest that Peter had a close association with Braidwood when his first marriage took place, then spent time during the early 1880s in Sydney but by the latter half of the 1880s he was spending a lot of time at Eden. Peter's son Albert also became a whaler and in 1901 at Eden married the daughter of another famous whaler, Charlie Adgery. Albert had three sons between 1902 and 1904 at Eden and Wallaga Lake. Albert was the 'lookout' at South Head for at least five years and travelled there each day from East Boyd during the season on his horse named Pearl (Otton 1996). Peter's daughter Louisa married another whaler, Charlie Roberts, in 1900 at Wallaga Lake. Louisa had three children between 1900 and 1903 at Wallaga Lake. Peter's son William married a Braidwood woman of Chinese, Aboriginal, English and French descent in 1909 at Narooma and had ten children between 1905 and 1926. Two of Albert's sons returned to Davidson's whaling station

annually for the season and spent the intervening months at Wallaga Lake station (Otton 1996) until 1928.

The Brierly family

The Aboriginal Oswald 'Walter' Brierly was born between 1838 and 1848 probably at Twofold Bay, and was orphaned as a young boy when he came under the care of his namesake, Benjamin Boyd's superintendent at East Boyd. Sir Oswald Walter Brierly was an artist who journeyed from England with Boyd in the *Wanderer*. He was employed as Boyd's manager for five years between 1843 and 1848 when he became thoroughly disenchanted with Boyd's business and social practices. During this time he drew sketches and wrote notes describing social and practical aspects of the whaling at Twofold Bay. Young Walter spent his formative years in and around the whaling industry and as soon as he was capable, took his place as a whaler. At the age of about 44 Walter appears to have married a Moruya woman with whom he probably had a son. Police records show the couple to have been in Eden during the 1880s (Eden Charge Book). Brierly is remembered as an exceptional boatman who became quite famous for his skill (Otton 1996). One of the killer whales was named after Brierly in honour of his skill and because the killer whales were considered to be reincarnations of former Aboriginal whalers (Davidson 1995: 48, 64).

Walter's son married a Penrith of Dignams Creek, sister to Bert Penrith the whaler, in 1891 at Wallaga Lake. They had five children between 1891 and 1901 born at Wallaga Lake and Eden. The fact that one of their children was born at Eden suggests that a second generation of Brierlys worked in the whale boats or tryworks for at least one season.

The Ashby family

Arthur Ashby was born at Eden in 1879 and was the son of a non-Aboriginal labourer, Ben Ashby and an Aboriginal woman. Ben was working on the Green Cape lighthouse and took a young Aboriginal

girl there to live with him (Collet 1979). According to Mead, Arthur was raised by 'Old Lucy' who is likely to have been Lucy Turner[1], Paddy Haddigaddy's wife.

Arthur married a Carter of Turlinjah in 1899 at Wallaga Lake. After her death he then married again and had six children. Arthur appears in a number of photographs depicting whaling scenes with the Davidson whalers (Davidson 1988). When whaling appeared to be on the decline Arthur took up work in the timber industry and during the late 1930s or early 1940s he moved to Orbost (Mead 1967: 215).

The Haddigaddy family

Paddy Haddigaddy was a Wandella man who married a Cobargo woman. Paddy and his wife had four children and have many descendants on the far south coast of New South Wales. Sam, one of the most famous Aboriginal whalers, was born between 1866 and 1870. Son William was also a whaler. Sam did not marry until he had retired from his whaling life when he lived at Wallaga Lake. One daughter married a Monaro man and had five children. Another daughter married the whaler John Roberts and had a daughter at Eden in 1871, then married a Kameruka man and had another daughter at Eden in 1874.

The Adgery family

The Adgery surname may be a derivative of Badgery, a European family whose land holdings extended from the Hunter River to the Monaro and south coast. J. Badgery held Eurobodalla run in 1835 and Bega pre 1842. Henry Badgery held Briandairy, Dry River and Warragaburra in the 1830s and McLean's Flat in 1844.

Charley Adgery was born between 1835 and 1850 and was involved in the Twofold Bay whaling industry throughout his life. Wellings (1931) suggested that Adgery was not an Eden local but from Tilba, a speculation which he based purely on Adgery's physical appearance. Police charge books

[1] Robinson does not mention a Lucy at or near Twofold Bay in 1844.

have provided important information about Charley which support his Eden origins. In 1864 he was charged with absconding from hired service at Eden where three years later he was described as a groom, a full blood and being able to neither read nor write. In 1871 he was still described as a groom but by 1872 he was noted to be a servant and a whaler (Eden Charge Book). The title of whaler stuck until March 1887 when he was described as a labourer.

In 1877 Charley married a Queensland woman in Eden. One account states that she was brought to New South Wales as an infant. She was remembered by Mrs Otton, particularly for her grandson who regularly came to Edrom House asking for tea (Otton 1996). Charley was mentioned by the Davidsons as an 'uncanny' spear thrower who taught Mrs Otton's father Archer James Davidson to make spears from grass tree flower spikes and to spear fish (ibid.). Charley and his wife had seven known children born between 1881 and 1891 at Eden. One daughter married Albert Thomas senior (see above), and another also married the whaler Bert Penrith, a third daughter married his brother. Charlie's grandchildren were born at Wallaga Lake.

In the late nineteenth century Charley and his family lived at Snug Cove until they were moved to Cocora Beach where they were recorded in both the 1891 and 1901 censuses (New South Wales Government census 1891, Commonwealth census 1901). He was forced to leave Eden for Wallaga Lake by the Aborigines Protection Board in 1904 and died within twelve months of pneumonia.

These events show the shift between a permanent residence at the Eden Aboriginal camp at Cattle Bay with seasonal camps at the whaling station to permanent residence at Wallaga Lake Aboriginal station between 1891 and 1904 (Wesson genealogies) with seasonal camps for whaling by a small number of Wallaga men.

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