GOOD MEN AND TRUE
THE ABORIGINAL POLICE OF THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT
1837 - 1853

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INTRODUCTION

Good men and true\(^1\) is the phrase used by the Commandant of the 1842 Corps of Native Police in summing up for Superintendent LaTrobe the outcome of the first experimental expedition of the Corps to the Western District. It is the age-old Service accolade, bespeaking praise and affection and pride in the troops under the command. This is a history of those men.

Since Stanner wrote over twenty years ago that the Aborigines had been left out of Australian history, much has been written about them\(^2\). Perhaps impelled by emergent black nationalism, maybe running parallel with it, this generation of writing about the Australian past has been useful and necessary in raising Australian consciousness to the extent necessary to take seriously the Aboriginal part of our joint past\(^3\). To a large extent though, it has been an ethnocentric discussion of white behaviour towards Aborigines producing the Aboriginal people as subjects who seem to stand stock still, as one reviewer has said, and allow things to happen to them\(^4\). It has produced the cultural perception of past and dead Aboriginal people as mainly victims, or in a few exceptional cases as heroic figures of resistance. Broome's observation about one chapter in one book is capable of general extension - we have replaced an earlier historical falsehood of a non-violent frontier with a new stereotype of a violent one\(^5\). It could be added - with clearly defined and allocated roles, and moral evaluation thrown in for good measure\(^6\).

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\(^1\) Dana Journal, 4 Nov 1842, in O'Callaghan, T. Police and Other People, Ms LiSL


\(^3\) As opposed to the inability of nineteenth-century romantic writing to address itself seriously to the joint past. In passing, it may be noted that the distant observer of the future reviewing this last generation of writing may see parallels with a similar phase in American historiography labelled atonement history, see for example Handlin O. Truth in History, Harvard University Press, 1979. Corris too has noticed this form of history-writing, calling it masochistic chest-beating and cries of mea culpa. - Corris, P. "Racialism: The Australian Experience", HS, vol 15, no 61, October 1973: 751. Compassion, sympathy and guilt are utterly human responses on the part of white historians, both to what happened, and the way past stories have been written, but they still leave the problem of decolonising the past; see for example, Montell, V. "The Decolonisation of the Writing of History", in Wallerstein, I. Social Change: The Colonial Situation, Wiley and Sons, N.Y., 1966.

\(^4\) Corris, P. "Racialism: The Australian Experience", HS vol 15, no 61, October 1973: 757


\(^6\) It is noteworthy that histories written by Aboriginal authors do not seem to be characterised by this tendency towards the reductionism of stereotypes; nor are they concerned with white models of explanation as Ryan says, being more concerned with survival, adaptation, continuity and tradition in conditions rarely of their own making (Ryan, L. "Reading Aboriginal Histories", in Meanjin, vol 45, no 1, Mar 1986)
There is much truth in these histories, but even taken together, they do not encompass truth: they do not take account of positive Aboriginal choices. Our models of explanation, Stanner wrote, have been based either on the dramatic secondary causes - violence, disease, neglect, prejudice, or on the structure of Aboriginal society or both, but they have not taken into account Aboriginal initiatives towards European society, their curiosity, their zest for living, their choices, their creations.\(^7\)

This study concerns itself with one of their choices - it is a history of co-operation, an Aboriginal success story. Why it has not been told before is puzzling: a cursory glance at the secondary section of the Bibliography (which is select, noting only those works which specifically mention the Corps) is sufficient to demonstrate a widespread awareness in the past of the Native Police Corps of the Port Phillip District. Yet out of all those passing mentions, it could scarcely be said that our knowledge has been advanced; five attempts only have been made to constitute the Corps as a subject of knowledge, and none to understand the men.\(^8\) Spender's question must at least be asked here, though it cannot be answered - "Why do we know so little about ... blacks for example, and why is so much of what we do know about them false, negative or derogatory. Who has made this knowledge, on what basis, and for what reasons?"\(^9\) Shades of Foucault.

The explanatory processes used by white historians (which black historians reject)\(^10\) still draw their inspiration from Elkin's work.\(^11\) The story of Aboriginal co-operation in policing resembles to some extent the adaptive response which Elkin has described as intelligent parasitism. It was more though than that. Parasitism, however intelligent might well be an accurate description of the actions of men who choose a way of life for what they can get out of it, and abandon it when they get a better offer, or simply abandon it when its attractions dim, but it does not come anywhere near explaining in this particular instance the evident bonds of affection and loyalty which developed between the men who joined and their European officers. In this story, feelings matter.

The Government's initial aim in setting up a Native Police Corps in the Port Phillip District was two-fold: it wanted a policing force to deal with bushrangers, and at the same time, it

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7 Stanner, W.E.H. op cit: 47
10 Ryan, L. op cit: 50
hoped to "civilise" the men of the Corps. In this work, the civilising aim is ignored, except in so far as it was expressed in regulations for living, though it may be noted in passing that the Corps was described as the only success of all the Government's policy initiatives with regard to Aboriginal people. But success in European terms is not the issue. This enquiry is directed at the terms of existence for the men themselves; it seeks to tell the story of their choice, and to understand and explain it. The story and the explanation both turn around the dual consciousness of being Aboriginal and being a policeman.

In answering the question "Why would Aboriginal men want to join a police force of the strangers who had taken over their land?"\(^{13}\), the argument is put that joining the Corps was an attempt to share in the power and authority of the invader who was so clearly here to stay: it is argued further, that the men of the Corps used the prestige and influence they derived from membership (and the material things they acquired) to extend their influence within traditional Aboriginal social relationships. It is very significant that all the headmen of the sections of the tribes who owned the country around Melbourne, served with the force at some stage. Significant, too, that as the Corps became known by other Aboriginal groups through service in places distant from Melbourne, it had no difficulty in recruiting men from the Western District, the Wimmera, the Lower Murray and Darling Districts, and Gippsland, including the Monaro District.

It has been thought that there were twenty or so local Melbourne men who constituted "The Native Police", but in fact, more than 140 men served as Police in the four Corps of 1837, 1838, 1839 and 1842. Their names, and the recovered details of their lives are to be found in Appendix D.

Recent general histories have labelled the men of the Corps as traitors and murderers\(^{14}\), though it needs to be said that in the case of the generalists, Broome, Reece, and Yarwood and Knowling, the evidence offered is mostly restricted to the later Queensland Corps.

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\(^{12}\) LaTrobe to Pakington, 22 Jan 1853, in Bride, T. F. Letters from Victorian Pioneers, Currey O'Neil, Melbourne, 1983: 441. Note that LaTrobe recorded the two-fold object of the creation of the force as the civilisation of its members, and the checking of Aboriginal aggression. He was not speaking here from experience and first-hand knowledge, but writing history about the earlier Corps of which he had little knowledge. By the time he arrived in 1839, the issue of checking Aboriginal "aggression" was indeed a big issue.

\(^{13}\) Howe, K.R. in his review of Christie, M. Aborigines in Colonial Victoria 1835-1886, in Aboriginal History , vol 4, Pt 2, 1980: 205-6, puts the question rather differently. Why, he asks, should one group of Aborigines so ruthlessly destroy another? The answer of this work is that they didn't. But the fact that a valid fundamental question could be phrased this way is perhaps itself a subtle manifestation of the stereotype of the savage at work (See Sinclair, A. The Savage: A History of Misunderstanding, Wiedenfield and Nicolson, London, 1977)

Neither label fits the evidence for the Aboriginal police of Port Phillip, but it is not difficult to see how they came to be applied. One of the theorists of colonisation explains the process thus: "The representatives of the authorities, cadres, policemen etc. recruited from among the colonised, form a category of the colonized which attempts to escape from its political and social condition. But in so doing, by choosing to place themselves in the colonizer's service, to serve his interests exclusively, they end up by adopting his ideology, even with regard to their own values and their own lives...it is not easy to escape mentally from a concrete situation, to refuse its ideology while continuing to live with its actual relationships". On Memmi's theory, being a policeman would have meant for an Aboriginal man in Port Phillip in the 1840's, the rejection of his own traditional values. In the contemporary climate of emergent nationalism throughout the world among formerly colonised peoples, that means traitor. It is not a word though, that was ever used about them at the time, by other Aborigines or by Europeans. The evidence tends to suggest that the leaders of men who joined the Native Police Corps saw their role as at least partly mediative, and certainly partly manipulative.

Traitor is an emotive word, laden with judgement. Stripped of its evaluative content though, it merely measures change. It is probably a word best avoided in a cross-cultural enquiry, because it implicitly reifies the past, and against that reification, any man is condemned who, in adapting to his present existential situation, moves outside the boundaries of past practice. It assumes what ought to be asked - is there a conflict between the loyalties of the past and the loyalty of the present, and if so, how is it manifested and how is it resolved?

The identification and evaluation of the action of joining an invader's policing force as treachery, with its concomitant implications of rejection of kin values and a shared past, does not appear to have been an issue in the accounts of indigenous policing forces in other times and places. This may be because most accounts are personal narratives rather than analytical studies, but even so, were the notion of co-operation with a powerful other who has taken control of the indigenes'

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16 At least one historian who knew some of the Native Police made this point in describing a Gippsland Aborigine thus, "The local chief was not a Billabellary - he was not a peacemaker" (Sadleir, J. "Early Days of the Victoria Police Force": 76)

17 One sociologist sees the dearth of studies of military institutions in societies with a strong liberal tradition as partly a consequence of personal values held within that very tradition (Janowitz, M. "Armed Forces and Society: A World Perspective", in Van Doorn, J. (ed) *Armed Forces and Society: Sociological Essays*, Mouton, The Hague, 1968)
home country a problem for the relatives and friends of police, it would be reasonable to expect to see some signs of it in the narrative accounts of cross-cultural policing forces. The signs are absent.  

Published works presently available emphasize a rather different set of issues: they note the processes of attachment, the fidelity, the pride in service, the confidence and mutual respect between officers and men. They note the rewards of policing - adequate livelihood, social position consequence and honour, and they note the processes of disintegration - once affection is gone, confidence withers and fidelity is liable to shatter. They note the importance of individual European leaders of men: "The whole station will go broody under a clumsy officer", and they emphasize that in a conflict of interest family ties triumph. They defend their forces from the stereotypical view of the savage acting savagely "...we do not, on report of a murder, sally forth to make war on the tribe to which the murderer belongs, to return flushed with victory, after killing the offender's uncle, ravishing his second cousin and stealing his grandmother's pig." They make the point too, that indigenous identification with European interests is not simply a matter of attraction - it is a calculated move based on the assessment of the indigene's power situation within pre-contact society. They could be speaking of the Aboriginal Police of Port Phillip.

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18 All the following accounts are from the British quarterly publication The Police Journal, which commenced publication in 1927 and appears to have concentrated its interest on the Empire:- Stephenson, A. (Lt-Col. formerly Commandant, Northern Rhodesia Police), "Crime in Northern Rhodesia", vol 3, no 4, Oct 1930; Adam, J.H.S. (Lt.), "The British South Africa Police in Southern Rhodesia", vol 1, no 4, Oct 1928; Semple, C. (Late Assistant Superintendent-in-Charge, C.I.D., Kenya Police), "The Making of an East African Policeman", vol 1, no 4, Oct 1928; Quirk, W.H. (Major), "Special Problems in the Union of South Africa", vol 1, no 2, Apr 1928; Quaamba (Pseudonym), "The Gold Coast Police", vol 5, no 1, Jan 1932; Hoorweg, A., "The Dutch East Indian Police", vol 2, no 4, Oct 1929; Mitchell, J., "The NSW Police - A Retrospect", vol 2, no 3, Jul 1929; Clarke, W.T. (Col.), "Natal Mounted Police", vol 4, no 3, Jul 1931; Murray, I.H.P. (Lt-Gov. Papua), "The Armed Constabulary of Papua", vol 4, no 16, Oct 1931; Peters, C.R., "Mounted Police in India: The United Provinces Mounted Police", vol 4, no 13, Jan 1931; see also Dunn, George K. Domination and Power in Guyana: A Study of the Police in a Third World Context, Transaction Books, New Brunswick U.S.A., 1982, for a discussion of the relationships between the law, public order, the enforcers as symbols of authority and the structures of domination. The actual policing structure however, differs in that the officer Corps was recruited exclusively from England, and the N.C.O.'s from anywhere; the mode of operation was deliberately repressive it seems, designed to serve the commercial interests of the dominant class (the sugar planters) by the subjugation of disorder among the freed slaves.

19 It is very interesting to note the different modes of relationship between Europeans who were administrators in former colonies and men who were leaders of indigenous men in the armed forces of those same places; there is a nurturing quality clearly apparent in some of the military leaders, a capacity for an I-Thou relationship, a sensitivity to the other's dignity that is not so apparent usually in administrators.

20 Onnact, Rene. Singapore: A Police Background, Dorothy Crisp & Co, London, 1947: 75 (Author was Inspector-General of Police, Straits Settlements). Compare with Elkin - "The generalised adaptation is particularised according to the type of white person or persons who control the local situation" in Bohannen, F. and Plog, F. op cit: 51


22 Murray, I.H.P. op cit: 578

In the Northern Territory this century, the evidence suggests that the Aboriginal men acted as minders for their European "leaders" - "We will all kill for our policeman who live only by our protection...they are good men, but as children in the bush"24, but nothing suggests resentment or hostility to their role as police on the part of other Aborigines. The Amerindian experience (fifty years after the Port Phillip experiment) suggests that the powerful and positive influence enjoyed by the Indian Police and Judges was an extension of tribal institutions. No evidence is offered, of conflict between police and their kin, which suggests that their kin saw joining the police as treachery, on the contrary, power, respect and a continued relationship with a warrior past were perceived as benefits25. One looks in vain in published histories of police forces of sub-continental India, of Malaya, Singapore, of the new nation states of formerly colonised Africa for evidence that kin groups and wider social relations regarded as traitors then, those men who joined the law-enforcement arms of the outside rulers26. It may be an entirely different situation when a state of war exists, as for example in the New Zealand war of the 1860's, when Maori collaborators were called *kupapa* (cringing dog crawling along the ground) by other Maoris27.

It may be that future historians will see the past in a different light, that as the histories of independence movements are written, the origins of modern political nationalism will be sought, and those who collaborated in the distant past will be the new pariahs28. This, though, would be to engage in contemporary political evaluation, judging the past from the standpoint of a changed world. It is not history. Part of the task of the historian is to recognise that the issues which kindle interest and shape enquiry do emerge from the cultural present, but the end-product which is written succeeds or fails on how well the historian has understood and explained the past on its own terms, which are not the terms of the starting-point.

27 Barber, L.H. "The Queen's Maori Allies", in *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol LXII, no 250, Summer 1984
28 And, as Stuart Macintyre observed (pers comm), enquiries into modern political nationalism in former colonies subsume the question of anti-colonialism, and must therefore consider the position of collaborators. Macintyre makes the important point that unless and until a sense of oppression is established in formerly colonised peoples, a sense of oppression with its concomitant feeling of loss of identity and exclusion, then collaborating activity will not be perceived as traitorous.
The description as traitors and murderers does not fit the evidence discovered for Port Phillip in the 1840's. The evidence suggests that the men who joined the police extended their cultural repertoire, adding on a new set of roles and behaviours, and that they made a distinction between government business and tribal business. There are few recorded rhetorical statements of Aboriginal feeling and intent, but the evidence is there to read from the record of their actions. They appeared to inhabit two worlds, moving with remarkable ease across cultural boundaries, managing to do the European job well, while governing the play so to speak in the world of Aboriginal action that continued to exist below the surface of the European takeover. Europeans thought that they were recruiting successfully from all regions of present Victoria: they were, but whether they knew it or not, they were also networking the men of the Corps into social relationships where traditionally there had been no contact. In a sense, the Native Police Corps of the Port Phillip District may be seen as an early stage in pan-Australian Aboriginal consciousness, an historical product, quite outside pre-contact patterns of social relationships.

29 "Acculturation is neither a passive nor a culture-receiving process. Acculturation, particularly when not forced is essentially creative. While the idea that acculturation can be a creative process was acknowledged more than twenty years ago, the disjunctive aspects of acculturative change have been emphasized at the expense of the truly innovative processes that often accompany culture contact and change" (Blackman, M. "Creativity in Acculturation", in Ethnohistory, vol 23, no 4, Fall, 1976: 390)
CHAPTER ONE
PERAMBULATING POLICE

Policing in Port Phillip prior to the establishment of a Native Police

It was in mid 1837 that the idea of establishing a Native Police Corps in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales appears first to have been mentioned in official correspondence. The local administrator at Melbourne was Captain William Lonsdale of the 4th Regiment, Police Magistrate and Superintendent, and the person to whom he was responsible for the peace and good order of the district was the Governor of NSW, General Sir Richard Bourke, then in the closing months of the Australian phase of his career. Their joint preoccupation was not European crime, nor Aboriginal/European conflict, but rather, what appears to us as the more minor problem of absconders - runaway convicts.

There had been no police in Port Phillip in 1835 at the time of the initial occupation by the Vandemonians. The settlement was illegal according to British law and the adventurers were outlaws: there was no legislature, no judiciary, no enforcement arm. But as the illegal settlers were clearly determined on staying, the government with reluctance found it necessary to recognise the fact of occupation and begin the process of establishing order. The evidence suggests that the concern for the welfare of the local Aborigines, expressed in the correspondence prior to the institution of formal government, was genuine - not a mere matter of rhetoric: Bourke in fact, later gave it as the primary reason for the necessity of the establishment of civil law in Port Phillip. Lonsdale arrived in Port Phillip in HMS Rattlesnake in September 1836, fifteen months after John Batman and company, bringing with him a small military force - a subaltern, two sergeants, and thirty rank and file of his own regiment, the King's Own, together with a tiny civil policing establishment - three free constables and a bonded scourger.

Contrary to the anxiety felt in VDL, NSW and London, there had been little trouble during that time between the owners of the land and the new occupiers: a certain amount of tolerance, good-will even, characterised relationships, generated most likely by the treaty signed by John Batman on behalf of the Port Phillip Association, with Jagga Jagga, Jagga Jagga, Jagga Jagga, Cooloolook, Bungarie, Yanyan, Mowhip and Mommarmalar, the owners. This piece of paper was never taken.

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1 Bourke to Glenelg, 15 Sep 1836, HRV vol 1: 56
seriously by the authorities, who concentrated their attention on its illegality, to the disregard of its
meanings for the co-signatories. Batman delivered at the time a quantity of food and goods, and
promised for the future "an annual tribute to those who are the real owners of the soil", and as a back
up to the treaty let these owners know the likely consequences of any failure on their part to adhere to
it. For his part, Batman kept more or less to the terms of the treaty (though Fawkner perhaps
maliciously, recorded that he fed the Aborigines damaged rice). It was probably the existence of this
treaty, however flawed, that was responsible for the early terms of existence in Port Phillip - the early
record of contact is mostly one of intimacy, exchange and reciprocity.

In June 1836, the 177 Europeans at Port Phillip petitioned the NSW Governor for a
resident Magistrate, finding themselves exposed to "serious inconvenience from the want of a
constititutional authority": their serious inconvenience came from runaway convicts from VDL. The
residents did not mention Aborigines, but with some degree of disingenuousness, they chose rather to
note that the Government was losing money on excisable articles smuggled into the port - alcohol and
tobacco for example. The report of the experienced Magistrate, George Stewart, sent down from NSW
in the same month to enquire into the size and state of the little settlement, agreed well with the facts of
the petition. There were runaways, though apparently only two; there were dutiable items in the
settlement - tobacco and spirits, and though there had been some violent incidents, relationships with
Aborigines appeared to him friendly, with every sign that the Europeans in general intended to keep
them that way. The source of the incidents that had occurred lay in the outcasts from European society
- the convicted men, mostly working as isolated shepherds, and the lawless sealers of Bass Strait.

In July 1836, a month after Stewart's visit, amicable relationships between Aborigines
and Europeans were threatened by the killing by Aborigines of Charles Franks and his servant known
as Flinders, at Mount Cotterill, about twenty miles northwest of Gellibrand's Point (Williamstown):
the killing occurred within the country covered by the land treaty. The event and its sequel are loaded
with significance for the Native Police story, in that it not only transmitted a message to Aborigines
about European notions of justice, but Aboriginal men who co-operated in the search gained their first

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2 It is Barwick's view too, that this treaty was a meaningful event (Barwick, D., 1984: 107)
3 Treaty - Batman to Arthur, 25 Jun 1835, HRV vol 1: 5-10; Consequences - Batman to Montague, 30 Nov 1835, op
cit: 20-1; Damaged rice - Fawkner's Journal in Billot, C.P. 1982: 70-1; The major events which stand in contrast to the
general pattern were the killing of two of David Fisher's men by local Aborigines near Murdack Hill in the Indented
Head country (J.T.Gellibrand to Captain Swanston, 6 Mar 1836, Port Phillip Association Papers, LSL, and Fisher, D.
in Bride, T.F. 1985: 37-43), and the shooting of an Aboriginal group at Westernport, and abduction of some members by
sealers on at least two occasions, one prior to Batman's arrival (J.H.Wedge to J.Montague, 15 Mar 1836, HRV vol 1:
34).
4 Resident's petition, 2 Jun 1836, in HRV vol 1: 38; Stewart's report, 10 Jun 1836, op cit: 39-43.
experience of policing - of the enforcement in practice, of those ideas. Some of them were so attracted to the role and function of police that they enlisted as policemen in one or other of the four Aboriginal policing institutions that were to be established. Equally significantly, the man who was to become the Superintendent of the first Corps of Native Police arrived in Port Phillip just in time to witness the events. In the absence of civil or military authority, the residents organised two field parties, both comprised of Aborigines and Europeans, both gentlemen and servants, to search for the perpetrators named Callen and Dundom, who had been pointed out as the guilty parties by other Aborigines. Four Aboriginal men were involved in the search, Benbow, Betbengai, Ballyan and Derrimut, the first three of whom were headmen of their own groups, and later enlisted as policemen.

The search was unsuccessful, and the curious situation seems to have arisen, that in spite of the two deaths, there appears no increase in tension, or rather, there is no evidence of such. Isolated convict shepherds, who might be expected to be afraid, have left no record of their state of mind, and were there disturbances in inter-tribal relationships, they too, have gone unremarked. Callen and Dundom were not caught - they appeared in the streets of Melbourne twelve months later, and the Aborigines continued to frequent the settlement; they even offered to "get" Callen and Dundom if it pleased the Europeans. Rumours circulated in Tasmania that ten Aborigines were killed, but Lonsdale formed the opinion that these reports were greatly exaggerated when he investigated the event upon his arrival in Melbourne two months after it happened. In the long run, perhaps the important outcome was the gain in knowledge and experience of European modes of thinking about proper order and justice, by the two men Betbengai and Benbow, who were to become a part of the system. Much later, on 13 September 1840, Benbow and Betbengai discussed with Assistant Protector Thomas the injustices they perceived in their then current situation - not permitted to set up camp within the environs of Melbourne; they recalled all the services they had rendered to Europeans in the past and they cited the fact that they "got" the blackfellows that killed the first white man.

Once his investigation of these matters was completed, Lonsdale did not find cause to mention Aborigines in his reports to Sydney, except to describe arrangements made for the mission to Aborigines currently being established on the site of the present botanical gardens. Aborigines were not the problem. His major policing concern was with the undesirable quality of the emigrants from

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5 All the details of this event and its sequel are to be found in the correspondence and depositions in HRV vol 1: 37-52
6 Thomas Journal, 13-15 Sep 1840, ML, set 214, item 1; Franks and his man Flinders were not the first white men killed, but they were the first killed in Benbow's and Betbengai's country.
VDL. flooding into Port Phillip, and the runaways masquerading as emigrants, so much so, that two convicts were recruited from VDL for the purpose of identifying runaways. In March 1837, he had two enforcement agencies - a military force of forty-three men employed mostly in public works, and a local constabulary of one district and two ordinary constables. It simply was not a large enough force, and he suggested that it would be advantageous in pursuing runaways to station mounted police troopers at Port Phillip. In May 1837, he requested them formally.

Lonsdale may have received about this time oral information that the Aborigines were annoying the squatters to the west; Foster Fyans’ initial appointment as Police Magistrate at Geelong in September 1837 was the direct result of a petition from forty-four western district squatters who wrote in June directly to the Governor in Sydney (bypassing Lonsdale in Melbourne) complaining that the local Aborigines had abandoned their traditional mode of procuring food and become dependent on begging and plunder. It was apparent from their letter that the squatters were becoming increasingly annoyed. But if the orders which Lonsdale wrote are a guide to his intellectual assessment of the situation, it was not Aborigines but runaways who constituted the major threat to order in that district at that time. He despatched a small military party on 13 June 1837 to find and capture a group of runaways sighted recently in the western district, adding apparently as an afterthought “I have also given him (the military officer in charge) directions to let the blacks know that a party has been sent to prevent them robbing and annoying white people as such has been the case to some extent”7. A collision between Aborigines and Europeans was a real and feared danger, but it was an anxiety about the future, about the consequences if the squatters retaliated against the Aborigines for the annoyance and plunder of which they were complaining. There is a certain paradox in the situation in which the squatters found themselves - liberality or generosity (defined from their own point of view) resulted in demands from the Aborigines for more, and the very restraint which the squatters asserted that they practiced, encouraged the Aborigines to think that they could act with impunity in the future. And where restraint was not practised, where the local Aborigines were shot at to keep them away, there was no problem.

7 Undesirables from VDL. Lonsdale to Bourke, 1 Feb 1837, HRV vol 1: 87; Constables from VDL, Holden to Lonsdale, 25 Mar 1837, op cit: 187; Police establishment of Melbourne, Lonsdale to Col Sec, 13 Mar 1837, VPRS 1: 50; Formal request for Mounted Police - Lonsdale to Col Sec, 31 May 1837, VPRS 1: 60-67; Runaways the major problem, Lonsdale to Col Sec, 12 Jun 1837, VPRS 1: 78-9; Squatters petition, 8 Jun 1837 - HRV vol 1: 219; Fyans appointment, Col Sec to Fyans, 12 Sep 1837 - VPRS 4, Box 3, 37/105. This letter mentions the fear of future collisions; it also informs Fyans that a Native Police has been formed to act “in the duties of the Public Peace, and the apprehension of fugitive criminals"
because Aboriginal groups avoided those areas later. In the history of cross-cultural misunderstanding, there is possibly no more poignant process than this.

At the end of July 1837, Lonsdale received a reply to his request for Mounted Police - a recommendation that he use "the Aboriginal natives". On the surface of things it appears an ad hoc response, a strange way for such a significant policy decision to be implemented. From the sequence of the documents, it appears as if a letter from Captain Alexander Maconochie, the noted British penal reformer who was at this time secretary to the Governor of VDL, recommending the enlistment and training of Port Phillip Aborigines as police, arrived on the desk of the Governor of NSW at about the same time as Lonsdale's request for Mounted Police for the Port Phillip district. It looks as though Bourke's response was akin to killing two birds with the one stone, and this is the mode of origin of the Native Police that has been accepted in past accounts.

It is doubtful though, that it was as simple as that. The man who was subsequently appointed as Superintendent of the Native Police, Christiaan de Villiers, wrote later that it was his own idea; the Port Phillip Gazette attributed the inspiration to Bourke himself, at the time of his visit to Port Phillip in March 1837. As Bourke almost certainly knew de Villiers from their shared military experience in South Africa, and as Maconochie was also in Port Phillip in March 1837 specifically to confer with Bourke (Sir John Franklin was scheduled to cross Bass Strait for this meeting, but was unable to go, and sent instead his secretary), it does seem likely that the idea was initiated and developed there and then. Even more likely is it that Bourke asked Maconochie to put forward his plan in writing, hence the rapid approval of the idea, and the swift recommendation to Lonsdale once Maconochie's letter arrived in Sydney.

Within three months of receiving the recommendation to form some Aboriginal natives into a police force, Lonsdale found the right person to head them. His own description of the circumstances is as follows "I have ... commenced formation of a Native Police Corps, and as the success of any measure of this description depends very much on its beginnings, I have taken advantage of what has for some short time past been effected by a young man named de Villiers who has been living with some of the blacks in the woods, and appears not only to have gained their

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8 Recommendation to use the Aboriginal natives as police - Col. Sec. to Lonsdale, 22 Jul 1837, VPRS 4, Box 2, 37/77, together with enclosure, a copy of Maconochie to Bourke, 10 Jun 1837; de Villiers' own idea - de Villiers to Col Sec, 10 Apr 1838, 38/4076 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1; Bourke's own idea - Port Phillip Gazette, 13 Jul 1839; Maconochie at Port Phillip - Journal of Sir Richard Bourke, 12 Mar 1837, Ms 7759, Box 640/11, LaSL; Bourke's military experience on eastern frontier South Africa, 1837 - King, H. Richard Bourke, 1971: Chapter 9, and King's Ph D dissertation, Oxford University.
affection but a command over them. He is also evidently desirous of improving their condition". Formal authority to establish a perambulating police came from the Colonial Secretary in September.  

A young man named de Villiers. 

At the time it was unusual, eccentric even, for a European to go bush, to live life with Aborigines in their own country on their own terms: especially when we know that it was no gentleman's whim, soon dropped for other diversions, but rather, the foundation of ten years of solid friendship. Of de Villiers, it was said years later in Melbourne by William Thomas, the harshest critic of Europeans in their relationships with Aborigines, that he was a man "well qualified in every respect" to lead a joint Aboriginal European expedition to search for the white woman in Gippsland, because of "his knowledge of the blacks, and humanity to the sable races generally". 

Christiaan Ludolf Johannes de Villiers arrived in Port Phillip on the Chilli from Launceston, on 7 July 1836, the day before Franks' and Flinders' bodies were found: he may have been one of the unnamed gentlemen who participated in the search. His earlier career and family background are relevant to the Native Police story for two reasons - he was to resign later over a matter of honour, an issue concerned with the status of a gentleman, but more importantly, because European policy, embodied in the rules and regulations of the Corps, included an attempt to inculcate into the Aboriginal men feelings of superiority over both the lower European classes and other Aborigines: "...The men forming the Corps...should be led to believe that belonging to the police places them in a very superior situation...to consider themselves as a body distinct from all others...At the same time that the men of the Corps are taught to consider themselves superior to the other blacks, they must be made to discriminate between the different classes of white people, showing respect to the upper and well-connected, and prevented from associating with those who may instruct them in vicious and disorderly habits". De Villiers could not have been appointed were he not a man of quality or rank, to some extent an exemplar in his person of the superiority envisaged for the native police.

9 Lonsdale to Col. Sec., 28 Oct 1837, VPRS 1: 129; Garryowen (Edmund Finn) in his Chronicles of Early Melbourne, 1888 vol 1: 328, relates that on 21 Aug 1836, C.J. de Villiers celebrated the King's Birthday with a feast for the Aborigines on the green hill in Collins Street; Perambulating police - Col Sec to Lonsdale, 4 Sep 1837, VPRS 4, Box 2, 37/96

10 Thomas Quarterly Report 1 Dec 1846, enc. to Lonsdale to Col Sec, 18 Dec 1846, 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1. When this expedition failed in its object, and another was proposed, only three Aborigines would accompany it, all the rest refusing to go as de Villiers would not lead it - Thomas Quarterly Report, 31 May 1847, enc to Lonsdale to Col Sec, 17 Jun 1847, 47/4944 in AO of NSW 4/2782

He was born at Stellenbosch in the Cape Colony in 1808, into a large and prosperous family whose ancestors, French Huguenots, fled from France following the revocation of the edict of Nantes. The de Villiers, and the families they married, had done well for themselves in their new country as farmers, lawyers, Ministers of the Church, musicians, scientists, medical practitioners. He was the eighth child and second son in his family, a British citizen, having been born after the annexation of the Cape. His family coat of arms included a shield, staff, banner, Pascal Lamb and the red cross of martyrs. Published family histories assert that the family as a whole was profoundly religious: certainly it generated men of conviction - the history of South Africa is peopled by men of distiction bearing this name.  

The years of his early manhood - say from the age of sixteen to twenty four, his age on arrival in Australia - are an enigma. He wrote subsequently that the miserable state of the Aborigines reminded him of the similar state of the Hottentots in his native country the Cape of Good Hope, and recalled the experience he had obtained of the treatment of savages to bring them a civilised state. In a retrospective editorial praising both the Native Police Corps and de Villiers' work, the Port Phillip Gazette of 13 July 1839 noted that he had been trained by Lieutenant Stockenstrom in a Hottentot regiment in South Africa. This regiment was raised from the indigenous population by the British for service in the protracted series of wars defending their possessions against external indigenous attack. Lieutenant Andries Stockenstrom was both a distinguished civil administrator and a military field officer throughout the 1820's: his name stands high in the pantheon of heroes, as a protector of the civil rights of the indigenous population at the Cape. Governor Bourke knew him personally, placing such confidence in him that he elevated him from his position of Llanddross of Graaf Reinet to Commissioner General for the Eastern District of the Cape Province, during Bourke's administration as Governor 1826 - 1828. During this period, Bourke took personal command of the frontier situation,

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12 Research into the de Villiers family background was undertaken for me by Mrs Yvonne Fenscham of Stellenbosch. Another member of this family who made his mark in Australia was Argyle MacCallum of the station Good Hope near Yass in NSW. His mother was a de Villiers, daughter of the Chief Justice at the Cape - Gilmore, M. Old Days, Old Ways, 1934 (1963 edition): 102
13 De Villiers to Col Sec, 10 Apr 1838, 38/4076 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1
Sketch of de Villiers by G.H. Haydon, 1843
From Haydon's scrapbook, by courtesy of Mrs J. Haydon, Kent.

de Villiers' family coat of arms
From De Villiers, D.P. A History of the de Villiers Family
riding 2000 miles in seven weeks, inspecting the line of military posts. There seems no reason to doubt the information from the Port Phillip Gazette. Bourke may have known, or known of, de Villiers at the Cape, but at the very least, he was able to interpret his military background, and the type of training he had received under Stockenstom. It can be noted here too, that it was during this period in South Africa that Bourke himself developed the principles of the native policy he was to pursue in Australia. According to his biographer, his native policy was the most controversial fact of his term of office at the Cape, grounded in humanitarian principles which set him at variance with British commercial interests.

Though Maconochie's models for a Native Police were the Romans in Gaul, the modern French, and the Sepoys in India, Bourke's own understanding of the idea emerged from his own knowledge and practical experience.

Initially, de Villiers' staying in Australia may have been accidental. Whether as passenger, crew or supercargo is unknown, but he was on the brig Agnes out of Sydney bound for Mauritius when it was wrecked in Torres Strait on 16 August 1832. For the four years prior to his arrival in Port Phillip he was engaged in commercial activities involving much travel between Launceston and Sydney; shipping records show that he made ten trips in those four years. His commercial base was the Exchange store which he operated at the William St wharf. He married at St John's Church, Launceston on 24 July 1834, Mary, second daughter of James Cox of Clarendon, but she died without issue, aged nineteen, six months before he crossed over to Port Phillip. James Cox' son John, who by this marriage became de Villiers' brother-in-law, plays a part in the later story of the 1842 Corps, his station in the western district functioning as their field Headquarters. Rolf Boldrewood (T.A.Browne) said of the Cox family that it furnished more pattern gentlemen to Australia than any other family. If in those days in the colonies, acceptance as a gentleman could be read by whom one was permitted to marry, then de Villiers was seen as a gentleman of high standing. He came to Port Phillip as agent for Captain Robson, and obtained accreditation as a Customs Agent in Port

17 Foreshadowing his later problems in NSW.
18 de Villiers' letter, Port Phillip Herald, 18 Feb 1847; Bateson, Charles. Australian Shipwrecks, vol 1, 1622-1850, 1972: 98
19 Browne, T.A. Old Melbourne Memories, 1899:30
of honeysuckle and cherry. The redgum country extended from what is now Berwick to Springvale, but the best of them, the giants, were around Dandenong. La Trobe described these trees in 1840 as "...enormous... with native figures of large size upon them, burned and worked into the white bark". These trees bespeak the significance of the site, though not the particular meaning. There were European-incised gums too, which La Trobe attributed rightly or wrongly to Hume and Hovell, and he wrote that he valued them all so highly that he did his best to secure them from destruction and for a while, succeeded. The banks of the creek were covered with an abundance of maiden-hair, together with reeds and rushes, wild raspberries, wild black currants, native laurels, myrtles and silver myrtles. An early settler recorded that throughout the year any species of game - kangaroo, wallaby, lyrebird, emu and koala could be got within a few minutes walk in any direction, and the eels in the Carrum swamp were abundant. Robinson said much the same, adding that the kangaroos were of the largest species, and Thomas emphasized that this are was a recognised and important hunting ground.3

In reporting to Sydney that the men of the Corps had themselves selected the site and that he had approved it, Lonsdale emphasized the necessity to preserve it from squatters, otherwise the police might be subject to constant interference. He knew his squatters. The interference came immediately in the person of Robert Innes Allen who sat down on the site as soon as he heard of its authorisation for institutional purposes. Lonsdale defended it with vigour, ordering Allen and his men to remove their drays without the least delay, and backing up the order with a directive to de Villiers to pull down the fences which Allen's men had erected. It is in this round of letters that the general area is named "Tugenong" and reference is made to the specific location, the south side of Dandenong creek.4

Rules and Regulations

Lonsdale set down on paper, in a fair amount of detail his expectations of and for the police, together with the way in which he envisaged these expectations might be accomplished. His opening paragraph runs as follows: "In forming a body of Aboriginal Blacks under European

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23 For the clearest and most recent account of the early squating history of this area, see Hibbins, G.M., A History of the City of Springvale, Lothian, Melbourne, 1984; giant red gums - G.F.R., Reminiscences of Early Dandenong, 1984: 6-7; La Trobe's description - Memoranda of Journeys, 1 Aug 1840, L&SL; Robinson's description - Robinson to La Trobe, 15 Sep 1840, op cit; Thomas' view - Thomas to Robinson, 30 Aug 1841, VPRS 11, Box 7/388

24 Lonsdale to Col Sec, 28 Oct 1837, VPRS 1:129; 29 Nov 1837, ibid: 144; de Villiers to Lonsdale, 23 Nov 1837, VPRS 4, Box 3, 37/157; Lonsdale to de Villiers, 27 Nov 1837, VPRS 1: 141; Lonsdale to Allen, 27 Nov 1837, VPRS 1: 140. It should be noted that at this time, the nomenclature of the various tributaries of Dandenong creek, and their relationship to the whole, had not been fixed; the branch which Lonsdale called Dandenong is now called Monbulk creek, a tributary of Dandenong creek - see Clow, J. in Bride, T.F., op. cit.: 106; Duncan, J.S., Atlas of Victoria, Melbourne, 1982:92; Parish Plan of Narre Warren 1958; Gregory's Street Directory, Map 94 ,G to J 6
Superintendence it is wished to combine the desirable objects of making them useful to society, of gradually weaning them from their native habits and prejudices, of habituating them to civilised customs, and from thence if possible, to place them upon higher grades of temporal and religious knowledge. It would be impossible to accomplish these objects by any abrupt means or sudden changes from their present condition and it is therefore thought the most effectual method will be to form some of the natives into a Police Corps, as in that situation they will not be tied to any definite labour or irksome routine of employment, they will it is hoped, whilst they are enjoying a change of scene and occupation, and the occasional recreation of hunting, be, under proper management imperceptively to themselves acquiring the change which is desired.\textsuperscript{25}

From the perspective of the present, the aim is breath-taking in its unexamined assumption that the change to western-style living was a good, that the Europeans had a right to attempt to effect it, and that Aboriginal people themselves would agree to it. But for its time, it was remarkably tolerant in its sensitivity to personal Aboriginal feeling with its emphasis on gradual change: in comparison with missionary policy, it appears in theory to be less destructive of Aboriginal cultural and social practices, and in practice it was. Where the missionary counted the hours of labour put in by the people at the mission, fined them in quantities of food, and condemned their savage and vagrant practices (coroborrees and hunting), Lonsdale's schema acknowledged that the essence of their identity as persons lay in their traditional practices. He proscribed coercion, "...nothing in the shape of labour is to be forced on them...only encouragement by convincing them of the advantage that will arise to themselves", and did not mention sanctions or punishment; he was obviously a believer in the carrot and not the stick.

The actual job description was spelled out as follows, "preserving the peace and good order of the district, in apprehending runaways and preventing the Aborigines committing any depredations on the whole population, or if such should be the case, in discovering and apprehending the offenders". They were to do all this by perambulating the country. It is implicit in Lonsdale's thinking that they would find this occupation attractive and enjoy it, and there is abundant evidence that he was right, not so much for this force (there is only the evidence of re-enlisting in 1838), but for the later 1842 Corps, probably partly because the rythmic annual pattern of policing, the corporate solidarity and the camaraderie corresponded to a large degree with the good life as they knew it before

\textsuperscript{25} "Regulations proposed for the Establishment of an Aboriginal Police Corps", 28 Oct 1837, op cit.
the European takeover. Equally important was the fact they did not define walking and riding horses as work, and the work that they did do a lot of later-despatch riding - corresponded to a high status specialised role within traditional culture - the role of messenger or postman.

At the more fundamental level of values and beliefs, of ideology, Lonsdale displayed himself not only as a perceptive observer of Aboriginal living, but as an early theorist of colonisation. Noting that it would be some time before the men could be led to give up their native habits, and to believe that being in the police placed them in a superior position, and repeating that the process must be gradual, he went on to describe the process; "The most likely means is perhaps to keep the men of the Corps quite distinct from the others, to get them to give up their unity with the tribes and to consider themselves as a body distinct from all others; one of the first customs which should be attempted to be broken is that of joining in the quarrels of one tribe against another". In this intended attempt to cut the police off from the roots of their being, to get them to identify themselves as superior, Lonsdale came close to anticipating the theory of how colonisation works, developed over a hundred years later. The irony is that this strategy worked, but not in the manner intended. The police did come to think of themselves as superior, but instead of their changed self-perception leading to a diminution of their relationships with the other tribes, with a concomitant strengthening of their identification with European interests, it lead to an alteration in power relations within tribes in the direction of enhanced prestige and influence for them. Lonsdale was perceptive, but not to the degree that would have enabled him to see that their identity was a social given: he could offer them a new social identity, based on a new role in Port Phillip society, and they could, and did, accept it. But acceptance for them, turned out in practice to mean adding to their cultural repertoire, not the destruction or rejection of the old identity.

This issue will be taken up in Chapter Four; for the present, it is enough to recognise that the feeling of superiority which Lonsdale intended to be inculcated into the police was to apply as well, across the cultural boundary - it was to go hand in hand with tuition in distinguishing between classes or ranks of Europeans, and tuition in the appropriate modes of behaviour relative to them: "At the same time that the men of the Corps are taught to consider themselves superior, they must be taught to discriminate between the various classes of white people, showing respect to the upper and well-conducted, and prevented from associating with those who may instruct them in vicious and disorderly

26 Memmi, A. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. 1974
habits". In other words, the men were to be taught their place, which was not with the lower classes, undefined, but undoubtedly including convicted persons, but with the upper stratum of society with whom their proper relationships would be characterised by respect. This strategy too, was to work later with the 1842 Corps, but again, in a paradoxical fashion: there is a fair amount of evidence to suggest that they did not like convicted men, and a large amount of evidence to show that they cultivated European gentlemen, and considered themselves their equals. It is not deference which characterizes later police relationships with Europeans, but assertiveness, pragmatism and sometimes intimacy.

That they learned rapidly and well, to discriminate between classes of Europeans is attested by Curr, who remarked thus on their exquisite sensibility in this matter. "It was curious to note the tact of the blacks in estimating the standing of persons they casually met, and that after a few minutes conversation, they would say whether a stranger was a gentleman or one of the working class. Sometimes however, they would say in doubt. imbat oberchia, I believe overseer"27. It is a neat sociological comment, this intermediate category, on the potential for social mobility, up or down, in Port Phillip at that time, epitomised in the category of overseers, who could be gentlemen on the way down, or ex-convicts on the way up.

These Aboriginal men had been reared from childhood in a social system recognised now [not then] as one of the most elaborate and sophisticated in the world; it reached out by its own logic to include all known persons with whom an Aborigine was likely to come in contact, and prescribed a set of behaviours to govern the kind of social intercourse possible. As well, it was capable of being extended to embrace the stranger through a variety of social mechanisms - the recognition devices, the formal meeting courtesies, the exchange of gifts, the name exchange. The most persuasive evidence that de Villiers was, as Lonsdale said, a friend of the blacks, is that he entered into a name exchange relationship with two of his Wawoorong men; his name was Nicknarock, they were known, both, as Mr de Villiers 28.

From the point of view of the men then, they were getting insider's information from Lonsdale which merely extended social processes they had used since childhood, to cover the category of European stranger according to the ethos of their new alliance.

27 Curr, E.M. Recollections of Squatting in Victoria then called the Port Phillip District, 1841-1851, 1965:140
28 Port Phillip Patriot, 10 Feb 1847
This 1837 Corps lasted only ten weeks or so, from October to the beginning of January 1838. There is no evidence that they performed any policing duties, and the probability is that they were fully occupied at Nerre Nerre Warran with drill and the construction of Headquarters and military drill; Lonsdale sent up two convicts to assist and supervise the building programme.

What is known is the mode of translation into practical reality of the strategic aims - the concretisation of the rhetoric. Food was important. It was Lonsdale's original intention to ration the men at the same scale as a European constable, but while awaiting authorisation he gave them the same rations as a mission Aborigine would receive if he worked all day - one and a half pounds of flour, one pound of fresh or salt beef, or ten ounces of salt pork in lieu, half an ounce of salt with the fresh meat, two and a half ounces of sugar, half an ounce of tea and a quarter of an ounce of soap. The greatest exactness was called for regarding the measurement of rations and a daily journal was to be kept. One man was to be appointed in rotation as cook, and the men were to sit down at regular times to eat, with European utensils. If manners maketh the man, this was a firm attempt to re-make them in the European mould, but in practice, they were able to shape the terms of living more to their own liking. They refused to eat beef, and de Villiers was forced to order extra salt to put down kangaroo meat; he had a surplus of flour at the end of one month, so either he was liberally supplied, or they were still eating some murnong. Formal authority came from Sydney in December to ration the black constables at the same scale as the white, together with authority to pay them at the same scale, and to dress them in the same manner, but because the Corps foundered shortly afterwards, we cannot know how this would have worked out in practice.

In the steps to be taken in the event that any member of the Corps became ill, there is a hint of that quality of intimacy in cross-cultural relationships that we tend to miss in the categorical oppositional histories that we write, precisely because it is the taken for granted context that only rarely gets into the record. If any of the police became ill, they were to be brought down at once from Nerre Nerre Warren and installed in a hut adjacent to Lonsdale's own cottage, and he would call in the Colonial Surgeon to supervise treatment.

29 It was standard fare for all Her Majesty's dependents of the time, but who can tell the effect of this amount of salt, if they actually ate it?; even a sugar intake daily of this amount was probably damaging to the health of people not accustomed to it, possibly predisposing them to diabetes.

30 Same scale rations- Lonsdale to Col Sec, 6 Oct 1837, VPRS 1: 115; mission scale - Lonsdale to Col Sec, 28 Oct 1837, VPRS 1: 129; for a general overview of the scale of rationing in Port Phillip for various ranks and categories, see HRV vol 1, Chapter 9; refusal to eat beef- de Villiers to Lonsdale, 21 Dec 1837, VPRS 4, Box 3, 37/174; authority from Sydney for same scale rations and pay - Col Sec to Lonsdale, HRV vol 2A: 251; sickness - Lonsdale's Regulations, op cit.
The guaranteed meal ticket and the European dress probably worked as the most visible sign for all to see, both Aborigine and European alike, of the elevated status of the police. They were to be provided with a uniform and taught to feel a pride in it, and through it and because of it, Lonsdale thought, they would attach themselves to the Corps. It seems from their actions that their understanding of all this must have been in accord with his. They were given each a blanket, duck frock and trousers, shirt and Scotch cap and enrolled: that same night they "broke unsolicited their spears and other native weapons, and threw them into the river, saying they would no longer be blackfellows".  

In all things interior of course, they could not so easily give up being blackfellows, and it is questionable whether they meant by this symbolic action anything further than the ratification of the terms of a reciprocal obligation, a contract with the European authorities. An Aboriginal man's spear was his hunting and fighting weapon, and there was to be henceforth no need to hunt except for recreation, nor, if they believed Lonsdale's ethic of superiority, any need to fight - the social distance he hoped for would remove them from the fighting scene.  

There is also the small practical matter to be considered of the substitution of guns for spears. This is how Lonsdale put it; "I propose giving the men firearms convinced that no harm will result from it, and that everything should be given them to make them feel a superiority over the other blacks. I will, of course, see that every precaution is taken that there is no abuse made of the power entrusted to them". It seems from the construction of these sentences, from the linking of the concepts of superiority over other blacks and the increased power of firearms, that Lonsdale was aware to some degree of the possibility that he had altered the balance of traditional Aboriginal power relations. Their motivation in joining the police was not recorded, but maybe this concern that Lonsdale expressed is the strongest clue to their hopes and intentions.  

Their own views on what they received at this time were expressed two years later, in the context of bitter criticism of the things they received in the third attempt to set up a Native Police - the Protectorate domestic police of 1839. They compared the meanness of the Protectors attempt with the largesse they had received under de Villiers; "One of my late Police came in in a state of excitement

31 Lonsdale to Col Sec, 28 Oct 1837, VPRS 1: 129
32 Ibid
damning Mr Thomas; all gamon\textsuperscript{33} that fellow. No give Police coat, trowsers, shirt, gun, plenty to eat like Mr de Villiers\textsuperscript{34}.

There appears to be no other evidence to shed light on the motivation of the men of this Corps, their hopes, their aims and strategies. There is however, Threlkeld's account of the response of some Aborigines of another area to the idea of a Native Police. The Reverend Lancelot Edward Threlkeld was a missionary of the London Missionary Society who had worked in Tahiti prior to establishing a mission to the Australian Aborigines at Lake Macquarie near Newcastle in 1825. In early 1838 Governor Gipps, who had just taken over from Bourke sent to Threlkeld a copy of Lonsdale's Regulations requesting comment. Threlkeld gave it as his opinion that the proposed employment would indeed be congenial to the habits and tastes of Aborigines. He expressed a number of doubts as well, but his most interesting paragraph related to his discussions about the idea with M'Gill, one of his own local Aborigines, who expressed eagerness and enthusiasm for the idea. "Make me the head of them", Threlkeld recorded him as saying, "and not a bushranger shall escape my tribe"\textsuperscript{35}. Allowing for the fact that the quoted words are of dubious authenticity, in that few Aboriginal men of that era would have expressed themselves in such a formal grammatical style, but assuming that Threlkeld transmitted the message accurately, the essence of the message is clear - this man interpreted policing duties positively, the duties involved co-operation with the authorities, the only object mentioned of policing attention was bushrangers; catching bushrangers was an attractive occupation, and in practical terms was easy work.

This example of an Aboriginal response from NSW does not tell us anything about the existential situation in Port Phillip; given though, that at this time, Aboriginal evidence testifying directly to Aboriginal states of consciousness, logical processes and feelings, was so rarely incorporated into the European record, it serves at least to illustrate the possibility of a similar response in Port Phillip. In fact, it agrees well with what can be interpreted there. It would be of great value to know the names of the men who enlisted in 1837, for if the names were known, it would then be possible to ask the question who did not re-join in the later attempts of 1839 and 1842. To know who elected not to re-join, and why, would be strongly suggestive of the original motivation. As it is, the names are known with certainty of only three of the fifteen men who enrolled - Betbengai the

\textsuperscript{33} false, deceitful, rubbish
\textsuperscript{34} Thomas Journal, 24 Nov 1839, set 214, item 1, ML.
\textsuperscript{35} Threlkeld to Gipps, 7 May 1838, HRV vol 2A: 247-249
headman of his group, whose European name was Robert Webb; Nunuptune known as Billy Langhorne, and Budgery Tom, the headman of the Western Port group. They were prominent men whose lives remained connected throughout the 1840’s with both the men who comprised the Native Police, and the institution itself. It is a logical certainty that the de Villiers brothers who exchanged names with Christiaan de Villiers were also members: their proper names were Warra Warrock and Glillolat. It is probable that Mainger and Mooring were also 1837 Native Police; they were identified six months later, with Warra Warrock, as members of a group who acted independently in a quasi-policing fashion in the European interest, and in the course of events killed sheep. Lonsdale said about those who killed the sheep, that most of them had been in the Native Police, and these three men were named36. It was said later as well, of the five men selected as the Protector’s police of 1839, the internal, domestic attempt by the Protectors to tame the behaviour of their people, that they had been in the Native Police before. These men were Pinterginner, Buller-Bullet, Tumbocco, Tullemgate and Morabun37.

de Villiers resigned on 1 Jan 1838. The issue had nothing to do with the Aboriginal men as police; it was a struggle between Europeans. It looks to be a successful ploy on the part of the missionary George Langhorne to maintain his control over the Aborigines and Aboriginal affairs, though as Hibbins has noted, it was complicated by the intimacy of kin relationships between Lonsdale and his nephews - the missionary George Langhorne and his brother Alfred who was in partnership with Lonsdale in a cattle run at Dandenong, very close to the Native Police Headquarters38.

George Langhorne was on leave of absence in Sydney from his duties at his mission, when the Corps was established in October 1837, returning to Melbourne in December to find a fait accompli. He considered it immediately to be his painful duty to inform Lonsdale that de Villiers was exerting a bad influence on the police in rendering them proficient in the art of cursing and swearing, and that de Villiers had been practicing treacherous designs to ruin the mission and incite in the minds of the blacks ill-feeling against the missionary. Requested by Lonsdale for his evidence, he furnished supportive statements from his brother Alfred, and the mission overseer Thomas Watson. Their evidence focussed on two Aboriginal children whom, they asserted, de Villiers had enticed from the

36 Fels, M.H. *Aboriginal History*. 1986, vol 11, forthcoming; most were members of the Native Police -Lonsdale to Col Sec, 8 May 1838, HRV vol 2A: 220; Kenneth Clarke’s testimony - deposition, 27 Apr 1838, HRV vol 2A: 296
37 Names of 1839 police - Lonsdale to Robinson, 23 Oct 1839, AO of NSW 4/1135.1; individual biographical details -see Appendix D
mission to the police: to read the documents today is to gain the impression the boys were simply
attracted to the company of the police, who were fathers, brothers and kin of the boys from the
mission. Langhorne and Watson testified as well that de Villiers drank and used the vilest language -
the people at the mission were "a set of d--- hypocritical b---s" and "there was too much sanctified
damned nonsense". George Langhorne supplied this evidence to Lonsdale on 29 December 1837, and
in a separate letter of the same date, requested that Lonsdale dismiss de Villiers and that the charge of
the station be given to him. This was the second time he had requested that the responsibility for the
police to be transferred to him; he envisaged an extension of his own activities, by a process of
segregation, with the children remaining at the Botanical Gardens site and their parents confined to Narre
Narre Warren. He explained that the children did better in their instruction when separated from
parents and friends.

De Villiers simply declined to defend himself: his letter of resignation reads as if he
considered it beneath him to do so. Declaring the statements of the Langhorne brothers and Watson to
be false, and George Langhorne's action in sending them malicious, he wrote "I do not think myself
called upon to give any reply satisfactory to Mr. George Langhorne". Or in other words gentlemen do
not need to defend their honour against this kind of allegation.

Lonsdale was baffled; "I was not aware myself of any impropriety on the part of Mr de
Villiers, and am quite at a loss to come to any conclusion in the matter" is how he expressed himself to
the Colonial Secretary. He noted the rapidity of events, and the conflicting oral and verbal testimony,
but if he took steps to persuade de Villiers to reconsider, they were not recorded. The missionary's
diligence and his enthusiasm for his "painful duty" are striking: he effected de Villiers' resignation in
just ten days by means of five letters that he wrote, and two depositions that he organised. It is nothing
if not purposeful activity, the question being to what purpose. Missionary expansion is, I think, the
key to understanding Langhorne's action, though it goes nowhere towards explaining why Lonsdale
permitted himself to be rushed. In one round of the correspondence, the missionary states explicitly
his position "...were it not for the painful situation in which the appointment of Mr de Villiers has
placed me, I should not as yet, in the present early stages of my proceedings here, have thought of the
formation of a new station". It looks as though the missionary perceived de Villiers' influence with

---39 The direct quotations may be read in their context in "First attempts to form a Native Police Corps" Chapter 9,
HRV vol. 2 A
40 Langhorne to Lonsdale, 26 Dec 1837, HRV vol 2A: 258
the aborigines as a threat to his own, experienced de Villiers' success as an affront, and moved effectively to oust him. It looks to be a European power struggle.

It can be noted in passing that though the missionary succeeded this time, he lost his own job within a year: his mission was never a success. Unlike for example, the Wesleyan missionaries at Buntingdale, and later the Reverend Hagenauer at Ramahyu, Langhorne lacked the largeness of heart which attracts men regardless of cultural boundaries. He was a twice dismissed man - by the Aborigines who refused his policy, and by the government which sacked him.

De Villiers' version of the events is to be found in a letter seeking re-appointment which he wrote to the Colonial Secretary three months later in April 1838. Reminding Governor Gipps of his background at the Cape, and asserting that the original idea was his own, he summarised the successful beginnings of the Corps and told of the men's pleasure in the employment. His explanation though, of his resignation, is oddly unconvincing: he explained that his appointment was only provisional, not yet confirmed, and that he "expected to hold a situation suitable for a gentleman". It seems that he felt that his honour was threatened and his integrity assailed, but in exactly what manner is not specified. It could not be merely the accusations that he drank and cursed and swore - all gentlemen in Port Phillip drank, and the instances of cursing and swearing that Langhorne could cite only by the use of dashes are not only not shocking to the present, it is very doubtful that they would have been considered shocking by any gentleman in Port Phillip. A man of exquisite refinement such as La Trobe may not have used them himself, but they would have been part of the vocabulary of gentlemen in general in Port Phillip, many if not most of whom were retired officers of Her Majesty's forces, or officers on half-pay. They were certainly part of the currency of language used at the roisterous goings-on at the gentlemen's dinners at the Melbourne Club. The answer to de Villiers' disturbance lies probably in what was not committed to paper - "the other circumstances connected with this subject" which de Villiers informed the Colonial Secretary he would reveal if there was to be an enquiry. No enquiry was held.

As for the police themselves, they refused to serve under any other person; Langhorne was given responsibility for them, and he installed the mission overseer at Nerre Nerre Warren to take charge of them and the buildings and stores. But they simply walked away and the institution lapsed.

The 1838 Corps of Native Police.

De Villiers' letter of explanation and request for re-instatement elicited a quick response from the Governor in Sydney. Gipps informed Lonsdale almost by return mail that he was anxious
that the experiment of forming a Native Police should not be given up, that it was inappropriate that a preacher of religion take charge of it, and that Lonsdale was at liberty to use his discretion regarding re-instatement for de Villiers.41

Before that letter arrived in Melbourne though, the men who had been police engaged in a little private policing activity of their own, with the result that a new kind of police/government relationship emerged - Lonsdale and de Villiers were obliged to arrest the former police. The full story of this quasi-policing expedition has been written elsewhere42, and can be summarised. A party of local Melbourne Aborigines set off to the west in April 1838, having given three versions of their intentions to different people: to George Langhorne, they gave the impression that they intended to perform a service for Europeans by going to war against the tribe presumed to have killed Joseph Tice Gellibrand and George B.L. Hesse near Geelong in February 1837; to settler Kenneth Clarke, they said they were going to "get" Nannymoon, a Colac Aborigine who had recently killed a shepherd, Terence McManus, on one of Thomas Learmonth's runs near Mt Mercer; this was another service to Europeans. To their own Aboriginal friends, they said they were going to kill sheep. Their progress through the Melbourne-Ballarat-Geelong district was attended by cries of outrage from settlers whose sheep they killed and ate: they made no attempt whatsoever at concealment, and all the leaders were identified as men who had been in the Native Police.

With concern for these men uppermost in his mind, Lonsdale enlisted de Villiers' help to arrest them, precisely because, as he reported later, de Villiers knew them, they were fond of him, and they were "the last that he would wish to see harm happen to"43. Some of the leaders were arrested, gaoled, sent to gaol in Sydney and subsequently returned a year later to Melbourne. At the time though, George Langhorne seized the opportunity to protest yet again against de Villiers, this time against his proposed re-appointment as Superintendent of the Native Police; he asserted that there was hatred and revenge rankling in the breasts of the Aborigines for the part de Villiers played in the capture. Lonsdale took the opposite view. He told the Colonial Secretary that Langhorne was prejudiced, that his facts were wrong, and that de Villiers had done much to foster good relationships between the white population and the black. This time round, Langhorne lost out, and de Villiers was

41 Col Sec to Lonsdale, 5 May 1838, YPRS 4, Box 4, 3898
42 Fels, M.H. op cit
43 Lonsdale to Col. Sec., 15 May 1838, HRV vol 2A: 265-6
re-appointed to the Native Police on 18 September 1838. He began immediately to re-assemble his police44.

The story of the 1838 Corps is but a slight variant of its predecessor, though this attempt lasted a little longer, fifteen weeks, terminated again by another January resignation of de Villiers. This time however, Lonsdale was determined to avoid interference from squatters and established Headquarters in the paddock adjacent to his own house in present Jolimont, in the area bounded now by Wellington Parade, Punt Road and the Yarra river.

In the absence of any hint to the contrary, it is safe to presume that the expectations and hopes, the rules and regulations were the same. For this attempt, there are a few more details that have survived, regarding the experience and activities of the men. De Villiers tried to recruit two men from the employment of Mr George Smith who ran the Lamb Inn; both were Bunerong men, one named Big Benbow or Bondeon, the other Minggguger or Werram, known as Mr Mann. Bondeon had attached himself to Smith, and refused de Villiers' invitation, as he had refused it in 1837. Smith objected to de Villiers' attempts to recruit his men, claiming that he had put a lot of effort into civilising them over the previous two years of their employment with him, that they were steady and industrious workers, and that it would be an injustice to him were they to leave him for the "wandering life of comparative idleness as a native policeman". Whether Lonsdale intervened or not is not known, but these two men did not join the police. Smith's throwaway remark though, regarding the comparative idleness of the life of a policeman, is enormously valuable to the present, agreeing well with the men's own perception of the life of a policeman that they did not regard policing as work45.

Other fragments of information offer a glimpse at their recreation - some of the police attended a singing meeting of the Congregational worshippers on the hill in Collins St east, and seemed very pleased with it all, according to the minister Reverend William Waterfield46. Their living conditions were unremarked, though presumably they built huts in Lonsdale's paddock:

44 Langhorne's assertion - Langhorne to Lonsdale, 14 May 1838, HRV vol 2A: 264; Lonsdale's contrary view - Lonsdale to Col Sec, 15 May 1838, ibid: 265; re-appointment of de Villiers - Lonsdale to Col Sec, 21 Sep 1838, VPRS 1: 289; de Villiers' pay started on 18 Sep - Lonsdale to Auditor-General, 5 Dec 1838, VPRS 1: 324
45 George Smith to Lonsdale, 29 Sep 1838, VPRS 4, Box 5, 38/207; Recovered details of the life of Mr Mann - census July 1839, Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML; census 20 Mar 1839, Dredge in Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML; census 13 Dec 1851, Thomas Papers, set 214, item 12: 143, ML; at Arthur's Seat, 17 Jul 1845, McCrae, G. Georgiana's Journal, 1966: 196; Bondeon or Big Benbow involved in sheep degradation - HRV vol 2A: 301; sick - Robinson Papers, vol 54 A: 499, ML; on Thomas census 13 Dec 1851 as Baddoorup or Old Benbow (not to be confused with Benbow who was a Sergeant in the Native Police, sometimes called King Benbow) set 214, item 12: 143; Mr Mann's son Johnny dying -McCrae op cit: 213
46 Waterfield, J.H. "Extracts from the diary of the Reverend William Waterfield, First Congregational Minister at Port Phillip, 1838-43", in VHM vol 3, no 3, Mar 1914: 112
government mechanics built de Villiers' house, properly shingled, with glazed windows, painted. A total of one hundred and forty-nine pounds less one farthing was spent on provisions, clothing and equipment for them in the three-month period, and given the pricing structure then in Port Phillip, the large sum expended is a measure of the seriousness of the government's intentions. The estimates for 1839, calculated whilst this Corps was operative, envisaged thirty-five men for 1839, with provision for their maintenance of almost nine hundred pounds.

These 1838 police were armed⁴⁷, a fact which pained George Langhorne who wrote that the blacks said that they would not frequent his mission because he discouraged firearms, adding with a barb addressed probably at de Villiers, that such was their passion for shooting that any person might command the attendance of a number of blacks for months on end, whenever he chose, merely by supplying them with guns and ammunition⁴⁸.

That they were uniformed is attested by the record of the work done by convict tailors in altering the uniforms, but what kind of uniforms they wore is unrecorded⁴⁹.

This Corps was sufficiently advanced in training for it to be accepted publicly as a policing force, and to be engaged in the public service. Its first recorded duty was very minor; oddly enough, considering Thomas' later criticism of the police as a set of drunkards, this early public action was on the other side of the fence. The information is meagre - one sentence of testimony by de Villiers in the Melbourne Court Register: "When I was going to Church yesterday, I saw the prisoner [Johnnie, an Aborigine] drunk in the street and using very bad language. I ordered three of the Native Police to take him to the watch-house"⁵⁰. One wonders whether de Villiers was acting conspicuously against the accusations he had faced the previous year, relative to his own alleged drunkenness and bad language, signalling this time round, a holier than thou stance for himself and his police.

More serious and more professional was the perambulation they made to the Goulburn river, to the sheep station run jointly by William Rutledge and Dr J. Forster. There, on 12 November 1838, a number of Aborigines, said to be at least 400, killed George Mould, an assigned convict servant of Dr Forster's, and carried off half of his body. They also killed about forty sheep and lambs according to the owners, not all for food it seems, as some carcasses were merely mangled and thrown

⁴⁷ HRY, vol 3: 279
⁴⁸ Langhorne to Col Sec, 31 Jan 1839, HRY, vol 2A: 234-5
⁴⁹ HRY, vol 3: 278
⁵⁰ 12 Nov 1838, VPRS 51: 612
about. The accounts read as though the owners were more outraged by what they perceived as the senseless destruction of the animals, than by the killing of the shepherd.  

As the station owners said that the blacks responsible for the killings were still on the river, and could be identified, Lonsdale depatched de Villiers and the police immediately, with orders to endeavour to apprehend the culprits. They travelled by the Sydney road to William Hamilton's station at Pyalong, where they met with an Aboriginal informant of the group which had done the killings; this man was undoubtedly known to them, probably stationed there by the group to watch for and report on, the response of the authorities. This man led them to the groups' usual haunts along the river, without locating the group, and then into barren, miserable stringybark ranges from which the police party had to withdraw for the want of water. The party placed in custody this man who had so misled them, and proceeded to search without success the ranges of the upper Goulburn river. Though unsuccessful in catching up with the group which did the killings, they did discover that the buried half of George Mould's body had been dug up and carried off, presumably by the group who killed him. The police were out in the field three weeks, returning on Thursday 13 December to admit a lack of success regarding their purpose, but bringing back two prisoners, both Aboriginal men, alleged to be implicated in other recent events - the killing of Dr William Bowman's shepherd Thomas Jones in April, and the killing of William Yaldwyn's sheep in June.

The European response at the time to this journey was one of approval and pleasure. The *Port Phillip Gazette* of 15 December 1838, reported to its readers that in de Villiers' view, the police had behaved in a most creditable manner, which was a statement addressed to the interest of its readers in the behaviour and discipline of the men, the unspoken question being the civilising effect of policing. And Rutledge wrote to Lonsdale with gratitude that the mere presence of the black police had done so much good that it had restored the confidence of his men. Lonsdale for his part, observed that they had not accomplished anything beyond tracking the tribe a considerable way along the Goulburn. Perhaps he twigged to their dilemma, that they were marching to two drums. For the people they were tracking were Tonguerong, intimately related to the Warwoorong by bonds of kin and friendship. The Warwoorong and Tonguerong countries were contiguous, the common boundary being the deep-water swamp about five miles north-east of the Plenty river, the logic of the boundary

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51 Forster to Col Sec, 22 Dec 1838, 38/13718 in AO of NSW 4/2471; Lonsdale to Col Sec, 14 Dec 1838, 39/154, ibid; Rutledge to Lonsdale, 18 Nov 1838, HRY vol 2A: 340
52 Lonsdale to Col Sec, 14 Dec 1838, 39/ 154 in AO of NSW, 4/2471
lying in the fact that this swamp was the last waterhole south of the Divide that drained into the Yarra river, all swamps and creeks north of it draining north into the Goulburn river. It has to be asked, though it cannot be answered, whether the police on this journey were careful NOT to catch up with the Tonguerong. Reverend Waterfield took the trouble to interview de Villiers regarding the journey, recording that no-one could be identified, but this it would seem, was but an excuse for public consumption, for ignorant townsmen. If the station owners could identify the men who did the killing as local Aborigines, then it is certain that the police, who were their friends, relatives and neighbours would know who they were. It looks as though in the first testing situation in the field, the Corps of 1838 valued the old loyalties higher than the new, as was the case with the unsuccessful search for Callen and Dundom.

Within a fortnight of the return from the Goulburn, the police made another choice, attesting, we might say, to the triumph of their Aboriginality over their consciousness as policemen. A number of them left Melbourne for the country with all the other Wawoorong, and nearly all the children from the mission school. The dispersion was part of their annual cycle of perambulations around their own country over the months December to February, their habit being to return at the end of summer to Merri creek, for the great gatherings of the confederacy to exchange information, to arrange marriages, and to settle matters of justice by negotiation, exchange, ritual spearing, or individual or group combat. These were times of excitement and tension, with violence never very far from the surface; the Protectors came to dread the end of summer, and the government’s firm policy settled in the 1840’s at preventing the Aborigines at all costs from congregating near Melbourne, a policy which struck at the heart of both tribal identity and confederacy. We are made whom we are, they might have said, by whom we marry and whom we fight. The confederacy of tribes who met annually in Melbourne included the local Wawoorong and Bunerong, the Wadhourong from the Geelong area, the Tonguerong from the Goulburn area, the Wooralim from north of the Goulburn and the Jajoworong from east of the Goulburn.

Missionary Langhorne noted the absence of the police and recorded his usual negative view: though well-clothed and fed, he wrote, and little exertion required from them, the police cannot yet appreciate the advantages they derive from their new employment or value aright the kindness and

53 Thomas Journal, 10 Jul 1841, YPRS 4410, Box 3/70
attention shown to them. Langhorne knew that they had left to fulfill their ritual and ceremonial obligations, he knew when they would be back, and he knew also, because he wrote it himself, that no inducement would prevent them from attending to their obligations, as absenting himself on such occasions would draw upon an Aborigine "the hatred of his tribe and even endanger his life". But Langhorne, who valued highly the material advantages of his own civilisation, was trapped within the boundaries of his own cultural milieu: unlike de Villiers, and later Henry Dana, who both grew to a sympathetic understanding of the heart, who were relativised by their living with the police, Langhorne could not enter into the conflict generated in their consciousness by being men of two cultures, two different worlds.

It looks as though the police stayed away from Melbourne as usual till the end of February. Reverend John Grylls, the Church of England Minister, accompanied Reverend Waterfield on a walk out from Melbourne to the police Headquarters in early January, only to find that nearly every man had forsaken the station - gone away for their health was the explanation given to them by the overseer. Only two police remained in Melbourne, most likely deputed by the rest to remain as intelligence gatherers. This was a strategy repeatedly seen later in relation to the school at Merri creek. To the despair of the teachers, the boys always followed the decisions of the old men regarding the perambulations around the country, but one boy was left behind every time, as a spy on European activities according to Thomas. On 15 January 1839, Lonsdale sent de Villiers with these two police to meet the newly-arrived protector of their tribes, William Thomas, whose initial impression was quite favourable to them, "They looked well, and marched like soldiers, and talk a little English". It seems ironical then, that on the very same day on which someone new to the sight of the police should comment favourably on their professional presentation and style, the man responsible for training them to this professional standard should resign. This time it was for good. In Lonsdale's view, de Villiers had not been so attentive lately to his duties as he ought, so he told him so and a one-line resignation was what Lonsdale received for his frankness.
Whatever may be thought now, regarding Lonsdale's less than diplomatic managerial skills, or de Villiers' touchiness, we must recognise as well, the impossibility of the situation in which de Villiers was placed by the actions of the police. He could not be attentive to his duties when the police were away with their kin in their own countries, doing what they must. Even had he tried to explain to Lonsdale where they were, why they were there, when they would be back, the very fact that they were not at Headquarters was a contradiction of the major military virtues that shaped police training - order, discipline, devotion to duty. Absence without leave had no place in Lonsdale's schema of things; two people at home when there should have been twenty was not good enough.

This second attempt to form a Native Police Corps thus foundered. It stands in marked contrast to the later Corps of 1842, distinguished among other things, by Henry Dana's tolerance for leave for the men for the purposes of hunting, meetings, visits, corroborees, even in some cases for absence without leave. Dana was to be considered by Governor LaTrobe as eccentric in his relativisation, but the friendship between the two men was so strong that Dana's foibles could be tolerated, whereas de Villiers was reprimanded by Lonsdale with predictable consequences.
CHAPTER TWO
DOMESTIC POLICE

The 1839 attempt by the Protectors to embody Aboriginal men as constables bears none of the distinguishing (and in ways, distinguished) marks of the earlier attempts, nor of the later successful Corps of 1842. It was little more than a manipulative ploy to control the internal behaviour of the tribes to whom the Protectors were allocated, a strategy in line with the government policy of the day, which was to get the tribes settled on reservations allocated to them. A sedentary lifestyle was believed to be the fundamental prerequisite to the civilising process. This attempt to establish a policing force possessed none of the idealism, however misguided, of Lonsdale’s plan, none of the tolerance of difference, and none of the understanding, however imperfect. It offered no respect, little sharing of power, and miserable rewards. It comes as no surprise then, that to the men who had been attracted to a higher vision of their part in the new order of things, and who had experienced its largesse, it proved unacceptable.

When Lonsdale forwarded de Villiers’ final resignation to Sydney in January 1839, he enclosed a covering letter stating his intention to try to attach the former police to the Protectors who had just arrived in Melbourne. But when the Chief Protector arrived in Melbourne in March to take up his duties, he found the institution disbanded. In June, he raised the issue of re-establishing it. The men were willing, he wrote, they were strong, able-bodied, acquainted with the duties of police services, accepting of the restraints, familiar with the usages and customs of the white men, and able to speak a little English. He could see problems though, the main one being that to re-establish the Corps on its old footing required a special person, able to speak the men’s language, dedicated, enthusiastic, intelligent and respectable. He thought that if such a person could be found, a Corps of police would be of great advantage to the community, especially in tracking bushrangers and apprehending runaway convicts, but also in checking the predatory attacks of Aboriginal natives beyond the limits of the settled districts. Robinson did not request permission though, to re-establish such a Corps. He floated the alternative idea of each of his four Protectors selecting five men each from the tribes they were protecting, to act as domestic police, exclusively for the internal regulation of

1 Robinson to Col Sec, 12 Jun 1839, 39/10860 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1
their own tribe. To an ambiguous letter, which conflated two distinct models of policing, he received an utterly pragmatic response, "I think we may authorize the continuance of an Establishment not more expensive than what it was under de Villiers, but Mr Robinson must be cautioned against congregating too many blacks in Melbourne". It seems an ill-considered reply, to the extent that it was not really a case of the institution being continued, as the previous institution had lapsed; further, the distance is great, between the idea of domestic police for the purpose of internal social control of an individual tribe, and the former idea of an elite Corps serving the interests of the European order of things. It certainly does not appear from this document that the authorities in Sydney understood this conceptual distance, and in a sense, the stage was thus set from the outset at the highest level of authority, for the uncertainty that followed regarding the type of institution, its aims and its terms of existence. At the local level of authority, the newly arrived La Trobe appreciated the conceptual distance, it is clear, but lacked the background to imagine the possible responses of the men themselves.

Charles Joseph La Trobe arrived in Melbourne in October 1839, to take up his appointment as the first Superintendent of the Port Phillip district, replacing Lonsdale who became Sub-Treasurer. His rank and responsibilities were akin to those of a Lieutenant-Governor but of a lesser order, and his patronage extended only to situations the salary of which did not exceed one hundred pounds. He had no control over the officers in charge of the Military or the Commissariat, only the responsibility of surveillance, but the Commissioners for Crown Lands and the Commandant of the Mounted Police were at his unlimited command.

Within a week of La Trobe's arrival, Robinson raised with him the question of the police. La Trobe begged time to think, doubting the propriety of establishing the Corps on precisely its old footing, but he authorized nevertheless the selection by the Protectors of five men from each of the tribes they were protecting to act as domestic police. Domestic was defined by Robinson as "[for] the exclusive control of their own people." For the men themselves, this was an idea much distanced from the attractions of the 1837 Corps, with its visible sharing in the power structure of European dominance, with all the inherent possibilities for the acquisition as well of greater power within Aboriginal tribal relationships.

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2 Governor's minute, Robinson's letter, op cit.
3 Port Phillip Gazette 2 Oct 1839
4 La Trobe Diary, 10 Oct 1839, VPRS 4, Box 7, 39/188
5 La Trobe to Robinson, 23 Oct 1839, HRV vol 2B: 493
6 Robinson to La Trobe, enc. to 40/7285 in AO of NSW, 4/2510
Robinson had allocated their districts to the Protectors some six months earlier in March, but for a variety of reasons mostly related to their own domestic situations, none of them had actually ventured out into the field till Robinson forced them out in June. They were all married men with large families, and like almost every other European in Port Phillip, they too, had ideas of bettering their station in life in the distant field of endeavour, but in this they were grievously disappointed. To William Thomas, former schoolteacher, Robinson allocated the Westernport or Melbourne district; to Charles Sievwright, former military officer he gave the western district, from Geelong to the South Australian border, still undefined; Edward Parker, married with six sons, trained as a printer but subsequently a schoolteacher, got the Mt Macedon or northwest district, and James Dredge, another schoolteacher received the responsibility for the Goulburn river district7.

When told in November to select five men each from the tribes to act as domestic police, they had little experience of the social structure of the tribes, where power lay, whose will prevailed and how. There is no record of how they explained the new variant of policing to the people, which is a loss to the present, for the Protectors were told to appoint men chosen by acclamation by the people, and who the people chose would have told us a good deal of their understanding of the European intent. It was Robinson's idea, plainly manipulative, that the police be chosen by acclamation, "...the act should appear an Aboriginal act, and thus the people would conform more readily to police instructions"8.

Three Wawoorong men and two Bunerong men were chosen to police the local Melbourne tribes, reflecting with precision the relative numerical strengths of the two groups, one hundred and twenty four Wawoorong, and eighty three Bunerong, according to Thomas' census taken on the same day, 20 November 18399. The men were Pinterginner aged twenty one, Buller-Bullut aged twenty, Tumboco aged eighteen, Tulemlgate aged twenty four and Morabun aged twenty. Thomas said that most, if not all of them had been in the police before, and he nominated Pinterginner as Sergeant, possibly on the basis of prior performance with de Villiers. And though he could not know it, one of them, Tumboco known as Henry, was to become one of the longest serving men of the 1842 Corps. From the Tonguerong at the Goulburn Protectorate station, Dredge submitted the names of Waw-wal about twenty five years old, Yab-be about twenty two, Ya-muth-er-ook also about

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7 Protector's backgrounds - HRV vol 2A: 33-36; their districts - HRV vol 2B: 451-2
8 Robinson to Col Sec, 12 Jun 1839, op cit.
9 VPRS 10, Box 1
twenty two, Billy-boop alias Thormenrin aged twenty and Komingboke of the same age. Within two months, the Tonguerong became dissatisfied with their choice, and asked Dredge to substitute a young man in the room of Billy-boop but he refused, telling them to sort it out among themselves. As Billy-boop at twenty, would be considered himself a young man in European society, this observation is an interesting glimpse at the conceptual distance between Aboriginal and European attitudes to age. After Dredge's resignation in mid 1840, the newly appointed Assistant Protector William Le Souef selected eleven men to act as police, including two who had been part of Dredge's Corps.

From Geelong, Sievwright submitted the names of the following men from the Wadthourong tribe - Doregobel aged forty, Winerdera aged thirty, Din-in-dual aged twenty, Wool-lu aged twenty five, and Billy-gong aged thirty. They appear to be older men, but the appearance may reflect only Sievwright's lack of experience in estimating age, always difficult for Europeans: it is not stated, whether or not he asked the men themselves. At the Lodden river Protectorate for the Jajoworong tribe, Parker was unable to establish communication with the people he was to protect, so he applied for five Wawoorong men from Melbourne to act as his police. Fortunately LaTrobe refused; maybe he had gained some sense of the nature of inter-tribal relationships, maybe Robinson advised him. However it was that he arrived at that decision, it was a prudent one, for the Jajoworong were fierce enemies of their eastern neighbours the Tonguerong, who were in turn united by the strongest bonds of amity with their southern neighbours, the Wawoorong. But the Jajoworong themselves maintained friendly relationships with the Melbourne Wawoorong. Were the Warwoorong to be sent as police to Jajoworong country, to involve themselves in implementing the Protector's will related to internal tribal matters, it could have resulted in a massive shift in power relations, with far-reaching consequences up and down the rivers, the great lines of communication.

There is no evidence of the general instructions and directions given to the police, regarding the ways in which it was expected that the domestic police would function. There is evidence though, of their expectations and aims, and their response to the practical terms of policing - what they

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10 Of Dredge's Goulburn Police, Robinson noted that some were Dangerangs (Tonguerong) and some were Warrillims - Robinson to LaTrobe, 27 Jun 1840, enc with 40/7285 in AO of NSW 4/2510
11 "Return of Native Police at the Central Station, Goulburn Protectorate during November 1840"; there is a similar return for December; both at VPRS 12, unit 1
12 By early 1841, he got his police going, though he never submitted a list of names. Two names only appear in his lists of rations supplied - Wandallagoot and Moorumwolin (VPRS 12, Unit 2)
13 Warwoorong and Bunerong police - Memo Thomas, 20 Nov 1839; Tonguerong police - Dredge to Robinson, 20 Nov 1839; Wadthourong police - Memo Robinson, no date, all in AO of NSW 4/1135.1. Parker's request - LaTrobe to Col Sec, 4 Feb 1840, 40/2215 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1; Substitute for Billy-boop - Dredge Journal, 24 Jan 1840, Box 16, L1SL; Parker's evidence regarding tribal relationships - Report, Feb 1841, in NSW V&P Leg Co 1843: 25
would get. Dredge wrote from the Goulburn that he feared that their principal inducement in becoming policemen was the hope of obtaining musquets (sic) to render them a terror to their enemies. Given the great lines of communication, it is not difficult to appreciate that the acquisition of firearms by any tribe produced the possibility of altering political equilibrium over a wide area of country. Whether any Aboriginal individual or group would use the muskets against other Aborigines is another matter. Dredge recounted in his diary that in January 1840, a Tonguerong messenger named Warrawulk was to be sent out from the Protectorate station to gather in the rest of the tribe. Before Warrawulk left, Yab-be [Billy Hamilton] one of the police, asked Dredge to furnish Warrawulk with powder for his pistol, so that he could shoot any wild blackfellows that he met with on his way. Dredge declined, whereupon Yab-be asked him if he would have any objection to his going to the Mounted Police Barracks at the Old Crossing Place of the Goulburn, to ask the soldiers for some. Dredge told Yab-be to do as he pleased, adding in his diary, that it was surprising to him, the anxiety the natives evinced for arms and ammunition.

It is a familiar theme of the early years of cross-cultural relationships in Port Phillip, attested alike by missionary and settler, by Protectors and administrators - the anxiety of Aboriginal men to obtain firearms. And not just any old cast-offs, but preferably double-barrelled. Becoming a policeman was but one institutionalised way of getting them. Paradoxically, in spite of Yab-be's big talk about killing wild blackfellows, only two instances of Aborigines using guns on each other have been so far discovered in the course of this work; one was the killing by Bon John, a Barrabool man, of a Colac man because Bon John wanted the Colac man's wife, and the other was strictly speaking, probably not a killing, as the gun was fired after the man had been speared in the traditional manner. With the exception of the Native Police Corps of 1842 in the performance of their official duty, killing by shooting was not an option Aborigines elected to use. Whatever the level of violence in tribal society, the level of fatal casualties and serious injury was not escalated proportionately to the increased capacity supplied by European weapons. Whether settling matters of justice by formal fighting, or killing the stranger in their own country, Aboriginal men continued to use traditional weapons: guns were used for hunting and for attacks on Europeans. The meaning of the anxiety to possess guns is therefore not simply a matter of a desire for "improved" technology: it is to do with

14 Dredge Journal, op cit.
15 Dredge Journal, 28 Jan 1840
16 Thomas remarked once that he knew of only one killing by an Aborigine of another Aborigine with gunfire, and that was Bon John's killing of the Colac man.
increased efficiency, but not apparently, increased efficiency in inter-tribal violence. It has something to do with standing in cross-cultural society, and power.

There was murmuring and dissatisfaction from Thomas’ police regarding the other marks of their status, the rations and clothing: they expected that the terms of policing would be as generous as in de Villiers’ time, while the government’s concern was that it be not more expensive. La Trobe was a sensitive and perceptive man, but he had been in office for only a few weeks when this venture was undertaken, and he failed to see the significances to them of their enlistment. To men whose whole past living had been an exemplar in practice of the principal of reciprocity, it was reasonable to expect to see the benefits. But La Trobe decided to delay issuing rations till the new year, in order that the Protectors might observe the conduct of the men, and confirm the appointment. Thomas was quick to protest. He had been issuing rations from his store, he said, from the day of enlistment, the eleventh of November; he had even supplied them occasionally from his own family larder. But if La Trobe proposed that rations were not to be supplied till the new year, then the formal organisation of the police must be put off too until that time17. Dredge’s experience confirmed that of Thomas. He had no means except the supplies, of attaching the men to his service, and he worried lest they be disappointed at the outset, as he might not get another opportunity of winning their confidence18.

In the light of this feedback about Aboriginal feeling, La Trobe capitulated, authorising on the same day as he received the letters that rations could be issued immediately19. Though in his view they were over-generous, and might be reduced, the rations were fixed at the same scale as in de Villiers’ time, pending authorization from Sydney - one and a half pounds of flour, one pound of meat or ten ounces of salt pork, two and a half ounces of sugar, one ounce of tea, a quarter of an ounce of soap and a half an ounce of salt.

The fragments of information that have survived, regarding clothing and equipment, are not really enough to construct a coherent account of the sequence of events. In an early fit of empire building, Robinson envisaged that the Native Police uniform might be incorporated in the pattern of a Protector’s uniform similar to that which he himself wore when conciliating the VDL Aborigines. The Governor did not comment on the suggestion as far as the Aboriginal dress was concerned, remarking

17 Thomas to Robinson, 23 Nov 1839, VPRS 11, Box 7/288
18 Dredge to Robinson, 22 Nov 1839, enc to 40/2215, AO of NSW 4/1135.1
19 La Trobe to Robinson, 23 Nov 1839, HRV vol 2B: 498
only that it might be considered a hardship were the Protectors required to wear a uniform\textsuperscript{20}. There are hints though, of the way the police themselves used the uniform to signify attitudes and feelings. It looks as though Dredge issued jackets to his police on the day on which their names were sent to Robinson, as he noted in his diary for that day that he saw his police in their jackets and they seemed "proud enough"\textsuperscript{21}. The jackets were not designed for the police, being spare artillermen's shell jackets from the Commissariat store in Melbourne. But Thomas did not distribute his jackets, on the contrary, he told his police on the following day that His Honour would not require them to be police till later, and that at this later time, they would be issued with clothing etc. On hearing this, one of them became a little "impertinent", though Thomas does not specify the nature of the said impertinence\textsuperscript{22}. On the same day, the Goulburn police came to him at the encampment at Merri creek asking for their rations, and when refused, became "very insulting and brought me their coats etc"\textsuperscript{23}. Brought me their coats is the significant phrase: this is the first in a sequence of such actions, namely the use of uniforms to make statements about attitudes. The uniform functioned in the obvious way as a signifier of the elevated status of the police, but the men themselves used it in a creative fashion as well, as a signifier of assent given or withdrawn from their social contract.

In January 1840, the Protectors issued the equipment to their police, an assortment of incomplete sets of goods - caps, haversacks, spoons, knives, forks, plates, pannikins, tin dishes, clothes brushes, shoe brushes, mattresses, scissors and surprisingly, cartouche boxes for ammunition. One greatcoat was issued to each group of police, perhaps for the Sergeant. The list shows that a musket was issued to each man, but as Sievwright is known to have refused to issue his police with theirs\textsuperscript{24}, the list is suspect. Parker at the Lodden Protectorate had three musquets, which a later writer interpreted as used more for prestige than anything else\textsuperscript{25}.

Regarding the duties of these police, it was LaTrobe's repeated complaint that he received neither reports nor returns\textsuperscript{26}, but there are a few scattered references in the Protectors' journals to the things they did. They attended Divine Service at the Protectorate stations; they collected the mail for Dredge; at the Lodden protectorate, they fished for the whole station, and went regularly to

\textsuperscript{20} Robinson to Col Sec, 1 Jun 1839, HRV vol 2B: 471
\textsuperscript{21} Dredge Journal, 22 Nov 1839
\textsuperscript{22} Thomas Journal, 23 Nov 1839, HRV vol 2B: 566
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid. Later, they complained as well to Dredge - 13 Apr 1840, VPRS 11, unit 1/32,
\textsuperscript{24} Sievwright to Robinson, 20 May 1840, enc to 40/7285 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1
\textsuperscript{25} Parker Return, VPRS 12, unit 2; Morrison, E. Early Days:19
\textsuperscript{26} LaTrobe to Col Sec, 4 Feb 1840, 40/2215 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1
neighbouring stations for sheep to kill for food; they also drilled daily. The Goulburn police prevented
an extensive robbery of sheep about to be perpetrated by Aborigines in their district.27

One action of one of Thomas' police caused uproar within the tribe. Thomas had been
disturbed night after night throughout November 1839 by noise, fighting, drunkenness, the firing off
of guns into the air, and the arrival of European men at the encampment looking for sex, together with
the arrival of groups of Aborigines foreign to Melbourne who had come to town to see the new
Governor. His journal for the night on which one of his police acted for him conveys some of the
sounds of his distress: "At night another drunken batch of natives come in from Melbourne. A gun is
fired off. I have strict orders to seize all firearms, an order which I fear will cost me my life. My man
did not like to accompany me to the spot and rightly so. I bid him remain, saying one life was quite
enough to be sacrificed. I went but could see no gun, though I smelled the powder where it had gone
off. I returned to my tent, cast down in spirits. I had scarce been five minutes before the piece was
discharged again, and one of the Native Police who was standing by me says 'Marminartar me go and
get it'. He did so, and a great tumult ensued. However I kept the piece, which proved to be a horse
pistol, and about 12 o'clock, when the drunkards were quiet, after committing myself into the hands of
God, laid me down"28. This is one case in which one of the domestic police acted in the interests of
the Protectors in a matter of internal control, and the action caused uproar, but it is likely that in other
cases, the police failed to act as the Protector would have wished. Some internal disturbance probably
lay behind the fact that Thomas was obliged to re-select his police in January 1840, because of
unspecified "improprieties"29. Thomas also enlisted the services of two of his Native Police in looking
for Ningolobin's "slippery wife", a reference apparently to one of the women who chose to live in
Melbourne with a European man.30

There is one outsider's description of policing activity which is very puzzling. The
author was an Englishman on a tour of the colonies in 1839-1840, and his account belongs in that
genre of writing about the foreign savage other about which we have learned to be cautious. This man
though, had an interest in policing as an example of the relativisation of Aboriginal consciousness in
the direction of European values, and he described the activities of Aboriginal policemen both in South

Australia and Port Phillip. He writes as though he was a witness to the events, but the actions he

27 Robinson to LaTrobe, 27 Jun 1840, enc to 40/7285 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1
28 Thomas Journal, 20 Nov 1839, HRV vol 2B: 564-5
29 Thomas to Robinson, 3 Jan 1840, VPRS 11, Box 7/294
30 Thomas Journal, 15 Nov 1839, set 214, item 1, ML.
describes are such a long way from anything otherwise known about the 1839 Native Police that it could be suspected that he was describing the 1837 or 1838 Native Police, except of course, that it must be assumed he knew the dates of his own journey. His account runs as follows, with all his own emphases and parentheses: "...natives marched them [three bushrangers] to the nearest station, requesting that the handcuffs [cuffs] be put on the Big Rogues [as they expressed it] which was done accordingly. These native constables walked them into a police station thus showing a pretty correct knowledge of right and wrong". The author describes too, the apprehension of a runaway by natives; they "stopped the runaway, demanding sight of the dingo, meaning the unicorn in the royal arms of the passport which every convict on leave carries". These men then carried the runaway back to his master. Though outside the stated charter of the internal domestic police, these actions (if they occurred) bespeak a confident and assured reading of the European order of things on the part of the Aboriginal constables, and an effective use of power. If this was policing Aboriginal style, it was no wonder that Europeans liked and approved of the police.

This 1839 institution of police simply faded away, unremarked by the authorities. It was expected to endure - the contracts for supplies for the Colonial Service, advertised in September 1840, included a request for tenders for the supply of the Native Police, and the estimates passed for 1841 by the NSW government included one thousand pounds for the Native Police. There exists as well, a pro forma designed for returns of Aborigines employed as Native Police and attached to the Chief Protectors Office, but no completed returns.

In February 1840, Sievwright in the Western District discontinued issuing rations to his police on the grounds that they refused to accompany him into the bush on his visits to remote territories; in his ignorance, he probably wanted them to take him into the country of their enemies. They, for their part would not go without firearms which he refused to supply. Within the limits of their own country though, he found them useful, active and intelligent.

At the Goulburn, Dredge maintained his five police till his resignation in mid 1840. The new Assistant Protector William Le Souef requested permission to reconstitute a domestic police shortly after taking up his position, and his returns show that eight men were rationed as Native

31 Russell, A. A Tour through the Australian Colonies in 1839. 1840: 184-185
32 Port Phillip Gazette 5 Sep 1840
33 Port Phillip Gazette 19 Sep 18440
34 40/2215 a, in AO of NSW 4/1135.1
35 Sievwright to Robinson, 20 May 1840, enc to 40/7285 AO of NSW 4/1135.1
36 Le Souef to Robinson, 17 Nov 1840, VPRS 11, unit 3
Police in November 1840, eleven in December, and seven in January 1841. Interestingly, Yab-be (Billy Hamilton), Dredge's close friend, was not selected by Le Souef, who was afraid of him, alleging that Billy Hamilton had threatened to kill him.

It looks as though all these men deserted sometime between January and March 1841. An undated note written in Le Souef's hand on the back of another return of this date reads as follows: "The jackets and almost every other article of clothing issued to the police were secured before they were induced to decamp by four of the blacks who escaped from the vessel on the Yarra". This is a reference to an escape by nine Aboriginal men from the little ship Victoria, three miles down the Yarra river en route to Sydney where they were being sent for trial. The Aboriginal prisoners (together with thirteen white prisoners and one white female prisoner) were on the deck, ironed but not handcuffed, and they jumped overboard and swam to safety. Apparently they returned to the Goulburn and persuaded their colleagues not to serve.

Parker at the Loddon supplied returns indicating that two Native Police were rationed, though he received trousers, jackets, shirts, caps, plates and European constable's staves for five. After December 1841, there is no mention of Native Police. Robinson turned his mind to the re-appointment of Native Constables, though he suggested such a move be postponed till reserves of land for permanent homes be settled upon. It was a central police Corps that he now argued for, with a proper Headquarters and a suitable leader.
From Sutherland, A. Victoria and its Metropolis
CHAPTER THREE
DANA'S BLACK POLICE

Two years later, the right leader emerged for the job at precisely the time when the local Melbourne Aborigines gave the clearest possible demonstration to all Europeans, official and citizen alike, of the value to society of their skills. Seven of them, including some who had been in de Villiers' police, and one who had been a Protector's policeman, volunteered their services to help the authorities to capture the five VDL Aborigines who had killed two whalers at Westernport Bay on 6 October 1841. These five Tasmanians, Bob and Jack, Truganinni, Fanny and Matilda, came to Port Phillip with Robinson in 1839, as part of his extended family. After the Government ceased to ration them, he was unable to provide adequately for them, and after a year they took to theft as a means of subsistence. When they killed the two whalers at Westernport, the authorities made a determined effort to capture them. It was not successful though till the seven local men joined the capture party which included in the end, the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Westernport district, F.A. Powlett, with eight of his Border police, Ensign Samuel Rawson and eight privates of the garrison force, at that time the 28th Regiment, as well as Assistant Protector Thomas. The seven local Aborigines distinguished themselves in the pursuit and capture - all accounts agree that without them there would have been no capture; as a reward for their services, they requested each a blanket, shirt, trousers, leather belt with buckle, neck handkerchief, straw hat and a gun. La Trobe authorized the granting of the clothing but refused to give them the guns they wanted. Bob and Jack were tried, found guilty and executed in the first public hanging in Melbourne.

The seven Aboriginal men responsible for the success of the capture party were the following: Warwador known as Lively, Warrengitalong, Perek (Poky Poky), Beruke (Gellibrand) who was the leader of the April 1838 policing expedition to the west, Nunuptune (Billy Langhorne) who had been an 1837 policeman, Buller Bullup (Mr McArthur) who was one of Thomas' domestic police of 1839, and Buckup. All seven men enlisted three months after this success in the newly constituted Corps of 1842. The successful outcome of this search stands in marked contrast to the earlier joint policing ventures - the search for Callen and Dundom who killed Charles Franks and his

1 Thomas to Robinson, 2 Dec 1841, VPRS, 11, box 8/415
2 La Trobe to Col Sec, VPRS, 16, vol 12: 210
shepherd in 1836, and de Villiers' official search for the Tonguerong who killed George Mould at the Goulburn in 1838. There can be no doubt that the earlier searches could have been successful had the Aboriginal participants wished that outcome. In the earlier cases though, the fugitives were insiders, "one of us" to the searchers, linked by the powerful consciousness of kin and tribal affiliation. The VDL Aborigines however were outsiders, unprotected by such consciousness, beyond the boundaries of "us", and in this case, conflict did not arise between loyalty to the searcher's own and the desire to cooperate with the Europeans. That the VDL Aborigines at that time fell outside the category of native, is a telling reminder, by the way, that present national Aboriginal consciousness or identity is an historical product, a positive response still growing, to the European takeover.

From the success of this joint venture, the Native Police Corps of 1842 emerged directly. LaTrobe was called upon subsequently to write a report on the Native Police for the information of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, and in that report he explained that the advantages of employing as police "the more intelligent and tractable natives" were so generally admitted at this time, that he sought an early opportunity for renewing the attempt to set up a formal institution. He might also have added that he was under a fair degree of pressure in Port Phillip to do something constructive about the situation in the country districts where squatters perceived themselves as subject to outrages from bushrangers and Aborigines alike (as opposed to the situation that existed in 1837 when Lonsdale was concerned primarily with runaways). So problematic had the situation become that the Port Phillip Gazette considered it to be one of the three most prominent subjects demanding the legislative interference of the Governor of NSW, the others being a town charter for Melbourne, and upgrading of port facilities. The Gazette's editor argued forcefully for the establishment of a Volunteer Rural Police, a force that could be mobilised immediately upon report of an outrage, could act promptly, and, one suspects fairly importantly, would need to be paid only for action. In the Gazette's view, the forces in Port Phillip at the time, the mounted and border police, were but encumbrances on the revenue, who served no visible purpose but that of checking public clamour. They looked good parading around, but they were useless for preserving the public peace and preventing outrages. In establishing a Native Police Corps, LaTrobe thus managed the rare feat of promising what looked like a better future to everyone - to the men who would become police, to other Aborigines beyond the settled districts who would be conciliated, to squatters who would be

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3 LaTrobe to Gipps, 10 Feb 1843, Governor's Despatches Jan-Apr 1844, reel 669, M.L.
4 Port Phillip Gazette 27 Oct 1841
HENRY E. PULPENY DANA,
Commandant of Native Police, 1846-1852.

From VHM, vol 1, no 3, Sep 1911
protected, and to the NSW government which saw Aboriginal policing as an experiment more likely than other policies to lead to civilising. The irony was that like Lonsdale's vision, LaTrobe's policy worked, though not quite in the manner intended.

The immediate opportunity LaTrobe sought, in order to capitalise on the eagerness and competence of the local men, materialised in the person of Henry Edmund Pulteney Dana.

The Military Officer.

This young man, twenty-five years old at the time, is central to an understanding of the success of the Native Police, not only because he was its mainspring, to use LaTrobe's word, spending himself freely in its service with singleness of purpose, but because "the service suited his natural temper and talents and even ministered to his foibles". It is the nature of Dana's foibles, like de Villiers' eccentricity, that provides the entry into understanding. Both were marginal men, leaving their own native countries, embracing with enthusiasm the foreign and the other, giving to and receiving from their men an affection and loyalty which transcended cultural boundaries. What LaTrobe meant by describing Dana as a man of foibles is a matter of judgement, the criteria being LaTrobe's idea of unremarkable gentlemanly conservatism of the day: deviance can only be understood in relation to the norm. In practice though, Henry Dana was passionate about military uniforms, drill, etiquette and style. He drank and smoked and swore in that mode. He was careless about the demands of the bureaucracy, and unconcerned about fudging the accounts, not for personal gain, but in order to satisfy his men's obligations to provide for their wives and families; he was tolerant of their needs to absent themselves for hunting, for ceremonies, for meetings, and his response to unauthorised LOA was mostly low-keyed. He played the system of bureaucratic patronage most successfully, appointing his brother William Dana as second officer to the Corps, and his brother-in-law William Hamilton Walsh as first officer; he put his personal servant Henry McGregor on the payroll (though that was a good appointment as it turned out); he acquired a situation as a Gold Commissioner for his brother in law Phillip Champion de Crespigny, and he was a referee for his former squatting partner, Robert Savage in obtaining a civil appointment after his squatting attempt failed. He was loyal to his men, defending them fiercely against criticism, and to judge by his written records, with a few exceptions, his men could do no wrong. He claimed that he could hold his men together because of his knowledge

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5 LaTrobe to Pakington, 22 Jan 1853, in Bride, T.F. Letters from Victorian Pioneers, 1983: 441
6 One observer described him as a tremendous swell, whose uniforms were very exaggerated, see Candler-Standish Diary, n.d. Ms 9502: 29, LiSL.
7 And in doing so, dismissed quite unjustly a very good man, Sergeant Peter Roberts Bennett, on a flimsy charge
of who they were, their family and kin networks and their native places, so that if they ran away, they knew that he could, and would, find them. That claim is expressed negatively, in the sense that it sounds like a threat; its obverse side is the quite powerful sense of corporate solidarity that he engendered in his Corps.

His background is interesting, reading on paper like the model of a well-connected English gentleman. But this is deceptive - Henry Dana was not supported by an extensive network of family connections and influence in England. The family had no time depth there - it was an American family. Henry Dana was the second eldest of the seven children of Captain William Pulteney Dana of H.M.18th Dragoons, and his second wife Charlotte Elizabeth nee Bayley, daughter of the Reverend Henry Bayley, Rector of Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, Ireland. His paternal grandfather was the Reverend Edmund Dana, an American born pluralist, the protege of William Pulteney MP who possessed huge estates in America, and whose seat in the British Parliament was Shrewsbury in England. Through his patron, the Reverend Edmund Dana obtained multiple livings in and around Shrewsbury. Henry's his paternal grandmother was the Honourable Helen Kinnaird, daughter of Charles, the sixth Baron Kinnaird. There were thirteen children of this marriage, some of whom died in infancy, while the surviving girls married clergymen, and the surviving boys entered military service. One of Henry Dana's uncles George Kinnaird Dana, rose to be a Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army, and another, Charles Patrick Dana became a Captain in the service of the Honourable East India Company. Henry's father was paymaster to the 6th battalion which garrisoned Ireland at the time. By the time Henry reached manhood, both the uncles who could have helped him to make a start in a military career were dead, and his own father had quarrelled with Sir William Pulteney, from whom it was expected that he would receive an inheritance. Though his aunts were adjudged

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8 WO 25, vol 755, no 64, PRO, Kew, England. It was a second marriage for William Pulteney Dana. His first marriage was to Ann Fitzhugh, an American, who died in America shortly after the birth of their first child Anne in 1804.

9 It is quite clear from documents in the Shropshire County Record Office that Sir William Pulteney spelled his name with an 'e' after 't'. So did William Pulteney Dana, father of Henry and William of the Native Police. It is equally certain that all these Dana males were named after this patron. But neither Henry nor William Junior ever signed their names with the same spelling as their patron or their father. The question then arises - were they ignorant, or mistaken, or did they make a choice?

10 This was not a fighting job: the Garrison Battalions were recruited from pensioners and veterans, and William Pulteney Dana Senior probably obtained this sinecure through the patronage of his own uncle George Kinnaird Dana who was its CO at the time.

11 In 1851, a friend of the American Danas visited Shrewsbury and described Henry's father as "a melancholy spectacle. The grandson of a peer, with the best prospects in life, his indolence, pride and want of principle have reduced him to a low condition. He has been through insolvency, and lives on a small pension from his office in the Army, which I believe, is that of a half-pay Captain. His two eldest sons, Henry Edmund Pulteney and William Augustus Pulteney are officers in the Army in Australia, the oldest commanding all the native forces" (Lucid, Robert F.(ed), The Journal of Richard Henry Dana, Harvard University Press, 1968: 417)
in their youth to be the most elegant women in England, the roses of George the Third's court\(^\text{12}\), their influence, as wives of clergymen, may not have been of much practical help to a young man seeking a military career.

His background establishes him thus as a gentleman, familiar with military talk from his home and his relatives: it does not however, establish him as the trained military officer he was known as in Port Phillip in the 1840's. Historians have believed either that he was trained at Sandhurst for the service of the Honourable East India Company, but tired of waiting for a commission and emigrated to VDL\(^\text{13}\), or that he had some school instruction in military drill\(^\text{14}\), or that he was intended for the Indian Service, but went rather to the staff of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at Dublin, and that he met LaTrobe in London at a farewell to Dana's cousin, Lord Kinnaird\(^\text{15}\). It may be one of the ironies of the Native Police story that the man who shaped the police into a truly professional body was not himself a professional but a gentleman amateur - a young enthusiast who transformed boyish dreams into reality.

His start in his Australian adventure was unpromising. He arrived in Launceston on the Arab out of London on 3 September 1839\(^\text{16}\), aged twenty-two years\(^\text{17}\), and within a week made his way to Hobart, to set about obtaining a position. His first application for a job to the Governor of VDL, Sir John Franklin, was unsuccessful - there were several applicants of longer standing in the colony whose claims received prior consideration. His second application fared no better; it was less than diplomatic, addressed this time to the Colonial Secretary informing him that Franklin had "promised" Dana one of the first vacancies, and requesting appointment to the vacant junior clerkship in the Treasury. Heavy-handedness at least got him a serious hearing, with the benefit to the present of

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12 By the wife of the President of the United States, Mrs John Adams (op cit : 786)
13 Bride, T.F., 1983: 438
14 O'Callaghan, T. Police and Other People: 399, Ms 11682, L.t.S.L.
15 Sadleir, J. The Brothers Dana, newspaper clipping, no date, Box 21/2. L.t.S.L. Sandhurst has no record of him (Deputy Librarian, Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, pers comm); his name does not appear on the lists of cadets for either the civil or military divisions of the Honourable East India Company. The Company took in military cadets from the age of fourteen, and civil cadets from the age of sixteen. His name does not appear for the years 1830-1859 (East India Registers, mt); nor does his name appear on the Shrewsbury School Register, 1798-1898, Caxton Press, Shrewsbury, 1898, though his uncle Charles Patrick Dana is listed (this uncle was a Captain in the HEIC, an infantryman in the Bengal Army, died on ship on a voyage from India to England in 1816). My guess would be that O'Callaghan was correct, (because O'Callaghan obtained information from England for his research for his Ms Police and Other People), and that Dana had some experience and training in school cadets, but at what school and where, I have been unable to discover, in spite of my best efforts in England.
16 Launceston Advertiser, 5 Sep 1839
17 Born 28 Dec 1817, see "Service Record of William Pulteney Dana", WO 25, vol 755, no 64, PRO, Kew. His parents were married at Balinaclough, Nenagh, County Tipperary, Ireland, and the birth of their eldest child Penelope was registered there. All of the births of their subsequent children after Henry are registered in Albrighton, Shrewsbury, where the family settled when Henry's father went on the half-pay list in 1816. Henry's birthplace remains as yet unknown.
allowing us a glimpse of how he was regarded, to be read from the lengthy comments on his original application. The Colonial Secretary noted that Dana was highly recommended to Sir John Franklin, and that the Governor wanted to find him a job. But the Colonial Treasurer did not want him for this job and explained why: "I had an interview with His Excellency this afternoon and explained to him my reasons for not recommending the appointment of Mr Dana. Though I have not the slightest objection to make against Mr Dana personally, and on the contrary cheerfully admit the advantages of having a young man attached to my office who is evidently a thorough gentleman, still he will be for a considerable time of little use as an assistant to me, never having been a clerk before and therefore having no knowledge of accounts or book-keeping. It is true he is young, and I may make him eventually a good clerk and accountant but I have already had to go through the same process before in no less than three instances...". These comments indicate at least that Dana arrived with no hint of shadiness or scandal attached to his name: we may not know the reasons for his migration, but he does not appear to fall into the category of young black sheep despatched to the colonies from disgrace at home.

Following these unsuccessful attempts to obtain a situation in VDL, Henry Dana crossed over to Port Phillip where he took up the run Nangeela on the Glenelg river in the Portland Bay district, in partnership with Robert Savage. Dana was the resident superintendent as well as part-holder of the licence, and he had two other persons resident there with him; there were no buildings and they lived in tents. Nangeela was a small run by the standards of the time - 1000 acres, on which the partners ran 900 sheep, with one acre cultivated for domestic consumption. It is interesting that he is recorded on the original licence as Captain Dana, though there is no hint of military rank in the VDL correspondence; the military title is a Bass Strait acquisition. His stay in the Glenelg river district through 1840 and the first half of 1841 was his introduction to that country and its native owners where his police were to patrol annually every Winter for most of the rest of the

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18 Presumably, though Henry's connections could not get him the job he wanted in England, they did provide him with the introductions so necessary in colonial society. I did not find this letter of introduction, but then all Henry's personal papers were destroyed in a fire at NNW in the 1840's.
19 They consisted of three, but only one referred to Dana personally, the others being internal organisational difficulties.
20 Job applications and comments - CSO 5/212/5285, AO of Tas.
21 Their depasturing licences nos 362, 363, indicate that they took up the run formally on 1 Jan 1840, 4/2549 AO of NSW. John Robertson in Bride, T.F. 1983: 156, says they moved onto it in the second week in 1840. It was sold in the end at sheriff's auction as a going concern with 2500 sheep for two hundred and thirty pounds, which Robertson says was the current price for a dray and a set of working bullocks.
22 C.C.L. Fyans itinerary, 13 Aug 1840, 4/2511, AO of NSW
1840's. There is no record of "outrage" or "collisions" with local Aborigines on this property for this time, though there is later; it was probably the case that this area was not a hot spot for conflict during the time Dana was resident, for, whether by accident or intent, Dana and Savage took up land in the immediate vicinity of one of the Henty brothers, and as Robinson recorded in his journal for 13 June 1840, not only did he not see any Aborigines but there had not been any in the district for some time. The clear implication in Robinson's journal is that the Henty's had frightened them off by savage treatment. At the time he recorded this observation, Robinson was at John Robertson's station Wando Vale, within four miles of Nangeela.

Dana returned to Hobart in September 1841 having given up the idea, it seems, of making his way as a squatter in Port Phillip. In November he applied for the position of Keeper of H.M. Customs at Launceston, and as well, importuned Chief Protector Robinson in Port Phillip for a situation in the Native Police Corps. It is apparent from this letter that there had been prior discussion between them on the subject of the Native Police, "I have been expecting every day to hear from you respecting the Native Police appointment, and as you may fancy, I am very anxious to know if I am to be the person to whom the appointment will be made". Dana went on to state that he had read in Kerr's Almanac of the estimates proposed for the force, but that no names were listed. He concluded his letter thus "I am ready and willing to serve Her Majesty again for the benefit of the unfortunate Aborigines". Where Dana served Her Majesty before, and in what capacity, remains an unsolved problem.

How he managed to convince Robinson to convince in turn LaTrobe to appoint him as Superintendent of the proposed Native Police is simply unknown - there is no written application (though LaTrobe was to write later that Dana made "urgent and repeated applications"), no letter of appointment, only verbal instructions. Dana's starting salary was 100 pounds per annum, the limit for which LaTrobe had power of appointment without reference to Sydney. It was the same salary as de Villiers enjoyed, though it was worth much less as living costs had increased; flour for example, had risen in price from four pounds per ton in de Villiers' time to six to seven pounds per ton in 1842.

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24 Robinson's Journal (ed) Pressland, G. Records of VAS, No 11, Oct 1980: 59-60; John Robertson states in his narrative in Bride, T. F. 1883: 164, that three days before he took up Wando Vale in February 1840, fifty-one Aboriginal males were shot by the Whyte brothers and their party. The wives and children of the men subsequently moved upriver. This would explain the absence of Aborigines from this area.
25 Passenger Arrivals, 119/6, AO of Tas
26 H.E.P. Dana to Robinson, Hobarton, 1 Nov 1841 in Robinson Papers, vol 54 B: 35, ML.
27 LaTrobe to Pakington, 22 Jan 1853, in Bride op cit; Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674
But presumably Dana was so pleased to receive the appointment that he took what was offered, reckoning on future increases.

Recruitment and Enlistment of the 1842 Corps

We have inherited from the nineteenth century a romantic little story of the recruitment of the 1842 Corps of Native Police; it is simple and brief, and it contains the elements of a classic western myth - the venerable savage sits down on a huge gum log to hear the proposition put to him for the benefit of his people by the well-intentioned Europeans. The chief asks for seven days to consider the proposal, and night after night for the seven days he addresses his people; on the seventh day "true to the day" (savages can count!), the chief leads his people to agreement with the Europeans. Thomas wrote the account in 1854, in reply to a request from LaTrobe to furnish information on the Native Police for the history LaTrobe intended to write upon his retirement from the office of Governor of Victoria. It is the product of memory, selected and processed unconsciously in accord with the feelings and attitudes Thomas had developed over the intervening years towards the police. And the memory was faulty: the original request was accompanied by a ruled sheet listing the names of the first recruits, a sheet still bearing Thomas' scribblings and crossings out as he struggled to fill it in. "I cannot remember this man", he wrote against one name. His memory in 1854 does not agree at all well with his contemporaneous journal entries or monthly and quarterly reports, nor does it correspond with Dana's first formal report in which he too describes the recruitment and enrolment procedures. They were neither so simple nor so romantic as Thomas' later recollections represented.

The Waworong and Bunerong tribes had jointly selected Nerre Nerre Warren as the site for their Westernport protectorate head station, the same place that de Villiers police of 1837 had selected. Robinson and La Trobe approved their choice, and Thomas moved there in the first week of October 1840, with as many of the two tribes as he could induce to accompany him. They shifted from Melbourne on the understanding that they would receive rations from the government, but once settled, discovered that Thomas expected them to work as well for their means of subsistence. His dream, in line with the government's aim, envisaged a people gradually being led to discover for themselves the virtues of a "civilised" life - an order, routine and discipline organised around the

28 Campbell to Thomas, 3 Apr 1854, Thomas Papers, uncat Ms 1854-1858, set 214, item 14, ML
29 "Nerre Nerre Warren is the spot originally occupied by Mr de Villiers and the Native Police", Robinson to La Trobe, 15 Sep 1840, enc to 40/10672, AO of NSW 4/2511; selection by joint Warwoorang/Bunerong meeting, 2 Sep 1840, Thomas Journal 1839-1844, set 214, item 1, ML, and Thomas' Journal 1840-1843, set 214, item 2, ML; approval by Robinson - VPRS 11, Box 8/416; approval by La Trobe - VPRS 10, unit 2.
30 Thomas to Robinson, 8 Sep 1840, VPRS 11, Box 7/326
imperatives of stock and land production; it was akin to the life of a European peasant, ploughing, sowing, harvesting in season, rearing animals, eating the products of their labour, and on the Sabbath, learning the scriptures and attending divine service. The children would attend school, and there was a hospital planned for the sick, and all the people’s needs would be taken care of in the village centred on the Protector’s residence. Above all, they would not need to go to Melbourne, the source of all evil according to Thomas. While they in turn were a source of annoyance to conservative Europeans with their begging, their drinking, their inappropriate use of European clothing, their nightly brawls in camp punctuated by the firing of guns in the air, and their innumerable dogs (at one meeting at Merri creek there were an estimated 300 people and 700 dogs).

The people co-operated up to a point in the reordering of their lives. Thomas was called upon to furnish a progress report after a year, and the new overseer George Bertram reported as well on the state of the station on his arrival in January 1842. In a little over twelve months, the people had accomplished a good deal of work: a paddock of nine to ten acres had been fenced, cleared and grubbed, and two and a half acres sown to wheat, the remainder ploughed for potatoes. Five huts had been built of split logs, with wattle-bark roofs, one each for the Protector, the schoolmaster, the overseer, one for the three convicted men working as labourers, and one for the tools and stores. Most of this labour had been done by the people, as one of the convicts acted as a personal attendant to Thomas, and one was more or less constantly employed working the bullocks bringing supplies up from Melbourne. The people had accomplished much.

They refused though, to work endlessly six days a week, month in month out, clinging rather to the old pattern of seasonal movement around their countries from one favoured location to another; and what is perhaps more important still, the men did not like the work, regarding agricultural work as women’s work and therefore degrading. Thomas was helpless in the face of their refusal to stay permanently at Nerre Nerre Warren and sought direction from Robinson as to whether he should stay at the Protectorate head station with no-one home to protect, or follow the people in their migrations, which now included a season in Melbourne. The paradoxical situation had arisen then, that though the government had designated Nerre Nerre Warren as “home”, the people refused to live at “home” permanently, because they preferred their own vision of the good life, where home was a

31 Bertram to Robinson, 3 Jan 1842, VPRS 11, Box 8/420. Note also, Thomas’ own report in answer to eight questions regarding the history of the station at Nerre Nerre Warren, in Thomas to Robinson, 14 Dec 1841, VPRS 11, Box 8/416
series of familiar places visited in an orderly annual cycle. In home, were the roots of their identity as person and as a member of a group; to home, they had sacred obligations; at home, they taught the children, and grew them up to full personhood. Home was now partly destroyed in that it was built over, fenced in, trampled out of recognition by hundreds of thousands of intruding animals, but the people could not be kept from home by the lure of a European "home". Especially as the European "home" situation demanded labour for subsistence rations as well as permanent residence. At Nerre Nerre Warren, the children, the sick and the elderly were rationed, while everyone else worked for their food, except on the Sabbath when everyone was fed in return for attending divine service.

It was into this uneasy and unresolved struggle for the terms of existence that Robinson and Dana rode on 24 January 1842 bearing a proposal for yet another kind of living - policing as a way of life. On that day, there were only forty-eight persons resident out of a combined Warwoorong and Bunerong population of perhaps 200. Robinson introduced Dana as the military officer and outlined the plans for establishing a Corps of police: he emphasised the benefits to be gained, but we cannot know exactly what he offered, because Thomas reduced the attractions in his journal to "kits etc.". Dana selected eight men, and messengers were sent out to gather in the rest of the two tribes. There was no work done over the ensuing few days, Thomas wrote, as "all the blacks are agog to be policemen". The selected men received rations immediately, and two of them commenced duty straight away as escort to the station overseer who left for Melbourne to collect more convict labourers to build barracks. Everyone was inquisitive, Thomas said, to know what advantages the police were to receive, what kind of uniforms and so on, and the police themselves "began to feel a distinction between themselves and others". The process had begun already, of separation, and though the men themselves may not have articulated it in the language of contemporary science, from now on they would be increasingly, men of dual consciousness, with divided claims on their loyalty. Lonsdale's earlier hopes that de Villiers' police would come to feel a superiority over other Aborigines were beginning to be translated into concrete reality, though it was a few years later, and they were Dana's police now.

Dana remained for the best part of a month at Nerre Nerre Warran, getting to know the people, assessing and selecting his men: he drew rations for individuals immediately they were selected - one and a half pounds of beef daily, plus one pound of flour, one and a half ounces of

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33 Thomas Journal, 29 Jan-1 Feb 1842, Reel 732, item5 (e), ML.
34 Ibid.
sugar, two ounces of tea and a quarter of an ounce of soap; he attended divine service with them in a body, and was much struck by their attention; and he solved the thorny problem of the Sabbath flour. Over this month of January-February, most of the young men, some of the young women and all the schoolboys refused to attend divine service, on the grounds that the Sabbath flour was "no good"; only the police attended, together with some of the old men and old women and the young children. A small treatise could be written on flour in Port Phillip at this time, examining the various qualities of flour, the entitlements of different categories of people within the government rationing system to each specific grade of flour, the procedures for testing flour, the regulations for condemning flour, the storage and transport conditions and the kinds of flour pollution and damage. To a population of government employees from LaTrobe down, the army, the settlers, the convicts and the Aborigines rationed by the government, flour was important. Thomas did not specify in which way this particular Sabbath flour was no good, but faced with a refusal to attend divine service and the threat of a walkout to Melbourne by the young men, Dana expostulated with them, and settled by giving them the rations for the previous day. This means, presumably, that on the previous day not everyone worked, and therefore the books could be adjusted by distributing on Sunday what could have been used up on Saturday. It was the first of many such subterfuges Dana was to employ in juggling the claims of moral justice with fiscal accountability. He and Thomas then solemnly constituted themselves as a Board of Enquiry into the quality of the Sabbath flour, pronounced it of bad quality and unfit for use, and sent off a report to the Chief Protector.

Not till LaTrobe sent the uniforms up from Melbourne was any move made to formalise the enrolment of the police - it was by the things that they received that they were marked out from other men. The uniforms arrived in the third week in February, for each man a pair of blankets, a pair of trousers, one blue frock for his wife, one blue shirt, one Police jacket, one Police belt and one Police cap; it was a selection of European clothing very similar to that which the seven men requested and received as a reward for capturing the VDL Aborigines. Dana distributed the clothing on 23 February and next day solemnised the enrolment with a formal swearing in ceremony.

The men were lined up, dressed in their new uniforms, to listen to an address from Dana, Thomas interpreting his words to the men in their own languages. Though Thomas' and Dana's accounts do not mention an audience, it is difficult to imagine that the rest of the people, who had displayed such inquisitiveness about the terms of policing, were not present, especially as Thomas
recorded that the formalities occupied "some hours" and were conducted with "much form". Dana explained to the men his source of authority, outlined his intentions for the Corps and his expectations of them as individual members, and listed the benefits they would receive in return. He spelled out the consequences of their breaking their agreement, and cautioned them only to enter into the contract if they wished, and not to do so if they could not consent to be "like a policeman". They were also told that where their Captain resided, they must reside unless ordered upon some duty, that one white man at least would accompany them with instructions from their captain, and that they were to obey him as though it was their captain. This was said generally to the whole group assembled, then separately to each individual. After the talking, each man was individually sworn in and asked to make his mark on the muster roll, in the presence of witnesses, and here a slight hiccup occurred in the proceedings.

Billibolary hesitated. Thomas quoted him as saying "I am King; I no ride on horseback; I no go out of my country; young men go as you say, not me". He was indeed, a Warwoorong chief, and whether his hesitation emerged from the gravity of the step he was about to take with his men, or his own individual position, or whether they related to making public again his mark, cannot now be known.

Billibolary, it will be recalled, had made his mark once before on a European document, Batman's land treaty: Bonwick quoted Wedge's original description of Billibolary's signature of the land treaty with Batman, noting how Billibolary cut a notch in the bark of a tree with his mark, attaching the bark to the piece of paper, the mark being a signature of his tribe and country. Bonwick said that the idea of making a treaty with naked savages has been treated as a capital joke, but in his view, they well knew the nature of the instrument they were called upon to sign. They knew about boundaries, he said, the preservation of the soil and the reception of a material equivalent.

Whatever the cause of his hesitation, Billibolary overcame it, spoke to his men and made his mark, whereupon each man made his mark in turn. It was customary at the time, for European illiterates to make their mark with a cross, and later paylists demonstrate that the police too, made their mark with a cross, but whether they made a cross on enlistment, as distinct from the tribal mark which Billibolary made on Batman's document, was not recorded.

35 Thomas Report, 11 Mar 1842, CSIL no 11, 42/5108, Dixson Library
36 Thomas Journal, 24 Feb 1842, op cit, and Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, op cit
37 This was to cause difficulties later - as things turned out, they could not or would not transfer loyalties and obedience to outsiders, persons of rank to whom they were seconded such as CCL's.
38 Bride, T.F. 1983: 404
39 Bonwick, J. Discovery and Settlement of Port Phillip. 1856: 47
Thomas and Dana both put on record their confident expectations that the Corps just enrolled would be a success, Thomas noting particularly that kindness to the men needed the balance of determination on the part of their leader and proper management, and Dana, that the men needed proper clothing and equipment, as well as horses, and if these were supplied by the authorities, they would become a most useful body of men, equal to any task asked of them by the authorities.  

Next day, problems emerged, not with the police, but with some of the others of the group who were excluded from the advantages of being a policeman. Derrimut arrived with a group of Bunerong and complained immediately, "The police only walk, and get plenty to eat and good clothes". His dissatisfaction and envy were repeated by others, Koogra for example, who phrased his complaint only slightly differently "The police did no work, and got plenty of clothes". What is at stake here is the definition of work, because in fact the police were working according to European thinking, drilling twice daily. Whether the police thought of this as work is not recorded, but obviously other Aboriginal males failed to perceive it as work - it was only walking in good clothes. They had walked all their lives, but walking then, and drilling now, were in a different category it seems, to the kind of work that Thomas demanded, and the rewards for walking as opposed to working, were greater. It is reasonable to conclude that policing was seen even at this early stage as an attractive mode of getting a living, and it became far more desirable a state as time passed, and Dana was able to persuade the government to equip the police with proper military uniforms, as well as mount them and arm them. And when the rhythm of the annual policing cycle was established, it corresponded to a marked degree with the good life as they preferred to lead it.

LaTrobe visited the station in early March and was "on the whole" satisfied, according to Thomas; the men looked presentable (the wives were becoming more skilled each week in laundering the uniforms, said Thomas), but the children appeared dirty to the fastidious LaTrobe. He was disappointed too, that the building programme was behind schedule, and left instructions that the hospital was to receive priority over shelter for the convict labourers. Dana accompanied him back to Melbourne, and three of the police, Warrengitolong, Buller Bullup and Lively, all Westernport Bunerong, could not be found that evening when the muster was rolled. Thomas was quick to cry desertion, though the other police assured him that the absent ones would soon be back. They were all good men, Thomas acknowledged, men who had been most dextrous in the capture of the VDL.

40 Thomas op cit; Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674
Aborigines, but Dana returned with instructions to limit the Corps to twenty men, and on that ground refused to take them back into the Corps. He was obliged to make an exception however for Benbow, headman of a Bunerong group, who was enrolled after the others, apparently too important a man to keep out. The total number of men then after a month was twenty-two. Though they could not have foreseen their future - no novice entering on a new way of life ever can, the multiple meanings are discovered in the very processes of living as a group - they possessed a considerable amount of experience of European notions of order, reciprocity, justice, and the procedures of law enforcement. The full recovered details of their lives are to be found in Appendix D Their names are as follows:-

Billibolary, Warwoorong headman, known as Jacky Jacky; his cousin Murrem Murrem Bean [Mr Hill, headman of the Kurnang-willam at Bacchus Marsh, who had been gaol ed in Melbourne and Sydney for his part in the sheep-killing expedition of April 1838; Billibolary’s son Culpendure known as Robin; Billibolary’s nephew Yeaptune, a Tonguerong from the Goulburn area whose parents had been killed in an early conflict with overlanders and who had been sent to live with his aunt, Billibolary’s wife; Perpine [Mr McNoel] and Pereuk [Poky Poky] who had assisted in the VDL capture, both Westernport men; Nangollilobel, known as John Bull or Captain Turnbull, the leader of the Konugwillam section of the Warwoorong, in the Mt Macedon area; Tomboko [Henry] a young man from the same section; Nerimbineck, also of this section, brother to Windberry who was shot by the Army in 1840; Nunuptune [Billy Langhorne] again from this section, a man who had been one of de Villiers police, a member of the 1838 expedition, and a member of the VDL capture party; Polligary [Tommy]; Waverong [Mr Murray] one of another powerful section of the Warwoorong whose country embraced the upper Yarra where the Ryrie brothers squatted; Yanki Yanki, a Westernport man who had been captured by sealers in the early 1830’s, taken to Preservation Island in Bass Strait, from where he escaped to Launceston, took passage to the Swan river in Western Australia, worked there, then returned to Port Phillip via Adelaide; Munmungina [Dr Bailey]; Beruke, [Gellibrand] leader of the 1838 expedition, a man very visible in European society, one who cultivated Europeans; Giberuke, another Goulburn man who was living with the Warwoorong in Melbourne when the Protectors arrived in 1839; Boro Boro, known as George or Mr Walpole, and Curra Curra, [Davy] and Buckup were all Bunerong men, as was Talliorang [Mr King], while Yammabook, known as Hawks’eye or Charley, belonged to the Marinbulluk section of the Wawoorong.

Dana described them as all young and influential. He was correct in his assessment of their combined influence, but his judgement of young is a relative one based on looks, suspect
because most Europeans overestimated the ages of Aborigines, children and adults alike. From Dana’s report a year later, after he had got to know them, and acquired accurate information for the purposes of a return, it can be seen that fourteen of the police were aged twenty-five or older, only three of them being under twenty: ten were married men with children41.

The Corps remained at Nerre Nerre Warren till the end of March 1842, by which time Dandenong creek had run dry, resulting in a scarcity of water. With LaTrobe’s permission, Dana marched the men to Melbourne in easy stages and set up camp opposite the surveyor’s paddock.

For the events of the years that followed, for the mode of functioning in the field, for the routine policing duties and for the public ceremonial events, there is ample information in the surviving records. To gain some idea of the annual pattern and style of living, we must rely on the one surviving daybook which covers the years 1845 to 1853. By this time the Corps had moved back permanently to Nerre Nerre Warran, overcoming the problem of the annual Summer shortage of water by damming Dandenong creek each year. The daybook was kept in the duty room or orderly room, surviving thus the fire in Dana’s quarters in August 1847 which destroyed his furniture and personal papers. It is from this one surviving source that the following account is constructed42.

The annual living cycle

Hungry Aboriginal groups on the margins of European occupation - in the Portland Bay district, the Wimmera, the mountainous Upper Murray district and Gippsland - determined the fundamental structure of the annual cycle of police life43. In Winter, the groups on the margins tended to satisfy their hunger by killing European stock; in Winter, the two Divisions of Native Police moved out into the field, to station themselves on the perimeters of the settled districts, not as Divisions of twenty, but in very small groups of two or three men, quartered at the stations of respectable squatters, usually magistrates, their very presence constituting a deterrent to Aboriginal depredations. At its largest, the Corps in the mid-fourties consisted of three Divisions, the first and second Divisions each with about twenty men, and the third comprised of recruits and older men. Every year, the two duty Divisions went out in May/June, and returned to Headquarters in October/November.

41 Dana Return for 1842 in NSW Leg. Co. V&P 1844
42 Dandenong Daybook. VPRS 90
43 The seasonality factor is part of the language of reports and orders to and from LaTrobe, and of settlers letters and CCL’s reports: "The winter is upon us and we must expect outrages" or something similar is an annual preamble to LaTrobe’s instructions in late autumn or Dana’s request for instructions, see as examples LaTrobe to Col Sec, 25 May 1844, "We must expect such attacks during the coming winter", 44/4125 in AO of NSW 4/2666, and Dana to LaTrobe, 24 Oct 1844, "The district is now perfectly free from outrages...fine weather set in...now plenty of food...in all parts...do not anticipate any further trouble", VPRS 19, Box 64, 44/1876.
Homecomings

The exuberances of the first return from the field to Melbourne, following the experimental expedition to the Portland Bay district in the Winter of 1842 are probably atypical, in that they were a reaction to the fear, anxiety and scepticism on the part of all concerned to the extraordinary nature of the experiment. The tension surrounding their earlier departure from Melbourne in August can be felt even now, through the documents - would they hold together outside their own country?, could they pass safely through foreign country?, how would they respond under attack should the occasion arise?, - these were the European questions. That the men and their relatives had their own questions can be seen from the ecstatic response to the men's return, but what they were specifically can only be imagined; they would have centred though on the danger to the lives of Warwoorong and Bunerong men travelling through country foreign to them without the facility of kin network and without the protection of the status of messenger. Nine troopers accompanied the Commandant but there were only four horses, so four rode and five walked, averaging fifteen to twenty miles a day, good going by the standards of the day which reckoned on a horse covering about twenty miles in a days march. The mounted men were Buckup on Punch, Nerrimbinuck on Buffalo, Gellibrand on Frenchman, and Yupton on Mousey; those who walked were Moonee Moonee, Polligerry, Yamaboke, Giberuke, and Redmond.

The description of the return was penned by an eyewitness, Dr W. H. Baylie, the medical officer to the Goulburn Protectorate, and published in the Port Phillip Magazine in January 1843; his purpose in writing was to rebut the opinion then afloat that the Aborigines of this country were not fully human, and he cited the evidence of the emotional return of the Native Police to make his point that Aborigines are moved by the same emotions as civilised men. His purpose then, is of interest mainly to the historian of ideas, but his evidence stands as a witness to the experience of the police and their families: "Honourable mention has been made in the public journals, and can be well authenticated, of the conduct of those forming the Aboriginal police, their courageous and forbearing conduct on many trying occasions, their submission to strict discipline, their attachment to their officers and their willingness at all times to risk their lives in their defence... The prejudicial opinions of many would have been shaken had they witnessed the moving scene on the occasion of a party.

44 Dana Diary, in O'Callaghan, T. Police and Other People, Ms 1921, LSL. The original of this diary is missing, but O'Callaghan wrote in his manuscript that he had it before him as he wrote. He copied large slabs of it, placing the copied material in inverted commas, and describing what he elected to leave out (very little apparently). It can only be hoped that he copied accurately, and selected prudently. His criteria of selection appears to be professional duties. He certainly admired the Native Police.
45 Baylie was described as the only intelligent man in the Protectorate (M'Combie, T. The Colonist in Australia, 1850: 233)
returning after an absence of some months on duty, fathers and mothers were to be seen embracing their sons, their heads resting on the bosoms of those they loved so tenderly, and tears of joy flowing; young men hand in hand, tears glistening in their eyes, with choked utterance gazing on each other; the plaintive wail of welcome and the general appearance of dispassioned interest, show them to possess the warmest feelings of humanity and presented a scene which would not have dis honoured the most civilised and enlightened community. Baylie's style and language may belong in the romantic genre, but that their relatives were glad and relieved to see the police home safely, there can be no doubt.

It may be supposed that after this initial expedition and safe return, the annual repetitions were not so dramatic; once the men came back safely, the anxiety and fear of the unknown could not be sustained at such a high level, and in fact, the account penned by Thomas of the return in 1843 from the Winter expedition, stands in marked contrast. This time, "there was only a little crying with the lubras", while the men themselves were in high spirits, boasting of their exploits, listing man by man the number of wild blacks killed [seventeen on their count], quoting the Commandant as threatening to handcuff them and return them to Melbourne if they did not shoot. Dana was called on by LaTrobe to explain, and wrote that in his view, the men most probably told Thomas incredulous tales for the purpose of laughing at him. There is truth in both versions, examined later, but Thomas' account tells us now that the men were confident, unafraid of what had been so stressful a year earlier.

The evidence cited above relates to the homecomings to Merri creek from the Winter Expeditions of 1842 and 1843; in 1844, the Protectorate station was handed over to the Native Police as their permanent Headquarters, and there is evidence to suggest that the police might have made it their business to call at Merri creek immediately on their return each year to Melbourne, to check on their relatives. It is not the kind of activity that would be incorporated into the European record, unless problems resulted from it. In 1846, there was such a problem - a complaint from the schoolmaster, that Gellibrand had called at Merri creek on the way back from Portland Bay to Nerre Nerre Warren, and

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46 Wilmot [ed], The Port Phillip Magazine, Jan 1843, vol 1: 41
47 Thomas Journal, Friday 3 Nov 1843, set 214, item 3, ML. See also the evidence for the departure of Sergeant Bennett and six men for Gippsland in the late 1843. The group set off with CCL TYers with "not a whimper from the lubras on this occasion, only shaking of hands all round which shows their increased confidence (Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep-1 Dec 1843, VPRS 4410, unit 3/78)
48 In Chapter 6
49 Thomas Journal, 11 Nov 1843, set 214, item 3, ML; Dana's explanation - Dana to LaTrobe, 4 Jan 1844, enc to LaTrobe to Col Sec, 2 May 1845, VPRS 19, Box 70, 45/796
enticed some of the school children away. As LaTrobe always did when there was a complaint about the Native Police, he informed the Commandant of the substance of the complaint, and requested an explanation. Dana wrote in return that he had questioned Gellibrand, who denied the charge, stating that he was at Merri creek for only a few minutes. Dana supported Gellibrand's denial, with a description of the sequence of events that neatly evades the substance of the charge, as if Gellibrand could not entice the children away in only a few minutes. Dana said that the police only arrived back from Portland Bay late on Saturday night, that they slept at the Mounted Police paddock at Richmond, and by ten o'clock on the Sunday morning they were on duty again with him at the South Yarra Pound, ready to depart on a search for a child lost in the bush. He acknowledged that there were now children at Nerre Nerre Warren who had left the school, but quoted them as saying that they did not belong to the school, and he refused to allow Gellibrand to be blamed for enticing them away. Gellibrand did entice the children away, whether Dana knew it or not, but for now, it is noted merely that the first thing the police did on return to Melbourne was to make contact with their kin at Merri creek.

There exists a description of the police encampment at Merri creek, as it was during the period March 1842 to 1844, when the Corps was stationed there. It was penned by Charles Baker who thought the police were the drollest set of recruits he had ever seen, but nevertheless left us the only record of how the camp was laid out. Baker described Merri creek as a military encampment, with about fifty wigwams disposed in proper cantonment line, a man and his family in each. At the head of the line was the commanding officer's quarters, consisting of a small tent. Baker wrote that that the men were listless and inactive when his party arrived but were galvanised into bristling curiosity to see who the party was and what they wanted. He noted that many of the men recognised the leader of his party and came up laughing to enquire how he was, and enjoy a little gossip. Baker thought them all well-made men, sturdy and muscular, but he ridiculed their complaint about the effects on their skin of military clothing. "Cantonment line" refers not to one straight line of shelters, but a number of straight parallel lines, with Dana's tent at the head. This layout is quite contrary to the formal pattern of traditional living, which dictated that each man align his dwelling in accordance with his social relationship with every other man and group in the same encampment. It is a valuable observation,

50 Discussed in Chapter 4
52 Thomas' diagrammatic representation of this arrangement is to be seen in Bride, T.F. 1983: 433
indicating an acceptance of military discipline that over-ruled hitherto important norms about the construction of social space.

**Getting back into shape**

At Headquarters, the anticipated return of the Divisions from the field produced a flurry of activity (though it has to be deduced from the laconic, one-line entries from the Daybook): "Sergeant McGregor and men preparing quarters for 1st and 2nd Division, daily expected" [19 Nov 1847]; "Second Division returned" [20 Nov 1847] ; "Mr Walsh and 1st Division returned from Gippsland" [28 Nov 1847]. The first task was to clean and repair all clothing and accoutrements [16 Nov 1848], and the next was to inspect them [26 Oct 1846]. Saddles were sent down to Melbourne to be repaired [28 Nov 1845]; a blacksmith travelled up to Nerre Nerre Warren to shoe the horses [7 Dec 1847]. Condemned arms were turned in at the Commissariat store in Melbourne [12 Nov 1846], and replacements issued [14 Nov 1846]. Then followed a period of intense drill, foot and mounted, morning and afternoon, interspersed with full parades, more cleaning, more drill, more inspections, more parades [27 Oct - 3 Nov 1846]. "All possible attention paid to the men in order to have them in a fit state for a general inspection which is to take place on the 18th of the present month [14 Dec 1847]. Nothing seems to change throughout the world, throughout time, in the case of an enforcement body which returns to Headquarters after a seasonal campaign. The parades were more than just routine training, bringing the men up to scratch again, and preparing them for display. Parades, especially the Sunday parades immediately following the return of the Divisions from the field, provided the opportunity for formal communication with the men. Standing Orders were read, and strict injunctions given regarding the necessity of obedience to Standing Orders [5 Dec 1847]. Parades provided the occasion for the Commandant to compliment the men on their good service, as for example, on 16 Nov 1846, when he paraded the men, inspected them, and informed them of the good opinion expressed towards them by the settlers in the neighbourhood of Port Fairy; parades were rehearsals too, for the grand public reviews that took place annually in Melbourne in December, when LaTrobe reviewed the full Corps before an audience comprised of the government administrators and Melbourne society. Parades too, were used as part of the ritualisation of the business of paying the men, as for example on 27 November 1845, "General Muster. Commandant presented natives with money from His Excellency for good conduct". They functioned as well, as part of the process of socialisation of the new recruits that the Divisions usually brought back with them from the country in which they had been stationed [23 Oct 1846].
Christmas and New Year were probably celebrated in traditional European fashion, though the record of the Daybook conceals rather reveals. At first glance, it seems that these festivals were non-events for the police - for most of the years 1845-1852, the day is unmarked, there being either no entry at all, or merely the routine entry "Commandant and Messers Dana and Walsh and all hands on the station", i.e. Henry Dana and his brother William, and their brother-in-law William Hamilton Walsh. It may be suspected that such entries are deliberately written blandly, that their innocence misleads. Henry Dana was an Anglican. He conducted Divine Service for the men on every Sunday on which he was on the station; he took his bride nee Sophia Walsh, to live at H.Q.\(^3\); his four children were born at Nerre Nerre Warren - a girl, name unknown, on 3 October 1845\(^4\), followed by Charlotte Elizabeth Kinnaird Dana, born 18 March 1848, then George Jamieson Kinnaird Dana, born 18 July 1849, the youngest child being Augustus Pultney Dana, who was born on 1 March 1851\(^5\). It is impossible to doubt that this extended English family would have celebrated Christmas, and almost as difficult to credit that the men would not have participated. There is one telling entry for this period, the only entry other than the form entries referred to above, which suggests that the men did have merry Christmases: it reads thus "Commandant and Messers Dana and Walsh and all hands on station. Troopers Munite and Charley in confinement for creating a disturbance and imbibing rum\(^6\)[25 Dec 1847]. The Daybook entries for New Year are equally innocuous, except for 1848, when the entry for 1 January reads "All hands most melancholy at their quarters". Melancholy may simply mean sad and/or depressed, but it is more likely that it means hung-over.

Each year around this time, Dandenong creek was dammed to secure the water supply for the late Summer and Autumn. All hands were required for this work which involved felling trees, dragging them by bullock-team to the creek and constructing a breakwater [17 Dec 1845, 31 Dec 1846, 7 Jan 1847]. Every year when the rains came, Dandenong creek broke its banks, flooding the river flats and carrying away the bridges across it so that the station was cut off from the road to Melbourne, access during floods being via the main bridge at Dandenong and into the station via the back way, through the present Churchill National Park.

Leave was granted over these months to those who applied, usually three or four days to local men such as Bearack and Calcallo [7 Jan 1847], but longer for the men whose country was

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\(^3\) He married Sophia Walsh on 8 Feb 1844, Records of St James Old Cathedral; they moved to Nerre Nerre Warren on Apr 1845 (VPRS 90).

\(^4\) Port Phillip Gazette, 9 Oct 1845

\(^5\) The children's birth dates are given in the Baptismal Records of St James Old Cathedral.
more distant. Barney, a Geelong man, was given ten days leave of absence to go to Geelong [25 Apr 1847], and Yupton and Bering whose country was the Goulburn river area, were given a furlough of unspecified length rather than a two or three day pass when they went home [15 Jan 1849]. Leave was granted to whole groups of men over the Summer to go to Merri creek for coroborees [23 and 25 Mar 1845], and leave was granted to a whole Division just back from the field to attend the Melbourne races on 6 Apr 1847.

These were the highlights of life at Headquarters; the routine day to day work, apart from military training, was to do with building up the station, erecting buildings, clearing paddocks, fencing, catching stray horses, cleaning the stockyard and the parade ground, cutting firewood, fetching water, ploughing and planting oats for feed for the horses, cutting and reaping oats, digging the Commandant's garden, sowing vegetables, watering and gathering them, constructing drains, branding cattle. Dana wrote once that the duties of the Native Police were constant and never-ending, especially during the winter months56; he might have said the same of the duties at Headquarters. In between the mundane work of building up the station, the routine military training, and the Winter excursions, there were all the other tasks required by LaTrobe of his main policing force - carrying despatches, acting as orderlies, searching for Europeans lost in the bush, escorting distinguished Europeans, firefighting, chasing bushrangers, providing the pomp and circumstance for formal events in the social life of Melbourne, guarding shipwrecks from plunder and searching for survivors and so on.

By late autumn, Dana knew where LaTrobe intended to deploy the police for the forthcoming Winter, and the business began of readying the men for duty in the field. New clothing was issued, new horses were purchased, new arms were distributed, accoutrements were checked. Drill was intensified, the men were inspected by LaTrobe, and the two Divisions moved out from Headquarters in the late Autumn or early Winter, one to Gippsland and one to the Western District or Wimmera or Murray District to take up their stations.

Headquarters Routines-the fixed points of reference

"Make your vouchers out every month, and if they are not correct in every particular, you will get yourself into a very serious scrape". The words are those of the Commandant in a draft letter, undated, penned in the back of the Daybook. They are a testimony to the power of the

56 Australian Papers 1826-81, ML, reel 738
bureaucracy even as early as the 1840's. The monthly vouchers related to the supplies of rations for
the coming month sent up to Nerre Nerre Warren in the last week of each month. Tenders were called
annually by the Commissariat in Melbourne for the supplies needed for the following year by all the
branches of the Public Service, including the police, and under the terms of the contract, the contractor
was supposed to deliver the supplies to Nerre Nerre Warren, some such as rations on a monthly basis,
some such as equipment on a quarterly basis.

There were problems though with that system. The writers of the record (the second
senior European on the station, or, if all Europeans were away except the Commandant, then Henry
Dana himself) make a point of noting monthly whether the rations were delivered by the contractors
dray or the government dray belonging to the station. It scarcely matters to the present - the rations
arrived, and the men were fed, but it probably mattered then, as if the government bullock dray was
required to be sent to Melbourne to collect the supplies, then it was an overnight trip taking up two
working days of the driver and team, depriving the station of the work they would otherwise be doing.

The quality of supplies was a problem. The record for 20 January 1848 reads as
follows - "Contractors dray arrived with provisions which was returned owing to their badness". And
again, "All the men out hunting. The meat sent by Mr Wedge being so bad it was thrown to the dogs.
Supposed to have been an old cow that died on the run" [23 and 24 Jan 1849] . Occasionally, not all
that was due to the police arrived, as happened for example on 5 Dec 1849 "Contractors dray arrived
with 1000 rations. Left 2 bags of flour at the pound". Sometimes they got lucky, "Contractors dray
arrived with 500 rations and 400 lb of flour extra" [25 Mar 1850]. It does not require much
imagination to read the significance to the station of the monthly arrival of supplies.

Though it would have been of little significance to the men themselves, monthly reports
were written [31 Jul 1849], and the accounts were made up monthly [30 Sep 1850]. None have
survived. It is the quarterly, six-monthly and annual reports which were preserved by the
administrators. Nor have the conduct books survived, though the Commandant recorded that they
were written up daily, with remarks on the duty of each man and his behaviour. The men could
scarcely have avoided knowing that such records were kept, but the process of being put on report, or
the threat of being charged, may not have carried much weight in this particular police force, as the
Commandant had few sanctions, very limited power.
It has been said that Dana was a strict disciplinarian, the evidence cited being the one solitary example of flogging. In fact he rarely mentioned punishment in his reports, and it is rarely recorded in the Daybook. The usual punishment the most common offences, for absence without leave/desertion and drunkenness was solitary confinement for up to three days on bread and water. If Thomas was correct, this was experienced acutely by the men. Thomas said that Aborigines in general were indifferent to the stocks in Melbourne, and he repeatedly asked the Magistrates to sentence them to solitary. Once, he wrote, he stopped at an Aboriginal in stocks in Melbourne to find the man comfortably smoking his pipe, having already got two shillings from passers-by. But he said they dreaded solitary confinement with the separation from kin. It is very doubtful that the men would have stayed had Dana been a strict disciplinarian, and in fact the loose kind of discipline based on personal affection only without formal sanctions was cited by LaTrobe as a reason for his wishing to place the Corps on a regular footing by an Act of the NSW Parliament.

For the men of the Corps, the week was punctuated by fixed events. Sunday was a rest day, marked by a dress parade, and, when the Commandant was on station, by prayers or Divine Service, after which the men were free. It was rare for the Commandant not to be on station for the weekend, but when he was away, the senior officer or non-commissioned officer paraded the men, but there was no Divine Service. Even out in the field, even travelling, Sunday was marked by a parade then rest.

The Daybook only hints at what the men did in their off-duty time. When he visited H.Q., the Baptist missionary Rev. Edgar saw the men lying about on the ground in their bush clothing "looking like the wild fellows they were", and he contrasted their appearance with their appearance when formally dressed in their dark blue uniforms with red stripes on the trousers and a red band on the cap, and mounted on prancing horses: he quoted the view of his pupil at his mission, Charles Never - they looked like "real black gentlemen".

Other scattered references to leisure activities include "All hands smoking their pipes" [30 Apr 1847]; "All hands cutting up tobacco", [9 Jun 1847]; "All hands employed washing their clothes and playing balls", [16 Oct 1848]; and problems with tobacco, "No tobacco on the station in

58 1 Feb 1849 - Warringalpoop tried by a court martial, sentenced to be flogged (VPRS 90)
59 Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep-30 Nov 1847, 47/9842 in AO of NSW 4/2784
60 LaTrobe to Col Sec, 9 Jul 1847, 47/5494 in AO of NSW 4/2782
61 Dana Journal, op cit
62 Edgar L. Among the Black Boys, 1865: 37
consequence of some people having more than their allowance", [25 Jan 1849]. Tobacco and the place of smoking in Aboriginal post-contact leisure do not seem important, but a good case could be made for the notion that the only novel cultural baggage brought by Europeans to this country were the habit of smoking and the use of animals [especially the horse] for transport. For everything else there was a cultural equivalent. Aborigines in general were passionately fond of smoking\textsuperscript{63}; both Aboriginal men and women smoked the standard short white clay pipes, and they were sometimes carried by women for their husbands\textsuperscript{64}, sometimes tucked behind one ear, or in a headband, or through the septum of the nose\textsuperscript{65}. Tobacco functioned as a reward for services, and as a gift to ingratiate. It was a massive item in the Port Phillip imports, with 960 gross of pipes imported into the district in 1839, together with over 100,000 pounds of tobacco itself\textsuperscript{66}. There were many grades of tobacco\textsuperscript{67}, but the kind commonly in use on stations, provided in rations, was Negrohead, which came in large kegs, packed closely in layers of twisted rolls about eight inches long and one inch broad, each technically called a fig\textsuperscript{68}. This was called settlers tobacco as opposed to soldiers tobacco which was softer, and less desirable. Thomas records Aboriginal men and women coming from Melbourne ridiculing those at Nerre Nerre Warren in 1841 for being content with soldiers tobacco, as opposed to the settlers hard tobacco which they received in Melbourne\textsuperscript{69}. Later, when the quality dropped, the troopers were quick to complain, "The tobacco is inferior...not according to contract...and as such is rejected by the men of the Native Police...request Board of Examination"\textsuperscript{70}. Dredge records that six Aborigines travelled from the Protectorate station across the river and twelve miles upstream to the feared mounted Police barracks to get tobacco and bread\textsuperscript{71}. The Port Phillip Treasury report for 1842 includes a voucher of expenditure on the Native Police stating that 100 pounds of tobacco was supplied to the wives of the Native Police between 1 January and 31 December 1842\textsuperscript{72}. Tobacco appears to be a European cultural artifact that was assimilated readily into the Aboriginal cultural

\textsuperscript{63} Griffith, Charles J. \textit{Present State and Prospects of the Port Phillip District}, 1845: 50
\textsuperscript{64} Fauchery, A. \textit{Letters from a Miner in Australia}, (1857), 1965: 95
\textsuperscript{65} McCrae, G.G. "The Early Settlement of the Eastern Shores of Port Phillip Bay", \textit{VHM} vol 1, 1911: 22 and "Some Recollections of Melbourne in the Forties", \textit{VHM}, vol 2, no 3, Nov 1912: 122
\textsuperscript{66} Return of Imports and exports, 1839, in \textit{VPRS} 4, Box 7, 39/190
\textsuperscript{67} See the advertisements in any issue of the Port Phillip Gazette.
\textsuperscript{68} Meredith, Mrs C. \textit{Notes and Sketches of NSW during a residence in that Colony from 1839-1844}, (1844): 104
\textsuperscript{69} Jones, M. \textit{Prolific in God's Gifts: A Social History of Knox and the Dandenongs}, 1983:15
\textsuperscript{70} W.A.P.Dana to LaTrobe, 4 Jan 1850, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 130, 50/54, enc with 50/102
\textsuperscript{71} Dredge Journal: 19, op cit.
\textsuperscript{72} LaTrobe to Col Sec, 7 Apr 1843, 43/2827, AO of NSW, 4/2626; if the report is correct, that is a lot of tobacco, especially for women who were not even officially rationed till May.
repertoire; some of its rituals crossed with it - the functional necessities of pipes, judging good quality, cutting and rubbing etc, but it in turn was fitted into traditional categories as a portable object to be stowed about the person or carried by women. It may have replaced the manufacture of objects as something to do whilst talking. And it was used at least once to snub the Protector. The occasion was Divine Service on a Sunday, out in the open. Thomas bid his congregation to cease smoking before he started the service, but Dana lit up his cigar while the service was in progress, whereupon several of the Police recommenced. "Oh that all would set a proper example", Thomas lamented\textsuperscript{73}.

European holy days became holidays for the men, as for example Good Friday, 6 April 1849. On very wet days or days when the weather was "severe", no work was done: this was in line with Henry Dana's theory of illness relative to Aborigines. He believed that his men had a constitutional proneness to chest infection, and he believed as well, that wet and inclement weather produced sickness, mainly colds of an inflammatory nature\textsuperscript{74}. Thomas shared Dana's theory of illness and went even further; he believed that "as soon as disease touches a black's chest you cannot save him"\textsuperscript{75}. Dana acted accordingly to prevent his men being exposed to harsh weather if he could. We are aware now, of the phenomenon called by historians blanketisation - the wearing of European clothing clothing or blankets as though they possessed the protective waterproof qualities of animal skin cloaks. (One early traveller recorded that one could travel all day in the rain in a doubled opossum skin cloak and not get wet). And we act on a theory of illness which acknowledges that bodily stress reduces the body's capacity to fight viral or bacterial infection. But Dana believed that the cause of colds was the wet weather, and acted on it.

Monday was the day on which the senior European on station rode to Melbourne to "report the station to His Honour". This duty never varied. It was a personal interview with LaTrobe, and the mere fact of knowing that it occurred ought to caution against extravagant accusations against the police. To label the police murderers, and the decision to institute the Corps as "the most fearful government decision" is almost to condemn LaTrobe too for complicity, guilty by association, given that he knew them so intimately\textsuperscript{76}. LaTrobe would have known all the police by sight and by name; when travelling, he always had an escort of Native Police; he was the one who made the decisions as to where to deploy the men for the winter each year; he inspected them several times a year; he visited

\textsuperscript{73} Thomas Journal, 27 Mar 1842, set 214, item 2, ML
\textsuperscript{74} Dana to LaTrobe, 19 Jun 1842, 42/1143, VPRS 19, Box 30
\textsuperscript{75} Thomas evidence to Select Committee, 1 Nov 1858, Vic Leg Co. V&P 1858-9
\textsuperscript{76} Broome, R. *Aboriginal Australians*, 1982: 44-45
the station several times a year to go hunting escorted by them; he personally approved the gratuities to be paid them; his despatches were carried by the police; his public and ceremonial events were graced by their presence; the police were reported to him every Monday of his working life, who was where, who was expected back with despatches, who was to be sent off, who was in Hospital, how they were progressing, who had died, who were the replacements. Any summary view of the Native Police includes necessarily LaTrobe, unless it is maintained at the same time that in spite of this intimate involvement with them, LaTrobe was prevented from knowing the "real" nature of the police.

Wednesday and Thursday in life at Headquarters do not stand out from the record as days of regular duty or routine, but Friday and Saturday are marked usually by the gathering of wood for fires, and the collection of water for washing clothes.

**Daily Routine**

The only certain knowledge of what a day was like in the life of an Aboriginal Trooper comes from the Daybook which mentions only that parades and training were held at 11 am and 2 pm. There is no information about meals, hours of rising and so on. There exists however, a description of the daily routine of the Mounted Police at the Richmond barracks in 1853, just after the Native Police Corps vacated it. Mrs Charles Perry, wife of the Bishop of Melbourne, living at the time in one of LaTrobe's cottages in Jolimont wrote that she often saw a dozen or so Native Police drilling on horseback in the paddock at Richmond.77

The daily routine at Richmond was as follows: a trumpet call signalled the hour of rising, 5.30 am in Summer, 6 am in Winter (at Nerre Nerre Warren, this duty was probably performed by the drummer boy Brown). The horses were saddled and ridden quietly down to the Yarra a mile away, to drink, and on return to the stables were cleaned and fed. This occupied the time till 8 am, when the men breakfasted. At 10 am, men and horses paraded in the paddock, then drilled for two hours. After this training session, there was the inevitable cleaning of horses and accoutrements, then dinner. At 2 pm, there was another parade, this time of the men only, on foot, followed by two hours drill (at Nerre Nerre Warren, this afternoon session often included firing practice, and sword drill). At 4 pm, the horses were taken to the river again to drink, cleaned again, fed, and the trooper's labours for the day were concluded. There is no mention of an evening meal, but presumably the men ate again

The Winter months at Headquarters

In the absence of the two active Divisions in the field during the Winter months, life at Headquarters seems to have been fairly relaxed. Those remaining at Nerre Nerre Warren included the senior non-commissioned officer in charge, usually the sergeant-major, new recruits, the wives of the police and their children, the tailor and the bullockdriver. For several years running, it appears that the first priority, once the Divisions were away, was recreation - the sergeant-major and the men went hunting. The sergeant and the men are described at various times as "hunting bears for Mr Powlett" [10 Mar 1845]; "hunting kangaroo" [7 Aug 1846]; "shooting ducks" [14 Oct 1848]; "shooting pheasants" [1 May 1851]78. They also collected native plants in the Dandenongs for LaTrobe, the musk plant in particular [3 Sep 1845, 13 Aug 1846, 22 Aug 1847, 7 Oct 1847].

The sergeant-major acted during Winter as a director of traffic in and out of the station; in Henry Dana's absence, he maintained regular communication with the Divisions through two despatch riders. They must have been a familiar sight in the country areas, for in addition to the letters they carried between field parties and Headquarters, they carried despatches from LaTrobe to his Commissioners of Crown Land, from LaTrobe to Dana in the field, from LaTrobe to Police Magistrates in the country, and the whole of the private mail to Gippsland in the early years after the overland route was opened up. In addition, travellers to Gippsland expected and received an escort of Native Police until Dana finally objected. He wrote to Latrobe requesting no trooper or troop horse be allowed to escort private individuals to and from Gippsland under any pretence whatever, without an express order from LaTrobe. Dana explained that he was asked constantly for such an escort, and that he had provided it in several instances, but he did not consider it to be the proper duty of the Native Police, and it was besides, over a line of country where more men and horses were injured than in any other duty. LaTrobe minuted his letter "Given"79. The police however, continued to escort distinguished travellers, such as the Bishop of Melbourne on his journey to Gippsland. All this traffic was routed through Nerre Nerre Warren, requiring constant attention to men and horses by the sergeant-major. On occasion, prisoners were escorted from the country by the police, and sick police were escorted from duty in the field down to Nerre Nerre Warren, and thence on to the Colonial Surgeon in Melbourne.

78 Presumably the bears are koalas, and the pheasants are lyrebirds.
79 Dana to LaTrobe, 9 Nov 1848, 48/2324, VPRS 19, Box 112
In between all this activity, parties of gentlemen visited the station to go hunting. The Commissioner of Crown Lands for Westernport called regularly on his rounds, sometimes borrowing a horse and leaving behind a lame or tired horse. Horses belonging to the administration. Horses which were the personal property of LaTrobe were spelled on the station; they had to be caught and walked down to Melbourne. LaTrobe's cows were regularly sent up to Nerre Nerre Warren, and had to be walked back in due course. Between all the coming and going, the sergeant drilled the new recruits; the tailor worked his way through the production of two sets of uniforms each year for the men, a Summer suit and a Winter suit. Of the wives and children of the police, it is known only that they were there; there is an occasional reference to the distribution of blankets to them, and rations, but apart from that, no evidence attesting to the terms of their living.

A reading straight through of the one-line entries of the Daybook leaves the distinct impression that the Headquarters itself at Nerre Nerre Warren functioned in the administrative economy of the day as a kind of clearing house for persons, animals and pieces of paper. It is surprising that it is so invisible to the present, that we have lost sight of the place as well as the people. In the course of their duties, LaTrobe and Lonsdale, the Commissioners of Crown Lands for Westernport and Gippsland, the Protectors and the Chief Protector, the Magistrates and Justices of the Peace under whom the police operated in the field, the Commandant and the orderlies of the Mounted Police, the Commissariat Commissioner, the government medical officers, later the Commissioners on the goldfields, the Superintendent of Pentridge, the heads of government departments when the men of the Corps replaced the Army as LaTrobe's orderlies - all these people knew the Native Police and dealt with their Headquarters in the course of their duties.
CHAPTER FOUR
BEING NATIVE AND BEING A POLICEMAN

"To refuse colonization is one thing; to adopt the colonizer and be adopted by him is another". 1

The concern of this chapter is with the other thing of the quotation above; an exploration of the multiple meanings of being native and being a policeman. There is no document to be found which records why the men joined, or stayed, or acted as they did, no explicit statement of motivation, no rationale expressed in their own words, no evaluation of their existential condition: there is only the surviving record of observation of their actions, filtered through the prejudices and biases of the European observers, the creators of records kept for administrative not historical reasons. Only actions ...

The position taken in this writing, is that broadly speaking, when faced with the European invasion, Aboriginal groups could resist, or they could become passive victims of their circumstances, or they could develop strategies of survival - they could compromise, co-operate, adapt; these are broad options, and within each category there could be varying degrees of enthusiasm. They could do all of these things in succession, or in any order at different times, and different groups might in theory differ in their response according to the particularities of their situation. The particular response of a particular group in a particular time and place is a matter for discovery.

It is assumed in this writing therefore, that in the early post-contact years, though the situation was not of their making, Aboriginal people and groups had some degree of choice - not a simple choice between what they wanted and what they faced, but some opportunity for choosing work, food, dress, leisure activities etc out of the array of novelty with which they were confronted. It is assumed further, that they acted in what they perceived at the time as their own best interests or desires; to assume otherwise is to deny their own rationality. The perception of self or group as victim is a social and cultural thing; it is learned behaviour with its own history2. To see them in the present as only or mainly as victims then is to keep them as objects of European dominance, in a colonisation

1 Memmi, A. The Colonizer and the Colonized. N.Y., 1965: 22-23
2 So too, is the writing of what Handlin calls "atonement history" a cultural artifact, a product of its social time. Handlin says this of American historiography: "In the 1960's victimisation explained everything: deprivation, failures to achieve, cultural inadequacies, and personal maladjustments, past as well as present - all ultimately originated in the society that corrupted its members. Differences in status were evidence of differences in degree of victimisation. These terms most readily described the American Indians, earliest in the land, and superficially at least the longest deprived; but slavery gave blacks a claim, as economic exploitation did Chicanos and the descendents of immigrants. The result spoiled the fruit of potentially valuable research" (Handlin, Oscar Truth in History, Harvard University Press, 1979).
of the writing of history no less powerful than the original physical colonisation. There seems little difference to me, between the twentieth century construction of Aboriginal persons as victims, and the nineteenth century perception of them as little higher on the scale of nature than the apes. Both perceptions emerge from the power position of the keepers of the record of observation; they tell us something about the descriptive confidence and competence of the cultures which make the written records, and they witness to the referents of observation, but they tell us little about the subjects of description and evaluation.

To know, and to understand the Native Police in their actions is the concern of this chapter.

The History of Co-operation

The most obvious thing to be noticed, in the narrative of Chapters 1-3, is the consistent pattern of co-operation in policing ventures, between Aboriginal men and Europeans. From the time of the search for the killers of Franks and Flinders in July 1836, through the formal attempt to set up a Corps in 1837, through the quasi-policing expedition led by Gellibrand in April 1838, through the re-establishment of a formal structure later in 1838, even through what turned out to be the pathetic and manipulative attempt to set up the domestic police, right up to the volunteering to assist in the search for the VDL Aborigines, and the formal institution of the 1842 Corps, Aboriginal men willingly joined with Europeans in policing work in Port Phillip.

This is far more than merely tracking. European writers have been generous in their praise of the value of the skilled services rendered to European detection forces by Aborigines in the matter of tracking. The above outline though, is not the history of tracking, though it includes tracking; it is the story of five years of sporadic but informed, rational co-operation in formal police work. Aboriginal men embraced with enthusiasm the idea of policing.

They symbolised their co-operation in the breaking of spears, a powerful demonstration of assent, though as cautioned in Chapter One, it is probably assent only to the social contract, not the rejection of Aboriginality. They cited the evidence of their co-operation with Europeans in support of

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5 Monteil, V. "The Decolonisation of the writing of History", in Wallerstein, I. (ed), Social Change: The Colonial Situation, NY, 1966: 592-605. The growing sense of oppression is itself a subject for investigation. It seems mistaken to impose on the past what needs to be asked.

Michel Foucault has written at length, in several works, about the complexities of the power/knowledge relationship, but the sentences which informed the position taken in the text are to be found in Discipline and Punish, (transl. A. Sheridan), Pantheon, N.Y., 1977:27. -" We should admit...that power produces knowledge...that power and knowledge directly imply one another; that there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, for any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations".
their protest against the injustice of the European refusal to allow them to make camp where they wished. If Thomas wrote it down the way it happened, the discussion extended over two days, during which the two men "relate all their good services to white people in past days...that he and the Port Phillip blacks kept the Barrabool blacks from killing all white men, and that he get blackfellows that kill first white men, now many white people come and turn blackfellow away... Big Benbow almost crying... Now [Europeans say] go away, go away... Soldier say no good that. I again tell them that they make Willums on white man's ground, and cut off bark... make white man sulky [angry]... they say no white man's ground, black man's". There can scarcely be a clearer demonstration of the strategy of co-operation in the face of the European takeover of the land: that it did not work, that it did not bring them what they expected, is another matter. It needs to be noticed that they related "all" their services, though Thomas selected only two instances to record.

Other men were jealous of those who were chosen as police, a sure sign that the state of being a policeman was desirable; being upset at being left out or passed over, is evidence of desire. The police themselves were described as looking proud of themselves when dressed in their uniforms. There is furthermore, the evidence of the children's behaviour in running away from the mission and choosing to locate themselves with the police. And the refusal of the police to co-operate with the missionary after de Villiers' resignation. There is every sign that the people's attitude was that of enthusiastic assent to the idea and advantages of being a policeman.

The question is why? To assume that they would embrace such an idea simply because it was a policy initiative of the European administration, is to deny their own rationality. The evidence demonstrates that they did so with firm expectations of getting something out of it - two sets of things, on different levels - material things, plus power and status. As economic and material rationality can be readily seen in the records, while the case for what I believe to be the more powerful determinant of their decision must be argued, the material considerations will be examined first.

### Eating the Governor's bread

The strongest evidence that the men valued the material rewards emerges from their own comparison of the stinginess of the Protector's 1839 terms with the amplitude of what they

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5 Thomas Journal, 13 - 15 Sep 1840, M.L. set 214, item 1
6 At the time, the Chief Protector too saw these things as deterministic of Aboriginal action - he called the attractions of policing "power and paraphernalia", see Robinson to LaTrobe, 28 Mar 1849, Robinson Papers, vol 57 A: 473, ML
7 This phrase, from Billibobary, corresponds closely with the phrase used in other parts of the Empire to describe a similar social contract - eating the Governor's salt was how the Ghurkas describe their contract with the British. It was used also in Africa with a similar meaning.
received under de Villiers: it is reinforced by the evidence of what they regarded as an appropriate reward for their co-operation in the effort to catch the VDL group, as well as the evidence of Derribunut who complained that the police only walked [i.e. drilled] but got plenty to eat and good clothes, and Koogra, that they did no work [for Koogra, it is clear, drilling was not work], but still got plenty of clothes. That Europeans understood the importance of the attraction of the material things is to be read from Dana's actions. He waited till the clothing arrived at Nerre Nerre Warren before making any move to enrol the men. He rationed them while the consultative process was going on, and they attended Divine Service, but not till he could dress them as police, till they saw what they got, did he formalise the agreement. And when he did proceed, it was with a lengthy, elaborate ceremony, in which both obligations and benefits were clearly spelled out and ritually accepted. Dana might have been young, but he was not dense - he was alert to the propriety of ritualising the pragmatic in a ceremony invested with significance and dignity for all its participants.

Billibolary understood the contract clearly. At Merri Creek in November 1843, when the Division from Portland Bay returned, and the police who had been with Tyers, four other men who had gone AWL to the bush returned too - Wedgeculk, Nerrimbineck, Ningalobin and Curra Curra, together with Perpine/ McNoel and Kbalaloo who had deserted from service with CCL Powlett. They demanded rations, but Thomas refused, telling them that had they been white police, or white soldiers, they would have been flogged and sent to jail for one moon: as it was, he would not ration them, and in spite of Billibolary's pleading, he stood firm. Children taunted Thomas, saying "No good police, no more blackfellows policeman". But the situation was reversed three weeks later, when it came time for the police to return to Nerre Nerre Warren. This time, it was Thomas pleading that the police should leave, and Billibolary arguing that "they go bye and bye, they don't eat the Governors bread", or in other words, as Thomas would not feed them, they did not have to do as Thomas told them. There is much truth in Thomas' reflections next day about the loose discipline in the Corps at this stage while Merri Creek was their H.Q., and men moved in and out of the Corps according to whether they wished to be rationed or not. He wrote "The system that has been carried on to keep up the Corps has been truly ridiculous. They have been permitted to leave ad liburnt, and when could not be kept in, under some pretence discharged "You shan't be policeman"...others have enlisted... like a pack of

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8 The response of the children, and the response of Billibolary are an interesting demonstration of confidence and power, to be compared with the action of Poleorong (Billy Lonsdale). Poleorong worked for a settler Hugh Glass, and in 1848 had a dispute with him over payment. Poleorong discussed it with Thomas, but told Thomas he did not wish to proceed further with the complaint, telling Thomas that he (Poleorong) would make sure no blacks worked for Hugh Glass next summer (Thomas to Robinson, YPRS 11, Box 11/691).
schoolboys playing at soldiers... another enrols, when tired, I no more play at soldier. Where (sic) this Core (sic) managed right, they might become a very useful body of men”. It was a messy arrangement, with Dana out in the field, and the rest of the Corps at Merri Creek, policemen one day, dependents on the Protector the next, out on their own business the next. And it was doubtless due to this unsatisfactory state of affairs that the Corps was moved forthwith back to Nerre Nerre Warren, but it is clear that the disagreements centre on the reciprocal nature of the contract of food for service.

The Wives of My Police

One of the most important of these material attractions may well have been the obligation assumed by Dana to feed, clothe and generally look after the dependents of the men - wives, children and the aged. The men selected by Dana were rationed from the time of their selection in February 1842, and the men distributed privately according to their obligations, shares in the flour, beef, sugar, tea, tobacco and soap. But from 1 May 1842, Dana issued full rations to twelve women, the wives of policemen. It caused a problem for Thomas who was then still at Nerre Nerre Warren, responsible for the book-keeping, because LaTrobe gave the necessary authority to Dana verbally, there being no piece of paper authorising the Treasury officials to pay the contractor Mr Manton. Manton submitted his chits in due course, and received no money because there was no authorisation. It is ironic that so often we can learn something of importance relative to the police, because it shows up eventually in European records as a dispute about who pays.

The obligation accepted by Dana to the wives of his police extended to widows and mothers, and to women from outside the local area "women and blacks of Port Fairy, Wimmera and other tribes connected with the Native Police". His department though, was not obliged to carry the

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9 3, 4, 8, 23 Nov 1843, Thomas Journal, 1 Sep 1843 - 29 Jan 1844, Set 214, item 3, ML
10 Dana to LaTrobe, 3 May 1842, VPRS 19, Box 29, 42/820
11 Compare with the Queensland Corps. Skinner says that Walker allowed his men to maintain out of their allowances for rations, Aboriginal women (1975: 404). Dana eventually got them onto the books and included in the total of the strength of the Corps.
12 Crawford, I.M., University of Melbourne Thesis, 1966: 172 says that it was the fact of the Native Police being at Merri Creek sharing their rations and blankets that attracted the Warwoorang and Buneroong to stay there rather than at the Protectorate station at NNW.
13 LaTrobe has given verbal orders to ration wives, request formal authority - Thomas to Robinson, 12 May 1842, VPRS 11, Box 8; Dana requests rations for twelve women,"the wives of my police", Dana to LaTrobe, 31 May 1842, VPRS 19, Box 29, 42/820; Rations have been issued since 1 May - Dana to LaTrobe, 27 Jul 1842, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143; Captain Dana has been signing vouchers since May, but contractor has not been paid - Thomas to Robinson, 9 Sep 1842, VPRS 11, Box 8/455; Dana to LaTrobe, 4 Aug 1842 - have received a notice from the Sub-Treasurer to furnish a copy of my authority to supply wives of police, have no written authority, how should I act ?, VPRS 19, Box 33, 42/1434
14 Request for allowance for 8-10 women constantly about the station, wives of old men recently dead or mothers of troopers - Dana to Robinson, 25 Jun 1848, set 214, item 11, ML
15 Thomas to Robinson, 8 Jul 1848, set 214, item 14, ML
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden"
expense: he legitimised their claim. Each month, the number of women rationed at the station was returned to the Treasury and debited against the expenditure of the Protectorate, not the Native Police Corps.\textsuperscript{16}

The wives of the men appear fleetingly in the records: they washed their husbands clothes; they received blankets\textsuperscript{17}; it was the women according to Gellibrand, who threatened to go to LaTrobe and demand their husband’s money, when it had not been paid\textsuperscript{18}. The women also begged in Melbourne, an activity which LaTrobe said it was hardly possible for him to prevent\textsuperscript{19}; it was reported only once though, early in the life of the Corps, in the Winter of 1842, when Dana had half the men away on the first journey to Portland Bay, and the rest were at Merri Creek under the charge of Sergeant Bennett. As the children were reported begging in Melbourne at this time, because they would not attend lessons and Thomas therefore refused them rations, it is probably the case that the women’s entitlement to rations simply by virtue of marriage to a policeman, was not accepted by Thomas, who still required that they work for food. The women lived with the Corps at Nerre Nerre Warren, were supported by the Corps, buried by the Corps, but on the whole their actions were not considered important enough to record by the male keepers of the record.

A Passionate Desire - Guns

The things that they seemed most to want, the objects of passionate desire for which they made repeated requests, were guns and ammunition. Langhorne may have been a fairly embittered man facing the failure of his mission when he made the following observation, but even so, it rings true. He was commenting on an instruction he received from Lonsdale to discountenance the shooting of lyrebirds by Aboriginal men: “I have ever discouraged it in every way, and it has frequently been mentioned by the blacks as a reason for their not frequenting the mission station, that I constantly refuse them firearms, whereas the Black Police were so armed, and the other natives could obtain musquets from the settlers whenever they required them. In fact such is their passion for shooting, that any person might command the attendance of Blacks for months together whenever he chose that they should accompany him, merely by supplying them with guns and ammunition”\textsuperscript{20}. In this statement, Langhorne is almost saying that the men joined the police simply for the guns.

\textsuperscript{16} History of rationing of wives of the Native Police in Dana to LaTrobe, 25 Sep 1850, VPRS 19, Box 140, 50/1751
\textsuperscript{17} VPRS 90, 6 Aug 1845
\textsuperscript{18} McCrae, H. 1966: 226
\textsuperscript{19} LaTrobe to Col Sec, 25 Oct 1842, 42/8217 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1
\textsuperscript{20} Langhorne’s Mission Report for Jan 1839, VPRS 4, Box 5, 39/27(a).
We really need a careful study of the role and function of guns in the early post-contact situation, focusing not on newspaper accounts of conflict, but on eyewitness descriptive accounts of the use of guns, and enquiry into the strategic moves that Aboriginal men made to obtain them. We may be surprised. When Lonsdale proposed in October 1837 to give his police guns, he felt convinced that no harm would result from it\textsuperscript{21}: the evidence suggests that he was not misplaced in his conviction. For a start, there is only one instance so far discovered of an Aboriginal person shooting another Aborigine, though there is evidence of big talk about the need for an Aboriginal man to carry a gun when venturing into the territory of his enemies, where he had no protective connections; examples from Dredge and Sievwright have been quoted. And taken overall, there are relatively few instances of Aborigines using guns against white people. We think we know many, but we know them precisely because they were events to be noticed - they get into our newspapers and history books because they were remarkable, not because they were the norm.

Aboriginal men used guns to shoot animals for their own sustenance, koala and kangaroo. They shot lyrebirds to trade the plumes for cash and more ammunition and European supplies. To the dismay and annoyance of polite society, they fired off guns to express their feelings - of sheer exuberance, or disappointment in love for example. Thomas' journal for the earliest period in which he first camped with them is a saga of description of disturbed and noisy nights due to shooting in the night, and this noise of course, could be heard all over Melbourne. Men spent much time cleaning guns, probably analogous to the manner in which time was spent in the careful construction of spears. It surprised Thomas quite early in his travels to see two men who had screwdrivers, carefully taking their guns to pieces, cleaning the barrels and the holes as well as any white man, he thought\textsuperscript{22}. Most significantly perhaps, Aboriginal men carried guns in the manner in which they carried spears, as a proud self-definition of manhood. At one stage though, it was necessary for an Aboriginal man to carry a piece of paper signed by Lonsdale, stating that he had authority to carry the gun\textsuperscript{23}. There appears to have been a fear on the part of Europeans that an armed Aborigine was doubly savage, and the fear can be partly understood, from the cases where guns were used in an intimidatory fashion, as a demonstration of power\textsuperscript{24}. Aborigines did not invent the "bail up", but they used it effectively to get

\textsuperscript{21} Lonsdale to Col Sec, 28 Oct 1837, \textit{VPRS} 1:129

\textsuperscript{22} Thomas Journal, 26 Aug 1839, \textit{HRV} vol 2 B: 538

\textsuperscript{23} Warrawrie (or Warrawurrk) one of the de Villiers brothers, a member of Christiana de Villiers 1837 Corps, possessed such an authority, showing it on demand to Kenneth Clarke in the course of the April 1838 quasi-policing expedition, headed by Gellibrand

\textsuperscript{24} Lonsdale to Col Sec, "...showing a disposition to intimidate...", 23 Apr 1838, \textit{VPRS} 1:196
NATIVE POLICE.
what they wanted (usually food or more weapons), in circumstances where it was not freely given. Only rarely though, were guns actually used to shoot and kill Europeans; rarely that is, considering the total population of Aborigines and Europeans, spread out over the whole of the Port Phillip district, taken over the fifteen year period from invasion to separation. That we leap automatically to conclusions such as the following "...savages who were given guns for such a purpose [shooting lyrebirds] were not likely to confine their aim to birds"25, makes a statement mainly about our own ignorance, not about the past.

The Age-old Contempt of the Equestrian Class for the Pedestrian. 26

To notice that horses were an important attraction of the policing way of life is to misunderstand: horses were cherished and valued and cared for in ways reminiscent of the way some contemporary western men love cars. To be a mounted man in the police was to have made it to the top27; recruits were dismounted men to start with, moving up to being mounted as they learned to ride well, and as horses became available; dismounting a mounted man was a severe punishment28. Mounted men were issued with high cavalry boots, and spurs, at a cost of twenty-two shillings per pair, while dismounted men received only quarter boots which were short walking boots costing fourteen shillings29. Interestingly, all the Native Police appear to wear moustaches (or moustachios, as O'Callaghan calls them) at a time when mounted police generally were allowed to wear them, but foot police were not30.

A list of follows of the recovered names of the Native Police horses: it conveys some hint of the new worlds of meaning, the associations to be learned, the significances to be understood, when a man became a mounted trooper in Dana's Black Police.

Some Names of the Horses of the Native Police

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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hero</td>
<td>Insolvent</td>
<td>Soldier</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gregory</td>
<td>Blackbird</td>
<td>George</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conrad</td>
<td>Tegar</td>
<td>Tolboy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blackey</td>
<td>Blucher</td>
<td>Rob Roy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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25 Scott, B. "The Administration of Captain Lonsdale", VHM, vol 6, no 4, Sep 1918: 148
26 de Serville, P. Port Phillip Gentlemen and Good Society in Melbourne before the Gold Rushes, OUP, Melbourne, 1980: 87
27 In police forces generally, as in Armies generally, mounted troopers or cavalry were the elite; Gilmore, M. Old Days, Old Ways (1934) 1963: 41 described mounted police of the old days as the aristocrats and dandies of the force.
28 Dana Report, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844
29 Dana to LaTrobe, 30 Dec 1842, VPRS 19, Box 39/2378
30 O'Callaghan, T. Police and other People, Ms, LtSL
Irishman          Pack Pigeye          Commandant
Blackey               Lancer              Surrey
Bonaparte      Clifton               Harry
Chance                Trumpeter            Panekin
Isac                   Comedore(sic)        Merriman
Paddy                Bobby                Trooper
Dragon              Piper                Tommy
Punch            Ciclips(sic)          Badger
Fire-eater        Father McGrath        Dick Riley
Cammit (Comet?)     Mickey Free          Buffalo
Frenchman         Falstaff             Dick
Mousey              Charley              Captain
Admiral             Buffer              Commissioner
Grimaldi           Chester             Leicester
Fyans               Rattler              Champion
Paddy              Quart Pot            William
Ploughman           Peacock             Kangaroo
Punick (Punic?)     Spode               Count
Peter                   Bang               Wellington
Porcupine31

The list cannot be complete, but even so, it demonstrates a large range of possible significances, from the heroic to the absurd, through the institutional and the nostalgic to the domestic. Some names, for example Tallboy, Charlie, Bobby, Dick, Harry, Tommy and William were common to both men and horses which is interesting, because within European culture, it is not normally the practice to name the domestic animals from the same pool of names considered appropriate for children, though there is some overlap. That horses and men could share the same name marks out a man/animal relationship that resonates with traditional practice in Aboriginal culture. Merriman was the name of an Aboriginal leader from the Goulburn area who was apprehended by Major Lettsom in

31 "Return of Horses at present or formerly attached to the Native Police", 18 Jul 1844, encl. with 44/5994 in AO of NSW 4/2666; "Return of Names and Present Condition of Men and Horses composing the Native Police", 1 Oct 1847, encl with 47/1861. VPRS 19, Box 97; VPRS 90.
Melbourne in October 1840\textsuperscript{32}; his name may have been incorporated into Aboriginal mythology generally, and thence into the mythology of the Corps in the same way that the name of the European hero Wellington was incorporated. One wants to know who named these horses. And what funny and intimate "in" joke was so meaningful that it was incorporated forever in the mythology of the Corps in the name of Quart Pot?. Pack Pigeye's very name says it all - too bad-tempered to ride probably. The officers rode the splendidly-named animals; William Walsh, Second Officer and leader of the First Division was mounted on Hero, and William Dana, Third Officer and Leader of the Second Division, took Commandant. Dana himself may have owned his own horse, as his horse's name does not appear in the records. In 1842, he took one of LaTrobe's horses Hassan, to the western district. The Corporals, Buckup, Gellibrand, Waworong, Tonmile and Quandite rode Soldier, Bonaparte, Surrey, Insolvent and Clifton - a mixed bag of names, heroic, whimsical, nostalgic, domestic - all relative to the dominant European culture though. Insolvent's name was true to his time and place - this was the early forties, the beginning of the great period of insolvency that sent many young would-be squatters off their land into the lower ranks of paid employment. Maybe Dana himself named this horse. Cornet may have been named after the brilliant comets seen in the north-eastern sky in Port Phillip in December 1843 and 1844\textsuperscript{33}. Clifton, grandson of Skelton was a stallion famous in the Port Phillip District in his day, his progeny sought after and commanding a high price\textsuperscript{34}. It is quite possible that the same mechanism operated then as to-day, that is, that old but sound horses were given or sold cheaply to the Police Force for restricted duty within their competence. It was doubtless as true then as it is today, that old horses accustomed to human contact and trained for specific work cannot be turned loose to fend for themselves in a paddock: they fret for human company. Clifton was still with the Native Police in 1852, though by this time relegated to pack-horse. Chance was a much admired Melbourne racehorse, owned by Mr Quinan, as was Rob Roy, owned by G. D. Mercer of Geelong\textsuperscript{35}. Whether the horses themselves came to the Native Police, or whether the police named their horses after local equestrian heroes is not really important. What is significant is the social importance, the bonding effect in the construction of corporate identity. It is not possible for a cavalry unit to possess forty horses without horses forming much of the subject of conversation - their names, their health,

\textsuperscript{32} J. Docker to Gipps, 19 Jan 1841, 41/770 in AO of NSW, 4/2547 and 40/10609 in 4/2512.1
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Port Phillip Herald}, 24 and 27 December 1844. The Corps added significantly to its horse strength in 1844, because horses were cheap due to the depression.
\textsuperscript{34} Browne, T.A. op cit: 162, 213
\textsuperscript{35} Baillieu, D. \textit{Australia Felix}, 1982:27
their habits and idiosyncracies, their equipment, their performance, their being lost and found. When they have to be watered and fed, and groomed daily, and exercised and drilled, and when all this is done by men who are greatly attached to them, it can truly be said that horses functioned as a social bonding mechanism.

In the beginning, before Dana demonstrated the professionalism of his Corps, they received cast-off horses from the Army and the Mounted and Border Police, unfit for severe service either through age or injury, and these horses may have retained their names. But once the value of the Corps as the keepers of the Queen’s peace was perceived, the Corps lacked for nothing necessary for its function. As it so happened that that this demonstration of worth co-incided with a time of depressed prices generally, Dana managed subsequently to mount his men on quite good horses.

The Native Police valued their horses; they were too good to be needlessly exposed to lameness and probable disablement, so that the men would walk through stony or rocky country rather than risk their mounts; the escort of Europeans to Gippsland was objected to by the Commandant, as has been noted, partly because it put the horses at undue risk. The men were more careful it seems, about the welfare of their mounts than William Dana who rode to death one of the best horses Porcupine; another time, it was William Dana who was so drunk on returning to Nerre Nerre Warren from Melbourne, that he was incapable of sitting his horse who "spilt him on the road and galloped away in disgust." There are no records of troopers treating their horses in such a fashion; on the contrary. Thomas relates how two police with him rode alternately to spare the one suffering horse they had between them, and how they carried the saddle on their backs for the last three miles of a journey from Melbourne to Mt Macedon. This is not to be interpreted as a tender solicitude for all animals generally; in the same report, Thomas notes that a Native Policeman (unnamed) was charged with injuring a cow. Thomas investigated, and found that the cow had not been killed, but that the man had thrown a tomahawk at it, and the tomahawk had embedded itself in the cow, remaining several hours before extraction. Europeans were aghast at this kind of action, particularly in the western

36 Of the list of horses above, the following came into the Corps as cast-off’s from the Westenport Border Police - Buffalo, Frenchman, Falstaff, Dick, Mousey, Charley, Bobby, Punch; the following came from the Portland Bay Border Police - Blackbird, Rob Roy and Surrey; from the Mounted Police came Captain Admiral and Buffer, while the following were purchased by a Board specifically for the Native Police - Commissioner, Fire-eater, Trumpeter, Grimaldi, Chester, Harry, Conrad, Chance, Merriman, Cyclops, Porcupine and Leicester.
37 Browne, T. A. op cit: 82; Dana to LaTrobe, 9 Nov 1848, VPRS 19, Box 112, 48/2324
38 Dana to LaTrobe, 11 Feb 1848, VPRS 19, Box 102, 48/check. Dana did not admit to LaTrobe that his brother had done this, but it is entered into the daybook
39 VPRS 90: 10 Apr 1849.
40 Thomas Journal, Mar-Jun 1843 in NSW Leg Co V&P 1843
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from the William Strutt album "Victoria the Golden"
district where sheep taken by Aborigines were often found alive but with their legs broken to impede movement prior to killing and eating. Europeans thought that a cruel outrage. It is really a dispute over the definition of what constitutes cruelty: Aborigines for their part thought that Europeans were outrageously cruel in depriving people of liberty.

Horses though were different, at least to the police. Dana was able to make a claim about the Native Police that is probably unparalleled in exploration or pastoral history - that the Native Police travelled 2500 miles on patrolling duty in the Winter of 1843, without ever losing a horse. In the light of the exploration and overlanding travel literature, where most days began with tracking horses and bullocks which had strayed overnight while grazing, it is quite astonishing. Dana's exact words were "The men took the greatest care of their horses and showed great fondness for them, not one horse belonging to the party was lost for an hour...travelled 2500 miles". He was proud to report that at a time when most government officers were engaged in protracted disputes with the Treasury over the necessity for a forage allowance for oats and hay when out in the field, because there was not enough grass, or it was not nutritious enough, his horses with one exception, were in better condition than when they left Melbourne. That was good management, it is true, but perhaps with some good fortune as well, in that the grass was there to be found: in his return for the first half of 1851, Dana was obliged to report that two Native Police horses died of starvation, one at Geelong and one at Mt Macedon, in the months following the disastrous bush fires of Black Thursday.

In the minds of the police, horses probably functioned as part of that proud definition of self that Isaac has so well described in relation to gentlemen of Virginia. Native Police horses wore the Queen's Crown on the near shoulder as their mark, the full brand being a crown over three horizontal lines, both over the letters PP for Port Phillip. They were big horses, none less than seventeen or eighteen hands high, and stong: endurance on long trips was a qualification of more importance than speed. The world not only looks different from the saddle of a horse eighteen hands high - it is different. Dana said that he could not have taken his men into foreign country if they had not been mounted, as they would have been at risk of being murdered by wild blacks. And when he did

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41 Dana to LaTrobe, 27 Nov 1843, VPRS 19, Box 52, 43/2648
42 Dana to LaTrobe, 6 Jul 1843, VPRS 19, Box 48, 43/1910
43 Dana to LaTrobe, 2 Jun 1851, VPRS 19, Box 150, 51/1044
45 VPRS 19, Box 68, 45/346
46 Haydon, A.L. The Trooper Police of Australia 1911: 41
47 Dana to LaTrobe, 16 Jun 1843, VPRS 19, Box 46, 43/1038
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden"
not have enough horses in the Winter of 1842 to mount all his men, he took the four mounted men only on patrol - Buckup, Nerimbinuk, Gellibrand and Yupton, leaving the five dismounted men - Moonee, Poligerry. Yamabokey, Giberuke and Coonerdigum, to patrol the streets of Portland under the orders of the Police Magistrate\textsuperscript{48}.

Horses provide us with a rare glimpse at the intimacy, tremendous good humour and camaraderie in relationships within the Corps. The occasion was a kind of reading of the riot act relative to safety in riding by Henry Dana. The recorder was his brother William, an unconventional scribe to say the least: it was William who gave this gem to posterity "WAP Dana evacuated the Officer's Quarters in consequence of the extraordinary efforts of the blowflies and fleas to eat him up, combined with the incessant annoyance the Commandant's geese gave him"\textsuperscript{49}. The event was an aftermath of an accident. Corporal Thomas O'Brien, while on duty with the Commandant, fell off his horse and "broke his head". He was taken to the No Good Damper Inn (run by the Superintendent of the 1837-8 Corps, de Villiers), where he lay in a dangerous state for three days. William Dana rode to Melbourne for a doctor but was unable to get one on account of "the faculty being all drunk". In spite of the lack of medical attention, O'Brien recovered, and returned to H.Q. eight days after his accident, whereupon Henry Dana took the opportunity to deliver to the men a "learned dissertation upon the probable consequences of bolting", i.e. a horse bolting. The learned dissertation was received "with great applause from both sides of the barracks room. The speaker left the chair amidst deafening cries of hear him, chair, turn him out, order etc."\textsuperscript{50}. It must have been a riotous lecture; merriment, and intimacy, and the reversal of authority are all present. It seems one of those moments of community in institutional life when the ordinary boundaries are transcended, social distance is demolished, liberties are taken which are unthinkable in daily living. It also says a lot about the command of the English language and procedural terminology that the men possessed. Chair, order, are culture specific to a particular western, formal meeting mode. That the men used these words as interjections might make us pause before accepting the superficiality of the judgement that they were later found wanting on the goldfields because they could not read - could not recognise a licence from any other piece of paper.

The description of this event makes enigmatic reference to both sides of the barracks room: we could wish that it said more about the social construction of space within the Corps. When

\textsuperscript{48} Dana to LaTrobe, 22 Nov 1842, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 38, 42/2153
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{VPRS} 90, 14 Apr 1851
\textsuperscript{50} \textit{VPRS} 90, 19 May 1847
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden"
Aboriginal groups came together for the great meetings, the place of each family and group's mia-mia and fire was determined relative to socio-spatial criteria: a map of the camping places on the ground was a model of the relationships of their countries. In the corporate living at Nerre Nerre Warren, there were by this time (1848), men from the local Bunerong and Warwoorong tribes, Goulburn, Port Fairy, Wimmera, and Gippsland within the Corps. One wonders whether both sides of the barracks room referred to a boundary between Aboriginal/European, or NCO/Trooper, or local/foreigner, or original enlistee/recruit, mounted/dismounted men. It is one of the more remarkable features of this Corps that men from different countries, with differing sets of allegiances and hostilities should elect to stay in the Corps without many apparent signs of discomfort. The Daybook does mention the odd fight or disturbance, but it is rare, and there is no hint of the cause; these disturbances usually end with confinement in the guard-house for one to three days "on account of being drunk" for example, but it would be a simplistic interpretation which suggested that the cause of the disturbance was alcohol. It is a pity that there seems no other evidence to suggest the meaning of "both sides of the barracks room".

In the light of the evidence attesting the men's fondness for horses and riding, it comes as no surprise, to find that they were good at it. Europeans consistently praised their horsemanship, their fearless riding and their style and carriage - their seat. The artist William Strutt wrote that "You could literally say that man and horse were one".51

It is pertinent to note too, the correspondence between the role and status of the messenger in pre-contact society and the specific job in the police of despatch-riding. And reasonable to speculate, even in the absence of specific evidence, that despatch riding was attractive partly because of this correspondence.

**The Queen's Uniform**

In the social economy of the day, uniforms functioned in several ways. That the troopers themselves were proud of their uniforms was a recurrent observation from first to last over the span of the four Corps. To Europeans, uniforms were a sign of respectability52 and authority, Major St John's observation suggests that the men too, shared this reading, "The Native Police have acquired a pride and taste for their various marks (such as clothing etc) which demonstrate their

52 As early as 1838, Lonsdale asked the authorities in Sydney that his town constables be uniformed as a sign of respectability.

Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victorian the Golden"
position in society. A similar observation was made of them on the goldfields, "...eight or nine black troopers, who, in their uniform and polished boots looked as proud as possible." The Protectors described their police as looking proud in their uniforms. Other Aborigines such as Charles Never were envious of them.

Port Phillip society in general was keen on uniforms, a social consequence of the absence of the age-old, overwhelmingly visible marks of social stratification that were a feature of living at home in England. LaTrobe himself possessed a wardrobe of impressive uniforms; the Commissioners of Crown Land were like peacocks in all their glory; Charles Ebden's sartorial splendour was a byword in his day; in the eyes of the Aborigines who watched, Liardet outshone even the Governor in the procession escorting Sir George Gipps from Sandridge to Melbourne; Liardet was wearing the uniform of the Austrian cavalry. Dana designed for the officers of the Corps the following Undress uniform: a blue frock coat with brass scales, and with oval buttons embossed with the Crown, ten on the breast, four on the shirt and two on each sleeve; a blue foraging cap with a gold band, and half inch gold lace on the peak and a chin strap; patent leather stocks; blue trousers with double red stripes, an inch and a quarter wide, or white trousers; Wellington boots, brass spurs, patent leather sword belt and a light cavalry sword. Their shell jackets were to be blue, with scarlet collar and cuffs, and sleeves and back piped with scarlet, gold-braided, with embroidered hooks and eyes. It is a uniform so gorgeous as to belong nowadays in comic opera.

The NCO's were if anything, more striking. Their red stripes, it is true, were to be only an inch wide, as opposed to the inch and a quarter of the officer caste, but they carried more equipment

53 St John to LaTrobe, 17 Nov 1845, enc with 46/1835 in AO of NSW 4/2742
54 Adcock, W.E., 1921: 28
55 Charles Never coveted the horses, uniforms and idle life of being a member of the Corps (Edgar, L., 1865: 96)
56 See Edward Curr's description of the scene outside the Melbourne Club when the Commissioners of Crown Land were down in Melbourne, and his description of the extraordinary spectacle of a Commissioner of Crown Land's entourage out in the field - Curr, E.M., Recollections of Spitting in Victoria, then called The Port Phillip District, 1841-1851, 1965: 8 and Chapter 12.
57 He even had a liveried black boy to attend his beribboned and plumed horses - a real live blackamoor in provincial Melbourne.
58 George Gordon McCrae described the welcoming procession where everyone who had anything striking to wear furbished it up and put it on, and there was a fair sprinkling of masonic and other jewels besides fancy costumes...most effective of all...Liardet...in an Austrian cavalry uniform" which did even more to command the attention and admiration of the Aboriginal followers of the show than Mitta Gubbonah himself" (McCrae, G.G., "Some Recollections of Melbourne in the Forties", in VHM, vol 2, no 3, Nov 1912:124). McCrae makes a point of emphasising that the uniforms and special clothing were relics from "past and gone 'doings' in the Old Country", endowed with meaning by the memory of past associations, trotted out now in the new country to make the same kind of statement about the wearer and his/her place in the new society.
59 Uniform for the Native Police, with Rules and Regulations, enc with Dana to LaTrobe, 29 Nov 1846, itself an enclosure with Croke to LaTrobe, VPRS, 19, Box 92, 47/866
than the gentlemen in the form of two pistols and a carabine as well as a sword, so they needed more belting as well as pouches for cartridges; they would have presented an even more eye catching spectacle with a three inch shoulder belt and girdle of red morocco leather with yellow lace. We read descriptions of processions and parades, of dinners, levees and balls, the laying of foundation stones, the formal openings of institutions, mostly for their information content, but they may be read too, as descriptions of men almost desperate to make a statement about their position in society. In this society, uniforms possessed an importance that our democratically shaped consciousness finds difficult even to imagine. The men who became police knew this though, and so did the authorities. Uniforms would mark them out from other Aborigines, as Lonsdale noted, and at the same time command respect from Europeans towards the wearers as being a part of the enforcing arm of the ruling or governing class. Even after he left the Native Police Corps, Benbow was seldom seen out of uniform, his Commissioner's uniform being supplied by Mr Erskine60.

The original uniforms supplied to the police were quite unsatisfactory in Dana's eyes, the trousers were too short and much too wide, they were made so very badly, the caps were too small, the belts were far too slight for the purpose for which they were used61. He was similarly disparaging about the boots - though slop boots were cheaper, he wrote, they were far too clumsy for service and don't last any time62. He put the argument that if the uniforms were made to fit, the men would take better care of them, and as a consequence would feel a greater pride in themselves. LaTrobe was persuaded, and from then on, Dana outfitted the men according to his own definition of propriety and style - good, strong cavalry boots, tailor-made uniforms durable quality fabric that would look well when made up. From then on, Dana wangled for his police most of what he wanted: he tried for the best, and to a large extent he got it. When he could not obtain cloth that he considered of sufficient quality in Melbourne, he ordered it from Sydney63. The Winter uniform was made of a dark green/black fabric, with a red stripe on the side of the pants, a jacket with red collar and cuffs made of the same woolen fabric, and a cap of the same, also with a red stripe. They wore leather belts, leather cartouche boxes, and carried swords. In Summer they wore white64. The occasional evidence of the police being virtually in rags after an extended stay in the field, must be seen for what it was - a

60 Thomas in Bride, T.F. op cit: 406
61 Dana to LaTrobe, 7 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 27, 42/507
62 Dana to LaTrobe, 22 Dec 1842, VPRS 19, Box 39/2378.
63 Dana to LaTrobe, ibid.
64 Anyone who has seen the Officer Cadet Corps of the Australian Army, either at Duntroon or Portsea, would know from experience just how well they looked in that dark uniform with the red stripe.
cause for just complaint, a disgrace, distant from the norm. As well as Dress uniforms, they were issued annually with red shirts, blue shirts, moleskin pants and corduroy pants, and these are the clothes that they probably wore in the field. The Native Police H.Q. had their own resident tailor from 1845 on, whose duties included the construction for each trooper of the Dress Winter and Summer uniforms. In full dress, on mounted parade, they commanded admiration and respect from all who watched them. Uniforms worked as signs to outsiders.

The men used uniforms, symbolically, to make statements about their lives. The obverse side of the coin of this pride in wearing the uniform is dissatisfaction and/or rejection, and uniforms were used to convey this too. The police used their clothing to reject symbolically their policing role in 1847. "Something is amiss with the Native Police", Thomas wrote ominously. They had arrived at Merri Creek in uniform, without their horses, to patrol at the races, and once the duty was done, they should have returned to Narre Nerre Warren. By Sunday evening, they should have been on their way back, but they weren't: Moiberkoin arrived on horseback from H.Q. and Thomas thought they would then be off. Monday morning found them still there though, and worse, they packed up all their clothes and sent them back to H.Q. with a boy on horseback, only Buckup electing to return. All the others, Polligerry, Kulpandure, Tommy Munnering, Kalkallo, Purpur, Yeapune, Warringalpoop, Tomboko, Moiberkoin and Tumummenook refused to go. In other parts of the world, in other branches of Her Majesty's forces at the time, it would have been called mutiny.

Later still, when four troopers deserted from the goldfields, they too, packed up their uniforms and accoutrements and left them for the Police Magistrate. Uniforms could also be used to signal not "I will not serve" but "I cannot serve", as was done by trooper Souwester who became ill while on a recruiting mission to his own country near Port Fairy; unable to walk from the mia-mia where he was lying, on the bank of the Merri River, he sent in his horse, clothing and accoutrements by a friend to the Police Magistrate, Portland Bay. It was the first anyone knew of his predicament.

Wideculk was a great one for furloughs, as Thomas observed, frequently coming down to Melbourne for drinking sessions, but Wideculk would always plant his police clothes safely for

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65 Sergeant McLelland to Commandant, 17 Mar 1849, from Glenmona, VPRS 4466
66 William Tobin from 18 Feb 1845, William Toner from 13 Sep 1847 - VPRS 90; Charles Never, an Aboriginal, was the tailor to the N.P. towards the end - Autobiography of William Strutt, Ms 4294, N.K. 4367: 63, NL.
67 Slightly different versions of this event are to be found at VPRS 11, Box 10/659 and VPRS 10, Box 8, 47/561
68 Thomas gives no hint at all as to what was amiss, but simply from the chronology of Tomboko's departure from the Corps, it seems that his case could have been the reason for the problem (See his biographical details)
69 Vic Col Sec to Dana, 30 Oct 1851, VPRS 3219, vol1: 40
70 A.W.Hume to W.Gray, enc with Gray to Vic Col Sec, 1 Sep 1851, VPRS 1189, Box 5, 51/627
recovery prior to returning on duty - certainly, so as not to be reported by Europeans, but equally, it may be suspected, so as not to bring disgrace on the Corps\textsuperscript{71}. Calcheron too, used his uniform symbolically, or rather, he used the absence of it for an unusual purpose. Mrs Charles Perry, wife of the Bishop of Melbourne, recorded that on their expedition to Gippsland in 1849, escorted by Dana and five police, Calcheron doffed his uniform, putting on his "sheepskin and spear" to go to talk with some Gippsland Aborigines, whom he had a great desire to civilise\textsuperscript{72}. Presumably Calcheron acted on the assumption that his message was more accessible to the Gippsland party if he were not in uniform\textsuperscript{73}.

Billibolary being the "chief", no duty was required from him; he would not drill, and he would not go out of his own country on duty, but each evening, an hour before sundown, he dressed himself in his police uniform and marched back and forth between his miam and Thomas' tent which were adjacent\textsuperscript{74}. Billibolary was making a statement about his corporate solidarity with the police, but at the same time asserting his status. Uniforms worked to make quite a number of statements for the police about their situation.

To move to the question of what else policing offered them is to is to engage at another level of historical enquiry; it becomes not so much a question of reading the evidence of description, but rather, of piecing together the fragments of information about individual named persons. In a sense, this whole work is an argument that the tiny details of Aboriginal lives and living are as necessary to an understanding of Australia's past as are the tiny details of European lives and living, (though in neither case are the tiny details sufficient). There is within the whole work as an argument though, a specific argument, and it is this. Joining the Native Police is best seen as a strategy in the direction of sharing power and authority in the Port Phillip District, in the changed environment of the powerful and permanent European presence. Besides the material things that the police could see they would get, an opportunity was put before them of becoming men of standing within the new society and they took it: furthermore they used it. They bent it back, and they used their prestige and influence to manoeuvre within traditional group politics, to such effect that while the Corps was in existence,

\textsuperscript{71} Thomas in Bride, T.F. op cit: 410
\textsuperscript{72} Perry, R. 1857:111. Gellibrand and Robinson were concerned about this action, considering it plenty foolish. Mrs Perry's journal has been published recently in a more accessible form in Robin, A. de Q. Australian Sketches, 1984
\textsuperscript{73} A similar action by Aboriginal men of the Northern Territory police in the 1930's is explained thus: "The doffing of the uniforms was symbolic as well as practical, transforming Big Pat the tracker into Jarat the cockatoo, cousin to King Wonggo of the Balamumu" - see Hall, V.C. Dreamtime Justice, Rigby, Adelaide, 1962: 135
\textsuperscript{74} Thomas in Bride, T.F. op cit: 404
these men became the power-brokers within what Thomas calls the Confederacy, that is, the related groups in the immediate country centred on Melbourne - the Warwoorong, Bunerong, Wadhourong, Tonguerong. And because these contiguous groups were in turn related in enmity or friendship with their contiguous groups, the ripples were felt throughout Aboriginal society along the great lines of communication, the rivers. This does not mean that the Native Police in their new role set about destroying the Aboriginal people of Port Phillip, a conclusion too readily made in the past: on the contrary, the evidence demonstrates that in some cases, the police displayed a reluctance to co-operate that would in a European institution at the same time be described as mutiny. Being a Native Policeman was a state of dual consciousness and divided loyalty; it appears not to have been a matter of rejecting Aboriginality, but rather of learning to live in two different worlds.

The phenomenon under examination is cultural adaptation or acculturation, the adding on of something, or the acquisition of another cultural code, not rejection or destruction of the primary code. We are looking at an affirmation of being, not a negation. The evidence of the lives of the men in staying with the Corps, together with the evidence of successful recruiting from all parts of the Port Phillip District recruiting suggests that overall, those who joined saw a future for themselves in the European order of things. In their heart of hearts, they may have pined constantly for the golden age before the coming of the white man, but faced with their existential situation of the dominance of European persons and institutions, European society and culture, they made a positive choice. The men who chose to be police, selected a strategy of survival which can best be seen as an adaptive response.

The firmest evidence in support of this interpretation is to be read from the status of those who joined. Of the clans or sections of the tribes whose country lay around Melbourne, the following headmen or heirs of headmen, joined one or other of the Corps- Billibolary, Benbow, Betbenjee, Ningalobin, Yal Yal, Nunuptune, Mumbo, Buckup, Warrengittolong, de Villiers, Warwoorong, Nerimbineck, Murrummurmbean, Marmbull, Borro Borro, Kalcallo, Wigeculk, Murray, Barack and Munmuninga. In addition, a man whom Thomas described as one of the most influential men, councillor or warrior, Jack Weatherley (Ginnen), pressed Thomas to become a policeman, and Thomas thought he would have been an acquisition, but he died of snakebite at Nerre Nerre Warren on 15 February 1842, during the selection process. When men of power and

75 If anything was being rejected in this choice, it was the missionary message and way of life.
76 Thomas Report, 11 Mar 1842, 42/5108 in CSIL Letters No 11, Dixson Library
influence, leaders of their own groups acting collectively, decide on a strategy of co-operation with a foreign power, power itself is an issue.

A Stake in the Country

A procession in Geelong on Wednesday 20 November 1850, held to mark glorious separation of the colony of Victoria from NSW, takes us to the heart of the matter. It was the intention of the Rejoicings Committee, who planned the week of celebrations, that the Aborigines should have a “steak” in the Colony, to be symbolised by their sharing in a huge ox to be roasted after a public procession. The heavy-handed pun makes us cringe, it sounds so crass and patronising and awful from our perspective in time, the symbolism so easy to mock. It seems from the actions of the Aborigines at the time though, that it was genuinely meant, and wholeheartedly responded to. The Aborigines came into Geelong days before the proposed procession, camping near the starting point, preparing their banner, receiving their new clothing. It was an age of dressing up for processions, of celebrating with games and races, banners and bands and flags, bonfires and illuminations. This procession was large, a conglomerate of all the social institutions of the town - the Independent Order of Rechabites, the Juvenile Temperance Society, Manchester Unity Lodge, the Grand United Order of Oddfellows, 1500 of the school children of Geelong (2000 came for the feast), the Mayor and Town Council. All were dressed in full regalia, decorated with medals and sashes, carrying new banners made for this event. In the 1840’s, the usual position/role of Aborigines on such occasions was that of spectator or audience, but in this procession they were participants, marching at the head, behind the Chief Constable on horseback and the Geelong Police; they marched two by two, dressed in new white blankets and carrying spears, gravely and noiselessly, not unlike Roman Senators in dignity, according to the reporter from the Geelong Advertiser. Their leader, Mette Moss, carried their banner on which was inscribed on one side

DE IN PENANT
ORDER
OF BLACK FELLOWS

and on the reverse side

GLORIOUS SEPARATION.

77 Baillieu, D. Australia Felix: A Miscellany from the Geelong Advertiser 1840-1850. 1982:134
The reporter did not mention whether they made their own banner. It may be suspected
that they did: if a European made it, then that European captured the sound of their pronunciation of
Independent and managed to mock them at the same time. However, it would not accord with
European propriety that a spelling error would be carried aloft around the streets of Geelong on such a
momentous occasion.

With this banner, these Aborigines made a clear response to the invitation to have a
stake in the country; they chose to participate in the ritualistic expression of joy at independence for the
Colony of Victoria, and they took the opportunity to make a statement about their own understanding
of their place in that society - participatory but independent\(^7\). It would be going beyond the evidence
to read into their actions that they were enthusiastic supporters of the notion of independence for
Victoria, and it is not important to this work that there is built into the twin concepts of participation
and independence, the possibility of endless confusion. For present purposes it is enough to recognise
that the European citizens of Geelong thought it appropriate to include Aborigines in their celebrations,
and Aborigines chose to respond - on their own terms. The newspaper's editor thought that the
Aboriginal participation was so important that it would be their presence which would "attract the
attention of future ages, more than any other element of the whole rejoicing"\(^7\) (my emphasis).

It seems to me that a similar process was in operation with regard to the Native Police,
not the same offer, and not the same response, but the same process of adaptation and acculturation.
The Native Police were specifically offered a place in the power structure of the dominant society -
they were invited to ally themselves with gentlemen of the ruling class, to become in the words of one
of them, real black gentlemen.

**Real Black Gentlemen**

The words are those of young Charles Never (Murrumwiller), an Aboriginal boy from
the Murray\(^8\) who was educated at the Merri Creek school, apprenticed subsequently to Mr Foreman,

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\(^7\) We need a comprehensive and detailed study of Aboriginal participation in public events. My subjective impression is
that they were participants in things like Church services, races, games, witnesses at things like public executions,
elections, spectators at parades, balls, levees, dinners, the laying of foundation stones, the openings of institutions and
the like; they promenaded the Melbourne streets as ladies and gentlemen did, recognising and being recognised; even the
schoolboys from Merri Creek promenaded Collins St; they sat for portraits which were displayed in appropriate shop
windows; they were recipients at public feasts given for their benefit, performers at reciprocal corroborees; they were in
fact, very visible, very connected to European society, quite engaged in and with it. We simply have not noticed them,
except in the role assigned to them as victim.

\(^8\) Edgar, L. *Among the Black Boys*, Emily Faithfull, London, 1865: 35, says he came from Gippsland, but Thomas
believed him to be from the Murray tribe - 1 Jan 1851, in ML, Uncat Ms, set 214, item 6: 63. Earlier however, when
Charles arrived at the Merri Creek school in Jun 1848, Thomas thought he came from the Wimmera - Thomas to
Robinson, 12 Jun 1848, **VPRS** 11, Box 11/696.
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden"
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79 Baillieu op cit: 133
80 Edgar, L., Among the Black Boys, Emily Faithfull, London, 1865: 35, says he came from Gippsland, but Thomas believed him to be from the Murray tribe - 1 Jan 1851, in ML, Uncat Ms, set 214, item 6: 63. Earlier however, when Charles arrived at the Merri Creek school in Jun 1848, Thomas thought he came from the Wimmera - Thomas to Robinson, 12 Jun 1848, VPRS 11, Box 11/696.
a tailor in Elizabeth St Melbourne, then joined the Native Police as tailor. Charles Never is interesting: he adopted the English language altogether, refusing to speak or answer in the widely-used pidgin mode; he could not bear to smoke his pipe when gentlemen smoked cigars; he wore only black clothing - black coat and trousers, tall black hat, black waistcoat, starched collar, black satin stock, black kid gloves, elegant cane and highly polished boots. He understood, as the missionary's daughter noted, that the absence of colour marked out a gentleman, and he wanted above all things to be a gentleman. He appreciated, as did the other boys at school, not only the obvious boundaries in the Europeans class structure, but the subtle distinctions - the distinctions between ordinary gentlemen and big or very big gentlemen who commanded respect. The missionary's daughter observed that the behaviour of the boys varied according to their assessment of the social standing of whoever the current other might be; they were not shy of LaTrobe for example, but they were in awe of Dr Cousins, a "beeg one gentleman": that status is not the same thing as class, they well knew. When Charles Never saw the Native Police in their dark uniforms with the red stripe, mounted on prancing horses, he thought they were "real black gentlemen". And having seen, he wanted the same, all the trappings to be one himself. He is the shrewdest observer, an expert witness to what attracted him: when Charles Never reads the Native Police as real black gentlemen, we get an insider's view.

The attraction that Aborigines showed towards the transplanted gentry has not been the subject of serious enquiry till recently; in discussions centred on the notion of class in Port Phillip in the nineteenth century we tend to ignore the Aboriginal population. But Aborigines in general were very conscious of class distinction - they displayed an interest in "placing" Europeans as keen as that displayed by the best players of the social game on board the ships travelling from England to the colonies. And as a corollary, a marked feature of Aboriginal behaviour, a product of the knowledge gained in the process of placing, was contempt for convicts and "low-bred" people. Station hands or passers-by speaking with Scotch or Irish accents were defined by Aborigines of McCrae's acquaintance

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81 Edgar, L. A. *Among the Black Boys*, 1865: 37
82 op cit: 28
83 Since the first draft of this chapter, two articles have been published which address the question of Aborigines and class: Woolmington, J. "Humble Artisans and Untutored Savages" in *Journal of Australian Studies*, no 16, May 1985, and Reynolds, H. "Aborigines and European Social Hierarchy", in *Aboriginal History*, vol 7, Pt 2, 1983. Broadly, Woolmington views the failure of missions as due primarily to the low social position and narrow outlook of the majority of missionaries, while Reynolds argues that the Government's official policy was designed to fit Aborigines into the working classes, but that Aborigines in some cases rejected this social position.
84 Blaskeet, B. MA Thesis, 1979: 206
85 de Serville, P. 1980: 53
as "warrigal belongit-a-white-fella" or wild white men. It may be that they defined gentlemen as their natural allies, and convicts or others with broad accents as foreigners, and endowed those whom they saw as European savages with the same qualities as Aborigines foreign to them.

It must not be forgotten that within Aboriginal culture prior to contact, there existed a tendency towards deference behaviour towards outsiders under certain circumstances. It was a decidedly ethnocentric phenomenon which has been described in the following terms: "It is more than probable that the Australians have always had a belief in the existence of races both superior and inferior to their own; and it is certain that the accidental intrusion of members of distant and strange tribes, acquainted with modes of fighting and decoration somewhat different from their own, must always have been regarded as proofs of the existence of peoples different from them. If easily taken and killed, such intruders would be regarded as inferiors; if superior in skill, and greater in daring, and able to put to flight the warriors, then the visitors would be regarded as superiors. In the latter case, the adoption of any other hypothesis would have cast a slur on the fighting-men. It is a subtle point, and telling. The regard, and the response, are fundamentally protective of existing social relationships. Put another way, this amounts to the attitude that it is wiser to accommodate to an outsider than allow one's own to be humiliated. If this interpretation is correct, it can be imagined how it would have worked in pre-contact times: biding one's time would have been the order of the day, watching and waiting for an opportunity to exploit to reverse the situation. That it did not work in the case of Europeans who came in such large numbers and kept coming is not evidence of European cultural superiority, only the failure of a strategy.

There is evidence that Aborigines interpreted the English word gentleman as a conflation of the concepts of wealth and leadership. In the Western District in 1841, Chief Protector Robinson asked for the name of the chief or headman or gentleman of a tribe whom he had just met, about whom he wanted information. His informants responded that "They were all poor men, there was no gentleman among them." Assistant Protector Sivewright recorded the categorisation by

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86 McCrae, G.G. in VHM, vol 1, 1911: 25
87 Separate from the respect accorded to men of high degree within the group
88 Smythe, R.B. 1972, vol 1: 137
Aboriginal informants of Europeans into "two gentlemen and two poor people". Jemmy, a pupil at the Edgar's mission expected gentlemen (sic) to provide for all his needs.

The boys at the Merri creek school did not get on well with workmen, Edgar wrote, because the men offended their dignity and made fun of them. But they would work under her father's leadership if he worked for them and with them. Authority was included in the Aboriginal interpretation of gentleman. Assistant Protector Parker recorded that the old men at his station said that his teaching is false, and ridiculed it, and added that many white men and "gentlemen" had told them so.

Gellibrand actively cultivated gentlemen. Quite a number of Aborigines in Port Phillip acquired the prefix "Gentleman" as part of their names, for example Gentleman Jemmy. Charles Never wrote that the gentlemen were very kind to the pupils at the mission; it is clear from Edgar's narrative that LaTrobe, various medical men and other eminent citizens of Melbourne had more than a mild interest in the pupils and their welfare: a subscription was raised for funds and at a formal prizegiving night the pupils recited and performed. Distinguished visitors were taken out to Merri Creek to inspect the school and its pupils. Whether or not it benefitted them is another matter, the point being that the pupils probably had more interaction with the English upper classes than any European outside that social strata, enough certainly to read European class distinctions and appreciate the short term benefits. Henry Meyrick described the four families who lived with him at Coolourt on the Mornington Peninsula as dressing like gentlemen, and calling themselves gentlemen.

Newspapers usually referred to the Aborigines as "the blacks", though sometimes they were called "savages", and once or twice "Indians", but there was another metaphorical description in use which really requires investigation - "sable gentlemen" or "sable friends". It is not simply a

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90 5 Nov 1841, quoted in Victorian Aborigines, 1835-1901, Government Information Centre Victoria, 1984
91 Edgar, L.A. 1865: 5
92 Edgar, L.A. 1865: 18
93 Morrison, E. Early Days: 55
94 Gentleman Jemmy went before the court in the winter of 1847 on a charge of felony (spearing cattle Thomas thought); he was tried and released - Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/662 and 668, Box 11/694
96 132. Yal Yal otherwise known as Cognamine Wougill or Lively, Meyrick's loyal and affectionate friend was a Native Policeman
matter of irony, though the ironical element is present. When authors of the time use these words to describe Aboriginal actors, they are drawing attention to some kind of discernable social reality, perhaps a convergence of style and outlook between black gentlemen and white.

We are mistaken in imposing the contemporary equivalence of the words "gentlemen" and "men" on Port Phillip society in the 1840's. Of the whole staff of the Protectorate, only Sievwright was a gentleman (and he was a cad in contemporary parlance, seducing Parker's wife), but all the Native Police officers were gentlemen according to the categories of the day.

Letwin has taken as a problem the idea of the English gentleman, and disregarding modern sociological typologies, has elected to make her enquiry within a literature of the mid to late nineteenth century. She sees the gentleman as one who makes his own society, one who, in wholly unfamiliar or outrageous circumstances, continues to live with himself on the terms he chooses himself. A gentleman has coherence, integrity and inner certainty, and of that particular species of gentleman the aristocrat, she recognises that his special task is to cultivate that which is given to him - that he is only the custodian for his lifetime of what his ancestors bequeathed him in order to be handed down to the next generation. Letwin notes that neither Hamlet nor Falstaff were gentlemen, and that in fact the most perfect gentleman in Trollope's novels is a woman. Her analysis can be extended - some Port Phillip Aborigines were gentlemen too. The use of the word gentleman by Aborigines and about Aborigines is addressed to a profound contemporary social reality, even if it has so far not received much attention.

Keesing has noticed the process of imitation which betrays attraction, that Aboriginal youths on acquiring wealth in the days of gold soon appeared dressed in the first style and riding about like other gentlemen. An officer of the Queensland Corps noticed the same, and in fact the structure of the Corps was changed, so that sub-lieutenants were substituted for Sergeants on the theory that the Aboriginal troopers would respect more, leaders who associated with gentlemen rather than those who associated with the labouring classes at the stations they visited and who frequently got drunk. Of the whole category of white man by the way, one observer thought that Aborigines regarded the mounted policeman as belonging to the highest order. Charles Never's attraction to the uniforms, horses and idle life of a policeman was a personal response, but is easily understood in the wider sense.

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99 Skinner, L. E. 1975: 93
100 Angas, G.F. Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand. (1847), 1969: 53
as an attraction to the visible signs of power and status, to becoming a part of the new authority structure in Port Phillip.

What then did it mean, to adopt the coloniser and his ways, and how was it expressed?, appear to be the next questions.

The Native Police as Power Brokers

The signs of Native Police power were so widespread throughout society that breaking into the system for the purpose of examination is almost an arbitrary action. The exercise of power out in the field though, can easily be separated and is examined in Chapters 6-8. A convenient place to start here, might be with the exercise of police power at home, with relation to their own kin in the Merri Creek school.

From March 1842 when they were forced to leave Nerre Nerre Warren because of the scarcity of water, till the beginning of 1844 when they returned to make Nerre Nerre Warren their permanent H.Q., the Native Police were based at Merri Creek, alongside the Protector’s station and the school. In effect, they ran the school, in the sense of deciding who went to school, for what period, under what conditions. They used the school as a recruiting depot. Further, this relationship continued even after they moved back to Nerre Nerre Warren. In the early days of the school, in the latter months of 1842, before the rationing system was properly organised, the children refused to attend lessons, saying "no damper, no school", (reminiscent of the similar dispute earlier that year at Nerre Nerre Warren about the quality of the Sabbath flour). The schoolmaster appealed to Dana, who remonstrated with Billibolary to such effect that the children returned to school. Two weeks later, the same problem recurred, and this time Dana told Billibolary that if the children did not return to school, he would turn them all out of the paddock. The children returned. Dana could not be there all the time, pressuring Billibolary to force the children to their lessons, and the hardships and pupil resistance finally got to Noble Keenan who resigned in February 1843, "completely fatigued" with chasing reluctant pupils through the bush, catching them for lessons in ones and twos as he could, chalking the alphabet on bark because there were no tablets, unable to provide them with rations, unable to deter them from visiting Melbourne101.

The police (names unspecified) repeatedly enticed the boys away from school. One obvious reason for enticing away the young stands out - recruiting. Tomboko, Marmbool, Tommy

101 Diary of Noble Keenan, 4, 25, 28 Nov 1842, 1 Feb 1843, VPRS 26
Munnering, Munite, George Tuggendun, Charles Never, Jacky Warren and Quondine were all recruited from the school. So institutionalised was this practice that Thomas suggested that the schoolmaster supply Dana with a list of the names of pupils at Merri Creek, so that Dana would not be manipulated by his men into recruiting them\textsuperscript{102}, and on one occasion the Baptist Deacons thanked Lonsdale (acting as Superintendent in LaTrobe's absence in VDL) for his willingness and readiness to prevent the Native Police from repeating their attempts to entice away the schoolboys\textsuperscript{103}.

Other unspecified examples may have had to do with the imparting of true knowledge and participation in the ceremonies associated with passing through the stages of growth\textsuperscript{104}: the real struggle might have been for the hearts and minds of these boys, a struggle between white man's knowledge and black knowledge. As the men of the police were the men responsible for growing up these boys, there is doubtless a conflation of motives in enticing the boys away from school. All the Protectors are on record at one time or another noticing the power of compulsion that the old men had over the young, especially in the sacred matter of participation in ceremonies. Even Commissioners of Crown Land took that power as given - a simple fact\textsuperscript{105}. It would not be at all surprising, were the circumstances known of all the deaths at Aboriginal hands, of young men or boys in European employ, to find that the reason for the killing was the reluctance of the young men to participate in the sacred corporate life of the group. The recurrent demand of the old men to the young in European employment, was "come back", learn what you should know in order to be properly grown up. It seems fair to say of these people at this time, that the old men at least, valued the quality of living higher than life itself. There is even a suggestion from the schoolmaster Mr Peacock, that the police enticed the children away against the wishes of the those parents who were conforming to European cultural mores\textsuperscript{106}. Were this true, it would throw the police into a new light - custodians and teachers of traditional values, preservers of true knowledge!

\textsuperscript{102} Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Jun -31 Aug 1847, enc with 47/7444 in AO of NSW 4/2783; see also PPH 8 Sep 1846 for report that the Native Police had enticed three boys away from the school.
\textsuperscript{103} "Request for assistance for Merri creek school, Reports etc", in VPRS 19, Box 86, 46/1632
\textsuperscript{104} ibid: 1 Aug, 14 Sep, 1842; Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep-30 Nov 1846, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1; LaTrobe to Dana, 26 Oct 1846, and Dana to LaTrobe, 29 Oct 1846, VPRS 19, Box 85, 46/1597; Argus, 22 Sep 1846; Thomas Quarterly Report, Sep-Nov 1848, enc with 48/13880, AO of NSW, 4/2816.4
\textsuperscript{105} "Death is the consequence of absenting themselves", CCL Portland Bay to LaTrobe, 9 Jan 1851, VPRS 19, Box 144, 51/72; see also C.C.L. Bingham's report, 1 Jan 1848 relating that employment was an innovation on traditional habits dreaded by the old men, who obliged the young men so employed to resume their original garb and migrate with the tribe- 1 HRA xxvi: 402
\textsuperscript{106} Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep-30 Nov 1846, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1
There is also the question to be asked of the part played by the Native Police in the organisation of wives for young men. The Native Police themselves, or men who had been police seem to have been quite successful in obtaining women. Thomas might have disapproved but he judged from a different cultural perspective. In pre-contact times, the management of the negotiations or raids to obtain wives was of tremendous significance to any group in a multitude of ways. The men of the police seem to have cornered the market in the exchange or capture of Gippsland women; they ensured that women "owed" to them by the Barrabool tribe did come to them in the proper way\textsuperscript{107}. What is more, they possessed sufficient power to ensure the safety of these women at Nerre Nerre Warren.

Thomas wrote that the old blacks would not let the young boys aged sixteen to seventeen have a lubra unless they leave the mission or school and go into the bush\textsuperscript{108}. Through the recruiting into the Corps of men from other districts, the Corps’ network of social relationships was enlarged, with particularly importance in the domain of arranging wives. As women foreign to the country around Melbourne were recorded as living at Nerre Nerre Warren as wives and mothers of police, the clear implication is that the men of the Corps enhanced their power by providing foreign women as marriage partners. They may have used this power to influence the boys at school.

A small pointer to the power of the Corps in the sense of the protection it could offer is the evidence from a settler who wrote enquiring from the Chief Protector whether "his boy" Peter could be accepted into the Native Police. Peter it seems, had recently done a service for Europeans in identifying Aboriginal depredators, and his life was in danger. The clear implication is that it was believed he would be safe there\textsuperscript{109}.

Interestingly, the only example so far found of the Corps acting against the interests of persons native to Melbourne is their capture of two "lads", both of the Westernport tribe, named Jeb Jeb (alias Bonnie Laddie) and Trillac (alias Tommy), who were accused of attempting to murder Mr Allen's man of colour who herded cattle at Westernport\textsuperscript{110}. In this case, the men of the Corps might have had their own reasons for executing the warrant for apprehension, based on knowledge we do

\textsuperscript{107} Muthermumrum and Tooturook (widow of Kunnin Koombra Kowan who was transported to VDL for seven years in 1846) - Thomas to Robinson, 8 Nov 1846, VPRS 11, Box 10/647
\textsuperscript{108} Thomas Half-Yearly Report, 30 Jun 1849, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 12 Jul 1849, 49/6892 in AO of NSW 4/2872
\textsuperscript{109} J.H. Patterson to Robinson, 23 Feb 1849, Robinson Papers, vol 57A: 461, ML; it does not seem though that Peter joined.
\textsuperscript{110} Thomas Journal, 10 Jan 1848, set 214, item 14, ML, and Thomas to Robinson, 10 and 11 Jan 1848, VPRS 11, Box 11/682 & 685
not possess. Bonnie Laddie, though only a boy, was involved in the search in Gippsland for the white woman in 1847, and at the end of 1848 (after his trial for attempted murder), he was suspected of complicity in the disappearance of a Mr Lee (a junior clerk in LaTrobe's office) in a boating misadventure at Westernport.

Another illustration of police power, and the use of it, this time quite specifically in the upholding of traditional values, is to be seen in the story of Mary-Ann whose real name was Wyulk; she was a Bunrung, eighteen years old at the time of Dredge's census in 1839, married to Burrenong, known as Mr Dredge or Jack. Mary-Ann's brother was a policeman, and when Dana took his force of nine to Portland Bay in the winter of '42, her brother left instructions with another policeman, Pereuk/Perpine, otherwise known as Mr McNoel, to take steps to "draw her back to the tribe" from employment with a Mr Stevens of Little Bourke St. It was well-known, according to Sergeant Peter R. Bennett of the Native Police, that Mary-Ann had been co-habiting with this man, had had two pregnancies, resulting in each case in infanticide, and it was a source of anxiety to the police, who wanted her back in her proper place. Several times they begged him to use his power to bring her back [and Billiboraly's daughter who was in a similar situation]; they pointed out to Bennett that they had lost three of their wives to the service of Europeans; they displayed "great anxiety". Bennett instructed them to discover the whereabouts of the women, but they went further than that, bursting into the house where the women were and forcibly removing them. The upshot was that Stevens laid charges against the two policemen of abduction, and threatened to get Bennett dismissed. It is frustrating that there is no court record, and thus no conclusion to the story, but Bennett's summary is worth noticing: "Knowing the character of these people, their excessive jealousy, and the tenacity with which they hold on to, and the bold, determined and sanguinary spirit with which they stand up and vindicate and maintain their rights to their lives (lives, not wives), I believe it to be an infringement on the part of the whites to interfere in these cases." In this case, the police appear to have a firm idea of what they desired to achieve, and the capacity to achieve it, and in the achievement of their will, they commanded the respect and admiration of their Sergeant.

111 Bonnie Laddie in Gippsland search - Tyers to LaTrobe, 6 Apr 1847, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/701; Dana fears that LaTrobe's suspicions with relation to Bonnie Laddie are well founded, Bonnie Laddie accompanied Mr Lee in his boat - Dana to LaTrobe, 9 Dec 1848, VPRS 19, Box 113, 48/2518
112 Bennett to LaTrobe, 31 Oct 1842, VPRS 19, Box 37, 42/2066; Mary-Ann - Dredge Census in Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML; Thomas to Robinson, 5 Dec 1842, VPRS 11, Box 8/466; Mary-Ann may be the same Mary-Ann that Bunce saw at Morialloc in the 1850's; he described her as the wife of Big Jack, plump, curly-headed, pleasing, with a musical voice, but now decrepit with pains, see Bunce, D. Australasian Reminiscences of Twenty-three Years Wanderings in Tasmania and the Australias, including Travels with Dr Leichhardt in North or Tropical Australia 1857: 74
The capacity of the police to attract others to them, perhaps more properly described as influence, was a cause of complaint by the Protectors. When the police were in Melbourne on leave, at the races, other Aborigines were allowed to into town to see them\textsuperscript{113}. When the police left Merri Creek to return permanently to Nerre Nerre Warren, Thomas recorded that the people were "much concerted" at no policemen returning\textsuperscript{114}. The Daybook notes the arrival from time to time of groups of outsiders at Nerre Nerre Warren, the arrival being followed sometimes by disturbance, as for example on 10 and 11 July 1845; sometimes though, the arrival of outsiders was the occasion of recreation, as in August 1846. Three police who had leave of absence for three days, duly returned, bringing some friends. Next day, the Sergeant went hunting kangaroo with them. It sounds as if the familiar and ordinary invitation to hospitality was being extended. In general, when individuals went on leave, as likely as not, they would return accompanied by one or more outsiders; sometimes they brought back recruits\textsuperscript{115}. In May 1843, when the police were still at Merri Creek, eighty-five foreigners from eight tribes with whom they were networked, arrived and set up camp within a mile of them\textsuperscript{116}. One explanation of this attraction is to be found in Thomas' notes - through their sharing of blankets and provisions\textsuperscript{117}.

It may have been the case that the police lured them, or it may have been that others had claims on members of the police, but either way, the police functioned like a magnet. Assistant Protector Parker at the Lodden described how the attraction worked "...The whole of the Jajawrong natives have been invited down\textsuperscript{118} by the Native Police and other Port Phillip blacks, and I regret to state that from the strong inducements held out to them, a large number appear disposed to accept the invitation. I am informed that Gellibrand and other Native Policemen, having free access to the stores, have given my people flour, tea, sugar, etc and have promised them ample supplies if they come to the station. I have hitherto succeeded in inducing the Jajawrong Aborigines to refuse the repeated invitations of the Port Phillip natives, and have thus kept them away from the vicinity of Melbourne for two years. And I greatly fear that unless a more stringent system be adopted at Merri Creek, the people here will become very unsettled, and will be induced more frequently to join the others in their begging

\textsuperscript{113} Thomas to Robinson, 18 Apr 1849, \textit{VPRS} 11, Box 11/716
\textsuperscript{114} Thomas Journal, 24 Nov 1843, M.L. Uncat Ms, set 214, item 3
\textsuperscript{115} Testimonial from W.Rutledge, Belfast Bench of Magistrates, enc with Dana to LaTrobe, 5 Jun 1847, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 93, 47/1040
\textsuperscript{116} Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Mar-1 Jun 1843, in \textit{NSW Leg.Co.V&P} 1843
\textsuperscript{117} Thomas Quarterly Report, Jun-Aug 1842, \textit{VPRS} 4410, Box 3/73
\textsuperscript{118} The emmissaries arrived from Melbourne with a fragment of a ship's log, but what the sign signified is unknown (Morrison, E. \textit{Early Days}: 55)
perambulations about the towns... I beg therefore respectfully to suggest that measures be taken immediately to prevent the Native Police and others from encouraging the visits of the natives of this district"\textsuperscript{119}. Such was the attractive power and influence of the police.

The police were powerful enough, in terms of will-power and determination, to get their own way against the will of the Protectors, as is seen in the following example. It looks to have been a deliberately undertaken test of strength on the part of the police, who were demanding the right of free social intercourse with their friends. It was December 1845, and Thomas was determined upon moving the combined Warwoorong/Bunerong people from their camp at Merri Creek to a new camp on the south side of the Yarra. Some of the police, down from Nerre Nerre Warren on leave, were so determined that their friends should stay that Thomas feared he would not succeed in moving the group. As it happened, he was able to get them away, but when he returned the following day to Merri Creek, he found that the police had moved into his own quarters, and were "not pleased" at his having removed their friends. Nor were the friends pleased; they moved straight back to Merri Creek.

"My fears have been realised", Thomas wrote to Robinson, "there is a tone of equality in the Native Police that makes the others callous. I have often to hear 'Black fellows don't care white police come. Black police soon drive them away. No gammon black police' \textsuperscript{120}. Next day, with 230 people in the encampment, some of the police got drunk, seized their guns, and the women and children fled to Mr Powers' station for safety\textsuperscript{121}.

There was so much in this test of strength to dismay the Protector: not only did the will of the police prevail in that they got their own way, but in the doing, they transgressed the bounds of propriety in taking over his own quarters, and they spoke as social equals, which bothered him\textsuperscript{122}. Worse, he was forced to endure the taunts of his people that they were not afraid of his threats to call the white police, because the black police were more powerful. One wonders whether the fact of the police getting drunk next day points to a celebration of victory over Thomas. It all came to an end.

\textsuperscript{119} Parker to Robinson, 11 Mar 1843, \textit{VPRS} 11, Box 5/203
\textsuperscript{120} Thomas to Robinson, 10 Dec 1845, \textit{VPRS} 11, Box 10/621
\textsuperscript{121} Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 1845- Mar1846, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1
\textsuperscript{122} Thomas' dismay that the Native Police had moved into his quarters is not comparable with the outrage expressed by Lt. Mair, OIC of the Mounted Police in November 1846, when the Native Police on return from field duty, camped with their horses in the Mounted Police Paddock at Richmond overnight, prior to proceeding next day to Nerre Nerre Warren. "I cannot for a moment allow myself to suppose that it is the wish and intention of the Government to mix up or in any way identify a Corps of this kind with the soldiers of the Mounted Police"- Mair to LaTrobe, 5 Nov 1846, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 86.
William Thomas

PRO Laverton

Note that neither this proposal for Mission extension (647) nor the sketch on previous page (1847) show any centre of activity for the N.P.
however, with the arrival of two officers who marched the police back to Nerre Nerre Warren on Saturday 15 December. A good weeks leave, they might have thought.

The question of the lost or abducted child of Mr Willoughby is an interesting one. There is a number of entries in the Dandenong Daybook recording that men of the Corps were out searching for lost women and children, but the name Willoughby is not mentioned\(^{123}\). The child did go missing though, permanently, and blame was attached to the Westernport blacks, in particular Nunuptune. Thomas wrote that Nunuptune was unjustly accused\(^{124}\), but he does not say that the child was merely lost: the inference might be that other Westernport men took him/her. The father believed this, as did the historian Sadleir who met the father subsequently, relating that the father never got over the loss\(^{125}\). Lost three year olds travel neither fast nor far. In the normal course of events, this would not be a difficult search for skilled trackers. But if indeed the child was not merely lost, but really taken by the Westernport men then it is not surprising that the search was unsuccessful. It was not their practice to bring trouble to their friends and relatives in the Westernport tribe.

The case of Murrenong otherwise known as Neddy, is like a little straw in the wind, pointing to the standing of the police; Murrenong was an outsider, a visitor to H.Q. at Nerre Nerre Warren in January 1847, who was defined as insane because of his behaviour in attacking and severely wounding two of the police, as well as many other "dangerous" attacks he made on the station. As the initial Daybook entry is written, it conveys the notion that Murrenong was insane because he attacked the police, rather than the notion that Murrenong was insane and subsequently attacked them. To control the definition of insanity is one of the greatest powers that any group in society can acquire. It reads as if the Native Police had captured this power so effectively that their will prevailed.

Murrenong's fate is unknown: Dana was absent from H.Q. at the time, but returned immediately and ordered that Murrenong be placed in confinement, in irons, guarded day and night, with a four-hourly change of guards. At the same time, he was to be treated "with every servility"; Murrenong was indeed felt to be dangerous. After six days confinement, Murrenong appeared to have calmed down, and Sergeant McGregor alone, with no black police escort, took him to the Police

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123 Thomas mentions that the Commandant and a party of N.P. were out searching for the three year old child of Mr Wilkinson, poundkeeper, in Oct 1846 (VPRS 11, Box 10/ 645 and 646). The Daybook records that it was Mr Atkinson's lost child (VPRS 90, 23-25 Oct 1846).
124 Thomas in Bride, T. F. 1983: 408
125 Sadleir, J. "Early Days of the Victorian Police Force": 75
Magistrates office in Melbourne. On arrival, Murrenong became "much excited by the numbers", showing further symptoms of insanity, and was sent to gaol for seven days to cool off. It was probably the case that Murrenong became much excited by the sight of other Aborigines, probably related to the police: he probably feared the worst. Murrenong disappears from our sight here, but his little story, particularly that he was escorted to Melbourne by a European NCO, attests to an otherwise hidden capacity of the police to use their position in the European power structure to their advantage in traditional relationships.

Murrenong's experience on their home ground leads to the question of the police exercising their power overtly outside their own country. Their capacity to influence tribal action at a distance has already been noticed in relation to enticing the Jajawrong down to Melbourne. It is their ability to act with impunity, outside their own country, that is now to be examined: the thorny question of inter se killings. It has nothing to do with the formal policing activity of the Corps when on duty in foreign country during the winter months: as LaTrobe said, the people in whose country the police were stationed while on official duty were so foreign and distant, so unconnected in the social reality of the Melbourne tribes that the police had no antipathy against them - they were too much strangers to matter. When these foreigners came to Melbourne though, into the police country, it did matter, and they acted accordingly. This will be examined next. It is a separate question. The present concern is with the actions of men who were in the Corps, acting within their domain, that is with the people and in the country loosely described as the Confederacy; not acting, however, formally as Native Police, but using the power they derived from that status to their own ends.

Inter se, murders, as the European authorities described them, the killing of one Aboriginal person by another, were of enormous concern to the authorities, who knew they were being committed and usually knew who committed them, but who were powerless to bring the guilty parties before the courts because of the inadmissibility of Aboriginal evidence. There was as well, a school of opinion which held that such killing had nothing to do with Europeans, and should not even enter the province of the European justice system. Within this clouded legal and moral dilemma, men who were police were able to kill other Aborigines with impunity. They were acting however, as native, not police.

126 LaTrobe quoted in Thomas Journal, 13 Nov 1843, ML, set 214, item 3.
127 Ferry calls it a situation of confused counsel and confounded effects - Ferry, John "An Examination of the various Aboriginal Evidence Bills of NSW, SA and WA, 1839-1849", BA (Hons) thesis, University of New England
One such killing was that of a Taoungbert man named Nalangboop, otherwise known as Robinson near the Joyce station on the Loddon, on 23 October 1845. There is nothing remarkable about the letter - there are hundreds like it in the records: it contains most of the elements of its kind - a straightforward recitation of the known facts, the steps taken to satisfy the demands of the European justice system, the powerlessness of the Protectors to do anything and so on. It is also though, a silent witness to the strength of traditional life being lived under the surface so to speak; there is no cultural collapse here; life is being lived according to the old imperatives just as it was before the Europeans took over, the difference being that it is concealed, because of the danger that while acting in accord with traditional social and legal practice, a man risked being caught up in the European justice system.

In this example, the explanation of the killing is provided by Thomas. Five Mt Macedon men travelled from Melbourne to the Loddon, killed Nalangboop and fled back to Mt Macedon, in retaliation for the killing by Lodden men of two members of the family of the leader of the expedition. The leader was Bungarin, a great chief according to Thomas, one of the most harmless and quiet old men usually (one of Thomas' big mistakes was to think that polite and harmless old men would not or could not be involved in inter-tribal killings), but the chief plotter and executioner in this case; with him were Boolewuru, Ningolabil, Nerrimbinyak and Banol, the last three being policemen. All these men belonged to two sections of the Wawoorong tribe, the Marinbulluk and the Konungwillam sections, known collectively to Europeans as "the Mt Macedon tribe". Some of them were police, but they were acting collectively as native, impelled by the old law, killing Nalangboop according to the old way (had guns been used, it would have been mentioned), then merging back into European society once their work was done. That little is known of this hidden current of life is merely a function of the European knowledge system. Life in Port Phillip in the 1840's could be likened to the Bass Strait current, with cold water flowing on top, and warm water flowing below: only when the twin streams merge is there turbulence. Except for those observers who had an interest in things Aboriginal, it is usually only when the Aboriginal way of doing things collided with the European, that evidence of the Aboriginal way enters the European records. It is a mistake though, to deny or neglect the existence of the hidden patterns of living ("they lost their culture") or to relegate them to the status of sub-plot or text ("melancholy footnotes"): neither the warm current nor the cold has primacy in the order of things.

128 Notification of outrage - Parker to Robinson, 12 Nov 1845, YPRS 11, Box 5/235; Thomas' comments - Thomas to Robinson, 29 Dec 1845, YPRS 11, Box 10/625; identification of killers - Parker's census of Mar-Aug 1840, Appendix A to 40/11577 in AO of NSW 4/2512.1; Bungarin a great chief, died 9 Mar 1848 - Thomas Return of Births and Deaths, ML, set 214, item 11.
A similar situation where men who were police were involved in the killing of another Aboriginal, but in their capacity as native, connected with the old order of things, not acting as police, may be seen in the killing of Figur otherwise known as Picanniny Tommy in 1848. Figur and his brother Jemmy, were two young Port Fairy boys, brothers, brought to Melbourne in early 1847 to stand trial. The trial did not proceed because no European witnesses appeared, and the boys were more or less parked at the Edgar’s mission at Merri Creek; they stayed for a year, earning praise as docile and industrious, leaving on 17 Jun 1848. Their departure may have been precipitated by the arrival four days earlier of Charles Never and two Gippsland boys Marbunun and Kungudbar, sons of Bungaleena, the chief thought then to be responsible for the alleged captivity of a white woman in Gippsland. Figur arranged a lift back to Portland with a bullock driver, but was waylaid and killed by a group of Aborigines headed by the Goulburn leader Billy Hamilton, and including a Warwoorong man named Old Man Tobin, a Mt Macedon man named Yoworon, and four ex-schoolboys from Merri Creek - Redman, Wiredolong, Little Johnny and McKinzee. Redman was a policeman, as was Tomboko otherwise known as Henry, who informed on the group. It was the killing of a stranger to the Melbourne country, the reason given by Billy Hamilton being “No good long way blackfella that”. This killing is another illustration of the application of the old order of things, the killing of a foreigner, no good, not belonging to us. Protector Parkers evidence, quoting the words of Aborigines at his Protectorate used to describe a visiting foreign tribe in 1843, makes the same point, that foreigners in one’s own country are no good: Parker’s people said about the Lake Booke people: “They are foreign in speech, they are foreign in countenance, they are foreign altogether, they are no good”.

The Baptist teachers at Merri creek school noted in a report that three pupils left the school "because they belonged to different tribes". Foreignness extended even beyond death. Thomas quoted the Melbourne people as "anxious to be separated from strangers even in death", begging him to bury Aborigines foreign to Melbourne outside the walls of the plot allotted to Aborigines in the old Melbourne cemetery.

It seems clear from these cases, that being native and being a policemen were not mutually antagonistic; that men who were police could move easily into and out of two different

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129 Thomas to Robinson, 31 Oct 1848, VPRS 11, Box 11/707; the depositions of Tomboko and Nangerin follow as the next document, 708
130 Lecture given by E.S.Parker, 10 May 1854, copy in Thomas Papers, set 214, item 28, ML
131 “Request for assistance for Merri creek school, report etc”. VPRS 19, Box 86, 46/1632
132 13 Apr 1849, Thomas Half-yearly Report to 30 Jun 1849, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 49/6892 in AO of NSW, 4/2872
worlds. Being a policeman was not at the expense of being native. On the contrary, being native appears to have taken precedence. Being a policeman may actually have meant to be advantaged in acting within the old order of things. There is no evidence that Dana took any steps relative to disciplining these identified men of his police force: Parker called for a report from Dana in the case of the killing of Nalangboop, but if Dana wrote one, it has not survived. It is possible that he regarded these killings as none of his business, traditional native business.

Booby's case though was very much police business, because this time, there were two European witnesses whose evidence could be produced in court. Ningalobin, otherwise known as John Bull or Captain Turnbull was identified not only by the European witnesses but by the dying victim himself as the murderer of Booby, a Barabool man employed on the property of Mr Leslie Foster at Keilor in 1844. Ningalobin stands out in European records as an exceptional man; he was troublesome to the McCrae's at Arthur's Seat; he was feared by the Jajowrong; he was involved in the killing of Nalangboop; he was an informant to the killing of Peter, a Murrumbidgee boy, another foreigner killed in 1839; he was involved in the quasi-policing expedition of May 1838; he travelled widely without fear; he was in every fight; he was a passionate demi-savage according to Thomas, and Dana dismissed him from the police in 1843 on LaTrobe's orders. When he was arrested for killing Booby, the police were disturbed, because he was not the killer. Thomas agreed with them, on several grounds: firstly, that Ningalobin did not flee; secondly, that it was a poor spear that killed Booby, and Ningalobin "would not deign to use one of that description", and thirdly, that he would not have used a borrowed spear, because glory and value were accorded to a spear in proportion to the deeds executed by that spear, so that Ningalobin, when he killed, would do it with his own spear and "not let the glory of it be to another". Finally, Billibolary and the Barrabool blacks, and the Buninyong blacks all said it was Worndella. So did the police. Nevertheless, Ningalobin was arrested in late 1844, an inquest was held on 14 Dec 1844, and he was committed for trial in February 1845. While in gaol, according to Hull, he deliberately tore out his hair, and pulled out one by one the hairs of his beard as a sign of lamentation and of the sense of shame and indignity under which he laboured.

133 There are qualifiers though to this identification; Thomas said that the European witnesses were beastly drunk, and elsewhere he noted that Ningalobin and Worndella were much alike.
134 Though when LaTrobe came to write up his review later, of all trials of Aborigines brought before the courts, he described Ningalobin as the most civilised native that had ever been brought before the courts (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 4 Jul 1846, 46/598, in VPRS 16, unit 16: 264 ff)
135 Thomas to Robinson, 16 Dec 1844, VPRS 11, Box 10/610
and he continually smote his thighs. His wife and female relatives sat daily outside the gaol, alternately wailing and uttering piercing screams, scratching their cheeks and tearing their hair.136

At Thomas' instigation, a warrant for Worndella's arrest was issued, and Sergeant-Major Bennett and four Native Police including Buckup set off to the west to apprehend him. They succeeded in arresting him near Buninyong after a nine day track. What follows is almost too disingenuous to believe. According to Bennett's story, three of the police were left behind on the return trip to Melbourne, because their horses were tired, and the fourth was unable to keep up with Bennett, so that Bennett and his prisoner travelled alone. At night, Bennett handcuffed him and tethered him to a tree. At one of these night stops, Worndella gnawed through the rope and escaped.137 When this was reported to Dana, he chose not to send out another party, as he had no horses in proper condition, and anyway, Worndella would have gone to ground in his own country, and would doubtless re-emerge later into society when he could be taken.

Thomas' version though sounds much closer to the truth. He said that the Native Police intentionally took the wrong road, so that they would be "benighted", that is forced to camp out overnight, in order that Worndella could seize his chance and get away. "I believe this statement", Thomas wrote, "and believe moreover what I some time back asserted, that the Native Police dare not act against a neighbouring tribe. One cannot but admire such a feeling in a black when affecting their friends, although as a body for the public safety, such conduct is not to be tolerated. I doubt not that when they secured Worndella, it was with a perfect understanding that they would make a way for him to escape. Billy Urquar, Jackia Jackia and Koort Kirrup from far countries did not get out of their clutches, no, poor fellows. In taking them though, they had neither friendship to lose, nor anything to fear"138.

Thomas had made similar accusations, as he said, two years earlier, in another case involving Barrabool men, in which three Barabools, supposed to have assaulted a Mrs Smith were warned by two of the police, Murremmurrembean otherwise known as Mr Hill, and Yanki Yanki of the impending search for them, so that the Barrabool men escaped. "The ends of justice have been thwarted by the Native Police", he thundered.139

137 Deposition of Sergeant Bennett, Appendix E to Governor's Despatches vol 51, Apr-Jun 1846, Reel 683, ML
138 Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Dec 1844- 28 Feb 1845, Dixon Library, Add 90.
139 Thomas to Robinson, 27 Jun 1843, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 596
The police refused to act against their own in the case of the Chief Constable's attempt to arrest Poleorong/Billy Lonsdale for his part in the killing of the Wooralim youth known as Mr Manton's boy. In this case, it was decided by the tribes that Poleorong undergo the ordeal of spearing by seven of the most distinguished men of the Western Port tribe. At the same time, he was wanted by the European justice system for the killing. The Native Police however, refused to capture him, and Trooper Yanki Yanki (Robert Cunningham) was himself arrested and brought before the court for obstructing the course of justice. Yanki Yanki explained to the Magistrate that Aboriginal justice was being satisfied, and he even offered to persuade Poleorong to give himself up after the spearing (if he survived), or arrest him himself. For his pains, Yanki Yanki was admonished and given a forty-eight hour custodial sentence. It was a powerful position the Corps enjoyed, to be able to refuse to act and to get off so lightly.

Billy Urquar, Jackia Jackia and Koort Kirrup were men from western district tribes, captured by the Native Police in the course of formal policing duties, presently in gaol awaiting trial. They were so foreign, so unconnected with the police, that the usual rules of social intercourse did not operate. The police were indifferent to them; if the Commandant ordered their capture, there was no problem, no friendship to lose, nothing to fear. Being native did not clash with being a policeman in the case of the foreign other. But when they found themselves acting within two social milieus, within the European as well as the old Confederacy, called on to make choices, it seems to be the case that they acted in one system in accord with the imperatives of the other. Being native seems to take precedence over being a policeman.

For reasons which even LaTrobe did not understand, none of the facts relating to Worndella were mentioned in Ningalobin's committal proceedings in February 1845; not till March were counsel for the prosecution and defence acquainted with the evidence. At his formal trial in May however, Ningalobin was acquitted by the jury after hearing the testimony of Sergeant Bennett.

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140 Smythe, R.B. 1972, vol 1: 81-82
141 LaTrobe's version - LaTrobe to Col Sec 4 Jul 1846, 46/598, VPRS 2416, reel 1: 264 ff; Thomas' versions - Quarterly Report op cit, and Thomas to Robinson, 16 Dec 1844, VPRS 11, Box 10/601; Dana's version and Bennett's - Dana to LaTrobe, 3 Apr 1845, 45/614, enc with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 2 May 1845, VPRS 19, Box 70, 45/796
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CHAPTER FIVE

ROLE AND FUNCTION OF DANA'S CORPS

LaTrobe was firmly of the opinion that the Corps saved Aboriginal lives. He put his views in a letter to the British Secretary of State for War and the Colonies after the Commandant's death: LaTrobe's purpose was not to eulogise the police, but to set in context Henry Dana's part in the success of the original idea, (LaTrobe gave him "the entire credit"), and to ask for a gratuity for Dana's wife and four children. Dana died from pneumonia while on duty, at the young age of thirty-five. It is a frank letter from LaTrobe, plain-spoken and persuasive. This is how he describes the operations of the police: "A corps of native police was gradually embodied, disciplined and maintained under his sole management which was acknowledged on all hands to have fully answered the main purpose for which it was organised, and to have rendered the most important service to the colony in the position in which it was then placed. It at once formed a link between the native and the European, and gave many opportunities for the establishment of friendly relations. The marked success which in numerous instances, followed its employment gave confidence to the settler, removed the pretexts under which he would feel justified in taking redress into his own hands, and left no excuse for the vindictive reprisals which have been a blot upon the early years of the settlement"¹. It is around the definition of marked success that the problem turns, for it is hard to demonstrate a negative case (the absence of trouble), and impossible to prove whether LaTrobe was right or wrong.

The record of the debate in the Victorian Legislative Council in December 1851 on the estimates of expenditure for the following year, including the spending on police generally, including the Native Police, encompasses the span of views on the role and function of the Corps. It is a valuable record², for when the men of the government and the opposition debate the spending of money, they tend to speak bluntly. The debate on Native Police expenditure followed that on Mounted Police expenditure which the government lost, the persuasive arguments appearing to be that Victoria did not want a standing Army, that the Mounted Police were useless, a mere ornament that galloped over the country.

¹ LaTrobe to Pakington, 22 Jan 1853, in Bride, T.F. Letters from Victorian Pioneers (1898), Currey O'Neil, South Yarra, 1983: 441
² It is also the only record, as Hansard did not begin till 1856
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In the course of the debate on the Native Police, those who criticised the Native Police, and subsequently voted as the losing side (whereas they had won in the debate on the Mounted Police), made the following points: the Commandant's salary of three hundred pounds was too much money for "keeping thirty blackfellows in order"; "Othello's occupation was gone" - the native blacks were not at all troublesome, so the force was utterly useless at present; it was unconstitutional to put a warrant into the hands of an armed blackfellow and authorise him to apprehend a runaway servant; it was a disgrace to employ blackfellows to coerce white men (this from John Pascoe Fawkner); it was an absurdity to employ as constables, men whose evidence could not be admitted in a court of law; that formerly, the force had been employed to shoot blacks, and perhaps it was just as well that men engaged in such service should be unable to give evidence; that the Native Police were but playing at soldiers, an occupation that pleased them exceedingly; and finally, that hitherto the Native Police had merely served the purpose of parade.

The case in support of the Native Police, though it carried the day, was presented in considerably less picturesque language - it sounds dull and uninteresting after the splendid rhetoric of the opposition. The following points were made: at times the Native Troopers had been found extremely useful, and had done the state good service (the Auditor-General); the Corps had formerly proved very efficient; they were formerly very efficient in tracking and hunting down black depredators; "they were the police of the colony and scarcely to be considered" in the same category as recipients of welfare like Aborigines in general (the Colonial Secretary); the object of the formation of the Corps was the protection of the country at large; the best evidence that a black constable could give was to produce a prisoner after he had apprehended him; not one instance had been brought forward in which a black constable had been guilty of improper conduct in the course of his duty; the Corps had been in existence for many years, and it seemed strange that now, for the first time, it was discovered to be inefficient (the Auditor-General); and finally, the good old standby for public opinion - nothing contributed more to the civilisation of the Aborigines, than making them into good policemen. The last reported speaker summed up the debate thus, "The only question was: Are they to pay the blacks or not? He said they were not, and hoped the opposition would carry it". The opposition however, did not carry the day: when the Auditor-General moved his motion that the proposed sum of just over two

3 The words left out must be "when it is a question of paying them".
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden".
thousand five hundred pounds be voted for the pay of the Native Police for 1852, it was carried by seventeen votes to ten.

In the language of the debate, the police were considered efficient, and they did shoot blacks. The problem for the present seems to lie in an imputed logical link between these two facts, as if the criteria of efficiency consisted in shooting blacks. Nothing could be further from the evidence. The Native Police did shoot blacks, but when they did, it was regarded as a failure in the performance of their duty, and they were held accountable for their actions. Dana was obliged to produce satisfactory explanations to LaTrobe in written reports, and these written reports were sent on to Sydney, read not only by the Colonial Secretary but by successive Governors, then sent on to England in the Governor's Despatches. All the Governors whose tenure of office embraced the period of operations of the Native Police, Bourke, Gipps and Fitzroy, were genuine liberal humanists, sensitive to the intractable nature of the cross-cultural problems that resulted from the takeover of Aboriginal land, not mere mouthpieces for Exeter Hall idealism. Their concern at deaths appears genuine, and their response far from complacent. There are several terse comments in the records from Governors who failed to be convinced by explanations from the subalterns William Walsh and William Dana regarding Aboriginal lives taken in "collisions". In these cases, not only did LaTrobe order the Commandant make an investigation, but Commissioners of Crown Land and the Protectors were sent to obtain the other side of the story from the Aboriginal groups themselves who were involved. In any enquiry, anywhere, directed at getting at the facts, there is always room to gloss over the awkward bits, to evade the difficult question, but in this colonial situation the processes of accountability were strict, even by today's standards.

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4 All the Government officials, all the squatters, three businessmen and a solicitor voted in the affirmative for a continuation of the Native Police Corps. Those who voted against the motion included two hotel-keepers, two journalists, five businessmen and J. P. Fawcner who was both hotel-keeper and newspaper proprietor. I am grateful to Ms S. Janson for this analysis, which emerges out of her PhD research at the University of Melbourne, Transformed Worlds and New Environments: A Cultural History of Early Colonial Settlement.

5 See for example, LaTrobe's minute on a report from Walsh regarding a collision with the natives on Mr Cloud's station at the Lower Murray - "A very unsatisfactory report in every respect". To which Henry Dana wrote "I shall investigate this immediately". Filled with Walsh's original report is an even earlier report from the Corporal in charge of the party involved in the collision, Corporal Cowan. A thorough investigation into a report from William Dana regarding a collision with Aborigines on the south bank of the Murray on 1 Feb 1846 illustrates the detailed accountability, but paradoxically, highlights too, the difficulty of establishing accuracy in body-counts; in this case, William Dana asserted that several Aborigines were killed, and "there must have been a great many wounded". But the closest questioning of Aboriginal participants later by the Protectors who investigated, disclosed no-one killed or injured. The Aborigines admitted to Parker that spears were thrown and shots fired, but that no-one was hurt, and Parker concluded that William Dana's report was either a mistake or an exaggeration. The records of the event and the investigations (over six months) are to be found with Chief Protector to LaTrobe, 19 Aug 1846, 46/1260 in VPRS 19, Box 84. It is ironical that William Dana is considered to be a liar who concealed Aboriginal deaths, on the basis of this event where he claimed them but apparently they did not happen.

6 Eighty page files on "collisions" are not uncommon in the various archives. Almost always, they include depositions by participant or eyewitness Aboriginal persons.
"Collisions" between the Corps and local Aboriginal groups out in the field were the exception to the norm. The criteria of an efficient police force at the time was peace - the absence of trouble or disorder in human affairs. And the function of all the policing forces in Port Phillip was keeping the peace - the prevention of disorder or crime. So that on strictly logical grounds, the shooting of blacks was a mark of inefficiency. A really efficient policing force would have prevented the situation arising in the first place, the crime or disorder for which shooting blacks was imputed to be the eventual solution.7

The Queen's Peace

The main burden of keeping the King's Peace had been carried traditionally in England by the Justices of the Peace. The rural constabulary, the lower courts, the gaol system - these were all their province. The idea of police as upholders in practice of the law was the radical novelty that Sir Robert Peel introduced in England only in 1829. In far distant Port Phillip, a twice removed province from metropolitan London, the strong emphasis on the responsibility and probity of the Justices of the Peace, and hence the presumed respectability and propriety of any action performed in conjunction with the Justices of the Peace or under their supervision is quite pronounced in the records. One scholar has written that there was little in the role and function of Peel's police in England that could be applied to the extraordinary situation in NSW, still burdened with proccupations about the management of convicts: "In a number of important respects administrative evolution followed a different path from that of the homeland"8. The radical experiment of a Native Police as one of the forces to keep the Queen's Peace seems to be one of the evolutionary pathways which diverged significantly from the development of ordinary police. It would be a mistake therefore to ascribe to the Native Police Corps the characteristics of ordinary English police forces of the time - recruited from the lower classes, poorly paid, inadequately trained, little respected within society. In style and by association, the Corps found its level at the other end of the scale of respectability and standing.

From the very beginning in Port Phillip, repeated over and over again, the rhetoric of description of policing duties, for any of the policing forces (Town, Border, Mounted, Native), is the keeping of the Queen's Peace by the prevention of crime and disorder. In what was probably the first written description of the purpose of the initial 1837 Corps, the Colonial Secretary told Foster Fyans,

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7 As R.H.W.Reece notes (1974: 177) the authorities made a wide distinction between murders of Aborigines and deaths resulting from the actions of lawfully constituted authorities such as the N.P. in the course of their duty, repelling an attack. I could not however, find any evidence to support the conclusion that the white officers of the N.P. applauded the blood-thirsty zeal of the men in settling old tribal scores (ibid: 214).

8 McMartin, A., 1983: 13
Police Magistrate at Geelong that the Native Police Corps had been established to act in the public peace, and when it was disturbed, to apprehend the criminals. The Commissioners of Crown Land were expected to permulate, to keep the peace. The Mounted Police were initially established by Governor Brisbane in 1824 to patrol the Northern, Southern and Great Western roads out of Sydney to keep the peace. "The prevention of crime by rendering its detection and punishment certain and immediate is the real object of a police" is the opening sentence of the 1850 Report on Police Establishments in NSW. The instructions and orders for the Port Phillip Police (Metropolitan and District) spell out how policing was understood in those days: "The Principal object is the prevention of crime...The true way to accomplish this is to make it apparent to all that certain and speedy detection must follow the commission of any offence...constables should endeavour to distinguish themselves by such vigilance and activity as may render it extremely difficult for anyone to commit a crime within the limits of their charge. The absence of crime will be considered the best proof of the efficiency of the Police." This preventive tradition resonates with the age-old British idea of policing as keeping the Queen's Peace.

The necessity for large policing forces generally in NSW was attributed to the Assignment system for convicts. Convicted men were not supposed to move with their masters out of the settled areas of NSW and VDL, out of the reach of the assignment system, but they did. Escapees from the system flocked to the new district. Free men too, were initially acting illegally in taking stock to Port Phillip and settling. Ships brought to Port Phillip cargoes upon which excise and duty was due to the government. Then there were the original inhabitants, whose legitimate interests would necessarily bring them into disputes with the newcomers.

To establish order, the NSW government replicated in the Port Phillip District the series of policing forces modelled on the current situation in NSW. Under the Seamen's Act, the Water police managed functions which we now consider to be Customs and Excise work, as well as.

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9 Col Sec to Fyans, 12 Sep 1837, VPRS 4, Box 3, 37/105
10 Sayers, S. "Captain Foster Fyans of Portland Bay District", in VHM vol 40, nos 1 and 2, Feb-May 1969: 45-66
11 O'Callaghan, T. History of the NSW and Victorian Police, Ms 8714, Box 928/1, LtsL
12 My emphasis; W. C. Mayne, Esq. J.P. in NSW Leg Co V&P 1850
13 Port Phillip Police Force, Instructions, Orders etc., Goode, Melbourne, 1850: my emphasis
14 Allen, C.K. The Queen's Peace, London, 1953: 109 "From the very first...the two principles which are still the keystone of our police system - first, that the primary aim of the police must be to prevent rather than avenge crime, and second, that they must be the friends, not the enemies of the public". See also Emsley, C. Policing and its context 1750-1870, Macmillan, London, 1983; Emsley notes that as late as the 1960's a study revealed that the bulk of British police time was still taken up with patrolling.
15 Enc from Secretary of the Treasury to James Stephen, with Glenelg to Gipps, despatch no 28, 4 Sep 1838, in NSW Leg Co V&P 1839, vol 1
supervising and intervening in Captain/Crew matters of contract. Town Police in Melbourne, Geelong, Portland and later Alberton, dealt with matters arising out of the Publican's Act, the Masters and Servants Act, and the Town Police Act. A representative idea of the nature of the offences for which one was liable to be charged and convicted, under the provisions of these Acts, can be gained from the list of convictions at the Melbourne Police Office for seven consecutive half-yearly periods in the mid 1840s. Overwhelmingly, the most common offence was drunkenness, followed by conviction for assault and conviction for vagrancy: in the half-year ended 30 Jun 1848 for example, there were 252 convictions for drunkenness, twenty-eight for assault, thirty for vagrancy, and three for malicious injury to property. Under the Masters and Servants Act there were eighteen convictions for absenting from work, nine for disobedience of orders, seven for neglect of duty, one for not entering into service according to contract, two for refusing to work, and twenty-eight for the category "Wages Decreed", which is probably the category of Masters not paying the correct wage to servants. Under the provisions of the Town Police Act, there were eighteen convictions for assaulting constables in the execution of their duty, eight for resisting the same, one for obstructing the footway, five for indecent exposure of the person, one for careless riding or driving, eight for furious riding or driving, one for not being in sufficient command of a horse, none for riding on the footway, fifteen for suffering horses, goats pigs and other cattle to stray, but none in this period for removing nightsoil, or discharging firearms in the street, or suffering filth and blood to flow onto the footway or creating a nuisance. These disorderly acts were the province of the Town Constables concerned with public order and decency and with keeping the peace in Melbourne.

There were two other town-based forces concerned with keeping the peace and good order of the district - the small detachment of the British Army, and the Mounted Police. They were separately housed, the Army quartered in tents on Batman's Hill, while the 4th Division of the NSW Mounted Police lived at their barracks in Richmond, and were for the most part separately administered. The Army could be regarded as a garrison force, showing the flag: in practice, its range of work included the guarding of convicts, public buildings such as the ammunition store, the

16 "A Return of the Whole number of Convictions at the Melbourne Police Office from 1 Jan 1845 to 30 Jun 1848 inclusive, Melbourne Police Office, 28 Sep 1848", VPRS 2877, Box 2, 48/74. The returns for the Portland Bay district for the same period are misfiled in a letter from citizens at Port Albert in Gippsland, at VPRS 19, Box 111, enc to 48/2093.
17 There is a pressing need for detailed investigation of the activities in Port Phillip of the Army and the Army as Mounted Police in their relationships with Aborigines.
quarantine of fever ships\(^{18}\), provision of public spectacle and, according to Higgins, the protection of the settlements against attack by Aborigines\(^{19}\).

The Mounted Police were also red-coated British soldiers, volunteers detached from their Regiments for service as police, responsible for the maintenance of the internal order and tranquility of the district\(^{20}\). The threat to good order and tranquility, for which the Mounted Police were responsible, was perceived as coming from three classes of people - convicts (whether in service or absconded), bushrangers and Aborigines. This force was never large; there were seven Mounted Police sent down from Sydney initially in 1838\(^{21}\), twenty in 1843\(^{22}\), and twenty-two in 1848, spread over the whole of the district, with seven at Melbourne, three at Geelong, three at the Goulburn river, three at the Broken river, three at the Hume river, and three at Portland Bay\(^{23}\); they bore a villainous name with the Aborigines according to Curr\(^{24}\). It may be a bit unfair to assert that the main talents of the small detachment of redcoats seem to be for drinking and desertion, and those of their Commanding Officers to be their absence from duty and their propensity for hunting and shooting, but that was how LaTrobe saw it at the time\(^{25}\).

Out from Melbourne, there were two sets of policing forces - the Town or Rural constables whose function paralleled that of the Melbourne town constables, and the Border Police. Rural constables acted under the authority and at the direction of the Police Magistrate, initially at Geelong, subsequently at Belfast, The Grange, Alberton etc. Returns from the Belfast (Port Fairy) Police Office for the same period for which returns are available for Melbourne, show similar

\(^{18}\) The Army was responsible for the quarantine of the typhus ship Glenhuntly in April 1840 (Hall, W.A. "The Barque Glenhuntly" in VHM vol xv, 1933-5: 29).

\(^{19}\) Higgins, Mathew. "Deservedly Respected: A First Look at the 11\(^{th}\) Regiment in Australia", Journal of the Australian War Memorial, no 6, Apr 1985: 3-12. As the editor of this issue of the Journal writes, the service of individual regiments in Colonial Australia has not been studied in any detail. Not until such histories are written for Port Phillip, and histories of the Mounted Police, will it be seen how important the Native Police Corps was.

\(^{20}\) Gipps to Glenelg, 27 Apr 1838, 1 HRA xix: 399 and 584; also "Report of the Select Committee of Enquiry into Police", ordered to be printed 14 Sep 1847, in NSW Leg Co Y&P.

\(^{21}\) Acting Governor Snodgrass to Glenelg, 23 Feb 1838, 1 HRA xix: 290

\(^{22}\) Return of Mounted Police, Fourth Division Port Phillip, signed Sergeant Rose, enc. to 43/4351 in AO of NSW, 4/2627

\(^{23}\) Report on the Fourth Division Mounted Police, in Report of the Select Committee on Police, in NSW Leg Co Y&P 1848 vol 2; "Return of Mounted Police", J.W. Nunn, Commandant, NSW Leg Co Y&P 1842

\(^{24}\) Curr, E.M. Recollections of Squatting in Victoria: 66. LaTrobe concurred; in a generally negative report on the Mounted Police, he included the following "I think it proper to mention that I cannot feel justified on any occasion to give my consent to either the Mounted Police or the Border Police being despatched on duty in any degree calculated to bring them into collision with the natives without their being under the eye and immediate command of their respective officers" - LaTrobe to Col Sec, 12 Feb 1840, 40/2211 in AO of NSW 4/2510. It was their lack of discipline and control that worried him.

\(^{25}\) A blunt letter from LaTrobe to Col Sec, 2 Aug 1847, supported by an enclosure from the Mayor of Melbourne, and quoted newspaper criticisms, regarding frequent desertions and the social behaviour of the officer, laying blame for the situation on the officer in charge, is to be found as 47/6544 in AO of NSW 4/2783.
proportions of "crimes" - the greatest number of convictions relates to drunkenness, and the next
major category of offences relates to the Masters and Servants Act. There are in addition, small
numbers of assaults, malicious injury to property, larceny and contempt. Again, it is mostly not
criminal as we would define it; disorderly certainly, and an affront to nineteenth century decency and
respectability, not to mention power and status, but not criminal in today's terms.

Then there were the Border Police who were convicts\(^{26}\), some of them military
convicts\(^{27}\), sent to escort the Commissioners of Crown Land in their perambulations around the
countryside, settling boundary disputes, assessing land and stock holdings for tax, in theory protecting
the Aborigines: half of the expense of the Border Police was considered to be incurred on behalf of the
Aborigines\(^{28}\). According to James Monckton Darlot who knew them all, the Commissioners
themselves were quite young men, not long out of their teens, jolly fellows who could take their grog
and sing a song, and not the autocrats which some of them later became, like Fyans, Powlett and
Wright\(^{29}\). The Border Police paralleled in some ways the Native Police, with their military
proclivities, their daily parades, their cult of the horse, their ribbons, rags and uniforms\(^{30}\). Roe says
that it was through the Commissioners of Crown Land that the government's authority was exercised
in the outback\(^{31}\): it is an accurate statement as far as it goes, but it is only half of the truth. The
Government's authority in the bush was as much a function of the presence and patrolling of the
Native Police Corps as it was of the Border Police. And when the Border Police were disbanded in
1846, the Native Police Corps was left as the only mounted and disciplined force at LaTrobe's disposal.
Within this constellation of policing forces in Port Phillip, three of whom were a mounted force, it is
not surprising that errors of identification have been made in the past and that the Native Police have
been wrongly blamed by historians for outrages on Aborigines in which they played no part\(^{32}\).

The Function of the Native Police within this policing cover

\(^{26}\) Superintendent of Convicts, Sydney to LaTrobe, 4 Sep 1841, sending list of convicts for Border Police at Portland
Bay and Westerport, VPRS 19, Box 19, 41/1411 and 41/1454;

\(^{27}\) Foster Fyans, the Commissioner of Crown Land for Portland Bay, had ten convicted soldiers as his police in 1841,
seventeen in 1842; he recorded their old regiments in one return - enc. to LaTrobe to Col Sec, 9 Nov 1841, 41/10113 in
AO of NSW 4/2549; in another, he recorded his main criteria for satisfaction with their performance as whether or not
they could ride well - enc. to LaTrobe to Col Sec, 19 Apr 1841, 41/4403 in AO of NSW 4/2548.

\(^{28}\) William Lithgow, Auditor-General in Remarks column of "Return of the Expenses defrayed from the Colonial
Treasury of NSW...[on] Aborigines", in NSW Leg Co V&P 1843

\(^{29}\) Darlot, P.F. "Reminiscences communicated by James Monckton Darlot to his son", in VHM vol XV111, no 1, Feb
1940: 71

\(^{30}\) Curr, E.M. op cit: 8

\(^{31}\) Roe, M. Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851, 1965: 66

\(^{32}\) e.g. the massacre of the Cape Otway blacks in 1846, and the alleged excessive violence of the N.P. for which
Dockers letter to Gipps 31 Nov 1846 is cited.
What has not been appreciated in the past is that the Corps did not deal exclusively, or even mainly, with Aboriginal conflict. This is made abundantly clear in the Rules and Regulations which the Commandant submitted for LaTrobe's approval. Dana actually left out of the relevant section any mention of Aborigines: it had to be inserted later. The relevant paragraph reads as follows, "The duties of the Officers of the Native Police are never ending, their presence is required everywhere, and it is solely by their intelligence, unceasing vigilance and watchful superintendence of their men that that protection can be afforded to the Country which the public have a right to expect, and the Commandant feels assured that this can in no way be more effectually carried out than by their constant personal superintendence of the different stations, and more than ordinary care in visiting and patrolling those districts infested by Robbers and Bushrangers". In a different hand and different ink, the word "Blacks" appears as an insertion after Robbers. Disregarding the exhortations to a counsel of perfection (which were addressed to a less than perfect situation, for Dana was urging his officers to greater effort), this document is a telling witness to what Dana perceived as the function of the police - protecting the Country generally, to what he perceived as the main threat or problem - robbers and bushrangers, and to the mode of operation - patrolling round the country with their eyes open. The fact of the insertion later of the category of Aborigines, tells us that they should not have been left out in the first place - it was an oversight to do so; but it also tells us, equally explicitly, that they were not of primary importance.

Lachlan Macalister, squatter, J.P., pioneer of Gippsland, gave evidence twice regarding the Native Police to NSW Select Committees of Enquiry - in 1846 to the enquiry on Aborigines, and in 1847 to the enquiry on Police. He was asked the specific question at the 1846 enquiry "Do they (the Native Police) act solely against the Aborigines?". He answered "They very frequently act as constables also, and they are more useful in that capacity than white constables". After a question relating to their use against the Aborigines, the Committee returned to the question of their use against white men. Question - Do you not think there is a danger in trusting this black police with warrants for the apprehension of white men, that they are likely to use undue violence? To which Macalister replied, I think not...I would just as soon give them a warrant as a white constable...they are very intelligent. Question - Dependable? Answer - They are. Had the Police Magistrate at The

33 Enclosure to Dana to LaTrobe, 29 Nov 1846, presently located as an enclosure to Crown Prosecutor James Croke to LaTrobe, 11 May 1847, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/866
34 NSW Leg Co V&P 1846, "Report Of the Select Committee on Aborigines": 150
Grange had the same opportunity to testify about the police in his district, he would doubtless have said roughly the same - he was entirely satisfied with the conduct of the five men who did routine police work for him in 1842 - serving summons, serving warrants, escorting prisoners, carrying despatches, guarding the watch-house. The job description had barely changed from the time of Lonsdale's attempt with de Villiers Corps of 1837 - preserving the peace and good order of the district, in apprehending runaways, and preventing the Aborigines committing any depredations on the white population, or, if such should be the case, in discovering and apprehending the offenders. The order of tasks had not changed, in fact the only change was the addition of a new category of persons to be feared - robbers. It could be said in truth, that the fundamental fear of the country was attacks on property, whether on material things where the threat was mainly European, or stock where the perceived threat came from mainly from the Aboriginal population, though horse stealing by Europeans was significant.

The Mode of Operation out in the field

It is easy to see the general pattern of functioning out in the field, though of course there are qualifying circumstances to any particular event. At its zenith, the Corps consisted of three officers, three European NCO's, four Native Corporals and around forty Troopers, plus a bullock-driver, tailor and drummer. The Corps was divided into three Divisions - the First commanded by William Walsh, the Second commanded by William Dana, and the Third which was a composite of recruits and older men under the general superintendence of the Commandant, run on a day to day basis by the senior NCO. The general pattern was as follows. At the beginning of each winter LaTrobe decided which Divisions would go where, and when. The effective strength of the two Divisions varied from six troopers to eighteen when they set off, but it averaged around ten to twelve men, plus the officer and a non-commissioned European with the rank of Corporal or Sergeant. They were fully outfitted, paraded before LaTrobe, and sometimes escorted by the Commandant part or all

35 O'Callaghan, T. Police and Other People: 414. A list of prisoners (all European) apprehended by the Native Police in 1843, includes men arrested for drunkenness, for giving spirits to the Native Police, for offering money to Native Police wives, for felony, suspicion of murder, suspicion of being a prisoner at large, ships runaways, suspicion of killing sheep, breaking the peace, absconding, embezzlement, and bushranging - enc. with Dana to LaTrobe, 16 Jun 1843, VPRS 19, Box 46, 43/1038

36 The fear of the dangerous classes, "the many individuals prowling the district seeking work", and in particular the fear of their theft, is apparent in many letters forwarded from Port Phillip to Sydney by LaTrobe; see for example Mr Mitchell's enc to LaTrobe to Col Sec, 25 Apr 1844, 44/3561 in AO of NSW 4/2666, and the address of the residents of the western district to LaTrobe seeking protection of families, persons and property from the labouring classes, enc to LaTrobe to Col Sec, 15 Feb 1844, 44/1468 in AO of NSW, 4/2665. The Chief Protector recorded the saying in the country that "the men and not we are the masters"; he went on to say that every man he met in the country was armed and that most were convicts - Robinson to LaTrobe, 11 Dec 1841, in NSW Leg Co, V&P 1843.
of the way to their area of duty - the Portland Bay District, the Lower Murray District or Gippsland. They travelled a regular route, stopping overnight at the stations of respectable squatters, averaging twenty to thirty miles a day. On arrival in their districts, they settled in at their H.Q.; in the western district, this was Mt Eckersley where they took over the proper barracks built for the Mounted Police, in Gippsland, it was the station known as Green Hills on Macalister's run Boisdale; at the Murray, there was no permanent station, temporary H.Q. being set up at the station of a Magistrate or J.P.

Having delivered their written instructions to the the Police Magistrate in the case of the western district, the Commissioner for Crown Lands (Tyers) in the case of Gippsland, and the J.P. in the case of the Murray, the officers placed themselves under the authority of these government representatives, consulted with them as to the "hotspots" of anticipated attacks on stock and decided on a strategy.

It was at this stage that the real work of the Native Police began. In some places at some times, the detachment patrolled endlessly, crossing and re-crossing their district. This was the situation for example, at Swan Hill in 1850. The men had to patrol up and down 260 miles of the Murray river, in an area thickly populated by the most "independent and daring blacks in the country", as well as the "greatest ruffians and horse stealers" who escaped out of Port Phillip via Swan Hill because there was no police station there. In this tour of duty, Dana reported that the men were hardly ever off the saddle. In other reports he supplied mileage totals which exceed two thousand miles ridden in the course of patrolling, calling at all the stations in a district.

The other strategy was to locate the men in twos or threes at the stations of respectable squatters. Their duties at the stations were minimal, which explains how it could be said that Charles Never coveted the idle life of a policeman, and why some townsmen displayed reluctance towards voting money for a force they perceived as doing nothing, a useless public expense. The job demanded simply being there - their presence constituted the deterrent to attacks on stock. For the purposes of analysis two separate kinds of situation can be distinguished - the situation of the two or three troopers on an individual station, and the situation which arose when an attack was made on a station not patrolled by police. They require separate consideration.

Two general observations can be made regarding the state of a station at which troopers were located. First, that that station was safe from Aboriginal attacks on stock. There is no record at all

37 Dana to LaTrobe, 1 Jun 1850, VPRS 19, Box 135, 50/910
38 The sheer inertia of the task is apparent from "Standing Orders when on Service", NSW Governor's Despatches, Jan-Apr 1844, CY reel 669: 1335, ML, reproduced in Appendix A.
of Aboriginal depredations on a station patrolled by the police. No wonder the settlers were keen to have them and quick to praise them. The second generalisation is that equally, there is no record at all of troopers interfering with local Aborigines or causing any trouble or conflict on stations where they were located to patrol. Given the Protectors' network of information, it is probably reasonable to assume that had any cause for complaint arisen, it would certainly have got into the record.\(^{39}\)

The attacks on stock, when they came, arose on stations in the district distant from those covered by the police. Over and over again, the records tell the story of settlers suffering a long way from the patrolled stations, or immediately after the withdrawal of the police from their station. The settlers of Gippsland stated their experience thus to Dana: "It is owing solely to the presence of the Native Police in the district that prevents them (the Aborigines) from committing great destruction on the stock"\(^{40}\). The settlers themselves, in a petition to LaTrobe for the Native Police, wrote that it was the invariable practice of the Warrigals to resume attacks on stock immediately upon the withdrawal of the Native Police\(^{41}\). It was the same in the western district; the presence of the troopers was a deterrent, a check on Aboriginal depredations: trouble, when it occurred, occurred elsewhere, anywhere, where there were no Native Police patrolling.

"Collisions" occurred when the police went after depredators. It is useful to quote at length from Dana's report from the western district during the winter of '43, for it is in this quote that the origin and development of the deterrent function is most clearly apparent; "I found the presence of my force had a very decided check on their movements, but as soon as removed, the natives commenced their depredations with renewed audacity; to prevent this, I found it necessary to detach as many men as I could spare in small parties to these stations in most danger, with written instructions how to act, and to show to any settlers that may have required their services for recovering their property. These I found to answer very well, for during my absence in other parts of the district, a great many sheep were brought back which otherwise would have been totally lost, and my orders were on every occasion strictly and faithfully obeyed. Four men I kept constantly with myself, patrolling the district and ready to proceed at a moments notice to any station where information has been brought to me of outrages being committed, and on **every occasion** (Dana's emphasis) the party

\(^{39}\) A parallel situation is to be seen in the record of the Northern Territory Police this century. The European officer going out on patrol with his Aboriginal trackers was advised to report any trouble, because "If you don't, every missionary in the country will" (Hall, V.C. *Dreamtime Justice*, Rigby, Adelaide, 1962: 26)

\(^{40}\) Dana to LaTrobe, 21 Aug 1848, *VPRS* 19, Box 110, 48/1845

\(^{41}\) Petition from L. Desailly, W. Odell Raymond and nine others, enc with Dana to LaTrobe, 3 Jan 1849, *VPRS* 19, Box 115, 49/16
went out in pursuit, even after many days had elapsed, it was completely successful. I do not suggest that Dana's enthusiastic account of perfection in performance be accepted uncritically in the above, but I feel that it cannot be too strongly emphasised that prevention of conflict was the main function of the force, that it was accomplished mainly by being there, and that there is no necessarily sinister interpretation required of settlers' testimony that they liked the police to be there, and that they were efficient.

There are a few qualifiers to be considered in the examination of the structure of collisions. One is that body counts are notoriously unreliable, unless there was an actual burial or an inquest. Aboriginal informants who had suffered the deaths of some members of their groups at the hands of Europeans were inclined to state that there were "plenty" killed. Plenty was a word used at the time to denote any number more than two. Westernport Aborigines expressed any greater number than six by Woordy-Yal-Yal (many). Curr relates how at the approach of a detachment of Mounted Police, "his" blacks came to him in consternation saying "Towsan (thousand) policeman." It is a real problem, though it is not simply a matter of exaggeration. Within Aboriginal society, formal fighting between two groups, however noisy or bloody, was characterised by the suspension of hostilities upon the death or serious injury of one person. As an institution, such fighting was protective of human life, adaptive to the survival of the group. In this context, the interpretation of six deaths or casualties as "many" is understandable. It should caution though against any simple reading of Aboriginal testimony in the English language taken down by unskilled Europeans.

Then there is the well-known habit of Aboriginal informants of the time making their answers correspond to the story the white man is inclined to believe by repeating as answers, some words of a question put to them. It is just impossible to assess the role of this habit in the construction of a mythology of a destructive Native Police: it is simply inserted here as a general caution related to all Aboriginal evidence of this period. Another is the old and sensible trick of dropping dead, playing Indian. (This was probably what fooled William Dana in the matter of the report he filed alleging several killed, which upon enquiry from the relatives by the Protectors, was found to be a mistake or an exaggeration). George Henry Haydon, a young Englishman who lived and

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42 Dana Report, "Summary of proceedings of the detachment during five months in Portland Bay District", 27 Nov 1843, VPRS 19, Box 52, 43/2648
43 McCrae, G.G. "A Vocabulary of the 'Western Port' Aborigines", VHM vol v, no 4, Jun 1917: 169
44 Curr, E. M., 1883: 115
45 Tyers to LtTrobe, 11 Aug 1846, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/907
worked all around the Port Phillip District from 1840 to 1845, related his own experience in this regard. He was a friend of Aborigines, cultivating them, interested in them for their own sake, interested in drawing them, but on one occasion he found himself in the unusual position for him of being attacked by a number of Aborigines: "he fired both barrels, but all the savages dropped. That's three too many said I, as I loaded again".

Another qualifier which tends to promote a degree of scepticism regarding sinister and sweeping judgements is the unreliability of the weapons used by the Native Police. A number of factors are involved here. For a start, the police carried Tower muskets, known colloquially at the time as Brown Bess. One recently-published Australian historian, Denholm, has focussed his enquiry on the activities of men in colonial Australia, and the small details of the things used in ordinary action. His chapter entitled "Men bearing arms" examines in detail the working mechanism of the flintlock carbine which the Native Police used, and the situation for which it was designed - in volleys, at point-blank range into masses of enemy infantry advancing shoulder to shoulder. Brown Bess was so inaccurate that to hit a man-sized target, standing still at eighty yards was simply a fluke. Brown Bess as used by the British Army in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign was the same weapon, virtually unchanged, as was used in Queen Anne's time 125 years earlier: it was nearly four feet long, was carried in a sling, unloaded, on horseback, could not be loaded while mounted, was hopeless in wet or humid conditions (hence the phrase keep your powder dry), could fire only ten shots in four and a half minutes, and according to British Army tests in England in 1838, misfired 822 times in a test continued to 200 successful shots. As Denholm says, the flintlock was a mechanism for calm or disciplined occasions, when the firearm was to be prepared for immediate use, such as

46 Haydon, G.H. The Australian Emigrant: 71
47 The Sydney Morning Herald 14 Oct 1844: 17, commented unfavourably on the inadequacy of police carbines compared with the double-barrelled fowling pieces commonly used by bushrangers.
48 Denholm, David The Colonial Australians, Penguin Hardcover, Ringwood Vic, 1979: Chapter 3
49 Ibid: 36
50 The Long Land pattern musket had a 46" barrel, the Short Land pattern had a 42" barrel, the India Company model had a 39" barrel, and a modified version of the New Land musket had a 39" barrel: all were in use in the late 1830's and the 1840's - Myatt, F. The Soldier's Trade; British Military Developments 1660-1914, Macdonald and Jane's, London, 1974: 16-17
51 T.A.Browne described a detachment of Native Police arriving at his property in 1844 or 5, well-armed and well-mounted, carbine in sling, sword in sheath, dangling proper in regular cavalry style - Old Melbourne Memories 1899: 79
52 Jones, P.D. The British Army in the Age of Reform, PhD Dissertation, Duke University, 1968. mf copy NL, Canberra
hunting stationary game, or firing into the front rank of an enemy in a set-piece battle\textsuperscript{53}. These were not the conditions of Native Police usage.

It is a pity that there is not a complete set of detailed returns of arms and ammunition from the Native Police covering the whole period, because in that absence, impressions only can be gained of the possible scale of effective firepower - the actual numbers of carmine flints\textsuperscript{54}, pistol flints, cartouche boxes and belts, ball shot, powder shot, percussion caps and so on: there are just straws in the wind so to speak. For example, in 1842 the Corps possessed twenty-six carbines, forty flints and sixty rounds of ammunition\textsuperscript{55}. In January 1846, the Corps received supplies for the year, from three different merchants. It received amongst other non-military things a total of nine carbines, four dozen carmine flints, two dozen pistol flints, two boxes of percussion caps, two dozen pistol flints, and four hundred and fifty rounds of ball cartridges\textsuperscript{56}. There is no record of it receiving any more till November 1846. It is not much to start with, spread around forty men, ten possible shots per man for a whole year\textsuperscript{57}. When one considers that some at least of that ammunition was expended in practice and training, and that only half the shots fired at a target eleven feet by six, one hundred and fifty yards away could hit the target\textsuperscript{58}, the Corps does not appear to be particularly formidable in its weaponry. There are other hints of a fairly low emphasis on effective fighting power. The Corps seems never to have overspent its budget on Arms and Equipment, though it regularly overspent on food, horses, and uniforms, and regularly overspent its incidentals allowance on building renovations. In 1846, it spent only two pounds of its vote of fifty-five pounds for the year for arms and ammunition\textsuperscript{59}. When Dana defended the Corps against Thomas' understanding of what the Native Police told him relative to the seventeen Aborigines killed at the Victoria Ranges, he said that they could not have killed seventeen people, because he was himself unarmed, the Corporal had only a sword, and the rest of the men had only twelve rounds of ammunition between them\textsuperscript{60}.

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\textsuperscript{53} Denholm, D. op cit: 33; Myatt, F. op cit: 20, says the same "The whole success of British musket fire depended on the volley". Most people would have seen reconstructions of this in films. The front line of red-coats or blue-coats or whatever fires, drops and re-loads, while the second line fires.
\textsuperscript{54} Flints had to be changed every twenty rounds fired of ball cartridge - Myatt, F. op cit: 19
\textsuperscript{55} "Return of Horses, Arms and Accoutrements", Governor's Despatches Jan-Apr 1844, CY reel 669, ML
\textsuperscript{56} VPRS 90
\textsuperscript{57} Again, it is only impressionistic evidence, but even the soldiers and the Mounted Police were but meagrely armed. In response to a question from the Col Sec in Sydney asking where their ammunition was kept, LaTrobe replied that they had so little that it was not considered necessary to have a proper store for it (HRV, vol 4: 233)
\textsuperscript{58} 1846 British Army test figures cited in Jones, P.D. op cit: 203
\textsuperscript{59} Treasury Memo, VPRS 19, Box 87, 46/1895(a)
\textsuperscript{60} Dana to LaTrobe, 13 Jan 1844, 44/81, an enc now with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 2 May 1845, VPRS 19, Box 70, 45/796
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Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden"
Swords are more prominent than guns in outsider's descriptions of the Native Police, probably because they wore the swords all the time, while carbines were part of their preparation for anticipated clashes. Swords were always of more importance to cavalry forces: the theory of a cavalry fighting involves charging squadrons halting at close range, firing their carbines, then attacking with the sword.\[61\]

Boldrewood described their arrival at his station with carbines in slings, but that is the only description of such, and it is understandable because this was a detachment send to patrol Boldrewood's station and they would have carried all their gear. Mrs Charles Perry wrote of their "swords etc." clashing as they went.\[62\] There are other indications of the importance of swords, sword drill, and the place of swordsmanship in police life. The ARGUS of 29 Dec 1848 described a public ceremonial review of the Corps by LaTrobe at the Flagstaff in the presence of a large concourse of inhabitants. The review lasted two hours, and during which time the police were put through a variety of "cavalry evolutions" which were much admired. It was the sword exercises in particular which drew the greatest admiration, eliciting LaTrobe's special compliments; the newspaper attributed the discipline and proficiency of the display to the efforts of Sergeant Richard McClelland, their sergeant-major, who was formerly troop sergeant in the 9th Lancers. Later drawings of the Native Police at the goldfields and at Richmond depict troopers wearing swords and practising with swords. When a detachment stationed at the Murray correborred for the Murray Aborigines, it was the flashing in the firelight of their swords that struck the European present.\[63\] These fragments of information tend to suggest that swords might have been more important (certainly more useful) than muskets. These are only impressions, it is true, but on the evidence, the Corps was anything but bristling with arms and ammunition. The evidence hints at a gentlemenly code of behaviour rather than an ethic of bloodthirstiness.

It was feared though by Aborigines, not in the sense of their being terrified, but in the sense of a learned respect for their capabilities, and an apprehension of inevitability about the consequences of entangling with them. The Native Police Corps was feared, not because it was particularly gung-ho about killing other Aborigines, but because there was no escape from the Corps once it started on a trail. Being caught was certain. This is the difference between the Native Police and

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\[61\] Tylden, Major G. "The Use of Firearms by Cavalry", in Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, vol xix: 9-15


\[63\] Hinkins, J.T. Life amongst the Native Race: With Extracts from a Diary, E.M.Hinkins, Melbourne, 1884: 34
their going out after Aboriginal depredators, and the Mounted and Border Police engaged in the same activity. As Lt. Russel of the Mounted Police put it "...with respect to the probability of apprehending particular offenders (Aborigines) who may have committed a felony, or indeed any other breach of the law, experience has abundantly proved that the chances of doing so are by no means great." This is the lesson that Dana taught, that we have so much misunderstood. Not that the Native Police would hunt and kill other Aborigines; when the evidence is examined in detail, it is apparent that they killed some. But that there was no place to hide from the Native Police - the stony rises of the western district and the reed beds of the Murray and the swamps of Gippsland were no longer safe places to withdraw to after depredations, because the Native Police could track the offenders even there. That in itself was fearful.

Another function of the Corps has been hitherto overlooked. A strong claim can be made that the Aboriginal Troopers provided the main pomp and circumstance considered necessary and appropriate in Her Majesty's outlying territories at the time. That they "merely served the purpose of parade" was one of the charges made against the Corps in the vote on the proposed estimates. "Merely" is an exaggeration, but it could have seemed to townspeople who saw them only on show that this was all they did. Townspeople saw them fully equipped and smartly dressed whenever there were things to celebrate such as the procession for the laying of the foundation stone of the Benevolent Asylum and the Princes Bridge, and for the procession to celebrate the later completion and opening. They saw them on duty at the races, escorting Governor Fitzroy, the Bishop of Gippsland, LaTrobe. The Corps graced LaTrobe's swearing in, his levees and balls, and the levee Fitzroy held when he visited Port Phillip. It was the Native Police Commandant who read the riot act on election night 17 Jun 1843, according to Garryowen, and the Native Police who attempted to establish order. The Argus had this to say about their part in the celebrations following glorious separation: "A Native Policeman celebrating the freedom of Victoria in the character of a protector of the life and property of its white inhabitants! A volume might be written on this text."

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64 Russel to LaTrobe, 6 Jul 1840, VPRS 19, Box 6, 40/624
65 Whether the Native Police should have killed anyone, whether any legally-constituted British force had the right to kill Aborigines, whether the British should have been here in the first place, are legitimate questions, but not the questions of this work.
66 24 Jun 1850
67 20 Mar 1846
68 15 Nov 1850
69 The Dandenong Daybook records that the Corps was in town for the election riot of 5 Nov 1846.
70 19 Nov 1850
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Stroll's "Victoria the Golden".
CHAPTER SIX
OUT IN THE FIELD - THE PORTLAND BAY DISTRICT

Every winter for eight seasons, 1842 to 1849 inclusive, a detachment or a Division of the Native Police Corps was stationed in the western district. It needs to be remembered that there was then no Colony or State of Victoria, so no boundary with NSW: the Port Phillip District was merely the southern district of NSW, divided administratively for the purposes of the Squatting Act, into two regions - the Westernport District, roughly the central corridor from the Murray down to Port Phillip and Westernport Bays, and the Portland Bay District which was more or less all the rest. Gippsland was unrecognised by the European administration, though it was inhabited by Aborigines, and Lachlan Macalister had been pushing south into it from the Monaro district in the NSW tablelands each summer since 1839. During the course of the 1840's, the large squatting district of Portland Bay was further divided into the Wimmera and Mallee districts reflecting the extension of European stock grazing. The habits of ordinary people though, are not changed readily by administrative fiat, and the keepers of the record in the Dandenong Daybook continued to refer to their journeys as "to the westward" or "returned from the Portland Bay District" when in fact they might have been merely returning home that way.

Within these geographical and temporal limits, two facts stand out - some local Aboriginal groups were initially afraid of the black police, yet within three seasons the Corps was recruiting successfully from that District¹. These are the years of the "pacification" of the western

¹ More than twenty-two Aboriginal men were recruited from the Western District over the years in which the Corps operated there. Trooper Souwester was taken ill while on a recruiting mission there as late as September 1851.
district. They are the years during which Aborigines "disappeared" out of our histories: they were attacking stock frequently, and people occasionally, at the beginning of this period, but by the end of it, they were not. From the European point of view, these are the years during which the district was transformed from a state characterised by the absence of order and the visible signs of the law, to an orderly, peaceful affluence.

The absence of the marks of the Governments authority is well illustrated in an editorial in the Portland Mercury and Normanby Advertiser of Wednesday 15 March 1843. The editorial, which occupies three quarters of page 2 of the paper, is headed "Our Wants". It lists the following:

We want a jetty
We want a Jail

Corris, P, in Aborigines and Europeans in Western Victoria. AIAS, Canberra, 1968 heads his Chapter 7, "Pacification and the end of the Protectorate"; Nance, B. "The Level of Violence - Europeans and Aborigines in Port Phillip 1835-1850", in H.S, vol 19, no 77, Oct 1981: 532-532 has made an estimate of the number of Aboriginal persons killed by the Native Police for the whole of the Port Phillip District. The list is not reliable though - it confuses the Native Police with other government bodies. Bon John was not a Native Policeman; he was attached to C.C.L. Foster Fyans Border Police before even the Native Police Corps of 1842 was established. Bon John, a Barambool man, killed Yammering, a Colac man, in August 1841 - see Fyans to La Trobe 1 Jan 1842, and Robinson to La Trobe, 9 Apr 1842, both in NSW Leg Co V&P 1843. Papers laid on the Table in response to an address of Mr A. Thomson, Tuesday 29 Aug 1843: 31, 34, 36. The alleged massacre of the Cape Otway tribe attributed to the Native Police by Nance is a mistake. George Smythe (brother to Henry Wilson Hutchinson Smythe who was a government surveyor and subsequently CCL for the Murray, see 1 HRA, xxiv: 138) was a contract surveyor. He had a long history of engaging in sexual intercourse with Aboriginal women. In 1840, he was denying that he encouraged Aborigines to visit his camp at Cape Schanck. (G.Smythe to La Trobe, 19 Dec 1840, VPRS 19, Box 9, 40/1308). In 1842, Dana and the Native Police were sent to Westerport to find him, deliver letters and report on the allegations that he was living with Aboriginal women; Dana could not say whether there had been any improper intercourse, but did say that from his reported character, the women were there for no good purpose (Dana to La Trobe, 14 Jul 1842, VPRS 19, Box 32, 42/1319). Assistant Protector Parker complained to La Trobe in 1843 that Smythe, late of the Survey but now resident in the Pentland Hills, was cohabiting with several Aboriginal women and girls under circumstances that outraged public decency (Parker to La Trobe, 17 Feb 1843, VPRS 11, Box 5/196). In 1846 this Smythe, still surveying, was in charge of a party of convict labourers including James Conroy. Conroy was killed by the Cape Otway group, a small group of one man and a few females according to La Trobe's understanding. It was the third "murder" as he put it, they having killed the boy Saunders at Steele's station in late 1844, then Mr Kiman at the Gellibrand river in early 1845. A warrant was issued for the arrest of the leader Nenec Nenec and a party sent to apprehend him. "An affray took place and lives were lost" is how C.C.L. Fyans reported the event. An Aboriginal woman who survived told Richard Osborne in 1848 that the Government Survey party had interfered with a lubra whereupon her husband murdered the man who was at fault (James Conroy). The Native Police had nothing whatsoever to do with this event and its sequel, nor were they understood at the time to be implicated. The newspaper accounts of the time refer to it often as an outrage committed on the blacks, and in fact it was cited as an example of what Europeans did not want to see happen again when the issue of an expedition to recover the alleged white woman in Gippsland was under discussion. All published references to it ascribe it to the Surveyor's party. See La Trobe to Col Sec 18 Aug 1846, 46/6168 in AO of NSW 4/2743; also Fyans to La Trobe Jan 1847, and Smythe to La Trobe 6 Jan 1847, both with Lonsdale to Col Sec, 16 Feb 1847, 47/1645, in AO of NSW 4/2780; also Baillieu, D. Australia Felix... 1982 for the Geelong Advertiser, and any of the Port Phillip newspapers; also Osborne, R. The History of Warrnambool 1847-1886, Chronicle Printing Coy., Warrnambool, 1887 (fac ed): 194 for the information given to the author by the surviving woman in 1848. Perhaps it is also worth noting that a real danger of confusion results from the number of men called Smyth or Smythe in the district at that time. In addition to HWH Smythe (sometimes mistakenly given the initials HNW as in Argus, 12 Feb 1847, a copy clerk's error probably), and his brother George Smythe mentioned so far, there was Captain G.W. Smythe, a British Army officer in the Mounted Police - see his evidence to the Committee on the Crown Lands Bill in NSW Leg Co V&P 1839; there was George Brunswick Smythe late of the 80th Regiment who was in the Mounted Police - see VPRS 19, Box 11, 41/473. Finally, there was Hugh Smythe who was an Assistant Overseer with the Police Department at Geelong in 1842 - see VPRS 29, vol 9: 396. It is easy to see how mistakes in identification have been made, especially as the "villain" of the piece, George Smythe had the initials D.G.Smythe. See also Thomas' Quarterly Report Sep 1846, enc to 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745,1. "his" blacks heard about the massacre and returned home from a private expedition of their own frightened without accomplishing their purpose.
We want a Court of Quarter Sessions
We want the provisions of the Court of Requests Act extended to our District
We want the sittings of the Court of Requests to be held monthly instead of quarterly
We want a suitable building for a Post Office
We want a regular Overland Mail from Melbourne, and Post Offices along the line of route
We want a Police Office
We want a Coroner
We want all Government notices relating to the District published in one of the local journals
We want a Bonded Store
We want an increase in the Constabulary (We have only 1 Chief, 1 District and 4 Ordinary Constables, and 5 Mounted Policemen; and when the extent of the district, the rapidly increasing population, the outrages by the blacks and the total uselessness - in fact, the serious evils entailed upon us by the mis-named Protectorate, are all considered, our present constabulary force, however active, as we are ready to admit it is, must be very inadequate to the perfect discharge of its numerous and important duties)
We want a Flagstaff
We want an Annuity to the "Scientific and General Literary Society"
We want His Honour to pay us a quarterly visit.

These are the visible marks of an orderly, properly run European provincial community of its day, and this was what the settlers wanted in order to pursue their commercial activities. If this was the situation of 1843, it could have been no different a year earlier: the editor of the paper articulated the feelings of the Europeans that they lacked both the effective protection of the law, and the infrastructure which supported and reinforced an orderly society as they had known it elsewhere before they moved into the Portland Bay District. Matters were worse in fact in early 1842, because the
local constabulary and the mounted police had rioted on New Years' day 1842, resulting in the withdrawal by LaTrobe of the mounted police from Portland in June 1842\(^3\).

Relative to Aborigines, the most careful general statement might be "The Europeans perceived themselves under constant threat". It is prudent to discriminate between the perceptions of the newspaper editors, centred on the town of Portland, and the perceptions of individual, isolated stock owners. From the centre of things, the perception was "most painful"; "scarcely a day passed but some intelligence of either robberies or murders has come to the knowledge of the authorities"\(^4\). From the point of view of a stock-owner, his flocks or his shepherd might be attacked, and then left alone for a considerable time\(^5\).

Into this disordered district, about which all historians seem to agree that 1842 was the worst year for Aboriginal/settler conflict\(^6\), Dana rode with his nine Aboriginal Police in August 1842.

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\(^3\) LaTrobe to Col Sec, 6 Jun 1842, 42/4388 in AO of NSW 4/2589 A. In such a case, there was no alternative open to the Commanding Officer of the Mounted Police but to return the men to Sydney to rejoin their Regiment, because there were not enough officers in Melbourne to hold a Court-Martial - Major Nunn to LaTrobe, 18 Aug 1843, VPRS 19, Box 49, 43/2122.

\(^4\) First issue of the Portland Guardian and Normanby General Advertiser, 20 Aug 1842; the other newspaper, which commenced the following week, the Portland Mercury and Normanby Advertiser of 31 Aug 1842, confirms the feelings of the townpeople who received the intelligence of the situation out in the country from travellers. This paper lists four columns of recent outrages by the blacks. It needs to be considered though, that the editors were not gathering hard news in the modern sense - they were reporting what they heard second or third-hand. In fact, some of these outrages did not happen, and the Guardian took pleasure in pointing out the Mercury's errors, as for example in the false report that Police Magistrate French himself had lost three hundred sheep, allegedly driven off by the blacks. And, it noted, the rumour of the attack on Mr Edgar's dray was first treated as a hoax owing to the many false statements that were published in the Mercury (see Guardian, 3 Dec 1842). When both newspapers agree however, that in August of that year, there appeared to be constant attacks in all areas of the district, their perceptions are probably of more importance than the actual facts (because the perceptions rather than the facts determined their response). Dana's Journal makes mention of a number of reports he heard of outrages and depredations at various stations, which on checking at the station, proved to be false.

\(^5\) The strategies devised by Aboriginal groups to take and use stock included the following:- the silent night decoy of ewes, stimulating them to jump the hurdles by breaking the legs of a lamb outside the hurdles, and attracting the mothers, then repeating the process a hundred yards or so away, till a large flock could be moved without the shepherd noticing (Mercury, 5 Oct); burying a horse almost to its neck in mud, to retrieve later when pursuit was abandoned (ibid, 28 Dec); driving cattle into swamps where they could be speared at leisure (ibid, 5 Oct); using the bodies of sheep to make bridges over swamps in order to drive live sheep over; and strategies for dividing a pursuing party of Europeans, in order to avoid capture (Guardian, 10 Sep).

\(^6\) There are two qualifiers to the assessment of the situation in 1842 which suggests which it was the worst year. Kerley states that it was a particularly bad year in the long drought (Kerley, W.D. Thesis, 1981: 38). If this is true, it is not difficult to imagine the processes that led to conflict - fewer animals to hunt, concentration of animals at watering places at habitual times, watering places taken over by Europeans and claimed for themselves and their animals. The possibilities for conflict are immense. The other factor which needs investigation in any future regional history is the observation by a settler James Kilgour that "one marauding band" was probably responsible for most of the "mischief" committed in the first half of 1842; Kilgour names the members of this band as Billy Crawfoot, Mr Murray, Charley, Puckumal, Mr Murray's brother, Pickaminny Bably. He said that these Aborigines were present at the attack on his station and Crawfoot was the man who speared his overseer while Charley wounded the other man; Kilgour was told that these Aborigines were identified as the principal actors in the attack on Mr Ritchie's hut (Estray, n.d. VPRS 32, Box 1). If true, the combination of the general stress factor of particularly bad drought, and within that context one marauding group, plus the specific actions of the individual Koort Kirrup (Thomas to Robinson, 11 Dec 1844, VPRS 11, Box 10/600) in May 1842, and Jupiter and Cocknosse in specific areas are the start of the explanation of why 1842 was perceived as a bad year for Aboriginal/settler conflict.
The present concern is to isolate and examine the part played by the Native Police within settler/Aboriginal conflict in this generally disordered district.

Melbourne people had predicted that he would never be able to hold them together once they moved out of their own country, that they would desert on the very first opportunity, but Dana had nothing but praise for their steadiness, cheerfulness and good behaviour, during what he described as a long and harassing march. Everyone knew of the killing of the Chief Protector’s guide named Eurodep or Yaradil by Pong-norer, one of the Wannondeets during Robinson’s 1841 journey to the Western District. Some of the Native Police who were Bunerong must have possessed knowledge of the sequel, may even have been involved. Robinson’s guide belonged to the Jarcoort or Dant-Goor tribe. After his death, his countrymen visited the Wannondeet tribe to the westward, stayed long enough to discover the identity of his killer and left with a lock of his hair. They wound this around three small sticks about three inches long, and kept the package at all times close to heat or fire. On arrival home, they sent the package to their neighbours the Kolijons at Buntingdale with instructions to send it to the Barrabools and thence to the Bunerongs, keeping it hot at all times. The Bunerong were to bury it in a mud flat in their country. The murderer of Eurodep would by this means get a hot head and become ill. When the hair rotted, he would perish. Being a guide to even such an important European official as the Chief Protector was no guarantee of safety for a foreign Aborigine and the Native Police would have known it.

Buckup, Nerimbineck, Gellibrand and Yupton were mounted, while Moonee Moonee, Poligarry, Yamaboke, Giberuke and Redmund walked. The Division accompanied Dr Watton, the Medical Officer travelling to take up his position at the Mt Rouse Protectorate station, and was slowed by his bullock dray. They camped each night at European stations, but not at the homestead, always a mile or so away on the creek. They were watched all the way by Aboriginal groups, from Melbourne to Portland, sometimes with amazement, as when the Barrabools were astonished to see the men paraded at daylight, sometimes threateningly as at the Hopkins river when they were surrounded at night by a great many blacks, and Dana was sufficiently alarmed as to order the carbines loaded with

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7 Dana to LaTrobe, 16 Jun 1843, 43/1038 in *NSW Governor’s Despatches Jan-Apr 1844*, ML A 1233, CY reel 669.
8 Dana to LaTrobe, 22 Sep 1842 from The Grange, *VPRS.,* 19, Box 36, 42/1821
9 Kenyon, A.S. "The Aboriginal Protectorate of Port Phillip" in *VHM* vol xi: 154
11 Tuckfield’s Remarks dated 9 Sep 1843, in Thomas Notebook in Smythe Papers, Box 1176/6, LLSL
12 These nine men were selected to make the trial being "the most intelligent and docile" of the police - LaTrobe to Col Sec, 10 Feb 1843, enc no 2 with *NSW Governor’s Despatches Jan-Apr 1844*, ML A 1233, CY reel 669
13 Dana Journal, 1 Sep 1842, in O’Callaghan, T. *Police and Other People*, Ms 11682, Box 1867/2, LLSL.
ball. Next day, they marched through this group of Aborigines, Dana not permitting his men to speak to them, and the next night, when the Aboriginal men again surrounded them, he had difficulty preventing his men from firing. Their edginess was the product of the age-old fear they had learned from childhood, and which the authorities understood and accepted, about being a foreigner in another group's country, being a stranger. They were marching in as though they had a right to be there, without any of the usual formal courtesies, without being introduced or sponsored, not carrying message sticks, but carrying guns. No wonder they were scared; no wonder the local owners of the land behaved threateningly; no wonder the general opinion of Europeans predicted disaster; and no wonder the ecstatic relief when they arrived home safely later.

It needs to be remembered too, that this was familiar country to Dana, that he knew the Europeans, and doubtless possessed some background knowledge about Aboriginal groups and patterns of activity, and in fact, he was still a run-holder, continuing to hold the licence for Nangeela till 1845. This might be the unrecorded context or the unspoken fact that, as Blainey says, seldom gets into our records, precisely because it is so obvious to the contemporary recorder that he never thought to record it. Whether it was Dana's knowledge and assurances that carried the day, or the discipline and trust that he had established, they behaved very well and steady, as he put it, and arrived safely at The Grange on 12 September 1842. Dana had this to say about the journey: "I have particularly to bring under the notice of the Superintendent the good conduct of Yupton and Buckup during the march from Melbourne. The good care they took of their horses, and their cleanly and orderly conduct. I have not one cause of complaint against any one of the men, all obeying orders cheerfully and endeavouring to please me as much as possible; which, considering the harassing circumstances of a long march with five dismounted men, in wet weather, and sometimes all day without provisions was almost more than I was led to expect". The mounted men and the horses were much tired on arrival, and the dismounted men a little tired and footsore. For them, horseriding may have been more tiring than walking 200 miles.

14 9-11 Sep 1842: op.cit
15 In LaTrobe's letter of 10 Feb 1843, quoted above, specifically written for the information of the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, he spelled out clearly that it was a trial, building on the good service the Native Police had rendered in routine police duties with the Commissioner of Crown Lands in the Westernport region, dealing with European absconders and bushrangers. It was a further step in their training and development as Policemen to send them "to a part of the country 200 miles distant from their Native ground". It was no innocent and naive decision. He was aware of the risks involved in sending them into foreign country where they were strangers.
16 How many, it is impossible to know now. In such a small European society however, it was possible to know, or to know of everyone.
Dana's instructions were detailed, addressed precisely to the question in LaTrobe's mind, and in everyone else's including their own, of the risks involved in sending them into foreign country where they were strangers. The concluding paragraph reads as follows "This duty is a test of the Native Police in a new situation far from home where they are strangers". Dana was to keep a detailed diary of his proceedings, which he did; there was to be no relaxation of discipline either on the journey or after arrival - hence the dawn parades; when they reached the western district where they were strangers, they must stick together, and none must leave on any pretext - they managed that; there was to be no halt at Mt Rouse Protectorate station and hence no opportunity for contact/conflict with the local groups - they remained there but half an hour Dana wrote, and he did not allow his men to have any communication with the Aborigines at the station, camping about five miles away overnight; they were to keep away from all European station servants along the route, which he accomplished by camping a mile away on the home creek; the last instruction, almost as an afterthought, it seems, was that they were to adopt European habits; and it was twice emphasized that upon arrival at The Grange, Dana was to place himself and his men under the orders of the Police Magistrate (Mr French), who would determine the precise nature of their duties and who would be held responsible for their actions. It is perhaps useful to present understanding to quote precisely this point, number eight of the Instructions: "...should extraordinary service be required of them, such as tracking or rescuing the property of settlers, or capturing the authors of outrages on the property of settlers, it must be done, if not under his own eye (French's), under such specific and written direction to the Officer in Charge as may ensure that what may be done is performed under the direction of a magistrate and according to law". What is behind these instructions is uncertainty, risk-taking, a gamble that the men would not behave as the "savages" most Europeans took them to be, but that the strictest measures be taken anyway to ensure that the risk was minimised, and as well, there is an insurance clause, so that if the worst happened, the authorities, LaTrobe, French and Dana, would be protected - if all were done properly, according to law, with written pieces of paper to be produced as defensive evidence, no-one could be blamed if the "savages" reverted to type. There is a twin imperative here - the Corps had to be good, but it had to look good too.

As it turned out, nothing much happened in the winter of 1842. They took the first week at The Grange easily, with daily parades and cleaning of arms and equipment. After that, there

17 Instructions LaTrobe to Dana, 11 Aug 1842, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec 22 Aug 1842, 42/6510 in AO of NSW, 4/1135.1
are no reports anywhere, either from Dana, or in newspapers, or in Protector's reports, of the Native Police being involved in collisions or affrays with local groups during the period they were in the western district, from September to November 1842. There are newspaper reports of Dana's optimism as to the utility of the Corps, the strong desire of the sable gentlemen to be capturers of their more lawless brethren, reports of Dana's movements, and a report within six weeks of his arrival that there were no recent reports of any outrages - but no mention of collisions. The object of newspaper interest was in Captain Fyans and his detachment of sixteen mounted (Border) police who are mentioned fairly frequently.

There is one questionable mention of action which involves at least the possibility of conflict and it happened quite early. According to Dana's journal, the natives were threatening Monivae, the station of the Police Magistrate Mr French, which was the run adjacent to the tiny settlement of The Grange. On 21 September 1842, Dana sent seven men (he neglected to record whether they were mounted or dismounted) to patrol the country and to remain at the station overnight while he himself took Buckup and Nerimbineck to Mr Hunter's station at Mt Eckersley. The seven detached men returned next day to The Grange, "having succeeded in finding the natives and driving them from the vicinity of the sheep station". There is simply no more evidence on this - whether one interprets this meagre information innocently or sinistery is necessarily dependent on the context. The only comment Dana made was that the men behaved very well. I am inclined myself to read this event innocently; this was, after all, the first time ever that the men had undertaken such a duty. Dana and French would have been watching them like hawks. Had there been any trouble, Dana and French's reports would have been full of excuses and justifications and explanations. And the newspapers would have heard of such trouble if it occurred: it was not an isolated station, but the first property out of town. This in fact, was probably why Dana and French felt confident enough to send them alone.

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18 Portland Mercury and Normanby Advertiser, 14 Sep 1842, 12 Oct 1842; Portland Guardian, 27 Aug 1842, 22 Oct 1842. In this newspaper of 17 Sep 1842, there is also a report that Mr Le Souef and a detachment of the N.P. was expected at Mt Rouse - a misunderstanding on the part of the editor.
Dana's journal for the rest of the period is a day by day account of hard riding about the country with his four mounted men, calling at every station, gathering information and making his presence felt. There is a degree of disimulation in his recording that he called at the station of Mr Savage, twice, when in fact it was his own run held jointly with Robert Savage. What the local Aboriginal groups made of the fact of his return to the District with a number of armed and mounted foreign Aborigines is a matter of conjecture. But when the question is asked "Why did local groups fear the Native Police?", the fact of Dana's earlier residence in the district cannot be discounted. It could have looked to the traditional owners as though this European had returned to protect his European friends with the aid of foreign Aborigines. In other words, foreigner Aborigines had made an alliance with the usurpers of their country and now marched into their country with impunity, refusing even to speak with them; it must be asked whether foreign dominance by other Aborigines might not have been felt as more fearful by the local Aborigines than the Europeans. The disturbance must have been profound: the mere fact alone of the presence of these foreign Aborigines, let alone their being armed and mounted and in alliance with Europeans, is enough to explain the local owners' fear.

Two events stand out now, in his record of these two months. The first is the persistent but ultimately unsuccessful tracking of a group of depradators who had taken 200 sheep from Rickett's station, Clunie, on the Glenelg river on 25 September: Dana heard about it on the 27 September when he was at Desailly's station Fulham, the adjacent property. Accompanied by Desailly and three of his mounted men, Dana rode back to Rickett's station, checked that the information was correct, then adding to his party Rickett's supervisor, a man called McIntyre, set off along the tracks of the stolen sheep. Though it was raining, the police were able to deduce that fifteen individuals were involved, and the pursuing party kept coming upon dead sheep, and sheep immobilised with broken legs. Dana's party followed the tracks for ninety miles over four days, abandoning the pursuit finally when they

19 On the 11 October for example, at the run held by James Purves and Daniel Chisholm, at the junction of the Hopkins river Mt Emu creek, he "heard of a man who knew something of the murderers of the native women at Smith and Osprey's station, supposed to be at Mr Patterson's station at The Grange". He sent the information straight away to the Police Magistrate. Dana was accurate in calling this a murder. An easily read version can be found in Garryowen (Edmund Finn), Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835-1852, 1888, vol 1: 360, and a more accurate and detailed version in Assistant Protector Siewwright to Croke (Crown Prosecutor) in NSW Leg Co V&P 1843: 41. A party of eight Europeans shot Naidgoncher, Coonea and Pui-bin-gaunae, three women, two of whom were pregnant, and a three year old male child, and wounded Uni-biquiang a child, and another unnamed woman, while they were asleep in a tea-tree scrub about 700 yards from the home station of Messers Smith and Osprey at Muston's creek in the western district, on or about 25 Feb 1842. There was no doubt about the identity of the killers, or the manner of killing - the party went out hunting and shot Aborigines, but though the authorities offered the huge reward of fifty pounds for certain identification, no-one would speak. Three men Hill, Betts and Beswick were tried in the Supreme Court and found not guilty.

20 1 Oct, 31 Oct
had been without provisions for two days. At the time of abandonment, the tracks were running north in the direction of the Wimmera river. Again, it can only be conjectured what the effect on the depredators might have been, to be followed so far for so long by the police; fear for the future would seem a reasonable response.

After this Dana turned south and visited his own station Nangeela, meeting up with a group of Aborigines whom he questioned, but "as there was nothing of any consequence against them, left them, giving them to understand that if they stole sheep they would certainly be taken and sent to gaol". The question for the present is, would they have believed him? If they did, then again, fear is a reasonable response, and in fact, Dana recorded that "they appeared much frightened at my men".

What strikes the contemporary reader of Dana's journal is the patchy nature of settler/Aborigine contact for this place at this time. It is quite doubtful whether the metaphor of the frontier describes accurately the existential situation. We have inherited it from the writers of American history, and use it perhaps carelessly. Powell has described the three-fold processes of pastoral mobility - accretion, leap-frogging, and cluster and infill, and the evidence of Dana's journal supports the notion of a process of pastoral expansion by leap-frogging, with infill by outstations. Mary Turner Shaw described the nature of the selection process in the western district in these words: "In those days, anyone who had not as it were moored his run to a mountain was as likely to have it looped around a lake". The patchy experience of Europeans on the stations is probably partly a function of this process, partly a function of the determination of individual Aboriginal groups such as the group named by Kilgour, partly a function of stress on particular food supplies experienced seasonally by Aborigines, and partly a function of the personal behaviour of individual Europeans or the corporate policy of the run-holder. And once the Native Police Corps settled into their winter routine of preventative stationing and patrol, this too would partly determine Aboriginal action.

Dana found for example that at Purves and Chisholm's run at the junction of the Hopkins river and Emu creek, a few miles north-east of present Warnambool, the servants and

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21 Thomas Ricketts' account of the tracking agrees with Dana's, and adds the following observation "The sable corps showed much anxiety to overtake and capture the 'myalls'" (Portland Mercury and Normanby Advertiser, 19 Oct 1842)


23 Shaw, M.T. On Mt Emu Creek. Robertson and Mullens, Melbourne, 1969: 23
shepherds were in a state of mutiny, from fear of Aboriginal attacks\textsuperscript{24}, but at the next place he called at on the same day, Burchett's run, called The Gums, at Penshurst forty miles or so away to the northwest, all was quiet. Two days later, at Bushy creek, the run occupied by Kidd and Hutchinson on the Hopkins river west of Wyecliff, no natives had been about the place for six months. It may be doubted that we have yet well understood the nature of cross-cultural contact in the western district. Histories of benign squatting families\textsuperscript{25}, and the contemporary trend towards constructing war theories on the basis of clashes both risk missing the complexities and the particularities that demand explanation. They are too simple.

The other thing which stands out from Dana's narrative of riding around the country making his presence known, is his threat to shoot a group of Aborigines if they did not do as he told them. Again the question is, would they have believed him? The circumstances were as follows. At Mr Gibbs station on the river Hopkins, where he halted for the night of 11 October 1842, Dana found a messenger waiting with orders for him to proceed to Captain Webster's station at Mt Shadwell (near present Mortlake) and meet there the Police Magistrate. The message said that the blacks about there were stealing sheep, and one black had been killed in a collision with settlers. At a conference next day at Webster's station, Police Magistrate French gave Dana instructions to proceed up the river Hopkins to Lake Boloke and drive the natives to Mt Rouse Protectorate station\textsuperscript{26}. Dana left immediately, retracing his path to Kidd and Hutchinson's station, where no natives had been seen for six months, then on to Mr Wyselaskie's station Narrapumelap further up-river. On the way he fell in with a party of about thirty natives and ordered them to go to Mt Rouse, waiting and watching while they packed up their traps\textsuperscript{27}. He then rode to Lake Bolac, finding signs that a large number of Aborigines had been there the day before, but seeing no-one. He tracked these people for some miles, coming up with them in a thick forest between the Hopkins river and the Saltwater creek; undoubtedly they knew they were being followed. He told them too, that "they must go to Mt Rouse or I would shoot them"\textsuperscript{28}. He drove them on for some distance in the direction of Mt Rouse, then left them, and virtually crossed the district westward, returning to the Glenelg river and his own station, reporting his movements and

\textsuperscript{24} Dana Journal, 11 October 1842
\textsuperscript{25} For example, Kiddle, M. \textit{Men of Yesterday}, and Bassett, M. \textit{The Hentys}
\textsuperscript{26} A glance at the number of archaeological sites clustered in this general area, demonstrates the heavy use of this area in traditional life, and suggests particular pressure felt by the local Aborigines in this part of the country by the European occupation. See map pp 68-9 in Duncan, J.S. \textit{Atlas of Victoria}, Government Printing Office, Melbourne, 1982
\textsuperscript{27} Traps is a common word of the time for baggage or luggage, but in this case, considering the place, it might have meant fishtraps.
\textsuperscript{28} Dana Journal, 14 October 1842
intended movements constantly by messenger to the Police Magistrate at The Grange. On 29 October, at Mr Norris' station Kout Narin on the Glenelg river, he spotted a group of Aborigines who attempted to flee. He rode up to them, got them together and drove them into the station where they encamped with others already there. Next day he located another group, and though Norris said that among them were somewere sheep stealers, he could not prove it. So Dana collected them all together and sent them too on their way to Mt Rouse; if he threatened to shoot them, he failed to mention it. After calling again at his own station Nangeela, he proceeded to McCulloch's station, Retreat, on the Glenelg, where he met, by arrangement, the group of thirty Aborigines whom he had sent on their way to Mt Rouse two days earlier. They were all there, he wrote, and he told them to keep going, to stop that night at the Winter station Murndal. They did exactly that, and two days later he met them again, between Winter's station and The Grange: they were on course, and on time.

It is this which requires explanation. Were they so afraid of him that they believed he would shoot them if they did not do exactly what he said? He regarded the shooting of the Aboriginal women and children at Muston's creek as simple murder, yet what he threatened to do would have been no different. Or was his threat a part of his paternalistic style, an exaggerated bluster which is discounted by the hearer because he knows the style of the person making the threat? There is no doubt of Dana's paternalism. He believed that "An Australian Aborigine can do things as well as any other man when he is made to do so and feels that he must". He believed further that savages are to the civilised as the child is to the adult, and as these people were children in his view, he advocated treating them as children, i.e. with kindness and consideration, but also with firmness. He knew these people from his residence in the district, and they knew who he was. I myself do not believe that these people obeyed his every instruction out of sheer fear of him: I do think though, that every fibre of their being would have resonated with fear at the presence of armed Aboriginal foreigners in their own country, standing around, looking as though they would back up Dana's threat. Had Dana been alone, or accompanied by European troopers, I suspect that flight rather than co-operation would have

29 Dana to LaTrobe, 10 Jun 1843, 43/1038 in NSW Governors Despatches Jan-Apr 1844, CY reel 669, ML.
30 Dana to LaTrobe, 19 Jan 1843, ibid. The patronising tone of Dana's policy offends now, but when one gets away from evaluative descriptive evidence of relationships to the actual structures and processes, it begins to be clear that firmness by Europeans in accountability was respected by Aborigines. It is not uncommon to find in the early literature, statements by Europeans such as that of Hinkins (Hinkins, J.T. 1884: 26). In explaining that he never had any trouble with Aborigines though he lived in a "frontier" situation for ten years, Hinkins states his policy as never tell a lie to them, never make a promise that you cannot keep. To promise and not deliver was rare in Aboriginal society, the whole basis of which was reciprocity. Nor was lying a characteristic of traditional society. So that Hinkins' policy, by accident, was adaptive in the cross-cultural situation. On the whole, it seems that firmness in keeping one's own word and firmness in expecting Aborigines to keep theirs was a successful strategy, regardless of its paternalistic underpinnings as in Dana's case.
been their more likely response 31. The lesson they learned subsequently, after the winter of '43, was that pursuit and capture, or if they chose to stand and make a fight of it, then conflict, was inevitable. But this threat was made before they had gained a measure of the Native Police capabilities: there had been no action, no event, no conflict, only an abandoned pursuit. Their knowledge base, on which to make their decision, could have been determined only by their cultural mistrust/dislike/fear of strangers, their acquired knowledge of the individual man Dana, and their reading of their existential situation, confronted as they were, by armed foreign Aborigines.

Dana himself was liked by Aborigines, who tolerated his eccentricities, possibly because he tolerated what others perceived as theirs. Barak remembered him with affection, and took pleasure in mimicking Dana's mannerisms years after his death 32. Tomboko (Henry) loved him, and could not bear it when Dana let him down over an incident involving Tomboko's wife's dog - he left the force, in spite of pleas from Thomas 33. Even the newspapers, commenting on Dana's funeral in November 1852, when the Corps was virtually disbanded, and the police had come from all parts dressed in their old uniform to mourn him, recognised that he was popular with many of the men under his command 34. There is evidence that he was feared by bushrangers, to whom he was known as "Raw-head and bloody bones. Nothing could stop him or his mounted police" 35; he was

31 As it was in the Westernport district and in Gippsland, where the Aboriginal testimony discussed earlier demonstrates that Aboriginal people claimed not to "care for" white constables; "care for" is a contemporary phrase which today would mean "care enough about your power over me to be coerced into doing what you tell me". See Macalister's evidence to Select Committee on Aborigines in NSW Leg Co V&P 1846, p 150 of the Report, and Thomas to Robinson, 10 Dec 1845, VPRS 11, Box 10/621.
32 Newspaper clippings relating to Barack, Box 18/12, LsSL; see also Wiencke, S. When the Wattles Bloom Again: The Life and Times of William Barack, Last Chief of the Yarra Yarra Tribe. Privately published, Woori Yallock, 1984
33 Thomas Quarterly Report, Mar-May 1847, 47/7444 in AO of NSW, 4/2782
34 ARGUS, Friday 26 Nov 1852; see also Sadleir, J. "The Brothers Dana", newspaper clipping, no date, in Box 21/2 LsSL. Sadleir has this to say: "On 25 November 1852, I happened to be standing in Elizabeth St Melbourne, when I saw a semi-military funeral pass towards the old cemetery in William St. Most of those who followed were officers and men in uniform and on horseback, and what most struck the new chum as I then was, was the large number of black troopers, about forty I suppose, that brought up the rear...Henry Dana seems to have had no trouble in obtaining from the various tribes as many recruits for his native Corps as he required, nor does he appear to have found any difficulty in keeping them when he got them. There were occasional desertions, but these were nearly always in the case of men who had been allowed to join in a corroboree, and who had perhaps taken too much to drink, and were mixed up in some tribal disturbance. Usually the missing men gave themselves up to the officer and seemed glad to return to their allegiance". Sadleir continued on to discuss the duties of the Corps, and it is clear that he thought their role included punishing the tribes who murdered Europeans or committed raids on stock. He considered the question of the police treatment of other Aborigines "While on the subject of the treatment of the wild blacks, it is right to say that I can find no trace of any cruelty or unnecessary harshness towards them on the part of the brothers Dana or the troopers under them. The persons who compiled the records before me do not appear to have written under much restraint, for many of the entries show a freedom of criticism not common in official documents, and I think that if the wild blacks had been unduly punished, some indication of the fact would certainly appear".
undoubtedly arrogant\textsuperscript{36} and very conscious of his personal honour and status as a gentleman; he was a man's man - volatile and impetuous, as Gross says\textsuperscript{37}, a man of foibles according to LaTrobe. This personality profile fits in ways, the Aboriginal definition of a manly leader, brave and bold; what you saw was what you got.

All things considered, it seems a prudent decision was made to do what Dana commanded and go to Mt Rouse.

Apart from these two episodes, the Native Police had only one other reported contact with the local Aborigines, the apprehension of four natives at the Glenelg river in October on suspicion of murder, an event about which there are no details\textsuperscript{38}.

It was a wet and cold winter, and travel was always difficult for the horses\textsuperscript{39}, the ground being so soft and boggy; Dana's life was saved by Buckup and Nerimbineck who dragged him insensible from the flooded Wannon river which he was trying to swim with his horse; Yupton was injured when he and his horse were trying to swim the flooded Glenelg river; Buckup caught a severe cold (from the constant wet according to Dana), and was left to rest and recuperate at a station; the Police Magistrate had nothing but praise for the dismounted men who had performed routine policing duties in the town of The Grange under his supervision. And Dana found himself unable to praise too much, the conduct of the men out with him, his "good men and true"\textsuperscript{40}. Interestingly, it was the men themselves who decided that it was time to return to their own country, as is evident from a letter LaTrobe wrote to P.M. French expressing satisfaction at French's satisfaction with the police. LaTrobe used these words "...as the Native Police under Mr Dana's command appeared to desire that they may be allowed to return to the neighbourhood of Melbourne, you deemed it expedient to do so... you acted judiciously in throwing no obstacle in their way"\textsuperscript{41}. This is an amazing demonstration of the

\textsuperscript{36} He once explained to LaTrobe who questioned him as to why a bill was not paid to an innkeeper in the western district for provisions supplied to the police, that the man sent him an insolent demand for payment, and he did not consider that gentlemen replied to such (\textit{VPRS} 19, Box 105, 48/957). Another time he he expressed anger at a shoeing contractor's insolence (\textit{VPRS} 19, Box 119, 49/718).

\textsuperscript{37} Gross, A. Charles Joseph LaTrobe, 1960: 55. It needs to be remembered though, that hyperbole was the normal coin of British Army speech when addressing subordinates (Masters, J. \textit{Bugs and A Tiger}, Reprint Society, London, n.d.: 43); it was probably the style of the military males in his family.

\textsuperscript{38} Dana "Return of Prisoners Apprehended by the Native Mounted Police", NSW Governor's Despatches, Jan-Apr 1844, CY reel 669, ML

\textsuperscript{39} The \textit{Portland Guardian} of 2 Oct 1842 recorded that the weather was so bad that Captain Fyans with his sixteen Border Police was "unable to make any movement with his troopers against the natives".

\textsuperscript{40} Dana Journal, 4 Nov 1842, in O'Callaghan,T. \textit{Police and Other People}, Ms LtSL

\textsuperscript{41} 8 Dec 1842, 42/1662, \textit{VPRS} 16, vol 3: 290
power the men had over the terms of their own lives and conditions\textsuperscript{42}, in absolute contrast to the powerlessness of ordinary serving men in other branches of Her Majesty's service: it is unthinkable that an ordinary serving man would expect to be listened to at that time, if he simply said that it was time to go home now. The word for that at the time was mutiny. This deferral to the desires of the police is too, an indicator of how seriously the authorities took the men, and how far they were prepared to accommodate to their wishes to keep them happy.

The summary statement about the effect of the presence of the Corps in the western district was made by LaTrobe, "I am glad to state that for the last two months...there seems to have been a pause in the continual attacks of the natives\textsuperscript{43}. Dana provided the explanation for the mechanism by which this peace was achieved "I anticipate that the trip to Portland Bay will be attended with some good results for the fear with which the wild blacks regard the men, and their knowing that now they can be followed to any place they got to, will have a good effect in preventing them from thinking that they can commit depredations with impunity\textsuperscript{44}.

It was the winter of '43 their second season in the district\textsuperscript{45}, which was their worst period for collisions with local Aborigines. This was the winter on which most contemporary judgements about the police are based, the year they arrived back at Merri creek scandalising Thomas with the figure of seventeen people killed, causing the enquiry by LaTrobe, alienating Thomas, provoking Dana to his intemperate threat to horsewhip Thomas all the way to Melbourne - and reverberating still in the present\textsuperscript{46}. "Worst" is a relative word, demanding an answer to the question "from whose perspective?". 1843 was the worst year for clashes between the local Aborigines and the Police. It was not the worst year for clashes between Europeans and local Aborigines - that was

\textsuperscript{42} Later, in Gippsland, the same thing happened. Tyers wrote to LaTrobe informing him that after five months service, the men say it is time to go home now. Tyers feared that if the detachment was not recalled to H.Q. the men would desert. LaTrobe promptly recalled them.

\textsuperscript{43} LaTrobe to Col Sec, 30 Nov 1842, enc with Governor's Despatch No 69, CY reel 669, ML

\textsuperscript{44} Dana to LaTrobe, 22 Nov 1842, ibid

\textsuperscript{45} Dana and two unnamed Native Police had spent most of the period Apr-Jun touring the Geelong area, escorting Commissioner of Crown Lands Airey on his rounds, serving notices etc. This was at the request of Airey, who did not know the settlers or the district, and there is no hint of any problem. When he arrived back in Melbourne, Dana wrote to LaTrobe seeking instructions for the Corps' designated duty "As the time is nearly at hand for departure to Portland Bay..." (See Dana to LaTrobe 19 Apr 1843, VPRS 19, Box 44, 43/690 and Box 46, 43/1038). Dana and some police had spent the two months prior to that, from 1 Feb - 25 Mar serving notices for the C.C.L. for the Murray district ( Dana to LaTrobe, 5 Apr 1843, VPRS 19, Box 44, 43/621). He travelled 1400 miles in this time, crossing and re-crossing the district, calling at all stations. He made some important observations in his account of this travelling, including the Aboriginal population estimate of 2000 for the whole district. During this round of duties, Dana and Corporal Rolls, but not the men, were involved in the famous capture of Warri, about which E.M.Curr has left a pious account, that manages to leave the author quite definitely on the side of the angels. This collision is discussed in Chapter 7.

\textsuperscript{46} All the deaths of this whole season are telescoped into one misleading caption "Slaughter in the Victorian Ranges, 1843" in \textit{Victorian Aborigines, 1835-1901: A Resource Guide to the Holdings of the Public Record Office, Victoria, Government Information Centre, Melbourne, 1984}
1842. A larger perspective on the sentiments of Europeans in the western district in 1843 might be gained from the petition they wrote in February 1844, requesting the government’s protection not from Aborigines, but from the labouring classes. A larger Aboriginal perspective was not only not recorded, it may not have existed. It has been noted that national Aboriginal consciousness is an historical product, and a fairly recent one at that. It may have been the case that separate landowning groups made separate accommodations to the European presence, that individual Europeans fared differently in their treatment by Aborigines according to the degree of rapprochement they established, and further, the type of response may have been dependent on individual Aboriginal leadership and the specific threat that the European presence posed to vital food supplies.

Dana mentioned watching and waiting while one group he sent on to Mt Rouse packed up their traps, i.e. their fishing traps. If the winter was the time when specific groups were dependent mainly on fish and eels for food (as at Lake Condah), then the European claiming of that particular part of the country could have provoked stronger objections from that group, than European occupation of less rich or less food-specific country.

The size of the Corps had increased only marginally in 1843, with the addition of another Sergeant, Samuel Windridge and a Corporal named Rolls or Rolfe, there being still twenty-one black troopers; but its range of duties had been extended, and the Corps was split four ways. Billibolary and Conerdrumnum (Charley) remained at Nerre Nerre Warren under the general orders of Chief Protector Robinson; Kalkallo (another Charley) and Peapoint (McNoel) were seconded to duty with Commissioner of Crown Lands F.A.Powlett at the Murray, from 19 September. They did not like this duty, absconding and returning to Merri Creek on 11 and 19 October respectively. Thomas took their guns away from them, reported them to LaTrobe and they received a severe reprimand. Sergeant Bennett and seven men - Murremmumreembean (Mr Hill), Munmungina (Dr Bailey), Kulpendrau (Billibolary’s son), Yamaboke (another Charley), BoroBoro (George), Mumbo (Murray), and Nunupton (Mr Langhorne) set off on 20 September with Commissioner of Crown Lands C.Tyers to blaze an overland route to Gippsland. The Commandant took Sergeant Windridge, the

47 Enc to LaTrobe to Col. Sec. 15 Feb 1844, 44/1468 in AO of NSW 4/2665.
48 Sergeant Samuel Windridge applied to join the Corps in Apr 1843. He had been a Sergeant in Her Majesty’s 28th Regiment of Foot, and from his discharge papers, certificates of recommendation from his officers, and personal enquiries Dana made, he appeared an active and intelligent soldier, a fit person for the unusual duties of a native Corps (Dana to LaTrobe, 6 Apr 1843, VPRS 19, Box 43, 43/600). He appears first on the pay list for the period 1 Jun- 31 Oct 1843, recruited because it was anticipated that Sergeant Bennett would be taking half the Corps to Gippsland with C.C.L.Tyers (VPRS 29, vol 9).
49 His name does not appear on any internal record of the Corps. It appears twice only, in outsider’s accounts, as Rolls in Thomas, as Rolfe in Curr.
unnamed Corporal and ten troopers to the Portland Bay district on 27 Jun 1843. Buckup, Bearing (Tall Boy), Beruke (Gellibrand), Giberuke (Tommy), Mooney Mooney, Poligerry (also Tommy), Tomboko (Henry), Tunmiel (Billy), Warwoorong (Murrey) and Yupton (Billy). They returned to Merri creek in November, told their stories to Thomas and the fuss started. What these thirteen men did in the four months between the end of June and the beginning of November is the subject of the following enquiry.

Thomas wrote two separate versions of the stories, one of which reads as follows:

"11 Nov 1843. After I had instructed the children, the Native Police who had been with Mr Dana began to relate their exploits. I listened attentively. At length one spoke for the rest, and I cannot but say if their statement be correct (and I doubt not an iota of it) that the scenes which took place in the Victoria Ranges on Queen Victoria's subjects, must have been distressing to the extreme. This black related to me how many had been killed, how many shot, the gross number 17. When done, he says "Marmameet that" (very good that), waiting for my applause. I, as a Protector, for the moment was numb. To tell him "no good that" would have been tantamount to encouraging disobedience to orders. I waived reply by saying poor Blackfellows hungry, got no master to tell them not to steal. I said why not take Blackfellows like white man take white man when steal. He said "Captain say big one stupid catch them, very good shoot them you. Blackfellows no shoot them, me handcuff you and send you to gaol". I asked if they looked at the bodies or came back to bury them. He said "Oh no, Molochi Werrungun big one Tunganun" (Dogs bye and bye big one eat them). The one who had received the two spear wounds showed them me and said "Me no mind spear, only like it when you see blackfellows fight". I said, perhaps not dead all of them. He said "Oh yes, no dead shoot again". He related the exertions of one, Yeapun, to avoid shooting a black that would have done credit to the most enlightened philanthrope. His own life had nearly fallen a victim to his humanity. That much of cold-heartedness was at work I doubt not. I put a question to the Corporal at night "Did you ever bury the bodies or return to see if they were dead or not?". He replied "Oh no, we shot and went on; that a black would almost run away if he was dead, that he saw a Blacks Gutts shot out, and the black pulled them up, shoved them in his belly and ran off". For a Protector to hear of such scenes, and blacks

50 One version is his quarterly Report, 1 Sep -1 Dec 1843, to be found at VPRS 4410, Box 3/78; the other is in a Report dated 1 Sep 1843 - 29 Jan 1844, in Thomas Papers, set 214, item 3, ML. One is not the copy of the other; though the language of description and quotation is similar, each contains detail that the other omits. The version reproduced here is the one readily accessible on mf in Melbourne. Thomas disdained punctuation marks, particularly the insertion of full stops and capital letters for the beginning of the following sentence. They have been inserted here for the sake of intelligibility.
being tied up to trees and flogged, one of whom so unmercifully that the blood spurted over the 
bystanders - and further, that Mr Dana sent a letter to the settlers on the Wando and Glenelg, bearing 
date on or about 31 Aug tantamount to giving them permission in the event of any fray with the blacks 
to go out. There certainly was this clause in it 'Not to fire unless life was in danger'. Now it cannot be 
denied that even if a peaceable tribe is surprised, that Blacks seize their spears. I would venture to 
affirm that an officer might go thro' the tribes (with one half of the number now at Mr Dana's 
disposal), committing awful slaughter were he so disposed, and yet not fire a single shot before a 
spear has been thrown. Major Mitchell and every other Writer have cautioned parties against hastily 
making a Native Encampment, and we who are now well acquainted with the blacks can affirm it - 
that a body of Mounted Men Galloping into an Encampment, however peaceable they may have been 
before, is enough of itself to excite them. Therefore I maintain that a Magistrate having the power to act 
as Mr Dana has in this respect, is dangerous to the liberties of the Aborigines, and that such power 
should be visited in a man made Magistrate, not one put into the Commission on account of his 
experience, his wealth or his character, but like myself, merely in virtue of office, is what I cannot 
comprehend. I am confident that a Bench of Magistrates would have had great deliberation ere they 
should have ventured to have taken such a step, in a disturbed district especially. I turn from the 
history of this Mission not wondering at such awful murders as that of the unfortunate Mr Bassett, but 
wondering that they are not more common:- There is another point which should be taken into 
consideration, that the Native Police cannot give a valid testimony in a Court of Law. This is a serious 
point. Not one should be in Her Majesty's service where life may be in jeopardy (sic) through their 
duty, who cannot give such evidence before a Magistrate ***. These difficulties with their feeling no 
remorse at taking away the life of another black, rather delight in it, especially if the tribe be far off, 
will render the Native Police Core one of the greatest scourges to the sable race". In the margin at this 
point *** is the following "I am of opinion that the blacks in the Native Police might soon be made 
sensible of the nature of an oath, at least so far as to be made sensible of its great importance, and the 
punishment that awaits them here and hereafter if they swore falsely. If the punishment hereafter has 
no effect, punishment here would".

The Mitchell Library version adds the following details. The story-telling took place 
around the fire at night; the named narrators were Tunmiel (the one who sustained two spear wounds), 
Warwoorong and Buckup; the Corporal was Gellibrand. It differs in substance in one important 
respect. Warwoorong, the narrator at the time, asserts that "at first Black fellows, tell em Captain only
hold, but that Captain said you big one stupid and frightened...". It introduces thus the notion of reluctance on the part of the police to fire, on the grounds of fear. It lists as well, name by name, the individual numbers of people killed: Warwoorong shot one person, Tunamiel three, Buckup two, Tomboko one, Polligerry one, Mooney Mooney four, Captain Dana one, Sergeant one, Corporal one\(^{51}\), the settler Mr Dunn one\(^{52}\), Yupton under great provocation one. There is agreement in both versions that the number of Aborigines shot was seventeen.

At first reading, we experience it, as did LaTrobe, as a shocking account. LaTrobe was able to call Dana in and cross-examine him - we have only the documents\(^{53}\). And on reading and re-reading them, examining their internal consistency, measuring them against what is known about contemporary Aboriginal consciousness and values, comparing them with Dana's written rebuttal, small doubts begin to emerge. The major doubt seems to relate to the contradictory evidence regarding their feelings about the idea of killing; on their own testimony, they were at first reluctant to shoot, and suggested capture instead, but after threats from Dana (mocking threats, implying that they were stupid or frightened), they complied, and then, in a retrospective account, took "delight" in it. Yupton's determination not to kill, almost at the cost of his own life, is the discordancy which requires understanding. Another doubt, maybe an unduly suspicious doubt, relates to the slightly holier-than-thou note in the assertion by Warwoorong that at first the police blackfellows did not want to shoot the other blacks. The story was told to the man whose job was to protect the Aborigines. He had been lecturing them for four years on the wickedness of killing, attempting to instil into them an enlightened Christian conscience, threatening them with punishment in the hereafter. It could be expected that they would distance themselves from responsibility for actions which horrified him, and went against all that he had tried to teach. And it would be in line with the cross-cultural observation made repeatedly in the early days, that on occasions when it suited, an Aboriginal person would say to a European what he knew that European wanted to hear.

\(^{51}\) This Corporal is not one of the two Aboriginal Corporals, Buckup and Yupton, who received promotion and began to be paid at the rate of threepence a day from 1 Jan 1844 (Authority from Col Sec dated 30 Nov 1843, in YPRS 29, vol 13). He is a European whose name does not appear on any return of the Corps. Almost certainly, he is the man named Sergeant Rolls, mentioned in Thomas Journal for 18 Nov 1843, as the person against whom Warwoorong lodged a formal complaint to Dana, that Rolls had stolen Warwoorong's opossum skin rugs. The presumption must be that he was with the Corps for a very short time, perhaps dismissed as unsuitable (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3, ML).

\(^{52}\) Thomas misheard or misremembered the name; it was not Mr Dunn who was present but Mr Henry Dwyer whose run was called Victoria Valley (Dana to LaTrobe, 13 Jan 1844, enc 44/81 with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 2 May 1845, YPRS 19, Box 70, 43/796).

\(^{53}\) "Captain Dana. This gentleman is about to proceed to Westernport in a few days. We are glad to learn that the catalogue of charges brought against him by Mr Protector Thomas have been unsubstantiated, although Mr Dana underwent a very searching scrutiny by H.H. the Superintendent, by whom he was fully acquitted of all blame" (Port Phillip Gazette, Wed 31 Jan 1844).
Dana's written response is formal, for the record, in addition to the oral explanation he
gave to LaTrobe, written doubtless in the knowledge that Thomas' damaging accusations would be
 copied and sent on to Sydney and thence to London. Dana himself placed as much weight on the
 allegation of unmerciful flogging, and the allegation that his men were given a piece of paper that was
tantamount to a permission to "go out" after blacks, as he did on the charge of the killing of seventeen
of Queen Victoria's black subjects, and he defended himself vigorously against all Thomas'
 allegations. For his defence in the matter of the letter which was allegedly a licence to go out after
blacks, he supplied a copy of the letter, as follows: "From Police Station, Mt Eckersley, 30 Aug 1843,
to the Settlers on the Wando and the lower part of the Glenelg - The two Native Troopers sent up to
your district are to assist in protecting the the stations on the Wando and lower parts of the Glenelg. In
any case where the blacks attack and carry off sheep, they are to proceed with the Proprietors of the
stations and follow up the tracks until the sheep be recovered and they must not be ordered to fire upon
the Blacks unless resistance is made or in defence of lives. You must see that their horses are taken
care of, and an account kept of the rations they may consume and forwarded to me. In case of any
collision taking place, the same must be reported immediately to me. They are not to be taken out in
search of blacks unless deprivations are committed", - signed, H.E.P. Dana, Commandant, Native
Police. He explained the circumstances as follows "The Circular alluded to as such an awful stretch
of Magisterial power. I attach a copy of it. At the time it was written, the country was in a very
disturbed state owing to the frequent aggressions of the natives on the Glenelg and Wando, and the
settlers applied to me several times to render them assistance. Sergeant Windridge was on duty in the
Port Fairy district, and I was going in search of Ward's child stolen by the natives. I had therefore no
N.C.O. to send with the men, and I gave this letter to the men sent to that part of the district to show to
any of the settlers who might require their services, as their instructions. I believe I informed Mr Blair,
Police Magistrate at Portland, of this letter, and I think the remark he made was that it was quite
correct". In the absence of any other information about this letter, and the event it describes, the issue
turns on whether or not Dana's troopers were sufficiently disciplined to act strictly in accord with their
instructions, and whether the settlers could be relied upon to do the same. Thomas' suspicious
speculations are a product of his own mind, not the stuff from which history can be written. One is
persuaded by Dana's circular that the form and intentions were acceptable, or one is not.

54 Dana to LaTrobe, 13 Jan 1844, 44/81, enc with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 2 May 1845, VPRS 19, Box 70, 45/796
He went on to deal with the allegation of unmerciful flogging: "Regarding flogging the natives in such a cruel and unmerciful manner is another statement much exaggerated. Mr Winter on the Wannon requested me to come up and remove a large number of natives from his home station as they were constantly killing his calves and stealing sheep from the yards at night. I went up to his station with two men, and Mr Winter accompanied me to the blacks camp. A day or two previous, he caught two boys driving away a number of imported rams, two of which they had killed. The two boys were at the camp at the time we went down, and when I questioned them about it, they owned to it, and their fathers told me that they had done so, and remarked that they were very bad boys and 'very good beat them'. I remarked to Mr Winter that I thought it would be a good plan to do so as an example to the rest. Upon this, the two old men brought them up to me, and held them themselves, and I saw them get four lashes each with a small whip in front of the whole tribe - that is all the cruel and unmerciful flogging they got. In an hour or less afterwards, the same two boys came up to Mr Winter's house and said they would never steal sheep again".

Again, it is a question of whether or not one is persuaded on the evidence. It reads acceptably, mostly because of the information given about the context. If this tribe or group was living on Winter's run, not far from his house, it was probably their country that he was squatting on, and probably they felt entitled to eat from his stock. Whatever their rationale, they were clearly not afraid of Winter, or they would not have stayed. The interesting question seems to be, did Thomas exaggerate the details, or did the police themselves exaggerate their story in the telling? Dana said flatly that they did, that "the men most probably told him incredulous tales for the purpose of laughing at him", and that the charges were "frivolous".

Regarding the specific charges of killing seventeen, an accusation which he acknowledged was grave and serious, Dana said firstly that he could not answer because he did not

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55 The taking by Aborigines of stud stock was acutely painful to the European owners; see for example John Cox's response: "I never felt so wolfish in my life, said Mr Cox to me afterwards, as when I saw the poor things [maiden imported breeding ewes from Cox's Mt Napier station, with their legs broken by Aborigines] turn up their eyes reproachfully as they lay, as if imploring our assistance... I [opened fire] without regret or hesitation in this instance" (Browne, T. A. Old Melbourne Memories, 1899: 68-9).

56 One attitude of Aboriginal groups towards the stock of Europeans living off the grass which belonged to Aborigines was articulated by Windberry - the sheep eat the grass which is ours, and the kangaroo which we used to eat are driven away, why complain if we eat the sheep? (Fels, M.H. Aboriginal History, 1986, vol 11, (forthcoming)).

57 Dana to LaTrobe, 3 Jan 1844, enc with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 2 May 1845, VPRS 19, Box 70, 45/796

58 Dana to LaTrobe, 5 Jan 1844, enc with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 2 May 1845, ibid.
know the names of the troopers; secondly, that the one who spoke for the rest happened to be at Mt. Eckersley at the time, and was thus neither a participant in, nor a witness to the events he described; thirdly, that seventeen was an impossible number to have killed, as at the time Dana and his men came up with the natives in possession of Dwyer's sheep, Dana himself was not armed, and the Corporal had only his sword, and between the men, there were only ten rounds of ammunition. His ultimate defence was his character as an officer, a gentleman and a magistrate, and he asked for an enquiry to clear his name. Dana regretted having come into collision with Mr Protector Thomas, and with hindsight, felt that he had made a mistake in even having exchanged a word with him. To assess the claim and counter claim, it is necessary to turn to the monthly letters Dana wrote from the western district during the winter of 1843.

There were six reported collisions between the Native Police and the local land owning groups over this season, the winter of 1843, during which Dana and four police with him patrolled constantly, covering 2500 miles in four months, while Sergeant Windridge and the remaining five police were based at Mt Eckersley at the junction of the inland supply track from Portland: the road forked at this point, one branch to The Grange, one branch to South Australia. From this base, Sergeant Windridge and the five police controlled the road in three directions for as far as they cared to ride; this was the place to which messages were sent in the event of attacks on person or property throughout the coastal western district.

The events are described in the European records by relation to the European person or place primarily involved - the collision over Dwyer's sheep, the kidnap of Ward's child, the collision over the death of Mr Bassett, the attack on Lockhart's dray.

The collision that followed the taking of Dwyer's sheep was the first fight in which local Aborigines were killed. It is also the event which enables us to recognise that Thomas was mistaken in his understanding of the story the police told him on their return to Melbourne. There is no

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59 It is apparent that Dana was answering charges contained in Thomas Quarterly Journal dated 1 Sep to 1 Dec 1843, now at Laverton: this version does not include individual names. It might be the case that Thomas wrote the second version, dated 1 Sep to 29 Jan 1844, now in the ML, after the enquiries of Jan 1844, to incorporate into the record, the names of those who killed.
60 "Collisions" is the contemporary word used to describe an armed clash. In so far as words can be value-neutral, it seems a better word to use in an enquiry than words which beg the question such as "atrocities" and "exterminate" used recently (Jones, M. Prolific in God's Gifts, George Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1983: 37).
61 A small barracks has been established about twenty miles from Portland at the junction of the roads to The Grange and South Australia...it conveys a degree of security to the settlers conveying their supplies from Portland up the country by either route (LaTrobe to Col Sec 2 Nov 1843, 43/8233 in AO of NSW 4/2628).
62 Dana to LaTrobe, 24 Jul 1843, VPRS 19, Box 48, 43/200
possible doubt that Dana had only four men with him in this engagement, so that the tally of men killed by seven individual police does not refer only to this collision. The most likely explanation of the misunderstanding is that the police began their story of the events of the winter with the narrative of the collision over Dwyer's sheep, and finished with a total body-count for the whole period, and Thomas heard the total as applying to the one event. This in fact, is how his journal reads.

There are two versions of the fight, both emanating from Dana - one account that he wrote to LaTrobe, and one account from a settler at whose station he called immediately after the fight. The unnamed settler wrote it up for a Melbourne newspaper. On August 10, Henry Dwyer of the Victoria Valley station (about eighteen miles north of the present Cavendish), arrived at the Grange to report to the Police Magistrate that he had lost 111 of his sheep, driven off by Aborigines six days earlier: Dwyer had spent the intervening days out looking for them himself, but without success. Dana happened to be at The Grange, and he left immediately taking four of his troopers, and Dwyer. On the eighth day after the taking of the sheep, the police picked up the tracks, and followed them for four days, up and over the Victoria Range, across the heads of the Glenelg river, through swamps and scrub, finding the sheep in the end, in a well-constructed sheep yard within dense forest, at an encampment of thirty Aboriginal men, about fifteen miles from Mt Zero. It was an impressive feat, both on the part of the Aboriginal men who shepherded the sheep over such terrain, and the Aboriginal men who tracked them. Undetected (for which he praised his police), Dana got his tiny force into the encampment, but before they could reach the sheep, they were detected, and once the alarm was raised, the Aboriginal men rushed the sheep at them. In the fight over possession of the sheep, the police fired their muskets, and the Aboriginal men retreated to high ground, throwing spears and waddies, and throwing and rolling rocks and stones, rapidly and accurately. Dana's report stated that four Aborigines were killed, and one wounded, and more could have been wounded but he did not see more: the second-hand report in the newspaper claimed "a considerable number".

All accounts, and the later police account to Thomas, stressed the most determined bravery displayed by Yupton and an Aboriginal man in single-hand combat, Yupton determined to take his man alive, his opponent determined to kill Yupton. Yupton used his musket to ward off blows from the man's tomahawk, the ramrod of the musket being twisted so much as to render it useless.

63 Dana to LaTrobe, 20 Aug 1843, VPRS 19, Box 49, 43/2189 and Port Phillip Patriot 31 Aug 1842: 2. There is also a version from a gentleman at the Wannon in Port Phillip Gazette, 26 Aug 1843, which is the least accurate, but happens to be the version most often quoted, possibly because of the interesting language - this version describes the settlers in perfect ecstacies at Dana's action, and hopes the blacks will be intimidated.
The newspaper account stated that in the end, the savage retreated to the summit of a rock from whence he hurled stones with such rapidity and accuracy that Yupton was compelled to shoot him. The party recovered seventy of Dwyer's sheep, much bruised and lamed by the natives, and spent a tedious and most difficult seven days driving them back to Dywer's run. The settler's account concludes with feelings of satisfaction and joy that the blacks had been taught a lesson, and we can see what he meant, if not share his feelings.

The depredators were taken by surprise, and must have thought they were safe, hidden so securely, so far from the European presence. It was undoubtedly food for thought, that the authorities now possessed a force capable of such a feat of detection and recovery. Whether they took the further step of believing they would be killed if they took sheep, is a matter for conjecture. Dana's reports stressed always, the number of sheep taken, and the number recovered. They were addressed to the economic imperative, the materialism of the profit-oriented squatters. They mention the numbers of Aboriginal casualties with regret, but as a secondary consideration. His job was to recover the property; if depredators chose to stand and fight, casualties resulted, but that was an unavoidable part of the job. His reports do not read as though he were attempting to conceal or minimise casualties. They read as the self-satisfied reports of a man whose work has been well done, efficiently and successfully. His final summary report makes the proud claim that in every case where the police followed up depradators, property was recovered. When Dana says that the blacks have been taught a lesson, he means that they know now that they will be tracked and the sheep remaining alive will be taken back. Not only in the report of this collision, but in each of his monthly reports till November, and in his summary report, Dana praises his men for their steadiness of nerve, their coolness under attack, their absolute obedience, their desire to please. A sentence from his last report is worth quoting: "I must remark for the men that joined my detachment, that when engaged with the other natives, I have never known them to be guilty of any unnecessary harshness or cruelty, and never attempted to strike a blow or lift a carbine unless when commanded." This is the pride in the discipline of the men that is confirmed by all contemporary witnesses, and as well, a reiteration of the rebuttal of the earlier fear that when Dana's savages were placed in a conflict situation with other savages, then savagery was to be expected. There is simply no means of determining with certainty, the number

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64 A public subscription was raised on Dana's behalf in the western district, though it does not appear that he received the money, see *Port Phillip Gazette*, 14 Oct 1843 and 31 Jan 1844.
65 Dana to LaTrobe, 27 Nov 1843, *YPRS* 19, Box 52, 43/2648
killed. Dana himself was unarmed; his Corporal had only a sword; his four men had ten rounds of ammunition between them, and five casualties resulted out of thirty opponents. It cannot however, on the evidence, be labelled slaughter, extermination or atrocity.

In August an Aboriginal group kidnapped the small daughter of an innkeeper named Abraham Ward who lived fifty miles from Portland Bay. Like the subsequent alleged capture of the white woman in Gippsland, it aroused European sentiments of horror; for the Europeans of the time, there was something unspeakably awful about the thought of a white female in the clutches of a black savage. While Dana was still occupied in driving back Dwyer’s sheep, the report came in to Sergeant Windredge at Mt Eckersley. He took three men, and set off to search for the child to the east, in the area between Mt Napier and the coast. He was unable to get through the “stones and swamps”, because a great many natives showed such determined opposition; he considered it prudent to return to base and wait for Dana’s return. Dana was more successful. Accompanied by Mr Edgar of the Fitzroy river, he and his men questioned a number of natives in the stones area near Mt Ecles, learning from them, that the child had been murdered by a black named Harry, who used to live with the brothers William and George Whyte at their station Konongwootong, four miles north of the present town of Coleraine. While following up this lead, skirting round a large swamp, Dana came on sheep tracks, and then on a number of natives breaking the legs of sheep. They fled into the reed bed of the swamp, and from that safe place, challenged the police to come and get them. Dana dismounted his men and took up the challenge, making their way with difficulty through the wet, receiving hails of spears, firing in return; Mr Edgar was lucky to avoid a spear which passed between his legs, and shot a man ten yards away in the act of throwing another spear. In the middle of the swamp, they found an island, with a large encampment surrounded by many dead and mutilated sheep. They also found a coat and forty muskets which Dana secured as evidence. By this time, the depredators had crossed over the swamp, so Dana set some of his men to attending to the sheep, and sent one man to walk the tracks of the sheep backwards, to discover from which property they had been taken. This man returned with the news that the sheep belonged to Christopher Bassett and Henry Houseman, who squatted on the head of the Crawford river without servants, minding their two hundred sheep.

66 Richard Howitt in his Impressions of Australia Felix, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1845: 196ff got his facts wrong in attributing the seventeen deaths “counted on his fingers by a native policeman” to the collision following the kidnapping of Ward’s daughter. He states wrongly, that it was very probable that the murdered child was avenged seventeen to one. Charles Griffiths also recounted the story in his Present State and Prospects of the Port Phillip District, William Curry, Dublin, 1845.

67 The stones refer to the Stony Rises, lava ridges on the volcanic basalt plain of the western district, see J.D. Douglas “Geology”, in Duncan, J.S. Atlas of Victoria.
themselves, and further, that the blacks had killed Bassett who was in the habit of going out unarmed with his sheep. They had stripped him of his clothes, speared him through the heart, and driven pegs through his eyes. Dana described this as a particularly cruel and outrageous murder, but there is nothing necessarily cruel or outrageous about spearing a man through the heart. Perhaps the evidence suggested that the natives had driven the pegs through Bassett's eyes before killing him, in which case there must have been a reason. This was not the normal method of killing a European. Maybe Christopher Bassett saw something he was not meant to see.

Dana and his men spent an unpleasant night. The blacks re-crossed the swamp and attempted to take the bodies of some of the dead sheep, but they were prevented from doing so, and retired from the island, taunting the police, shouting all night across the water. In the course of the night, Dana determined to capture this group, and crossed his party over the swamp in darkness, attacking them just before sunrise: it was by far the worst place he had ever been in, he wrote, and it was a mercy his small party was not cut off to a man68. He did not get any prisoners before the blacks made safety into the scrub, and eight or nine blacks were shot. He commented thus on these casualties, "I feared more would have been killed for the men had been so harassed, and seemed so determined to revenge the poor man's death, that I thought I should have some difficulty in restraining them, but they behaved uncommonly well and steady (Dana's emphasis), and never fired unless absolutely necessary for their own protection and that of the party. Spears waddies and tomahawks were thrown at us from all directions, but no person was struck except one of the men Moonee Moonee, who got a blow on his head from a large axe, but it did not appear to hurt him. If these murderers escaped without punishment, there is no knowing when this work would stop. The same tribe of natives killed McKenzie and his man, Ward's child, and now Bassett, and the country they fly to after committing these outrages is such that but few white men could follow them, and I trust that Your Honour will not consider that I have exceeded my duty in following them into their stronghold, and making them feel that they shall not murder and plunder with impunity".

This is Dana speaking in a different tone to his earlier report. This is Dana the dispenser of justice in the Queen's name, worrying a little though, lest he had gone too far, feeling obliged to justify his actions. He begins his report with regret that he has to report a most atrocious and cruel murder, not regret as in other reports, that he has to report casualties. It is almost as if he is outraged

68 Dana to LaTrobe, 6 Sep 1843, VPRS 19, Box 50, 43/2293
Sergeant Windredge severely bruised. It was close fighting, and hand to hand combat. The police recovered everything - all the stores, blankets, pannikins, shirts, twenty pounds of flour and some sugar. Pursuit was so swift that the Aboriginal men had not had time to enjoy the spoils. Tunmiel was carried back to Mt Eckersley and operated upon, his wounds cleared of a great deal of glass and flint, and he subsequently recovered.

There are no other reports of collisions, though Dana mentioned that six occurred for the season. The question must be asked whether he double counted one or more collisions, or whether he simply failed to describe them in detail, there being so obvious casualties. His reports account for seventeen casualties, fifteen killed and two wounded during the winter of 1843. It agrees well with the report that the men themselves made to Thomas, that seventeen men were killed. It could be suggested that Dana worded them up, rehearsed them to make their account agree with his monthly reports, with what he had written at the time from the western district, in haste, on the run and with no copying facilities. But that would be to demean their intelligence and their probity: it seems a bit too fanciful to be persuasive. The most reasonable conclusion is that there were seventeen Aborigines killed by the Native Police in the western district in the winter of 1843. To describe these deaths as atrocity, slaughter or extermination is to misuse language.

After the winter of 1843, the Corps returned to the west each season for six years. In 1844 they were dispersed around the western district as follows - six at the Glenelg river, four near Mt Ecles on the edge of the great swamp, four at Mt Eckersley and two at The Grange. About that winter, Dana wrote that "the settlers appear to have suffered comparatively nothing this Winter from the natives...do not fear the like ("outrages") happening again...the only occasion one of my party have been in pursuit of natives was on 25 August at Emu Creek when Court Carib (Koord Kirrup) the supposed murderer of Mr McKenzie was taken by them and lodged in gaol at Portland."

In this letter, he mentioned the frightful disease and mortality of the natives, and made the comment that "a few seasons as fatal to them as this has been and they will cease to exist in the country". He is probably referring to the rain here the breaking of the drought, a factor which was coincidental with the presence of the Corps in the district. It must be remembered that Dana had his pet

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70 Sergeant Windredge's report, enclosure Number 3 in Governor's Despatches, vol 52, Jul-Dec 1846, ML mf reel 684.
71 In his letter of 27 Nov 1843, Dana refers to a collision reported in his letter of Nov 10, in which Windredge and Tunmiel were injured. He was mistaken, it seems, as that letter was dated Oct 10 not Nov.
72 Dana to LaTrobe, 16 Sep 1844, VPRS 19, Box 63, 44/1706
73 Ibid
that it happened in his district, where he was patrolling; almost as if the murder is an affront to the policy of preventative presence. Whether his response is labelled now, a punitive action, is almost immaterial. The fact is, that once he made up his mind even to attempt to capture these people, casualties were inevitable. This group had made it perfectly clear that they would fight; they challenged and taunted the police; they begged for a fight. They could be considered unlucky, in two ways - that the police came upon their tracks by accident, and that they had not had time to become acquainted on the grapevine with the news of the very recent successful tracking and recovery of Dwyer's sheep (and the casualties).

This account adds further to present understanding of Thomas' report. It supports the suggestion that he collapsed time; the delight expressed by the police to Thomas, it is clear, refers to this collision. Dana makes no secret of it.

His next report a month later has a fairly satisfied ring to it. He had been in the saddle constantly, travelling from Mt Eckersley to Port Fairy, to the Hopkins river, Mt Ecles, Mt Napier, The Grange, the Grampians, the Wannon river and the Glenelg river. The natives had ceased their depredations for this winter he thought, and they now had plenty of food. At no station he visited were they troublesome, and the lesson they had learned would, he hoped, have the effect of deterring them from attacking the lives and property of settlers. They could be tracked through the Stony Rises to hitherto safe hideouts, through swamps, across mountain ranges and through forest. In fact, the only terrain in which the police had not demonstrated their ability to undertake a successful pursuit was the scrub and desert country of the Wimmera and Mallee, and that was where collisions were reported in the next seasons, the winters of 1844 and 1845.

His satisfaction was just a little premature though, for on 16 October 1843, a group of Aborigines attacked a Wannon river settler, George Lockhardt, as he was driving his loaded dray alone, along the road between Portland and his station, about ten miles from the police barracks at Mt Eckersley. Lockhardt went straight there for assistance, and Sergeant Wingredge left immediately with five men. At the scene of the attack, they found most of the stores gone, and proceeded to follow on the tracks of the depredators till nightfall, when they caught up with them. Windredge and his men attempted to capture the Aboriginal men, and in the fight which ensued, two Aborigines were shot dead and one wounded. Tunmiel was dangerously wounded in two places by glass-barbed spears, and

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69 Dana to LaTrobe, 10 Oct 1843, VPRS 19, Box 51, 43/2434
theory about cold and damp and the weakness of the Aboriginal constitution, but it just might be the case that in that wet winter of 1843, Aboriginal deaths were remarkably high. It would certainly be worth an enquiry.

Following the one time in the Winter of 1844 when his men were "out" after Koort Kirrup, Dana recrossed the district again, to find from observation and information that the district was "perfectly free from anything like outrages by the natives" and requested permission to return to H.Q. From then, there were occasional collisions, each one of which can be investigated. But the worst was over; Fyans reported in January 1846 that for the past year the local Aborigines had been much more quiet and orderly than formerly, and in great measure the destruction of sheep had stopped, and further, that in some places the natives were working and receiving the same pay as Europeans. The Corps commenced recruiting in this district in 1844, gaining eight recruits in 1845, twelve in 1846; in their turn, these recruits recruited others.

The Native Police contributed to the pacification of the western district not by a reign of terror, though they certainly took some Aboriginal lives, but by being perceived by local Aboriginal groups who killed or captured stock animals, to be efficient and effective to such a degree that it was difficult to avoid detection and capture, sometimes with loss of life. And, though there appears no direct evidence other than the fact of recruiting and the presence at Nerre Nerre Warren of wives and mothers of western district recruits, it is reasonable to suppose that the attractions of policing life, the networking and connectedness of the people to the police, might also have affected the attitudes of the local groups.

Wimmera District

The Wimmera District story is left out of this account of the Native Police, not because it is unimportant, but because there is no reason to suspect that it differs substantially in the mode of operation of the force - preventative policing by presence and patrols, with occasional events such as collisions which can be examined in their particularity, and subsequent enlistment into the Corps of

74 Dana to LaTrobe, 24 Oct 1844, VPRS 19, Box 64, 44/1876
75 Fyans to LaTrobe, 20 Jan 1846, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec forwarding reports for Sec of State, 20 Feb 1846, 46/1835 in AO of NSW 4/2742
76 Barney, Bobby, Souwester, Cobra Bile, Port Fairy Jack, Merri, Hopkins, Cape Otway, Jack, and Billy were recruited in Dec 1845, see Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179.
77 VPRS 90, 23 Oct 1846
78 Souwester and Port Fairy Jack recruited Good Morning Billy, and Billy in 1847, see Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 93, 47/1040
local men. As the land was taken up by Europeans in the Wimmera and Mallee, the police followed. In July 1845, they were stationed at Mt Arapiles to patrol the country as far as Lake Hindmarsh, (further north than there were no Europeans at that time). There is a hint in the records that the Native Police failed to act as decisively as Wimmera settlers wished, in that Major Firebrace, a settler, complained to Dana of the cowardice of Sergeant Peter Bennett in action in the winter of 1845. Dana dismissed Bennett, but that action cannot be taken as evidence of Bennett's "cowardice" or otherwise, because it was the obvious creation of a space for Dana to appoint to the Corps his nineteen year old younger brother William Augustus Pultney Dana. Major Firebrace was one of the Port Phillip squatters who called for tougher measures against the Aborigines: if he labelled a man a coward, that man might by others be considered a model of restraint.

The "Take no prisoners" allegation of Assistant Protector Edward Parker belongs also in the story of Yanem Goona (Old Man Billy) and the Native Police actions in the Wimmera. Parker, noting that three Aboriginal men had been killed in the taking of Yanem Goona, reported that when the Native Police called at his protectorate station on the Lodden river, on route to the Wimmera, they had boasted to the local Aborigines at the protectorate that they would take no prisoners. It is an understandable boast, on at least two grounds. Firstly, there is some mutuality of interest and situation between the police and those local Aborigines who had elected to come in to Parker's station and live

79 The story of Yanem Goona, described as the "troublesome chief of the Wotjobaluk tribe" whose country is known now as the Wimmera, remains to be investigated. He was known also as Billy Billy and Old Man Billy. He was taken prisoner by Yupton after a tremendous struggle at Baillie and Hamilton's station near Mt Arapiles in July 1845. He was escorted to Melbourne by Dana and two police, taken to Neer Neer Warren and then placed in gaol in Melbourne (where he met other Aborigines, Koort Kirrup also captured by the N.P. in the western district, and Ningolobin whose story has been told). With the help of an interpreter he was tried in the Supreme Court for sheep-stealing, found guilty, and sentenced to 10 years transportation to VDL. He ended up at Norfolk Island pinning for his own country. He was one of a number of Aboriginal men who were transported, whose stories remain to be told. One could make the general observation too in passing, that there is almost no aspect of Aboriginal history in this period in which the Native Police were not involved.

80 LaTrobe to Col Sec 4 Jun 1845, 46/646 in AO of NSW 4/2741, and 45/6035 in 4/2705. The location of specific incidents in the Western District in the winter of 1845 is to be found at 47/4775 in AO of NSW 4/2741. Six troopers under WAP Dana were stationed at Major Firebrace's, and four troopers under an Aboriginal Corporal at Mr Horsfall's station on the Richardson river. By mid-1847, the Wimmera had its own CCL Wright, and in an early letter, he enclosed a settler's petition requesting a civil police force to deal with the increase in crime committed by outlaws who "infest the border"; the settlers do not mention Aborigines (Memorial, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 30 Jun 1847, 47/5307 in AO of NSW 4/2782).

81 Dana to LaTrobe, 10 Jun 1845, VPRS 19, Box 72, 45/1009.

82 Thomas wrote bitterly that "they got rid of Bennett, the only good man that was in the force", see Vic Leg Co V&P 1858-9. Having kept the Corps together at H.Q. in Melbourne in Dana's absences, and having displayed such understanding and tolerance of traditional Aboriginal social reality, Bennett too engages contemporary interest, and his story could be told. He died within three months of his dismissal.

83 Port Phillip Patriot, 6 Jun 1842.

84 The records relating to Yanem Goona are many, and dispersed. An obvious entry point into his story is the large file located with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 7 Jan 1846, VPRS 19, Box 78, 46/89, and LaTrobe to Col Sec, 16 Jan 1846, 46/646 at AO of NSW 4/2741. The first-mentioned file contains among other documents, Dana's report and Parker's letter of 14 Nov 1845 containing the "Take no prisoners" allegation.
intermittently on European terms: both sets of people distanced themselves socially from "wild" blacks further out\textsuperscript{85}. Secondly, as the local Lodden Aborigines were traditional enemies of the Wimmera groups\textsuperscript{86}, nothing would make greater sense than that the police would take the opportunity to ingratiate themselves and extend their influence and patronage by boasting that they would kill the enemies of the Lodden river group. Aboriginal action needs always to be investigated firstly from the standpoint of the social relationship of the actors. The Wimmera story merits its own investigation\textsuperscript{87}.

\textsuperscript{85} Though his account has a slightly mocking tone, E.M. Curr makes this point beautifully for this period, but in another district. "His" blacks came to him one day highly alarmed at the distant approach of the Border Police, telling Curr that they believed that the Border Police had come to shoot blackfellows. The Border Police bore a villainous name with them, he wrote. Curr calmed them by telling them that the police never interfered with any but "wild blackfellows" (in his writing, he mocks them for thinking that they themselves were civilised in their grasp of the English language, their dress and manners). They accepted his assurances, because their own self-definition did not include notions of wildness. It is always and everywhere the unknown other, further out, who is wild and/or savage.

\textsuperscript{86} Parker to Robinson, 11 Jan 1843, \textit{VPRS 11}, 5/217

\textsuperscript{87} It may be that an area study of the Wimmera, using the Native Police Corps records as a way in to the records, could be of wider significance. It would be a painstaking task because the Lower Murray was the early, river-oriented descriptive term for the Wimmera. The label changes over time. This change in terminology is probably responsible for what I believe to be a double-counting in later estimates of the Aboriginal population at contact. 3000 is a frequently-quoted estimate for the Western District. 3000 has also been quoted for the Wimmera/Mallee. But when the 3000 figure was first recorded, the Western District included the Mallee/Wimmera. Later estimates include yet again a further western classification of Lower Murray. But this figure too probably includes the people of the Mallee/Wimmera. All early figures need to be scrutinised just as carefully for their date and for the meaning at the time, of the geographical descriptive terminology, as for the experience and reliability of the observer.
CHAPTER SEVEN
OUT IN THE FIELD - TO THE NORTH

In the present, the term "Lower Murray" refers to the South Australian section of the river, the southerly traverse of that river terminating in Lake Alexandrina and the sea. Over the period of the 1840's however, it was a loose term with its own history of changing meanings. Initially, it included the Wimmera and Mallee as well as the river and its banks, so that when Dana reported a Division of the Corps off to the Lower Murray, the area they intended to control included all the country that lay within a line drawn from Echuca (called then, Maiden's Punt) to the South Australian border, the northwest section of present Victoria. Paradoxically, it was mostly a blank space on the map as far as Europeans were concerned: Kenyon's illustration of pastoral settlement shows a ribbon of European properties around emptiness. The Corps operated too, on the other side of the Murray in what was called the Tumut District, an area of country extending from the Murray/Murrumbidgee junction downriver from Swan Hill right across eastwards to the Tumut river: there being no border, this was a considerable area of present NSW. It was distinguished then from the Upper Murray, a term used to refer to the high country around Tumut and the river downstream as far as present Albury, the as now, a major crossing place. The Upper Murray was fairly well-known to the overlanders who passed through it on their way to greener pastures to the south, but the country along the lower Murray was not taken up by European settlers until 1846-7, and even then, the hinterland, what is now called the Mallee, was solely Aboriginal country - the Europeans could not utilise it because of the scarcity of water. As late as 1851, the government surveyor, E. R. White, could not chain a track from Lake Hindmarsh to the Murray.

In examining the activities of the Corps in the wide area of country to the north of Melbourne, two distinct temporal phases of activity can be recognised - their activities within the early settled areas, and their later stationing on the Lower Murray in the preventative and patrolling role. Taking an overall view and disregarding later squatting boundaries, there is a sense in which the country to either side of the main Sydney road and the country to either side of the major northflowing Victorian rivers could be said to be inner and early, and the distant Lower Murray district the outer and later limits of the Port Phillip District.

The process of carving up the Port Phillip district into squatting districts, each with its own Commissioner followed the pastoral expansion, but always one jump behind. Officially in 1842, the Lower Murray was simply part of the Westernport squatting district, with F.A.Powlett as its Commissioner; not till September 1843 did it receive its own Commissioner, and five years later following further subdivision and renaming as the Wimmera, CCL Wright was appointed. Commissioners did not confine their interest strictly to their own districts. A good example of the vagueness of boundaries, and the overlap of areas of responsibility is provided in the documents printed in NSW Leg Co V&P for 1843: the CCL for the Maneroo district John Lambie, had his office at Maneroo, but his census of Aborigines in his district included those from Omeo and the Snowy river; the CCL for the Murrumbidgee district Henry Bingham, had his office at the Tumut river, but his duties took him as far as the Hume and Ovens rivers.

The main functions of the Commissioners were to collect the licence fees, protect Aborigines and settle boundary disputes, and they carried out these duties, as Dana did his, by perambulating the country. All their itineraries, like Fyans itineraries for the western district, and some of Dana's reports, list the dates at which they called at the various stations on their tours, and conclude with a total of the mileage covered. These constant perambulations may not have had as much of a deterrent effect on the Aboriginal inclination to take stock as did Dana's strategy of locating two police in a fixed position, but they are immensely valuable to the present effort to determine the nature of relationships, because they were all recorded. The records of the Commissioners, like the records of the Protectors, provide a valuable context to Dana's activities. All these officials were engaged to a greater or lesser extent with protecting Aborigines, in a situation where the government was still in the process of establishing European order and law, and settlers subject to "outrages" either dealt out their version of rough justice to Aborigines or seethed and waited for a message to be conveyed to an official to come.

We make a grave mistake in imagining that countless acts of violence were perpetrated with impunity on the Aboriginal people in the Port Phillip district. There was violence, but any inference that the authorities were careless or uncaring is belied by extent of the record of investigation.

The Government's small forces of authority - CCL's with their Border Police, Protectors,

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2 Col Sec to LaTrobe, 6 Nov 1843, approving of the appointment of Mr Smythe from 1 Sep last, 43/2590 in VPRS 44, Box 424; One of CCL Wright's early letters enclosed a petition from the settlers at the Wimmera asking for police protection to check the increase in crime, not from Aborigines, but from outlaws who "infest the border" (Memorial, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec 30 Jun 1847, 47/5307 in AO of NSW 4/2782)
Magistrates with their Rural Constables, and the Mounted Police were always one move behind the play so to speak. They may not have been able to control the play, but they recorded it - what they heard about what was supposed to have happened, and what they did about it; the record is partly a record of what did not happen, of investigations into alleged events which turned out to be only rumours. Police Magistrate Blair's observation about the situation in this period in the western district is equally applicable to the central district: "There seems to be an unfortunate taste with some persons to exaggerate or mis-state every circumstance connected with the Aborigines".

There were three intelligence networks operative in Port Phillip in those days - the Aboriginal one, the Government one and the rumours carried by European itinerants. They all connected of course, but the first and second were strongly meshed, mainly via the Protectors and CCL's, while the third was tapped by the newspapers. It would be an exaggeration to assert that everything that happened in central Port Phillip became a matter of record, but it is a greater mistake to extrapolate from known events, outrages and collisions to assert a generalised hostility towards Aborigines, and a general indifference on the part of the authorities: it is an even greater mistake to write history from newspapers. Contemporary newspaper reports are probably best used now, to alert the enquirer to the time and place of an alleged event, and possibly the name of a key European, as it will be a key European who will write to LaTrobe about it, whose letter will form the foundation document in a file. The point is probably worth stressing again that present attitudes held by both Aboriginal Australians and others, are partly a result of what is known about that past, and the strong feelings that accompany that knowledge. If the knowledge about the past bears little relation to what actually happened, then we deceive ourselves in locking ourselves into an oppositional mythology.

Central Port Phillip

3 Blair to LaTrobe, 15 Jan 1842, VPRS 19, Box 27, enc with 42/534. This is a typical large accumulative file, which deals with the subject of alleged atrocities complained of by the Rev Benjamin Hurst of Buntingdale mission, said to have occurred in 1840. The investigation took time, and the documents are almost hidden as enclosures in an unlikely place now. Because the Rev Hurst was a respected public man, writing of what he heard, the alleged atrocities become a part of our accepted understanding of the past. That they were discovered to be false, after exhaustive investigation, with evidence taken on oath, does not get into our record, and thus is not available to us in trying to build up a picture of what the past was like.

4 I think Dr Arthur Andrews is correct when he writes that "Accidents (he could have chosen a more appropriate word) happening to the blacks were the subject of searching enquiry, the policy apparently being to always consider the white settler in fault unless proved otherwise" (Andrews, A. "The First Settlement of the North-east of Victoria", YLM vol v, no 1, Mar 1916: 33). He was an amateur historian it is true, but he was a long-term resident; he worked from original documents, and most importantly, he was in a position to collect Aboriginal testimony, as a result of his friendships. He published also "The First Settlement of the Upper Murray", 1920.

5 See LaTrobe to Col Sec, for the information of the Secretary of State, 20 Jan 1848, in 1 HRA, xxvi: 172 for the distinguishing characteristics of the newspapers of Port Phillip - ignorance, disregard of truth and a studied spirit of misrepresentation.
There is no record of battles or collisions between the Corps and local Aborigines in the country immediately to the north of Melbourne, what could be described in the present as north-central Victoria. There are records of conflict, and with two exceptions, these have been discussed in Chapter 4: they were private events which individual men of the Corps dealt with on a tribal basis, using perhaps the enhanced power they derived from being policeman, but not acting officially as the Native Police Corps.

In one known case in which the Corps acted officially, in the search for the killers of Major Davidson's East Indian servant, Raddy, the man of colour, they were unsuccessful. It might have been expected - the killers of Raddy were Devil's river and Mt Buffalo men, relatives of friends or friends of relatives of the powerful men of the Corps. The initial enlistees in the Corps were predominantly Warwoorong men, bonded by consanguinity and affinity with the Tonguerong (Goulburn River) group. Yupton and Bering, two long-serving and distinguished troopers, were Devil's river men who retained ties with their kin, visiting their own country when on furlough.\footnote{Corporal Yupton and Trooper Tallboy (Bering) on furlough to the Goulburn - \textit{VPRS} 90, 15 Jan 1849}

Yupton was Billibolary's nephew. Gibberook too was a Goulburn man. As in the 1838 case of the unsuccessful search by de Villiers' Corps for the killers of Dr Forster's servant, George Mould, the old imperative of traditional relationships transcended the new obligation. Always, the first question to be be asked when examining the actions of the Native Police, is the nature of the traditional relationship which existed.

On 13 November 1845, men of the Mt Buffalo and Devil's river tribes killed Raddy, "a man of colour", on Major Davidson's property on the Rubicon, a tributary of the upper Goulburn river. It was the first serious outrage in the Goulburn river district since 1840, according to LaTrobe, but it was likely to be followed by more, the Indian coolies as they were called being convinced that the next death in one of the tribes would be followed by the death of another of them. (William Hull wrote that when Major Davidson's Hindoo Coolies arrived in 1842, the Natives said they came from the Moon, and held them in detestation because they went at once to work\footnote{A Colonial Magistrate. \textit{Remarks on the Probable Origin and Antiquity of the Aboriginal Natives of NSW}, 1846: 11}. Dana and his police were sent to take the perpetrators into custody\footnote{John Coton noted their passing through his station Doogalook in this search (Mackaness, G. (ed), New Series, vol XXIX, Pt 2: 28)}, but were "unable" to track them because of the wet weather and soggy ground. His men told him though, that the perpetrators had joined the Goulburn tribe then en route to Melbourne, so Dana followed them across the Alps and down to Ryrie's station on the
upper Yarra. There, no one could or would identify them, and in Dana's view, it was "imprudent to arrest on suspicion". The Goulburn tribe communicated with Billibolary, and the old men and women, and the children decided to return to their own country. It seems fairly clear that Dana's circumspection followed the reluctance of his police to act against men from groups with whom they had friendly relations.

In each of the years 1842 - 5, a small number of Native Police, two or four detached men, accompanied CCL Powlett in his perambulations around the Westernport District as far north as the Murray. In addition to this variant of Native Police presence in the country, Dana and a detachment made several excursions north to assist CCL's in the performance of their duties. In the summer of 1843, Dana and a small detachment of men travelled 1400 miles in six weeks through central Port Phillip, serving notices for the CCL, calling at every station up and down the rivers - the Loddon, Campaspe and Goulburn. He estimated the Aboriginal population at 2000 persons, describing them as on the whole well-inclined and not very mischievous, with numbers of them working at the different stations and being well-treated. Early in this tour, at the end of January, occurred the collision at which Edward Curr was present, and about which he wrote some forty years later.

Curr's account reminds the reader of other nineteenth century writing about early cross-cultural experience, the acceptance that reprehensible actions were perpetrated on Aboriginal people, but that it was "better to draw a veil over it". Curr's account, written late in life from memory and published forty years after the events it describes, is witty and erudite, with frequent comparisons of his own situation with situations described in classical literature, and retreats into Latin and French when the English language fails him in its ability to capture a shade of meaning. It is also patronising and distant, leaving him quite definitely on the side of the angels, bountiful and merciful in his relationships with Aborigines in general, and only a little bit just. It contains too, the damaging assertion that Dana falsified his report by omissions, and justified the omissions to Curr on the

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9 LaTrobe to Col Sec, 11 Dec 1845, includes reports from Dana, Robinson, CCL Smythe, 45/9124 in AO of NSW 4/2704. I did not pursue the eventual fate of the other Indian workers. CCL Smythe discovered that their contracts were expired and they wished to return to their homelands. LaTrobe advised Davidson that the situation of the "poor coolies" on his station was one of imminent danger, and urged him to send them away. I myself feel uneasy about writing history based on colour, but this is a personal view. There are interesting responses on the part of the Aborigines of Port Phillip to outsiders such as the VDL Aborigines who accompanied the Chief Protector, the Sydney Aborigines who accompanied Batman, these Indians, and Boyd's South Sea Islanders. An enquiry might throw light on how Aboriginal groups then perceived outsiders other than white: on a superficial reading, "men of colour" seem to be at risk.

10 Dana to LaTrobe, 5 Apr 1843, VPRS, 19, Box 44, 43/621; Dana underlined being well-treated.

11 Recollections of Squatting in Victoria, (1883), MUP, 1965: Chapter 16 - A Visit to the Moira in Company with the Police.
grounds that civilians like Curr knew nothing of reports, and were ill-fitted to describe collisions “being apt to blurt out statements more properly held in reserve” (though it does not name Dana)\textsuperscript{12}.

It is a primary text, frequently reproduced, extensively quoted, very widely available on the shelves of school libraries, municipal libraries, and in multiple copies in University libraries. When any enquirer wants to know what squatting was like in the 1840's, and by extension what the terms were of Aboriginal/settler relationships, Curr’s account is one of the first places to start. It is almost a sacred text, with considerable power over the present. It does not agree too well though with contemporary reports. That Curr is mistaken in his recollection of events does not of itself disprove the assertion that Dana falsified his report, but it must rule out the uncritical acceptance in the present of the allegation.

Curr’s story may be reduced to the following bare bones: following the report of the taking by Aborigines from shepherds of about two hundred sheep and a gun, Dana and eight troopers, four black and four white, travelled to Curr’s station Tongala to capture the known ringleaders. Dana left his four black troopers at Tongala, and proceeded with Curr, his white troopers and Corporal Rolfe to the Moira, a vast floodplain of the Murray twelve miles to the north, a country of swamps, billabongs, lagoons and high reedbeds. A decoy lured the Aborigines away from the riverbank onto firm ground, and in the encounter which followed, spears were thrown and two shots were fired, wounding one Aborigine in the arm. Dana himself received a spear wound. An innocent bystander who played no part in the events, Old Warri, was seized by the police, manacled, encouraged by Curr to believe he would be hanged, and sent down to Melbourne a few days later. Curr followed, but finding judicial proceedings against Warri slow, returned to Tongala. Three months later, he returned to Melbourne and secured Warri’s release. In his account, Curr states that though he has a “perfect memory” of the events, words fail him when he attempts to set them down on paper\textsuperscript{13}.

Dana’s report and Thomas Journal taken together add a good deal more detail to knowledge of the event and differ substantially in some major areas. Dana’s report agrees with Curr’s to the extent that it does not mention the presence of black troopers in the encounter. Curr certainly did not understand why Dana left his black troopers at Tongala taking only Trooper McGregor of his own force, and Corporal Rolfe of the Border Police to apprehend the takers of the sheep\textsuperscript{14}. He said there

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid: 94.
\textsuperscript{13} Barwick, D. says about Curr that he distorted sources to support his own arguments (AH, 1984, Pt 2: 103)
\textsuperscript{14} Dana to LaTrobe, 2 Feb 1843, VPRS 19, Box 41, 43/293
was no danger. But Dana understood that there was danger, though not of a physical kind. There was social danger, and perhaps spiritual and emotional danger for the men in a possible conflict with anyone in the relative/friend category, and Dana knew it and averted it by leaving them out of the action. Curr lampoons the military engagement, with a comical description of one horse bolting, taking his rider out of proceedings, and one horse throwing his rider into the fork of a tree, and on his account only two shots were fired, the only casualty being Dana himself who received a slight puncture wound from a dying spear. Dana on the other hand talks of "strong resistance", wrestling, grappling. It is probably here that the "evolutions" occurred that Curr felt should have been mentioned. It is a matter of record that Europeans had great difficulty in apprehending Aboriginal men - they were usually greased and ochred, and from longstanding practice, they were skilled at hand to hand combat. They seldom gave in. So that to apprehend an Aboriginal probably involved actions such as hitting the man on the head, half-strangling him, anything that was effective in subduing him. It is easy to imagine a man of delicate sensibilities like Curr objecting to such means. Dana might have said that it was better than shooting. Dana's account also makes it clear that Curr was the decoy, a fact that Curr elected to omit in his account.

Thomas' account casts further doubt on Curr's reliability. Thomas mentions Warri for the first time in his Quarterly Report for December 1842 to March 1843. Thomas was at Nerre Nerre Warren supervising the harvesting: in one month, seven Native Policemen whose services he borrowed, plus the men, women and children harvested seven tons of corn from nine acres, two roods and thirty-eight perches of ground. The news came firstly from the Aborigines, a message that the Goulburn blacks were down, undoubtedly to check on Warri, whereupon the people at Nerre NerreWarren left for Melbourne. A week later the Chief Protector summoned Thomas to attend Warri in gaol and Thomas visited him two to three times daily on most days until 16 March when Warri was brought before the Supreme Court only to be remanded because the Protector of his district, Le Souef, did not appear. On 7 April, with no sign still of Le Souef, Thomas escorted Warri to court again, where he was discharged by Judge Willis on account of his incapacity to understand the proceedings.

15 A readable and accessible account of such an incident is to be found in Lonsdale's report in HRV vol 2A: 225. Lonsdale and two soldiers were grappling with one Aboriginal man (who had already been hit on the head) who had Lonsdale's hand in his mouth, biting it, and a soldier intervened saying "Let me kill the scoundrel Captain. Why should you let him hurt you?". Another soldier prevented this man from striking the black, according to Lonsdale.
16 On 17 Feb 1843 in VPRS 4410, unit 3/75
17 They came down to Melbourne again in April, to attempt to steal Warri from Mr Protector Thomas at NNW (Sergeant Bennett to LaTrobe, 27 Apr 1843, VPRS 19, Box 44, 43/735)
The Judge remanded Warri into Thomas' care, with the instruction that Warri was to be prevented from returning to his country to commit further outrages. Thomas was reluctant to accept this responsibility, doubting his ability to persuade Warri to stay away from his country, and extracted from Judge Willis an indemnity, so that if Warri strayed, Thomas would not be blamed. In the event, Warri settled quite well at Nerre Nerre Warren, learning to garden and plough and drive the bullocks, and Thomas quotes him as saying that if only he had his wife and children, he would not return to the Murray. In the middle of April, Thomas wrote to the Protector at the Goulburn, Le Souef, requesting that Warri's wife be brought down to Nerre Nerre Warren, but it does not appear as if that was done. In early May, the Chief Protector interviewed Warri, and Thomas and he left for Merri creek; Warri however, would not sleep in the encampment with the Westernport blacks, even though Thomas introduced him to them, and told them that if they harmed him, they would be punished by the authorities as if Warri was a white man, so Thomas arranged that he sleep each night at Thomas' son's farm at Moonee Ponds. In mid-May, Warri announced his displeasure at Thomas' constantly leaving him to attend to other duties, and his intention to depart for his own country to fetch his wife and children. Next day, he shook hands with Thomas and Mrs Thomas and their children, ate his breakfast and left, taking with him a present from Mrs Thomas for his own wife.

Currie's account is a good story, with himself as the impartial witness of the events, saviour of the victim Warri, and subsequently the narrator: Dana is cast in the role of the villain. It is not to be relied on though for its accuracy of fact or interpretation. The Aboriginal troopers were not even present.

Apart from these events, there seems no other mention of the Native Police engaged in conflict situations within the central Port Phillip country to the north of Melbourne. If Dana's population estimate of two thousand is close to the truth, it is quite possible that collectively, the Corps possessed knowledge of every Aboriginal person in this region; and together with the knowledge, a categorisation system based on social relationship. The absence of trouble, their inability to capture known transgressors of the European code, together with Dana's reluctance to use them at the Moira suggests that most people in this district were classified as friends, or, if not friends, then at least people whom the Corps designated privately as imprudent to tangle with because of social relationships.

18H. Madden found that the Native Police did not seem to have played a major part in the Loddon district (Thesis, 1976: 55)
BOUNDARY OF MAIN MALLEE COUNTRY

THE MALLEE IN 1848.

A.S. Kenyon

VHM 4403, Mar 1815
Lower Murray

The problems to the far north-west of Melbourne display the same seasonal pattern as the western district and Gippsland — it was in the winter months when the people were hungry that the settlers expected and experienced raids on stock. It differed from the western district in that those Aborigines who raided stock retreated not to stony rises or mountain fastnesses but to the wetlands of the Murray river and its floodplains, a country of billabongs and backwaters, of swamps, lagoons and high reedbeds. In like manner to the western district, it had been impossible for Europeans to pursue depredators into this kind of country, and the lesson that CCL Smythe hoped the blacks would learn after the first combined operation with his Border Police and Dana's Native Police at the end of 1843 was that he had now been through all the reeds and could follow them for the future. The pattern though of the Corps' activity was not quite the same as for the Western District and Gippsland in that a whole Division was not sent routinely at the onset of Winter to remain for the season. In January 1846, William Dana took a detachment to the Murray and engaged with the local blacks in a collision to be examined. In 1847, Dana suggested to LaTrobe a deployment of forces which included sending the First Division with Walsh to Gippsland, and the Second Division under William Dana to Pt Fairy, Portland and Lake Hindmarsh, leaving Sergeant McGregor with twelve men at H.Q. to proceed to the Murray if required. In each of the years 1849 to 1852, a small detachment spent part of the winter stationed at the Lower Murray.

Some reasons for this variation can be imagined. Compared with the situation in the west and east, with one CCL only, the central district was well served by its three CCL's - Powlett, Smythe and Bingham, and from at least 1849 onwards, perhaps earlier, by CCL MacDonald of the Darling river district who considered the Murray within his area of responsibility. In addition, there

19 Henry Lewes to LaTrobe, 30 Dec 1843, VPRS 19, Box 55, 44/95 - thanks and praise for the N.P. under Mr Dana and CCL Smythe; we should have had to abandon our station but for them; feel confident about the Summer, but fear the Winter months; see also J. Howe to LaTrobe, 29 Aug 1844 from Seymour Police Station - "the anticipated renewal of hostilities on the part of the blacks has begun...can't protect those stations near the reed-beds... it is impossible to ride after the natives during the winter months who seem to live more in the water than out of it...can identify twenty ringleaders", VPRS 19, Box 55, 44/95. See also Itinerary of CCL Smythe, May 18-Jun 1844 "Proceeded to the section of the Murray and Goulburn to make arrangements for the protection of the settlers during the winter months", Reel 2749, AO of NSW.

20 Smythe to LaTrobe, 15 Dec 1843, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec 31 Jul 1844, 44/6179 in AO of NSW, 4/2666. In his use of the singular I, Smythe has claimed a little too much for himself; though he acknowledged the usefulness of the Native Police in this combined operation, he failed to state the obvious - that it was impossible to pursue the Aborigines through the reedbeds without them.

21 Dana to LaTrobe, 22 Jun 1847, enc with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 12 Jul 1847, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1329. It was the same for 1848 except that the First Division went west and the Second Division to Gippsland; the rest remained at H.Q. in readiness for any service required (Dana to LaTrobe, 24 Apr 1848, VPRS 19, Box 105, 48/915)

22 CCL Wright was appointed to the Wimmera district in 1846, but there was never more than one in Gippsland over the period under consideration - for this appointment see Col Sec to LaTrobe, 17 Nov 1846, in VPRS 44, Box 424.
were the small detachments of three Mounted Police stationed at each of the river crossings on the Sydney to Melbourne road - at Seymour, Benalla, Wangaratta and Albury. Then there was a high number proportionately it seems, of ex-naval or military officers among the population of the central area of Port Phillip most of whom held Commissions of the Peace. These men, together with Government officials could fairly be described as forces for order and law. Compared with the situation in Gippsland and the Western District, this presence looks considerably greater than the show of power and authority elsewhere.

There is also to be considered the local factor that no permanent field H.Q. was ever established in the Murray district, and Dana experienced recurrent problems in providing food and shelter for his men.\(^\text{23}\) The squatters were delighted to have the detachments stationed on their properties, but some were greedy and opportunistic as well, forcing the government to pay dearly for daily rations for the men, and fodder for the horses. Dana took the initiative in May 1846 of withdrawing William Dana and his detachment from the Murray district where they were quartered at the station of Messers Curlew and Campbell thirty miles from Swan Hill, because there was no feed for the horses whose condition was low, and no shelter for the men for winter.\(^\text{24}\) He must have made his reasons clear to the locals, because next year, when Curlew petitioned LaTrobe not to withdraw the Native Police at the onset of winter when trouble was to be expected, he offered as an inducement to supply the detachment with rations at Melbourne prices plus cartage.\(^\text{25}\) For the year 1847, the Corps overspent its budget by more than five hundred pounds, which LaTrobe explained was incurred chiefly due to the high prices charged for rations in distant places, as well as the rebuilding of H.Q. at Nerre Nerre Warren.\(^\text{26}\) After this, great attention was paid to the contract tenders for the supply of the Native Police. Dana informed LaTrobe in July 1849, that Walsh at the Murray could not arrange supplies for his men at less than two shillings a day, but that in his own view one shilling a day would be ample. LaTrobe asked his clerk to ascertain the going rate, and the answer was eleven pence, though occasionally a shilling was charged, whereupon LaTrobe ordered the return of the detachment.

\(^{23}\) For example, Walsh returned from the Murray without permission late in May 1847, to report to Dana that his men were without shelter, with worn-out clothes, and as winter was setting in he had to provide for them, and anyway, the settlers agreed the district had lately become quite peaceful - Walsh to Commandant, 1 Jun 1847, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec 16 Jun 1847, 47/4939 in AO of NSW, 4/2782

\(^{24}\) Dana to LaTrobe, 3 May 1846, 46/3722 in AO of NSW, 4/2745.1

\(^{25}\) Curlew to LaTrobe, 31 May 1847, VPRS 19, Box 93, 47/1018

\(^{26}\) There is a large file at 47/8499 in AO of NSW 4/2783, which includes LaTrobe's explanations, newspaper accounts, the report of the debate in the NSW Legislative Council, the Auditor-General's comments and the Governor's comments. It so happened that LaTrobe was in Tasmania for part of the time when the Corps overspent, and Lonsdale who was Acting Superintendent was blamed.
from the field unless they could be rationed more cheaply. One week later, 1/6 was negotiated with W.H. Jamieson. The following January, the whole drama was replayed, with Dana notifying LaTrobe that Jamieson would again supply the rations at 1/6 per day, which was high, he noted, but some allowance had to be made for cartage as the distance was four hundred miles. This time, LaTrobe turned to the Sub-Treasurer “Don’t you think 1/6 very high?” “Yes” was the reply, “but he formerly charged 2/-” LaTrobe accepted 1/6.

Apart from this specific factor related to supplies and living conditions, and the general observation that the government’s presence in the Murray district was more obvious and substantial than in the east and west, there seems no explanation why the Corps was not sent routinely to the Murray in winter when the evidence demonstrates that Aboriginal depredations followed the same pattern as elsewhere. The issue did not become a matter of record.

1846 was the first year in which a detachment of Native Police was stationed at the Murray, following shortly after its occupation by pastoralists. Early European accounts of this district are unanimous in describing the Aborigines of the Murray as different - different in physique, in temperament (they were considered more war-like), in population density and lifestyle. The Europeans attributed the difference to the fact that the Murray Aborigines were in a bountiful environment, had plenty to eat, and ate mainly fish.

In addition, the mode of European taking up of the country was different; though they leap-frogged over each other, picking out the "best" runs, the end result was that the Europeans took up a thin line of river-frontage at this time (1846-7) from Echuca to Mildura. Kenyon distinguishes four kinds of country - scrub, broken, heath and river-frontage. In the first phase of occupation, Europeans stuck to river-frontage, and at the end of 1847, there were less than twenty licensees between Swan Hill and the SA border.

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27 Dana to LaTrobe, 10 Jul 1849, VPRS 19, Box 122, 49/1366
28 Dana to LaTrobe, 11 Jan 1850, VPRS 19, Box 130, 50/104. In this letter, Dana acknowledges receipt of a copy of the Memorial sent to LaTrobe by certain settlers on the Murray, stating that they are in need of protection from the depredations constantly committed since the withdrawal of the detachment the previous September.
29 Disputes over the price to be paid by the government for rations for the police were not confined to the Murray district; there is correspondence related to the same problem in Gippsland and the western district, though considerably less.
30 Dana to LaTrobe, 22 Dec 1845, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2117
31 Dana wrote once that the Murray natives think they can do what they like (Dana to LaTrobe, 1 Jun 1850, VPRS 19, Box 135, 50/910)
Taking a long view, the same process can be observed occurring in the Murray as in the western district. Initially there was some conflict, as the Aborigines obtained a measure of the Native Police capabilities, but in the end, the police were recruiting successfully from the district. The Lower Murray was different though in two important respects - it was the only area in which the Corps served where men of the Corps died or were killed, and it was the only area for which a record exists of a formalised relationship - a corroboree.

Moonee Moonce died in July 1845 at the Murray, of the effects of exposure during the wet winter according to Dana. Three other men died in the second half of 1845, at H.Q., from respiratory infections - Munnumgina, Tugendun and Cotagery, and a fifth man Mumbo, died the following year. A western medical diagnosis might have suggested that they died of pneumonia following influenza, as Dana believed, or tuberculosis, but on his death-bed, Mumbo gave Thomas a different explanation. He had been brought down to the Melbourne hospital, very ill, with sunken eyes and a ghostly countenance according to Thomas. Thomas told him that God knows everything, and perhaps was afflicting him now for Mumbo's part in killing a Lodden black some time ago. Mumbo became "very wroth" and replied that the Lodden blacks had killed all the Native Police and taken out his Marmdulla (kidney fat). In the light of Mumbo's belief, who is to say whether the men died of "natural" causes or were "killed"?. Two other troopers died at the Murray, one (unnamed) drowned, and one (Edward) was killed by the local tribesmen in 1850.

Trooper Edward died on 14 May 1850. He and Corporal Cowan arrived in early May at the inn at Swan Hill to await the arrival of despatches from Melbourne. On 12 May, he went to fish in the Murray river about 100 yards from the inn, and later that day was found by the Corporal wounded about the head and groin and delirious. When he recovered his senses, Edward said that he was attacked from behind by two local Murray Aborigines, Captain Denholm and Peter, that they hit him

33 In the opinion of CCL Powlett, one major cause of conflict was the non-fulfillment of contractual obligations entered into by Europeans with Aborigines. The Aborigines held the Europeans accountable and acted accordingly. When they acted, Europeans labelled the action "outrage" (Powlett to LaTrobe, 25 Feb 1846, encl with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 46/2742 in AO of NSW 4/2742)
34 Dana to LaTrobe, 6 Nov 1850 - Walsh and his party have returned from the Lower Murray, and by my direction he has brought back eight recruits from the Darling, VPRS 19, Box 142, 50/1963. These men were not named, but Hugh Jamieson testified that several were recruited from "his" part of the country (Yerre Yerre station on the Murray opposite Swan Hill), and when they deserted prior to the breaking up of the Corps (see Ch 9), they walked back home, 450 miles (Jamieson, H. in Bride, T.F. 1983: 384)
35 Dana to LaTrobe, 24 Oct 1845, encl with LaTrobe to Col Sec, same date, 45/7945 in AO of NSW 4/2704. Moonee Moonee was on detached duty with CCL Powlett; I do not know where in the district he died.
36 Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Dec 1846-28 Feb 1847, set 214, item 6, ML
37 Dana to LaTrobe, 1 Jun 1850, VPRS 19, Box 135, 50/910
about the head and took his kidney fat. Edward was a quiet, orderly and well-behaved trooper according to a European testimony, friendly with the local Aborigines with whom he shared his rations. Though a brief was prepared by the Crown Prosecutor’s office, and the assailants were known, no further action was taken by the authorities.

It is impossible to tell now, whether or not those in authority knew of the response of the men of the Corps to the killing of their colleague. It is hard to imagine that they would not have, but there appears no record of it till nearly forty years later when the account of the old settler Peter Beveridge was published. His story reads as though he obtained it first-hand from one of the troopers. The semi-civilised natives he writes, used to come to the police camp upon occasion till they and the police became so friendly that the latter used to join in the fishing expeditions of the former. He recounts the death of Trooper Edward with no significant additions to the story except that Edward’s killer was a "renegade vagabond" who fled his own people following a crime, was accepted into another tribe and was the leader in every kind of mischief in the district. He does not name this Aborigine. After the death of Trooper Edward, his colleagues started in a body on the trail of his killer...crossed the Murray, taking all sorts of care not to let their ammunition get wet, and after ten miles came upon the the pursued man’s camp. This man saw them coming, tried to creep away and was pursued. He stood up to run...whereupon the foremost trooper at full gallop put a bullet through his head...the rest rode up, dismounted as one and smote the carcass with sabres till it was reduced to pieces not much larger than a hand’s breadth. There is no mention of a European presence, and it is the only record so far discovered of a straight-forward punitive action. When Dana went up to investigate he wrote that the people were in a great state of excitement at the brutal murder of Trooper Edward, but he did not mention the reprisal.

The report of the corroboree which the Native Police gave for the Murray tribes comes from a pastoral worker at a station twelve miles from Mt Hope. According to the conventions of the time relative to the writing of personal recollections, the account does not record the name of the property owner, merely his initial, Mr R., and in the absence of a name, the exact location of the property cannot be determined. Nor does the author date his observation, though it was before 1848.

38 Criminal Trial Briefs, VPRS 30, NCR 472
39 Beveridge, P. 1889: 110
40 Dana to LaTrobe, 1 Jun 1850, VPRS 19, Box 135, 50/910
41 Mt Hope lies south of the present city of Cohuna, near Kow swamp; 202 metres high, it was the place from which Major Mitchell first saw Australia Felix.
when he moved out of the district. He described a corroboree attended by 500 persons, the grandest he had ever seen, given by the black mounted police in return for three corroborees on successive nights, part of the hospitality extended by the local Murray people. He chose only to mention the unusual - the fact that the police used their swords instead of sticks, swords that caught the light reflected from the fires and remained in his memory. It is an interesting record, demonstrating a reciprocal relationship forged according to the old ways. It is difficult to see in it either dominance or hostility.

The event to be considered now was the first and apparently most serious collision between the Native Police and the Aborigines of the Murray district. This collision involved in the end, almost all of the representatives of the Government's authority in Port Phillip - the Corps, two CCL's, Protectors and the Crown Prosecutor. Its investigation is yet another demonstration of the minute attention that LaTrobe in Melbourne and Gipps in Sydney paid to any suggestion that Aborigines had been badly treated, and as well, a demonstration of the detailed knowledge that they possessed of the characters and personalities of their European officers: it also shows how well-informed they were regarding the gossip and rumours circulating in Port Phillip. It was an impressive attempt to get at the truth of what happened.

The original information that something dreadful had happened, came from Assistant Protector Parker at the Lodden, who had heard it from Mr Surgeon Campbell who in turn had heard Trooper Bush relate at the Goulburn Police station, that CCL Smythe and his Border police had gone down one side of the river (unnamed), and Mr Dana and his Native Police had gone done the other, firing on Aborigines. At about the same time (April 1844), LaTrobe received a communication from Edward Broderick formerly a Sergeant with CCL Smythe, subsequently dismissed by Smythe on the grounds of dirtiness, drunkenness, immorality and harming a troop horse by riding it with two friends, three up, for twenty miles. LaTrobe noted, and Gipps agreed, that Broderick had come forward with his accusation a full four months after the alleged events; that not until he was dismissed did he air the matter, and that his motive was vindictiveness. Nevertheless, an investigation was called for. If their comments are an accurate reflection of what happened, it evokes in the present a sad awareness of the irony that our perceptions of the nature of cross-cultural contact then, perceptions which shape both Aboriginal and European attitudes now, could be based on the outcome of a quarrel.

42 Hinkins, J.T. Life amongst the Native Race; with Extracts from a Diary, E.M.Hinkins, Melbourne, 1884: 34
43 LaTrobe's report to Governor Gipps on the matter, 31 Jul 1844, included fourteen enclosures, the testimonies of those who were there, those who heard second-hand, and those who investigated. The whole file is eighty-six pages (44/6179 in AO of NSW 4/2666)
between two Europeans. It is similar to discussions and disputes on expenditure - the possibility of knowing Aboriginal person and action emerges often out of such matters, more vividly than from simple descriptions.

Dana and his Division of Native Police returned from duty in the Portland Bay district on 10 November 1843. The collision occurred on 15 December on Mr Howe's station on the Mitta Mitta river, and Dana was back in Melbourne on 1 January 1844. Exactly when he left Melbourne was not recorded, though it was after 27 November; nor which troopers accompanied him. Dana and Smythe and their respective police were ordered to join CCL Bingham in an attempt to capture the Aboriginal men who had killed the shepherds of Messers Wills and Forster on the Edward river (in present NSW) in November. In his report to Sydney, LaTrobe noted that the outrages had been committed on the right bank of the river, beyond the limits of his territory, but that he felt compelled to respond to the urgent calls of the settlers for protection. The men who killed the shepherds had retreated south to hide in the reed beds of the Moira, near the junction of the Goulburn river with the Murray. The combined party was augmented by Corporal Hogg and Trooper Beech of the Mounted Police at the Broken river, and accompanied by three civilians whose job was to identify the killers - Mr Henry Lewes, Lewes' stockman, and station superindendent John Oldbury Atkinson. Joey, a Murray native, acted as guide and interpreter. The reeds were higher than a man's head, and some of the action took place in waist-high water: it was a good place to hide from Europeans, an habitual retreat of depredators in this region, a place to which they retired "with the utmost confidence of security, where the settlers had always failed on following them". The pursuing party was on foot, it being no place for horses.

On the second day of the search in the reed-beds, the party saw fires across the river. They camped immediately, sending back one member of the party to the nearest station for a boat. During the night, the native troopers heard the pursued Aborigines fishing on the river. The following morning, Smythe and half the party attempted to cross the river, leaving Dana and the Native Police behind, the intention being to keep each other in sight if possible, and surround the pursued. No sooner had Smythe entered the reed-beds than he was attacked, with every man out of sight of his neighbour fighting for his own life. "Some" lives were lost according to his report, but he did not

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44 The Mitta Mitta river flows here in a northerly direction into Lake Hume. The Murray river flows east into and out of Lake Hume. The men who wrote the reports thought they were on the Murray river, which is an interesting comment on the state of geographical knowledge at the time. It had not then been agreed upon that the "real" Murray source was the northerly river that flowed into the lake, not the southerly one.
know how many because of the dispersed nature of the fighting. Smythe himself captured one prisoner, and with the Murray man Joey as interpreter, impressed upon him the uselessness now, of attempting to escape the consequences of depredations. The captured man seemed particularly struck with this last observation, and fully to comprehend all that was said to him. Smythe kept him prisoner overnight and released him the next morning to rejoin his tribe and teach them the lesson. Smythe acknowledged in his account that he had failed to capture the killers, but judged that his actions would have contributed substantially to checking aggressions and conducing to the quiet of the district.45

Against this account which is supported by all the other participant accounts, must be placed Broderick’s testimony which accuses Smythe of pursuing the natives “like wild dogs, without them making the slightest resistance, even the young children were shot out of the canoes on the river.”46 Broderick also claimed that the young native who avoided being shot, and who remained all night in Smythe’s encampment was formerly of the Protectorate station at the Goulburn, could speak English, and according to him, it was the wrong tribe that was shot.

Though LaTrobe noted that only now, after his dismissal, did the complainant make his allegations, and further, that he himself was a protagonist in the events about which he now complained, he moved swiftly into the familiar routine - he informed Sydney, sent Broderick’s testimony to the Crown Prosecutor, called for further reports from Smythe and called for a Protector’s enquiry. In the end, the most accurate version is probably to be found in the testimony of two Aboriginal men, Narrickbubbel of the Murray tribe, and Gunnabarranay of the Pangerang tribe: they were there, they were relatives of the casualties, and they themselves were wounded. They said that two men and two pickaninnies were killed.

After this collision, there are reports of five more in addition to the one described by Curr, over the nine years in which the Corps was stationed periodically in the Murray district. They were as follows: a collision on 1 February 1846 between the Second Division of the Corps under William Dana, and Murray Aborigines, in the reed-beds on the south bank of the Murray river, near Lake Bael Bael47: a collision in May 1849, between the First Division under William Walsh and Aborigines on the property of Mr Crawford, in which Doughboy was taken prisoner and the local men

45 CCL Smythe to LaTrobe, 15 Dec 1843, enc no 13 with 44/6179 in AO of NSW 4/2666
46 Broderick’s emphasis in Broderick to LaTrobe, April 1844, enc no 1, ibid.
47 Chief Protector to LaTrobe, 19 Aug 1846 with enclosures, VPRS 19, Box 84, 46/1260
were disarmed, and one trooper received a spear injury\textsuperscript{48}: a collision in early March 1850 on the station of Mr McLeod, occasioned by the chance encounter of Corporal Cowan's detachment surprising a group of Aboriginal men in the act of killing cattle, whereupon the men fled to the river, paused, threw spears, were fired at and dispersed over the river to safety; no prisoners were taken and no deaths were reported\textsuperscript{49}; and two collisions in June 1850, between the First Division of the Native Police under William Walsh and Murray Aborigines, in one of which Walsh was seriously wounded but no Aboriginal lives were lost according to CCL MacDonald of the Darling district, and in the other Sir Robert Peel was killed\textsuperscript{50}.

The collision involving William Dana's force is as baffling to the present as it was to the authorities then. His own account of the events of 1 Feb 1846 is dramatic and gripping. He had fourteen men with him, he wrote; it was one o'clock in the afternoon, and they were in swampy ground, patrolling the immense reed beds of the river. They found themselves confronted by a large body of natives, about 200 strong, and attempted to go round them. When the natives perceived that they were avoiding contact, they thought the police were afraid of them, and threw spears, wounding two horses. Dana ordered the men to fire, and the battle was on...dreadful yells and menaces...one man wounded by a spear...retreat to firm ground...wheel and charge...not till 100 rounds of ball cartridge had been spent did the natives withdraw...saw several dead...there must have been a great many wounded...I could not retreat because of the nature of the ground...had the greatest difficulty in avoiding spears and other missiles\textsuperscript{51}.

LaTrobe was alarmed. He ordered the Chief Protector to investigate; Assistant Protector Parker was ordered to go the scene, make contact with the tribe concerned and ascertain the casualties; Henry Dana went up to the Murray to see for himself and LaTrobe informed the Governor in Sydney. When all the evidence was in, the authorities could come to no conclusion - for to their astonishment, the Aborigines involved admitted no casualties. Yes, they said, there had been a collision; "all concurred" that spears were thrown, and shots fired, "but no injury ensued". " It must

\textsuperscript{48} Dana to LaTrobe, 10 Jul 1849, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 122, 49/1367. LaTrobe minuted this "Send to the Chief Protector for his information"
\textsuperscript{49} Dana to LaTrobe, 2 May 1850, enc Cowan to Walsh and Walsh to Dana, both 4 Mar 1850, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 134, 50/751
\textsuperscript{50} The collision in which Walsh was injured - see Dana to LaTrobe, 25 Jun 1850 with enclosures, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 136, 50/1037; the death of Sir Robert Peel - see Dana to LaTrobe, 8 Jul 1850 with enclosures, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 136, 50/1079. Sir Robert Peel was known as one of the killers of Trooper Edward, and it seems that the Corps were determined to capture him. But he, probably fearing most being in their power, was determined not to be taken. He resisted "to the last" and was killed with a shot to the head while in the act of clubbing a Trooper.
\textsuperscript{51} Deposition dated 16 Apr 1846, enc with Chief Protector to LaTrobe, 19 Aug 1846, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 84, 46/1260
have been either a mistake or an exaggeration on the part of Mr William Dana" was the Assistant Protector's conclusion. LaTrobe said that he was "quite at a loss to know whom to believe, as Mr Dana maintains the truth of the statement he has made"; he did add though, that Parker did not know the languages of the groups he interviewed. This might be the key to understanding the confusion. LaTrobe could read Aboriginal behaviour reasonably well, and he possessed a sturdy refusal to be impressed by cant and rhetoric, whether from settlers or Protectors or public servants including the police, and he knew of the Aboriginal propensity to repeat back to an interrogator the words of the question in the affirmative. And Latrobe had a doubt. From Sydney though, came the final assessment, implicit in it, an acknowledgement that it was Aboriginal evidence that counted - a disapproving comment that William Dana had exaggerated. He was twenty years old, a boy on a man's job; who can tell from this distance in time, what romantic nursery tales of fighting the savages in far places he had been brought up on, in a military family, where all the males were serving officers? And how far he went in forcing his experience to correspond with his dreams? Who can know whether or not the casualties were playing dead?

This is all the evidence there is of reports of collisions between the Native Police and the Aborigines of the Murray district. It has to be seen in the context of reports of massacres by Aborigines of other Aborigines, of reports of massacres that turned out on investigation not to have happened; of the private tribal killings by individuals of the Native Police (discussed in Chapter 4); of the killing of foreigners such as Raddy; of the killing of Europeans such as Beveridge, and the killing of Aborigines by police forces other than the Native Police, as well as the killings of Aborigines by armed European civilians. There was much blood spilled in Port Phillip in the

52 Parker to LaTrobe, 14 May 1846, ibid. He left Lake Boga (or Goorm, the true native name, he wrote) on 23 April and visited every station up river, placing himself in contact with several tribes of natives at and near Campbell's station. Not only did they not admit to casualties, but all, European and Aborigine alike asserted that since the death of Mr Cooper's shepherd in Jun 1845, and the destruction of Mr Curlewis' cattle at the end of the winter of '45, no outrage of any kind had occurred at any of the stations.

53 LaTrobe to Col Sec, 6 Jun 1846, 46/4365 in AO of NSW, 4/2743.

54 Parker to LaTrobe, 11 Jan 1845, VPRS 11, unit 5/217.

55 Jas Allen wrote to LaTrobe on 15 Jul 1844, stating that an Aboriginal man had told an Aboriginal group camped at his station that the Native Police had shot some of their relatives whose country lay around the junction of the Goulburn and Murray rivers. The Aboriginal group went into mourning, then made plans to travel down river to see for themselves. LaTrobe asked Assistant Protector Parker to investigate. Parker made enquiries of the tribe alleged to have suffered, only to find that it was a mistaken report. They told him that no-one had been shot by the Native Police since four persons were killed by Smythe and Dana in Dec 1843 - see Parker to LaTrobe 12 Aug 1844 with enclosure, Allen to LaTrobe, VPRS 11, Unit 5/217.

56 Parker to LaTrobe 5 Oct 1840 enclosing original depositions (missing) which LaTrobe had requested, relative to the collision between a party led by Captain G.B. Smythe, Commandant of the Mounted Police, and the Aborigines on the Campaspe in the middle of 1839. Parker described it as a slaughter - see HRV, vol 2B: 691.

57 Almost the whole of Ch 24 above is concerned with investigations into the killing of Aborigines in one district by European civilians.
1840's, and while there has been some listing of major events\textsuperscript{58}, there has been confusion in identification of policing forces (and some scapegoating), and not enough of the detailed investigation which might enable the present to understand its past\textsuperscript{59}.

But if the evidence of 1840 and 1841, of incessant trouble between Aborigines and settlers prior to the stationing of the police in the north-central district, is compared with the evidence of these few collisions after the police were stationed there, then it seems that LaTrobe's summary assessment reflected the truth - "The marked success which, in numerous instances, followed its employment gave confidence to the settler, removed the pretexts under which he would feel justified in taking redress into his own hands, and left no excuse for the vindictive reprisals which have been a blot on the early years of settlement"\textsuperscript{60}.

\textsuperscript{58} As in Christie, M.F. and Reynolds, H. op cit.

\textsuperscript{59} With the improved access to and availability of the public records at Laverton, it is now possible for local historians to follow the professional historians (for example Lemon's History of Northcote, Hibbins' History of Springvale and Broome's forthcoming History of Coburg) and investigate seriously the cross-cultural situation in their areas of study, rather than rely on general anthropological works for the token first chapter on Aborigines, so frequently presented.

\textsuperscript{60} LaTrobe in Bride op cit.
Black policeman on the road to S. S.

G.H. Haydon (1844)
CHAPTER EIGHT
OUT IN THE FIELD - GIPPSLAND

Gippsland was different. In the 1840’s, it was known and well-understood within the Corps, the Protectorate and the administration, that the tribes local to the Melbourne area, the Warwoorong and Bunerong, were enemies of long standing of the "Gippsland" blacks. The relationship was characterised by raids into Gippsland for women by the Bunerong, reprisals into the Westernport area by the Gippsland blacks, and further punitive raids in return. It was institutionalised, and it may have gone on forever if undisturbed by the European presence. An example is provided in Thomas and LaTrobe’s correspondence in 1840: Thomas wrote that "his" blacks had travelled to Wilson’s Promontory in February, killed one man, two women and six children and returned home with fragments of flesh to eat and distribute among their fellows. Thomas preached them a sermon and they confessed in tears - not of repentance, he said, but of fear. Then, for the whole of the spring of 1840 according to LaTrobe, these people were uneasy, looking out for a hostile visit from the tribes to the eastward. When the raid came, it was a European who suffered - Jamieson’s station at Westernport was wrecked in October 1840 by tribes from the eastward. Jamieson was unlucky in being in the wrong place at the wrong time, caught up unwittingly in events beyond his control.

That some of the Native Police were thoroughly socialised into this pattern of enmity is evidenced by George Henry Haydon’s account in his journal of two unusual events on that first struggle penetration through the Koo-Wee-Rup swamp into Gippsland with the Chief Protector, February to May 1844. The first event was a ceremony they performed at the boundary of their own country, the place at which they considered they were intruding into foreign country, perhaps a ceremony to protect themselves against danger, to give themselves strength. The second event was the destruction a few days later and a few miles further on, of a deserted camp of their enemies: the men were Tunmiel, Mumbo, Munmunginna, Warwoorong, Poligerry and Moonee Moonee. They worked themselves up into a "violent passion" according to Haydon, and set about with tomahawks.

1 Barwick, D. in AH, 1984, Pt 2: 116 also notes this institutionalised hostility
2 Thomas Half-Yearly report, 7 Nov 1840, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec 3 Dec 1840, 40/12629 in AO of NSW, 4/2512.1, and copy of LaTrobe to Col Sec, no date, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 17 Sep 1840, 40/9842 in AO of NSW, 4/2511
3 Thomas to Robinson, 15 Oct 1840, VPRS, 11, Unit 7/336. The description of this raid is interesting, in that destruction, not the taking of European material objects was pronounced. The inference made by Thomas was that the tribe which made the raid was not yet in contact with European civilisation, or they would have known the use and the value of the material things, especially the foodstuffs, and taken rather than destroyed them.
destroying the signs of their enemies' presence\textsuperscript{4}. The Chief Protector too, was a witness to this demonstration of frenzy; from personal observation, he could scarcely have avoided forming the view that the Native Police would revert to the condition that he considered "savagery" when confronted with their enemies. At the time, he made a "bad report" to Tyers on the behaviour of the men\textsuperscript{5}. How much this personal witness coloured his subsequent views on the police and shaped his written comments, is impossible to assess.

Gippsland was different too, in that former police acting in a private entrepreneurial capacity interacted with serving police, with local Gippsland Aborigines and Melbourne Aborigines in Gippsland. It is possible though, to separate in the present, the actions of those men who had been police from the actions of the serving men, armed, uniformed, disciplined and acting under orders. Their names can be discovered. To lump them all together is to accept unwittingly the major preoccupation of past writers - did the Corps civilise its members? If that is the question, then the answer is no. Men who had been policemen went down to Gippsland after leaving the force, and acted as native, to the extent that in some cases, they killed their traditional enemies and brought flesh and mummified hands back to Melbourne\textsuperscript{6}. This enquiry is not concerned with the question of whether or not the force acted as a civilising agent. The present question is this - given the traditional pattern of enmity existing between the Aborigines local to Melbourne and the Gippsland Aborigines, and given that the Aborigines local to Melbourne were the dominant element in the Corps, how did the Corps act in Gippsland? Did the serving men act according to the old imperative or the new?

The history of Gippsland differs from that of the central and western districts in that though Europeans had occupied the country since 1839, there was no law enforcement presence there at all until the arrival of CCL Charles Tyers in January 1847\textsuperscript{7}; he had a handful of convicts and a bullock-driver who, together, scarcely deserve the name of a Border Police force. It was because

\textsuperscript{5} Sergeant Windredge to Commandant, 27 May 1844, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec 25 Jul 1844, 44/6172 at AO of NSW, 4/2666
\textsuperscript{6} Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Jun - 31 Aug 1846. The original is an enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 9 Sep 1847, 47/7444 at AO of NSW, 4/2783; a copy is at VPRS 4410, Unit 4/99. Thomas describes in detail the process of preservation of the hands he saw one, and was told that the recently returned party brought back three, and the de Villiers party brought back two. He also suspected that the recently returned Westernport men had flesh in their sacks; they denied this, but he went on to state that "...the generally discarded corrobories night after night told too plain that the Marnbullaa (kidney fat) had been taken from the (cannot read) of more than one of our fellow creatures".
\textsuperscript{7} Bride, T.F. 1983: 224. Tyers was another man in the category of young gentleman making his mark in administration rather than in squatting though the Chief Protector said of him on his appointment that "a more talented and fit officer for Gippsland could not have been selected" (Robinson, G.A.R., Journal Apr-Oct 1844, VPRS 4414)
Tyers was so shortstaffed that the Native Police were sent in the first place. They constituted his main trained staff in the first few years of his administration.

The problems Tyers faced in establishing the government’s authority in Gippsland were two-fold - he had to establish order in European society and attempt to reduce disorder between Aborigines and Europeans. The Melbourne Argus had this to say about the state of European lawlessness existing at the port at the time of the events to be discussed in this chapter: “From accounts lately received from Gippsland, it would appear that the district is in a most lawless state...it has been known for a cargo of ruffians just imported from Hobart Town to keep Alberton in a state of riot and dread for a week together, putting the constituted authority at defiance”\(^8\). An 1844 report by Tyers lists forty stations with 327 persons employed, of whom 278 were free, and in addition, 120 persons lived in the vicinity of the shipping port\(^9\).

The Aboriginal/settler problems turned around the transformation of one group’s country into a grazing lot for the benefit of the other. Reporting the safe arrival in Gippsland after the perilous first journey, Sergeant Windredge predicted that there was every prospect of plenty of work for his men, as the local Aborigines were killing cattle in every direction\(^10\). This was another difference between Gippsland and the rest of Port Phillip - cattle not sheep were the majority of the stock, it being too wet for sheep. The safe places for depredators in Gippsland, comparable in function to the reed beds of the Murray, and the Stony Rises and swamps and mountains of the western district, were the mountains to the north, the morasses to the east and the lakes to the south. In these places, the lesson was to be taught all over again to another set of local Aborigines that the Native Police could track and catch up with depredators. The question to be answered in the present is what they did then, given the traditional enmity.

The pattern of the movements of the Divisions of the Corps is largely the same as that for the western district; from 1844 to 1852 inclusive, a detachment or a Division left Nerre Nerre Warren in the autumn and returned in the closing months of the year, for re-equipment, intensive drill, inspection and furlough\(^11\). The mode of operation was the same, with a Barracks called Green Hills established on Lachlan Macalister’s run Boisdale (a large run, bordered in large part by the Avon river.

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\(^8\) 8 Dec 1846. Tyers views on the bad characters who inhabited the port area on his arrival are to be found in Bride, T.F. 1983: 232

\(^9\) Daley, C. "The Oldest Road in Gippsland", VHM vol vi, no 4, Sep 1918: 169

\(^10\) Windredge to H.E.P.Dana, 27 May 1844, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 25 Jul 1844, 44/6172 AO of NSW, 4/2666

\(^11\) The search for the white woman, to be discussed, was an extra duty
centred on what is now the town of Maffra\textsuperscript{12}, preventative patrolling tours, and the dispersion of troopers in twos to stop at runs that were experiencing acute problems with cattle spearing by Aborigines. The authority structure was different though, probably because the government presence was minimal; local Justices of the Peace shared with Tyers the power to direct the Native Police movements, comparable to the power exercised by Police Magistrates in the western district and Commissioners of Crown Lands in the Murray district\textsuperscript{13}. In Gippsland, as elsewhere, the police recruited successfully from the tribes they came in contact with, though to a lesser extent - only five men are known certainly to have joined the Corps from Gippsland. The mass recruiting of eight or so men at a time which was a feature of the Corps' activity in the western district and Lower Murray district was not repeated in Gippsland\textsuperscript{14}. An added complication to the story of the Native Police actions in Gippsland is that the general nature of traditional Westernport/Gippsland Aboriginal relationships underwent a profound change during the period the Corps went regularly to the district. A relationship which had been expressed negatively for as far back as anyone could remember, was transformed into a positive working bond\textsuperscript{15}. LaTrobe wrote thus to Sydney in 1847, "The Chief Protector tells me that friendly relations are now established between the Gippsland tribes and Westernport tribes, following the return of the Westernport natives from Gippsland...request received for another visit by Westernport natives to Gippsland, then a return visit...Westernport natives go for women and revenge done to their progenitors"\textsuperscript{16}. This change must be kept in mind - nothing, it seems, happened haphazardly or randomly or in isolation within traditional Aboriginal society, and communication of information was usually swift. The problem for the European historian, once the existence is recognised of the vitality of Aboriginal social relationships existing in parallel with the European, but only occasionally recorded, is to tap into or connect with it.

\textsuperscript{12} See Macalister’s evidence to the Select Enquiry on Aborigines, in \textit{NSW Leg Co V&P} 1846
\textsuperscript{13} See Sergeant McLelland to H.E.P.Dana from N.P.Barracks, Gippsland, 12 Jul 1847, enc with W.O.Raymond to Tyers, 8 Jul 1847, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 94, 47/1347, in which McLelland defends himself against a complaint that he did not obey the orders of W.O.Raymond of Strathfieldsaye station, relative to the disposition of the troopers of the Native Police at the nearby Cunningham station, Roseneath.
\textsuperscript{14} Only two groups, each of two men, and a single individual are described in the records as Gippsland recruits.
\textsuperscript{15} In October 1847, Thomas noted that King Benbow was introducing Gippsland natives to the Warwoorong/ Bunerong group in Melbourne, (Thomas Quarterly report, 1 Sep-30 Nov 1847, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec 7 Dec 1847, 47/9842 in AO of NSW, 4/2784). In his half-yearly report to 30 Jun 1849, Thomas reviewed this change in the nature of relationships, adding that he had just given a feast for Gippsland blacks in Melbourne, sixty-seven in all, including a few Westernport people, (enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 12 Jul 1849, 49/6892 in AO of NSW 4/2872). In 1849, Thomas reported a fight that had occurred on 14 Sep 1849 in Melbourne, observing that there has not been a fight like this for years since the Gippsland blacks killed several Westernport blacks at Brighton (\textit{VPRS} 11, Box 11/722).
\textsuperscript{16} LaTrobe to Col Sec, 10 Sep 1847, 47/8337 in AO of NSW 4/2783
The events that stand out as remarkable, in that the worst that can be said about the Corps is based on these events, are two - a collision between the Second Division of the Corps under William Dana on the Snowy river in November 1846, and the confused and messy business of the search for the alleged white woman in Gippsland, over 1846-7. They are in fact related to each other, and related to the change in the nature of relationships generally between Melbourne and Gippsland Aborigines. The Chief Protector summarised matters thus: "Some time since, the Westernport natives from motives of revenge, volunteering to go in search of the white woman supposed by the inhabitants of Melbourne to be living among the Aboriginal tribes of Gippsland, the country was perambulated with an armed party of whites, and the Westernport natives returned after a considerable absence with a number of women, some boys and a few male adults of Gippsland. The feuds between the Gippsland and Boonerong or Westernport tribes are now done away with, and the Gippsland natives invited to Melbourne, so that instead of the Westernport natives becoming extinct, their numbers have been greatly augmented". In this summary, the Chief Protector does not mention the part played by the Native Police, which was indeed minor. But the Chief Protector's reports are buried obscurely in archives. What is remembered because it is accessible, having become a matter of public record, is Tyers summary, the claim that "...at least fifty (Aborigines) were killed by the native police and other Aborigines attached to the parties in search of a white woman". In this summary, Tyers conflates two categories of Aborigines - those in the Native Police, and those individuals attached to the search parties, upon both of whom together, he lays the responsibility for the deaths of fifty Gippsland Aborigines.

The beginnings of the story can be stated briefly. A rumour gained credence in Melbourne in early 1846 that a white woman was being held captive by blacks. It was such a non-specific rumour to start with, that some said she was held in the Portland Bay district, some believed Gippsland. When LaTrobe informed the Governor of it, he noted that it was an old rumour dating back to 1840, which he himself had personally traced to its source on his visit to Gippsland in 1845. The current version was based on information from one of the Native Police, unnamed; "...he saw, or thought he saw, while in the ranges, in pursuit of natives, a white woman, but that he was not near

17 Robinson's Report for 1847, VPRS 4399, Unit 2: 27
18 Tyers answer to question 71, Vic. Leg Co V&P 1858-9, "Enquiry of Select Committee on Aborigines": 77
19 Port Phillip Herald, 24 Mar 1846. At different times, it was speculated that she was a Miss Lord or a Miss McPherson, and at one stage it was thought there were two white women. In two separate items, the Port Phillip Gazette of Sat 5 Sep 1846 reviews the contemporary state of knowledge on the matter.
enough to be positively certain."20. Substantial weight was placed on subsequent testimony of two troopers Quandite and Calcallo who saw a woman with yellow hair down to her shoulders, and smelled an opossum skin cloak which she dropped, the smell of which, they said, was definitely was the smell of a white woman21. The rumour titillated the sexual fantasies of the Victorians who imagined her to be "the slave of savage lust and barbarous violence."22. What would you do if it were your daughter?, a correspondent to one of the newspapers asked of LaTrobe23. The simple answer was that the government was aware of the reports, had sent out a joint Native Police/Border Police party to search for her but without success24.

The citizens of Melbourne were not impressed. In September, with the aid of a public subscription, supported by newspapers, a committee of concerned citizens of Melbourne organised a private expedition, appointed as leader Christiaan de Villiers, former Superintendent of Native Police, and sent it off to Gippsland to recover the woman (by this stage believed definitely to be Miss McPherson, a Scottish woman, survivor of a shipwreck).25 The expedition left Melbourne on 22 October 1846 in the Shamrock, Thomas having cautioned and advised de Villiers regarding the traditional pattern of enmity, and received assurances in return that de Villiers would watch his men "scrupulously" that no harm should come to them or the Gippsland men. There were ten savages and six white men in the party. Thomas noted, and in spite of the assurances, he predicted disaster26. The party returned returned to Melbourne in February 1847; it was unsuccessful in its object, and it acknowledged no problems with Gippsland Aborigines, let alone death or disaster27.

The examination that follows of some of the incidents of the searches is based on the vast set of statements, journals, sworn depositions and reports that survives. It is characterised by language intemperate even by the standards of the day in Port Phillip (one protagonist called the Native Police "the harpies of hell"), bitter personal accusations and contradictory "facts"; it seems to be addressed more to the strength of feelings held by the protagonists than to the substance of the content.

20 Dana to LaTrobe, 8 Mar 1846, enc No 1 in Schedule of Correspondence laid upon the table, 21 Oct 1846, "White Female with Gippsland Aborigines", in NSW Leg Co V&P 1846
21 Two enclosures, Nos 5 and 6, 30 Mach 1846, op cit
22 Port Phillip Herald, 1 Oct 1846
23 ibid, 10 Mar 1846
24 As early as 5 Sep 1846, the Port Phillip Gazette published the opinion of Mr Dana and the Chief Protector that no white woman is with any tribe in that direction.
25 Port Phillip Patriot, 29 Aug 1846; Port Phillip Herald 27 Aug 1846; Argus 29 Aug 1846
26 Thomas Quarterly Report, Sep-Nov 1846, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1
27 Daily journal of James Warman, published in the Port Phillip Herald, over three issues, 18 Feb, 25 Feb, 2 Mar 1847
- the search. The more it is investigated, the less simple it becomes, with multiplicities of meanings, layered one on the other, with the Native Police ever present. The suggested captivity of a white woman was part of their history in that they had searched for her in previous years in the Wimmera: their present officers and NCO’s were set against their founding Superintendent and a former NCO: their present troopers led the government search, and their former members led the private search. Their officers were engaged in a dispute with Tyers regarding who possessed the authority to order Native Police movements: in the middle of the search, the Commandant asked Lonsdale to define the authority of the CCL, and suggested that the appropriate relationship ought to be a consultative one ²⁸. Dana lost this boundary dispute in the end though, LaTrobe stating categorically that "The Native Police in Gippsland are specially and solely under the CCL"²⁹.

The settlers in Melbourne believed ill of the settlers in Gippsland relative to treatment of the Aborigines, and in their turn, the Gippslanders rejected indignantly their condemnation from afar ³⁰ (which is a neat little demonstration that the word "savage" measures distance from the centre of things, and ignorance at the centre, rather than some quality of the distant people). The settlers in Gippsland were initially all for the search, but as it took the Native Police from their protective duties on the runs, and left their cattle exposed to attack, their attitude changed. The newspapers too, were initially all for the private search, but one at least, totally reversed its editorial policy. The _Port Phillip Patriot_, for example, was at first a strong supporter of the idea of a private search, the Committee, and de Villiers as leader. It published his first report on 13 February 1847, followed by a rebuttal from Sergeant McLelland on 16 February, then on 17 February appeared an indignant editorial reversing previous editorial policy. The editor now labelled de Villiers' statements about the Native Police and settlers as "outrageously false and vindictive", and promised "evidence now on the road to disprove the detailed horrors with which Mr de Villiers has dressed up his drama". The promised forthcoming evidence was to come presumably from the Commandant, then on his way back from Gippsland where he went to investigate de Villiers' allegations against the Native Police. The editor reversed his stance again a week later, this time criticising the government for the "degree of sensitive apprehension for the safety of the savage"³¹. The editor might have been a man who changed his mind frequently.

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²⁸ Dana to Lonsdale, 18 Jan 1847, enc with Dana to LaTrobe, 3 Jan 1849, _VPRS_ 19, Box 115, 49/16
²⁹ LaTrobe to Commandant, 9 Mar 1847, 47/277 in _VPRS_ 16, vol 7, Letters Outward-Local: 59
³⁰ The Gippsland settlers held their public meeting on 4 February 1847, and resolved unanimously to assert unequivocally that the statements made by the said James Warman were false and unfounded, _Port Phillip Herald_, 18 Feb 1847
³¹ _Port Phillip Patriot_, 22 Feb 1847
either on the evidence, or according to the last person who spoke to him, but the fact of newspaper rivalry cannot be discounted: at this time in Port Phillip, a newspaper could adopt a stance in seemingly simple opposition to another, regardless of the issue or the facts.32

Nor can de Villiers' hopes to become the Protector of the Aborigines in Gippsland be ignored.33 Jobs for the boys was an issue. It is not necessary to impute to him or his associates, the motive of blackening the reputation of the police in order to enhance his own chances of a government job: it would simply function that way. He was quite proud of his part in founding the original Corps, but resentful about his present standing in society in Port Phillip. The strength of his feelings can be gauged from this public letter he wrote defending himself in his turn, against "calumny and misrepresentation"; "Ingratitude is however...the order of the day, at least with some persons in this province, for the very men who may now thank me for the organisation of the native police and their consequent livelihood, now denounce me as a 'd...d foreigner'... though I am a foreigner and an humble one, Australia is too much indebted to foreigners for the development of her resources, for any of her colonists to brand the term with opprobrium."34 Bearing in mind that the men who could thank de Villiers for their livelihood were two brothers and their brother-in-law, his resentment is understandable. Their jobs, and the Protector's job that he wanted were well-paid, and worse, they were obtained under a system of patronage from which he as a foreigner now felt excluded.35

Despite all the evidence of European oppositions, of cross-currents of interest and loyalty, which can be recovered because it emerged from a literate culture, the most important evidence is missing - evidence relating to the motives and rationale of action of the local Melbourne Aborigines, the local Gippsland Aborigines and the men of the Corps who participated in the events. Thomas said that his local Melbourne Aborigines were much excited by the news of the white woman - "it unhinged them for days."36 The question is why? To read the printed testimonies in

32 La Trobe's confidential report to the Secretary of State on the newspapers in Port Phillip signals to the present, the danger involved in any innocent reading of a newspaper report of this period; the Port Phillip Herald, he said, advocated Roman (i.e. Catholic) interests; the Melbourne Argus was received by Presbyterian and Orange parties; the Geelong Advertiser was the squatters paper (La Trobe to Col Sec, 20 Jan 1848, no number, in box 4/2821 AO of NSW, also in 1 HRA xxvi:170). Any editorial comment on the white woman affair might be addressed therefore not to the issue, and still less to Aboriginal/European relationships, but maybe to the power struggle between sectarian and class interests in the European domain. La Trobe's report roundly criticises all the newspapers for their sensationalism, factionalism, disregard of truth, reckless and studied spirit of misrepresentation often amounting to the most malevolent libel etc etc. It is unfortunate that so much contact history has been written from newspapers.

33 Sergeant McLelland of the Native Police, defending the police against the 'calumniow falsehoods' reported by de Villiers and Warman, stated that 'Report in Gippsland says, that de Villiers is aiming for the Protectorship, should one be required', Port Phillip Patriot, 16 Feb 1847.

34 de Villiers' report, dated 15 Feb 1847, in Port Phillip Herald, 18 Feb 1847

35 His own connection, Governor Sir Richard Bourke was long departed from NSW.

36 Thomas Quarterly Report, Sep-Dec 1846, enc with 469277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1
chronological sequence, is to be left with the distinct impression that yet again, Aboriginal men were pursuing their own interests, but we will never know what they were because they were not recorded. Given these complexities, and the degree of passion and intensity on the part of Aborigine and European alike, the factual content of any statement about Aborigines is almost incidental.

At least the chronology of the searches is straightforward. Tyers ran an official search from March to September 1846. In November 1846, William Dana took the Second Division of the Native Police to Gippsland to relieve William Walsh and the First Division. In early December 1846, Walsh was still there, William Dana had arrived, and de Villiers' party had arrived. In late December, William Walsh and his Division handed over and departed from Gippsland. In February 1847, de Villiers' party returned to Melbourne. In April 1847, Tyers organised another intensive search, this time with Sergeant Windredge in overall charge of a party of six Europeans and ten Aborigines, both local to Gippsland and foreign. In January 1847, Commandant Henry Dana took Corporal O'Brien and trooper Quandtie to Gippsland to investigate the actions of his brother William on the Snowy river in December. Henry Dana returned to Melbourne on 13 February, his men arriving next day. The collision between William Dana and his police and the local Aborigines on the Snowy river on 20 December 1846 is the central event, the site for the slanging match between the Europeans, a silent site of Aboriginal action.

It must be set in the context of the collisions that preceded it, and separated from the reports of a collision that was equally shocking to the readers in Melbourne at the time, but which did not happen, being merely a fabrication dreamed up for "a lark" by a man who furnished it as grist for the mill of the feud between de Villiers and the Corps. From the perspective of the present though, it is obvious that a "lark" which is published has more power to affect present attitudes than the rebuttal still buried in archives. The lark becomes what we believe; the truth remains unknown. It is necessary too, to separate out reports of alleged collisions between the Native Police and the Aborigines of Gippsland that emanated from local Melbourne Aborigines, such as the one Thomas investigated, only

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37 The Europeans were a mixed party of locals and men who had been with de Villiers - Messers Peters, Kelly, McLeod, Hill, Hartnett and Dingle; the Aborigines were two young Westernport boys, Bonnie Laddie and Williamstown; Jacky Warren and Chearam who were locals; Mooney, George and Tommy who were Native Police; Yal Yal and Tobin who were Westernport men, and Johnny, an unidentified boy (Tyers to LaTrobe, 6 Apr 1847, 47/701, enc with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 11 May 1847, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/907)

38 The collision that did NOT happen, was that reported in Warman's journal as occurring on 21 Jan 1847, in a scrub between Summer Hill and Spring Hill on the MacAllister river. Fourteen blacks were said to have been shot. Tyers reported it and found it to have "no foundation, spread by a man named Tooky in the service of Mr Foster, as he terms it "for a lark, probably for the purpose of supplying Warman with matter for his journal", see Tyers to LaTrobe, 19 Mar 1847, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 10 Apr 1847, 47/3247 in AO of NSW, 4/2781. See also Tyers to William Dana, 2 Feb 1847, enc with Henry Dana to LaTrobe, 5 Mar 1847, VPRS 19, Box 90, 47/436
to discover from Aboriginal sources that it was fabricated by Yal Yal to account for his killing of the Pinterginner. Both had been policemen. This scapegoating phenomenon from Aboriginal and European alike illustrates the contradictory nature of being native and being a policeman.

Tyers was first into the field in the Autumn/Winter of 1846. He used a combination of the policing forces at his disposal - Sergeant Windredge, who had left the Native Police after three years service and joined Tyers staff as a Border Policeman, together with William Walsh and the Second Division of the Native Police. Four times, this combined force had gone out from Tyers' H.Q. at Eagle Point in search of the tribe supposed to be holding the woman; thirty-one man days had been spent searching, in four separate attempts, but to no avail. Tyers decided in the end that the strategy was wrong - instead of following the tribe for a hundred miles from Lake Wellington to the Snowy river, with the tribe feeling that it was being hunted, it would have been better to have negotiated with them in the first place. The Government party took with it a nine year old boy as guide and interpreter. This boy is probably the key to the whole saga. His name was Kung-Gud-Bar, known as Jack O'Warden, Jacky Warren, or Taki Warren; he was the son of Bungaleena, the chief of the tribe whose country was the lakes area; it was his father who was supposed to be holding the woman captive as one of his wives. Jacky Warren had been captured in September 1845 by a settler named Wilkinson who drove off his run at Lake Wellington, Aborigines who were spearing his cattle. He lived subsequently with John Paine, Lachlan Macalister's storekeeper at Boisdale (the same run where the Native Police had their barracks) for nine months prior to undertaking the interpreting task. He had learned English, and appeared to enjoy his role; one European witness described him setting off on a charger (police horse) as "prouder than the proudest chief that ever shipped a spear". There appears

39 Thomas to LaTrobe, 30 Apr 1845, VSRS 19, Box 70, 45/759, "The Chief Protector...left instructions for me to enquire into a report of a party of Gippsland blacks said to have been killed by the Westerport blacks and four of the native police. After a series of enquiries among the natives, I feel satisfied that no collision took place (though I am aware that such has been currently reported). I am fully persuaded that the blacks report that the Gippsland blacks killed Pinterginner is also false, and that he was murdered by one of his own people Yal Yal, and that the pretended collision with the Gippsland blacks was concocted to account for the death of Pinterginner, reported to the Chief Protector on 3rd ult."

40 de Villiers recorded early ethnographic information regarding population size and distribution as he understood it, in his report of 15 Feb 1847 in Port Phillip Herald, 18 Feb 1847

41 Deposition of John Paine, 30 Mar 1846, enc No 7 in "White Female With Gippsland Aborigines", op cit

42 An anonymous white man who accompanied the joint Border/ Native police party from start to finish in their searches over the period March to September 1846, supplied the Port Phillip Herald with an account. The four Europeans involved were Walsh, Windredge, Border policeman Connelly, and the unnamed bullock driver to Tyers. Walsh was absent from the district of Gippsland for an unspecified period at this time (Windredge deposition, 27 Jan 1847, enc with Lonsdale to Col Sec, 20 Feb 1847, 47/1680 in AO of NSW, 4/2781). He had no business speaking to the press: both the anonymity of the account, and the weight that the newspaper placed on it, are explicable if Walsh was the source - see Port Phillip Herald, 1 Oct 1846.
no trace of scepticism about his role till it was all over, though there were doubts about his ability to communicate.

It is scarcely to be imagined that this nine year old boy would deliver up his father to Europeans; with hindsight, he can be identified as an emissary, either sent in or permitted to stay with Europeans as the eyes and ears of his father to gather information from the centre of European administration. One European recorder noted that he was captured from the shores of Lake Wellington, but even if he was captured initially, no nine year old Aboriginal boy would stay with Europeans against the wishes of the old men of his tribe. The emissary was a traditional role in Aboriginal society, functioning in ways comparable to its place in western society. Thomas called it spying, but it was more than that; it may have been in this case initially information gathering, but as events unfolded, it became interpretive and explanatory, with a two-way flow of information. And it was certainly manipulative. It can be seen now as an adaptive strategy, using a traditional role-playing person in a new context, one more type of accommodation to the European takeover.

Yet all the Europeans involved at the time, trusted that Jacky Warren could and would lead them to Bungaleena, and were led a merry dance over much of Gippsland for a year, believing from him through his meetings with his kin, that Bungaleena and the woman were just a few days march ahead of them, or just a few miles away, or just moved temporarily from the area for a good reason and likely to return soon; gone up to the mountains, gone down to the islands in the Gippsland Lakes. Information was fed to the Government party, and later to the private expedition (for he acted as guide and interpreter to them too), that the woman knew of the rescue attempts and wept when she received messages from the searchers; that she was tall, and deaf in one ear (it fitted the description of Miss McPherson); that she wore a bonnet, and a caubuun pussy cat (boa); that she had borne two female children who were killed according to the custom of the tribe, then a male child whom she refused to suckle, so a black woman nursed the child; that she constructed her mia-mias European style but with native materials; that she knitted with native grass in the European knit; that she always made a mound for a pillow; that she was heartsick and pining for release from captivity, and cried constantly; that she had tried to send a message to her rescuers with a pencil conveyed to her through the nine year old interpreter, but that his father had dashed it from her in a rage and prevented it; that she cut letters on trees (when shown an alphabet, one informant identified the letters C, G and W); that she was sick; that she had died; that she had been buried. When an Aboriginal child was found who could
sing the psalm "The Old Hundredth" it was taken as sure evidence of her presence. It is an exquisitely elaborate lure, and it could be enjoyed now for its sheer intellectual brilliance, as an indicator of how well the so-called savages of Gippsland were reading European culture, were it not for the fact that at the time, Europeans believed it, and acted as if it were true, and in the case of the private expedition, threatened to shoot all the blacks in Gippsland as a result. And in their turn, the blacks of Gippsland believed that they would all be shot. We scarcely need to remind ourselves in the present, that it is not the facts that matter — it is people's perceptions, what they believe to be the case.

Thomas in Melbourne had his doubts quite early, in late 1846, based on close questioning of two former Native Policemen, Yal Yal and Tommy, and another trooper Kulklo (Calcallo); this man had been "all through Gippsland, seen almost all the tribe, did not believe there was a white woman". Later, Thomas called it simply a hoax. At the time, when Dana wrote about the events of the search, he used a qualifier — the woman "supposed" to be held captive, or the "alleged" white woman. LaTrobe considered it likely in the end that there was no such person. In CCL Tyers' retrospective view, Bungaleena was a wily black who has duped us all.

It is ironical that this grand hoax produced a direct but unintended consequence then — the belief held by the Aborigines of Gippsland that they would all be shot, and a less direct but equally unintended consequence now — the belief that many were. Some were. In addition to Tyers' retrospective evidence to the Select Committee which apportioned responsibility to the Native Police for many deaths, another retrospective testimony exists — that of Jacky Warren. It is if anything, more

43 The false information fed to the search parties is compiled primarily from the following sources — "White Female With Gippsland Aborigines", op cit; de Villiers three accounts dated 1 Jan 1847 in Argus, 26 Jan 1847, and 10 Feb 1847 in Port Phillip Patriot, 13 Feb 1847, and 15 Feb 1847 in Port Phillip Herald, 18 Feb 1847; Brodie's account in Port Phillip Patriot, 18 Feb 1847; Warman's account in Port Phillip Herald, 18 Feb 1847, and the account of the unnamed European (identified here as Walsh) who accompanied the government search party in Port Phillip Herald, 1 Oct 1846. De Villiers letter of 1 Jan 1847 was published as well in the Port Phillip Herald of 21 Jan 1847.

44 De Villiers account of the failure of the expedition, 10 Feb 1847, in Port Phillip Patriot, Sat 13 Feb 1847, "We then told them that we were going to Melbourne, and would bring back to Gippsland all the whites, and if they killed the white woman, every one of them would be killed after". In this same account, de Villiers uses quotation marks to report the blacks as saying the following "We (the whites) only wanted the white woman, and if we got her, they would all be shot, as the white fellows were too much sly with them".

45 de Villiers reported this belief, and blamed it on William Dana, Argus 12 Feb 1847

46 Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep- 30 Nov 1846, enc with Lonsdale to Col Sec, 18 Dec 1846, 46/9277 in AO of NSW, 4/2745.1

47 Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Dec 1846- 28 Feb 1847, in Thomas Papers, set 214, item 6, ML

48 Thomas Papers, set 214, item 21: 240, ML

49 Col Sec to LaTrobe, 29 Apr 1847, commenting on LaTrobe's statement of the likehood of their being no such person in the position described, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/907

50 Tyers to LaTrobe, 24 Apr 1847, enc with Col Sec to LaTrobe, 29 Apr 1847, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/907
damaging to the reputation of the Native Police. Jacky Warren entered the Merri Creek Aboriginal school in June 1848, and the missionary's daughter, Lucy Edgar, recorded him as saying this, "Captain Dana came down...with him black police, shoot him blackfellow there, black lubra there, black picanniny there, shoot him plaanty...me tell true...me see up tree." 51. "Plaanty" needs explaining. It was thought in the early days of contact that Aborigines could not count above the number of their fingers. It was an ignorant view, partly derived from the Aboriginal custom of using fingers for emphasis. Aboriginal cultural practice included a repertoire of ways of indicating size, quantity and number, not all of them verbal. One of the verbal ways in which they conveyed this kind of information was by the emphasis or stress on the vowel sound of the word used. Thus "planky" (plenty) had a meaning; "planky" meant more still; "plaanity" meant an even greater number. By his use of this word, Jacky Warren indicated that many were killed. And Lucy Edgar understood him to mean this, or she would not have troubled to record his emphasis. She did not however, bequeath to the present the key to understanding (probably because she took it for granted). How many was "plaanity" is lost. The doubtful part of this testimony lies in the appellation "Captain Dana", for Captain Dana, that is the Commandant Henry Dana was not in Gippsland over this period, except for a few days in January 1847 to investigate the allegations against his police. It was his brother William who was alleged to have rushed an Aboriginal camp and shot up the people. Ironically, Jacky Warren himself joined the Corps later 52, which might suggest that he was not too upset by the past actions of the Corps. Perhaps he exaggerated.

The following are the reported collisions between the Native Police and the Aborigines of Gippsland, over the period 1845-7. On 2 November 1845, when the officer in charge of the First Division of Native Police, William Walsh was at Port Albert, preparing for his Divisional return to Melbourne, CCL Tyers and two Native Police, Corporal Buckup and another unnamed man, accompanied by two well-known Omeo-Maneroo Aborigines, Cobbawn Johnny and Dan, shot two Aboriginal men in scrub country near Lake Wellington. Tyers had taken the troopers and the two Gippsland Aborigines to capture other Gippsland Aborigines who were spearing cattle. He reported the deaths by letter two days later, but LaTrobe was not satisfied with the sketchy account he gave, and

51 Edgar, L. A. 1865: 74
52 "Mr Langley commanding the detachment in Gippsland accompanied by Trooper Jackawarren returned to H.Q." (VPRS 90, 7 Sep 1852)
WHITE WOMAN—There are fourteen armed men, partly White and partly Black, in search of you. Be cautious and rush to them when you see them near you. Be particularly on the lookout, for it is then that the party are in hopes of escaping you. The white settlement is to their right.

ANNA!—The ochlaid steer, cuil d'ainshid, cuil d'ainshid, cuil d'ainshid. a chara an laid golaid uat, agas, thair each air, aig briseadh na dheile nadain an aig an aig ata tha duit sa aro Thia rochd. Tha toilaidh na shaol air tacsh luidhe na gaird dhal.

Handkerchief posted on trees “white woman” search — UHI, vol 3, no 4, Jun 1914.
a full-scale enquiry ensued. From this enquiry, pursued for eight months, it seems now that one
Aborigine was shot while in the act of throwing a spear at Tyers, and one was shot after he had thrown
a spear. Had the wild black in the act of throwing a spear at Tyers not been shot, Tyers himself would
have been killed, he said. The Crown Prosecutor, asked to investigate whether any European (that is,
Tyers) should be prosecuted for these deaths, described Tyers report as "extremely vague and
indefinite". It reads so in the present, and more, it reads defensively and selectively. The
distinguishing marks of this kind of report, the matter-of-fact "I did this" then "I did that", is absent. It
is simply not possible to discover from Tyers' report what might have happened, and in the end, the
Governor in Sydney instructed LaTrobe that the matter must rest where it is. They gave up.

The next reported collision occurred in the course of the government search for the
white woman. There are three participant accounts, from Walsh, Windridge and Tyers. They
describe excursions across the Gippsland lakes from Point King, up the Mitchell river to Dargo, back
to McMillan's station Bushy Park on the Avon river, then back to the lakes. They include descriptions
of contacts made with the "wild" blacks by Jacky Warren, the "rushing" of an Aboriginal camp, the
taking of prisoners on three separate occasions, a charade of hanging in order to induce a prisoner to
talk and one clash on Lake Wellington. The account for which Walsh was the source acknowledges
that one Aboriginal man was shot but not killed, and more were wounded. It notes that the government
party split into smaller units to search different parts of the country, but it makes clear the fact that the
whole combined force of Native and Border police was present at the collision; it praises Walsh
particularly for his intrepidity and resolution.

It has to be doubted, I think, for what it leaves out. The general readers of the
newspaper might not have known what it meant to "rush" an Aboriginal camp, but Thomas knew, and
LaTrobe and Gipps knew, and William Dana was to be criticised most severely for precisely the same
action later, on the Snowy river - for rushing an Aboriginal camp. It was automatically interpreted by
Aboriginal groups as a hostile action, with the predictable consequence of a shower of spears. The

53 There is a large file of documents relating to this killing at 46/5980 in AO of NSW, 4/2743, and another large file at
46/1288, VPRS 19, Box 84. Besides the rounds of letters between Tyers, LaTrobe and the Governor in Sydney which
are here, there are depositions on oath from Tyers, from the Aborigines present, from the Magistrate Lachlan MacAlister,
and an opinion from Crown Prosecutor James Croke. The original unsatisfactory report from Tyers is his letter to
LaTrobe, 4 Nov 1845, 45/1922, enc with 46/1288.
54 Col Sec to LaTrobe, 20 Aug 1846, VPRS 19, Box 84, 46/1288
55 Tyers to LaTrobe, 14 Aug 1846, enc No 18 in "White Female With Gippsland Aborigines", op cit; Walsh to Tyers,
24 Jul 1846, enc No 19, op cit; Windridge to Tyers, 8 Aug 1846, enc No 20 op cit; and Walsh' account in Port Phillip
Herald, 1 Oct 1846
rules governing behaviour between a stranger and an Aboriginal group he wished to contact, varied
dramatically from place to place, but they always precluded surprise. Because an Aboriginal group when surprised
would throw spears first and ask questions afterwards. Thomas described the process in the passage
quoted in Chapter 6; “Major Mitchell and every other Writer have cautioned parties against hastily
making a native encampment, and we who are well acquainted with the blacks can affirm it - that a
body of Mounted Men Galloping into an Encampment, however peaceable they may have been before,
is enough of itself to excite them”56. Thomas makes it sound as if Aboriginal groups were
unreasonable in being excited by men galloping into their camps, but even so their peculiarities must be
accepted. There is nothing unreasonable about the excitement at all; to gallop into a camp, or to
surround it stealthily was definitionally a hostile action because it broke the rules of courtesy, which
might have necessitated sitting down within sight, and waiting to be invited in, or carrying a message
stick, or carrying a green bough or carrying gifts but no arms. The procedure varied. It is not even
necessary to impute hostility to Europeans who found themselves engaged in armed conflict with a
group taken by surprise. The manner of approach rather than the intent was the issue. In labelling
rushing of itself as a hostile action, the distant Governor in Sydney displayed a remarkable degree of
relativisation; he was seeing things through Aboriginal eyes, judging by Aboriginal standards. To rush
an encampment, even if one only wanted to talk, was enough to ensure a skirmish or a collision or a
battle or whatever other words Europeans used to describe what followed. When the writer of this
account mentions rushing an encampment, without saying anything about what followed, he must be
doubted. He has left something out.

Sergeant Windredge made the next report of a collision, in a deposition taken at the
Border Police station on 27 Jan 1847, relative to a collision between a party under his command and
local Aborigines on McAllister’s run on 20 October 184657. Walsh was absent in Melbourne at the
time, and Windredge had charge of the Native Police. He stated that he received orders from Lachlan
Macalister J.P. to search for and capture blacks who had speared seven cattle on Macalister’s run.
Windredge took two Native Police including Tunmile, and two of “Macalister’s blacks” and tracked

56 Westgarth, W. *Australia Felix*: 91 makes the same point quoting Strzelecki.
57 Enc with Lonsdale to Col Sec, 20 Feb 1847, 47/1680 in AO of NSW 4/2781
the depredators for four days. They then fell in with a party of one hundred blacks who had in their possession great quantities of beef. Windredge ordered the troopers to secure some of the Aboriginal men and in the attempt, a large number of blacks rushed his party. To prevent loss of life, he explained, he ordered his men to fire, and he believed that two Aborigines were killed and one wounded. He added that prior to his giving the order the fire, one of the blacks had nearly succeeded in taking trooper Tunmile's carbine from him. It sounds a reasonable story, and as Windredge had a good reputation, there is no specific reason to doubt his word, though the usual proviso prevails, that one person's account of a battle involving many people, is only a part of the whole; one person cannot see everything that happens.

The next reported collision is the major event - the collision between William Dana with the Second Division of the Corps, and local Aborigines on the Snowy river on or about 16 December 1846. The Division left Nerre Nerre Warren on 21 November, expecting to take three days for the march into Gippsland, carrying with it the following instructions - report on arrival to the CCL and deliver despatches; assist with the search for the white woman; consult with the CCL regarding the best means of preserving the peace of the district; should the CCL not require the further services of Mr Walsh's Division, relieve him; make monthly returns; for any repairs to the barracks, consult with the CCL; the fifth instruction was specific, "You will not go after natives unless with the warrant of the CCL or any other Magistrate". What William Dana and his Division did in the weeks of November and December prior to the collision is unknown; he said he sent a report to Tyers, but Tyers wrote several times that he received no report. The first intimation that a collision had occurred came from de Villiers, who made a deposition on 30 December 1846, outraged that it had not been reported by the OIC of the Native Police detachment involved, William Dana. All de Villiers' dates, by the way are out by a day; either that, or everyone else was wrong.

58 "Fell in with" is not a vernacular term but an official one, a way of expressing a peaceful contact in this job at this time. Dana and the Commissioners of Crown Lands use it too: it means that the Europeans made contact without surprise, as opposed to the situation of surprise which existed when they "chanced upon" or "surrounded" or "rushed" a group of Aborigines. The Protectorate Department even used printed forms headed "Statement of Aborigines fallen in with...", with spaces to be filled in across the top according to which Protector and which district (VPRS 12, unit 1 and 2).

59 Henry Dana to William Dana, 21 Nov 1846, enc with Crown Prosecutor James Croke to LaTrobe, 11 May 1847, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/866

60 Tyers to W.A.P.Dana, 2 Feb 1847, and W.A.P.Dana to Tyers, 10 Feb 1847, both enc with H.E.P.Dana to LaTrobe, 5 Mar 1847, VPRS 19, Box 90, 47/436; also Tyers to LaTrobe, 9 Jan 1847, 47/1552 in AO of NSW 4/2781, in which Tyers makes the first of his several statements that he has received no report from William Dana regarding the collision.

61 enc with Lonsdale to Col Sec, 1 Nov 1847, 47/1552 in AO of NSW 4/2781
De Villiers' story was as follows. His total party comprised James Warman in charge of boats, a Mr Brodie, a Mr Peters and Thomas Hill\textsuperscript{62}, together with six Westernport Aborigines, including three former policemen, Yal Yal, Charlie and Mr de Villiers, plus two Gippsland Aborigines. At Eagle Point on Lake King, on 15 December, he asked William Dana to join forces with him in an expedition to the Snowy river about sixty miles away by water, where de Villiers believed that Bungaleena and the white woman were camped. Dana refused, on the grounds that Captain Lonsdale had ordered him not to obstruct the private expedition, but had not ordered him to cooperate. There is a degree of deception in Dana's refusal, perhaps impelled by rivalry, for Dana himself was under orders from Tyers to take six men and proceed to the Snowy, on the same information de Villiers had, that this time, Bungaleena was definitely at the Snowy river with his captive\textsuperscript{63}. De Villiers and his party left that evening at 6 pm, crossed the lake, and next day "got" three Warrigal men for guides. It was blowing a gale, with rain, wind, thunder and a "fearful" surf. He split his force therefore into two, leaving one party under Warman to wait till the weather moderated, with instructions to proceed then to the Snowy river by boat along the ninety mile beach, while he pressed on overland with his six Melbourne Aborigines and three Gippsland men. He came upon William Dana and a detachment of Native Police on the Snowy river on Monday afternoon, 21 December, not entirely surprised, for de Villiers had heard the sound of gunshots an hour or so before he made their camp. There is a degree of pique in his observation that Dana's party were mounted, and the delay caused to his own party by the bad weather had allowed Dana to get to the Snowy river before him. There is too, a leap of the imagination in the retrospective deduction that he made, that because he heard shots, and found a body, there must have been a massacre. The sergeant of the police later explained these shots - the troopers' carbines had got wet, and they were firing them off to test them; it is such an appropriate and likely thing to do, to clean, dry, prime and test the weapons upon making a camp after a long ride through rugged country in the rain. Who could tell though, whether in this particular instance it was the truth?

William Dana told him that he had surrounded several camps of natives, and taken five prisoners, an old man, an old woman and three children. de Villiers saw the prisoners, the adults ironed, in Dana's camp. That night, the various Aborigines - police, Melbourne and Gippsland got

\textsuperscript{62} Thomas Hill is the publican mentioned earlier whose bill for provisions was ignored by the Commandant on the grounds that he did not think it customary for publicans to write insolent letters to Public Officers (Dana to LaTrobe, 27 Apr 1848, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 105, 48957)

\textsuperscript{63} Tyers to Walsh and Dana, 10 Dec 1846, enc with Dana to LaTrobe, 3 Jan 1849, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 115, 49/16.
together, and after this exchange of information, de Villiers' blacks told him that William Dana and his police had shot some of the Snowy river natives. De Villiers elected not to discuss the allegation with William Dana and the next day, the two parties went their separate ways, with Dana retracing his steps to the Border Police station, while de Villiers proceeded up the Snowy river, where his suspicions were alerted by the unusual sight of a large area of trampled reedbeds. Upon investigating, he found the dead and decomposing body of a very stout Aboriginal, about thirty years of age, with two severe wounds to the head, and two other wounds, one in the leg and one on the breast, which his blacks told him were gunshot wounds "done by blackfellow and whitefellow belonging to Naran, being the native name for the Border Police station". Upon his return to the Tambo river three days later, de Villiers heard from a Richard Hartnett that local Aborigines had said that Mr Dana's party shot some blacks on the Snowy river. The statement of James Warman who accompanied de Villiers part of the way, adds further details regarding the finding of a carbine, identified as a Native Police weapon, bloodied and broken, with tufts of black hair clinging to it.

Corporal Owen Cowan64, a Border Policeman accompanying William Dana and the Native Police, made a deposition too. He described in detail a hand to hand struggle he had on the 19 December in which he was speared in the hand, knocked to the ground, lost his carbine, fired his pistol, regained his carbine, hit his assailant over the head with it, and barely escaped with his life he said. At the time, the police force was split three ways around the islands and lake at the mouth of the Snowy river, and Cowan had one trooper only with him. He and his trooper "came upon" a small encampment, and were received with a shower of spears. That means he rushed them. He described surrounding another blacks camp the following night, December 20, and "coming upon" it at sunrise. He did not however, mention a fight, merely the many contradictory stories the Aborigines told the party.

William Dana's account is addressed to the Governor's criticism "Under what authority Mr W. Dana acted hostilely towards the blacks by surrounding their camp at night? ... surely the Commissioner did not mean to imply such a proceeding when he directed Mr Dana to use every exertion to recover the female alluded to"65, and it says little about the actual circumstances. William Dana noted that he had no presents to give to the Snowy river Aborigines, and as a consequence, their

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64 Three years later, Tyers recommended this man to LaTrobe for the position of Chief Constable at Flooding Creek (Sale), stating that he had been a trooper under Tyers for several years, and that he was sober, honest and active (Tyers to LaTrobe, 20 Apr 1849, VPRS 19, Box 119, 49/841)

65 Col Sec to LaTrobe, 28 Jan 1847, 47/57, referred to in Tyers to LaTrobe, 15 Mar 1847, enc with VPRS 19, Box 91, 47/697
behaviour towards his party was invariably hostile, that his mode of proceeding (surrounding) was precisely that adopted by Mr Walsh and Mr Tyers, that he could not get near the blacks in daylight, and that surrounding them at night was the only way he could discover with certainty whether the white woman was in the camp, as he had every reason to believe.

It does not sound much of a massacre - one body, which became "some" as the story was transmitted orally, and a slaughter when it appeared in the newspapers. On receipt of de Villiers deposition, Tyers took the usual steps, now so familiar in this history. He ordered William Dana to cease his exertions to find the woman and wrote off the same day to Lonsdale, who sent the letter on to the Governor; His Excellency interpreted the surrounding of the Aboriginal camp as a hostile action, and responded immediately with his "Under what authority..." letter, quoted earlier. LaTrobe was away from Melbourne over the crucial weeks of this drama (acting as Governor of VDL in the place of Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, dismissed), and when he resumed his duties, he found some sympathy for William Dana: "Dana was placed in a very awkward predicament, and it required no little tact and great prudence to follow up the object of the expedition and at the same time not place himself and his men in a position where hostile feelings were not provoked". The Governor minuted this letter "Not satisfactory". "Mr Dana appears to have acted with great want of discretion to say the least of it", was his considered view.

It is not satisfactory now that William Dana's original report (if it existed) is missing. Border Policeman Cowan's account reads convincingly; the Aboriginal man with whom Cowan struggled for his life sustained wounds which fit the description of the body found by de Villiers. But it is one man's battle: the question necessarily arises - what were the other police doing? The party was split in three at the time, and bearing in mind de Villiers' testimony that William Dana had surrounded several camps, and Dana's defence which acknowledged this, it must be concluded that the other two sections of the force also rushed other Aboriginal camps. And as rushing means conflict, the likelihood of other casualties exists. Not necessarily deaths, casualties.

In this kind of hand to hand struggle, where only officers and NCO's carried pistols, while troopers carried carbines useful for one shot only (if it fired), plus swords, Aboriginal men armed with spears and tomahawks, with numerical superiority held the advantage. It is even likely that

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66 LaTrobe to Col Sec, 26 Apr 1847, 47/3709 in AO of NSW, 4/2781
67 Col Sec to Acting Superintendent, 24 Feb 1847, VPRS 19, Box 91, 47/428, an enc with Dana to LaTrobe, 17 Apr 1847, 47/617
the reason why these hand to hand encounters did not proceed on to become slaughters, had more to do with that traditional Aboriginal battle practice than the benevolence or malevolence of the opposing Europeans. Traditional Aboriginal battle practice dictated a strategic withdrawal from the field when one or two men fell. The European model of heroism - to fight on till the last man fell - was not their model of heroism. To retire from a battlefield was to live to fight another day; it ensured the survival not the destruction of the group. Perhaps it is only societies which have large populations that can afford to waste young male lives in homage to the rhetoric of fighting to the last man.

It is one of the features of the nineteenth century historians of Australasia, discordant to present ears, that they made precisely this point in their disparaging contrasts of the fighting style of the Australian Aborigine, compared with the Maori. Maori cultural practices relative to the organisation and management of fighting agreed well with European, and Europeans admired their valiant Maori foes for this reason. They could not find much reason to admire Australian Aboriginal battle practices; the distance from their own model of heroism was too great. In this lies the discordancy - that the twentieth century expects of its generalising historians that they escape their own cultural conditioning and attempt to see the foreign other about whom they write, on that other's own terms.

William Dana's failure to provide a report on the collision on the Snowy in December remains a puzzle. He said he sent one, and he acknowledged one death; there was only one body found; his story was corroborated by a Border Policeman; he was defended vigorously by his own Sergeant Robert McLelland who wrote the following to a newspaper, "De Villiers says we butchered the natives wholesale, but I assure you that one native was all that was shot on the Snowy River, and that (not by the harpies of hell as Warman was pleased to entitle them), but by a European, and that not until after receiving a spear through his hand, and knocked down by the black. Instead of destroying life, the following circumstances may suffice to prove the contrary:- One day coming on a party of wild natives, they plunged into the Snowy River, and swam across, leaving two little boys drowning in the middle, when one of the native troopers dived in and rescued them at the risk of his own life, and the wild natives standing with their spears shipped on the opposite bank."
The sceptical response to this testimony would be that the saving of two children's lives does not in itself rebut the charge of wholesale slaughter. But the charge of wholesale slaughter was embedded in a narrative so erroneous in other respects that any defence appears feeble; it was Warman who ran the story of the alleged massacre that Tyers found was a lark; it was Warman who floated the unfounded allegation that some of the native police who participated in the alleged Snowy river massacre were the same men who massacred the Cape Otway blacks - equally untrue, as was noted in Chapter 6. Warman claimed further that the Native Police ate the flesh of their victims after the alleged massacre. This claim could have made sense, to the extent that the Westernport Aborigines who accompanied de Villiers returned afterwards to Melbourne with flesh, and as the Native Police were their kinsmen, with a common cultural inheritance, it was not far-fetched. No other report mentioned it however.

It does not require too much imagination though, to feel one's way back into the 1840's in Melbourne, and consider how shocking such an allegation must have been, added as it was to the horrors imputed to the suffering of the white woman. To have it printed in the newspaper that the government police force sent to rescue her, killed and ate her captors must have been scandalous in the extreme. To savage lust and barbarism were now added cannibalism. Cannibalism was not a subject of public debate at the time; it was privately known that Aborigines of the Port Phillip district engaged in this practice, and it may even have been widely privately known, but it was not an ordinary news item discussed in newspapers. The public discourse on the search exposed the most thrilling and dangerous elements of the European stereotype of the savage, with the added piquancy that these were our local savages, some of them known by sight and by name. It was not happening in a distant colony of the mother country, but right here, concrete and immediate.

It is much more difficult to read the possibilities of meaning to the non-police Aboriginal groups involved; the signs of excitement are there, together with the evidence of profound change in the nature of relationship. This was the first time that Melbourne men could travel in relative safety to Gippsland. Thomas was convinced that the search was not the real object of their volunteering, and he used the word "cowardly" to describe their action in going to Gippsland under the protection of the expedition, while concerned with their own business. Whether that business was killing their traditional enemies, or procuring women in the traditional way, but with safety, is not

72 Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Jun-31 Aug 1847, VPRS 4410, Unit 4/99
answerable. The private expedition acknowledged no deaths. The Westernport men who went to Gippsland did bring back females, six of them, four under nine years of age, and they did bring back the hands\textsuperscript{73}. But they also established the grounds for an exchange of visits, a radical transformation which the Chief Protector believed ensured their survival as a group.

I myself am not persuaded that a massacre occurred on the Snowy river about the 20 December 1846, though it is obvious that there was a collision with at least one death. And certainly, Captain Henry Dana was not involved: Jacky Warren pointed the finger at the wrong man. The context too, of Jacky Warren’s accusation, and Tyers’ retrospective summary need to be taken into account. Jacky Warren was talking to a missionary, who had a particular interest in protecting the poor savages, and a sympathetic ear to horror stories relative to their treatment by brutal Europeans. Later though, Lucy Edgar described him as a “rogue”, and Tyers called him a “trouble”\textsuperscript{74}. Tyers was giving evidence to a Select Enquiry on Aborigines, concerned with the dramatic decrease in population, searching for reasons. The Corps was defunct, having come to an end some five years earlier; its Commandant was dead; there were no obvious guards on his testimony and it would have been difficult for anyone to challenge his statement.

Other evidence raises suspicions though, evidence relating to the ordinary duties performed by the Native Police in protecting settlers stations from Aboriginal attacks on cattle and going out after natives\textsuperscript{75}. When “going out after natives” is recorded as an ordinary part of policing work, we wonder what it means. That it meant bad news for the pursued seems evident from a private letter Tyers wrote to MacAlister at the same time as the Sergeant’s letter above; “I am aware that you have been a great sufferer from their depredations but... the number of lives already sacrificed at the head of your run is sufficient proof that the wild blacks do not commit devastation with impunity. The severe lessons they have already been taught, having produced no good result, may almost lead to the inference that they will continue the practice of spearing cattle in spite of the consequences”\textsuperscript{76}. “The severe lessons they have been taught” has an ominous ring to it, particularly as the barracks were on MacAlister’s run. The question seems to be how often and for how long did the Corps go out after

\textsuperscript{73} ibid
\textsuperscript{74} Edgar, L.A.: 110; Tyers evidence to Select Committee on Aborigines, Victoria, Leg Co V&P, 1858-9: 77
\textsuperscript{75} Sergeant Richard McLelland, answering Mr W. Odell Raymond’s complaint that the Native Police were not protecting his property Strathfieldsaye, wrote that Lachlan MacAlister had suffered more from Aboriginal depredations than all the other settlers combined, and the Native Police had done more duty there at Boisdale than anywhere else (McLelland to Commandant, 12 Jul 1847, enc with Raymond to Tyers, 5 May 1847, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1347)
\textsuperscript{76} Tyers to Macallister, 26 Nov 1846, enc with Dana to Latrobe, 3 Jan 1849, VPRS 19, Box 115, 49/16
natives, and teach them a lesson, and was the lesson always that spearing cattle would result in some deaths, as is implicit in Tyers prediction? His observations to MacAlister were made in 1846, in the context of defending his decision to use the Native Police in the search for the white woman, against the wishes of the cattle owners, who wanted the troopers to remain on duty protecting their stock.

There is as well, a second-hand report that Tyers became aware that the black police considered themselves as living among hostile tribes in respect of whom they had a double duty to perform, viz to track cattle spears at the order of their chief, and on their own account to shoot as many of their enemies as they could conveniently approach. The author knew Tyers, and elsewhere quotes his opinion that more blacks were killed by the blankets than by rum and bullets. (Tyers gave a different answer to the Select Committee; he attributed the decline in population to sickness and war, with perhaps 500 persons killed chiefly by neighbouring tribes).

Assessing Dunderdale’s report of Tyers’ state of consciousness is not easy. It resonates so well with the known fact of traditional enmity. Were it true, it would mean that the men of the Corps found themselves in the fortunate position where they could satisfy the demands of the old imperative, and the new, at one and the same time. It is somewhat surprising though, that if Tyers was convinced that this was the case, he neither stated it in reports nor proffered it to the Committee enquiring into the condition of Aborigines. His early assessment of the Native Police was positively glowing; in 1845, he wrote the following, “But the most intelligent and civilised Aborigines that have come under my notice are those from the neighbourhood of Port Phillip attached to the Native Police Corps, and no doubt great credit is due to Mr Dana their Commandant, for the patience and perseverance he has evinced in training them. The Aborigines are naturally averse to restraint, but by his kind but fair system of discipline, and perhaps by humouring their prejudices, Mr Dana has taught them obedience, and to expect and place implicit confidence in their officers. Nonetheless I believe that if any of them were to be separated from their officers and attached to another Corps, in which a different or more rigid system was enforced than that they have been accustomed to, discontent and desertion would follow... as trackers they are of great service, and in guarding or escorting prisoners, they are at least the equal if not superior to the Border Police. But for their keenness and strict guard on

78 Tyers answer to Question 71, Select Enquiry on Aborigines, op cit
a recent occasion, I have little doubt but that three European prisoners, committed to take their trial for
murder, would have escaped through the negligence of the Sergeant of Border Police"79.

That was his view based on one year's experience with the troopers. He continued to
use them, and praise them, for five more years, and of those five years, all the reported collisions
occurring in the worst period of disturbances, 1846-7, have been discussed here. If Dunderdale's
report of Tyers' understanding is correct, then we would expect to discover a hint of it elsewhere over
this period. The vast amount of documentary evidence relating to the subsequent enquiry that followed
any report or rumour of the killing by the Native Police of a Gippsland Aborigine, could be interpreted
as addressed to a hidden agenda item - the fear on the part of the authorities that the Native Police were
engaged in traditional tribal business as well as the government's business, except that there seems
nothing special about the intensity of the investigative process - it was the same as in the other
districts.

To the question posed above, there is no certain answer, because from 1847 onwards,
there are no detailed reports surviving from the OIC of the detachment in Gippsland to the
Commandant at Nerre Nerre Warren. Presumably they existed, but as they were not sent on to
LaTrobe, they were not incorporated into the public record. What have been preserved are summary
reports by Dana and Tyers relating to police work. In 1848 for example, Dana travelled to Gippsland
to inspect the Corps in the field; there was an officer, a Corporal and fourteen troopers dispersed over
the district. The officer and some men were engaged in cutting a channel through the sand at the
entrance to the Lakes to release the pent-up floodwaters; there was a small detachment at the Tambo
river, another on the lakes, and the remainder of the troopers were at the barracks at Green Hills. The
men were in a fair state of discipline, but the condition of the horses was low, owing to the shortage of
feed. The Warrigals continued to spear cattle, he noted, but not to such an extent as previously80. Also
in 1848, Dana obtained from LaTrobe the authority to refuse an escort of the Native Police to
travellers to Gippsland, which must mean that some men at least had been detailed to this task. At the
end of 1848, Dana furnished his half-yearly reports on the divisions out in the field, observing about
Gippsland that while the troopers were there, very few outrages were committed, but as soon as they
were removed, the outrages became more daring and frequent81.

79 Tyers to LaTrobe, 19 Feb 1845, VPRS 19, Box 68, 45/324
80 Dana to LaTrobe, 21 Aug 1848, VPRS 19, Box 110, 48/1845
81 Dana to LaTrobe, 20 Apr 1849, VPRS 19, Box 119, 49/827
Dana’s 1849 report is even more brief, noting the major public duties only, such as the escort of the Bishop to Gippsland, and for the rest, simply stating where the divisions had been stationed, and for how long. His summary statement for the whole Corps was this, “On the whole, the Corps has done very well, and but little trouble is required in maintaining order and discipline”\(^{82}\). For 1850, he had even less to say about which divisions had been where, electing rather to note the favourable reports on the behaviour of his men, "I have received very favourable reports from all the settlers at whose stations they have been placed for their protection, of their attention to their duties, and their quiet and orderly behaviour...with regard to discipline, the men are in better order than usual, having much improved in their appearance and drill owing to the constant attention of Sergeant McLelland...have had few cases of punishment and then principally for intoxication...punishment has been to be confined separately for three days on bread and water. The men seem anxious to do well, and appear to be content and satisfied with the service"\(^{83}\).

After this, reports cease. The steady stream of letters and summaries from Dana continues, but the detailed reports of action and event cease. Other concerns take their place, such as the rebuilding of H.Q.; the dispute over boundaries of the site at Nerre Nerre Warren; the first reports of gold in 1849, to which the government response was to send a detachment of Native Police to guard the putative site\(^{84}\); duty at Pentridge Stockade following the withdrawal of the Mounted Police to go to New Zealand to fight the Maori wars, required a rotating roster of eight men permanently in Melbourne; the Native Police took over the Mounted Police barracks in Richmond at this time, and provided henceforth the only orderlies LaTrobe had. The discovery of gold swamped Dana with work from mid 1851 on and, as if he had not enough to do, in the context of an expanding work load, the consequences engendered by William Walsh’s action in shooting William Dana in early 1851 constitute a major concern in later reports and letters.

There exists a stray memo signed by LaTrobe, dated 18 August 1851, which notes the cessation of reports, but it sheds little light on the reason. LaTrobe wrote "Pray, are returns not periodically handed in to the Colonial Secretary of the number and disposal of the Native Police Corps? If not, when was this discontinued? What is the date of the last report sent in by the Commandant?" The response dated the next day in a different hand is "The returns have been

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\(^{82}\) ibid

\(^{83}\) Dana to LaTrobe, 14 Jan 1850, \textit{VPRS} 19, Box 131, 50/195

\(^{84}\) Sergeant McLelland to Dana, 17 Mar 1849, from Glenmona, \textit{VPRS} 4466, unit 1
discontinued since January 1850. To which LaTobe wrote "Write to enquire the reason". The reply is "I have no returns of the Native Police. The last half-yearly report is to 31 December 1849".

The question above resolves itself basically into this; does the absence of reports reflect the absence of trouble in Gippsland? The problem for the present is that when the records cut out, the enquiry moves from the field of history into the domain of philosophy or politics, of values, attitudes and beliefs. In the absence of records, it is easy to extrapolate from the known to the unknown. As the Native Police undoubtedly killed some Gippsland Aborigines, and as they were known to be traditional enemies, there are plausible grounds for the conclusion that they killed many, however that word be defined. In addition, the conclusion that the Native Police were responsible for many deaths of Gippsland has a use-value in any attempted explanation of the decrease in the Aboriginal population of Gippsland.

In his recent thesis on the Aborigines of Gippsland, Attwood locates the end of the frontier period a little later than 1850; in his view, at least 350 Gippsland Aborigines were killed in the decade of the frontier period, and though he makes no estimate of the number killed by the Native Police Corps, he considers that the violence of the Native Police and squatters was on a scale uncommon in other areas. Only one piece of evidence of violence relates to the period after 1847, and that is the reported massacre in 1851 on the Brodribb river, a reprisal by the squatters for the death of a hut-keeper. The Corps was not involved in that affair. Attwood observes that after July 1843, Aborigines made no further attacks on white persons until 1851, though their attacks on stock continued, and he points out that from 1845, Aborigines concentrated their attacks on stock in December and January, coinciding with the withdrawal of the Native Police to Nerre Nerre Warren for their annual inspection. This being so, I tend to the view that the absence of records of trouble after the search of 1846-7 reflects the reality. Or, to state the case another way, there are sound reasons to be suspicious of the actions of the Native Police Corps in Gippsland, the main reason being their traditional enmity towards the local Aborigines, but the evidence does not support an accusation of wholesale slaughter, nor even "many" killings.

85 Estray, no number. VPRS 19, Box 131, between 50/195 and 50/196
87 A detachment of the Corps had been stationed on the property of Mr J. Macleod, and after it was withdrawn, the killing occurred (Tyers to Vic Col Sec. 29 Sep 1851, encl Macleod to Tyers, 26 Sep 1851 at VPRS 1189, Box 5, 51/844, and Tyers to Vic Col Sec, 22 Oct 1851 encl Macleod to Tyers, 8 Oct 1851, 51/1093, same location)
88 ibid: 46
89 ibid: 51
CHAPTER NINE
CHOOSING OUT

"With the dying of Captain Dana and with his black troopers scattered as the fallen leaves of the forest, a picturesque phase of Melbourne's Police life in the early pastoral days of Victoria passed away forever"¹.

The simple response fifty years later, to that romantic retrospective view, is that the men themselves may have scattered, but scarcely, on the evidence, like leaves, and certainly not solely because of Dana's death. They made a choice well before that event. They walked out with the same kind of deliberateness as they once enrolled, presumably with the same degree of self-interest. Their best interests as they perceived them lay elsewhere. The concern of this chapter is with the particular circumstances which, taken together, permit of some understanding of their action.

It is almost an arbitrary action to assign a definite date to the end of the Corps. One could perhaps point to the last entry in the Daybook at Nerre Nerre Warren, on 20 January 1853, and see one Trooper still acting as a policeman, still doing his duty, though sadly reduced in status by the writer of the record, a European of the Mounted Patrol: "A blackfellow arrived with his horse (police) to be turned out in the paddock"². One could point to the walkout of the troopers from guard duty at Pentridge in 1851, and say that was the beginning of the end; or point to the shooting of one officer by another also in 1851; or to the extraordinary revolution of the times consequent upon the discovery of gold in 1851, when no extant policing force in the Colony was sufficient to the task of maintaining order; or to the general reorganisation of policing forces begun early in 1851, even before the gold swamped it. Or one could work on the theory that what counts, in matters like this, is when the Government makes a decision; if so, then the explanatory abstract accompanying the estimates for 1852 might be said to mark the de facto end of the Corps: "This estimate also makes provision for an increase in the numbers of Officers and men of the Mounted Constabulary, and the better organisation of that body; at the same time it has appeared judicious to place the Native Police Corps upon a somewhat more limited and manageable footing, circumstances having lately rendered its increase or even maintenance in its present form, very difficult, if not inexpedient"³.

¹ Age 22 Feb 1930
² VPRS 90
³ Victoria, No 1, Explanatory Abstract, ordered to be printed 18 Nov 1851, Vic. Leg. Co. V&P 1851-2
Because it was never put on a regular footing legally, by sanction of the NSW legislature, the Native Police Corps could not have a formal legal termination date. LaTrobe tried in 1847 to transform the hitherto successful experiment into a formally-constituted force of Her Majesty's government, on the grounds that the men had liked the service, and were now aware of its advantages to themselves, but that Dana had no power to coerce them. It was a loose kind of engagement and discipline, maintained more by the judicious way in which the officers acted, than by any real power placed in their hands to compel obedience. In another letter at about the same time, he noted that the men were fully aware of the value to the government of their services. The Corps was not formally constituted though, then or subsequently.

An observant outsider in 1852 would have noticed that as the year progressed fewer Aboriginal troopers, and more and more European troopers were to be seen in the streets. An insider within the bureaucracy could have noticed that though Dana still commanded Aboriginal troopers through the first half of 1852, still called Nerre Nerre Warren his H.Q., still wrote his letters from the Native Police Office and was still addressed by LaTrobe as the Commandant of the Native Police, the situation altered about the middle of that year. By August 1852, clerks were filing his letters as coming from the Commandant of the Mounted Patrol, and by November 1852, LaTrobe was writing to him as the Commandant of the Mounted Patrol: the perceptive insider would have been witnessing the signs of the process of change of one institution into another, a transformation born out of the immediate pressing need of the time - the protection from bushrangers, of the roads from the diggings to Melbourne. It is odd really, to notice that the Corps which was formed originally in 1837 to deal with bushrangers and their anti-social activities, and dealt so successfully with them over the intervening years, foundered in 1852 just when its skills and experience were most needed.

In the course of the transition, LaTrobe recorded his views on Dana's statement that he had great difficulty in retaining any of his Aboriginal troopers, and with few exceptions, they were unwilling to serve. "My opinion is that the Native Police has served its time" LaTrobe wrote, "and that

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4 LaTrobe's suggestions for framing an Act for the formation of a Native Police, and his proposed regulations for its control are contained in LaTrobe to Col Sec, 7 Jul 1847, 47/5494 in AO of NSW 4/2782. The letter was sent to the then sitting NSW Leg. Co. Select Committee on Police (1847), but LaTrobe's proposals were not acceptable to the Committee who resolved thus - "The Committee believes this Corps has hitherto been found very useful in checking the aggression of the blacks...but entertain great doubts about the propriety or necessity of constituting it on a permanent footing or as a Police to be employed against the white population" (Vol 2: 3 of the Appendix to the report). This is the same argument as was later put forward by John P. Fawke in the later debate in the Victorian parliament (Argus 5 Dec 1851).

5 Dana to Col Sec, 19 Jun 1847, 47/5028 in AO of NSW 4/2782
it is vain to attempt to maintain it longer. A few natives attached to the Police Magistrates which may be established in the outer districts, may be all that we can now hope from them"6.

From the perspective of the present, the collapse of the Corps appears sudden: in mid 1850, Dana considered that its condition and strength, morale and discipline were never better7. In January of that year he had inherited from the Mounted Police their barracks at Richmond, with stables and eighteen horses8. Their departure from Port Phillip meant more work and greater responsibility for his own force, and at the end of 1850, he was expanding, with a proposal to establish a chain of outstations from the Broken river to the Glenelg, and from the Murray river to Gippsland, covering the new Colony with an umbrella of police protection, with each Bench of Magistrates having available to it, the services of a trained and active policeman and two Native Troopers; the estimates for 1851 included provision for ten officers and NCO's and sixty-nine troopers9. But by mid-1852, LaTrobe could say that the Corps had served its time.

Dana died in November 1852, but it was not his death which caused a collapse of the Corps, for it had been willed out of existence before then. In the winter of 1852, Dana himself gave two versions of the extinction of the Corps, one in answer to a direct question from the chairman of the Victorian Legislative Council Committee of Enquiry into the Police, in which he placed the blame on the government who had ordered the reduction of the force, which reduction caused the men to walk out in disgust10. In answer to a further question, he said that it was possible they left because they had not higher pay, but he did know that some of them quitted because none of the old hands were left, and they did not like the new hands that had joined. He knew that they had a great attachment to those they had long known, and who had behaved well towards them; then he said that some of his

6 Dana to Victorian Col Sec, 14 May 1852, VPRS 1189, Box 16, Folder 6, 52/1653
7 Dana to Victorian Col Sec, 29 Aug 1851, VPRS 19, Box 144, 51/68, half-yearly report 1 Jan- 30 Jun 1850
8 Mair to Vic Col Sec, 2 Jan 1850, VPRS 19, Box 130, 50/13 and Dana to Vic Col Sec, 11 Jan 1850, 50/103, same box
9 Dana to LaTrobe, 12 Dec 1850, VPRS 19, Box 143, 50/2304. The published version of this estimate is in NSW Leg Co V&P 1850, vol 2: 83
10 Question 507 from the Chairman "What was the cause of the Native Police quitting the service?". Dana's answer "The order for the reduction of the force. When it came down to thirty men, many of them got disgusted and walked out" - Vic.Leg.Co.V&P 1852-3. The Police historian Thomas O'Callaghan, who was himself a Chief Commissioner with access to old records wrote in 1921 that "In August 1851, the strength of the Corps was reduced by order of the Legislative Council to 43 men including Europeans, and in October of the same year to 1 Officer, 2 Sergeants and 9 natives" (Ms LLSL: 420). The problem is that the Victorian Legislative Council did not hold its inaugural sitting till November 1851. There is no mention of such an order in the Minutes of the Executive Council, nor in LaTrobe's Out Correspondence, nor in the Proceedings of the NSW Legislative Council for 1851. O'Callaghan, it seems to me, basically covered his story well, but got many of his facts wrong. The question seems to be was he working from a secondary source here, or did he have access to records no longer in the public record, as for example Dana's Journal of 1842, the original of which cannot be found now. Dana's signed Return of the Strength and Distribution of the Native Police of Nov 1851 lists 20 Native Troopers (VPRS 2878, Box 2, 51/777).
sergeants were at the diggings, and had three of four blacks working for them. There are three distinct reasons here to explain the walking out - disgust at Government policy, dislike of the new European staff in the force, and personal attachment to the NCO's who left, even to the extent of following them out.

He put matters somewhat differently in a written explanation to LaTrobe six months before that public testimony, "The Native Police Corps is at the present time in a very disorganized state, and it will take me at least three months before I can put it on that footing which is requisite to make it in any way effective. The cause of the disorganization arose principally from the reduction of the Corps in September last, the low rate of pay allowed the non-commissioned officers in comparison with that of other police forces; my continual absence on duty from Head Quarters\textsuperscript{11}, and the extraordinary revolution of the times which has followed the discovery of gold in this Colony, causing a loss to the Corps of one officer\textsuperscript{12}, and all the non-commissioned officers with the exception of one\textsuperscript{13}, men on whom I had greatly to depend, for the proper discipline and regulation of the Corps. The dissatisfaction openly shown by the Europeans and the hurried manner in which they left the service at the end of the year induced many of the oldest and best Troopers to become disaffected and leave also, and at the same time I had not the power or means of preventing them, for the example shown them by their own sergeants was such as would lead them to suppose they could do almost as they pleased"\textsuperscript{14}. In this explanation, Dana attributes the collapse to the bad example of the NCO's and the contagion of disenchantment caught by the Troopers from them.

**A Scandal in the family**

In mentioning only his NCO's, Dana was less than frank and forthright. He might also have said that at a time when he needed all the collective experience and strength of his unit, it was convulsed by a great scandal which resulted in the replacement of both its officers by inexperienced men to whom the Aboriginal troopers were not bonded in loyalty and affection. William Walsh who was Henry Dana's brother-in-law, shot William Dana who was Henry's brother, on the parade ground at H.Q. in the evening of 13 January 1851. It was all too much for the recorder of the station, for the next week is blank in the Daybook. At the trial in mid-March, it appeared that there was no real reason

\textsuperscript{11} At the goldfields
\textsuperscript{12} Charles Lydiard, one of two recent recruits, replacements for William Dana shot, and William Walsh in gaol
\textsuperscript{13} The one NCO left was Sergeant O'Brien who was ill at this time, and died a few months later. Even the bullock-driver Richard Bourke, and the tailor William Tobin resigned. It must have appeared to Dana as a catastrophe.
\textsuperscript{14} Dana to Victorian Col Sec, YPRS 1189, Box 16, Folder 6, 32/605
for such an action, though Walsh had spent some time that day with his wife at an inn at South Yarra, the clear inference being that he was drunk. Garryowen who reported the trial, attributed the shooting to undue gallantry and attention towards Mrs Walsh on the part of William Dana, which William Walsh resented. As Garryowen saw it, it was a celebrated case of jealousy. Walsh was sentenced to seven years hard labour.

A different story emerges though from a petition for clemency sent subsequently to LaTrobe: the signatories were Walsh, his mother Mary-Anne, and his wife Isabella. In the petition, they made the following claims: "That previously to the month of January last, it was currently reported that an improper intimacy existed between the said William Dana and Sophia, the wife of the said Henry Dana and sister of your petitioner William Hamilton Walsh...that on this report reaching the ears of (Walsh) he immediately informed Henry Dana and demanded of him whether there was any foundation for so foul a scandal being disseminated respecting his wife and your petitioner's sister...that Henry Dana scouted the idea and appeared to be so confident of the chastity of his wife that the apprehensions of your petitioner were quieted for a time...that immediately preceding the tenth of January last, the same report again reached your petitioner...in such a form and from such a source as to admit of little doubt in his mind that it was too true"15.

The petitioners argued that Walsh's action was either justifiable moral outrage or insanity. Lonsdale sent the petition to a'Beckett for a legal opinion (with a note to the effect that it was such a sensitive matter that the petition should not pass out of a'Beckett's hands), and a'Beckett opined that the two defenses - justifiable moral outrage and insanity - were mutually exclusive, that one or other could be true, but not both; he advised rejecting the petition, which LaTrobe did with regrets. Walsh stayed in the Melbourne gaol for ten months, being examined weekly by the Colonial Surgeon for his apoplectic condition which he claimed was a consequence of injuries received during an encounter with Aborigines on duty in the Murray district. He was removed to Pentridge shortly after the Native Police Corps were relieved of the duty of guarding the prisoners16. The petition for clemency was considered and rejected by the Executive Council in January 1852 and again in March. In April Walsh was informed that he might look to remission of his sentence after two years from the date of his conviction, if his conduct was satisfactory. But in June 1852 Council decided that in view of the imminent danger to which his life would be be exposed by protracted imprisonment, he should

15 Petition of William Hamilton Walsh and Others, 51/104, enc with 51/1287 in VPRS 1189, Box 4.
16 Col Sec to Superintendent Pentridge Stockade, 5 Nov 1851, VPRS 3219, vol 4:16
receive remission of his sentence as soon as his friends made the requisite arrangements for his maintenance and support\textsuperscript{17}.

The immediate effect on morale and discipline of the troopers can only be imagined. The claims of the petitioners may well have been true. According to a family friend, Henry Dana's brother William and sister Charlotte de Crespigny would not permit his wife Sophia to see him when he lay dying\textsuperscript{18}. Henry's will favoured his children, leaving virtually nothing to his widow, only a property at Williamstown which he had settled upon her at the time of the marriage. After Henry Dana's death, the executors of his will\textsuperscript{19} treated the widow badly in William Dana's opinion. He visited Sophia and the children in 1854, to find them literally starving, without food, money or credit; he arranged for all three, then wrote the following "I do not intend to defend her conduct as regards her one peculiar failing, far from it, but it does not justify the means by which the remedy is to be applied"\textsuperscript{20}. Sophia's one peculiar failing is not explained\textsuperscript{21}, but it was sufficient for the executors to want to take her children away from her\textsuperscript{22}. In spite of being unable to condone her peculiar failing, William Dana married her eventually, in the Wesleyan Church in Launceston on 21 November 1856\textsuperscript{23}, but she died in 1860. He married again in the Lutheran Church in Melbourne on 15 Aug 1866, a Bohemian born widow, twenty-seven year old Antoinette Bessarat, daughter of a Professor of Mathematics\textsuperscript{24}. He died a few months later.

If the claims were true, there can be no doubt that the troopers would know of them; wherever the phrase "reliable information" appears in Native Police records, it probably comes from the troopers. What they made of it though is problematic. The evidence relating to their attachment to

\textsuperscript{17} Minutes of the Executive Council, 1 Sep 1851, 5 Jan, 17 Mar, 29 Mar, 6 Apr, 14 Jun 1852, \textit{VPRS} 1080, unit 1
\textsuperscript{18} Trevor Winter to Samuel Pratt Winter, 10 Jul 1853, Winter-Cooke Papers, LsSL.
\textsuperscript{19} The will was dated 21 Nov 1852, three days before he died; the executors were F.A.Powlett, E.P.S.Sturt and Phillip Champion de Crespigny who was Dana's brother-in-law, married to his sister Charlotte, recently arrived in Victoria; Dana got him a job as a Gold Commissioner (\textit{VPRS} 523, Reel 1, vol 3, Mar 53-May 55, and \textit{VPRS} 28, Series 1, no 29, filed 29 Apr 1853)
\textsuperscript{20} W.A.P.Dana to Samuel Pratt Winter, from Kilmore Police Station, 16 Dec 1854, Winter-Cooke Papers, Box 1, env 3, no 25, LsSL.
\textsuperscript{21} As far back as 17 Jun 1845, William Dana had been bound over to keep the peace as a result of a threat he made to Patrick Madden, hired with his wife as private servants of the Danas at their quarters at NNW. William Dana quarrelled with Patrick Madden and threatened to blow his brains out. The explanation given in court was thus: "It appeared that some unpleasantness had arisen in the family of Captain Dana, and that his brother suspected that Madden was concerned in certain rumours" (\textit{Port Phillip Herald}, 17 Jun 1845)
\textsuperscript{22} W.A.P. Dana to Trevor Winter, op cit
\textsuperscript{23} RGD 670/1856 and Marriage Licence NS 499/106: 106, AO of Tasmania
\textsuperscript{24} Office of the Government Statist, Melbourne
their officers is so strong that it is easy to deduce that they would miss them when gone, in exactly the same manner as they missed their NCO's, but it offers no clue as to whether they would take sides in a case such as the shooting of one officer by another.

The men chosen to replace Walsh who was dismissed and in gaol, and William Dana who was granted sick leave on half-pay to go to England, do not sound as if they could command anyone's affection and respect. Trevor Winter, younger brother of Samuel Pratt Winter, who was Henry Dana's old and dear friend, obtained the job as replacement on half-pay for William Dana. A poor choice, a failed squatter who drank, he was appointed on 24 May 1851 and dismissed on 10 Nov the same year, for an unrecorded reason. Charles Lydiard arrived at H.Q. to fill Walsh's vacancy in March 1851, saw service at Pentridge, established what was intended to be a permanent Native Police station at the Goulburn for ordinary policing work in June, was recalled with his men to help at the goldfields, appointed an Assistant Commissioner for the goldfields at Mt Alexander on 30 Oct 1851, and a full Commissioner on 28 Nov 1851. Well-recommended, ambitious and career-orientated, he was spoken well of by the police historian Sadleir, but he was scarcely in the Corps long enough to command affection and respect from the men. Thomas Langley was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by Trevor Winter's dismissal. Langley was a young gentleman, a recent arrival in the colony in March 1852, whom Dana thought might be "of some use to the Department"; he appears in the records only as a man who engaged in protracted correspondence with the authorities regarding his pay and allowances. Sadleir, who knew him later, described him as vain and silly. Vanity of itself would not have been a barrier to commanding Aboriginal admiration; in general, Aboriginal Police liked and enjoyed stylish dressing; Dana himself dressed in an exaggerated style, and was "a

25 Tyers gives a good outsider's analysis of the process of attachment: he said the success of the Corps depended on Dana's kind but fair discipline, which humoured their "prejudices" (for prejudices, read cultural values and practices); this policy resulted in obedience and implicit confidence in their officers, and were they to be placed under any other kind of routine, involving rigidity, the result would be discontent and desertion (Tyers to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 68, 45/234). Dana wrote that in 1848, when Walsh's health was bad, and he was unable to pay proper attention to his men, not only did they not disobey him, but on the contrary, attended more strictly to his orders to avoid giving him trouble (Dana to LaTrobe, 13 Dec 1848, 48/14378 in AO of NSW 4/2875). From the perspective of the present, such an observation appears paternalistic, but there is no reason to doubt its accuracy.

26 Appointment of Trevor Winter - Dana to Victorian Col Sec, 2 Sep 1851, VPRS 19, Box 144, 51/69; dismissal - Victorian Col Sec to Trevor Winter, 10 Nov 1851, VPRS 3219, vol 1: 43

27 VPRS 90; Lydiard to LaTrobe, 22 Mar 1851, and Dana to LaTrobe, 11 Apr 1851, both at VPRS 19, Box 147, 51/690.

28 Vic Leg Co V&P 1851-2, "Return respecting the Goldfields", laid on the table 18 Dec 1851, pp 8, 12

29 Dana to Vic Col Sec, 11 Mar 1852, VPRS 1189, Box 16, Folder 6, 52/869

30 Sadleir, J. "Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer", Robertson and Co, Melbourne, 1913: 50
tremendous swell"\textsuperscript{31}. But if like Sadleir, the men saw Langley as silly, it is hardly likely that they could respect him.

Few law-enforcing or peace-keeping institutions could survive the loss of the whole of their experienced officer Corps at the beginning of a year, followed by almost the whole of their NCO's at the end of the same year; it is even more unlikely that an institution such as this could survive, in which discipline and morale were based on personal affective bonds, where leadership and control were exercised and accepted through cross-cultural sensitivity (described by outsiders as a "peculiarity").

The shooting in early 1851, and the aftermath of the trial, then the search for replacement officers must be viewed as a great stress to the Corps. Coincidentally at this time, the men were responsible for a duty for which they had no liking - guard duty at the Pentridge Stockade.

Guard Duty at the Pentridge Stockade

Pentridge too, was a part of the re-organisation of the machinery of government following glorious separation. While the Port Phillip District was administered from Sydney, its recidivists sentenced to hard labour were sent to Cockatoo Island in Sydney harbour. When Victoria became a Colony, these men were destined to be sent back\textsuperscript{32}, and from then on, any of their kind had to serve their sentences in Victoria. LaTrobe started to build the Stockade in February 1850, in anticipation of this, and it was opened on 5 December 1850\textsuperscript{33}: the rationale for the location was the availability of basalt to be broken up by labour gangs\textsuperscript{34}, and the necessity to improve the main road to Sydney which was impassable in winter. He situated the labour force next to both the raw material and the job: the guards too, lived in.

A detachment of the Native Police arrived at Pentridge a good ten days before it was due to open, probably to construct their own quarters: the Commandant, Corporal Cowan, and Troopers Tallboy, Moonering, Muggins, Lankey, Charlie, Beerack and Andrew comprised the party\textsuperscript{35}. Pentridge remained one of the responsibilities of the Corps for eight months until 21 August

\textsuperscript{31} Candler-Standish Diary "Notes on Melbourne Life", n.d. : 29, Ms 9502, LaSL

\textsuperscript{32} Barrow to LaTrobe, 2 Jan 1851 - VPRS 19, Box 144, 51/21: Enclosed are the particulars and recent case histories while at Cockatoo Island, of twenty-six prisoners.

\textsuperscript{33} The Argus 6 Dec 1850 described the guarded procession of sixteen prisoners, dressed in white slop clothes, with P.G.R. (Pentridge Road Gang) printed on the backs of the legs of their trousers, from the Melbourne gaol to the Stockade.

\textsuperscript{34} Col Sec to LaTrobe, 19 Apr 1850, approving of men sentenced to hard labour being used to form roads, VPRS 19, Box 134, 50/720

\textsuperscript{35} VPRS 90, 25 Nov 1850
1851\textsuperscript{36}, but the men themselves were rotated at irregular intervals, the longest period without relief being three months. The duties of the men were two-fold - sentry duty around the clock at the Stockade itself, relieved at three hour intervals, plus mounted, armed supervision of the road-gangs outside Pentridge in the Coburg area\textsuperscript{37}. In addition, when the alarm was sounded, every man on or off duty was obliged to turn out.

As happened with Tyers in Gippsland, there was a problem about control of the detachment. The Superintendent of the Stockade, Samuel Barrow\textsuperscript{38}, very much preferred to have nothing whatever to do with the Native Police Force, but wanted to know what he was to do in the event of any irregularity, neglect of duty or other improper conduct. LaTrobe was firm - the Superintendent of Prisoners should not have the power of interfering with internal arrangements of the Native Police, that they could not have two distinct commanding officers\textsuperscript{39}. That there was some degree of friction or rivalry can be suspected from minutaee such as Barrow's complaint to LaTrobe that Dana would not let him have the loan of a Native Police horse whenever he wanted it\textsuperscript{40}, and Barrow's subsequent request for payment of forage for the horse he used: he could not see why the Native Police officers got a forage allowance while he did not\textsuperscript{41}. Barrow found reason to complain at the misconduct of Sergeant Pearson of the Native Police who set Barrow's authority at "utter defiance"\textsuperscript{42}. Pearson refused to give a carter a bucket of water, and turned a carter's horse out of the stables at Pentridge, and when challenged by Barrow, said that he would turn any horse he liked out of the stable... that he was master of the stable. It transpired that Barrow was indebted to local residents for the loan of their carts to transport the road metal, and in return, he had more or less given them permission to put their horses in vacant stalls in the stable. Pearson though, would have no foreign horse in his Native Police stable. E.P.S. Sturt, the Visiting Magistrate to the Stockade enquired into the matter and Pearson was reduced in rank for a month, and fined eight shillings and sixpence for his insolence.

\textsuperscript{36}"Return of Pentridge Stockade 5 Dec 1850 - 30 Nov 1851", \textit{Vic Leg Co Y&P 1851-2}

\textsuperscript{37} "Native Police Regulations for Pentridge Stockade", Dana to LaTrobe, 20 Dec 1850, \textit{VPRS 19}, Box 144, 51/100. A contemporary account of the foundation of Pentridge, and the early events is to be found in Broome, R. \textit{History of Coburg}, (in press); in addition there are one published book, Prout, D. and Feely, F. \textit{Fifty Years Hard}, and several articles in the journal \textit{The Bridge}, by Norden, P. and Armstrong, J. (see Bibliography). The following section in this work focuses on the terms of living and the actions of the Aboriginal Police only.

\textsuperscript{38} A tough man, with previous experience at Norfolk Island

\textsuperscript{39} A series of notes pencilled in margin of "Native Police Regulations for Pentridge Stockade", op.cit.

\textsuperscript{40} Barrow to LaTrobe, 14 Feb 1851, \textit{VPRS 19}, Box 145, 51/400

\textsuperscript{41} Barrow to La Trobe, 11 Aug 1851, \textit{VPRS 189}, 1851/357

\textsuperscript{42} Barrow to La Trobe, 10 Apr 1851, \textit{VPRS 19}, Box 147, 51/699
It is hard to imagine that they would have liked this particular work. Nothing in their own cultural system would have resonated with the role of guards of persons whose liberty was curtailed, or guards of people forced to do hard manual labour (unlike for example the role of despatch rider which corresponded with the high status role of messenger in tradional society). There is however, no negative comment recorded on the performance of their duties by the Aboriginal troopers themselves; on the contrary, there is both specific praise made by Barrow, and general praise of Native mounted police and European foot constables alike, in various reports of attempted escapes. It looks as though the men went on doing their job till they made a decision to desert, then simply walked out.

There were four successful escapes from custody at the Stockade while the Native Police were there, along with a few attempts which did not come off. Two of them are interesting for the part played by the Native Police. The first of these occurred on Thursday 26 March 1851. Overseer James Barfoot had two detached parties working outside Pentridge, sixteen prisoners under the supervision of Constable Thomas Price working in a paddock, and four men under the supervision of a sub-constable working 500 yards away on the Sydney road; Native Police Trooper Jack, mounted and armed, guarded both parties. Between three and four o'clock, a settler named John Davidson distracted Price's attention (objecting to the convicts doing their work the easy way by taking stones from his fence instead of out of the ground), and while Price's back was turned, prisoner John Rich knocked him down, held him to the ground by sitting on him, and took his piece. Rich fired immediately at Trooper Jack, about twenty yards away but missed. Jack fired back, (his carbine loaded with powder and a leaden bullet) but he too missed. Overseer Barfoot, who was absent from the scene on private business, heard the shots, raced back to Pentridge to call out the rest of the Native Police, and returned to the scene to find six prisoners still working under the supervision of Native Trooper Jack, and the rest gone. Barrow sent a message to LaTrobe, who was apparently not in his

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43 With possibly one exception, a comment by Barrow that it was "greatly to be regretted" that a Native Trooper "missed his shot" firing at an escaping prisoner on 1 Apr 1851, because if the trooper had hit the escapee, "it would have been an example" (Barrow to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 149, 51/649 enc with 51/928)

44 "Return of escapes..." in Vic Leg Co V&P 1851-2; Barrow to LaTrobe, 19 May 1851, VPRS 19, Box 149, 51/928 enc six earlier letters on same subject.

45 Broome says that that very night, Barrow successfully requested that his men be armed with double-barrelled guns for better security (1985, Ch 5: 11). Trooper Jack's action is particularly interesting in that it is the first recorded instance of firing to prevent an escape. After an unsuccessful attempt on the 5 Mar, non-violent, foiled by the firmness and steadiness of the overseers (E.F.S.Sturt to LaTrobe, 10 Mar 1851, VPRS 19, Box 146, 51/554), Barrow enquired urgently of LaTrobe whether a sentry may fire at a prisoner escaping, or whether the escape had to have been completed before firing was permitted. The Crown Prosecutor gave his opinion that a sentry may fire at a prisoner "actually attempting" (Sheriff to LaTrobe, 6 Mar 1851, and Crown Prosecutor to LaTrobe 10 Mar 1851, VPRS 19, Box 146, 51/544 and 51/517)
My Dear Beer

In the course of obtaining explanation? the route taken by the prisoners, I sketched inadvertently the plan of the road, by way of explaining it to the Native Reporter. I have taken every precaution to tell you as accurately from memory.

E.P. S. Sturt

F. D. Laverton
office, for it was passed on by Edward Bell his private secretary, to the Police Commissioner Sturt. Sturt went straight out to Pentridge, obtained from the Native Police a diagrammatic description of the events and organised the search. So rapidly did the official actions follow one upon the other, that Sturt actually used the back of Barrow's letter to La Trobe to draw his sketch, an inadvertent desecration for which he felt compelled to offer Bell a small apology. The detachment of Native Police rounded up and brought back some of the escapees, but a small number got away. Trooper Bushby Jamieson, the "boy from Tarcomb", patrolling in the Kyle's paddock west of the Sydney road, rounded up eleven. John Rich was apprehended, charged with shooting an Aboriginal native name Jack, but found not guilty at his trial before Judge a'Beckett on 16 April 1851.

At Nerre Nerre Warren, the escape caused a flurry of activity. The Commandant and a detachment of nine left next day to capture the escapees: six men patrolled the south side of the Yarra; the Sergeant-Major and the tailor patrolled the road from the South Yarra pound to Dandenong; Troopers von Beverout and Andrew rode for the Bunya Bunyip at Westernport. The patrolling continued for six days, but if any were caught, it was not recorded.

The other escape in which the Native Police featured prominently was that of 29 August 1851, when twenty men of No 2 gang, composed of the worst characters, escaped from work on the road, and in the attempt, one prisoner was shot dead, and one wounded. Seven of the eleven who got away were rounded up by the Native Police within the hour. An inquest was held on the dead man, during the course of which considerable anxiety was shown about the identity of the constable who fired the shot. Barrow vehemently defended the actions of his guards and refused to be drawn. It could have been any of the four stockade constables or the two mounted Aboriginal troopers, all of whom were armed with double-barrelled percussion fowling pieces. The *Argus* ran an indignant leader, criticising the complacent coroner, the malleable jury, and for good measure, the whole system of convict discipline. It might have been one of the Aboriginal troopers who fired the fatal shot. The fatality at the hands of an Aboriginal policeman just might have been the event behind J.P. Fawkner's objection to the Corps expressed in the debate in the Victorian Legislative Council two months later.

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46 Eyewitness account in Daley, Charles "Reminiscences from 1841 of William Kyle, a Pioneer", in *VHM*, vol x, no 4, Dec 1925: 208
47 Criminal Trial Briefs *VPRS* 30, Box 196, NCR 583
48 *VPRS* 90, 27 Mar - 1 Apr 1851
49 *Argus*, 30 Aug, 1 Sep, 2 Sep, 3 Sep 1851
the men of the Corps just might have been acting a little too equally with Europeans for the comfort of some.

This is the last recorded activity at Pentridge, and it was probably managed by a very small number of men, as most had deserted a month or so earlier. Troopers Bushby Jamieson and Sam deserted on 18 July, and seven more cleared off two nights later. Dana was mortified. It was "a great disgrace" to the Corps, he acknowledged, but nevertheless understandable: "I have long been of the opinion that the duties required to be performed by the Native Troopers on the establishment, have been more than their constitutions could bear, as they are unable to stand the cold and wet nights, and the constant duty required on a penal establishment". His theory as to the constitutional strength of his men may or may not have been accurate: what is noteworthy is his degree of relativisation. He expected his men to ride in the rain, when duty called, but not in the normal course of events to work in the rain. This was a particularly wet Winter, with many days described in the Daybook at H.Q. as "Wet day, no work". Those on duty at Pentridge may well have felt that they had the rough end of the stick. Nor would they be likely, as encultured Aboriginal men, to like night duty, let alone duty on a three hours on three hours off schedule. After this spate of desertions, the men were relieved of their responsibilities for guard duty at night. The wonder is that they stood it for so long. They were formally relieved for good of their responsibility for Pentridge on 10 Oct 1851, on which date the 11th Regiment was given the task. Of the nine Aboriginal troopers who deserted in July, two at least came back, Marmbool and Blackie, but who else and how many is lost, because the Daybook was not written up, it being one of the first casualties of the gold fever.

Establishing order on the goldfields

Goldfield duty was by no means a novelty to the men of the Corps: it was the Native Police whom LaTrobe sent to Daisy Hill in the Pyrenees back in 1849, to guard the "mines". CCL Powlett, one sergeant and eight troopers were sent to "take possession" in early February, and the Sergeant and men remained till the end of March 1849, though there were no miners, no water, no

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50 Dana to LaTrobe, 23 Jul 1851, VPRS 19, Box 144, 51/183
51 Even the prisoners at Pentridge went on strike on 18 August, saying they would not work in the rain (Argus, 19 Aug 1851).
52 VPRS 3219, vol 4, 51/26, page 11
53 They returned to H.Q. on 3 Sep 1851
54 Daisy Hill was the name of an ostation of Messers Hall and McNeil, about ten miles west of the Deep Creek, which was a branch of the Loddon River. This is the location of the Chapman/Duchene/Brentani find.
feed for the horses and the men were in rags. CCL Powlett said that immediately after the police arrived, all the people left.

They were involved again in July 1851, before the news became public that the Hiscocks had struck it lucky at Boninyong: Dana and the Sergeant-Major spent the period from 24 July - 10 August with Commissioner Wright and Mr David Armstrong at the goldmines at Clunes in the Pyrenees, leaving Trooper Joe stationed there on guard when they returned to Melbourne. When men rushed to Boninyong in late August, it was this Corps on whom LaTrobe relied in his struggle to establish order: they were all he had at the beginning.

They have had a bad press, and from the surviving evidence, it is quite difficult to understand why; it might be guilt by association. There is more iconographic evidence than written, depicting the men themselves standing around, armed and looking splendid. William Strutt who sketched them, saw them as "fine fellows...at first the only mounted police... performed all the police duty at the Ballarat diggings." Another early historian of the goldrushes, Adcock, relates the experience of one man who was caught without a licence, taken to the Commissioner's Camp and "guarded by eight or nine black troopers, who, in their uniform and polished boots, looked as proud as possible." Yet again, as out in the field, at Pentridge, and on public ceremonial duty, their presence represented the authority of the Government. Like so much routine policing duty even today, it is being there that counts. They were available and ready to intervene in the event of disorder; they accompanied the Commissioners on their rounds, but mostly they did nothing. Contemporary drawings show them at their own camp practising sword-fighting; at the Commissioner's Camp mounted, laughing; present at the smashing of a barrel of liquor (itself enough to attract opprobrium); at a miner's meeting standing at the edge of the crowd, arms folded, watching; then there is Strutt's

55 Dana report, 1 Jul 1849 - 29 Apr 1849, VPRS 19, Box 119, 49/827, and Sergeant McLelland to Dana, 17 Mar 1849, VPRS 4466, Box 1/5
56 Powlett to LaTrobe, 22 Feb 1849, 49/12, VPRS 103: 24
57 Armstrong to LaTrobe, 30 Jul 1851, 51/203, and Dana to LaTrobe, 11 Sep 1851, 51/368, both in VPRS 2878, Box 1. John Wood Bellby asserted that a rush did not develop at that time to Clunes and Navarre then because, co-incidentally, the news broke regarding Ballarat. He quoted Dana's report that his troopers picked gold up from the ground everywhere they looked (Flett, J. 1970: 441).
58 VPRS 90
60 Adcock, W.E., The Gold Rushes of the Fifties, Cole, Melbourne, 1912: 28. The Native Police must surely have been some of the few men on the goldfields to have polished boots.
61 The author of Trooper Police of Australia, A.L. Haydon, was told by a police officer early this century that "Out back there, the police are in absolute fact, the government" (1911: 244). It was the same fifty years earlier on the goldfields.
famous picture of two black troopers, mounted, escorting a walking manacled prisoner; there are no action pictures.

There were three separate rushes in the closing months of 1851 - to Buninyong/Ballarat in August, to Mt Alexander in September, and to Bendigo in October. Dana and his men were involved in all three in varying ways.62

Dana and a detachment of his police accompanied Commissioner Doveton and David Armstrong, Doveton's assistant, to Boninyong, arriving at the goldfield on Friday afternoon 20 September 1851.63 They inspected two digging areas that afternoon, and the following morning rode to the Ballarat field proper. Here, they explained to the diggers the Government's decision on licensing fees, and to judge from the immediate and angry response, this may well have been the first the men knew of it. A public meeting was held immediately, on the spot, and afterwards, when the first men to accept the inevitable moved to pay their licence fee, they were struck and pelted by "the mob" as Dana called them. Had it not been for the presence of his troopers, he reported, those diggers would have been seriously injured. After the people had cooled a little, the "respectable" men came to the tent to apply for licences, and by two o'clock, they had issued eighty-eight.64 The Government had set the licence fee at thirty shillings a month, payable from 1 September, but Doveton, having established for himself that most of the diggers were in a position to pay, halved it for September as there was only a little over a week left in the month.65 As many of the diggers had been working since immediately after the news of gold broke in Geelong on 10 August, it seems a fairly liberal decision. Some men though were outraged, in particular the two correspondents of the Geelong newspaper whose presence Dana noted at the indigination meeting the day after the authorities arrived. From their

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62 The response to gold of Aborigines in general (not just the Troopers), has not been investigated. Their actions appear as aside in early accounts: the Ballarat tribe were involved (Withers, W.B. pp 8-10)
63 Bate, W. described Armstrong as over-conscientious, often unjust, usually provocative and always unpopular (1978: 23) However, he had been to California, and he knew how to weigh gold, which was a matter of some importance. An indication of how much these men had to do in establishing order where none had existed is to be found in Sturt's plaintive letter of 6 Oct; he had forwarded approximately 1400 ounces of gold he wrote, and the scales too, as no one knew whether they were calibrated in avoirdupois or troy ounces, and even when dealing with an ounce of gold, it made a considerable difference (VPRS 2878, Box 2, 51/521). Doveton's attitude is illustrated by the following: "I am not come to make the law, but to administer it, and if you don't pay the licence fee I'll damn soon make you pay it" (Withers, W.B. 1980: 35).
64 Dana to Vic Col Sec, 22 Sep 1851, VPRS 2878, Box 1, 51/417
65 Itself a foolish and premature decision according to Serle, G. "The Golden Age", MUP, 1963: 20
66 Doveton to Vic Col Sec, 22 Sep 1851, VPRS 2878, Box 1, 51/418
published reports in the *Geelong Advertiser*, reprinted by arrangement in the *Argus*, most of our popular understanding of the goldfields is derived\(^{67}\).

After the initial protective action by the Native Police of the men who chose to pay the fee and be done with it, Dana and Doveton made the situation worse by continuing to issue licences on the Sunday. It is really ironical that this man, who never worked his men on a Sunday, took Church parade and prayers every Sunday of his life when at H.Q., should be censured because he launched into an immediate and pressing administrative task, in the interests of the diggers, on a Sunday. Dana in particular incurred the wrath of the newspaper correspondent; he was accused of “throwing out words like ‘irons’, and calling them ‘blackguards’”, and the diggers were “disgusted”\(^{68}\). Later, he was accused of partiality, gross injustice, irregularity, threats of intimidation and perversion of the wording of the original licence\(^{69}\). The troopers are not mentioned in any of this.

Dana made another mistake in relation to a request for the services of his police as escorts for gold being taken to Melbourne - he said he would see them dammed before he would give an escort to such fellows\(^{70}\). This kind of response was quite in line with both his character and experience; he was no democrat. But escorting these common and vulgar fellows, no matter how distasteful to him, was a far different matter to escorting private citizens to Gippsland, a job he had successfully rejected years earlier, on the grounds that it was not the proper function of his police. The hard fact was that these men had tens of thousands of ounces of gold in Boninyong in September 1851, and it had to be got to Melbourne safely. Not only did the diggers possess large amounts, so did the Government officials, as most men paid their licence fees in washed gold. Dana lost this one, and Lydiard and a detachment of Native Police escorted the first pack-horse conveys of gold to Melbourne, two in the first week, till the task became so large that a formal Gold Escort was established\(^{71}\). It was said later by one of the officers who served with the escort, N.A. Fenwick, that

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\(^{67}\) Our knowledge and understanding relate mainly to the diggers, there being little interest in or sympathy for the Government's officers. Yet one early report from the Commissioner mentions that he and Dana issued licenses all day then stayed up half the night hand-copying more for the next day, having run out of printed forms. Short-temper under these conditions is understandable.

\(^{68}\) *Argus* 29 Sep 1851

\(^{69}\) *Argus* 8 Oct 1851.

\(^{70}\) *Argus* 1 Oct 1851

\(^{71}\) The first escort arrived in Geelong on route to Melbourne on 28 Sep 1851 (Mackaness, G. (ed) *Murray's Guide to the Gold Diggings*: 33). For the story of the gold escort, see Blake, L.J. "Gold Escort", Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1971; also *VHM* vol 41, no 1, Feb 1960
the Native Police were useful, but that he could not keep them sober - not surprising testimony, given what is known about their personal loyalty to their own officers.\(^{72}\)

Dana went further - he knocked down with the butt of his whip "a defenceless boy" named Thomas - for what reason was unstated. It is here I fancy, that the reputation of the Aboriginal troopers themselves became enmeshed with Dana's propensity to intemperance in word and gesture. (Strong plain language was the order of the day in any case; even Latrobe's despatches from this period to the Secretary of State forsake the usual formal language of administration in favour of strong, almost desperate, speaking). The reporter who complained that Dana knocked down young Thomas went on to make the following extraordinary statement, "A repetition of the like of which will render it a matter of necessity to place him under the surveillance of his own Satanic Battalion of Black Guards - a suitable troop for such a Commander."\(^{73}\) In the absence of any evidence of the actions of the Aboriginal troopers at this place, at this time, except protecting some diggers from the actions of others, maybe such an extravagant description, "Satanic Battalion", is best attributed to sheer racial prejudice.

Dana and the Sergeant-Major returned to Nerre Nerrewarren on 14 October, leaving some of his troopers under the orders of Police Magistrate William Mair. Predictably, they did not like seconded duty away from their own officers and friends, and four deserted - Sambo and Jack from Ballarat, and Isaac and Oliver from Boninyong, all within a fortnight.\(^{74}\) If Mair had not changed his attitudes since 1849, when he objected so strenuously to the pollution of his Mounted Police (Army) paddock by the Native Police camping in it, then the Aboriginal men would not be likely to enjoy serving under him. Strutt visited the Ballarat diggings in February 1852 and noted the dates on which he made his various sketches of the troopers.

When the rush began to Mt Alexander, it was Dana and the Native Police again who were sent to make the first show of the Government's authority, arriving in the third week of October. It was here that the Corps lost the services of Charles Lydiard who was appointed Assistant CCL on 30 October. It was probably a more congenial field for the men themselves, in that rather than having Mair as the overall responsible person, they had Powlett whom they knew well, and Lydiard and Sturt, Dana's friend. Their duty here was the same as that at Ballarat - to provide a show of the

\(^{72}\) "Report of Select Committee on Police", \textit{Vic Leg Co V&P} 1852-3

\(^{73}\) \textit{Argus} 1 Oct 1851

\(^{74}\) \textit{Vic Col Sec to Dana}, 30 Oct 1851, \textit{VPRS} 3219, vol 1: 40
Alexander goldfield, which according to his journal, Strutt did not visit. No doubt, though, it made a good story at the time.

It was at Castlemaine while on duty at the goldfield that Trooper William misjudged that fine line that exists for all men between seduction and rape. He was asked at least twice in the course of legal proceedings to give his version of events, but he said he had no statement to make. Even so, the circumstantial evidence and the subsequent actions of the jury which convicted him, once they heard evidence not presented in court, make it seem very doubtful that Trooper William was properly convicted of statutory rape.

He was arrested on 24 July 1852 following a complaint made by Ellen Fleming mother of the girl involved. The incident happened on the property Strathloddon, on the Lodden river, owned by William Cambell. A young man named Andrew Fleming was cook to Mr Campbell at the head station, and his mother Ellen and thirteen year old sister Mary Anne lived at the outstation two miles from the main house. It is not stated in what capacity the females worked. Andrew Fleming gave evidence that he was in his kitchen on a Saturday morning with his young sister when Trooper William of the Native Police came in wanting some horses. Trooper William sat down in the kitchen and stayed a while. When Mary Anne Fleming left, Trooper William followed. Ellen Fleming testified that when her daughter arrived back at the outstation, she said she had been assaulted by a blackfellow. Her mother examined Mary-Anne, finding several bruises and blood on her chemise. Mary Anne, when examined by the two Justices of the Peace had little to say for herself, beyond the statement that she remained for some time on the ground "stupid". The arresting Sergeant of Police, Charles Hadley, testified that Trooper William had no blood on his clothes when arrested, and had had no opportunity to wash. The Colonial Surgeon examined Mary Anne and could not find sufficient marks of violence to enable him to state that she had been violated. He noted that she was not a virgin. At his trial in the Supreme Court in Melbourne a month later, Trooper William was found guilty and sentenced to five years on the roads. Assistant Protector Thomas believed that he was an innocent man, and so did LaTrobe. Thomas wrote that William had been known in the neighbourhood of Melbourne since he was a child of eight; that he was highly respected by every officer of the Native Police from the Commandant down; these officers assured Thomas that he must be innocent. The conviction rested on the evidence of the girl subsequently discovered to be "of a most objectionable character". Thomas got

77Thomas' account is in Bride, T.F. 1983: 413, and LaTrobe in Returns... 1854: 33, Ms H 6972, Lt SL. In this return there is a note "Guilt very doubtful".
up a petition for clemency which was signed by all members of the jury except two who had left for
the diggings, and more than one of them told him that had they known an hour before the trial what
they knew an hour after, then a verdict quite the reverse would have been given. Probably out of
agreement with this view, he was given privileged treatment at Pentridge, serving his sentence as
personal servant to the family in the Superintendent's house. The hard labour part of the sentence was
overlooked, and continuing efforts were made by Europeans to secure his release. It does look to have
been a miscarriage of justice.

Trooper William might have been a victim of the European stereotype of the savage
acting savagely. He dared to cross a social boundary which was clearly defined by Europeans in that
place at that time. The concubinage of black women by Europeans was not uncommon, but the reverse
was unknown - the mere thought of it produced the extravagance of the search in Gippsland for the
alleged white woman. Perhaps it was the subsequent recognition of this that impelled Mary Anne to re-
write the event in her head and cry rape, or possibly it was her mother who was attuned to social
reality (it is reasonable to deduce that the event of sexual intercourse took place). It is immensely
interesting that he even considered crossing this social boundary; it speaks much for his confidence
and assuredness, and it is reminiscent of Thomas' complaint "The Native Police have a tone of equality
about them". But his action was misrepresented then in a similar manner to the subsequent
misunderstandings and misrepresentations of the actions of the Corps as a whole. The ethnocentrism
grounded in western culture is a cultural universal78; western knowledge is another matter. The
version which is disseminated is elevated to the status of a truth. The unarticulated view, like Trooper
William's version of events, has no existence in the public domain. In a sense, Trooper William's
experience is a parable of the whole Corps.

Golden Gully at Bendigo was to be a turning point in the life of the force, as it was here
that the Sergeant and and the troopers found gold themselves. Sergeant McLelland and a party of
Native Police patrolling the field in the course of their duties, arrived at the claim of F.McKenzie
Clarke and party. They camped, and McLelland took his men up the gully. According to Clarke, "They
immediately began picking up gold on the surface in considerable quantities, and by the night, with the
assistance of the dish and shovel we lent him, he and the black boys obtained over two pounds weight
in gold, and this he greatly augmented during the two successive days. Then, greatly disgusted at the

78 "Ethnocentricity is the natural condition of mankind" - Lewis, I.M. Social Anthropology in Perspective, Penguin,
1976: 13
necessity that obliged him to resume his duties, for even if he could have resigned instanter, he could not leave the force until the specified time after tendering his resignation, he entered into negotiations with our party for the purchase of his claim.” Clarke went on to say that the Sergeant left the field rich, resigned his position, became a boniface and realised a fortune. Another digger who was there at the time wrote that the claim was a famous one, called “The Black-boys claim”. “You mean the Black Troopers?”, he was asked. “Yes, they were always called boys [even] if they were fifty years old.”

McLelland did resign, together with Sergeant Cowan and Corporal William Staines and even the bullock-driver and the tailor, and when Dana forwarded the resignations on to LaTrobe, he remarked with considerable understatement that “The men leaving at this particular time will be of much inconvenience to the service as I shall have much difficulty in replacing them.”

It could be said that the Corps died here: it lost its officers at the beginning of the year, and its NCO’s at the end of the same year. It was a service in which the loyalty of the serving troopers was a free gift, given as much to the Europeans who led it, as to the institution itself. Had the Corps been run on lines of strict discipline and tight control, and had there been sanctions available, maybe it could have survived the loss of all the officers and NCO’s: it is of the essence of modern military training that the structure of command survives a change in personnel. But paradoxically, had it been such a Corps, the Aboriginal troopers would have been most unlikely even to want to join.

In November 1851, Dana commanded a force of thirty-five men, twenty of whom were Aboriginal Troopers, eleven at Mt Alexander, three at Melbourne including LaTrobe’s orderly, two at Ballarat and four at H.Q. After the resignations of the gold fever, he commanded a force of twenty men, including thirteen Aboriginal troopers. He was able to provide a Sergeant and four troopers, Ridout, Munite, Marambool and Heister for the Lower Murray in June, and two for Gippsland, Clarke and Bachs, but it was a struggle. He managed to accomplish some of the old tasks, such as despatches to the lighthouse at Cape Otway, and the guarding of shipwrecks from plunder, but the

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80 A publican
82 Dana to LaTrobe, 26 Nov 1851, *VPRS* 19, Box 144, 51/1265
83 Dana return, *VPRS* 2878, Box 2, 51/777
84 Return of Native Police Corps, Jan 1848-Jun 1852, *Vic Leg Co V&P* 1852-3
85 *VPRS* 90: 7 and 18 Jun 1852
Reproduced with the permission of the Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden".
record of the Daybook is mainly one of Europeans arriving to be outfitted and trained as members of the Mounted Patrol.

Dana's major preoccupation over the whole of the year 1852 till his death in November, was the establishment of this force. Captain Mair resigned his position as Police Magistrate Buninyong, and took on the task of organising a Gold Escort Police, whose function is described adequately by its name. A real problem existed, with bushrangers on the roads to the goldfields, and the Gold Escort Police were supplemented by Dana's auxiliary force known as the Mounted Patrol, whose job was to patrol the roads, with special emphasis on rendering safe the regular conveyance of gold: it could be said that their job was to guard the guards. It was an expensive way of dealing with the problem, and it was abandoned in 1853, when all police services were integrated. While it lasted though, Dana had a good job on a high salary, and he was able to provide for his brother William, returned from sick-leave in England, by way of an appointment as C.O. of one of the Divisions of the Mounted Patrol, with responsibility for the Gisborne/Melbourne routes.86

Dana died at the Melbourne Club on 24 November 1852, of pneumonia. His last duty was the pursuit of bushrangers on the Mornington peninsula, and it was believed that he caught a chill which led to his terminal illness. About forty of the Aboriginal police followed his body to the grave.87 Latrobe was absent at the time, at the goldfields. When he returned to town, he wrote a private letter to Deas Thomson "to lament the loss of poor Dana, who, with some faults, possessed qualities of which the Colony has reaped the full benefits for many years".88 Accepting the European presence as a given, it could be said that the most important of his qualities was his ability to engage the loyalty and affection of his men to the general benefit of society, Aboriginal and European. Relationships would have been much worse, as LaTrobe said, without the Native Police.89

Review and Interpretation

This then is the story of the Native Police, or rather, one of the possible stories that might be written. Another perspective is to be gained from the biographies of the men (Appendix D), especially the entries on the long serving Corporals, Buckup, Gellibrand, Tonmile, Quandine and Yupton. It would be interesting and perhaps useful to continue the attempt to reconstruct the details of

86 Vic Col Sec to Dana, 13 Aug 1852, VPRS 3219, 52/374, vol 1: 236
87 John Sadleir, newly arrived in Victoria, later to become a Superintendent in the Victoria Police witnessed the funeral procession up Elizabeth St to the old William St cemetery (Newspaper Cutting, Box 21/2, LtSL)
88 LaTrobe to Thomson, 13 Dec 1852, Thomson Papers, vol 3: 688, ML
89 LaTrobe to Pakington, 22 Jan 1853, in Bride, T.F. 1983: 440
the lives of the survivors after the Corps ceased to function. Barak would be their most well-known member and longest survivor, living till 1903, widely respected, venerated even, as the source of much of the knowledge possessed today about Aboriginal living.

With the listing of over 100 individuals in the 1842 Corps, the biographies themselves are possibly enough to undermine the previously held belief that there were about twenty Warwoorong men who joined the police and were subsequently empowered to commit mayhem on the rest of the tribes of Victoria. It has been easy to hold this view – it emerged partly from a primary source (Thomas) and it fitted broadly into the known pattern of tribal enmity.

There is another association which has tended to obscure any real understanding of the Port Phillip Corps and that is the knowledge of the Queensland Native Police. There are links between the two institutions - the latter was formed after the demonstrable success of the former; the initial recruits for the latter were enlisted from the southern district of NSW, from the Murrumbidgee, Murray and Edward river areas where the work of the southern Corps was known and which had already provided some recruits for the southern Corps; and Henry Dana had tried to obtain for his younger brother William the leadership of the proposed new Corps for the "Sydney side of the country", unsuccessfully as it turned out, because the new Commandant had already been chosen before Dana’s letter reached Sydney.

These links however, do not appear sufficient to justify an argument by analogy that because the later Queensland Corps was characterised by excesses of killings, then the earlier Port Phillip Corps might or must have been similar. On the contrary, it seems to me to make sense that the Queensland Corps be looked at again. The question might be asked why it went wrong so to speak, and when, in the north? It is reasonable to suspect that part of its initial success could be attributed to the confidence engendered in the original recruits, not only by their personal relationship with Walker prior to enlistment, but by their knowledge of police practice in the Port Phillip Corps.

On the arguments put in this work, both the success and the later excesses would be explicable in terms of the domain of relationships - in the area of personal bonding, loyalty, willingness to accept discipline and confidence in the leaders, and in the categorical relationships of

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90 Thomas’ notes on the Native Police have been published in all the editions of Bride which I have seen with the caption “On 1 Jan 1843”; the qualifier has simply been overlooked.
91 At least one Queensland trooper, Tahiti, was from Victoria (Skinner, L. E. 1975: 167). It is possible that some members of Dana’s Corps enrolled subsequently in the Queensland Corps.
92 The request, Dana to LaTrobe, 21 Jun 1848, VPRS 19, Box 107, 48/1379 and the reply, Col Sec to LaTrobe, 19 Jul 1848, VPRS 19, Box 109, 48/1619
later recruits towards the northern tribes/groups with whom they came in contact. It will be recalled that the first factor is the key to understanding native co-operation in policing forces elsewhere: "Once affection is gone, confidence withers and fidelity is shattered". One could add - in the absence of discipline grounded in affection and respect, and in the presence of a long-standing pattern of enmity, any excess is possible. The first of these factors has been given as one of the mechanisms of disintegration in evidence to a Select Committee of the NSW Parliament which enquired into murders committed on the Dawson river in what was then northern NSW. The CCL for the Port Curtis district, Captain M.C. O'Connell testified that the cause of the desertion of the Native Police from the northern force was the removal of the Commanding Officer\(^93\). He said that once Walker was removed, their personal attachment was gone. O'Connell described the Corps subsequent to Walker's removal as having no esprit de Corps, no discipline, no respect\(^94\). O'Connell would have been more accurate had he included Walker's successor, Richard P. Marshall in his generalisation, for Marshall like Walker, was as attached to the men as they were to him.

The later real problems with the Queensland Corps appear to start with the reduction in strength of the Corps in Marshall's time and the change in administration. When the order came to reduce the force by half, Marshall protested, asserting that with seventy-two men, he would have to make war on the Aborigines, but with the force he hitherto commanded, 136 men, he could act preventatively and save Aboriginal lives as well as the white population\(^95\). His view was not accepted, and the Corps was placed under the command of Captain William C. Mayne and administered from Sydney. It is from this time that it seems to go bad, with the loss of the personal relationships. It seems to be characteristic of native policing institutions generally in the early contact situations everywhere, that a willingness to accept discipline in line with a western model of a military institution is a gift freely given out of personal loyalty to and respect of the leader, which is itself in turn, a

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\(^93\) The first Commanding Officer Frederick Walker was removed from his post primarily for financial mismanagement but other factors were involved - he appeared before a Board of Enquiry hopelessly drunk, and he brought a small detachment of his Native Troopers. The Board found that he was tampering with his police, attempting to render them disaffected with the other officers, but this might have been consequent upon the laying of charges. In Skinner's view, he was dismissed because he appeared before the Board in the state that he did (Skinner, L.E. 1975: 163).

\(^94\) "Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the Murders by the Aborigines on the Dawson River", Leg Assembly, NSW, 1858, in Various Papers of the Governments of NSW etc

\(^95\) "War" seems to be a slightly loose use of the English language on Marshall's part. If the processes of policing were the same as in Port Phillip, I would understand him as meaning the following. When his force was large enough, he could deter "outrages" simply by the presence of his force. With a small force, the "outrages" would occur, whereupon he would be faced with the problem of whether or not to go after the depredators. If he went after them, and if they resisted capture, casualties were inevitable. Were he speaking of the situation in Port Phillip, this would be the meaning of this use of the word "war".
product of style and attitudes of the leader. Not for nothing, I suggest, were both Dana and Walker described by Europeans as unusual or eccentric in their relativisation.

If comparisons are to be made, the appropriate institutions to be compared are the force which Dana raised and trained and the force which Frederick Walker raised and trained before his dismissal, and Marshall commanded before his resignation.\(^96\)

The essence of the success of the Port Phillip Native Police Corps seems to me to lie in the shared working experience, and the sense of belonging, of acceptance, dignity, of being valued and being aware of it. The positive affectual bonding in its turn must be seen as partly a function of the relativisation of Henry Dana, partly a function of the style of Aboriginality. For whatever way Aboriginality is defined, it includes the notion of mutuality or acceptance by others. Individuality, eccentricity, entrepreneurialism - these are highly valued western cultural traits; within Aboriginality, the social and the collective are dominant, and close social bonding (which can be expressed positively or negatively) is the result. The way I see it, Henry Dana might have been the leader of this outfit, but he led with the consent of the governed in a style and manner that raised eyebrows within European society, but meshed well with the social expectations of his men.

From the Aboriginal point of view, the differences in success between this policy initiative and others such as Protectorate, Missions, Schools, and Reservations might turn about the same phenomenon (or rather the absence of it). It will be remembered that the boys at the Mission felt their dignity assailed by the convict workmen who made fun of them, but enjoyed working with and for Edgar - provided he worked too. The early ethnographic literature contains much evidence of close affectual bonding between individual Aboriginal persons and European gentlemen - genuine intimacy, not merely a benign diffuse tolerance or good-will, still less charity. As an overall strategy of future research into all cross-cultural subjects, the frontier, the institutions, the pastoral industry, it might be fruitful to look first for the evidence of bonding, and the mechanism, and then look for the evidence of the rupturing of relationships.

The fundamental argument of this thesis is that Robinson was right - that what attracted the men of Port Phillip into the Corps was the power and paraphernalia.\(^98\). The evidence suggests that they got what they sought, that being a Native Policeman within European society empowered the men.


\(^97\) Reminiscent in the wider context of Australian male relationships generally - the phenomenon known as mateship is generally acknowledged to be based on shared working experience.

\(^98\) Papers of George Augustus Robinson, vol 57A: 473, ML
who joined, in that they were acclaimed and respected, while enhancing their capacity to determine events within their own society.

The rest of Robinson's sentence, his evaluation and judgement of the motivation is as follows "but the habits and feelings which cause them [power and paraphernalia] to be so attractive to the native mind are such to my certain knowledge as should never be encouraged by a civilised christian community". Veiled, this is the murderer label. It is unquestioned that the Native Police Corps killed other Aborigines but it is far from certain that any of those killings are described appropriately as murders. When they acted as native and killed strangers, they were not committing murder. Not only was killing the stranger not murder within their own cultural practice, on the contrary, it was the proper action of a fully-socialised Warwoorong or Bunerong man (acting on the instructions of the old men of course). As Thomas said "All the tribes beyond the district of their friends are termed wild blackfellows, and when found within the district immediately killed". Elsewhere he wrote that the generally understood practice of the various tribes when opportunity offered was to treat all who oved within their reach as spies "Death is understood to be the price of intrusion". Murder was no crime when it was for the common good.

The deaths of Aborigines as a result of official police work are another matter. Deaths caused in repelling attacks made upon the police while acting under orders in the execution of their duty were always accepted by the authorities as lawful. But there are few instances of such clear-cut easy to recognise situations: out in the field, Aboriginal groups did not routinely attack the police. More frequent and ordinary was the situation where the officer determined upon taking prisoner a known person or group. And this is where the difficulties arose, because almost invariably, Aborigines resisted capture. This is not a local problem particular to the Native Police of the Port Phillip district and the Aborigines: it is a universal problem in frontier situations. Masters has articulated it well in his autobiography of his experiences on the northern frontier of India. Officers marched to two different imperatives he wrote - the rules for successful war, and the rules laid down by Government. The first set of rules dictated the strategy "Shoot first, shoot fastest, shoot last and shoot to kill". The Government said in effect "Do not shoot unless you have been shot at, and then try not to kill anyone, there's a good chap". The Government restrictions sounds quite like the

99 Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 401
100 Thomas Half-yearly Report, 3 Jan 1851, VPRS 19, Box 144, 51/13
101 Gipps to Glenelg, 22 Jul 1839, 1 HRA xx: 247
102 Masters, John, Bugles and a Tiger: A Personal Adventure, The Reprint Society, London, no date: 204-5
situation under which the local Corps operated - they were not allowed to "rush" an Aboriginal camp, even when it was known that the individuals they sought were encamped there; surrounding by night was considered by the authorities to be a hostile action; they had to account for all casualties. If the aim be capture, then these are restrictions on effective action. There is an inherent contradiction between the end and the permissable means.

Nevertheless there is all the evidence from out in the field to suggest that the policy and style, the ethos of the Native Police Corps of Port Phillip when engaged on official duties was quite distant from what is termed murderous. Standing Orders precluded the loading of carbines except under the specific orders of the C.O.; Thomas' evidence regarding Yuption's exertions to avoid shooting a black that would have done credit to the most enlightened philanthrope is in opposition to an ethos of murder; Dana's uneasiness in a borderline case when he determined to "get" the killers of Christopher Bassett bespeaks a basic ethic of responsibility even if in this particular case he bent it a little; LaTrobe's refusal to accept unclear reports, the Protector's questioning of victims themselves or their relatives, the vigilance of the final arbiter, the Governor in Sydney - all tend to suggest an ethic of responsible action rather than murder. Even the absence of a particular kind of evidence is powerful.

Given the connectedness of Aboriginal persons with the forces of authority in the Port Phillip district over this period, the absence of reports to Protector's, friendly J.P.'s and Magistrates of Native Police killings when they were dispersed in twos and threes at stations is noteworthy. And I do not believe that if the police were engaged in a little murder on the side on the stations at which they were quartered, it would not have become a matter of record in squatter's letters to LaTrobe. If the police caused trouble with local Aborigines, we would get some hint of it. And there is none except for Gippsland.

I remain uneasy about Gippsland, perhaps placing too much weight on Tyers' private letter to Macalister wherein he reminds Macalister that the number of lives already sacrificed at the head of his run is sufficient proof that the natives do not commit depredations with impunity. The authority of the Government in Gippsland in the 1840's was not as visible as elsewhere in Port Phillip - there was no Protectorate, no Mounted Police, no Police Magistrate, only a CCL with a small Border Police force. As well, communications were difficult, partly a function of topography and climate. These factors could have tended to produce a situation where it was less likely than elsewhere that reports of

103 Even on grounds of pragmatism, it was wise to account for casualties. The same situation prevailed then as prevailed in the Northern Territory this century "If you shoot any blacks, report it. If you don't, every missionary in the country will" (Hall, V.C. Dreamtime Justice, Rogby, Adelaide, 1962).
Aboriginal deaths would surface in the records. There are also fewer records anyway for Gippsland in the form of private diaries, station journals etc. as Attwood found in his research for his thesis.

The question of treachery was addressed in the introduction. It does not appear to have been an issue then for other Aboriginal people. Local Melbourne Aborigines generally "cared for" the Native Police in the sense of a healthy respect for their power, and in the Western District at least, initially feared the police. But in the absence of evidence of a wider sense of Port Phillip district Aboriginal consciousness, the word traitor had little meaning then. I have not found it used anywhere in the contemporary records.

This history is basically a story of co-operation in an occupation which was attractive in terms of lifestyle and status. The work included periods of what might be termed idleness - preventative patrolling, interspersed with bouts of action, punctuated annually by a parade and review which drew admiration and congratulation from all who witnessed it, in turn followed by furlough. The job provided well for the dependents of the men and it probably engendered some feelings of superiority over the conditions of life of other Aborigines. There was no shortage of recruits for the police.

I think we have done little justice to the past and these men by not noticing them and their choice, and by concentrating on our own interesting question - did the force civilise its members or did it not?, and I am suspicious of historical writing which sees Aboriginal persons and groups only as victims. To recognise that they were the victims of the European takeover of their land is one thing; to write a history of the origins and growth of the contemporary sense of oppression is another; but to impose the attitudes of the present on the evidence of the past is a-historical, producing the effect of writing out of our histories the evidence of creative and adaptive Aboriginal strategies such as this one - becoming a Native Policeman.
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's
APPENDIX A - RULES and REGULATIONS 1842 CORPS

Native Police Standing Orders When on Service

1. The men to have themselves and appointments clean, and themselves ready to parade at 7 o'clock every morning.

2. The Acting Sergeant to report the state of the horses and the number of times moved on the tether during the night.

3. At the close of each day's journey, the men to clean their saddles and bridles, and to place their arms and ammunition in a secure place, and to erect a temporary shed to encamp in at night, after which rations will be issued.

4. The men on no account to load their carbines unless expressly ordered.

5. The men to have no communication or intercourse with the servants at any of the settlers at whose stations it may be necessary to stop, unless ordered.

Rules and Regulations to be observed and performed by the Non-commissioned Officers and Troopers of the Native Police

First as to Non-Commissioned Officers:

1. That they shall exercise towards the Native Troopers under their command the greatest forbearance and humanity.

2. That they shall not hold any unnecessary conversation with the Native Troopers but shall in all respects treat them as persons under their command so that obedience and discipline may be strictly enforced and maintained.

3. That they shall as far as circumstances will permit be orderly and clean in their clothing and accoutrements so that a pattern may be set to the Native Troopers under their command.

4. That should any Native Trooper request to see a Commissioned Officer, they or he shall report the same immediately or as soon as may be to such officer.

5. That they shall see that the Native Troopers have the proper rations served out to them.

1 NSW Governor's Despatches, Jan-Apr 1844, A 1233: 1335, ML
7. That they shall at least once a week inspect the clothing and accoutrements of the Native Troopers under their command, reporting to the Commissioned Officer as soon as possible any article that may be missing.

Second as to Native Troopers:
1. That they shall in all things be obedient to their officers and non-commissioned officers.
2. That they shall keep their clothing and accoutrements perfectly clean.
3. That should they be ill-treated by the Non-Commissioned Officers or any other person or persons they shall immediately report the same to the Commandant.
4. That all reports shall be made to a Commissioned Officer through a Non-Commissioned Officer.
5. That they shall behave with respect to all settlers and their servants on whose stations they may be quartered for the time being.
6. That it shall be lawful for the chief Commandant or the Commandant of the Division to which they are attached at his discretion to punish any Native Trooper for Desertion or Disobedience of orders.
7. That they shall attend every morning when the Bell Rings for their rations, and on default, shall forfeit the same for the day.
8. That at the Beat of the Drum they shall immediately turn out for Parade, clean and equipped as they may be ordered, and in default shall be punished as a Commissioned Officer may order.
9. That they shall not load or fire their arms without proper orders either from a Commissioned Officer or Non-Commissioned Officer.

Standing Orders (1846)
1. The Officers commanding Divisions when at H.Q. will take the general routine of duty to be performed upon the station, alternately.
2. Drill Sergeant to parade (sic) the men once every day weather permitting.
3. A General Inspection will take place twice a year by the Commandant.
4. Officers commanding Divisions will inspect their men, horses, arms and accoutrements every month and report to the Commandant.

2 There was a mistake in numbering - no number 5. LaTrobe minuted number 7 as follows "This should be done by Mr Dana or his assistant", and made a general comment "The terms Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Officer are improper".
3 Minuted by LaTrobe "How?"
4 Minuted by LaTrobe "By What Authority?"
5 Minuted by LaTrobe "Punished under what rules?"
6 Minuted by LaTrobe "This should be done constantly"
7 Also minuted by LaTrobe "This should be done constantly"
5. No Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers or Privates to appear in the streets unless dressed according to Regulations.

**Troop Orderly**

1. The men of the Native Police are forbidden to appear in the streets unless dressed strictly according to order, and at all times the Commandant expects them to be smart and clean.

2. Non-Commissioned Officers and Troopers from the out stations coming to Melbourne are always to appear dressed according to order, and anyone observed walking about in a slovenly and unsoldierlike manner will be punished.

3. The former manner of saluting on horseback by bringing the right hand across the body is to be discontinued.

4. When men have occasion to pay a compliment, they are to do so by sitting at attention and looking at the person to be saluted in a steady and respectful manner.

5. On foot, the men salute by bringing up the hand to the forehead in the usual manner.

6. The men of the Native Police are not to be employed as grooms or servants.

7. The Officers Commanding Divisions will periodically relieve the men of the stations attached to the Commissioners of Crown Lands, by one or two at a time, every nine or ten months, but taking care that not more than half the detachment is changed every year.

**Troop Orderly**

1. Officers Commanding Divisions will in future visit their station at least once every two months and mention the same in the monthly report.

2. The Commandant calls upon the Officers generally for a more active and zealous discharge of their duties, for upon their example and exertions entirely depend the efficiency of the Corps. The duties of the Officers of the Native Police are never ending, their presence is required everywhere, and it is solely by their intelligence, unceasing vigilance and watchful superintendence over their men that protection can be afforded to the country which the public have a right to expect, and the Commandant feels assured that this can in no way be more effectually carried out than by their constant personal

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8 The *Argus*, 20 Dec 1849, in a report headed "A La Miltaire" recorded the following "As His Honor the Superintendent was passing down Lonsdale St yesterday afternoon, a number of the Native Police were lounging outside their quarters at the repository. As soon as they recognised H.H. they fell into rank and saluted him in real military style".

9 Line drawn through in original

10 Undated later insertion
superintendence of the different stations, and more than ordinary care in visiting and patrolling those
districts infested by robbers and bushrangers.\footnote{Inserted in another hand after robbers, the word “blacks”}

3. Several instances having occurred of men losing their horses, by allowing them to stray away from
not taking the usual precautions to secure them, only putting in paddocks improperly closed, the
Commandant makes known that he will punish severely any man who becomes non-effective by
losing his horse, and should the horse be not eventually found, the man will be charged with the full
value.

\textit{Instructions for the Native Police}\footnote{Undated, addressed it seems to the problems of the gold-fields and the roads to the diggings.}

1. Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers commanding stations will make themselves as soon as
possible acquainted with all the bush roads and pathways in their respective vicinities, so as to enable
them to take every advantage of any information they may receive as to the route or hiding places of
any Bushrangers, (and the Soldier will be required to have the same knowledge). They will give
directions to stop all suspicious persons on the roads, or in the bush, and to demand their pass (if they
appear to be prisoners), but they must be cautious in doing this so as not to give offence. They will
cause occasionally any suspected house to be visited and be watched if any information has been laid.
They will be careful in seeing the men’s arms and ammunition are not placed in any situation where
they can be seized by improper characters, or where they cannot lay their hands upon them at night for
attack or defence.

They are at all times to be in readiness when called upon by any Magistrate to accompany him
forthwith to assist in the capture of any bushranger or runaways he may require intelligence of, or to
act under his orders in quelling any riot or disturbance.

Whenever any of the Native Police are sent from one station to another, they will invariably have the
hour on which they commenced their journey marked on the letter or despatch, if necessary the rate of
travelling will be mentioned, otherwise it will not be more than six miles an hour, and when they are to
be out more than a day or two, they will have a Route or pass shewing the time to which they and their
horses were rationed.

\textit{For the undermentioned offences, such punishment as the Government may think fit}

1. Desertion

2. Carelessness
3. Disobedience
4. Disorderly Conduct
5. Drunkenness
6. Absence from Parade
7. Fighting
8. Stealing

13 Dana to LaTrobe, 29 Nov 1846, enc with Croke to LaTrobe. VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/866
APPENDIX B - STRUCTURE and STRENGTH of 1842 CORPS

31 Mar 1842  Commandant HEP Dana, Sergeant PR Bennett, 23 Troopers
27 Jul 1842  Commandant HEP Dana, Sergeant PR Bennett, 25 Troopers
1 Feb 1843  Commandant HEP Dana, Sergeant PR Bennett, 25 Troopers
27 Jun 1843  Commandant HEP Dana, Sergeant PR Bennett, Sergeant
             S Windredge, 21 Troopers
30 Jun 1844  Commandant HEP Dana, Sergeant PR Bennett, Sergeant
             S Windredge, 24 Troopers
20 Jan 1845  Commandant, Mr WH Walsh, [ replacing Sergeant Windredge gone
             to Border Police, Gippsland], Sergeant PR Bennett, Constable Henry
             McGregor, 21 Troopers
22 Dec 1845  Commandant, Mr WH Walsh, Mr WAP Dana [ replacing Sergeant
             Bennett dismissed], 3 Native Corporals, 30 Troopers
31 Mar 1846  Commandant, Mr WH Walsh, Mr WAP Dana, 3 Native Corporals,
             30 Troopers
30 Jun 1846  Commandant, Mr WH Walsh, Mr WAP Dana, Sergeant R McLelland,
             Corporal O'Brien, 35 Troopers, Bullock-driver and Tailor
1 Mar 1847  Commandant, Mr WH Walsh, Mr WAP Dana, Sergeant McLelland, Sergeant
            McGregor, Corporal O'Brien, 6 Native Corporals, 34 Troopers, 3 Troopers
            called boys, Bullock-driver, Tailor, Drummer, 6 other natives
            [ wives and mothers receiving rations]
31 Dec 1847  Commandant plus
            1st Division:-- OIC Walsh, Sergeant H.McGregor, 2 Native
            Corporals, 15 Troopers, 4 Women, 17 Horses.
            2nd Division:-- OIC WAP Dana, Sergeant R.McLelland, Corporal
            O'Brien, 4 Native Corporals, 15 Troopers, 4 Women, 23 Horses plus Bullock-
            driver R. Bourke, Tailor W. Toner, Drummer-boy G. Brown. Total 53 men\(^1\)

\(^1\) This return includes the women who received rations as men
and 40 horses.

1848
3 Officers, 6 Europeans, 38 Native Troopers

1849
3 Officers, 6 Europeans, 37 Native Troopers

1850
3 Officers, 6 Europeans, 37 Native Troopers

27 Jan 1851
Commandant H. Dana, Subaltern WAP Dana, Subaltern WH Walsh's place vacant, to be filled by Mr Lydiard, Sergeant-Major R. McClelland, Sergeants T. O'Brien and R. MacDonald, Corporals Henry Pearson and William MacCauley, Troopers Henry Hannan and Eugene Lease, 4 Native Corporals, 65 Native Troopers, Tailor, Bullock-driver and Drummer²

1851 to August³
3 Officers, 6 Europeans, 45 Native Troopers

1 Sep 1851
Commandant H. Dana, Subaltern Trevor Winter, Subaltern T. Langley (on half pay), Sergeant-Major R. McClelland, Sergeants O'Brien and MacDonald, 4 European Corporals, Pearson, MacCauley, Hannan and Lease, 33 Native Troopers, Tailor, Bullock-driver and Drummer

November 1851

18 Jul 1852
Commandant and 15 men at Nerre Nerre Warren, Sergeant Williams and 6 men at Jamieson's (Murray), Corporal Halloran and 3 Troopers at Maiden's Punt (Murray), Mr Langley, 1 Corporal and 5 Troopers in Gippsland⁴

² LaTrobe approved all the appointments of Europeans and their salary increases, but minuted the 65 Native Troopers "Not to be increased above fifty for the full six months" (Dana to LaTrobe, 27 Jan 1851, VPRS 19, Box 145, 51/241)
³ This is the time of the reduction in the force which so disgusted the Aboriginal Troopers that they walked out. The problem is that there is no written instruction anywhere to that effect. The closest to a written instruction is LaTrobe's comment to Dana "My opinion is that the Native Police has served its time and that it is vain to attempt to maintain it any longer" (C.J. LaTrobe's Minute on Dana to Vic Col Sec, 14 May 1852, VPRS 1189, Box 16, folder 6, 52/1653). It can only be presumed that LaTrobe gave Dana a verbal instruction.
⁴ VPRS 90. It cannot be determined which of these men were European and which Aboriginal Troopers
APPENDIX C - THE RECORD OF RECRUITMENT

This record is presented to give an indication of the sustained pattern of recruiting. It is constructed from the returns and the Daybook, but must not be regarded as accurate for any individual man. Dana filled out his returns with a degree of carelessness that would be considered unusual today, and as the individual biographies demonstrate, most returns were constructed retrospectively and are contradictory with regard to date of enlistment.

24 Feb 1842 23 men enlisted - Billibellary, Murremmurrembean, Perpine, Tomboko, Pereuk, Polligarry, Woworong, Culpendurra Nangollibel, Yanki Yanki, Nerrimbineck, Yeapunte, Munmunginna, Baruke, Nunupuncture, Gyberuke, Borro Borro, Curra Curra, Yammabook, Bukup, Talliorang, Warrungitolong, Yall Yall

Feb/Mar 1842 1 man added - Benbow

Jan 1843 3 men recruited - Quandine, Mumbo, Kalkallo

Dec 1843 2 men recruited - Wurrenalkpoop, Moibercoim

Jan 1844 2 men recruited - Bearack and Natcoyon

Mar 1844 2 men recruited - Cotigerry, Maimbool

Jan 1845 1 boy recruited Manite

29 Mar 1845 Sergeant-Major Bennett in town per Commandant’s orders to recruit natives for police

31 Mar 1845 A number of blacks arrived on the station

1-31 Apr 1845 8 men recruited - unnamed

24 May 1845 Yepthen and Waverong sent to Mr Ryrie’s on Yarra to recruit

May 1845 Hingebara, De Dora Toney and Jacky from Omeo/Monaro recruited

7 Jun 1845 2 recruits arrived

25 Aug 1845 3 men enrolled, Warrungulk, Lively and Borrownail

9 Oct 1845 Captain Dana in Melbourne recruiting his force to 50 as per instructions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30 Oct 1845</td>
<td>1 recruit - Harry from the Wimmera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Dec 1845</td>
<td>Mr Walsh and Mr WAP Dana to Melbourne with a recruiting party of five mounted and seven dismounted troopers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Dec 1845</td>
<td>Recruiting party returned to station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 1845</td>
<td>10 men recruited from Portland Bay District - Barney, Bobby Souwester, Cobra Bile, P.F.Jack, Merri, Hopkins, Cape Otway, Jack, Billy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Dec 1845</td>
<td>Sergeant McGregor returned from Cape Otway with 2 Port Fairy recruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jul 1846</td>
<td>Sergeant McGregor got 3 of the Geelong natives to join</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 1846</td>
<td>4 recruits, Oliver, Peter, Yankey, John</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 Sep 1846</td>
<td>Sergeant McGregor under orders to proceed to the Western District for recruits selected by Commandant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 Oct 1846</td>
<td>Sergeant returned to H.Q. with 12 recruits selected in Western District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 Dec 1846</td>
<td>2 recruits arrived with Division from Gippsland, Long John and Tommy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Jun 1847</td>
<td>P.F.Jack and Souwester arrive with 2 recruits, Billy and G.M.Bile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 Mar 1849</td>
<td>1 man recruited, Poligarry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Nov 1849</td>
<td>Lance-Corporal Charlie marched for Geelong on a recruiting mission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Nov 1850</td>
<td>8 recruits from Lower Murray/Darling Rivers arrived with Souwester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1851</td>
<td>6 troopers added to the strength of the Corps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29 Aug 1851</td>
<td>Souwester in Western District recruiting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D - BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS OF THE MEN OF THE CORPS

Notes on Method

The following details of the lives of the men who became police represent a chronological ordering of observations recovered in the course of the work. They are presented here in the original language, with all its inconsistencies of spelling, contradictions and misunderstandings of categorisations e.g. the Protectors' descriptive use of Bonurong as the name of a tribal group when in fact Bunurong is a form of speech making a statement about religious and political authority. The important point to note is that it is not a contemporary interpretation, merely the recovered record of what observers thought at the time.

When I started this work, I believed like everyone else, that there were twenty or so men who became police, the men Thomas listed, men who ended up mostly as drunks. But as returns and reports with new names were found, and especially accounts of large numbers of recruits even if names were not given, it became clear that many more men served as Native Police than had hitherto been suspected, and that they came from all parts of present Victoria. The social diversity of the men is particularly interesting in the light of the failure of early missions such as Buntingdale, and later difficulties on reservations, the reason for which has been given as traditional inter-tribal animosity.

The recovered details of the lives of the men are presented with the same sentiments as Barwick presented "Mapping the Past", as an aid to other researchers. Barwick envisaged such data being used in the attempt to reconcile the amateur ethnography of the past with modern anthropological accounts of territorial and linguistic boundaries. With this appendix, the hope is that the entries convey some sense of the range of individual experiences which might be useful in understanding actions. The kind of history that it is possible to write based on individual experience and action differs qualitatively from history written mostly at the level of the category "The Aborigines"; a particular kind of distortion is built into narratives which can know Europeans as individuals but Aborigines only as groups. A good example of the difference names make is the situation in the Western District in early 1842. Christie argues that a state of guerrilla war existed, but if, as is the case, much of the trouble is

1 Barwick, D. 1984: 115
2 It might be suggested that the discipline enforced on the Corps did not permit this animosity to surface, were it not that the discipline was minimal. It is more likely that the explanation for the apparent harmony at Nerre Nerre Warren lies with the men's own liking for the work.
3 Christie, M. 1979: 62
attributable to one small marauding group whose names are known, then further research is required on this state of war.

Two further reasons exist which suggest the usefulness of perservering with the attempt to identify individual Aboriginal persons in this period: one is that present persons of Aboriginal descent may like to know something of their ancestors. The information contained in just two major sources, the Records of the Protectorate and the In-coming correspondence to Lonsdale and LaTrobe enables far more to be known about the terms and conditions of Aboriginal lives, and Aboriginal actions and attitudes, than most Europeans could hope to know about their ancestors in this place at this time. The other reason for the attempt to know the past at the level of the individual is that the identification of individuals will highlight the double-counting involved in the Protectors population estimates and may lead to a more reliable assessment of the Aboriginal population of Victoria in the early years.

It is because this is such an early attempt at such work that all the recovered observations are included, even when contradictory. When a population includes a number of people with the same name, the identification and separation of individuals is likely to be the result of long-term, cumulative acquisition of detail by a number of people over time, and in this enterprise even "erroneous" data can be a help in identification. These entries on the Native Police represent a start.

One methodological problem in the presentation of the data needs to be pointed out - the spelling variants. Barwick elected to adhere to author's original spelling and to list all variants plus the best-known published form. When I started putting this data into typed form from cards, I included all spelling variants. As the work progressed, the headings became increasingly unwieldy, and I decided to change the method, placing at the head the most common version, including the variants in the entry. This was unwise. I should have stuck with the one method however cumbersome. For publication, the entries would need to be re-typed from the cards with all variants.

The men of the three Corps of 1837-8, 1839 and 1842 are listed separately, the names of the 1842 men ordered alphabetically, the names of the 1839 men as they were listed then, and the 1837-8 men as they were recovered. There are two sets of 1839 Goulburn Protectorate Police. Within the three institutions centred on Melbourne, there is some continuity of personnel over time, especially when the 1838 quasi-policing expedition and the search for the VDL Aborigines are regarded as co-

4 Barwick, D. 1984: 112. In fact there are more variants in manuscripts than Barwick published.
operative ventures in policing work. More than 145 individuals worked as policemen in the early post-contact years in Port Phillip.

1837 AND 1838 CORPS

BETBENGAI/ Robert Webb - Bonurong

Headman of Kurung-Jang-Balluk clan whose country was around the Werribee River (Barwick, D. AH 1984, vol 8, Pt 2: 121); 13 Jul 1836 - Baitlainge and Derrymock two Port Phillip natives with Mr John Wood's party in search of the natives who killed Franks and his shepherd (HRV vol 2A: 47); 1835-6 - Baitbanger mentioned constantly with Derrimut and Della Kal Keth in Fawkner’s Journal of this period (Billot, C. P. Journal ... by J.P. Fawkner, Quartet Books, Melbourne, 1982); 1836 - Betbenjce visited Tasmania with J.P. Fawkner and Derrimut (Bunce, D. Australasiatic Reminiscences..., Hendy, Melbourne, 1857); 10 Dec 1837 - Besbinger whom I have sent in with the prisoner Smith to the doctor (de Villiers to Lonsdale, VPRS 4, unit 3, 37/167); May 1838 - Christiaan de Villiers testified that Bet Benjai, Derrimut and Della Kal Keth informed him of the names of those who killed sheep (HRV vol 2A: 299); 20 Mar 1839 - On Dredge’s census of Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne as Bedbenjie/ Robert Webb, Watowrong tribe, aged 25 (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Name recorded in encampment as Ner-Rong-Or, Ben Benger/ Captain Good (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 17 Jul 1839 - Bal Banger arrived at Geelong with Ningolobel, Deremott, Billy Lonsdale, Murra Murrabine, Warwong alias Mr King, Burrarrung, purpose murder (Sievwright to Robinson, enc with 39/10217 AO of NSW 4/2471); 13 Sep 1840 - Benger and Benbow tell Thomas they got the blacks that killed the first white men (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 18 Jul 1845 - Ben-Benjie with Eliza (his wife) and Sally and her brother George came to quamby at Arthur’s Seat; 29 Dec 1846 - Ben-Benjie spearing fish; 30 Dec 1846 - Ben-Benjie gave weapons to G.G.McCrae to mind while he went off to Devine’s; 5 Jan 1847 - Ben-Benjie unsuccessful fishing, took gun hunting; 7 Jan 1847 - Ben-Benjie swimming am, hunting ducks pm (Georgiana’s Journal, (ed) H. McCrae, 1966); 4 Jul 1847 - Thomas investigating vile murder of Ben Benger at Arthur’s Seat (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 665); 7 Jul 1847 - Only a rumour, Ben Benger not killed; footnote says Ben Benger and four others saved Melbourne in the early days (Thomas Quarterly Report, Jun-Aug 1847, 47/7444 in AO of NSW 4/2783); 1851 - BenBenger
died at Westernport between 30 Jun and 31 Dec 1851 (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML).

BUDGERRY TOM

Headman of the Mayone-Bulluk clan whose country was located between Westernport and Port Phillip Bays (Barwick, D. AH 1984, vol 8, Pt 2: 117); 21 Dec 1837 - The N.P. are doing very well with the exception of the two men Tom and Namnapton whom has left the station without my knowledge. Tom's behaviour has been desperate bad (de Villiers to Lonsdale, VPRS 4, Box 3, 37/174); 20 Mar 1839 - Muduringo/ Budgeree Tom, listed on Dredge's census of Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne as unmarried male, aged thirty, Warwoorong tribe, whose family not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); 17 Dec 1839 - Budgery Tom, Chief of the Westernport blacks (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 2 Sep 1840 - Budgery Tom, on being shown a map where Koran Warrabin range is (Dandenongs), described by consent of the others where good land is...the blacks all look upon Tom with the deepest attention...five young men deputed to show me the spot - Wonga, Warrondeit, Barek McNiel, Billy, Young Mury (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 23 Mar 1842 - Budgery Tom excites the blacks to have the Goulburn and other blacks sent for. I and Captain Dana threaten blacks and all ends quietly (Thomas Journal, mf CY 732 item 5(e), ML); 23 Feb 1844 - Budgeree Tom and others of his tribe arrive (Mornington Peninsula) from Gippsland (Georgiana's Journal, 1966: 129); 6 Mar 1848 - Budgery Tom died on the station and was buried (VPRS 90).

NUNUPTUNE/ Billy Langhorne - Bonurong

Son of Tuolwing/Tukulneen/Yukulveua/Old George the King; brother of Mumbo; his father was headman of Ngark-Willam clan whose country was between Dandenong and Port Phillip (Barwick, D. AH 1984, vol 8, Pt 2: 117); remained but a few months in the force (1842 Corps); he was a good-tempered fellow but as restless as a hyena; accused unjustly of taking Mr Willoby's child at Westernport, so frightened him that for years he scarce rambled further than along the coast Mt Eliza to Pt Nepean (Thomas in Bride, T.F., 1969: 408); Apr 1838 - Christiaan de Villiers testified that Bet Bengai and others told him that Nunnapoton was concerned with others in the depredations at Clarke's, Jackson's, Dr Clerke's and was present at Aitkin's (HRV vol 2A: 301); 29 Apr 1839 - Disturbance in camp, only Nunuptune disappointed in love firing off a gun; footnote says he is a Westernport black, a laughing, good-tempered fellow, every day some new advice would be taken on his clothes; Jul 1839 - Nunuptone/Mr Langhorne, name taken in encampment; 18 Sep
1839 - Nunuptne drunk, described another murder, that of Tommy, besides that of Peter (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); Mar-Aug 1840 - Nanappton listed as male adult of Konung-Willam section of Warwoorong tribe inhabiting Mt Macedon country (Parker's census AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 15 Oct 1840 - Thomas left NNW for Jamieson's station to investigate raid by Gippsland blacks, accompanied by Mumbo and Nunuptune (VPRS 11, unit 7/336); 2 Dec 1841 - Nunuptune one of seven blacks who assist CCL Powlett in the capture of the VDL blacks; as a reward asked for trowzers, blanket, shirt, leather band with buckle, neck handkerchief, straw hat and gun (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/415); 8 Feb 1842 - Arrived at NNW after being summoned by messengers for selection of N.P. (Thomas Journal, mf CY reel 732, item 5(e), ML); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 11 Mar 1842 - Nunuptune in night fires a gun at [can't read] formerly a Goulburn black...altercation...with assistance of Captain Dana settle the affair...Nuluptune strongly protested that he did not shoot at or to them...take gun away (Thomas Journal, mf CY reel 732, item 5(e) ML); 27 Jul 1842 - Nunupton, Trooper 2nd Division, rationed since 1 Feb, remained at Merri Creek (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1842 - Aged twenty-five, married with one wife, two children, punished occasionally, rations stopped and confined; on duty at NNW is search of lost woman, often employed as amessenger and on duty about the camp; general conduct not good at first, fond of wandering, a pretty good messenger, likely to improve (Dana return NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 29 Sep 1843 - Nunupthen/ Mr Langhorne on service in Gippsland since 19 Sep (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Nov 1843 - Has been in bush for three months (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3, ML); no date - dismissed (Dana return, enc with VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); 11 Aug 1849 - Nunuptune, male aged thirty, married Yarra tribe, died Mt Eliza (Thomas return, VPRS 10, unit 11, 50/55).

That there were two "brothers" de Villiers is certain from Thomas' illustration of them fighting over a lubra; it is not possible though to separate them in the European records unless the recorder gives both an Aboriginal and a European name. The non-specific references to Mr de Villiers are simply listed after the identifiable references. Old de Villiers, headman of the Baluk-Willam clan whose country was at Westernport (Barwick, D. AH 1984, vol 8, Pt 2: 121) is possibly their father.

WAR-A-WAR-RUK/ de Villiers - Warwoorong
14 Apr 1838 - John Aitken, settler, testified that on this day at his station, the black named Warra Worrock or de Villiers attempted to strike him with a tomahawk (HRV vol 2A: 292); 20 Apr 1838 - Kenneth Clarke settler testified that on this day Warrawarie produced a handwritten note from Lonsdale authorising him to carry a musket (ibid: 296); 16 May 1838 - Chrisiaan de Villiers testified that Bet Bengai informed Christiaan de Villiers a fortnight ago that de Villiers was involved with others in the depredations at Clarke's, Jackson's, Dr Clerke's and was present at Aitken's (ibid: 301); Jul 1839 - Warawurruk/ Mr Villear, name taken in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML).

GLILLOLAT/ Villiers - Warwoorong

20 Mar 1839 - Aged forty, lubra dead, on Dredge's census of Aborigines living in the vicinity of Melbourne (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML).

Non specific references to de Villiers

15 Nov 1839 - de Villiers accompanied Thomas and two N.P. into town to look for Ningolobbin's slippery wife (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 8 Jul 1841 - Dredge at Geelong to preach, saw Billy Lonsdale and Mr de Villiers, two Boonorong (Dredge Diary: 199, LtSL); 8 Jan 1844 - de Villiers, brother to Pinterginner of the Bunerong or Port Phillip tribe, one of the supposed murderers of Tarim the Wooralim youth at Westernport some months hence (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 599); 12 Sep 1848 - Thomas lists names of Westernport blacks Billy Lonsdale, Lively, de Villiers, Burboro, Tarlonarton, Borun Mollon, Poky Poky who were in Gippsland to seduce or barter for lubras (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/ 701); 1850 - de Villiers lured to his death by a Kurnai Mr Tyers; others murdered were Mr Loaf and Lively (Thomas Journal, 29 Dec 1853, ML).

In addition to the men above, it was said of the following five men who comprised Thomas' 1839 Domestic Police that most if not all of them were in the Native Police before:- Pinterginner, Buller-Bullet, Tumbocco, Tullemgate, Morabun. In addition, it was said by Lonsdale that most of the men he interviewed who were concerned in the killing of sheep to the westward in April-May 1838 had been in the Native Police (HRV vol 2A: 220). The names of those identified are as follows:- Jack Sloe, Marnjee, Mooney Mooney, Hill, Moron, Callen, de Villiers, King John Bull, Harrot, Bundon, Karwooroon, Nunnapoton, Narembineck (ibid: 300-1). In the absence in the surviving records of any names for the 1838 Corps, the most likely guess is that the 1837 men rejoined in 1838.
1839 CORPS

Assistant Protector Thomas' Police, Westernport district

PINTERGINNER/ MR HYATT - Warwoorong

20 Mar 1839 - Bentaganun/ Mr Hyen, Warwoorong tribe, aged twenty, unmarried male whose family is not ascertained, on Dredge's census of Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Winterginner/ Mr Hyatt, name taken in encampment; Boimogo/ Mr Hyatt (Both names on same list, Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); Pinterginna, Constable, male aged twenty-one, Warwoorong tribe (Thomas census, VPRS 10, unit 1); 18 Nov 1839 - Young and active, selected for N.P. (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 20 Nov 1839 - Pinterginner, twenty-seven years, Sergeant, Warwoorong tribe (Thomas to Robinson, HRV vol 2B: 494); 8 Feb 1844 - Pinterginner, Westernport tribe, wounded with Perpine in great fight at Merri Creek at which 635 persons were present; It was reported that Pinterginner was dead (wrongly reported as Thomas subsequently discovered) (Thomas to Robinson, 13 Feb 1844, VPRS 11, unit 8/469); 30 Apr 1845 - "...report of a party of Gippsland blacks said to have been killed by the Westernport blacks and four of the N.P. After a series of enquiries among the natives I feel satisfied that no collision took place (although I am aware that such has been currently reported. I am fully persuaded that the blacks' report that the Gippsland blacks killed Pinterginner is also false, and that he was murdered by one of his own people Yal Yal, and that the pretended collision with the Gippsland blacks was concocted to account for the death of Pinterginner. The account given to me by two very intelligent blacks Moody Warrin a Mt Macedon, and Bon John a Barabool (who also returned from Gippsland with the N.P.) agrees with my conjectures...They state that Yal Yal had often said that he should see Pinterginner alone some day and would kill him, that he did kill him and came back to the blacks and said that a number of Gippsland blacks had taken him by surprise, that the N.P. came up after the occurrence..." (Thomas to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 70, 45/759).

BULLER-BULLET /MR McARTHUR - Warwoorong

20 Mar 1839 - Bulla Bulla/ Mr McCarty, aged sixteen, on Dredge's census as unmarried male, Watowrong tribe living in the vicinity of Melbourne (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Bul-ler Bul-ler/ Mr McArthur, name taken in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 18 Nov 1839 - Bullet Bullert, young and active, selected for N.P. (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 20 Nov 1839 - Woworong tribe, aged twenty, selected for N.P. (enc with 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 22 Nov 1839 - Buller Bullert, male aged twenty, Warwoorong
tribe, constable (Thomas census, VPRS 10, unit 1); 1840 - Left encampment for Lake Colac, with Poleorong, without telling Thomas (Thomas Half-Year Report, with 40/12629 in AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 2 Dec 1841 - Buller Bullup along with Lively, Poky Poky, Gellibrand, Mr Langhorne, Warrungitolong and Buckup volunteered to assist in the capture of the VDL blacks (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit); 8 Mar 1842 - Three police desert, Westernport blacks and three who were the most dextrous in getting VDL blacks, could not be found when muster rolled - Warrengitolong, Buller Bullup and Lively (Thomas Journal, mf CY 732, item5(e), ML); 1853 or 4 - Murdered this year; I missed him for three weeks...continually enquired about him...murdered by a fine young man of the Yarra tribe, formerly of the N.P [Quandine]...Buller Bullup's mangled body was found near Richmond swamp (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1969: 418).

**TUM-BOCO/HENRY - Warwoorong**

As this young man had a long career as one of Dana's troopers in the 1842 Corps, his details are listed there.

**TULLEMLGATE - Bonurong**

12 Nov 1839 - Selected as N.P. (Thomas to Robinson, set 214, item 1, ML); 18 Nov 1839 - Talherolgate, young and active selected (Thomas Journal, ibid); 20 Nov 1839 - Tullemlgate, Bonurong tribe, aged twenty-four selected as N.P. (Enc with LaTrobe to Robinson, 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1).

**MORRABUN - Bonurong**

12 Nov 1839 - Selected for N.P.; 18 Nov 1839 - Morrabun young and active selected for N.P. (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 20 Nov 1839 - Morabun aged twenty, Bonurong, selected as N.P. (enc with LaTrobe to Robinson, 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 22 Nov 1839 - Mirabum, Bonurong male aged twenty, Constable (Thomas census, VPRS 10, unit 1).

**Assistant Protector Dredge's Police, Goulburn district**

**WAW-WAL**

19 Oct 1839 - Waw-wul sick with cold and fever; 23 Oct 1839 - All except Warwul, Yamutherook and Boo-Gil-Munn-Ing (female at Mrs Clarke's) gone possum hunting for three days; 25 Oct 1839 - Wawwul has been in bush splitting logs; 29 Oct 1839 - All the blacks left the Protectorate after arrival of messengers to go to Melbourne to see the Governor [the newly-arrived LaTrobe]. Dredge gave
presents to Waw-Wul; 16 Nov 1839 - Selected Wawul for N.P. (Dredge Diary, LtSL); 20 Nov 1839 - Waw-Wal, about twenty-five years old, Thongworong tribe (Dredge to Robinson, enc with LaTrobe to Robinson, 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 4 Apr 1840 - Dredge and Robinson, en route to Melbourne met more than ten Tongeworongs at McKenzie's out station including Wawwul and Billy Hamilton; 9 Jun 1840 - Billy Hamilton and Wawwul left the Protectorate station; 19 Mar 1841 - A group of my old Thongworong friends visited me (in Melbourne) including Yabbee (Billy Hamilton) and Warwul (Dredge Diary, LtSL).

YAB-BEE/ BILLY HAMILTON - Thongworong

Headman of Nira-Balluk clan whose country was the Goulburn River area (Barwick, D. AL 1984, vol 8, Pt 2: 127); 28 May 1839 - Dredge saw him in town recently; 1 Aug 1839 - At Hamilton's station, Mr Hamilton told Dredge that Billy Hamilton visited him a week ago, and Hamilton gave him clothes and food; Billy Hamilton went away, came back destitute of clothing - some white man had given him a trifle of money for them (Dredge Diary, LtSL); 20 Nov 1839 - Yab-Be, about twenty-two years old selected for N.P. (Dredge to Robinson, enc with LaTrobe to Robinson, 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1134.1); 22 Jan 1840 - Yabbee stated this morning that he was like a King in his tribe; 24 Jan 1840 - Billy Hamilton alias Yabbee defended Lanare caught stealing potatoes from Clarke's; 25 Jan 1840 - Dredge regards Yabbee as a shrewd and artful fellow to be treated with decision but caution; 28 Jan 1840 - As Warrawulk was departing as a messenger, Yabbee asked Dredge for powder for his pistol so he could shoot any wild blackfellows; 31 Jan 1840 - Yabbee informed Dredge about women stealing potatoes,...scolded them, staged farce to deceive Dredge; 12 Mar 1840 - 262 people left Protectorate station on 4 Mar, only eight remaining including four N.P. including Yabbee. Remainder left today, Yabbee stating this is not a good place; 12 Apr 1840 - Dredge and Robinson en route to Murray found Yabbee among those at McKenzie's out station; 24 May 1840 - Dredge believes Yabbee and others have gone to Howells to get guns and ammunition; 1 Jun 1840 - Billy Hamilton said the place down the river would not do for his blackfellows...too many Pinegurrins...when Dredge gone, he and they would go to Colonel White's or Mr McKenzie's, his country; 6 Jun 1840 - Billy Hamilton said the blackfellows were very much frightened soldiers might come and shoot them and were going away; 9 Jun 1840 - Billy Hamilton, Wawwul and others left (Dredge Diary, LtSL); 28 Sep 1840 - Billy Hamilton's name on list of those whom Major Lettsom wishes to apprehend (VPRS 11, unit 7); 2 Oct 1840 - Billy Hamilton involved in some way in killing of Alexander McKenzie, shepherd (Parker to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 4/132); Oct
1840 - Billy Hamilton's name on list of those apprehended by Major Lettsom (40/10609 in AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 14 Oct 1840 - He excavated his way out of gaol (PPG); 18 Nov 1840 - Billy Hamilton dismissed from custody...has been shamefully and wrongfully accused...is represented by Goulburn settlers as the most harmless and inoffensive as well as the most useful and intelligent among the tribes who frequent that district (PPG); 26 Nov 1840 - I have just seen the blacks who were taken to gaol on suspicion liberated. They were in high spirits. I hear a few are detained, among them Billy Hamilton (Haydon, G. Diaries, mf NL); 16 Dec 1840 - Dredge heard from Phillips his old servant at the Protectorate that Bulgerathoon and his wife had been shot by a white man, and that Billy Hamilton had told Le Souef (appointed Protector in Dredge's place following the latter's resignation) who had done nothing (Dredge Diary, LtSL); 11 Mar 1841 - Lemuel Bolden of Heidleberg writes blacks are camped on his property eight miles up Yarra, and Billy Hamilton has threatened to kill Mrs Bolden and children...their dogs have killed a turkey (VPRS 11, unit 7/377); 18 Mar 1841 - Six of my old Thongworong friends visit me including Yabbee, two of them amongst those who were imprisoned some time ago; 19 Mar 1841 - Yabbee visited again with Wawwu; 3 Jun 1841 - Yabbee called in again with several others (Dredge Diary, LtSL); 31 Oct 1842 - Thomas' handwritten copy of newspaper of this date includes account of armed hold-up for food...Billy Hamilton identified...quotes logic of alternative supplies of food (Thomas Papers, set 214, item 28(a), ML); 1843 - The far-famed Billy Hamilton assumes the chieftainship of the Neenbulloks who lay claim to the upper part of the Plenty River, the Sugarloaf Creek and the middle part of the Goulburn(Baylie, W.H. in PPM Jan-Apr 1843: 90); 11 Feb 1843 - Have effected liberation of Billy Hamilton after giving sureties...he denies using threatening language to Le Souef...settlers in neighbourhood offered to stand surety for him (VPRS 11, unit 5); 17 Mar 1847 - Billy Hamilton arrived in Melbourne with the Goulburns...has not been in Melbourne for eighteen months; 12 Apr 1847 - Billy Hamilton got drunk and put in gaol in stock (Thomas Quarterly Report, Mar-May 1847, 47/4944 in AO of NSW 4/2782); 2 Sep 1848 - Billy Hamilton discharged from gaol after three days for drunkenness (Thomas Quarterly Report, Sep-Nov 1847, 47/9842 in Ao of NSW 4/2784); 26 Oct 1848 - Enquiry into outrage on Moore...Billy Hamilton suspected...Goulburne were camped at their old spot, a bit of waste land by the Darebin Rd (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/706); 31 Oct 1848 - Billy Hamilton present but played no part in the killing of Tommy alias Figur who left the Mission on 24th inst (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/707); 7 Nov 1848 - Depositions by Tomboko (N.P.) and others
allege Billy Hamilton present, and gave rationale for killing of Tommy "No good long way blackfellow that" (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/708); 1858 - Thomas gave evidence to Select Committee regarding the dispute between Gellibrand and Billy Hamilton over Eliza, the girl promised to both (Vic Leg Co V&P 1858-9: 54); Billy Hamilton, his wife and children went to Acheron, then Corranderrk; he was dead by 1859 (Barwick, D. AH 1984, vol 8, Pt 2: 127).

YA-MUTH-ER-ROOK/ LONG BILL - Thongworong

11 Oct 1839 - Yamutherook one of six blacks who arrived at Protectorate station daubed with clay; Dredge suspects Waw-Wul, this man and Moonee Moonee of knowing something about the murder of Hutton's men; 21 Oct 1839 - With Billyboop and others away at Howells today; 23 Oct 1839 - All tribe except Yamutherook, Warwul and Boogilmunning gone possum hunting for three days (Dredge Diary, LTSL); 20 Nov 1839 - Ya-Muth-Er-Ook, aged about twenty-two years selected for N.P. (enc with 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 4 Mar 1840 - One of eight young men including four N.P. who remained at Protectorate station after 262 others left on that day; 7 Mar 1840 - Long Bill and Koomiboop wet to see the others; Yamutherook, Yabbye and others have gone to Howell's to get ammunition and firearms (for forthcoming fight with Barrabools); 25 May 1840 - Returned; 28 May 1840 - Was to go to Melbourne with Chief Protector but changed his mind; 9 Jun 1840 - Yamutherook returned from Melbourne with Old Bearmine, Weddekulk and three lubras (Dredge Diary, LTSL); Nov 1840 - Dec 1840 - Yar-Mer-Der-Rook/Long Bill a member of Assistant Protector Le Souef's newly constituted police (VPRS 12, unit 1); 18 Mar 1841 - Six of my old Thongworong friends visited me in Melbourne including Yabbye and Yamutherook, among them two who were imprisoned some time ago; 19 Mar 1841 - Visited again with Warwul; 19 Jun 1841 - Yamutherook called; 12 Aug 1841 - Seven Goulburn blacks visited, including Yamutherook, Konungboke, Billyboop, Wulwul (Dredge Diary, LTSL).

BILLY - BOOP alias THORMENRIN - Thongworong

7 Oct 1839 - With four others went to cut bark for Mr Clarke at the new crossing place twelve miles up river; 21 Oct 1839 - With Yamutherook and others away at Mr Howell's today (Dredge Diary, LTSL); 16 Nov 1839 - Dredge in Melbourne selected his five N.P.; 20 Nov 1839 - Listed as N.P. Billy-Boop alias Thornmenrin, aged about twenty (enc with 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 22 Nov 1839 - Saw my policemen in Melbourne today in their jackets, looked proud enough; 24 Jan 1840 - Blacks have been proposing to substitute a young man in the room of Billyboop as policeman, I
refused; 26 Jan 1840 - N.P. dressed in their uniform jackets to attend Divine Service today - they behaved well (Dredge Diary LtSL); Nov-Dec 1840 - Bill-Le-Book alias Billy a member of Assistant Protector Le Souef's newly constituted police (VPRS 12, unit 1); 12 Aug 1841 - In Melbourne, seven Goulburn blacks visited including Billyboop, Yamutherook, Konungboke and Waulwul (Dredge Diary, LtSL).

KOMINGBOKE - Thongworong

20 Nov 1839 - Komingboke, Thongworong tribe, no age, listed as N.P. (enc with 39/70 in Ao of NSW 4/1135.1); same date - Ko-Nung-Boke, aged about twenty (Dredge to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 1); 30 Jan 1840 - Dressed Nerebren's lubra's head this morning, he tomahawked her because she was having illicit intercourse with Konungboke; 12 Aug 1841 - In Melbourne seven Goulburn blacks visited including Wulwul, Yamutherook, Nereben, Billyboop and Konungboke (Dredge Diary, LtSL).

Assistant Protector Le Souef's Police, Goulburn district

Bill-Le-Book - see above

Yar-Mer-Der-Rook - see above

CHI-BA-ROOP/ Tommy

Nov-Dec 1840 - One of Assistant Protector Le Souef's police in his new Corps (VPRS 12, unit 1)

CON-NI-BOOP/ Davy

Nov-Dec 1840 - One of Assistant Protector Le Souef's police in his new Corps (VPRS 12, unit 1)

CON-NUNG-BOOK/ Tommy

Nov-Dec 1840 - One of Assistant Protector Le Souef's police in his new Corps (VPRS 12, unit 1)

NARRABIN/ Ned

29 Sep 1839 - Nerebren with Moonin Moonin, Warrawulk and three lubras went across the river and upstream twelve miles to get bread and tobacco from the Mounted Police Barracks; 7 Oct 1839 - With Warrawulk, Billyboop and others went to Mr Clarke's to cut bark; Oct-Nov 1839 - Blacks went to Melbourne on receipt of a message that Big One Governor had arrived in Port Phillip (La Trobe) and would give blackfellows bread etc; 5 Dec 1839 - Nerebren and Moonin Moonin arrived back at Protectorate; 10 Jan 1840 - Left Protectorate station with his wife; 25 Jan 1840 - Described as messenger, one of those who returned, no fight in the offing; 30 Jan 1840 - Dredge dressed Nerebren's lubra's head; he tomahawked her because she was having illicit intercourse with
Konungboke in Nerebren's absence (Dredge Diary LtSL); 12 Nov-Dec 1840 - One of Assistant Protector Le Souef's police in his new Corps (VPRS 12, unit 1); 1839-41 - Native Police constable at the Mitchellstown and Murchison depots...attributed source of A.A.C. le Souef's "grotesquely false map of clan locations" (Barwick, D. AH 1984, vol 8, Pt 2: 111).

TARRA-TARRA-TOON/ Mr Murray
Nov-Dec 1840 - One of Assistant Protector Le Souef's police in his new Corps (VPRS 12, unit 1)

YOU-RER-BRIT-KALK/ Lankey
Nov-Dec 1840 - One of Assistant Protector Le Souef's police in his new Corps (VPRS 12, unit 1); is this the same man as Lankey of the 1842 Corps

CUR-RAD/ Tommy
Dec 1840 - Name added to Assistant Protector Le Souef's list of his Native Police (VPRS 12, unit 1)

WL-CULK/ Tommy
Dec 1840 - Name added to Assistant Protector Le Souef's list of his Native Police (VPRS 12, unit 1)

WAUN-GIRAP/ Charlie
Dec 1840 - Name added to Assistant Protector Le Souef's list of his Native Police (VPRS 12, unit 1)

Assistant Protector Sievwright's Police, Geelong district

DOREGOBEL - Woolourong
20 Nov 1839 - Doregobel aged forty, first on list of N.P. attached to the Aborigines Department of the Woolourong tribe under the orders of A.P. Sievwright (enc with LaTrobe to Robinson, 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1 and HRV vol 2B: 496).

WINERDERA - Woolourong

DIN-IN-DUAL - Woolourong

WOOL-LU - Woolourong

**BILLY-GONG - Woolourong**

20 Nov 1839 - Billy-Gong, aged twenty-five selected as N.P. by A.P. Sievwright (enc with La Trobe to Robinson, 39/70 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1, and HRV vol 2B: 496). This man is almost certainly the same person as the following man.

**BULLIYAN, 1835** - The king's brother-in-law (Ms William Todd, LtSL); BALLYANG, 13 Jul 1836 - With Mr John Wood's party, including Derrimut and Baitbaige searching for the killers of Mr Franks and Flinders his servant (Henry Batman's testimony in HRV vol 2A: 47);

**BALLIANG, Apr 1837** - A friendly native chief showed Mr Pettett new country beyond the future site of the city of Ballarat (Clarke, M. Big Clarke, Queensberry Hill Press, Melbourne, 1980: 67); BALLYEN, 28 Oct 1839 - He and Derrimut already possess weapons (La Trobe to Robinson, enc with 39/12991 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); BELLIYANG, 27 Jun 1840 - Aged thirty, chief of the Barabool tribe (Robinson to La Trobe, enc with 40/7285 in AO of NSW 4/2510); BALLYANG, n.d. - more respected than any other, accidentally killed by his own gun, left three wives and four young boys; Woolmudgen was his relative, always with him till he died (Fyans, F. in Bride, T.F. 1969: 187-8); BALLYAN, 22 Apr 1840 - Married, aged thirty, shot himself while drunk (Thomas Return, 40/1269 in AO of NSW 4/2512.1).
1842 CORPS

ANDREW

23 Jul 1849 - Corporal O'Bryan and Troopers Woola, Anderson and Poligerry started for Gippsland (VPRS 90); 28 Jan 1850 - Troopers Munite and Andrew in Melbourne with troop horses Gluck and Bolwar to be delivered over to Mr Sturt; 21 Aug 1850 - Trooper Andrew left for Cape Otway with despatches from the Public Works Office; 12 Sep 1850 - Trooper Andrew arrived back at H.Q. from Cape Otway; 25 Nov 1850 - Mr Dana, Corporal Cowan and seven named troopers including Andrew left to take up quarters at Pentridge Stockade; 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and seven troopers relieved the above party; 27 Mar 1851 - Troopers von Beverout and Andrew ordered to the Bunya Bunyaip [Westernport] to watch out for Pentridge escapees; 1 Apr 1851 - They returned from Westernport to H.Q.; 3 May 1851 - The whole force attended quarters parade and received pay; 5 May 1851 - Sergeant-Major, Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Gibson and eight troopers including Andrew left H.Q. for duty at the stockade (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Andrew receiving pay at the rate of one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127).

ARCHER

3 May 1851 - Whole force attended quarters parade and received pay (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Archer receiving pay at the rate of one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 1 Jun 1851 - Drummer Brown and Troopers Henry and Archer left for the stockade (VPRS 90).

BACHUS or BACHUST or BACHS

Jan 1851 - 2 additional Corporals and 6 Troopers were added to the Corps, making a total of 55 men; ? Bachus recruited here (Dana to LaTrobe, 2 Sep 1851, 51/69, VPRS 19, Box 144); 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and seven troopers including Bachus left H.Q. for the stockade to relieve the party there; 3 May 1851 - Whole force attended quarters parade and received pay (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Bachus receiving pay at the rate of one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 5 May 1851 - Mr Lydiard and seven troopers including Bachus relieved at the stockade by Sergeant-Major and another detachment; 6 Jun 1851 - Two corporals and two troopers including Bachus left for the Broken Rise to do duty in that quarter; 16 Jul 1851 - Trooper Bachus arrived at H.Q. from the Goulburn; 19 Jul 1851 - Corporal and Trooper Bachus left for the Goulburn, to call at Pentridge en route, to take Trooper Toning or Johnny, to relieve Trooper Lee who
is sick [presumably on duty at the Goulburn]; 15 Oct 1851 - Sergeant and six troopers including Bachus arrived at H.Q. from Pentridge; Troopers Bachus and Clarke rejoined the force; 18 Jun 1852 - Corporal and two troopers, Bachus and Clarke started for Gippsland (VPRS 90).

**BANNULL or BARNAL - Marinbuluk section of Warwoorong**

20 Mar 1839 - Barnal is listed on Dredge's census of Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne as an unmarried male, aged 16, of the Warwoorong tribe, whose family connections were not then known; though Dredge's spelling is idiosyncratic, this boy is definitely Bannull; he is number 88 on the list, while his friends whom Dredge has listed as Dunmille and Poleck, numbers 89 and 90, are Tonmile and Poligarry (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); 30 Sep 1840 - Listed in Parker's census of portion of the Warwoorong tribe as belonging to the Marinbulluck section; Bannull's father was Torwit, his mother Barmoneen and his brother Kodgederre [Cotigerry] (4/2512.1, AO of NSW); 21 Nov 1843 - Listed as one of the Native Police under orders to walk with Thomas from Merri Creek to Nerre Nerre Warren while another group rode the horses up with the Commandant (H.Q. re-located back to Nerre Nerre Warren) (Thomas Journal, uncat. Ms. M.L. set 214, item3); 7 Feb 1844 - Named as one of the Native Police in a crowd of about 700 assembled at Merri Creek to witness judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, 13 Feb 1844, VPRS 11, unit 8); 29 Dec 1845 - Thomas, in commenting on Parker's allegation that five Aboriginal men including two Native Police were responsible for the death of an Aboriginal at Mr Joyce's station, suggests that Bannull was involved (Parker to Robinson, 12 Nov 1845, VPRS 11, Box 5/235 and Thomas to Robinson, 29 Dec 1845, VPRS 11, Box 10/625); 15 Sep 1848 - Bannull is dead by this date, as Thomas notes in his journal that he met a Mt Macedon man named Wulkeralbum, the first time since the death of Bannull that he had fallen in with a black of this tribe (Thomas Quarterly Report, Sep-Nov 1848, enc. with 48/13880, AO of NSW 4/2816.4).

**BARNEY - Port Fairy**

Dec 1845 - Barney was recruited from the Portland Bay District, together with Bobby, Souwester, Cobra Bile, Port Fairy Jack, Merri, Hopkins, Cape Otway, Jack [a different person from Port Fairy Jack], and Billy (Dana Return, 45/2179, VPRS 19, Box 77); 29 Dec 1845 - Native Place Geelong, date of enlistment Dec 1845, length of service one month (Dana Return, ibid); 12 Jan 1846 - List of articles issued at H.Q. to Barney, who was No 22 on the muster, included a saddle complete, a sword and pistol carabine, two pairs of duck trousers, one pair of moleskins, two regatta...
Shirts, one red shirt, new boots, a blanket and a bed tick; 16 Jan 1846 - Barney en route to the Murray district with six other Native Police under the command of Mr W.A.P. Dana; 14 Jul 1846 - Corporal Elliotbrand and Trooper Barney have leave of absence for four days; 18 Jul 1846 - Corporal Elliotbrand and Trooper Barney returned, their pass being expired (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Listed as a member of the Second Division, date of enlistment Dec 1845; Barney's horse is named Isac, aged five years, fit for duty (Dana Return, 47/1861, VPRS 19, Box 97); 25 Apr 1847 - Barney has permission to go to Geelong for ten days, to return on May 5 (VPRS 90); Barney, Barrabool tribe, aged 22, a single male, died either at Nerre Nerre Warren or Geelong (Thomas Return of Deaths, Jun-Nov 1847, uncat.Ms., M.L. set 214, item 6: 54).

BARACK or BEERACK or BORACK or BARACK or BURACK or BERACK - Warwoorong

Barak/ William Barak, heir to his father Bebejern, next in influence to his cousin Simon Wonga Billibellary's son], sole heir after Somon Wonga's death, clan head of Wurrundjerri-Willam whose country was south bank of Yarra from Gardiner's Creek upstream to Yarra flats and north slopes of Dandenongs (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 122-3); Barak went to school at Merri Creek when the master was J.T. Smith (Box 18/12, LtSL); Jan 1844 - Date of enlistment, Native Place Yarra Yarra; 29 Dec 1845 - length of service two years (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 12 Jan 1846 - Articles issued to Bearack No 19, include a new saddle complete, new carabine and sword, sword belt, cartridge box and belt, two pairs duck trousers, one pair moleskins, two regatta shirts, one red shirt, new boots; 7 Jan 1847 - Men paraded and afterwards employed in repairing dam across the creek; two troopers Bearack and Calcallo have leave of absence for three days; 1 Mar 1847 - Bearack listed as a trooper in the First Division, Officer-in-charge Mr Walsh, date of enlistment Nov 1842, his horse was named George, aged five years, fit for duty (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 2 Jul 1847 - Gratuity of five shillings paid (Dana to La Trobe, 8 Jan 1848, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 5 Jul 1847 - Request by Commandant for gratuity for Bearack and twenty-five other troopers, approved by La Trobe (Dana to La Trobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for Bearack and thirty-three other troopers as an encouragement for good conduct...men have been on active duty since last gratuity paid...La Trobe promised them this indulgence when he was at Nerre Nerre Warren in June 1847...Minuted by La Trobe, this would have to be a charge on incidentals, must have Mr Ginn's report...Minuted by Henry Ginn, Clerk of Works, acted upon 14 Jan (Dana to La Trobe, VPRS
March 8. - He is beginning to arrive, and to send away the portrait. May 22. - Paid the bill to Rubens, and Mr. Maddocks, about £155. 23. - Took the letters for the portrait to the post office.
19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Bearack received gratuity of five shillings, made X his mark; 1 May- 31 Jul 1849 - Berrick on duty with Corporal MacDonald and eleven other N.P. at Lower Murray (VPRS 4466, Box 1/ 16); 14 Jan 1850 - Commandant, Sergeant, Corporal and Trooper Bearack in Melbourne; 25 Nov 1850 - Mr Dana, Corporal Cowan and seven troopers including Bearack left H.Q. to take up quarters at Pentridge Stockade; 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and seven troopers left for the stockade to relieve the above party; 17 Feb 1851 - Trooper Bearack in Melbourne with letter for the Commandant; 14 Apr 1851 - Trooper Bearack and four others returned from the stockade (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Bearack is listed on the pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); Not on Thomas' list of NP in Bride 5 n.d. Berack explained importance of message sticks and messengers(p702); gave account of great fight and corroboree in early 1840'a (almost certainly the 1844 judicial proceedings) (p338); information about Billibolary's ownership and policey re Mt William axe quarry (p312); Berak's father was Bebejern (p311), headman of the Kurnaje-berring who owned the country from Darebin creek to the sources of the Plenty River (1) (Howitt, A.W. Native Tribes of Southeast Australia, 1904); 1864 - Mentioned in report of Central Board for Protection of Aborigines; 14 Jun 1890 - His marriage at Ramahuyuck mentioned in The Lilydale Express; 22 Aug 1903 - Obituary and details of his life, including evidence of admiration for Captain Dana, and of Barak's imitations of Dana's mannerisms (Box 18/2, LtsL)5.

BENBOW or BENBU or KING BENBOW or SERGEANT BENBOW or LITTLE BENBOW / BUL-LUT / BOOLLULL - Yalukit - Willam section of Bunirong

Barwick lists four men bearing the name Benbow, their country being the coastal tract at the head of Port Phillip Bay extending to Werribee; their clan name was Yalukit-Wiallam(Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 119); n.d., informant Berack - Benbu was the headman of a Bunirong clan called Yalukit-Willam, whose country was to the south of the Wurrunjirri (Howitt, A.W. Native Tribes of Southeast Australia, 1904: 3, 338); 17 Apr 1836 - With Fawknor's party fishing; 24 Apr 1836 - With Derrinmut and Fawknor's party fishing (Billot, C.P.,1982:62,65 ); 11 Jul 1836 - Benbow a member of the combined Aboriginal/European party in search of the killers of Charles Franks and his shepherd named Flinders [near Mt Cottrell, in the vicinity of, if not precisely in, Benbow's own country] (HRV vol 2A: 47); 8 Mar 1837 - Governor Sir Richard Bourke, visiting

5 See also Wiencke, S.W. When the Wattle Bloom Again: The Life and Times of William Barack, Last Chief of the Yarra Yarra Tribe, Globe Press, Melbourne, 1984
Melbourne, distributed blankets and clothing to 120 Aborigines who came to see him, and gave four brass plates to individuals recommended by Captain Lonsdale; Benbow may have received his brass plate here (Bourke, R. Journal, LlSL, Box 640/1); Jul 1839 - Bul-lut, Benbow; Name recorded in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, M.L. set 214, item 1); Oct 1839 - Author met Benbow and his wife Kitty living in a small hut of his own construction in John Batman's garden; Benbow was consulted by settlers concerning various matters, always willing to impart knowledge; the only teetotaller the author met; Benbow was one of the men who saved the settlement from attack in the first months (Bunce, D. 1857: 64); 13 Sep 1840 - Benbow and Betbengee told Thomas that it was they who saved the settlement, got the blackfellows that killed the first white man...now soldiers will not allow them to camp where they want...complained of ingratitude of Europeans (Thomas Journal 1839-40, uncate Ms ML, set 214, item 1); 19 May 1841 - Made drawings of the native Benbow and placed them in Kerr's window...he is chief of the Weraby tribe...told me that last Summer was the hottest for many years...Benbo is very much in want of a musket...he often goes hunting with me...I let him have it; 23 May 1841 - Benbo and others prevented Derrimut, Chief of Melbourne from murdering his wife (Haydon, G. Journal. mf Ms, N.L. Canberra); Feb 1842 - Enrolled in Dana's Native Police, not with the others, but later, taken in with LaTrobe's express permission because of his stature in the community (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Benbo a member of the Second Division, on duty with Commissioner of Crown Lands F.A. Powlett, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1 Feb 1843 - Benbow, Sergeant, aged 35, married, onw wife, no children, never punished, on duty at the Mt Macedon police station, and at the Lodden and Goulburn rivers (Dana Return, NSW Leg. Co. V&P 1844); 23 Feb 1843 - Little Benbow's absence specifically noted by Thomas from a full complement of the Native Police, daubed, in battle formation, crossing the Yarra at the punt with about 60 Goulburn men, going to fight the Westernport and Yarra men (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Jul-Sep 1843, at H.Q.; Oct-Nov 1843, with Commissioner of Crown Lands Tyers in the first unsuccessful attempt to get through to Gippsland by an overland route (Dana Return, Jun 1844, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); Nov 1843 - Returned to Merri Creek from Gippsland, wife with him, has been with Mr Tyers (Thomas Journal, uncate Ms ML, set 214, item 3); 25 Dec 1843 - At H>Q> sick (Dana Return, Jun 1844, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177a); 13 Feb 1844 - Named as one of a large number of Native Police among a crowd of 700 assembled at Merri Creek to witness judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box
8/469); Mar 1844 - Sick; 30 Jun 1844 - Willing, but worn out by trip to Gippsland (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177a); Between 15-18 Jan 1845 - Chief Benbow, looking more regal than ever in the white uniform of a Native Policeman, farewelled G.H.Haydon at Williamstown on his return to England; Benbow had been instrumental in saving Haydon's life (Whitlock,J, Ms biography of G.H.Haydon: 148); 29 Dec 1845 - Native Place Yarra Yarra, enlisted May 1842, old and useless (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179 ); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the Native Police as one of those who deserted, minuted by LaTrobe Mr Thomas is prejudiced [ Benbow was actually working at this time for the Chief Protector] (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341, AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 8 Nov 1846 - King Benbow referred to as Chief Protector's messenger...Thomas recalls tragic case some years ago regarding Benbow's wife Kitty...her father died and the uncle claimed his rights, insisted on them and Benbow's Kitty was given to the uncle; Thomas got her back for Benbow "far against the consent of the blacks, and by them considered a great infringement on their rights" (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/647); 7 Dec 1847 - King Benbow introducing Gippsland women brought back to Melbourne by Aboriginal members of de Villiers expedition in search of the alleged white woman (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 47/9842, AO of NSW 4/2784); 1845-1848 - Benbow is being rationed at the same scale as the Native Police by the Aborigines Department, chits signed by Robinson, though at least once Benbow drew rations for himself without the signed authority (VPRS 19, Box 78, 46/161a; VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2183 and 4; VPRS 29, vol 28 ; VPRS 26:42); 14 Aug 1848 - Thomas presses King Benbow to renew his duties at the Chief Protector's office as messenger (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 48/10697, AO of NSW, 4/2824); 12 Sep 1848 - Benbow named as one of the Westernport Aborigines now in Gippsland, due back at the end of September; 4 Sep 1848 - Dana says they are armed...bent on revenge (Both letters with LaTrobe to Col.Sec. 48/10473, AO of NSW, 4/2824); Jan-Feb 1849 - Benbow and family at Williamstown...come into Melbourne to sell their eels and get supplies; 20 Mar 1849 - King Benbow, well-equipped in his Commissariat uniform, waited in a queue at entrance to Royal Hotel to be introduced to Governor Fitzroy, in Melbourne on a visit; Benbow sent up his brass plate as a gentleman's card; his object was to ask the Governor for land for the Westernport Aborigines (Thomas Half-Yearly Report, 30 Jun 1849, enc with 49/6892 in AO of NSW 4/2872); 10 Apr 1849 - Benbow and his family are the only Aborigines permitted to frequent the town of Melbourne (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/716); 15 Sep 1849
- Thomas removed Benbow and his small circle from town to St Kilda (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/723); 13 Dec 1851 - Boollutt alias King Benbow, male, Boonoorong or coast tribe, wife Tallumungrook alias Kitty (Thomas Census, uncat Ms ML, set 214, item 12: 143); 5 Jul 1852 - Benbow died on his way to Mordialloc, at Little Brighton; Harmless man but a short time in the service, not adapted by nature or disposition to the Native Police, spent a short time in the service, a good and inoffensive man, a Chief, seldom out of uniform, Mr Erskine gave him his cast-off uniforms (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1969 ed.: 406); J.W. Miller recollected that Benbow always wore his brass plate inscribed King of the Yarra Yarra...he held court outside Miller's father's brewery in Bourke St (Greig, A.W. 1918: 188); With Robert You Yang Cunningham (Yanki Yanki N.P.), and Murray (Warwoorong N.P.), Benbow gave Thomas the account of how Port Phillip Bay was once a hunting ground (Victoria Leg.Co. V&P 1858-9: 12).

BERING or BEARING / TALLBOY or TALL BOY or TOLBY - Devil's River

Jun 1842 - Bering No 5 enrolled in Native Police, age 18, single, no children, general conduct good, likely to make a good policeman (Dana Return, NSW Leg.Co, V&P 1844); 27 Jul 1842 - Bering is a member of the Second Division, rationed since 1 Feb has remained at Merri Creek (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday with nineteen other named Native Police and about 60 Yarra and Goulburn men, in battle formation for a fight with the Westernport and Port Phillip men (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Jul 1843 - En route to Portland and The Grange marching prisoners; Aug 1843 - With the Mounted Police at the Wannon and the Grampians; Oct 1843 - At Mt Eckersley and Port Fairy; 2 Nov 1843 - To Melbourne, with Commissioner of Crown Lands at the Murray, collision with the natives; Dec 1843 - To H.Q.; Feb 1844 - 9 days leave of absence; Mar 1844 - To Buninyong, The Grange, the Glenelg River; Apr 1844 - At H.Q.; May 1844 - With Commissioner of Crown Lands Powlett, collision at the Pyrenees; Jun 1844 - At H.Q.; Remarks- smart and well-conducted (Dana Return, enc with 42/8217, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Sep 1843 - Bearing alias TallBoy has been on service since 27 Jun 1843 with Commandant, Sergeant and nine other troopers (Dana Return, enc with 43/7302 in AO of NSW, 4/1135.1); 30 Jun 1844 - Bering is active, intelligent and well-conducted (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177a); 1844 or 1845 - Tallboy, so-called because of his unusual height, slender and wiry-looking, a couple of inches taller than Buckup who was six feet (Boldrewood, R. 1899:81); 29 Dec 1845 - Native Place Devil's River, enlisted Feb 1842, length of service 3 years 11 months (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 26 Jan 1846 - Bering No 9, issued with
complete kit, saddle, sword and carabine, cartridge box and belt of old, 1 pair duck trousers, 1 pair of moleskins, 2 regatta shirts, 1 red shirt, new boots (VPRS 90); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the Native Police as one of the Melbourne tribes still in the Corps (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW, 4/2745.1); 29 Mar 1846 - Tallboy and four other troopers returned from the Murray with despatches from Mr W.A.P.Dana; 1 Apr 1846 - Commandant, O'Brien, Tallboy and two other troopers left H.Q. for the Murray; 2 May 1846 - Commandant, Second Officer and Second Division arrived at barracks from the Murray, leaving O'Brien's and Tallboy's horses "somewhere"; 4 Sep 1846 - Tallboy returned from the Glenelg, accompanying sick trooper Yapton, carrying despatches from the Commandant; 10 Sep 1846 - Tallboy and two other troopers under orders to proceed to Mr Morris station near Mt Ecles to join Commandant; 12 Sep 1846 - Being fitted out by the Sergeant; 14 Sep 1846 - Tallboy in Melbourne with the Sergeant and other two troopers; 25 Oct 1846 - Second Division returned from the Western District with Mr W.A.P.Dana; 24 Nov 1846 - Second Division to Gippsland; 17 Jan 1847 - Troopers Tallboy and Gellibrand returned from Gippsland with despatches; 2 Jul 1847 - His Honour the Superintendent arrived...inspected the men, granted a gratuity of five shillings to all recommended by their officers for good conduct (VPRS 90); 5 Jul 1847 - Recommended for a gratuity of five shillings, approved by LaTrobe (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 5 Jul 1847 - Messers W.A.P.Dana and Walsh preparing their men for their Winter excursion; 6 Jul 1847 - Issue to all the men of their requisites for their routes, blankets, boots, spurs, belts, combs, knives, shirt etc; 7 Jul 1847 - Mr W.A.P.Dana and the Second Division left for the Western District; 20 Nov 1847 - Second Division returned to H.Q.; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Tallboy received gratuity of five shillings, marked X his mark, Commandant in Melbourne attended by Trooper Tallboy; 25 Feb 1848 - They returned to H.Q.; 4 Aug 1848 - Troopers Tallboy and Munite returned from Portland Bay with despatches; 21 Oct 1848 - Mr Dana and Trooper Tallboy in Melbourne; 15 Jan 1849 - Troopers Tallboy and Yapton on furlough to the Goulburn; 28 Dec 1849 - Troopers Tallboy and Woola ordered to Cape Otway; 21 Jan 1850 - Trooper Tallboy to the Goulburn on duty; 15 Jun 1850 - Trooper Tallboy and Corporal Gellibrand arrived arrived from Flooding Creek with despatches for the returning officer for the electoral district of Port Phillip; 8 Sep 1850 - Trooper Tallboy arrived from Gippsland; 12 Sep 1850 - Troopers Tallboy and Tunmille in Melbourne for Doctor's advice; 25 Nov 1850 - Mr Dana, Corporal Cowan, Trooper Tallboy and six other troopers left H.Q. to take up quarters at Pentridge; 11 Dec 1850 - Trooper Tallboy arrived back at H.Q.; 5 Apr 1851 - Trooper Tallboy to Melbourne; 2 May 1851 - Whole force paid after quarters
parade; 25 May 1851 - Inspection of clothing and equipment of troopers about to proceed to Gippsland including Trooper Tallboy; 26 May 1851 - Tallboy in town with horses to be shod; 30 May 1851 - Gippsland party started (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Corporal Tallboy receiving pay at the rate of three pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55:127); 17 Oct 1851 - Gippsland party arrived back (VPRS 90); The following information is undated: almost certainly, it refers to Tallboy/Bering, formerly of the Native Police. Some fifteen years ago...Goulburn tribe camped on Yarra...Tallboy, a celebrated Wer-raap [doctor] belonging to Goulburn undertook to cure Wonga, principal man of the Yarra tribe who had been in the Melbourne hospital for several weeks with opthalmia and who came out blind (Smyth 1876, vol 1: 463).

BERUKE or BARUKE or BARUKEE/ GELLIBRAND - Warwoorong

His real name is Beruke- Kangaroo rat (Thomas in Bride, T.F. op.cit.:406); May 1838 - Mentioned in George Langhorne's monthly report from Mission as leading a war expedition comprising 30 men to the west to the country where Mr Gellibrand and Mr Hesse were murdered (VPRS 4, Box 4, 38/113); 20 Mar 1839 - Burruke/ Gellibrand, Warwoorong tribe, aged twenty, listed in Dredge's census of Aborigines in vicinity of Melbourne as one of a group of males unmarried, whose families are not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Mar 1839 - Gellibrand a Yarra black wounded in an affray when the Yarra and Westernport tribes fought the Barrabool and Mt Macedon (Thomas Abstract, Jan -Jul 1839, set 214, item 1, ML); 23 Mar 1839 - Gellibrand who calls himself my brother got a dreadful wound on his head in fight, thomas dressed the wound, and afterwards Gellibrand gathered up all the particles of hair and burned them; 1 and 3 May 1839 - Gellibrand has been out with a gentleman for a few weeks, on return visited Thomas in a fine shooting coat with pockets...Thomas gave him tobacco and potatoes...Gellibrand shaved and washed and brought three other blacks to evening service (Thomas Journal, 1839-40, set 214, item1, ML); Jul 1839 - Bar-Ruke/ Gellibrand, name recorded in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 20 Nov 1839 - The Tonguerong are down in Melbourne to see the Gobemon, at a curious ceremony, Assistant Protector Dredge horrified to see Gellibrand and others half drunk (Dredge Diary, 1839-43: 48, LSL); 22 Nov 1839 - Beruke, male, Warwoorong tribe, aged twenty-eight (Thomas Census, VPRS 10, unit 1); 1840 - Gellibrand is the brother of Jack Wetherly, as is also Jika and Illa (Notes pencilled on back of Thomas Napier's 1840 portrait of Jack Wetherly, Dutton,G. 1974: 142); 4 Feb 1841 - Gellibrand and Billibillary have the only two firearms among the Warwoorong...using them for food...Thomas would not
hesitate to go guarantee for them (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 7/370); 3 Jun 1841 - Gellibrand called with Yabbee [Billy Hamilton, 1839 Tonguerong N.P.] to see Dredge in Melbourne...said blackfellows are hungry...get only picanniny flour and sugar at Nerre Nerre Warren (Dredge Diary, 1839-43: 195); Nov 1841 - One of seven Aboriginal men who volunteered to help Thomas in the capture of the VDL Aborigines who killed the whalers at Westernport, asked for a blanket, a shirt, pair of trousers, leather belt with buckle, neck handkerchief, straw hat and gun (Thomas to Robinson, 2 Dec 1841, VPRS 11, Box 8/415); 19 Jan 1842 - In our last number, we were misled by rumour...actually the blacks and Gellibrand extinguished the fire, not lit it (Port Phillip Gazette); 2 Feb 1842 - Two Police natives accompany the overseer to town, viz Talleorong and Beruke (Thomas Journal, ML CY reel 732, item 5(e)); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Gellibrand, 1st Division, to the westward, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); Aug 1842 - Gellibrand mounted on Frenchman, one of the N.P. who accompanied Dana to the Western District; 23 Sep 1842 - Gellibrand sent to Mr Patterson's on duty; 10 Oct 1842 - Gellibrand one of four troopers with Dana on ride of 100 miles to Hopkins River and back, calling at all stations; 22 Oct 1842 - Gellibrand sent from Dr Martin's station to The Grange with report on Dana's movements since leaving The Grange; 5 Dec 1842 - Gellibrand one of five troopers whom Dana took with him to join Mr Powlett's party, then with Dana and Buckup to Jamieson's station at Westernport, thence to the limeburners at Pt Nepean and the stations on Mornington Peninsula (Dana Diary in O'Callaghan, T. Ms LtsL); 1842 - Barup or Gellibrand, aged 30, single, no children, punished once - not being allowed to ride, a good orderly, on duty at Western Port in June, Nerre Nerre Warren, Portland Bay, was very useful, took several blacks prisoners, on duty with Crown Commissioner at Western Port, general conduct good, obedient, cleanly and useful (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 1 Jan 1843 - Listed as a N.P. on that date in letter Campbell to Thomas, 3 Apr 1854 requesting details of N.P. (Thomas Papers, set 214, item 14, ML); 24 Feb 1843 - Gellibrand listed as one of the N.P. in little fight, daubed...fight went on till 10 am when chief of Western Port blacks wounded...Thomas told Billibobary that he intended to ride to Melbourne for the police, and the N.P. would be taken in first...Gellibrand caught up with him and begged Thomas not to go as the fight would stop (Thomas to LaTrobe, 24 Feb 1843, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Jul 43 - Gellibrand, on road to Portland and The Grange; Aug 1843 - The Grange, marching
prisoners etc; Sep 1843 - Mt Ekersley, in confinement five days; Oct 1843 - The Grange, marching prisoners to Portland; Nov 1843 - To Melbourne, H.Q., in confinement (Dana return Jul 43-Jun44, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 2 Dec 1843 - Turnmille and Baruke arrive from NNW with LOA (Thomas Journal, 1 Sep 43-29 Jan 44, set 214, item 3, ML); Dec 43- Jun 44 - At H.Q., remarks-stupid and not to be trusted (Dana return Jul 43-Jun44, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 1843 - Baruke/Gellibrand, on duty since 27 Jun last in Western District (Return of N.P. with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 29 Sep 1843, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 13 Feb 1844 - Baruke is one of N.P. in large crowd assembled to watch judicial proceedings at MerriCreek (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 8/469); 7 Mar 1845 - Gellibrand ordered on duty with Chief Protector; 29 May 1845 - Arrived at H.Q. with Robinson after absence of two months and twenty days; 30 Oct 1845 - Returned from Wimmera with Mr W. Dana and three other troopers (VPRS 90); 29 Dec 1845 - Gellibrand, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb 1842, length of service three years eleven months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Beruke listed in Thomas criticism of N.P. as one of the Melbourne tribes, still in the Corps (Thomas Quarterly Report Sep-Nov 1846, enc to 46/ 3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 16 Jan 1846 - Articles issued to Gellibrand, en route to Murray with Mr W Dana and six other troopers, saddle complete, one jacket, two pairs duck trousers, one pair moleskins, one red shirt, one regatta, new boots, spurs, sword and carabine, kit complete; 14 Jul 1846 - Corporal Gellibrand and one other N.P. have LOA for four days; 18 Jul 1846 - Corporal Gellibrand and Trooper Barney returned, their pass being expired (VPRS 90); 29 Oct 1846 - Dana defends Gellibrand against LaTrobe's complaint that Gellibrand was enticing the schoolboys away from Merri Creek (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 85, 46/1597); 1-31 Dec 1846 - Coporal Gellibrand's name on pay abstract, but crossed out, Quandine's name added instead (VPRS 29, vol 24); 1 Jan 1847 - Corporal Gellibrand, 2nd Division, date of enlistment Jan 42, horses name Bonaparte, aged six, not fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 17 Jan 1847 - Gellibrand and Toby returned from Mr Dana's Division in Gippsland with despatches; 24 Jan 1847 - Mr Walsh and Sergeant McGregor preparing to despatch Gellibrand and Bobby to Gippsland; 25 Jan 1847 - Started for Gippsland with packhorses, new saddle and other articles for the service of the Division in Gippsland; 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six troopers approved by LaTrobe for gratuity (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 14 Aug 1847 - Corporal Gellibrand and Tommy started for Gippsland with despatches from the Superintendent; 4 Sep 1847 - Corporal Gellibrand and Trooper Tommy returned
from Gippsland with despatches for the Superintendent; 22 Oct 1847 - Corporal Gellibrand started on route to Portland Bay to join the N.P. there (VPRS 90); 1-31 Dec 1847 - Corporal Gellibrand on pay abstract, receiving three pence a day (VPRS 29, vol 28); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana asks for gratuity of five shillings for him and thirty-three other named troopers (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 3 Feb 1848 - Corporal Gellibrand and Troopers Harry and Yankee confined in guard room eighteen hours for creating a disturbance; 4 Feb 1848 - Released; 24 Feb 1848 - Corporal Gellibrand received gratuity of five shillings, made X his mark; 15 Nov 1848 - Gellibrand out after horse belonging to Major St John (VPRS 90); 1-30 Nov 1848 - Corporal Gellibrand on pay abstract, receiving three pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 34); 4 Nov 1848 - Gellibrand is a native of the Geelong district, complains that though he is a long time Corporal he gets no pay (McCrae, H.(ed): 226); 1-31 Jan 1849 - Corporal Gellibrand on pay abstract receiving three pence a day (VPRS 29, vol 35); 31 Jan 1849 - Corporal Gellibrand and Trooper Jack returned from the Yarra having captured a deserter (VPRS 90); 14 Feb 1849 - Captain Dana, Corporal, and five N.P. Gellibrand, Moonering, Calcheron, Marmbool and Robinson, all rather good-looking men, armed and mounted, good riders, provided escort for the Bishop of Gippsland (Perry, R. 1857:97,111); 3 May 1849 - Corporals O'Brien and Gellibrand and Troopers Bobby, Jack and Jamie started for Gippsland to join the 2nd Division stationed there; 9 Jul 1849 - Corporals O'Brien, Yapton and Gellibrand arrive from Gippsland; All three to Melbourne to vet with troop horse Wellington; 17 Jul 1849 - Corporals Yapton and Gellibrand on patrol up Yarra after Troopers Harry and Muggins; 20 Jul 1849 - Gellibrand returned; 6 Aug 1849 - Sergeant and Gellibrand in Melbourne with troop horse Wellington who is to undergo an operation; 25 Aug 1849 - Corporal Gellibrand proceeded to Keilor to endeavour to discover the remains of a man supposed to have been murdered by his wife and another; 15 Feb 1850 - Gellibrand at Bulleen; 1 Mar 1850 - Corporals O'Brien and Gellibrand left for Gippsland with pack horse Clifton and nine pairs of blankets, and nine pairs of trousers; 15 Jun 1850 - Trooper Tallboy and Corporal Gellibrand arrived from Port Albert and Flooding Creek with despatches for the Returning Officer for Electoral District of Port Phillip; 21 Jun 1850 - Troopers Yapton and Gellibrand proceeded to Melbourne; 28 Jul 1850 - Commandant to Melbourne, Gellibrand attending; 31 Jul 1850 - Commandant, Corporal Cowan and Gellibrand returned; 29 Aug 1850 - Corporals Gellibrand and Tunmille, Troopers Jack and Tommy arrived from Melbourne; 6 Jan 1851 - Gellibrand to Melbourne with Yapton; 8 Jan 1851 - Returned with Mr Walsh and Yapton; 3 May 1851 - Whole force attended quarters parade and received pay (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Gellibrand receiving three
pence a day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 25 May 1851 - Inspection of clothing of troopers about to proceed to Gippsland viz Gellibrand, Tallboy, Charlie, Jack, Munite and Peter; 30 May 1851 - Gippsland party started, one Officer, one European trooper, and six Native troopers; 17 Oct 1851 - Gippsland party arrived back; 13 Jan 1852 - Gellibrand died; 14 Jan 1852 - Gellibrand buried (VPRS 90); Gellibrand buried near South Yarra pound, drank to excess at the Club-house, having brought dray to Melbourne from Nerre Nerre Warren for provisions, information supplied by the blacks (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1969: 407); no date - Thomas gave evidence to Select Committee that Eliza of the Devil's River tribe was promised by her father to both Gellibrand and Billy Hamilton [Yab-be, a Tonguerong]...she was given to Billy Hamilton...eloped...trouble for two years...settled by fight...Gellibrand won...Eliza had a son (Vic Leg Co V&P 1858-9); Berack confirmed this story to Howitt at Corranderrk on 9 Oct 1897 (Howitt Papers, Box 9, Folder 4, Museum of Victoria).

BILLIBELLARY or BIL-LI-BEL-LA-RY or BILLIBOLARY/ JIKA JIKA or JACKIA JACKIA or JACKY JACKY - Warwoorong

Billebellary clan head Wurundjerri-William whose country was the south bank of the Yarra extending from Gardiner's Creek upriver to Yarra flats and north slope of Dandenongs, (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 122-3); Billibellari - headman of that part of the Wurrunjjerri who lived on the east side of the Saltwater Creek up to Mt Macedon(page 1, 338); ownership and management policy of Mt William axe-quarries (page 312); Bungarim was the one who "gave his words"(page 705, 341)(Howitt, A.W. Native Tribes of Southeast Australia, 1904); 6 Jun 1835 - He was the first to sign the land treaty with John Batman (Thomas Quarterly Report, Jun-Aug 1846, enc with 46/7609, AO of NSW, 4/2744); Jul 1839 - Bil-Bil-Ye-Ret known as John Batman, name recorded in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, uncat Ms, set 214, item 1,ML); 7 Nov 1839 - Female baby born in encampment by the Yarra...part of Billibolary (Jacky Jacky)'s family, named Susannah (VPRS 10, unit 1); 20 Nov 1839 - Billibillyerary, male, aged 48 years; Jacky Jacky's family has two wives, and is much respected by the whites, is an intelligent man; Koungurook, female aged 34, wife of Billibillyerary or Jacky Jacky, one of two wives, has several children (Thomas Census, VPRS 10, unit 1); Dec 1840 - Billibellary involved in Thomas' servants running away, and is responsible for the Aborigines decamping from the Protectorate station at Nerre Nerre Warren (VPRS 11, unit 7/354 and 355); 29 Dec 1840 - Bilbelyary is not the man Mr Thomas represents, I have known him well and studied his character (Robinson to LaTrobe, VPRS 10, unit 2);
1840 - Jack Wetherly (killed by a snake) is brother to Jika, Illa and Gellibrand (Notes pencilled on back of portrait of Jack Wetherly by Thomas Napier, Dutton, G. 1974: 142); 4 Feb 1841 - Billibellary and Gellibrand have the only two firearms in the possession of the Warwoorong; Thomas would not hesitate to guarantee their responsible use (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 7/370); 10 Jun 1841 - With pleasure have I often heard Billibellary and Budgery Tom give charge to the young men on going into Melbourne not to get drunk (Thomas to La Trobe, VPRS 10, unit 3); 24 Feb 1842 - Billibolary, Chief of the Yarra tribe received blankets, trousers, 1 blue frock, 1 blue shirt, 1 Police jacket, belt and cap; enrolled in the Native Police and made his mark in the presence of witnesses (Dana to La Trobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Rations have been issued from Feb 1 last to Billibolary, upon same scale as surveyors; he is number 1 in the First Division, has remained at home (enc with Dana to La Trobe, 17 Jun 1842, 42/1143, VPRS 19, Box 30); 31 Oct 1842 - Billibollary's older daughter involved in proceedings with Mary-Anne in court...the women were living with Europeans but belonged with or to the Native Police...the Native Police begged Sergeant Bennett to get them back...he instructed them to find out where the women were living, but they went further, entered the European house and took the women...they were then charged with abduction, and the European threatened to get the Sergeant dismissed from the force (Bennet to La Trobe, 31 Oct 1842, VPRS 19, Box 37, 42/2066); 1 Feb 1843 - Billibolary, aged 45, married, two wives, four children, never punished, principally left in charge of camp and stores when officer and sergeant absent on duty, never on active service, general conduct good, a chief, has a great deal of influence over his tribe, very useful in assisting to prevent quarrels and fighting (Dana Return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 23 Feb 1843 - Spokesman with Ningollobil to Thomas; at the head of about eighty men from the Native Police, Goulburn and Yarra tribes, daubed for a fight with the Westernport and Port Phillip men (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); 29 Sep 1843 - Billbaleury, alias Jacky Jacky, one of two Native Police at Nerre Nerre Warren under the general orders of the Chief Protector (La Trobe to Col Sec, 43/7302, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Jan 1844 - He set the example and abandoned the place where he had been encamped with the Melbourne tribes according to Thomas' orders (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/599); 10 Jan 1844 - Billibolary drawing a three legged table; 24 Jan 1844 - Billibolary ill (Thomas Journal, uncat Ms ML, set 214, iem 3); 30 Jun 1844 - Bibolang, no duty required from this man except to remain at H.Q.; he is a sort of chief, and his influence has been of great use in bringing together and keeping the young men in order;
conduct uniformly good (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177a); 16 Dec 1844 - Gave details to Thomas regarding the killing of an Aboriginal youth named Booby by other Aborigines on the Keilor Rd; much cast down by the event and its aftermath (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 601); 8 Mar 1845 - Requisition for fifty pounds of flour for him and his family from the Aborigines Department (Account Book, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2183); 29 Nov 1845 - Gave information to Thomas regarding the men from the Mt Buffalo and Devil's River tribes who killed Raddy, the man of colour who was hut-keeper to Major Davidson at the Acheron River (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/620); 29 Dec 1845 - Native Place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb 1842; this man as chief of the tribe is allowed his rations when at the station, has never been on duty (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - On Thomas list criticising the Native Police as a deserter! [LaTrobe's covering letter remarks as follows "His view appears to me a very prejudiced one, and I hardly know whether it would be worthwhile to call upon Mr Dana who is now absent, to explain or correct Mr Thomas statement"] (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 23 Apr 1846, enc Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 45-Mar 46, 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 10 Aug 1846 - Billibellary died at the Merri Creek encampment, and was buried on a sandy spit at the junction of the Yarra River and Merri Creek; it was a European funeral, and his grave was marked with a twelve feet square of picket fence; Thomas wrote a lengthy eulogy (Thomas Quarterly Report, Jun-Aug 1846, 46/7609, AO of NSW 4/2744); no date - Description of Chief's grave (Edgar, L. 1865: 33).

The problems associated with the name Billy are simply insurmountable; there are too many men and boys who were known by that name, whether it was bestowed upon them by Europeans, or whether they took it themselves. There are at least two Troopers named Billy - the one who died on 1 Apr 1852, and the one who went to Melbourne to return Mr Dana's horse on 1 Aug 1852 (VPRS 90). There are records of the recruitment of another Billy from Port Fairy in 1845, and of the recruitment also from Port Fairy but in 1847 of Good Morning Bill and Billy. The question arises then, did Billy who enlisted from Port Fairy in 1845, and deserted in 1846, then re-enlist in 1847? Good Morning Bill kept his long name for six months in the Native Police, but was it subsequently shortened to Billy? There is also the trooper whom Thomas calls Billy (Bride, T.F. 1969: 413), but whose real name was Bour-Tourning, and who was called William in the Native Police. His case though is not really a problem in identification. William was the victim of a miscarriage of justice[ he was tried and found guilty of rape, but was actually seduced, see his entry], and many people mentioned him, each adding
Billy, Bent Fairy, left his native place with a party featuring the native police.
a little to his story. So that if some of the details of his police career have been lost through his occasionally being called Billy, at least the outline is known. But Yepthen and Tunmille, exceptional Native Police, were both recorded "alias Billy" at least once in the records. Here too, I do not regard this as a major problem in identification; their careers are so well-documented, that even if some of their details have been lost through occasionally being called Billy, we can know them as people. Wedgeculk and Kalkallo too, were known sometimes as Billy and Little Billy respectively, but are still capable of being known as individuals. Marambul though, called occasionally Billy, is a problem, as he just may be "Poor Mr William" who was known to Europeans since a child of eight, and who was gaoled later for rape. I have elected then, to list Billy [Port Fairy 1845], Good Morning Bill [Port Fairy 1847], and Billy [Port Fairy 1847] separately, then list all references to Billy in chronological order, with the knowledge that it is certainly a conflation of two individuals, maybe more. But while the full references are given, future understanding/identification is not clouded, nor are the total numbers conflated.

**BILLY No 31 - Port Fairy**

29 Dec 1845 - Native Place Port Fairy, date of enlistment 1 Dec 1845, length of service one month; recruited with Barney, Bobby, Souwester, Cobra Boll, Port Fairy Jack, Merri, Hopkins, Cape Otway, and Jack, all from the Portland Bay district (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 13 Dec 1845 - Sergeant McGregor returned from Cape Otway with two Port Fairy recruits (VPRS 90); 1 Jan 1846 - Billy number 31 issued with one set of clothing and new blankets (VPRS 90); 24 Feb 1846 - four of the Port Fairy natives which joined the Native Police on 8 Dec last absconded from H.Q. (VPRS 90).

**BILLY - Port Fairy**

5 Jun 1847 - Souwester and Port Fairy Jack have returned from the Port Fairy district, having been on detached duty under the authority of the Port Fairy Bench of Magistrates; they carry testimonials...they have been paid four pounds...they are taking with them two other men Good Morning Bill and Billy as recruits...I hope they may prove themselves as useful as their elder brethren from here (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 93, 47/1040 with enc W.Rutledge[ Belfast Bench of Magistrates] to Dana).

**GOOD MORNING BILL - Port Fairy**

5 Jun 1847 - Souwester and Port Fairy Jack have returned from the Port Fairy district, having been on detached duty under the authority of the Port Fairy Bench of Magistrates; they carry testimonials
...they have been paid four pounds...they are taking with them two other men Good Morning Bill and Billy as recruits...I hope they may prove themselves as useful as their elder brethren from here (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 93, 47/1040 with enc W.Rutledge[ Belfast Bench of Magistrates] to Dana); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity gratuity of five shillings each for thirty-four troopers including Bill, as an encouragement for good conduct (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - G.M.Bile, received gratuity of five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90).

**BILLY**

27 Jun 1848 - Troopers Quandine and Billy left for Gippsland with despatches; 10 Jan 1849 - Troopers Jock, Bill and Peter bolted, Corporal Tummile in pursuit of them to Melbourne; 7 Jan 1850 - Troopers Robinson and Billy left for Gippsland with despatches; 7 Jul 1850 - Corporal O'Brien and Trooper Billy arrived from Gippsland with despatches; 18 Aug 1850 - Troopers Charlie and Billy left for Gippsland; 25 Nov 1850 - Troopers Bill and Dick left for Cape Otway; 25 Jan 1851 - Trooper Billy left for Gippsland; 20 Feb 1851 - The Lord Bishop and Lady started for Gippsland attended by Corporal Cowan and Troopers Isaac and Billy; 12 Apr 1851 - Troopers Lee, Toning, Geelong, Dick and Billy to stockade for duty; 3 May 1851 - Whole force attended quarters parade and received pay; 11 Sep 1851 - Trooper Billy arrived at H.Q. from Melbourne; 14 Sep 1851 - Commandant left for Buninyong, Trooper Billy attending as far as Melbourne; 29 Oct 1851 - Sergeant O'Brien, Corporal Hannan, Troopers Robinson, Billy and Munite left for Mt Alexander, Sergeant-Major in Melbourne to equip them; 23 Mar 1852 - Corporal Brown returned to H.Q. from Melbourne with the cart and Troopers Mickey and Robinson[ who had escorted the prisoner Sydney] and Trooper Billy who is sick; 1 Apr 1852 - Trooper Billy died; 1 Aug 1852 - Billy to Melbourne returning Mr Dana's horse (VPRS 90).

**BLACKIE**

3 Sep 1851 - Troopers Marambool and Blackie returned to join the Corps having absconded when detached at Melbourne and Pentridge (VPRS 90).

**BOBBY - GEELONG**

29 Dec 1845 - Native Place Geelong, date of enlistment Dec 1845, length of service one month (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 12 Jan 1846 - Issued with saddle complete, sword and pistol carabine, 2 pairs duck trousers, 1 pair moleskins, 3 regatta shirts, 1 red shirt, new boots, blanket and bed tick; 24 Jan 1847 - Mr Walsh and Sergeant McGregor preparing to despatch
Burrough, alias McNeill, alias George, as taken by some God Shotten about with my Grandpa Coak in Miln.
Gellibrand and Bobby to Gippsland; 25 Jan 1847 - They started for Gippsland with packhorses, new saddle and other articles for the service of the Division in Gippsland (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Bobby, Trooper in the Second Division, date of enlistment Dec 1845, horses name Comedore[sic], aged five years, fit for duty (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - Bobby is one of 26 troopers recommended by Commandant for gratuity, minute by LaTrobe, approved five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for him and thirty-three other troopers, as an encouragement for good conduct (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 14 Feb 1848 - Troopers Bob and Jack arrived from Gippsland with despatches for LaTrobe; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Bobby received gratuity of five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90); 21 Jan 1849 - Trooper Bobby at Buntingdale with LaTrobe, Commandant, Corporal O'Brien and Trooper Quandite (LaTrobe, C.J. Memoranda...LtSL, Box 79/1); 23 Apr 1849 - Trooper Cohen and Constable Bruce [Border Police] and Trooper Bobby arrived from Gippsland on escort with a prisoner who robbed the Portland Bay mine; 3 May 1849 - Corporals O'Brien and Gellibrand, Troopers Bobby, Jack and Jamie started for Gippsland to join the Second Division there (VPRS 90).

BORO-BORO or BUR-BOR-ROUGH or BUR-RA-BUR-RA / GEORGE or MR WALPOLE - Warwoorong

Heir to his father, clan head, Wurundjeri-Willam whose country was south bank of Yarra from Gardiner's Creek upstream to Yarra flats and north slopes of Dandenongs; killed by father's brother's son Kalkallo Aug 1852 (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 122); Jul 1839 - Burra-Burra, Mr Mollison, name taken in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, uncat Ms, ML, set 214, item 1)[This is a mistake, but whether it is Thomas' mistake or whether the people tricked him, is not possible to say. In his journal for 14 Mar 1839, Thomas made his first unsuccessful attempt to make a census, recording the following: "...began to take a census of them and got very fond of these sons of the forest. As I pinn'd down their names they got mightily pleased and would try to cheat me by going from one willum[miam] to another and try to det the names put down twice or more and several had succeeded ere I had discovered their trick which caused me to laugh heartily in which they joined" (Thomas Journal, uncat Ms, ML, set 214, item 1); 22 Nov 1839 - Burra Burra, male aged 38 (Thomas Census, VPRS 10, unit 1); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled in Native Police, drilled twice daily at Nerre Nerre Warren, then moved with Corps to Merri Creek at end of March (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28,
42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Boro Boro, member of the Second Division, went to Portland Bay, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1842 - Borro Borro or Jacky, aged 26\(^6\), single, no children, punished occasionally by rations being stopped, on duty at Nerre Nerre Warren in search of lost woman and her child[ Mrs Simpson] not on duty except at camp; general conduct very bad, a great savage, careless, disobedient, untractable and dangerous (Dana Return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday in battle formation with nineteen other Native Police plus approximately 60 Yarra and Goulburn men for fight with Westernport and Port Phillip men (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); 29 Sep 1843 - On duty since 19 Sep in Gippsland with Sergeant Bennet and six other Native Police (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW, 4/1135.1); 29 Dec 1845 - Boro Boro, Native Place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment May 1842, dismissed for insubordination (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the Native Police as one of the men of the Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 1845-Mar 1846, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); Jan 1848 - Burboro alias George accompanying Thomas to look for five boys who absconded from the Merri Creek school (Thomas Correspondence 1848-9, uncat Ms ML, set 214, item 11); 12 Sep 1848 - Thomas recorded that when he was last at Westernport, Burra Burra was in Gippsland with other Westernport blacks, on a venture to seduce or barter for young women (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/586); 13 Dec 1851 - Borro Borro, male, Warwoorong, alias George, wife Nyungrook alias Charlotte; son Myring Mingo alias Sugar Sugar (Thomas Census, uncat Ms ML, set 214, item 12: 143 29 May 1852 - Boro Boro killed while drunk at the last meeting of the tribes at Richmond on Richmond swamp and shoved into a rut (Thomas in Bride,T.F. 1969:405).

BORROONAIL

25 Aug 1845 - Three recruits enrolled in Native Police, Borroonail alias Jack alias Billy L, Worrungulk alias Crib, and Lively (VPRS 90)

BUCKUP or BUKUP or BUG-GUP - Warwoorong

\(^6\)Discrepancies in ages are a perennial problem. For a start, we do not know whether Europeans asked the informant or merely estimated the age: if the age was asked, there was the problem of communication. Then there is the fact that Europeans commonly over-estimated the age of all Aborigines, men, women and children. Then there are the possibilities for error involved in the multiple copying of documents by clerks in LaTrobe's office for transmission to Sydney. The printed version in NSW Leg Co V&P 1844, od Dana's Return bears little resemblance to the original, "n" is printed for "r", "u" is printed for "e", "o" for "a", "p" for "k" etc.
Heir to Budgery Tom clan head Mayone-Bulluk, whose country was around Carrum swamp (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 117); A fine-looking fellow, six feet high, broad-shouldered, well-proportioned, with a bold, open cast of countenance, set off with well-trimmed whiskers and moustache...a crack hand with the gloves...good wrestler...calm and lofty expression (Boldrewood,R. 1899: 81). 2 Dec 1841 - One of seven men of the Warwoorong and Bunerong groups who volunteered to assist the authorities to capture the five VDL Aborigines who killed two whalers at Westernport in Oct 1841; all seven men joined the 1842 Native Police on its formation two months later; as a gratuity for capturing the VDL people, Buckup and the others asked for and received 1 blanket, 1 shirt, 1 pair of trousers, a leather belt with a buckle, a neck handkerchief and a straw hat; they asked also for a gun, but in vain (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Unit 8); 24 Feb 1842 - Enrolled in the Native Police and made his mark; received blankets, clothing and equipment, drilled twice daily (Dana to Latrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28. 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Rations have been issued to Buckup since 1 Feb last; a member of the First Division; went to the westward [i.e. to the Western District on the first experimental excursion in the Winter of 1842] (Dana to La Trobe, VPRS 19, Box 31, enc with 42/1143); 13 Sep 1842 - Buckup, mounted on Punch, one of the nine troopers who accompanied Dana on the first experimental journey to the Portland Bay district in the Winter of 42. On arrival at The Grange, Dana recorded the following in his diary "I have particularly to bring under your notice the good conduct of Yupton and Buckup during the march from Melbourne. The good care they took of their horses and their cleanly and orderly conduct. I have not one cause of complaint against one of the men. All obeying orders cheerfully and endeavouring to please me as much as possible" (Dana Diary, in O'Callaghan, T. Police...LtSL); 21 Sep 1842 - Buckup and Nerimbineck on duty at Mr Hunter's station; 27 Sep - 1 Oct - tracking the depredators and the 200 sheep taken from Desailly's station; 10 Oct - Buckup, Gellibrand, Nerimbineck and Yupton started with Dana for the Hopkins river to call at all stations along the way; 27 Oct 1842 - Buckup left at Rickett's station after travelling over 300 miles, he having caught a severe cold from the constant wet; 1 Nov - Buckup and Nerimbineck dragged the unconscious Dana from the flooded Wannon River after Dana nearly drowned trying to swim his horse across (op.cit); 22 Nov 1842 - Commandant commends Buckup and Yupton[ see his entry] who gallantly rescued him from drowning while Dana was trying to swim the flooded Wannon River; Buckup in particular deserves every praise for his conduct, he being only a few days off duty during the whole time the Corps was in the Western District (VPRS 19, Box 38, 42/2153); 5 Dec 1842 - Dana and the police arrived back
in Melbourne from Portland Bay; Dana left the same day, taking Buckup and four other Native Police to join Commissioner of Crown Land Powlett at Westermost; 6 Dec - Dana left three of his police on duty with Powlett, taking Buckup and Gellibrand by boat to Jamieson's station at Westermost, and thence to check on the limeburners at Pt Nepean, and stations on the Mornongton Peninsula (Dana Diary, in O'Callaghan, T. Police...LtSL); 1842 - Aged 18, single, no children, never punished; on duty with Commissioner of Crown Lands Powlett in May in pursuit of bushrangers; on duty three months with officers in Westermost District; several times handed drunken men [Europeans] over to the police in Melbourne; on duty in the Portland Bay District, often took and had charge of prisoners, conducted himself exceedingly well in many trying and dangerous circumstances; took four absconders at the Wannon and brought them to gaol; general conduct extremely good, obedient, quiet, anxious to perform his duty well and to improve (Dana Return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 4 Jan 1843 - Buckup warned Thomas, working in the garden at Nerre Nerre Warren of the presence of four suspicious characters, who turned out to be runaway sailors from the Thomas Hughes a ship in port; they were four of the tallest, stoutest sailors Thomas ever saw; four Native Police took them into custody and escorted them to gaol at Melbourne [Thomas said two would have been enough, but they had no handcuffs] (Thomas Quarterly Report, NSW Leg Co V&P 1843); 29 Sep 1843 - Buckup on duty in Portland Bay District since 27 Jun (Dana to LaTrobe, encl with 43/7302, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Jul-Aug 1843 - On the road to Portland; carrying despatches from The Grange to Mt Eckersley; pursuing the muderers of Mr Ward's child, captured on suspicion; Sep 1843 - Seeking Ward's child, tricking Bassett's muderers, severely wounded; Oct 1843 - Escorting prisoners, to the Protector's station, with despatches to Melbourne (Dana Return, 30 Jun 1844, enc with 42/8217, AO of NSW, 4/1135.1); 3 Nov 1843 - Buckup and Henry returned from Portland Bay with despatches (Thomas Journal, uncat Ms ML, set 214, item 3); 11 Nov 1843 - Thomas recorded the story from the Native Police gathered around his fire at Merri Creek, of their exploits including the killing of 17 Aborigines, of whom Buggup shot 2 (Thomas Journal, uncat Ms ML set 214, item 3); 30 Nov 1843 - Authority from the Col Sec to pay Buckup and Yupton, two of the best men who acted as Corporals, at the rate of threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 13, Port Phillip Pay Abstracts 1844); Dec 1843 - To Mt Macedon (Dana Return, 30 Jun 1844, enc with 42/8217, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 1-31 Jan 1844 - Corporal Buckup receiving pay at the rate of threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 18); Jan 1844 - At H.Q., assisting in the capture of an illicit still; Feb 1844 - With Commissioner of Crown Lands
powlett to Gippsland (Dana Return, 30 Jun 1844, enc with 42/8217, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Buckup's absence in Gippsland noted by Thomas in his account of the Native Police present at the great gathering of tribes for judicial proceedings at Merri Creek (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8); Mar 1844 - Returned from Gippsland with the Commissioner; Apr 1844 - Westerport and the bush; May 1844 - With Commissioner of Crown Lands Powlett, collision at the Pyrenees; Jun 1844 - At H.Q., Conduct report, Corporal at threepence a day, conduct uniformly good (Dana Return, 30 Jun 1844, enc with 42/8217, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); No date, but either 1844 or 1845 - T.A.Browne records the arrival of a detachment of Native Police at his property Squattlesea Mere in the Portland Bay District: The Corporal [Buckup] rode slightly in front, the others following in line...Buckup saluted, "We have been sent up by Mr Dana, Sir, to stop at this station a bit. Believe the blacks have been very bad about here" (Browne, T.A. 1899: 80-81); Feb 1845 - Buckup was one of four Native Police with Sergeant Bennett who captured Wandilla, the Buninyong Aborigine who speared Booby, a young Aboriginal boy in the company of a European, on 12 Dec 1844 on the Keilor Rd (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 70, 45/714); on or about 2 Nov 1845 - Corporal Buckup involved in the shooting in self-defence of two Gippsland Aborigines at Robert Thompson's station Clydebank (CCL Tyers Deposition, enc with 46/1288, VPRS 19, Box 84); 27 Nov 1845 - General Muster, Commandant presented natives with money from His Honour for good conduct (VPRS 90); Corporal Buckup and another Native Trooper set off for Cape Otway with LaTrobe and Sergeant McGregor (VPRS 90); 29 Nov 1845 - At Dana's request, have sanctioned pay of ten shillings each to troopers of the Corps as an approval of their uniform good conduct at Gippsland and the Wimmera last Winter (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 45/8847, AO of NSW 4/2704); Dec 1845 - Corporal Buckup has been receiving pay at threepence a day [separate from gratuity] (VPRS 29, vol 18); 21 Dec 1845 - Buckup, Native Place Yarra Yarra, enlisted Feb 1842, length of service 3 years 11 months (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 16 Jan 1846 - Issued with the following articles prior to departure for duty at the Murray River with the Second Division under Mr W.A.P.Dana, saddle complete, 2 jackets, 2 pair duck trousers, 1 pair moleskins, 1 red shirt, 2 regatta shirts, new boots and spurs, sword and new carbine and cap, kit complete (VPRS 90); Jan 1846 - Listed as one of the Melbourne tribes still in the Corps on Thomas criticism of the Native Police (Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 1845-Mar 1846, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 44/2745.1); 1-31 Dec 1846 - Corporal Buckup receiving threepence a day (VPRS 29, vol 24); 1 Mar 1847 - Corporal Buckup, Second Division, date of
enlistment Jan 1842, horses name Surrey, aged but fit for duty (Dana Return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 12 Apr 1847 - Buckup one of the Native Police in encampment at Merri Creek, having come down from Nerre Nerre Warren for duty at the race meeting in Melbourne; "Something amiss with the Native Police" wrote Thomas; they all sent their police uniforms back to Nerre Nerre Warre with a boy on horseback and refused to go themselves, except for Buckup, who accompanied the boy (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, Box 8, 47/561); 5 Jul 1847 - Buckup one of 26 troopers approved by LaTrobe for gratuity of five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 15 Nov 1847 - Sergeant McGregor went with Corporal Buckup and placed him under the care of Dr Hobson (VPRS 90); 22 Nov 1847 - Buggup has had his left thigh amputated under ether at the residence of Dr Hobson on the banks of the Yarra (Thomas Quarterly Report, Sep-Nov 1847, enc with 47/9842, AO of NSW 4/2784); no date - Surgeon's bill, Dr Hobson for Buckup, ten pounds (Robinson Papers, ML vol 57A); 1847 - A successful operation under the influence of ether was performed by Dr Hobson on Buckup, a domesticated Aboriginal of the Yarra tribe; the patient had suffered for a considerable time from a white swelling in the knee and was gradually sinking. A few days would have closed his existence. The limb was removed above the knee, and the patient recovered and is now well (Robinson Annual Report for 1847, Papers, ML vol 61:40); 31 Dec 1847 - Corporal Buckup has been receiving pay at threepence a day (VPRS 29, vols 27 and 28); 21 Jan 1848 - Native Corporal Buckup returned from Dr Hobsons (VPRS 90); 2 Oct 1848 - Corporal Buckup died; 3 Oct 1848 - Corporal Buckup buried with military honours; 4 Oct 1848 - Men employed in fencing in grave (VPRS 90); 12 Oct 1848 - Dana reported to LaTrobe Buckup's death; he was quite recovered from the effects of the operation, Dana said, but died from a violent cold and inflammation [others were sick at the time]; he was one of four Corporals being paid at the rate of threepence a day for steadiness and good conduct. Minuted by LaTrobe, poor Buckup (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 111, 48/2169); 22 Dec 1848 - Thomas visited Nerre Nerre Warren to enquire into the deaths of Corporal Buckup and Bungaleena; found they had been carefully attended to, visited by the Colonial Surgeon twice (VPRS 11, Box 11/710); 26 Nov 1851 - Author of a letter to the editor praising the Native Police cites Buckup some years ago at the Gippsland races admonishing another unnamed Native Policeman "Get out of that you drunken brute, you are a disgrace to the b... Corps" (ARGUS, 26 Nov 1851); A fine intelligent man; after two expeditions he was made Corporal and received pay; he contined in the police until his death; had been on much aruous duty; from the effect of one very long day's ride, somehow his ankle was hurt by the stirrup
iron, which was not considered of any consequence; however after some months, it so affected his leg
then his thigh, that to save his life amputation was required which he consented to. He was one of the
first in the colony who underwent an operation under the influence of ether; the operation was
performed by Doctors Hobson, Thomas and Barker. He lived a year after the operation making
himself useful at the police barracks till his death on 2 Sep 1848 after nearly six years service

BUSBY JAMIESON or BUSHBY or BUSH - Goulburn River
1840's - Busby Jamieson came from the Vale of Tempe cattle station which was owned by the
Jamieson brothers 7, later purchased by William Kylie and re-named Tarcomb: it was west of the
Tallarook ranges, over the Goulburn. This black in particular was always ready to help us, taught us
tracking, knowledge of distances, of direction for travelling, the necessity of caution. He would say "
Plenty wild blackpeller alonga there"...very intelligent and useful...afterwards joined the Mounted
Police under Captain Dana and Lt Walsh (Daley, Charles "Reminiscences from 1841 of
William Kylie a Pioneer", in VHM, vol x, no 3, Jun 1925: 162 and 163); 13 Sep 1845 -
Trooper Bush arrived with horse Panekin, and very insolent (on 9 Sep, the troop horse Panekin was
on duty with Mr Powlett); 4 Jul 1850 - Trooper Bushby returned from Melbourne bringing the two
horses belonging to Mr Powlett; 28 Aug 1850 - Trooper Bushby arrived from Melbourne with
despatches to send Corporal O'Bryan and a trooper to escort a prisoner from Mt Macedon; 29 Aug
1850- Corporal Gellibrand and Trooper Bushby left for Melbourne; 17 Oct 1850 - Trooper Bushby
arrived from melbourne with letters for Commandant; 19 Oct 1850 - His Honor left the station
accompanied by Troopers Marmbool and Bushby; 25 Oct 1850 - Troopers Bushby and Tommy in
Melbourne; 16 Nov 1850 - Commandant, Messers Walsh and Dana, Sergeant McLelland, Corporals
Pearson and McDonald and twenty troopers returned to H.Q. (after the Separation Rejoicings and the
opening of Princes Bridge), Troopers Bushby and Quandine are to attend drill; 24 Dec 1850 - Trooper
Bushby left for Melbourne with letters for Commandant; 9 Apr 1851 - Trooper Bushby arrived from
Melbourne with despatches; 10 Apr 1851 - Trooper Bushby returned to Melbourne; 24 Apr 1851 -
Trooper Bushby arrived from Melbourne (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Bushby receiving
one and a half pence per day, pay abstract (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 2 May 1851 - Corporal Cohen
and Troopers Souwester, Robinson and Isaac relieved Bushby, Peter and Quandine who returned to

7 Hugh, Archibald and Thomas Bushby Jamieson.
the station; 14 May 1851 - Troopers Bushby and Quandine to the Stockade; 19 Jul 1851 - Troopers Paddy and Murray left for Pentridge to replace Troopers Bushby and Sam deserted (VPRS 90); 1851 - Trooper Bushby is the "boy from Tarcomb" whom William Kyle saw round up eleven Pentridge escapees; it must have been the escape of 26 Mar, as Bushy deserted before the second escape in which Native Police were involved (that of 29 Aug) (Testimony of William Kyle in Daley, C. 1925: 207).

**CALCALLO or KALKALLO or KULKLO or KULKLO or KUL-KUL-LA or KALKALUR/ LITTLE BILLY or CHARLIE - Warwoorong**

Kalkallo, son of Berbery [heir to Billibellary]; Wurrundjerri-William clan whose country was the south bank of the Yarra from Gardiner's Creek upstream to Yarra flats and north slopes of Dandenongs; Kalkallo had little influence, killed by "own tribe" for murder of Borro Borro (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 122, 124); Jul 1839 - Kul-Kul-La/Little Billy, name taken in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, M.L. set 214, item1); 22 Nov 1839 - KalKalur, Bonurong tribe, male aged 18 (Thomas census VPRS 10, unit 1); Nov 1842 - Enlisted (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/861); 24 Feb 1843 - Charlie (?Caccaloe) present yesterday, daubed, with nineteen others of the N.P. plus about 60 Yarra and Goulburn men, coming from the punt in battle formation for the little fight against the Westernport and Port Phillip men (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); 1843 - Caccaloe alias Charley, on duty at Murray and Upper Districts with Mr C.C.L. Powlett (Dana return enc to LaTrobe to Col Sec, 29 Sep 1843, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Jul-Aug 1843 - At H.Q.; Sep 1843 - With Border Police at Goulburn; Oct-Nov 1843 - with Sergeant Bennett in the attempt to get through to Gippsland (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); Nov 1843 - With Benbow, has been with Mr Tyers (Thomas Ms, M.L. set 214, item 3); Jan 1844 - Sick; Feb-Jun 1844 - At H.Q.; Jul 1844 - Obedient and likely to do well (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); 8 Feb 1844 - One of a large number of N.P. among a meeting of 700 Aborigines assembled to witness judicial proceedings at Merri Creek (Thomas to Robinson, 13 Feb 1844, VPRS 11, Box 8/469); 29 Dec 1845 - Native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Jan 1843, length of service three years (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - On Thomas list criticising the N.P. as one of the men from the

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8 Note that in Sep 1843, three troopers Yamabook, Caccaloe and Conerdigum were known as well by the name Charlie (AO of NSW 43/7302 in 4/1135.1). This entry then has been included tentatively in all three biographies, because it is not possible to distinguish between them in this case. Note also that all three men must be distinguished from the Charlie who enlisted in Jan 1846. Calcallo's name change from Little Billy to Charlie to Henry raises the interesting question of the processes of change of European names.
Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 26 Jan 1846 - Complete kit issued to him, saddle, new sword and carbine, new sword belt, cartridge box and belt, one pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, two regatta shirts, one red shirt, new boots (VPRS 90); 30 Mar 1846 - Calcallo gave evidence to Tyers regarding the presence of the white woman in Gippsland (Enc nos 5&6 in schedule of correspondence "White Female with Gippsland Aboriginal Tribe", laid on the table 21 Oct 1846, NSW Leg Co V&P 1846); 7 Jan 1847 - Two troopers Calcallo and Bearack granted leave of absence from H.Q. for three days (VPRS 90); 7 Jan 1847 - Peerup and Calcallo came to the encampment at Merri Creek; Calcallo had been with Mr Tyers in the search for the white woman, Thomas wrote, so he questioned him. He had been all through Gippsland, seen almost all the tribes, and did not believe there was a white woman (Thomas Papers, ML uncat Ms, set 214, item 6); 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper Kalkaloe, First Division, date of enlistment Nov 1842, horse's name Blackbird, aged, condition low (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 12 Apr 1847 - At Merri Creek encampment, having been on duty at the races...sent back his clothes to H.Q.

...something amiss with the N.P. (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, Box 8, 47/561); 5 Jul 1847 - Gratuity of 5/- approved for him by LaTrobe (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 2 Jul 1847 - Last gratuity paid; 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90)); 15 Feb 1848 - Mr Dana, Corporal O'Brien and Moonering went to Yarra to apprehend two troopers that deserted from the station; 17 Feb 1848 - Kalcallo and Murgin gave themselves up as bolters; 18 Feb 1848 - Parade, Kalcallo and Muggins tried and sent to seven days confinement for being AWL; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Kalcak received gratuity 5/-, made X his mark (VPRS 90); 13 Dec 1851 - Kulkloo, male, Yarra tribe, alias Henry, wife Danggurargun alias Polly. His wife died between 30 Jun 1851 and 31 Dec 1851. Inserted later against his name, killed 1852 (Thomas census, ML set 214, item 12: 143); 5 Aug 1852 - Kalkallo, Yarra tribe, died south of Yarra near Gardiner's Creek...by violence...he and two others drowned (Thomas Papers, ML set 214, item 14).

CALCHERON

14 Feb 1849 - One9 of five N.P. (all rather good-looking) who left H.Q. this day with Commandant to escort Bishop Perry and his wife to Gippsland on their first pastoral visit; Calcheron took it into his

9I think this man is Calcallo, and that Mrs Perry did not quite catch his name.
head to doff his smart clothes, and with his sheepskin and spear, join a party of Gippsland blacks whom he has a great desire to civilize; Gellibrand and Robinson observed that he was "Plenty foolish" (Mrs Perry's Journal, in Perry, R. "Contributions to an Amateur Magazine", London, 1857: 97,111).

CAPE OTWAY - Port Fairy

29 Dec 1845 - Native Place Port Fairy; date of enlistment Dec 1845; length of service one month; recruited with Barney, Bobby, Souwester, Cobra Bile, Port Fairy Jack, Merri, Hopkins, Jack and Billy from the Portland Bay District (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179).

CHARLEY or CHARLIE

Apr 1846 - Date of enlistment (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 20 Jan 1847 - Lively and Charlie, two Westernport blacks, arrived from Gippsland from service with Mr de Villiers (Thomas uncat Ms, ML set 214, item 6); the bearers of this letter (PPH 21 Jan 1847); 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper Second Division, horse's name Paddy, 4 years old, fit for duty (Dana return VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 May 1847 - Charlie and Robinson arrived at the Green Hills (Gippsland N.P.H.Q.) from Melbourne (Sergeant McLelland to Dana, 8 Jul 1847, enc with VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1347); 5 Jul 1847 - One of 26 Troopers approved by LaTrobe for gratuity (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 25 Dec 1847 - Troopers Charley and Munite in confinement for creating a disturbance and imbibing rum; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Charley received 5/- gratuity, marked X his mark; 8 Mar 1848 - Troopers Charley and Tonmile left with LaTrobe's party for Western District, with Mr Walsh, Sergeant McLelland and Corporal O'Brien; 26 Mar 1848 - Mr Walsh and Trooper Charley returned from the Portland Bay District; 12 Jan 1849 - Sergeant McLelland, Troopers Charlie and Marambool out on duty after the men who bolted on the morning of the 10 Jan (Troopers Jock, Bill and Peter) (VPRS 90); 17 Mar 1849 - At Glenmona, have seen no person here in search of gold for past month...men very orderly but much in need of blankets...have sent Trooper Charles to H.Q. on account of his horse being lame ever since we arrived and consequently unfit for duty (Sergeant McLelland to Commandant, VPRS 4466, Box 1/5); 29 Mar 1849 - Mr Dana and Trooper Charlie in town; 15 Oct 1849 - Commandant, Corporal O'Brien and Charlie in town to proceed with His Honor; 5 Nov 1849 - Lance Corporal Charlie marched for Geelong on recruiting service; 24 Jan 1850 - Mr Dana, Sergeant McLelland and

10 Calcallo is also on this list, but not Conerdigum or Yamabook.
Trooper Charlie on duty after Troopers Jamie, Jack, Wallace and Woola deserted; 7 Mar 1850 - Commandant, Sergeant McLelland, Corporals Charlie and Tomnile out with the Superintendent in Western District; 20 Mar 1850 - Sergeant and Trooper Charlie returned from the Western District; 5 May 1850 - Sergeant McLelland and Trooper Charlie proceeded to Melbourne; 15 May 1850 - Commandant, Sergeant McLelland and Trooper Charlie proceeded to Melbourne to await orders to proceed to the Lower Murray; 23 Jun 1850 - Commandant, Sergeant McLelland and Trooper Charlie arrived in Melbourne from the Murray; 18 Aug 1850 - Troopers Charlie and Billy left for Gippsland; 25 Nov 1850 - Mr Dana, Corporal Cowan, Troopers Tallboy, Moonering, Muggins, Lankey, Charlie, Beerrack and Andrew left to take up quarters at Pentridge; 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and seven Troopers relieved the seven troopers at Pentridge, including Charley; 3 May 1851 - Whole force attended quarters parade and received pay; 16 May 1851 - Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Hannan, Troopers Yupton and Charley, and Corporal Pilkington and Troopers Redden and Lourey (Mr Sturt's Mounted Police) left for Cape Liptrap in pursuit of bushrangers from VDL; 23 May 1851 - Trooper Charlie arrived from Wetemaunt with O'Bryan and Pilkington; 25 May 1851 - Inspection of clothing of troopers about to proceed to Gippsland viz Gellibrand, Tallboy, Charlie, Jack, Munite and Peter; 30 May 1851 - Gippsland party started, 1 Officer, 1 Sergeant, 1 European Trooper and 6 Native Troopers (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Two persons, Charley and Charles (in room of Trooper Snowball dismissed) are on the Pay Abstract, receiving pay at the rate of one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 17 Oct 1851 - Gippsland party arrived back; 26 Feb 1852 - Trooper Charlie with horse to Mr Hunters (VPRS 90).

CLARK

Jan-May 1846 - Clark attending school at Merri Creek (Thomas Papers uncat Ms, ML set 214, item 11: 55); 8 Jan 1850 - Troopers Loughman and Clark in town with horses to be shod; 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland with seven troopers including Clark left for the Stockade to relieve the party there (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 9 Jun 1852 - Commandant returned from Melbourne, Troopers Bacchus and Clark rejoined the force; 18 Jun 1852 - Corporal Brayshaw with Troopers Bacchus and Clark started for Gippsland; 13 Nov 1852 - Mr Langley and Trooper Clark to Gippsland, Mr Langley returned, horse lame [he left next day]; 16 Dec 1852 - Mr Langley with four troopers and seven horses attached to the Native Police returned from Gippsland; 17 Dec 1852 - Trooper Clark fined three pounds for gross negligence in losing his sword, and two pounds for appearing drunk on duty on line
of march from Gippsland; 18 Dec 1852 - Trooper Clark N.P. to pound for beast to kill; 26 Dec 1852 - Timball absent, also Clark on leave; 11 Jan 1853 - Trooper Clark of the N.P. brought before the OIC for neglect of duty, idleness, insubordination and general incapacity, similar charges having been preferred on three different occasions, sentence forfeit 11 days pay and dismissed the service (VPRS 90).

COBRA BILE or BOLL - Port Fairy

Dec 1845 - Cobra Bile, date of enlistment, length of service one month, recruited with eight others from the Portland Bay District (Dana return, 29 Dec 1845, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 12 Jan 1846 - Articles issued to Cobra Boll No 25, saddle complete, sword and carabine, two pair duck trousers, one pair new boots, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, new blankets; 29 Mar 1846 - Commandant returned with Trooper O'Brien, Yepthen, Tolboy, Polagery, Tombolko, Cobra Boll, which returned from the Murray with despatches from Mr W Dana; 15 May 1846 - Native Trooper Cobra Boll absconded on 12th from the Colac police station (VPRS 90).

CONDINE

13 Nov 1850 - Trooper Condine arrived from Melbourne with despatches for Commandant; 16 Nov 1850 - Troopers Bushby and Condine are to attend drill [day after opening of Princes Bridge]; 16 Dec 1850 - Mounted drill; Troopers Condine and Oliver confined in watch-house for not attending; 2 May 1851 - Corporal Cowan and Troopers Souwestor, Robinson and Isaac relieved by Sergeant McDonald and Troopers Bushby, Peter and Condine at the Richmond paddock; 14 May 1851 - Bushby and Condine to the stockade; 25 Mar 1852 - Mr Langley with Corporal Brayshaw, Troopers Johnny, Condine and Munight left with seven days rations for Pt Nepean to assist in saving and guarding cargo from the Isabella Watson wrecked on 21st; 31 Mar 1852 - Troopers Munight and Condine arrived back at H.Q. having left Mr Langley at Pt Nepean without leave; 3 Apr 1852 - Troopers Mickey, Condine, Darling and Terrey bolted from the station; Sergeant Williams and Corporal Brown to tell Commandant and search for deserters; both returned at Midnight11 (VPRS 90).

COONERDIGUM or COONICUM or CUNUMDEGUN / REDMOND - Warwoorang

24 Feb 1842 - Could not find his name, enrolled apparently (Thomas in Bride op.cit.:406); Jun 1842 - Cunumdegan or Redmond, enrolled, aged 22, single, no children, never punished, on duty in July with Sergeant Bennett assisting to find and bring in the VDL natives ordered to Flinders Island;
three months in Portland Bay District; conduct good, very tractable, cleanly, obedient and respectful
(Dana return, NSW Leg. Co. V & P 1844); 27 Jul 1842 - Coonicum, 1st Division, to the
westwards, rationed since 1Feb (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); Aug 1842 -
Redmond Coonerdigum), one of the five dismounted troopers in the party of nine, who accompanied
the Commandant on first trip to Portland Bay (Dana Diary, in O'Callaghan, T, Ms Police and
Other People); 1843 - Coonerdigum alias Charley, on duty at NNW (Latrobe to Col Sec, 29
Sep 1843, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday, daubed, with
nineteen other N.P. plus Yarra and Goulbourns in battle formation for fight against Port Phillip and
Westernport blacks (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); 11 Jan 1844 - Neinpan
very bad, also Redman the policeman very sick (Thomas Journal, ML Uncat Ms, set 214,
item 3); 1844 (undated) - Coonerdigum dismissed (Return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177 (a));
29 Dec 1845 - Redmond, native place Yarra Yarra, enlisted May 1842, dismissed unfit for service
(Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Redman listed in Thomas criticism of
the N.P. as one from the Melbourne tribes who has deserted (Quarterly Report, enc with
46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 7 Nov 1848 - Redman named in signed deposition of
Tomboko as one of the killers of Figur (Picanniny Tommy), the Port Fairy boy ho was killed soon
after leaving the mission at Merri Creek on 24 Oct 1848 (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box
11/708); Coonerdigum - I cannot find or recollect any in my papers a name the least like this; those
enrolled on 24 Feb 1842 were all correct. I wrote their names down (Thomas in Bride, T.F.
1983: 406); 1870 - Redman listed in physical description of Corranderrk inhabitants - age forty,
height five foot six inches, girth three feet four inches, weight one hundred and thirty-four pounds
(Smyth, R.B. vol 1, 1972: 1).

COONERDIGUM'S BROTHER
24 Feb 1843 - Redman's brother, unnamed, listed as one of the N.P. in battle (Thomas to
Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586).

COTIGERRY or KODGEDERRE or KUTTERGERRE or COTAJERY - Marinbullahuk
section of Warwoorong
Mar-Aug 1840 - Male youth, son of Torwit, brother of Banol, mother either Nulnebrook or
Barmoneen, listed as Marinbullahuk portion of Waverong tribe, occupying Mt Macedon country
(Parker return, 40/11577 in AO of NSW, 4/2512.1); end Mar 1844 - Recruited, promises
well; Jun 1844 - At H.Q. (Dana return, 1 Jul 1843-30 Jun 1844, VPRS 19, Box 60,
Recruited with Marrmbool - (Same report, copy, 42/8217 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 23 Mar 1845 - With six othe N.P. given three days permission for good conduct, to go to Merri Creek; 25 Mar 1845 - Leave to join corroboree, returned in due course; 23 May 1845 - With Sergeant Major in search of horses lost from police station; 26 Jun 1845 - At H.Q. after Commandant and ten troopers left for Western District; with Sergeant looking for His Honor's horse (VPRS 90); 15 Aug 1845 - Died north of Melbourne, aged 15, male, Mt Macedon tribe, single, Native Police (Thomas return, Appendix D to Gov. Desp. vol 51, MI reel 683); Died Oct 1845, recruited Jan 1842, length of service three years nine months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179).

**CULPENDURRA or KUL-PEN-DURE / ROBIN - Warwoorong**

17 Sep 1839 - Kulpendure asisted Poleorong (Billy Lonsdale), Tallong (Mr King) and Derrimut in the killing of his old school friend Peter, Mr Langhorne's Murrumbidgee boy. Old Moragine told Thomas, and Ningallobin confirmed it, that Kulpendure had been at the mission school, and enticed Peter out with the cattle, and the others had killed him (Thomas Journal, 1839-40, ML set 214, item 1); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets and clothing, equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to Latrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 1842 - Culpundurra, aged 16, single, no children, punished occasionally, rations stopped, on duty after bushrangers, not on duty since, except at the camp, dirty and sometimes insolent, but likely to improve (Dana return, NSW Leg.Co.V&P 1844); 27 Jul 1842 - First Division, to the westwards, rationed since 1 Feb 1842 (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 23 Feb 1843 - Listed as N.P. daubed for fight in group of about eighty including Yarra and Goulburn men who fought Westernport men on south side of Yarra (Thomas to Robinson, 24 Feb 1843, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); 3 Nov 1843 - Left for Gippsland with Tyers party (Thomas Journal, ML set 214, item 3); 1843 - On duty in Gippsland since 19 Sep 1843 with Sergeant Bennett and six other N.P. (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 29 Sep 1843, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Kulpendore one of a large number of the N.P. in a crowd of 700, assembled to watch judicial proceedings at Merri Creek (Thomas to Robinson, 13 Feb 1844, VPRS 11, Box 8/469); 1846 - Dismissed (Undated return, with VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the

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12 This is obviously incorrect, but whether by mistake or design is impossible to say. This return is in a clerk's hand, though signed by Dana. It was compiled for LaTrobe in response to Thomas' criticism of the Native Police in which he listed as deserters a number of people still serving satisfactorily. Dana listed every single person who had ever served in the Corps since its inception, forty-two men in all, and commented on each, whether dead, deserted, dismissed or still serving. He overstated his case in quite a few instances, crediting men with longer service than they really had.
N.P. as one of those troopers from the Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 45- Mar 46, 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 1 Mar 1847 - Culpenter, Trooper Second Division, date of enlistment Jul 1846, horses name Dragon, age four and fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 12 Apr 1847 - Kulpendure at Merri Creek encampment having been on duty at the races, sent clothes back to NNW...something amiss with the N.P. (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, Box 8, 47/61 also at VPRS 11, Box 10/659); 8 Aug 1847 - Robin late trooper Native Police confined in watch-house for absconding. Bungaleena removed to tailor’s shop; 9 Aug 1847 - Robin removed to tailor’s shop, Bungaleena to watch-house (VPRS 90); 8 Feb 1850 - Kulpendure alias Robin committed to gaol, offence drunkenness and assault, in the County of Bourke, date of trial blank, result one calendar month (LaTrobe, C.J. Returns 5 May 1854, Ms H 6971, LsSL); n.d. Kulpendure, violently drunk, going to cut in two the rope at the Richmond punt, because the puntman in an instant would not take him over (Thomas in Bride: 411 op.cit.); 13 Dec 1851 - On Thomas census as Warwoorong tribe, male, single, alias Robin; Kulpendure’s lubra is described as of the Yarra tribe, died between 30 Jun 1851 and 31 Dec 1851 (Thomas Papers,MI, set 214, item 12: 143); 1853 - This fine young man was son of Billibellary, widely different though in disposition and character; I think he went but two journeys; he was an awfully dissipated character after his father’s death, was killed at the Goulburn eventually, in drunken fray with Goulburn blacks (Thomas in Bride: 406 op.cit).

CURRA CURRA or KUR-REK KUR-REK or CUR CUR or KORAK KORAK or KURER KURER / DAVY - Warwoorong

22 Mar 1839 - On Dredge's census of Aborigines in vicinity of Melbourne, Warwoorong tribe, aged thirty-two, married, lubra Tooleemarack aged twenty-five, children Yalgabook aged seven and Narwrum aged five (Robinson Papers, vol 54 ML); 22 Nov 1839 - Kurer Kurer, aged thirty-two, Bunerong tribe (enc with Thomas to Robinson, 20 Nov 1839, VPRS 10, Box 1); 24 Feb 1842 - Enrolled and made his mark, received clothing and blanket (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); Curra Curra, 2nd Division, Remained at Merri Creek, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana return, 27 Jul 1842, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 21 Oct 1842 - Men left under my charge have behaved themselves in an orderly and obedient manner, particularly Nengolobel and Cur Cur who showed themselves worthy of confidence in assisting me to capture a most desperate character, a runaway (Sergeant Bennett to LaTrobe, 21 Oct 1842, VPRS 19, Box 37, 42/2018); 1842 - Curra Curra or Davy, aged forty, married with two wives, three
children, punished by rations stopped, on duty only at camp, general conduct bad, perfectly useless (Dana return in NSW Leg.Co.V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday, daubed, with nineteen other N.P. plus Yarra and Goulburns in battle formation for fight with Port Phillip and Westernport men (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Nov 1843 - With Wedgekulc, Nerimbineck, Ningolobin, and Benbow, Kurkurken left without leave about 10 Aug, returned with their lubras, Thomas lectured them about responsibility, and was reluctant to ration them till Dana returned (Thomas Journal, ML Uncat Ms set 214, item 3); 29 Dec 1845 - Curra Curra, Native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb 1842, dismissed Nov 1843 (Dana return, 29 Dec 1845, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Thomas in his criticism of the N.P. lists him as one of the men of the Melbourne tribes who have been in the Corps but deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 45-Mar 46, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); Remained but a few months in the police, afterwards continually going to and fro to Gippsland, died there some time in 1848 (Thomas in Bride op.cit.; 406).

DARLING - Darling River

6 Nov 1850 - Walsh and party have returned from the Lower Murray to H.Q. also by my direction he has brought with him eight recruits from the Darling River (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 142, 50/1963); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Darling receiving one and a half pence per day (Pay Abstract, VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 9 Sep 1851 - Trooper Darling in Melbourne with cows for Mr Bell; 11 Sep 1851 - Trooper Darling returned; 3 Apr 1852 - Troopers Mickey, Condine, Darling and Terry bolted from the station, Sergeant Williams and Corporal Brown to tell Commandant and search for deserters. Both returned at midnight (VPRS 90).

DAVID

24 Feb 1848 - Received gratuity of 5/-, made X his mark (VPRS 90). N.B. This man is definitely not Curra Curra dismissed by this time, but possibly he could be KUNNUGURRA alias David, whom Dredge recorded as a male aged twenty-two, of the Warwoorong tribe, no 96 on Dredge's list, listed as an unmarried male whose family has not yet been ascertained (Robinson Papers, ML vol 54).

DE DORA TONEY - Omeo

May 1845 - Enlisted (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 29 Dec 1845 - De Dora Toney, native place Omeo, length of service eight months (ibid); 26 Jan 1846 - Complete kit issued, No 26, saddle complete, new sword and carabine, cartridge box and belt, two pairs duck trousers, one
pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, new boots (VPRS 90); 1 Oct 1847 - De Dora
Trooper 1st Division, date of enlistment Jun 1845, horses name Tolboy, aged, condition low (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861).

**DICK or DICKEY**

Jul 1846 - Date of recruitment, Trooper Dickey 1st Division, no horse (Dana return, 1 Mar 1847, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 30 May 1850 - Trooper Dick to Melbourne with troop horse Kangaroo; 25 Nov 1850 - Troopers Bill and Dick left for Cape Otway (to deliver letters to the lighthouse keeper); 12 Apr 1851 - Troopers Lee, Toning, Geelong, Dick and Billy to stockade for duty (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Dick on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55; 127).

**EDWARD**

27 May 1850 - Depositions taken by H.E.P. Dana at Swan Hill from Corporal Cowan, Henry Pearson and Gideon Rutherford re the death of Trooper Edward of the N.P. Corporal Cowan and Trooper Edward arrived at Swan Hill in early May to await despatches from Melbourne; they were there a fortnight; Trooper Edward became friendly with the local Aborigines...shared his rations with them; on 12 May, he went to the Murray about 100 yards from the Inn where they were staying to fish; he was found later that day delirious, wounded about the head and groin; he recovered consciousness, said he had been hit on the head from behind and identified his assailants as two Aborigines named Peter and Captain Denham; they took his kidney fat; he died on 14 May 1850; he was "a quiet, orderly and well-behaved man and I am sure gave no cause to the other blacks to attack him" (Pearson) (Criminal Trial Briefs, VPRS 30, Box 193, NCR 472); 1 Jun 1850 - Death of Trooper Edward (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 135, 50/910).

**GEELONG**

12 Apr 1851 - Troopers Lee, Toning, Geelong, Dick and Billy to stockade for duty (VPRS 90).

**GEORGE**

6 Apr 1847 - One of the blacks under the overall superintendence of Sergeant Windrege, setting off today on another search for the white woman (Tyers to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/701 with enc which is a statement by George who accompanied the two warrigulls to Melbourne); 22 Apr 1847 - One of a party including Yal Yal, Tommy, Moonee, Lively and Chearem searching for woman (Tyers memo, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/907); 8 Sep 1850 - Trooper George stationed at Dandenong bridge; 13 Feb 1851 - Commandant left for Bacchus Marsh
accompanied by Corporal Cowan and Trooper George; 18 Feb 1851 - Commandant arrived with the
Lord Bishop and Lady, attended by Corporal Cowan and Trooper George (VPRS 90); 1-31 May
1851 - Trooper George receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55:127); 3 May
1851 - Whole force attended quarters parade and received pay; 5 May 1851 - Sergeant-Major, Sergeant
O'Bryan, Corporal Gibson, Troopers Staines(European), Toby, Loughman, William, Andrew,
George, John and Sambo left for stockade (VPRS 90).

GIBERUKE or GYBBIRUKE / TOMMY - Goulburn River

Noble- looking black but sullen, undependable (Thomas in Bride,T.F. 1969: 407); 28 Nov
1839 - Gibberook, a Goulburn black, fought three men of the Melbourne tribe (Thomas Journal
1839-40, set 214, item 1, ML); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and equipment,
enrolled and made X his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28,
42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Giberuke, 1st Division, to the westwards, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana
return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); Aug 1842 - One of five dismounted men who
accompanied Dana to Portland Bay District (Dana Diary in O'Callaghan, T, Police and Other
People); 1 Feb 1843 - Gibaiuke, single, aged twenty-five years, no children, never punished, sent
out after bushrangers in May, on duty at Portland Bay, general conduct very good, steady and willing,
rather stupid (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday,
daubed, with nineteen other N.P. with Yarra and Goulburn blacks for fight with Westernport and Port
Phillip men(Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Jul 1843 - On road to Portland;
Aug-Oct - At Portland Bay (Dana return, enc with 42/8217, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Sep
1843 - Giberuke alias Tommy, has been on service since 27 Jun with Commandant and nine others in
Western District (LaTrobe to Col Sec,43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Nov 1843 -
Returned to Melbourne; end Nov 1843 - Dismissed (Dana return, 42/8217 in AO of NSW
4/1135.1); 30 Jun 1844 - On Dana's return as dismissed for general bad behaviour(VPRS 19,
Box 60, 44/1177(a)); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of N.P. as a deserter, one of the
Melbourne tribes (Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); no date -
Gib-ber-ook, when Goulburn blacks were camped near Melbourne, came behind a girl named
Murrana and cut off a lock of her hair and buried it...she sickened and died (Smyth 1876, vol 1:
469).

HARRY - Wimmera
30 Oct 1845 - W.A.P. Dana Esq. returned from the Wimmera with a party consisting of four troopers, names Gellibrand, Waverong, Worrenalpoop, and Harry a native of the Wimmera (VPRS 90); 29 Dec 1845 - Harry, native place Wimmera, date of enlistment Jul 1845, length of service six months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 12 Jan 1846 - Articles issued to Harry No 18, saddle complete, sword and carabine, two pairs duck trousers, one pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, new blankets, new boots; 26 Nov 1846 - Unnamed, Wimmera tribe, aged seventeen years, marital status uncertain, died at NNW, a member of NP Corps (Thomas return of deaths, Sep-Nov 1846, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 4 Dec 1846 - A native of the Wimmera Harry died and was buried in the usual manner (VPRS 90).

HARRY
5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six men for whom LaTrobe approved a gratuity of five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - One of thirty-four troopers for whom Dana asked for gratuity of five shillings, reminding LaTrobe that when he was at H.Q. in June 1847, he promised the men this indulgence for good conduct, and with few exceptions, they have behaved exceedingly well (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 3 Feb 1848 - Corporal Gellibrand and Troopers Harry and Yankee confined in guardhouse for eighteen hours for creating a disturbance; 4 Feb 1848 - Released; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Harry received gratuity of five shillings, marked X his mark; 17 Jul 1849 - Yapton and Gellibrand on patrol up Yarra after deserters Harry and Muggins; 21 Jul 1849 - Yapton returned, did not succeed in capturing the deserters (VPRS 90).

HILL
1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Hill receiving one and a half pence per day, three shillings and tenpence halfpenny for the month (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127).

HINGEBIRA - Omeo
May 1845 - Date of enlistment, native place Omeo, length of service eight months (Dana return, 29 Dec 1845, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 26 Jan 1846 - Kit issue, new saddle and bridle complete, new sword and carabine, cartridge box and belt, two pairs duck trousers, one pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, new boots, kit complete; 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper 2nd Division, date of enlistment Jun 1845, horses' name Trooper, aged four, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861).

13 This man is not Murrummurrumbean who is dead by this date.
ISAC or ISAAC or ISAACS

Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment, no horse, 1st Division (Dana return, 1 Mar 1847, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Received gratuity in presence of Mr W Dana and Sergeant, marked X his mark (VPRS 90); 1 May-31 Jul 1849 - On duty at the Lower Murray with Corporal McDonald and eleven other troopers (VPRS 4466, Box 1/16); 2 Nov 1850 - Troopers Souwester, Loughman, Isaac and Joey arrived with eight recruits from the lower Murray; 31 Jan 1851 - Troopers Robinson and Isaac arrived from Melbourne; 20 Feb 1851 - The Lord Bishop and Lady started for Gippsland attended by Corporal Cowan and Troopers Isaac and Billy; 20 Mar 1851 - Bishop arrived back from Gippsland attended by Troopers Cowan and Isaac; 2 May 1851 - Corporal Cowan and Troopers Souwester, Robinson and Isaac relieved Sergeant McDonald and Troopers Bushby, Peter and Condine at the paddock; 14 May 1851 - Trooper Isaac arrived from Melbourne, left for Melbourne same day, taking three troop horses, viz Blackey, Isaacs and Cob(VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - On pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55:127); 2 Jun 1851 - Sergeant Pearson, Troopers Oliver, Mickey, Isaac left for Melbourne to await orders to proceed to Murray; 9 Oct 1851 - Trooper Isaac arrived on station, got a pair of trousers made; 10 Oct 1851 - Trooper Isaac left for Melbourne (VPRS 90); Sep-Oct 1851 - With Commandant at goldfields; placed unders orders of Police Magistrate Boninyong(Captain W Mair) when Dana returned to Melbourne, deserted with Oliver on 23 Oct, they left all their uniform and equipment behind, taking only their blankets, rumour said they had headed towards the Wimmera, but P.M. too busy to go after them( Col Sec Vic to Dana, 30 Oct 1851, VPRS 3219, vol 1: 40).

The problems associated with the name Jack or its variants mirror those associated with the name of Bill. The same strategy is adopted - to identify with certainty as many individuals as possible (there are at least four), then simply list the recovered details, knowing that they may be a conflation perhaps capable of some resolution at a later date.

KURNBARWATTOL/JACK - (Barrabool)

2 Dec 1846 - Kurnbarwattol, one of two N.P. both under eighteen years of age, brought down from H.Q. to hospital in Melbourne...other man Mumbo...after Mumbo died, the Barrabool black left the hospital saying he was well (Thomas Quarterly Report 1 Dec 1846-28 Feb 1847, set 214,
item 6, ML); 10 Dec 1846 - Constable Thornhill in Melbourne in charge two natives Troopers Mumbo and Jackey which was sent to hospital for medical aid (VPRS 90).

HOPKINS alias JACK No 26 (Port Fairy)
29 Dec 1845 - Hopkins, native place Port Fairy, date of enlistment Dec 1845, length of service one month (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 12 Jan 1846 - Hopkins alias Jack No 26 - Kit issue, saddle complete, sword and carabine, two pairs duck trousers, one pair moleskins, new boots, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, new cabine and blankets (VPRS 90).

JACKY No 21 (Maneroo)
May 1845 - Date of enlistment; 29 Dec 1845 - Native place Maneero, length of service eight months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 26 Jan 1846 - Kit issue, new saddle and bridle, new sword and carabine, sword belt, cartridge box and weast (sic) belt, two pairs duck trousers, one pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, two pairs new boots, kit complete (VPRS 90).

P.F.JACK No 26 (Port Fairy)
4 Apr 1843 - Port Fairy Jack working for Charles McKnight on the property Dunmore in the Western District; 4 Jan 1844 - Sent Mr Leman 30 lbs of beef by Port Fairy Jack; 18 Mar 1844 - P.F.Jack brought a hide from Leman's (Dunmore Journal, LtSL); Dec 1845 - Date of enlistment; 29 Dec 1845 - Native place Port Fairy, length of service one month (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 26 Jan 1846 - Saddle complete, new sword and carabine, sword belt, cartridge box, weast belt, one pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, new boots, new blankets and new cap (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - P.F.Jack, Trooper 1st Division, date of enlistment Dec 1845, horses' name Tegar, aged, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 21 Mar 1847 - Souwester and Port Fairy Jack sent to Port Fairy; 5 Jun 1847 - Souwester and Port Fairy Jack returned from Port Fairy after a tour of duty with the Belfast Bench of Magistrates...they captured two blacks at Brown's station who had committed deprivations last year...brought letter from Mr Rutledge of Bench who appears well satisfied with them...paid four pounds in cash by Bench to defray expenses of selves and horses (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 93, 47/1040); 5 Jul 1847 - P.F.Jack, gratuity approved for him by LaTrobe (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 3 Sep 1847 - Two troopers, P.F.Jack and Peter started for Gippsland with despatches (VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana asks for gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 1 Sep 1851 - One of five Aborigines, (South Wester, Old Man Green, Mr Ritchie, Mr Jack and Mary the lubra of Port Fairy Jack) described as destitute for want of clothing, and very ill, by
the Merri River in the Portland Bay District (CCL Portland Bay, W.N. Gray to LaTrobe, 1 Sep 1851, enc A.W.Hume to Gray, 29 Aug 1851, both at VPRS 1189, Box 5, 51/627).

**JACK**

1 Mar 1847 - Trooper Jack, 1st Division, no horse, date of enlistment Jul 1846 (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 12 Aug 1847 - Mr Marley and Trooper Jack arrived from Gippsland; 13 Aug 1847 - Mr Marley, Clerk of the Bench Port Alberton and Trooper Jack departed for Melbourne, Trooper Jack with the mail (VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for Big Jack (Port Fairy Jack is also on list) (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 29 Jan 1848 - Two Native Troopers left for Gippsland with despatches; 14 Feb 1848 - Troopers Bob and Jack arrived from Gippsland with despatches for His Honor; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Jack received gratuity of five shillings (Port Fairy Jack is also on list); 9 Jan 1849 - Troopers Jack, Jock and Jamie confined in watch-house for attempting to fight; 31 Jan 1849 - Corporals Gellibrand and Trooper Jack returned from the Yarra having captured a deserter; 3 May 1849 - Corporals O'Brien and Gellibrand and Troopers Bobby, Jack and Jamie started for Gippsland to join the 2nd Division there; 17 Oct 1849 - Corporal McDonald and Trooper Jack ordered to Westernport to apprehend a runaway prisoner of the Crown; 19 Oct 1849 - Corporal McDonald and Trooper Jack arrived with prisoner from Westernport; 24 Jan 1850 - Mr Dana, Sergeant McLelland and Trooper Charlie on duty after Troopers Jamie, Jack, Wallace and Woola deserted; 24 Aug 1850 - Mr Walsh arrived from Lower Murray with Troopers Loughman, Johnny and Jack; 3 Sep 1850 - Corporals Gellibrand and Tunmille, Troopers Jack and Tommy arrived from Melbourne; 18 Oct 1850 - Mr Latrobe, Mr Bell (LaTrobe's secretary), Messers Powlett and Grimes (CCL's) arrived from Melbourne accompanied by Corporal Cowan and Troopers Jack and Marrmbool. Mr Dana and six troopers as Guard of Honour met His Honor at the pound; 1 Dec 1850 - Trooper Jack arrived from Geelong on foot, his horse lame (VPRS 90); 26 Mar 1851 - Trooper Jack shot at by John Rich in escape from Pentridge (VPRS 30, Box 196); 14 Apr 1851 - Troopers Souwester, Johnny, Beerack, Jack and William returned from Stockade; 25 Apr 1851 - Sergeant-Major, Troopers Gibson and Jack on patrol at Westernport (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Jack receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55); 25 May 1851 - Inspection of clothing of troopers about to proceed to Gippsland, viz Gellibrand, Tallboy, Charlie, Jack, Munite and Peter; 26 Jun 1851 - Commandant returned from Geelong bringing Troopers Jack and Jamie and a recruit named Timboon; 19 Jul 1851 - Trooper Jack left for Gippsland with despatches; 20 Oct 1851 -
Sergeant Gibson, Troopers William, Joe and Jack left for Mt Alexander gold diggings; 30 Oct 1851 - Corporal McCauley, Troopers Lease, Jack and Peter left for Mt Alexander gold diggings; 20 Nov 1851 - Sergeant Gibson and Trooper Jack arrived from Mt Alexander; 27 Nov 1851 - Sergeant Gibson, Troopers Jack and Peter left for Mt Alexander; 26 Oct 1852 - Troopers Edward and Jack out for stray horses (VPRS 90).

JACKY WARTON or WARREN/ KUNG-GUD-BAR/ Gippsland

11 Aug 1846 - Jack-A-Wadden, native boy ...about nine years of age...has been with whites nine months (Tyers to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/907); 8 Aug 1846, ...Jack-A-Wadden says Bungaleena is a man of importance with his tribe but not a chief (enc Windredge to Tyers, ibid); 1 Jan 1847 - Jacki Warren, black native interpreter supplied by CCL Tyers to de Villiers expedition in search for white woman (Port Phillip Gazette, 10 Feb 1847); 24 Mar 1847 - David Bowden says Sergeant McLelland and Trooper Cowan bullied Jack-A-Wadden who was interpreting; 6 Apr 1847 - Tyers' report to LaTrobe of this date, with enclosures, is lengthy containing many references (often contradictory) to the part played by Jacky Warren in the search (VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/701); 28 Jun 1847 - The late expedition party [de Villiers] arrived bringing Bungaleena and two lubras with their pickaninies, and handed them over to the Commandant for the consideration of the Government; 29 Jun 1847 - Bungaleena kept in custody but as little confined as possible to prevent his escape, sentry placed on the watch-house with the door open to let in air; 2 Jul 1847 - His Honour the Superintendent visited Bungaleena (VPRS 90); mid 1848 - Jackey, one of three boys who came from Gippsland via the Dandenong Police Station (Edgar, L.A. 1865: 35); 12 Jun 1848 - Kung-Gud-Bar alias Jacky Warton, Bungaleena's son, one of the three boys added to the school at Merri Creek last Friday (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/696); 22 Nov 1848 - One of Bungaleena’s sons is at present at Merri Creek school, the other three are here (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 113, 48/2429); 1850 - Jackey, AWL from the misssession, found at Police Paddock, said Mr Walsh told him to sleep there and go with him to the Murray (Thomas Papers, set 214, item 12: 33); n.d. Jacky Warren testified to Edgar about Captain Dana shooting blacks of Gippsland (Edgar, L.A. 1865: 74); 7 Sep 1852 - Mr Langley commanding the detachment in Gippsland accompanied by Trooper Jackawarren returned to H.Q. (VPRS 90).

JAMIE

9 Jan 1849 - Troopers Jock, Jack, Jamie confined in watch-house for attempting to fight; 3 May 1849 - Corporals O'Bryan and Gellibrand, Troopers Bobby, Jack and Jamie started for Gippsland to join
the 2nd Division there; 24 Jan 1850 - Mr Dana, Sergeant McLelland and Trooper Charlie on duty after Troopers Jamie, Jack, Wallace and Woolla who deserted; 26 Jun 1851 - Commandant and Sergeant-Major returned from Geelong bringing Troopers Jack and Jamie who deserted and a recruit named Timboo; 1 Jul 1851 - Trooper Welding and Jamie left for Gippsland; 25 Aug 1851 - Corporal Hannan and Trooper Jamie left for the Goulburn; 25 Oct 1851 - Corporal Hannan with Troopers Yapton, Tommy, Jerey and Jamie arrived from the Goulburn [to reinforce the troopers at the goldfields] (VPRS 90).

JAMY/ JEMMY - Port Fairy

9 Nov 1846 - Jamy, recruit from Port Fairy died and was buried in the military form [he arrived at H.Q. 23 Oct 1846] (VPRS 90); Jemmy, Port Fairy tribe, age not certain, male, marital status unknown, died at NNW around 4 Nov, a member of Native Police Corps (Thomas Return of Births and Deaths Sep-Dec 1846, enc to 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1).

JERRY/ JEREMY

Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment; 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper 2nd Division, horse's name Tommy, aged, not fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - Jerry one of 26 men whom LaTrobe recommended for a gratuity (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Jerry on list of 34 men for whom Dana requested gratuity (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Received five shillings in presence of W.A.P. Dana and Sergeant O'Brien (VPRS 90); 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and seven troopers including Jerry to Stockade to relieve detachment there; 6 May 1851 - Above detachment relieved including Jerry (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Jerry on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55; 127); 25 Oct 1851 - Corporal Hannan and Troopers Yapton, Tommy, Jerry and Jamie arrived from the Goulburn (recalled to help on the goldfields) (VPRS 90); 3 Apr 1852 - Troopers Mickey, Condine, Darling and Jerry bolted from station. Sergeant Williams and Corporal Brown to tell Commandant. Both returned at midnight (VPRS 90).

JOCK

Dec 1845 - Date of enlistment, Trooper 2nd Division, horses' name Merriman, aged four, fit for duty (Dana return, 1 Mar 1847, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six men for whom LaTrobe approved a gratuity (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity of five shillings for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box
101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Jock received gratuity, marked X his mark; 24 Oct 1848 -
Trooper Jock in town on leave; 9 Jan 1849 - Troopers Jock, Jack and Jamie confined in watch-house
for attempting to fight; 10 Jan 1849 - Troopers Jock, Bill and Peter bolted, Corporal Tunmille sent in
pursuit of them to Melbourne with a note to Commandant (VPRS 90).

**JOEY or JOE or JOHEY**

Jul 1846 - Johey date of enlistment; 1 Mar 1847 - Johey (boy), recruit with 3rd Division, at
NNW(Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 2 Nov 1850 - Troopers Souwester,
Loughman, Isaac and Joey arrived with eight recruits from Lower Murray (VPRS 90); 1-31 May
1851 - On pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 17 May
1851 - Trooper Joe arrived from Melbourne with despatches; 19 May 1851 - Trooper Joe left for
Melbourne taking troop horse Kangaroo for Sergeant Cowan, and the Governor's horse Bluebeard; 6
Jun 1851 - Corporal Hannan, Troopers Yapton, Joey, Lee and Bachus left for the Broken Rise to do
duty in that quarter; Sergeant-Major, Troopers Cosgrove and Joe left for Melbourne; 18 Jul 1851 -
Trooper Joe arrived with despatches for Gippsland; 19 Jul 1851 - Trooper Joe returned to Melbourne;
9 Aug 1851 - Sergeant-Major returned from the Pyrenees leaving Trooper Joe stationed at the gold
mines; 15 Oct 1851 - Sergeant Gibson, Troopers Williams, Keistor, Joe, Bachus, Mickey and Brown
arrived with the horse cart from Pentridge Stockade; 20 Oct 1851 - Commandant returned, Troopers
Williams, Joe and Jack left for Mt Alexander gold diggings (VPRS 90).
JOHN/ JOHNNY
6 Jun 1846 - Mr Garriety (tailor) commenced Trooper John's clothes (VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for Johnny. Last gratuity paid 2 Jul 1847 (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Johnny received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark; 26 Mar 1848 - Commandant in Melbourne attended by Trooper Johnny; 26 Jan 1849 - Corporal Malone and Trooper Johnny proceeded to Melbourne, Johnny returned; 27 Jan 1849 - Corporal Malone returned drunk and was dismissed the service in consequence (VPRS 90); 1 May-31 Jul 1849 - Trooper Johnny on duty with Corporal McDonald and eleven other Native Troopers at Lower Murray (VPRS 4466, unit 1); 16 Jan 1850 - Troopers Johnny and William in Melbourne with two cows for His Honor; 7 Feb 1850 - Troopers Johnny and William again in Melbourne with the cows; 3 Nov 1850 - Corporal Pearson, Troopers Johnny and William arrived from the Murray; 14 Apr 1851 - Troopers Souwester, Johnny, Beerack, Jack and William returned from the Stockade; 5 May 1851 - Sergeant-Major, Sergeant O'Brien, Corporal Gibson, Troopers Haines, Toby, Loughman, William, Andrew, George, John, and Sambo left for Stockade. (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper John on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127)14; 17 Feb 1852 - Trooper Johnny arrived on station; 28 Feb 1852 - Commandant to town en route for Mt Alexander, Trooper Johnny with him; 25 Mar 1852 - Mr Langley with Corporal Brayshaw, Troopers Johnny, Condine and Munight left with seven days' rations for Pt Nepean to assist in saving and guarding the cargo from the Isabella Watson, wrecked on 21 Mar; 13 Apr 1852 - Mr Langley and party arrived from Pt Nepean; 16 Apr 1852 - Corporal Brown and Johnny left at Pyke's station at Corner Inlet to capture escaped prisoners from VDL who landed at Port Albert; 23 Apr 1852 - Mr Langley and Johnny to Arthur's Seat; 26 Apr 1852 - Mr Langley and Trooper Johnny to town; 29 Apr 1852 - Mr Langley to town taking Trooper Johnny; 3 May 1852 - Troopers Robinson and Johnny deserted from the station; Mr Langley, Sergeant-Major O'Brien and Corporal Brayshaw out in pursuit (VPRS 90).

KEISTOR/KEASTOR/KEASTER/KEISTON
15 Oct 1851 - Sergeant Gibson, Troopers Williams, Keister, Joe, Bacchus, Mickey and Brown15 arrived from Pentridge; 7 Nov 1851 - Trooper Keistor left for Mt Alexander; 28 Mar 1852 - Keaster arrived at station from Mr Powlett's; 7 Apr 1852 - Corporal O'Halloran to town with Keiston (sick);

14 There is also a Trooper Johnny on this list; whether there were two persons or whether it is a clerk's mistake is impossible to tell.
15 George Brown was the drummer boy, a European
21 Apr 1852 - Mr Langley returned to station, cart returned with "Keistor"; 7 Jun 1852 - Sergeant Williams to town en route to Murray District with Troopers Rideout, Munite, Marrambool and Keistor. Horses Spode, Fire-eater, Comet, Peter and Unknown. Clifton pack-horse (VPRS 90).

LANKEY

7 Sep 1850 - Corporal O'Bryan, Yapton, Lankey and Tommy left for Melbourne to await orders to proceed to the Goulburn River; 26 Sep 1850 - Corporals Cowan and Yapton, Troopers Lankey and Tommy returned from the Goulburn; 25 Nov 1850 - Mr Dana, Corporal Cowan, Troopers Tallboy, Moonering, Muggins, Lankey, Charlie, Beerack and Andrew left to take up quarters at Pentridge (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Lankey on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127)16.

LEE

12 Apr 1851 - Troopers Lee, Tommy, Geelong, Dick and Billy to stockade for duty. Trooper Lease (European) sent to town (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Lee on pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 6 May 1851 - Mr Lydiard, Corporals Pearson and Hannan, Troopers Mickey, Paddy, Jerry, Lee, Oliver, Bacchus and Murray relieved at Stockade by Sergeant-Major and party; 6 Jun 1851 - Corporal Hannan, Troopers Yapton, Joey, Lee and Bacchus left for the Broken Rise to do duty in that quarter; 19 Jul 1851 - Corporal McCauley and Trooper Bacchus left for the Goulburn, to call at Pentridge on the way and take Trooper Tommy to relieve Trooper Lee who is sick. Trooper Lee returned to Melbourne; 24 Sep 1851 - Trooper Lee died at the South Yarra pound on his way from Melbourne to the station (VPRS 90).

LIVELY - Westernport

1840 - Cognomine Wougill alias Lively, sick with pain in the breast, cured by native doctor, one of four families with Meyricks at Colourt, the only quiet set in the country, most of them dress like Englishmen and call themselves gentlemens (Meyrick, F.J. 1939: 132-4); 11 Sep 1840 - Warwardor one of three drunk at encampment; 16 Sep 1840 - Warwardor drunk (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 9 Jul 1841 - Dredge at Geelong to preach, visited a native encampment with Rev Tuckfield, encampment composed of Barrabools, Koligens and three Warwoorongs, Yewungiegua, Lively and one other (Dredge Diary, 1839-40: 200, LtSL); 2 Dec 1841 - Warwardor alias Lively, one of seven local men who assisted in capture of VDL blacks (Thomas to

16 Lankey may be Long John from Gippsland, especially as Long John and Tommy were recruited together and they stay together for this Goulburn tour of duty; he is definitely not Tallboy (Bering) nor Loughman, but working conservatively in identification, I have elected not to conflate him with Long John as there is no certainty.
Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/415); 8 Mar 1842 - Three police desert, Westernport blacks and three who were the most dextrous in getting the VDL blacks, could not be found when muster rolled - Warrengitolong, Buller Bullup and Lively (Thomas Journal, CY reel 732 item 5e, ML); 1844 [presumed] - At the judicial proceedings at Merri Creek against Warrador and Poleorong for killing the Wooralim youth at Tooradin, upwards of 800 blacks were present; the two undergoing punishment were two of the leading men and greatest warriors in the Westernport tribe (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 433); 25 Aug 1845 - Lively enrolled in NP with Boroonail alias Jack alias Billy L., and Worrengulk (VPRS 90); 10 Dec 1845 - Lively has been made a policeman within the last three days; a warrant is out against him I believe for assaulting Mr Anderson of Collins St while drunk; drunk at encampment with Warrungulpoop recently (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 621); 3 Aug 1846 - A Westernport black named Warardo alias Lively was captured in Melbourne; 4 Aug 1846 - He was convicted for getting drunk and assaulting Mr Anderson of the Commercial Inn on 25 Nov last (Thomas Quarterly Report, Jun-Sep 1846, enc with 46/ 7609 in AO of NSW 4/2744);18 Aug 1846 - The Aboriginal native named Warardo generally known as Lively has been released from gaol this morning; he was committed on the 4 th inst. to pay a fine of forty shillings or in default fourteen days for assaulting Phillip Anderson of the Commercial Hotel on 25 Nov last while in a state of intoxication...serious outrage (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 637);Jan 1847 - The bearers of Christiaan de Villiers' report from Gippsland during search for white woman are Charlie and Lively (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 20 Nov 1847 with enc, 47/ 9332 in AO of NSW 4/2784); 20 Jan 1847 - Lively and Charlie two Westernport blacks arrived from Gippsland (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 6, ML); 6 Apr 1847 and 22 Apr 1847 - Lively an interpreter, in one of the boat crews in search for white woman (Tyers to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/701 and 907); 12 Sep 1848 - Lively reported to be in Gippsland to seduce or barter for lubras, due back end Sep (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 11/ 701); 4 Sep 1848 - These blacks are armed, bent on revenge (Dana to LaTrobe, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 48/10473 in AO of NSW 4/2824); 1850 - Lively, Mr de Villiers and Mr Loaf, three Westernport Aboriginals were lured to their death on the Mitchell River by Mr Tyers a Kurnai (Thomas Journal, Jun 1850, set 214, item 4, and Letters set 214, item 12); 13 Dec 1851 - Lively, no alias, male Booroorong tribe, wife Yarbulloon alias Lizzie (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML). LONG JOHN - Gippsland
27 Dec 1846 - Mr Walsh and 1st Division returned from Gippsland with two new recruits, Long John and Tommy (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Long John, Trooper 1st Division, date of enlistment Jul 1846, horses name Blucher, aged seven years, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861).

LOUGHMAN

Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment Loughman, Trooper 1st Division, no horse (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for him five shillings, last gratuity paid 2 Jul 1847 (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Loughnan received five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90); 1 May-31 Jul 1849 - With Corporal McDonald and Tunmille, Marrambool, Berrick, Moonring, Peter, South Wester, Isaac, Robinson, William, Billy and Johnny at the Murray, dispersed in small parties at the various stations; conduct good (VPRS 4466, unit 1/16); 8 Jan 1850 - Troopers Loughman and Clark in town with horses to be shod (VPRS 90); 4 Mar 1850 - Loughman recently escaped narrowly a spear in a collision at McLeod's station in Gippsland (Corporal Cowan to Mr Walsh, 4 Mar 1850, enc with Walsh to Dana and Dana to LaTrobe in VPRS 19, Box 134, 50/751); 24 Aug 1850 - Mr Walsh arrived from the Lower Murray with Troopers Loughman, Johnny and Jack; 26 Aug 1850 - Mr Walsh and Troopers Johnny and Loughman left for Melbourne to proceed to the Murray; 2 Nov 1850 - Troopers Souwester, Loughman, Isaac and Joey arrived at H.Q. with eight recruits from the Lower Murray; 30 Nov 1850 - Corporal O'Bryan, Troopers Loughman and Munite left for Melbourne for duty with His Honor (as orderlies); 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and Troopers Mickey, Paddy, Murray, Oliver, Jerry, Bacchus, and Clarke left for stockade to relieve Troopers Charley, Moonering, Beerack, Sambo, Andrew, Loughman and Joe; 19 Mar 1851 - Trooper Loughman returned from Gippsland with the census papers; 20 Mar 1851 - Trooper Loughman left for Melbourne; 9 Apr 1851 - Trooper Loughman arrived from Melbourne; 3 May 1851 - Whole force attended Quarters Parade and received pay; 5 May 1851 - Sergeant Major, Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Gibson, Troopers Haines, Toby, Loughman, William, Andrew, George, John, Sambo left for stockade (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Loughman on pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127).

MARMBOOL - Mt Macedon
Marmbul, father Bungarim, clanhead Marinbulluk, whose country was between Kororoit Creek and the Saltwater River and Jackson's Creek, about Sunbury (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 122); 20 Mar 1839 - Marmbul/ Billy, aged eight, Warwoorong tribe, (Dredge census in Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Mar-Aug 1840 - Marmbool, male youth, father Woungnallagil Bungarin, mother Banickbun, sister Neminook, part of the Marinbulluk section of Waverong tribe inhabiting the Mt Macedon country (Parker's return in AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 1842 - Andrew Marmbull, aged twelve, Yarra black chief's son, Port Phillip, attending Merri Creek school (VPRS 26); Maimbool recruited with Cotigerry, end of March 1844, promises well (Dana return, 1 Jul 43-30 Jun 44, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); 31 Mar 1844 - recruited with Cotigerry; Apr 1844 - At H.Q.; May 1844 - With CCL Powlett, mission at Pyrenees; Jun 1844 - H.Q.; promises well (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Dec 1845 - Marmbull, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Jan 43, length of service three years (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas' criticism of the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes now in the N.P. (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 in Ao of NSW 4/2745.1); 12 Jan 1846 - Articles issued to Marmbull No 13 include new saddle and bridle complete, new sword and carbine, sword belt, cartridge box and weast (sic) belt, four regatta shirts, one red shirt, two pairs new boots, one pair duck trousers (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper 1st Division, date of enlistment Nov 42 17, horse's name Gregory, aged, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 22 Oct 1847 - Mr Walsh accompanied by Mr Marley and attended by Orderly Marmbull left for Gippsland (VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Gratuity of five shillings requested for Marmbool (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Received gratuity of five shillings in presence of Mr Dana and Sergeant, made X his mark (VPRS 90); 1 Aug 1848 - Trooper Marmbool arrived from Gippsland; 11 Sep 1848 - Trooper Marmbool started for Gippsland with Mr W. Walsh and Mr King; 12 Jan 1849 - Sergeant McLelland, Troopers Charlie and Marmbool out on duty after the men who bolted on the morning of the 10th (VPRS 90); 14 Feb 1849 - With Commandant and Gellibrand, Moonering, Calcheron and Robinson escorting the Bishop of Melbourne and Mrs Perry to Gippsland and back (Perry, R. Contributions... 1857); 1 May-31 Jul 1849 - Marmbool on duty with Corporal McDonald and eleven other Aboriginal Troopers at the Lower Murray, conduct good (VPRS 4466, unit 1/16); 3 Dec 1849 - Corporal McDonald and Marmbool in Melbourne leading

17 A mistake
the gig horse; 26 Dec 1849 - Corporals McDonald and Tunmile, Troopers Marmbool and Peter ordered to take up their quarters in Melbourne at the Mounted Police Barracks to do duty as orderlies in place of the Mounted Police disbanded; 11 Jan 1850 - Trooper Marmbool arrived from Melbourne with despatches; 12 Jan 1850 - Trooper Marmbool returned to town leaving troop horse Bugle; 15 Jan 1850 - Corporal McDonald, Troopers Marmbool and Peter left Melbourne with leading horses on route to Lower Murray; 21 Feb 1850 - His Honor and Mrs LaTrobe, Commandant and three troopers out on a pleasure excursion; 22 Feb 1850 - His Honor, Commandant, Sergeant McLelland and Corporal Marmbool left for Melbourne; 6 Jun 1850 - Troopers Tunmile and Marmbool arrived from Melbourne with despatches for Gippsland, brought with them six cows belonging to His Honor and Mr Bell; 4 Jul 1850 - Commandant received a letter from Mr CCL Powlett referring to the good conduct of Trooper Marmbool whole out on duty with him; 15 Aug 1850 - Troop Marmbool arrived with Mr Powlett's cart; 16 Aug 1850 - Commandant attended by Corporals Cowan, Yapton, Tunmile and Marambool left with Mr Powlett for Point Nepean; 18 Oct 1850 - His Honor accompanied by Mr Bell and CCL's Powlett and Grimes, Corporal Cowan, Troopers Jack and Marambool arrived from Melbourne, Mr Dana and six troopers as a guard of honour met them at the pound; 19 Oct 1850 - His Honor left the station accompanied by Troopers Marambool and Bushby; 24 Oct 1850 - His Honor and Lady arrived from Melbourne attended by Trooper Marambool, Commandant and Trooper Munite met them at South Yarra pound; 25 Oct 1850 - His Honor and Lady left for Westernport accompanied by Commandant and Trooper Marambool and Deen the bullock driver; 28 Oct 1850 - His Honor's party arrived from Westernport, Riding School exercises at 4 pm; 29 Oct 1850 - His Honor's party left for Melbourne attended by Commandant and Marambool as orderly; 21 Nov 1850 - Trooper Marambool arrived from Melbourne with despatches (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Marmbool on pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 3 Sep 1851 - Troopers Marambool and Blackie returned to join the Corps having absconded when detached at Melbourne (Marmbool) and Pentridge (Blackie); 21 Sep 1851 - Trooper Marmbool left for duty at the Paddock (Richmond Barracks)18; 16 Oct 1851 - Trooper Marmbool arrived from Melbourne with letters; 7 Jun 1852 - Sergeant Williams to town on route to the Murray with Troopers Rideout, Manite, Marambool and Keister, horses Fire-eater, Spode, Count, Peter and Unknown, pack-horse Clifton.

**MERRI - Port Fairy**

18 Having been selected as the best qualified for the job as Governor's orderly (VPRS 3219, vol 1: 14)
29 Dec 1845 - Merri, native place Port Fairy, date of enlistment Dec 1845, length of service one
month, recruited with Souwester, Cobra Bile, Port Fairy Jack, Hopkins, Jack and Billy from Portland
Bay District (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179).

MICKEY - Western District

Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment, Trooper 2nd Division, horse's name Punch, aged, fit for duty (Dana
return, 1 Mar 1847, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 23 Oct 1846 - Sergeant McGregor
returned to H.Q. with twelve recruits selected in the Western District (VPRS 90); 5 Jul 1847 -
Mickey one of twenty-six men for whom LaTrobe approved a gratuity of five shillings (Dana to
LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland with Troopers
Mickey, Paddy, Murray, Oliver, Jerrey, Bacchus and Clarke left for stockade to relieve party
there (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - On pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS
29, vol 55: 127); 5 May 1851 - Mr Lydiard, Corporals Pearson and Hannan, Troopers Mickey and
Paddy, Jerry, Lee, Oliver, Bacchus and Murray relieved at Stockade; 2 Jun 1851 - Sergeant Pearson,
Troopers Oliver, Mickey and Isaac left for Melbourne to await orders to proceed to the Murray; 15 Oct
1851 - Sergeant Gibson, Troopers William, Keister, Joe, Bacchus, Mickey and Brown arrived from
Pentridge; 5 Nov 1851 - Trooper Mickey arrived from Melbourne with despatches; 6 Nov 1851 -
Trooper Mickey left for Melbourne; 9 Mar 1852 - Trooper Mickey returned from Mt Alexander with
troop horses Father McGrath and Wellington; 18 Mar 1852 - Commandant, Lt Maunsell and Trooper
Mickey to Mr Hunter's station; 21 Mar 1852 - Sunday, Commandant, Mr Mansell and Orderly
O'Halloran to town. Mr Langley and Corporal Brayshaw to Davey's station Cannanook to see the man
named Sydney wounded by Trooper "Mickey" on the 19th. Mr Langley and Corporal Brayshaw
returned at night. Sergeant Sullivan arrived at the station with the prisoner "Sydney"; 22 Mar 1852 -
Corporal Brown with cart to convey "Sydney" to town, Trooper Mickey as guard. Corporal Brown
returned with Trooper Mickey, Robinson and Billy (sick); 29 Mar 1852 - Sergeant-Major O'Bryan,
Sergeant Williams and Trooper "Mickey" to town to attend the Melbourne races on duty; 2 Apr 1852 -
Sergeant-Major, Sergeant Williams and Mickey arrived back from the races; 3 Apr 1852 - Troopers
Mickey, Coindine, Darling and Jerry bolted from the station. Sergeant Williams and Corporal Brown to
tell Commandant and search for deserters. Both returned at midnight (VPRS 90).

MIRBERCOIM/ MOBEKOIM - Devil's River

Dec 1843 - Recruited end of month, promises well (Dana return, Jul 43-Jun 44, VPRS 19,
Box 60, 44/1177(a)); Jan-Jun 1844 - At HQ (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb
1844 - One of a large number of Native Police in a crowd of 700 assembled to witness judicial proceedings at Merri Creek (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Unit 8/469); 29 Dec 1845 - Recruited Jan 44 from Devil’s River tribe with Warrenalpoop and Worrangulkum Crib, length of service two years (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas’ criticism of the Native Police as one of the Melbourne tribes now in the Corps (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 at AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 12 Jan 1846 - Issued with saddle complete, sword and carbine, two pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, two regatta shirts, one red shirt, new boots; 16 Jan 1846 - With W.A.P.Dana set off for the Murray with Tomboko, Barney, Buckup, Gellibrand, Waverong and Warrenalpoop (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Moibchoim, Trooper 2nd Division, date of enlistment Jan 44, horse’s name Chance, aged six, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 12 Apr 1847 - Moibekoim at Merri Creek with other police, something amiss with the Native Police, sent uniforms back to NNW with a boy on horseback...the messenger is Moibekoim (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, Unit 8, 47/561); another version from Thomas states that Moibekoim arrived on horseback from NNW (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/659); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six men for whom LaTrobe approved a gratuity of five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 27 Dec 1847 - Trooper Mirbercoim three days LOA by request (VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Gratuity of five shillings paid to him (VPRS 90).

MONDAY

Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment, Trooper 1st Division, horse’s name Blackey, aged seven years, fit for duty (Dana return, 1 Mar 1847, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 28 Nov 1847 - Mr Walsh and 1st Division returned from Gippsland; 29 Nov 1847 - Mr Walsh and Trooper Monday in Melbourne (VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Gratuity requested for Trooper Monday (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Monday received his gratuity in presence of Mr W.A.P.Dana and Sergeant O’Brien, made X his mark (VPRS 90).

MOONEE MOONEE / ROLEE / PORLEET- Warwoorong

Son of Old Moonee Moonee/Morundal described as King, clan head Baluk-Willam whose country south of Yering in Yarra Ranges extending to Westernport, Kooweerup swamp and head of Latrobe River (Barwick, D. AH, vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 120-1); 15 May 1838 - Settler John Aitken identified identified Old Mooney Mooney blind in one eye as the one of the men present at an attack on
his station, and mentioned that his son attacked Aitken on a former occasion (HRV vol 2A: 292); 11 Jul 1838 - Young Moonee Moonee escaped from the Melbourne gaol where he was being held on charges of depradations (VPRS 1: 253); 20 Mar 1839 - Mooney Mooney, Warwoorong tribe, aged seventeen, on Dredge's census of Aborigines in vicinity of Melbourne unmarried, whose family not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); 28 Nov 1839 - Young Moonecy, a Melbourne black was among four who were wounded in a noble fight with the Goulburns (Thomas Journal 1839-40, Uncat Ms set 214, item 1, ML); Porlett or Moonee Moonee, brother to Targandurra, part of Marinbullah section of Warverong tribe inhabiting Mt Macedon country (Parker's return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 27 Jul 1842 - Trooper 1st Division, on duty with Mr Powlett, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 25 Aug - 18 Nov 1842 - one of five dismounted men in party of nine on duty with Dana in Portland Bay District, Moonee Moonee under orders of PM French at The Grange who was well pleased with them (Dana Journal in O'Callaghan, T. Police and Other People); 1842 - Moonee or William, aged twenty-four, single, no children, punished by confinement, on duty at NNW, three months at Portland Bay, at Mt Rouse and Port Fairy with the Mounted Police; general conduct at first bad, but now very good; at first slovenly and inclined to be disobedient, now cleanly and anxious to please (Dana return in NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); Jul 1843 - On road to Portland; Aug 1843 - With Commandant at Glenelg, Wimmera, Wandoo etc; Sep 1843 - Very active and courageous in search of Bassett's murderers, severely wounded (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 6 Sep 1843 - Moonee Moonee got a blow on the head from a large axe in a collision, but it does not appear to have hurt him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 50, 43/2293); 29 Sep 1843 - Moonie Moonie has been on duty in Western District since 27 June with Dana, 1 Sergeant and nine others (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Oct 1843 - Port Fairy, Grange, apprehended two whites, marched them to Portland; Nov 1843 - To H.Q. (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 21 Nov 1843 - Moonee Moonee one of ten police to proceed on horseback from Merri Creek to NNW (Thomas Journal 1 Sep 1843-29 Feb 1844, set 214, item 3, ML); Dec 1843 - Sick; Jan 1844 - H.Q. (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 3 Jan 1844 - Moonie expressed support for Thomas after Dana abused Thomas (Thomas Journal, 1 Sep 43-29 Feb 44, Uncat Ms set 214, item 3, ML); Feb 1844 - ten days LOA (Dana return Jul 43-Jun 44, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - One of a large number of Native Police in a crowd of 700 assembled to witness judicial proceedings at Merri Creek (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/469);
Mar 1844 - AWL, punished; Apr 1844 - With Chief Protector to Gippsland; Remarks - Daring and cool and attached to his officer (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 14 Apr 1844 - Left NNW with Chief Protector, G.H. Haydon, Sergeant Windredge and five other Aboriginal Troopers - Tonmile, Mumbo, Munmunginna, Warwoorong and Poligerry, on first successful attempt to push through overland to Gippsland (Haydon, G.H. Diaries, N.L. and Five Years in Australia Felix); From there, Moonee continued on with Chief Protector and Poligerry through the Alps to Twofold Bay then back to Melbourne via the Sydney Road. They travelled over 2200 miles. Robinson commented thus: "The two Melbourne blacks continued with me throughout the journey and their general conduct after leaving Gippsland merited my approbation. I have therefore much pleasure in commending them to Your Honor's notice" (VPRS 4414, unit 1); Jul 1845 - Died, enlisted Jan 1842, length of service three years six months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); about 10 Aug - Moonee's death reported in Thomas return of deaths Jun-Nov 1845 (Governor's Despatches, A 1240, vol 51, Appendix D, ML); 2 Sep 1845 - Moonee's death reported by his comrade Mumbo after being five months with Mr Powlett's party on duty at the Murray (VPRS 90); 23 Oct 1845 - Dana reports death of Moonnee Moonee, one of the most active and well-disposed of the police; had been stationed for five months on the Murray (enc to La Trobe to Col Sec, 45/7945 in AO of NSW 4/2704); This was a fine young man who was sent two important journeys and died in the service while at the Wimmera in August 1845 (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 407).

MOONERING/ TOMMY MUNNERING - Yarra

1842 - Tommy Munnering, Yarra black chief's son, aged nine; Port Phillip tribe, aged twelve (Separate lists, Merri Creek School Register, VPRS 26); 3 May 1846 - Moon-Ner-Ring, male aged thirteen, Yarra tribe, pupil at Merri Creek school (Thomas list of pupils, VPRS 19, Box 86, 46/1632); 13 Sep 1846 - Thomas visited school...found Munnering had left some weeks previously...strolled to Geelong, fell in with two N.P. on their return from Melbourne...they pressed him to return to school and get away the big boys and take them to NNW where they would be supplied with horses, guns, pistols, fine red-striped clothes etc etc...he returned to the school and having secretly informed the boys of the prospect before them, they became unruly, in fact by the statement of the schoolmaster, the school became refractory, throwing their panicans etc about...such overtures would years back have unhinged a school of white boys...after laying before the parents the ridiculousness of the boys' imaginations and their tender ages, one boy after another began to fall in, and after about an hours' parleying, all but Munnering accompanied us to the school (Thomas
Quarterly Report, 1 Sep -30 Nov 1846, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 1 Mar 1847 - Moonering, Trooper 1st Division, date of enlistment Oct 1846, horse's name Irishman, aged six, condition low (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 12 Apr 1847 - Munnering at Merri Creek having been in town for duty at the races...sent clothing back to NNW...something amiss with the N.P. (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, unit 8, 47/561 and VPRS 11, Box 10/659); 5 Jul 1847 - Moonering's name crossed out on list of troopers for whom LaTrobe approved gratuity of five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 15 Feb 1848 - Mr Dana, Corporal O'Brien and Moonering went to Yarra to apprehend Kcalallo and Muggins; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Moonering received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark; 22 Jan 1849 - Troopers Moonering and Muggins received LOA for two days; 25 Jan 1849 - Troopers Moonering and Muggins returned from LOA; 27 Jan 1849 - Sergeant McLelland and four men in pursuit of deserters; 28 Jan 1849 - Sergeant McLelland and one trooper returned with one deserter Moonering (VPRS 90); 14 Feb 1849 - Moonering one of the five N.P. who escorted the Bishop of Melbourne and Mrs Perry to Gippsland and back (Perry, R. Contributions...1857: 97); 1 May- 31 Jul 1849 - Moonering on duty with Corporal McDonald at Lower Murray (VPRS 4466, unit 1); 16 Jan 1850 - Trooper Moonering to accompany the overseer of the botanical gardens to Mt Disappointment; 29 Jan 1850 - Trooper Moonering returned from Mt Disappointment; 25 Nov 1850 - Mr Dana, Corporal Cowan, Troopers Tallboy, Moonering, Muggins, Lankey, Charlie, Beerack and Andrew left to take up quarters at Pentridge; 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and seven troopers left for stockade to relieve Charley, Moonering, Beerack, Sambo, Andrew, Loughman and Joe; 14 Feb 1851 - Trooper Moonering left for Westernport with despatches (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Moonering on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 30 Oct 1860 - Tommy Mannering, Yarra tribe, admitted to Melbourne Hospital, disease pneumonia and phthisis; 7 Nov 1860 - died (Smythe, R.B. 1972, vol 1: 266).

MUGGISNS/ MURGIN

5 Jul 1847 - Muggins on list of twenty-six troopers for whom Dana requests gratuity (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity of five shillings for him and thirty-three other troopers (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 15 Feb 1848 - Mr Dana, Corporal O'Brien and Moonering went to Yarra to apprehend two men that deserted from the station; 17 Feb 1848 - Kalcallo and Murgin gave themselves up as bolters; 18 Feb 1848 -
Parade. Kalcallo and Muggins sentenced to seven days confinement for being AWL; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Muggins received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark; 10 Sep 1848 - Sunday. Murgin preached from the gospel of St John. Major St John arrived; 22 Jan 1849 - Troopers Muggins and Moonering received LOA for three days; 25 Jan 1849 - Troopers Muggins and Moonering returned from LOA; 17 Jul 1849 - Yaption and Gellibrand on patrol up the Yarra after Troopers Harry and Muggins; 20 Jul 1849 - Corporal Gellibrand returned; 21 Jul 1849 - Corporal Yaption returned, did not succeed in capturing the deserters; 25 Nov 1850 - Mr Dana, Corporal Cowan, Troopers Tallboy, Moonering, Muggins, Lankey, Charlie, Beerack and Andrew left to take up quarters at Pentridge (VPRS 90).

MUMBO/ MURRAY - Warwoorong

Mumbo, brother to Nunupunte/Mr Langhorne, son of Old George the King, clan head Ngaruk-Willam whose country was the "half-bad" country extending from Gardiner's Creek to Dandenong.

Mumbo died 1846 (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984:117); Jul 1839 - Mumbo's name on census of Aborigines in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 8 Oct 1840 - Mumbo and Nulupton with Thomas at Jamieson's station at Westernport after the raid on the station by Gippsland blacks (Thomas Journal, Oct-Dec 1840, set 214, item 2(a), ML); 26 Sep 1843 - Recruited; Oct-Dec - With CCL Tyers on unsuccessful attempt to travel overland to Gippsland; 25 Dec 1843 - returned to H.Q. (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 1843 - On duty since 19 Sep with Sergeant Bennett and six other N.P. with CCL Tyers in Gippsland (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Apr-Jun 1844 - With Sergeant Windridge to Gippsland (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Apr 1844 - With Sergeant Windridge and five other N.P. accompanying Chief Protector to Gippsland (Haydon, G.H. 1846: 122); 27 May 1844 - Sergeant Windridge optimistic that Mumbo can be made as good as the others (Windridge to Dana, enc with LaTrobe to Col Sec, 25 Jul 1844, 44/6172 in AO of NSW 4/2666); 30 Jun 1844 - Mumbo recruited end of Sep 1843, likely to prove one of the best men (Dana return, 1 Jul 1843-30 Jun 1844, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); 19 Feb 1845 - Mumbo praised by Tyers, one of four Native Police on duty in Gippsland for last seven months (Tyers to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 68, 45/324); 23 Mar 1845 - Munmunginna, Mumbo, Tomboko, Tugendun, Cotajery and Hill.

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19 This is the whole entry for the day. The writing is not difficult - there can be no doubt about the spelling. Muggins is called Murgin in another part of the record. It seems that on this Sunday, an Aboriginal Trooper preached.

20 including No Good Damper
three days permission to Merri Creek for good conduct; 8 Apr 1845 - Sergeant Bennett started with three Native Troopers to join F.A.Powlett's party; 2 Sep 1845 - Mumbo returned to H.Q. to report the death of his comrade Moonie Moonie after an absence of five months with Mr Powlett's party at the Wimmera (VPRS 90); 29 Dec 1845 - Mumbo, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Jan 1843, length of service three years (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - On Thomas list criticizing the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas quarterly report, enc to 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 26 Jan 1846 - Mumbo No 11, listed for kit issue, nothing written against his name; 10 Dec 1846 - Constable Thornhill in Melbourne in charge of two Native Troopers Mumbo and Jackey which was sent to hospital for medical aid (VPRS 90); Dec 1846 - Mumbo one of two N.P. admitted to hospital, brought down from NNW, both under eighteen years of age...Mumbo could read and answer questions from Dr Watt's catechism...had been at school...Thomas visited them, told them God knows all things and perhaps was afflicting him now for aiding in killing a Lodden black some time previous...Mumbo got very wrath and said the Lodden blacks had killed all the Native Police and taken out his marmdulla (kidney fat)...he staggered out to Thomas' horse and tried to mount, could not...sunken eyes, ghostly countenance...he died a few days later (Thomas quarterly report, Dec 1846-Feb 1847, set 214, item 6, ML.).

MUNITE/ TOM - Warwoorong

Mar 1842 - Listed as pupil at Merri Creek school (VPRS 26); Jan 1845 - recruited; 1 Mar 1847 - still listed as a "boy", with the 3rd Division of recruits at H.Q. (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - Munite one of twenty-six men for whom Dana requested gratuity of five shillings(Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 25 Dec 1847 - Troopers Charley and Munite in confinement for creating a disturbance and imbuing rum(VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for him(Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Munite received five shillings, made X his mark; 4 Aug 1848 - Troopers Tallboy and Munite arrived from Portland Bay with despatches; 8 Sep 1848 - Sergeant McLelland and Munite started for Mount Eckersley; 22 Dec 1849 - Trooper Munite in town after stray horses; 1 Jan 1850 - Trooper Munite in town, returned with two Mounted Police horses and other stray troop horses; 28 Jan 1850 - Troopers Munite and Andrew in Melbourne with two troop horses Gruck and Bolivar to be delivered over to Mr Sturt; 9 Feb 1850 - Troopers Munite and Warrenalpup in town with three troop horses to be shod; 30 Mar 1850 - Trooper Munite arrived from Gippsland; 15 Apr 1850 - The weekly report delivered from the constables at Dandenong, Commandant, Toner(tailor) and Trooper Munite in town;
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strick's "Victoria the Golden"
His Honor and Lady arrived from Melbourne attended by Trooper Marambool, Commandant attended by Trooper Munite met them at the South Yarra pound; 30 Nov 1850 - Corporal O'Bryan, Troopers Loughman and Munite left to do duty with His Honor (VPRS 90); Dec 1850 - Trooper Munite painted by artist William Strutt at Richmond Barracks (Strutt, W. Victoria the Golden, Ms copy, Parliamentary Library Victoria); 12 Apr 1851 - Trooper Munite returned unsuccessful after patrolling for escaped prisoners from the Pentridge stockade; 3 May 1851 - Whole force attended quarters parade and received pay (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Munite on pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 25 May 1851 - Inspection of clothing of troops about to proceed to Gippsland, viz Gellibrand, Tallboy, Charlie, Jack, Munite and Peter; 30 May 1851 - Gippsland party started; 17 Oct 1851 - Gippsland party arrived back; 29 Oct 1851 - Sergeant O'Brien, Corporal Hannam and Troopers Robinson, Billy and Munite left for Mt Alexander, Sergeant in Melbourne helping to equip them; 25 Mar 1852 - Mr Langley with Corporal Brayshaw, Troopers Johnny, Condine and Munite left with seven days rations for Pt Nepean to assist in the salvage of the Isabella Watson wrecked on 21 st; 31 Mar 1851 - Troopers Munite and Condine arrived at head station having left Mr Langley at Pt Nepean without leave; 13 Apr 1852 - Mr Langley and party arrived back from Pt Nepean; 20 Apr 1852 - Corporal Brayshaw and Trooper Munight durance to four bolters from VDL captured and taken to Melbourne by cart, Trooper Robinson driving; 28 Apr 1852 - Trooper Munight to town on route to Cape Otway with despatches; 7 May 1852 - Munight arrived from Cape Otway; 7 Jun 1852 - Sergeant Williams to town on route to Murray District with Troopers Ridout, Munite, Marambool and Keister, horses Spode, Fire-eater, Count, Peter and Unknown, pack-horse Clifton (VPRS 90); 1863 - Strutt used Munite's name for one of the just grown-up sons of chief Nimrod in his story of the successful search for three lost young European children (N.L. Ms 5985).

MUNMUNGINNA/ DR BAILEY - Yarra

Munmungina/ Dr Bailey, Burinyung- Bulluk whose country was about the upper portion of the Mornington Peninsula, where he and his brother Burrennum/ Jack/ Mr Dredge were recognised as men of authority but not named as chiefs (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2: 117); 20 Mar 1839 - Munmunginna/Jack, Boonorong tribe, on Dredge's census as male aged eighteen years in vicinity of Melbourne whose family is not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); 8 Nov 1839 - Munmungin comes in beastly drunk...this youth till one in the morning kept the camp into excitement (Thomas Journal, HRV vol 2B: 558); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and
equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Munmunginna, 2nd Division, rationed since 1 Feb, selected to go to the westward (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 4 Oct 1842 - LaTrobe's black trooper Dr Bailey (Gross, A. 1980: 22); 2 Nov 1842 - It was at Mollison's on the morning of the 2nd that my black trooper Dr Bailey gave me a lesson about native names ...Mititern...Monmacedon (LaTrobe, C.J. Memoranda of Journeys..., Box 79/1, LlSL); 1842 - Munonungi or Dr Bailey, aged twenty, single, no children, never punished, on duty at Westernport for four months, at Mt Macedon police station, general conduct very good, well-disposed and obedient (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); Jul-Sep 1843 - At H.Q.; Oct-Nov 1843 - With CCL Tyers endeavouring to get through to Gippsland (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Sep 1843 - Munmungena, Dr Bailey, on service since 19 Sep 1843 in Gippsland (Dana return, 43/7302 in of NSW 4/1135.1); 25 Dec 1843 - At H.Q.; Jan-Mar 1844 - At H.Q. (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Munmunginna one of a large number of N.P. present among a crowd of nearly 700 assembled at Merri Creek to witness judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, 13 Feb 1844, VPRS 11, unit 8); Apr-Jun 1844 - With Sergeant Windredge to Gippsland; remarks - willing and obedient (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Apr 1844 - With Sergeant Windredge and five other N.P. and Robinson en route to Gippsland (Haydon, G.H. 1846: 122); 27 May 1844 - Conduct of the men not as good as I expected...I think that in a short time I can make Mumbo and Munmunginnong as good as the rest (Sergeant Windredge to Dana, enc to 44/6172 in AO of NSW 4/2666); 1 Feb 1845 - Returned from Gippsland (Tyers to Dana, VPRS 19, Box 68, enc with 45/346); 19 Feb 1845 - Praised by CCL Tyers as one of the four N.P. on duty in Gippsland for last seven months (Tyers to LaTrobe, 19 Feb 1845, VPRS 19, Box 68, 45/324); 23 Mar 1845 - With six other named troopers, given three days permission to go to Merri Creek; 10 Aug 1845 - Munmunginner died at Mahun Westernport, aged twenty-five, male, Yarra tribe, single, one of the Native Police (Thomas return, Governor's Despatches vol 51, ML); Aug 1845 - Died, recruited Jul 1842, length of service three years one month (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 19 Aug 1845 - Munmunginna died 17th ult. from cold and inflammation (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 74, 45/1488); Thomas wrote of him that he was a fine and faithful black, with a good disposition and temper; he was out on three expeditions, taken ill at the Wimmera and returned before his comrades; black doctors recommended rambling
through the district which he did to no effect; he died at Mahoon Westernport on 16 Aug 1845 (Bride, T. F. 1983: 409).

**MURRAY**

1-31 May 1851 - Murray on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland with Troopers Mickey, Paddy, Murray, Oliver, Terey, Bacchus and Clarke left for stockade to relieve detachment there; 5 May 1851 - Mr Lydiard, Corporals Pearson and Hannan, Troopers Mickey, Paddy, Terey, Lee, Oliver, Bacchus and Clarke relieved at stockade by Sergeant-Major and party; 19 Jul 1851 - Troopers Paddy and Murray left for stockade to replace Troopers Bushby and Sam deserted (VPRS 90).

**MURREM MURREE BEAN**

Clan head Gunung-Willam-Balluk whose country was the eastern drainage area of Dividing Range about Mt Macedon extending to Werribee River; his father was Nerm Nerm/ Old Billy (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 121); 15 May 1838 - Committed at Melbourne for killing sheep with Old Mooney Mooney, Bunia Logan, Mainga, Murray/Poen, Jack Sloe and Jin Jin (NSW Leg Co V&P 1843); 16 May 1838 - Physical description, has recent cut over right eye (VPRS 1: 220); same date - Christiaan de Villiers testifies that a fortnight ago, Derrimut, Dela Kal Keth and Bet Bengai told him that the blacks now in gaol including Hill were going towards Mt Macedon...to kill sheep...told de Villiers also that they (the men in gaol) were concerned with killing sheep at Clarke’s, Jackson’s, Dr Clerke’s and were present at Mr Aitkins (HRV vol 2A: 299-301); 26 May 1838 - Commander of revenue cutter Prince George landed the men committed for trial in Sydney at Williamstown, having turned back just outside Port Phillip heads because the prisoners, housed on deck under a boat were seasick, cold and suffering from cramps (Scott to Lonsdale, VPRS 4, unit 4, 38/107); 29 May 1838 - Men now to go to Sydney tomorrow by schooner Sarah (VPRS 1: 227); 9 Jun 1838 - Admitted to Sydney gaol from Port Phillip, purpose trial (AO of NSW 4/6437); no date - No 987, Murry Embal an Aborigine, complexion black, hair black, eyes black, no general remarks, no connexions or past history (Sydney and Darlinghurst Gaol Description Book, AO of NSW reel 856); 28 Aug 1838 - Disposed of to Sydney Benevolent Asylum (AO of NSW 4/6437);

21 This man is not Wawoorong/Murray; almost certainly, this man with Condine, Darling, Edward and others is one of the men recruited from the Lower Murray region in 1850.

22 How and when he got back to Melbourne is unknown; two men committed to Sydney gaol with him returned on the Pyramus with LaTrobe in 1839, and two others walked all the way back. But Murrem Murree Bean got back long before these four, he may have walked out of the Benevolent Asylum - the relevant volume of the Asylum records is the only one missing of an otherwise complete set.
20 Mar 1839 - Murrummurrumbbean alias Thurum/Mr Hill, Warwoorong tribe, aged twenty, listed on Dredg's census of Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne as unmarried male whose family not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); 5 May 1839 - A young man of the Warwoorong tribe by name Murrum Murrum Bean, calling himself my brother, related to me a practice...removing kidney fat...revolting...hope I misunderstand him (Dredge Journal, Box 16/3 LtSL); 15 Jul 1839 - My first night with the blacks, Billy Lonsdale and Murruman slept by my tent door; Jul 1839 - Murra Murrum Bean/Mr Hill, name taken in encampment (Thomas Journal 1839-40, set 214, item 1, ML); 17 Jul 1839 - Ningolobin, Deremott, Billy Lonsdale, Bal Banger, Murra Murranbine, Warwong alias Mr King and Bunranrug arrived from the Yarra armed with spears etc, showed me a new and very fine spear barbed with shells...I make no doubt this murder was a joint arrangement (Siewright to Robinson, 39/ 10217 in AO of NSW 4/2471); 22 Nov 1839 - Murrumberubman, Warwoorong male aged twenty-six (Thomas census, VPRS 10, unit 1); 1840 - Murrummurrumbyan, adult male of Konong-Willam section of Warwoorong tribe, inhabiting Mt Macedon country, has two wives and one child (Parker's Report Mar-Aug 1840, enc with 40/11577 in AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 24 Feb 1842 - Received issue of clothes, blankets and equipment, enrolled and made his mark, second person listed after Billibelary (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Murrumbean, Trooper 1st Division, rationed since 1 Feb, remained at Merri Creek (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1842 - Nurrumbene, aged thirty, married, two wives, two children, never punished, on duty only at the camp, general conduct good, obedient, very determined but tractable (Dana report, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday, daubed, with nineteen other N.P. plus about sixty Yarra and Goulburn blacks for fight against Westemport and Port Phillip blacks (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); 27 Jul 1843 - Muurummurrumbbean alias Mr Hill and Yanki Junker (Robert You Yang Cunningham) thwarted the ends of justice by warning three Barabool men whom the authorities had a secret plan to capture, whereupon they and everyone else left (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/596); Jul-Sep 1843 - At H.Q. (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Sep 1843 - On duty in Gippsland since 19 Sep with Sergeant Bennett and six other troopers (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Oct-Nov 1843 - With CCL Tyers endeavouring to reach Gippsland; 25 Dec 1843 - Returned to H.Q.; Jan-Jun 1844 - At H.Q., willing but getting old (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - One of a large number of N.P. present with nearly 700 others at Merri Creek to witness judicial proceedings
Aboriginal Institution, 
near Melbourne, 
Nov. 20th 1819.

Sir,

Please to tell old William that I thank him for sending to me by John the black policeman and will thank you to tell him that I like to stay here better than at the police paddock, we work before dinner and have school and play after and I wish John Black
(Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Unit 8); 23 Mar 1845 - With six other troopers given three
days leave to go to Merri Creek for good conduct; 25 Mar 1845 - Leave to join corroboree, returned in
due course (VPRS 90); 29 Dec 1845 - Murrumbane, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb
1842, length of service three years eleven months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179);
Jan 46 - Listed on Thomas criticism of the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes who deserted
(Thomas Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 in Ao of NSW 4/2745.1); Jan 1846 -
Munemban No 7, listed for kit issue but blank (VPRS 90); 16 Sep 1849 - Murrumbean, male aged
thirty-two years, widower Yarra tribe, died at South Yarra (Thomas return, VPRS 10, unit 11,
50/55); Cousin to Billibellary, fine powerful black, second greatest influence over the Yarra blacks,
soon left the police, only joined to set an example, attempted with Billibellary to stop growing vice
(alcohol), to no avail (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 407).

MURRUMWILLER/ CHARLES NEVER - Murray

12 Jun 1848 - Murrumwiller, Wimmera²³ tribe, known as Charley, one of three Aboriginal boys
added to the school at Merri Creek last Friday (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/696);
mid-Jun 1848-mid-Feb 1850 - pupil at Rev. Edgar's school, his actions, words and personality
characteristics recorded by Lucy Edgar, daughter of schoolmaster: Charles Never refused to be called
Charley, insisted on two names like a white gentleman...adopted English altogether, refused to speak
broken English...could not bear to smoke his pipe when gentlemen smoked cigars...coveted the
uniform, horses and idle life of a Native Policeman...saw them as real black gentlemen etc. (Edgar,
L. Among the Black Boys, 1857); 20 Nov 1849 - Letter from Charles Never in his own hand-
writing to Dr Black, squatter (ML); 18 Feb 1850 - Apprenticed to tailor Mr Foreman in Elizabeth St,
Melbourne (Thomas Papers, Uncat Ms, set 214, item 12: 33, ML); 1850 - Two portraits of
"civilised Aboriginal lad known as Charles Never", by William Strutt, one picture signed by Charles
"Marumwillery"(Victorian Parliamentary Library); 18 Jan 1851 - Charles Never (Murray tribe)
has done eight months apprenticed to a tailor in Melbourne (Thomas Papers, Uncat Ms, set
214, item 6: 63, ML); Charles Never, tailor to the Native Police Force (Strutt,W. Journal:
31); 1 Jan 1852 - The Aboriginal tailor Charles Never has joined the last month a steady party to the
gold diggings at Mt Alexander (Thomas to Vic Col Sec, Despatches from the Governor of
Victoria, ML A 2341); no date - Charles Never murdered (Strutt,W. op cit); no date - Charles

²³ This could be misleading; in his own letter written subsequently, Charles Never writes of his country as the Murray
River.
Jackey Mary, Mary Ann, Judy or some other boys and girls from the River. Hurry as we have plenty to eat, good clothes and the gentlemen are very kind to us.
I have nine shillings in money and after awhile I am going to learn to be a tailor and then I hope to work at it to get my own living.

I remain,

Sir,

Yours respectfully,

Charles. Ever.
Never went with missionaries to the Murray (? Lake Boga) and was murdered (Edgar, L. op cit: 110).

**NANGOLLIBILL/ NING-GOOLABIN/ JOHN BULL/ CAPTAIN TURNBULL - Warwoorong**

Ninggolobin/ John Bull/ Captain Turnbull, father Poer-roen-gy/ Ningalubel, clan head Gunung-Willam-Balluk whose country occupied the eastern drainage area of the Dividing Range extending to Werribee; the younger Ninggolobin inherited by 1851 (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 121); Information from Barak: Ningu-Labul was headman of Kurnung-Willam section of Woeworung (Mt Macedon), great maker of songs (Howitt, A.W. 1904: 310, 338); Apr-May 1838 - Christiaan de Villiers testified that Derrimut, Della Kal Keth and Bet-Bengai told him that King John Bull was involved in the depredations at Clarke's, Jackson's, Dr Clerke's and was present at Mr Aitkins (HRV vol 2A: 301); 20 Mar 1839 - Ingerabel/ Captain Turnbull, Warwoorong tribe, on Dredge's census of Aborigines in vicinity of Melbourne as unmarried male whose family is not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); 6 Apr 1839 - Bought a boomerang or curved flat stick of John Ball a native dressed in European clothes (Lady Jane Franklin Diary, Box 640/10, LA SL); Jul 1839 - Long-Bar-Ling/ Captain Turnbull, name recorded in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); Jul 1839 - Ninggerlabille/ Captain Turnbull, name recorded in encampment (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 17 Jul 1839 - Ningolobel arrived at Geelong with Deremott, Billy Lonsdale, Bal Banger, Murra Murrambine, Warwoorong/ Mr King and Burrunrong, on a killing expedition (Sievwright to Robinson, enc with 39/10217 in AO of NSW 4/2471); 17 Sep 1839 - Ninggarlobin tol Thomas that Peter the Murrumbidgee boy was killed by Derrimot, Poleorong and Tallong; 21 Sep 1839 - Captain Turnbull headed a party of thirty Aboriginal men who left the encampment with guns and ammunition given by whites who wanted game (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); 21 Feb 1840 - Ninkallarbel known to two Jargowerang who met the Chief Protector near Smeaton Hill in the Western District (Presland, G. (ed) Records of the VAS, No 5, 1977); Mar-Aug 1840 - Ningolabil listed as male adult, Konung-Willam portion of Warwoorong tribe occupying the Mt Macedon country (Parker's census, AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled in the usual manner and made his mark. Corps moved to Yarra end of March, opposite Surveyor's paddock (Dana to La Trobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 30 May
1842 - "Ningalubbel" and "Sally" very troublesome\textsuperscript{24} (Georgiana's Journal, 1966: 66); 27 Jul 1842 - Nangolilibell, Trooper 2\textsuperscript{nd} Division, rationed since 1 Feb, remained at Merri Creek (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 21 Oct 1842 - Men left under my charge have behaved themselves in an orderly and obedient manner...particularly Nengolobel and Curr Curr who showed themselves worthy of confidence in assisting me to capture a most desperate character, a runaway (Sergeant P. Bennett to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 37, 42/2018); 1842 - Nangolilibel/Turnbull, aged thirty, married, two wives, no children, punished occasionally, rations stopped; on duty at the Goulburn, with the Sergeant took a prisoner of the Crown and brought him to gaol, not on duty since except at the camp, general conduct pretty good, cleanly and smart at drill but passionate and does not like much restraint (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 23 Feb 1843 - With Billibellary, spokesman for approximately eighty daubed N.P. Yarra and Goulburn men at fight on a rise on south side of Yarra opposite Mounted Police Barracks (Thomas to Robinson, 24 Feb 1843, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 586); Nov 1843 - Ningolobin, a passionate demi-savage, and four other N.P. left without leave 10 Aug, now returned with their lubras, Thomas reluctant to give them rations at Merri Creek, lectures them on responsibilities of being a policeman...if you were white soldiers you would be flogged (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3, ML); 14 Dec 1844 - Richard Carter, witness to spearing of Booby a Barabool on Keilor Rd identifies Captain John whose real name is Ninggolobbin as murderer (VPRS 30, Box 188, NCR 155); 16 Dec 1844 - Now in gaol for spearing Booby, probably not guilty according to Thomas because (a) he did not flee, (b) it was a poor spear that killed Booby and Ninollobil would not deign to use one like that, and (c) he would not have borrowed a spear...he would have used his own weapon and not let the glory of the deed be to another (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 610); 14 Dec 1844 - Ninggolobbin committed to gaol; 19 Feb 1845 - Appeared in court before Mr Justice Therry; 14 May 1845 - Another court hearing...Sergeant P. Bennett testified that although the dying Booby had identified Ninggolobbin, as did two European witnesses, the natives themselves in the vicinity of Melbourne including the Native Police insisted that it was Worndella a Buninyong man who did the killing...Ninggolobbin acquitted (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 4 Jul 1846, enc No 2 with 46/ 598, AO of NSW); 12 Nov 1845 - Ninggolobin one of three N.P. listed by Parker as acting with Bungarin in the killing of Nalangboop/Robinson near Mr Joyce's station on 23 Oct 1845 (Parker to Robinson, VPRS 11,

\textsuperscript{24} The McCrae's were living at the time at their house Mayfield on the Yarra at Abbotsford.
Box 5/235; 29 Dec 1845 - Turnbull, native place Mt Macedon, enlisted Feb 1842, dismissed by order of His Honor the Superintendent 1843 (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Thomas in his criticism of the N.P. lists him as a deserter (Quarterly report, enc to 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 13 Dec 1851 - Ningollobin and his family are not included having returned to his own country and been made a King (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143); Nangollibill (ning-goolobin) alias John Bull - A fine powerful black, but no sooner were the police ordered upon distant duty than he and several others deserted. He being a man of importance, Captain Dana was awfully prejudiced against him, which prejudice on the Captain's part had nearly been fatal to the life of Ning-goolobin, insomuch that the second in command (for giving evidence that I compelled him to give) of the native police ever afterwards was under the displeasure of the superior. Ning-goolobin was afterwards tried for the murder of Booby an Aboriginal from the present Colonial Secretary's station. I was so convinced of his innocence, having daily intercourse with him at the time, that in spite of official opposition which was truly unpleasant, I persevered in order to prove such, and at length after four months, from circumstantial evidence brought forward, the jury (in spite of direct evidence) after a tedious trial, which lasted until eight o'clock at night, acquitted him (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 407-8).

NARRIBE/ Mr Loaf - Warwooring

Jan 1846 - Narribe listed in Thomas criticism as one of those from the Melbourne tribes who have deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 45-Mar 46, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 15 Oct 1849 - Mr Loaf alias Narribe of the Yarra tribe was put to the bar this pm for assault on European, Samuel Ramsden...let off (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/ 724); 1850 - Mr Loaf with Mr de Villiers and Lively was lured to his death near the Mitchell River in Gippsland by a Kurnai, Mr Tyers (Thomas Journal, 29 Dec 1853, set 214, item 4, ML).

NATCOYONG - Yarra

Jan 1844 - Natcoyong (boy), date of enlistment; 29 Dec 1845 - Native place Yarra Yarra, length od service two years (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 1 Jan 1846 - Nat Coyong No 32, items issued blank; 11 Sep 1846 - With Tolboy and Tomboko under orders to proceed to Mr Morris' station near the Glenelg to join Commandant; 12 Sep 1846 - Being fitted out by Sergeant; 14 Sep 1846 - In Melbourne with Sergeant and others en route (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Natcoyong (boy), recruit with 3rd Division at NNW, no horse (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97,
47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six troopers for whom LaTrobe approved gratuity of five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Request gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Natcoyon received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark; 13 Mar 1849 - Trooper Natcoyon sent to town on duty; 11 Dec 1849 - Natteyon (late Trooper) died on the station (VPRS 90).

NERIMBINECK - Yarra

Ner-Rim-Bin-Uk/ Young Winberri, famous song-maker, brother to Winberry, father was Old Ningalulb, clan head Gunung-Willam-Balluk whose country was the eastern drainage basin of the Dividing Range extending to Werribee (Barwick, D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 121); 16 May 1838 - Christiaan de Villiers testified that Bet Bengai, Derrimut and Della Kal Keth told him that Narenbinack was one of the blacks involved in the depredations at Clarke's, Jackson's, Dr Clerke's and Aitkin's (HRV vol 2A: 301); Mar-Aug 1840 - Nerimbinyak listed as male adult young man, one of Konung Willam section of Warwoorang tribe inhabiting the Mt Macedon country (Parker census in AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 8 Feb 1842 - Nerembin arrives at NNW with two others in response to messengers being sent out to gather in everyone for the selection of the N.P. (Thomas Journal, Jan 41-Apr 42, ML mf CY 732, item 5(e)); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled and made X his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Nerimbineck, Trooper 2nd Division, rationed since 1 Feb, remained at Merri Creek (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); Aug 1842 - Nerimbinuck mounted on Buffalo, one of the nine men who accompanied Commandant to the Western District on the first experimental journey; 21 Sep 1842 - On duty with P.M. Portland Bay and Buckup at Mr Hunter's station; 10 Oct 1842 - One of the four mounted men with Dana on 300 mile travels of the district to Hopkins River and back, calling at all the stations; 19 Oct 1842 - On route Hopkins River to the Grampians, Nerimbinuck spotted some blacks hiding behind logs...they ran off as hard as they could in a great fight; 1 Nov 1842 - Nerimbinuck and Yupton dragged the unconscious Dana from the flooded Wannon River (Dana Journal in O'Callaghan, T. Police..., Ms LtSt); 1842 - Nuibinuck - Aged twenty-two, single, no children, never punished, on duty at NNW, three months at Portland Bay, out with the Mounted Police, general conduct very good, quiet and tractable, cleanly, obedient and a good tracker, but slow (Dana return in NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday, daubed, with nineteen other N.P. in battle formation with Yarra and Goulburn blacks for fight with Westernport and Port Phillip men (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box
10/586); Nov 1843 - Nerimbineck and four others left Merri Creek H.Q. on 10 Aud without leave, now back with their lubras demanding rations...Thomas refuses and reprimands them (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3, ML); 12 Dec 1845 - Identified as one of the killers with Bungarin, of Nalangboop at Joyce's station on the Loddon 23 Oct 1845 (Parker to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 5/235); 29 Dec 1845 - Native place Yarra Yarra, enlisted Feb 1842, absconded (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); same date - Thomas does not believe that Nerrimbinyak was one of the five Aborigines including two N.P. responsible for the death of an Aboriginal at Mr Joyce's station...says that he has not been with the force for some time (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/625); Jan 1846 - Listed as one of the N.P. of the Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); n.d. - Dismissed (VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); Nerimbineek, brother to the unfortunate Windberry shot by Major Lettsom's party; continued in the force for a considerable time; getting tired of it he left and for some years rambled along the Goulburn to the Devil's River and Moogolombuk tribes; like his brother by family connection he seems to pass safely through different remote tribes; he is still alive [1854] and left some months back our encampment by the ranges for Bacchus Marsh; he is a terrible drunkard (Thomas in Bride, T. F. 1983: 408);

NUNUPTUNE/ BILY LANGHORNE - Warwoorong

See 1837 Corps

OLIVER

Jul 1846 - Oliver, date of enlistment; 1 Mar 1847 - recruit with 3rd Division, no horse (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity five shillings for Oliver (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Oliver received five shillings, made X his mark; 16 Dec 1850 - Mounted drill, Troopers Condine and Oliver confined in watch-house for not attending; 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and Troopers Mickey, Paddy, Murray, Oliver, Terey, Bacchus and Clarke left for stockade to relieve troopers there; 5 May 1851 - Mr Lydiard, Corporals Pearson and Hannan and above troopers including Oliver relieved by Sergeant-Major and party; 7 May 1851 - Troopers Oliver and Paddy at the paddocks with the cart (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Oliver on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 2 Jun 1851 - Sergeant Pearson, Troopers Oliver, Mickey and Isaac left for Melbourne to await orders to proceed to Murray (VPRS 90); Sep-Oct 1851 - With Dana at the goldfields, left under charge of Captain Mair, P.M. Boninyong, deserted with Isaac from Boninyong, leaving all his
equipment, taking only his blanket (Col Sec to Commandant, 30 Oct 1851 - VPRS 3219, vol 1: 40).

**PADDY - Gippsland**

Toofoo Kaat or Gul-gul/ Paddy the policeman, Brabuwoolong tribe, group or district (Pepper, P. and de Araujo,T., 1985: 319); 13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland with Troopers Mickey, Paddy, Murray, Oliver, Terey, Bacchus and Clarke to stockade to relieve detachment there; 5 May 1851 - Mr Lydiard, Corporals Pearson and Hannan and troopers includong Paddy relieved by Sergeant-Major's detachment; 7 May 1851 - Troopers Oliver and Paddy at the paddocks with the cart (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Troopr Paddy on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 19 Jul 1851 - Troopers Paddy and Murray left for Pentridge to replace Troopers Bushby and Sam deserted (VPRS 90); Paddy Policeman, wife of Bolgan alias Hoppng Kitty killed in 1869 or 1870 by Charley and William in revenge for Paddy Policeman's killing their brother while a member of the N.P. (Smythe,R.B. 1876, vol 1: 482-3).

**PEREUK/ POKY POKY - Westernport**

"There have been two" of this name in the police. The one who was in the force in 1843 continued in it till 1847. After leaving it, he was scarce in his district for a month, going to and fro with others purchasing or stealing Gippsland lubras" (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 408); 20 Mar 1839 - Beera/ Bogee Bogee, Warwoorong tribe, aged twenty-five, one wife, two children, on Dredge’s census (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - We-ur-ruk/ Boge Boge, wife called Barebun, old woman Bogy Bogy, names taken in campment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 2 Dec 1841 - Pereuk alias Poky Poky, one of seven blacks who assisted Thomas in capture of VDL blacks (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/ 415); Pereuk - Received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Peruke, Trooper 2nd Division, remained at Merri Creek, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1842 - Poky Poky, aged thirty-five, married with one wife, two children, never punished, on duty four months at Police station Mt Macedon; general conduct good, will do well about the camp but useless on duty (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 29 Sep 1843 - Not on Dana's list of this date including all the persons in the N.P.; Dana notes that two had been dismissed recently for AWL and their places are not yet

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25 They might be father and son. On Old Pokey's record of death, Thomas notes that his son unnamed, died in the same six month period.
filled up (AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Peripe - Dismissed, undated return (before 1844) (enc with VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177(a)); Jan 1846 - Poky Poky listed in Thomas cricicim of Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes who deserted (on same list Pearuk is listed as still serving) (Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Dec 45-1 Mar 46, 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 12 Sep 1848 - Poky Poky recorded as one of a number of Westernport men in Gippsland to seduce or barter for young lubras (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/701); Old Pokey, Westernport tribe, died between 30 Jun 1851 and 31 Dec 1851 (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML).

PERIPE (PEE-RUP)
Jan 1846 - Pearuk listed as one of the Melbourne tribes still serving in the Corps (Poky Poky on same list as a deserter) (Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Dec 1845-1 Mar 1846, 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 7 Jan 1847 - Peereeep and Kulklo, two N.P. came to camp; Kulklo has been with N.P. in Gippsland, so Thomas questioned him about white woman (Thomas Papers, set 214, item 6, ML); 12 Apr 1847 - Peerrup listed as one who sent his uniform back to NNW from Merri Creek, when something was amiss with the N.P. (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/659 and VPRS 10, unit 8, 47/561); May 1850 - Peripe, with two others killed at the Mitchell River in Gippsland, through the treachery of a Gippsland black named Tyers (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 408).

PERPINE/MR MCNOEL - Westernport
Perpine, better known as McNoel, an active, shrewd, able and intelligent policeman; for two years highly serviceable. He had the boldness to be the first to fire at a white man, when with Commissioner Gisborne's police up the Yarra (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 408); 20 Mar 1839 - Bemoon alias Burrupine, Mr McNoel, Warwoorong tribe, aged twenty-one, on Dredge's census of Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne as unmarried male whose gamily is not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Mar-ra-bur-ra-bi-an/ Mr Mc Noal, name taken in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 27 Sep 1840 - Demand that McNoel be apprehended by Thomas and placed in custody (Major Lettsom to Thomas, enc with 40/10673 in AO of NSW 4/2511); 24 Feb 1842 - Perpine issued with clothing, equipment and blankets, enrolled and made his mark, third name on Dana's list (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 21 Mar 1842 - Encampment moved to Turruk, McNoel the deserter met us (Thomas Journal, mf CY 732, item 5(e), ML); 27 Jul 1842 - Perpoint, 2nd Division, rationed since 1 Feb, remained at Merri Creek (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 31 Oct 1842 -
MacKnoll was appointed the guardian of Mary-Anne by her brother in the N.P. presently at Portland, particularly to see that Mary-Anne had no intercourse with the whites (Mary-Anne had been in service for a year with a European in the town of Melbourne, and McNoel pressed Sergeant Bennett at Merri Creek to take a N.P. detachment, raid the house where Mary-Anne was, and take her back to her people; Bennett told them to find the exact house where she was living; they did so, but instead of reporting back to Sergeant Bennett, they forced their way in and captured her, whereupon the European instituted proceedings in the Police Court against the N.P.) (Sergeant Bennett to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 37, 42/2066); 5 Dec 1842 - Dana left McNall with Tonmiel and Yamaboke at Westernport with Mr CCL Powlett to do duty (Dana Diary in O'Callaghan, T. Ms, LtSL); 1842 - Pierriepoint or McNall, aged thirty, single, no children, occasionally punished and put into confinement; on duty in Dec with CCL at Westernport; conduct good; on duty at Mt Macedon and NNW; assisted in taking on 5 Jan 1842 four absconders (ship's crew); general conduct at first bad, can be very useful and intelligent if he likes, not very clean; conduct improved of late (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - McNoel present yesterday daubed, with nineteen other N.P. for fight (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Jul-Aug 1843 - At H.Q. (AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Sep 1843 - Peapoint alias Macnall, on duty at Murray and Upper districts with CCL Powlett (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Sep 1843 - With Border Police at Goulburn; Oct - Blank; Nov - H.Q. then CCL Smythe at Murray; Dec - Blank; Jan 1844 - Sick; Feb - Blank (AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Perpine wounded with Pinterginner, both Westernport men, in fight at Merri Creek during the course of the great assembly; 10 Feb 1844 - McNoel listed this day as one of the N.P. who were absent, out with or for some settlers (Thomas to Robinson, 13 Feb 1844, VPRS 11, unit 8/469); Mar 1844 - Sick; Apr-Jun - Blank; Perpine - Not to be relied on and old (AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 1 Jul 1843 -30 Jun 1844 - Perpine, not to be much trusted and old (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177 (a)); 29 Dec 1845 - Macnall, native place Yarra Yarra, enlisted May 1842, absconded Dec 1843 (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); On leaving the force he, like most others became a notorious drunkard, and was dangerous when so. In a drunken fray with two of his own tribe, he received a spear wound from which he died four days later on 2 May 1850, at the encampment between the Merri and Darebin Creeks (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 409); 20 Aug 1851 - Quandine speared Mr Noel of the same tribe in May last [should be last year] (Thomas weekly report, VPRS 1189, Box 1, 51/476).
PETRE/PETRE

Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment; 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper Peter, recruit with 3rd Division at NNW (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 3 Sep 1847 - Troopers Port Fairy Jack and Peter started for Gippsland with despatches (VPRS 90); 8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for Trooper Peter (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Petre received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark; 14 Oct 1848 - Trooper Petre married; 10 Jan 1849 - Troopers Jock, Bill and Peter bolted, Corporal Tunmile sent in pursuit of them with a note for Commandant (VPRS 90); 1 May- 31 Jul 1849 - Trooper Peter on duty with Corporal MacDonald and eleven other N.P. at Lower Murray (VPRS 4466, unit 1); 29 Oct 1849 - Corporal MacDonald and Trooper Peter in Melbourne with LaTrobe's cows; 26 Dec 1849 - Corporals MacDonald, Tunmile, Troopers Marmbull and Peter ordered to take up their quarters in Melbourne at the Police Barracks to do duty as orderly in place of the Mounted Police disbanded; 15 Jan 1850 - Corporal MacDonald, Troopers Marambool and Peter left Melbourne with leading horses en route for Lower Murray; 20 May 1850 - Trooper Peter arrived from Melbourne with horses; 20 Aug 1850 - Troopr Peter arrived with despatches from the Superintendent's Office; 21 Aug 1850 - Troopr Peter returned to Melbourne; 28 Jan 1850 - Trooper Peter arrived from Melbourne; 13 Mar 1851 - Trooper Peter arrived from Melbourne with letters; 2 May 1851 - Corporal Cowan and Troopers Souwester, Robinson and Isaac relieved Sergeant MacDonald and Troopers Peter, Bushby and Condine at the Paddock [as orderlies to LaTrobe in place of Mounted Police]; 25 May 1851 - Inspection of clothing of troopers about to proceed to Gippsland viz Gellibrand, Tallboy, Charlie, Jack, Munite and Peter; 30 May 1851 - Gippsland party started (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - On pay abstract, Trooper Peter receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 17 Oct 1851 - Gippsland party arrived back; 30 Oct 1851 - Corporal Macauley, Troopers Lease, Jack and Peter left for Mt Alexander gold diggings; 21 Nov 1851 - Commandant and Trooper Peter arrived from Mt Alexander; 27 Nov 1851 - Sergeant Gibson, Troopers Jack and Peter left for Mt Alexander (VPRS 90).

POLLIGARY/POLLIGERRY - Warwoorong

Polligary - An able-bodied black, intelligent and to be fully depended upon. He went through a routine of service for Government, being selected for most of their important journeys (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 409); 20 Mar 1839 - Poleck, Warwoorong tribe, aged sixteen, listed on Dredge's census as unmarried male whose family is not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); 28 Feb 1842 - Received clothing, blankets and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to
LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Poligary, Trooper 2nd Division, rations issued since 1 Feb, to the westward (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); Aug 1842 - Polligerry, one of five dismounted troopers who accompanied Dana on first experimental journey to the Western district (Dana Diary in O'Callaghan, T. Ms LtsL); 1842 - Polligerry, aged twenty, single, no children, never punished, on duty at NNW, three months at Portland Bay, on duty Mt Rouse and at Port Fairy; general conduct very good, smart, active and cleanly, rather too fond of fighting (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Poligerry present yesterday daubed, for fight (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 586); Jul 1843 - On road to Portland, Grange, marching prisoners etc; Aug 1843 - Grange, Mt Eckersley, seeking Ward's child, arrested one native; Sep 1843 - Grampians, Glenelg, collision after Bassett's murder (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Sep 1843 - Polagery alias Tommy has been on duty in Western district since 27 Jun 1843 with Commandant, Sergeant and nine other N.P. (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Oct 1843 - Sergeant Windredge in report on collision after Lockhardt's dray attacked by blacks mentions Poligery (mf CY 684, Governor's Despatches vol 52, ML); Oct 1843 - Port Fairy, Grange, apprehended two whites, marched them to Portland; Nov 1843 - To Melbourne, with CCL Smythe at Murray, collision with natives; Dec 1843 - Mt Macedon and Melbourne (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 30 Dec 1843 - Windredge's testimony re clash at Pyrenees mentions Poligery (enc with 47/3711 in AO of NSW 4/2781); Jan 1844 - At H.Q.; Feb 1844 - Ten days LOA (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - One of a large number of N.P. present at the great assembly at Merri Creek (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/ 469); Mar 1844 - At H.Q.; Apr-Jun 1844 - With Chief Protector of Aborigines to Gippsland. Remarks - Smart and well-conducted (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 14 Apr 1844 - Ballegera left NNW with Chief Protector, George Henry Haydon, Sergeant Windredge and five other N.P. on first successful attempt to get through to Gippsland by land (Haydon, G.H. 1846: 122); Apr-Jun 1844 - With Chief Protector and Moonie Moonie continued on through Gippsland, the Alps to Twofold Bay, then back to Port Phillip via the Sydney Rd (over 2000 miles); recommended by Robinson "The two Melbourne blacks continued with me throughout the journey and their general conduct aft leaving Gippsland merited my approbation. I have therefore much pleasure in recommending them to Your Honor's notice" (VPRS 4414: 1, 91); 29 Dec 1845 - Tolligerry, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb 42, length of service
three years eleven months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 26 Jan 1846 - Polagery
No 4, on kit issue list, but details not filled in; 29 Mar 1846 - Commandant returned with O'Brien and
five N.P. including Polagery; 1 Apr 1846 - Commandant, O'Brien and three troopers including
Polagery left the station(VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Pollegery, Trooper 2nd Division, date of
enlistment Jan 42, horse's name Harry, aged seven, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box
97, 47/1861); 12 Apr 1847 - Poligerry is one of the troopers who had been down at Merri Creek
from NNW for duty at the races, sent clothes back to NNW with a boy...something amiss with the
N.P. (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, unit 8, 47/561 and VPRS 11, Box 10/659); 5
Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six troopers approved by LaTrobe for gratuity (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS
19, Box 30, 42/1143); 24 Feb 1848 - Not on pay list (VPRS 90); 31 Mar 1849 - Polgerry
engaged as trooper; 9 May 1849 - Troopers Poligerry and Woola left Melbourne for Cape Otway; 28
May 1849 - Trooper Poligerry returned from Cape Otway, Trooper Woola sick, stayed in town; 23 Jul
1849 - Corporal O'Bryan and Troopers Woola, Andrew and Poligerry started for Gippsland; 14 Jan
1850 - Trooper Poligerry died on the station (VPRS 90); 16 Jan 1850 - Dana reports death of
Poligerry...had served eight years...always behaved well and was a steady active man and is a loss to
the Corps; Minuted by LaTrobe - very sorry (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 131, 50/196);
27 Mar 1854 - Thomas asserts that Poligerry went on Dr Bunce's expedition is search of the lost
Leichhardt, called "Black Jimmy", is still living26(Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 409);
Poligerry, died between 30 Jun and 31 Dec 185127 (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML).

QUANDINE/ QUANDITE - Bonurong
22 Nov 1839 - Quandite, male aged eight years, name taken in encampment (Thomas census,
VPRS 10, unit 1); 1842 - Quondine, aged sixteen, Yarra black, attending school at Merri Creek
(VPRS 26); Nov 1842 - Quandite date of enlistment (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97,
47/1861); Jul-Nov 1843 - Quandine sick, wounded by a Goulburn native; 10 Nov 1843 - With CCL
Smythe at Murray; Dec 1843 - Campaspe etc; Jan-Jun 1844 - At H.Q.; Remarks, well-behaved but
lazy (Dana return, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Quandine one of a large number of
N.P. at Merri Creek for the judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/

26 A mistake on Thomas' part. The Wommai or Jenmy with Leichhardt was a Port Stephens man (Bunce, D.
27 Another mistake
469); 12 Dec 1845 - Quandine, Tomboko and Yeapune, sleeping together in one miam near Thomas woke up suddenly in the early morning and declared they had been seized with the disease Tur-run ...attended by nine female doctors...recovered...Quandine, the stoutest of the three fainted, and was supported by a female doctor (Smyth, R.B. 1972 edition, vol 1: 465); 29 Dec 1845 - Quandine, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Jan 43, length of service three years (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 26 Jan 1846 - Quandine No 10, received new saddle complete, new sword and carabine, two pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, two pairs new boots, cartridge box and waist belt (VPRS 90); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes still in the force (Thomas Quarterly Report, Dec 45 - Feb 46, encl with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 1 Jan-31 Dec 1846 - Corporal Quandine, received pay for 365 days at threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 24); 30 Mar 1846 - Quandite saw the white woman (Tyers enc nos 5&6, NSW Leg Co V&P 1846); 1-31 Jan 1847 - Quandine, Corporal on threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 27); 5 Jan 1847 - Commandant, Quandite and one other N.P. in Melbourne for the quarterly supplies; 23 Jan 1847 - Quandite to Gippsland with Commandant and O'Brien; 14 Feb 1847 - O'Brien and Quandite returned from Gippsland, left a day ago by Commandant, horses tired (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Corporal Quandine, 1st Division, horse's name Soldier, aged six, condition low (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six men approved by LaTrobe for gratuity of five shillings28 (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 6 Oct 1847 - Mr Walsh and orderly Quandite returned from Gippsland (VPRS 90); 27 Nov 1847 - LaTrobe met Dana, McGregor and Quandite at Anderson's Creek (LaTrobe, C.J. Memoranda..., Box 79/1, LtSL); 1-31 Dec 1847 - Quandine, Corporal on threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 28); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Corporal Quandite received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90); 4 Mar 1848 - Quandite in town with Mr Walsh and Souwester; 17 Jun 1848 - Quandite arrived from Gippsland; 26 Jun 1848 - Sergeant McLelland and Quandite in Melbourne, returned same day; 27 Jun 1848 - Troopers Quandite and Billy left for Gippsland with despatches (VPRS 90); 1-30 Nov 1848 - Corporal Quandine receiving threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 34); 1-31 Jan 1849 - Corporal Quandine receiving threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 35); 21 Jan 1849 - LaTrobe, Dana, Corporal

28 It simply does not seem possible to check whether the gratuity was received in addition to the threepence per day which Quandine received as Corporal.
Reproduced with the permission of the Victorian Parliamentary Library Committee from William Strutt's "Victoria the Golden"
O'Brien, Quandite and Bobby at abandoned Wesleyan mission at Buntingdale (La Trobe, C.J. Memoranda..., Box 79/1, LtSL); 12 Mar 1849 - Corporal Quandite sent to the Mounted Police to be attached to the Governor's Guard of Honour; 23 Mar 1849 - Corporal Quandite confined in irons; 8 Aug 1850 - Trooper Quandine arrived from Melbourne with despatches; 21 Aug 1850 - Trooper Quandine arrived for His Honor's cows; 23 Aug 1850 - Troopers Quandine and Tommy took a cow to Melbourne for His Honor, also Mr Costello's chestnut horse and Mr Winter's chestnut colt; 24 Sep 1850 - Trooper Quandine arrived from Melbourne; 25 Sep 1850 - Trooper Quandine returned to Melbourne leading troop horse Grenadier (VPRS 90); 20 Aug 1851 - Thomas reports death of Quandine who speared Mr Noel in May last and was in turn killed by the Yarra blacks (Thomas Weekly Report, VPRS 1189, Box 1, 51/9 and 51/476); Quandine, Yarra tribe, died between 30 Jun 1851 and 31 Dec 1851 (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML).

RIDOUT

7 Jun 1852 - Sergeant Williams to town en route to Murray District with Troopers Ridout, Munite, Marambool and Heister; horse's Spode, Fire-eater, Count, Peter and Unknown; pack-horse Clifton; 13 Jan 1853 - Trooper Ridout to Melbourne on leave; 20 Jan 1853 - Trooper Ridout returned without his horse (VPRS 90).

CORUNGUIAM/ ROBERTSON OR ROBINSON - Port Fairy

Jul 1846 - Robinson enlisted; 1 Mar 1847 - Robinson, Trooper 1st Division, no horse (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 May 1847 - Troopers Charley and Robinson arrived from Melbourne at N.P. Gippsland Barracks, Green Hills (McLelland to Dana, 8 Jul 1847, enc with VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1347); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six men for whom La Trobe approved gratuity [paid 2 Jul] (Dana to La Trobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Dana requests gratuity for him (Dana to La Trobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Robinson received gratuity, made X his mark; 31 May 1848 - Trooper Robinson attending Commandant in Melbourne (VPRS 90); 14 Feb 1849 - Robinson one of five N.P. attending the Bishop of Melbourne and his Lady en route to Gippsland and back; all rather good-looking (Perry, R. 1857: 97); 1 May-31 Jul 1849 - On duty at Lower Murray with Corporal McDonald and eleven

29 Governor Fitzroy on a visit to Melbourne
30 There seems no doubt that the artist William Strutt who drew "Robertson" of the Port Fairy tribe, misheard the trooper's name; no "Robertson" appears anywhere in the records, but Trooper Robinson fits exactly the details Strutt recorded. The Commandant recruited twelve men in the Port Fairy district in the Winter of 1846, and Sergeant McGregor went down to the Western District to escort them back to H.Q. (VPRS 90, 28 Sep, 30 Sep, 2 Oct, 23 Oct, 9 Nov, 24 Nov 1846)
other N.P. (VPRS 4466, unit 1); 7 Jun 1850 - Troopers Robinson and Billy left for Gippsland with despatches (VPRS 90); Dec 1850 - Corunngiam/Robertson of the Port Fairy tribe, Black Trooper, five years in the force, portrait drawn at Richmond barracks by William Strutt (Victoria the Golden, Ms, Library of Parliament, Victoria); 31 Jan 1851 - Troopers Robinson and Isaac arrive on station; 1 Feb 1851 - Troopre Robinson left for Gippsland with census papers; 13 Feb 1851 - Troopers Robinson and Billy arrived from Gippsland; 13 Mar 1851 - Trooper Robinson left for Cape Otway with despatches from Superintendent's office; 1 Apr 1851 - Trooper Robinson arrived from Cape Otway; 2 May 1851 - Corporal Cowan and Troopers Souwester, Robinson and Isaacs relieved Sergeant McDonald and Troopers Bushby, Peter and Condine at the Richmond paddock (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - On pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 3 Oct 1851 - Trooper Robinson arrived on station; 4 Oct 1851 - Trooper Robinson left for Melbourne; 29 Oct 1851 - Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Hannam, Troopers Robinson, Billy and Munight left for Mt Alexander; Sergeant-Major in Melbourne to equip them; 23 Mar 1852 - Trooper Robinson returned to H.Q. with Billy (sick), Mickey, and Corporal Brown and cart; 5 Apr 1852 - Corporal Brown and Trooper Robinson to town with cart; 17 Apr 1852 - Robinson and Constable at Molloys to intercept bolters from VDL; 18 Apr 1852 - Trooper Robinson arrived at station eleven o'clock with news of four bolters from VDL; 20 Apr 1852 - Four bolters caught; sent by cart to town, Trooper Robinson driving, Corporal Brayshaw and Munight guard; 3 May 1852 - Troopers Robinson and Johnny deserted from station; Mr Langley, Sergeant-Major O'Brien and Corporal Brayshaw in pursuit; 14 Jul 1852 - It is just possible that "Robinson" in inverted commas, indicates black Trooper Robinson, sworn in with Lockwood and Howbuk at the Police Office Melbourne as troopers in Dana's Mounted Patrol (VPRS 90). Corunngiam's name was used by William Strutt in his story "Cooey or The Trackers of Glenferry", 1863 (Ms 5985, NL).

SAMBO/ SAM

13 Feb 1851 - Sergeant McLelland and seven troopers left for stockade to relieve Troopers Charley, Moonering, Beerack, Sambo, Andrew, Loughman and Joe; 5 May 1851 - Sergeant-Major, Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Gibson, Troopers Haines, Toby, Loughman, William, Andrew, George, John, Sambo left for stockade (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Sambo on pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 19 Jul 1851 - Troopers Paddy and Murray left for Pentridge to replace Troopers Bushby and Sam deserted (VPRS 90); Sep-Oct 1851 - At goldfields with Dana and three others, deserted within a week of Dana's return to Melbourne, leaving all
equipment, uniform etc, taking only a blanket (Col Sec to Dana, 31 Oct 1851, VPRS 3219, vol 1: 40); n.d. Sambo accompanied Albert Le Souef to the Moira (Le Souef in Smyth, R.B. 1896, vol 1: 334).

SANDY
30 Sep 1845 - ? Is this trooper the boy Sandy who was working on Dunmore station on this date (Dunmore Journal, Lt SL); Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment31; 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper 2nd Division, horse's name Piper, aged six, condition low (VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six men for whom LaTrobe approved gratuity of five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Sandy, received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90);

SNOWBALL
14 Apr 1851 - Trooper Snowball died and was buried with full military honours (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Charles on pay abstract in place of Trooper Snowball dismissed (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127).

SOUWESTER - Port Fairy
1844 or 1845 - A tame Aborigine named Souwester lived in Mr John Cox's house... had a strong personal attachment for Mr Cox... Souwester led party which tracked Mr Cox' flock of maiden ewes taken by an Aboriginal group... when found they had their legs dislocated... Cox upset... Souwester had a good innings that day which he thoroughly enjoyed... fired left and right raging like a demoniac... Souwester blew brains out of a huge black who hastened his own end by dragging out his entrails meanwhile praising up the weapons of the white man as opposed to the black32(Browne, T.A. 1899: 68-9); 29 Dec 1845 - Date of enlistment, native place Port Fairy, recruited with eight others from the Portland Bay district (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 26 Jan 1846 - Sam Webster No 2633, complete kit issued, saddle complete, new sword and carabine, sword belt, cartridge and weast belt, one pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt,

31 Almost certainly a Port Fairy man, selected with eleven others by Dana in the winter of 1846, arriving at H.Q. 23 Oct 1846 with Sergeant McGregor (VPRS 90)
32 T.A. Browne was a youth of seventeen or so at the time; he was not present at the incident, reporting hearsay. He was a story-teller who embroidered his events in the interests of a good yarn. The story of the black who had "his guts shot out" appears in several times and places in the contemporary literature, including Thomas. It may have happened as described, but it is an odd kind of wound for the gun technology of the day.
33 A lovely example of a European writing what he thought he heard
new boots, new blankets (VPRS 90); 6 Apr 1846 - Testimony dated this day from Rev J. Wilson, asserts Souwester a notorious black who ate the flesh of a diseased Aborigine and became ill (Reply to Circular Letter from Committee on Aborigines in NSW Leg Co V&P 1846); 1 Mar 1847 - Souwester, date of enlistment Dec 45, horse's name Conrad, aged four, not fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 21 Mar 1847 - Parade. Souwester and Port Fairy Jack sent to Port Fairy (VPRS 90); 5 Jun 1847 - Souwester and Port Fairy Jack have returned from Port Fairy with letter from Mr Rutledge, Bench of Magistrates, attesting to their good service...have been paid four pounds to defray expenses of return to H.Q. for selves and horses...also brought two recruits, Good Morning Billy and Billy, also captured two blacks at Brown's station who committed depredations last year (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 93, 47/1040); 5 Jul 1847 - Gratitude to Mr Walsh and Quandt; 23 Oct 1848 - Mr Walsh, Troopers Souwester and Mr Tyers' orderly left for Gippsland; 28 Jan 1849 - Sou-Westery kills a brush kangaroo which we [including Dana, Sergeant and troopers] eat without salt...at Cudgee Cudgee Creek (LaTrobe, C.J. Memoranda...Box 79/1, LtSL); 1 May-31 Jul 1849 - On duty with Corporal McDonald and eleven other N.P. at the Lower Murray (VPRS 4466, unit 1/16); 2 Nov 1850 - Troopers Souwester, Loughman, Isaac and Joey arrive with eight recruits from Lower Murray; 14 Apr 1851 - Troopers Souwester, Johnny, Beerack, Jack and William return from stockade; 2 May 1851 - Corporal Cowan and Troopers Souwester, Robinson, Isaacs relieved Sergeant McDonald Bushby, Peter and Condine at Richmond paddocks(VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Souwester on pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 4 Jun 1851 - Trooper Souwester arrived from Melbourne paddock; 17 Jun 1851 - Commandant, Sergeant-Major and Trooper Souwester for Melbourne; 19 Jun 1851 - Above party plus Mr Lydiard left Melbourne for Geelong (VPRS 90); 1 Sep 1851 - Souwester reported as ill and destitute...unable to move a yard from his mia-mia on the Merri River...CCL Portland Bay states Souwester was in Portland Bay district to recruit men for the Native Police Corps and was taken ill on his way home...when he "found himself so ill that he could not even walk, he sent in by another native his horse, accoutrements and clothing" (A.W.Hume to CCL Gray, and CCL Gray to Vic Col Sec, VPRS 1189, Box S, 51/627).

TALLIORANG or TALLON or TARLONG / Mr King - Benurong
20 Mar 1839 - Dallong/ Mr King, aged twenty-five, wife Galjygryl/ Maria, aged sixteen, listed as Warwoorong on Dredge's census of Aborigines in the vicinity of Melbourne (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Listed twice, as Tarlong/ Mr King and as Taleorang, in encampment (Thomas "A" Diary, set 124, item 1, ML); 17 Sep 1839 - Old Morragine told the story, and Ningallobin confirmed it, that Tallong, Poleorong and Derremat, with Kulpendra's help, killed Peter, Mr Langhorne's Murrumbidgee boy (Thomas Journal, 1839-40, set 214, item 1, ML); 4 Oct 1839 - Missionary Langhorne makes similar accusation to above and adds that he suspects same people of murdering the other Murrumbidgee boy with Mr Hawdon at Heidleberg (Langhorne to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 1, 39/54); 2 Feb 1842 - Two police natives accompany the overseer to town viz. Tallecorong and Beruke (Thomas Journal, mf CY 732, item 5e, ML); 24 Feb 1842 - Talliorang received blankets clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674). Several men deserted within a few days and subsequently wished to return, but as Dana had received orders by then to limit the Corps to twenty men, he refused to take them back; Dana mentions Warungutsonlong and Yal Yal in this category; presumably Tallecorong/ Mr King belongs here too (ibid).

TEMUMMENOOK

12 Apr 1847 - Mentioned as one of the N.P. at Merri Creek having been on duty at the races, who sent their clothes back to NNW with a boy...something amiss with the NP (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 659); same date - Copy of above spells Terrominool (enc with Robinson to LaTrobe, VPRS 10, Box 8, 47/ 561).

TIMBOOQ or TIMBULE or TIMBALL - Geelong

26 Jun 1851 - Commandant returned; Sergeant-Major arrived from Geelong bringing Troopers Jack and Jamie deserters and a recruit named Timboo34; 1 Feb 1852 - Corporal Williams in town with Timbule; 13 Jul 1852 - Arnold [European trooper] and Timbule returned to Melbourne with five horses to mount men to go in pursuit of bushrangers; 14 Jul 1852 - Arnold and Tumble returned to station; 28 Jul 1852 - Arnold and Timball to Dandenong for oats; 5 Aug 1852 - Corporal Arnold and Trooper Timball to Melbourne for Mr Dana's baggage; 12 Aug 1852 - Timball searching for stray horses; 18 Aug 1852 - Trooper Timball of the Native Police sent to Mr Power's to assist in mustering cattle; 29 Sep 1852 - Mr Langley and Trooper Timball to Mr Gardener to look for missing horses also to

34 Timboon was the name by which Camperdown was known (Bonwick, J. 1858, Western Victoria..., Heinemann, Adelaide, 1970)
Anderson's Creek to find out how many parties working there [a goldfield]; 7 Oct 1852 - Troopers Brown and Timball out looking for horses; 1 Nov 1852 - Trooper Timball to Mr Power's station for a beast; 26 Dec 1852 - Timball and Clarke on leave; 4 Jan 1853 - Trooper Timball repeatedly drunk and charged with having brought grog on the station. Dismissed (VPRS 90); 25 Dec 1866 - Timboo, Geelong black died, buried Western Cemetery (Massola, A. 1969: 20).

**Toby**

6 Apr 1847 - Mentioned in Tyers' report of search for white woman as one of three Aboriginal males in boat party commanded by Mr McLeod and Mr Hill; Sergeant Windredge in overall command; others Yal-Yal, Tommy, Jack-a-wadden. Also statement by Toby of the Melbourne tribe, one of the blacks who accompanied the two Warrigals to Melbourne and back (Tyers to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/701); 5 May 1851 - Sergeant-Major, Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Gibson, Troopers Haines, Toby, Loughman, William, Andrew, George, John, Sambo left for stockade (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Toby on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per month (VPRS 29, vol 55:127).

**Tomboko or Turnbogo or Turnbacco/Henry - Konung-William section of Warwoorong**

20 Mar 1839 - Turnbogo/Henry, aged seventeen, unmarried, Warwoorong tribe, on Dredge's census of Aborigines in vicinity of Melbourne whose family not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Tun-Bo-Ga/Henry, name taken in encampment (Thomas "A" Diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 12 Nov 1839 - Turnbacco selected as one of Thomas' five police for Warwoorong/Bunerong groups, with Pinterginner, Buller Bullup, Tallerolgate, Marrabun (Thomas to Robinson, set 214, item 1, ML); 18 Nov 1839 - Turnbacca, young and active, one of five NP selected (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 1, ML); Turnbulco (Turnbuko), aged eighteen, Warwoorong tribe, name on list of five, most if not all were in the police before (HRV vol 2B: 494); Mar-Aug 1840 - Turnboga, male adult, young man, listed as one of five unattached, belonging to Konung-William section of Warwoorong tribe inhabiting the Mt Macedon country (Parker Return, AO of NSW 4/2512.1); May 1841 - Messers Manton, Rose, Rogers and a blackfellow named Henry tried to find a way to Gippsland by the coast route (Cuthill, W. The Gippsland Road, VHM, Feb 1959: 13); 24 Feb 1842 - Tomboko enrolled, made his mark, issued with blankets, clothing and equipment (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Tomboko. Trooper 2nd Division, on duty with CCL Powlett, rationed since
1 Feb (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1842 - Tomboko/ Henry, aged twenty-five, married, one wife, one child, never punished, on duty at the camp, very useful and a good messenger, cleanly, orderly and obedient (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); Jul 1843 - On road to Portland, Grange; Aug 1843 - Pursuing natives, recovering Dwyer's sheep (Dana return, AO of NSW, 4/1135.1); 27 Sep 1843 - Tomboko alias Henry, on duty since 27 Jun 1843 in Western district with Dana, one Sergeant and nine others (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Sep 1843 - Grange; Oct 1843 - Wannon; Nov 1843 - Mt Eckersley, Portland, with prisoner to Melbourne (Dana return, AO of NSW, 4/1135.1); 3 Nov 1843 - Buggup and Henry returned from Portland Bay with despatches (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3); Dec 1843-Mar 1844 - At H.Q. (Dana return, AO of NSW, 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Tomboko one of a large number of NP in crowd of 700 assembled to witness judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/469); Apr-Jun 1844 - With Sergeant Windredge to Gippsland; Remarks, steady and obedient (Dana return, AO of NSW, 4/1135.1); 23 Mar 1845 - With six other named Troopers, given three days permission for good conduct to go to Merri Creek; 28 Sep 1845 - Returned from Wimmera in consequence of sickness of Tugendun, brought despatches (VPRS 90); 12 Dec 1845 - Camped with Protector Thomas and Quandine and Yeapentine, the three young NP woke up sick, were attended by nine female doctors, recovered (Smyth, R.B. 1876, vol 1: 465-6); 29 Dec 1845 - Tombok, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb 1842, length of service three years eleven months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of NP as one of the Melbourne tribes still in the Corps (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 12 Jan 1846 - Issued with saddle complete, sword and carabine, two pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, one red shirt, two regatta shirts, new boots; 29 Mar 1846 - Commandant returned with Tomboko and four others; 11 Sep 1846 - With Toilboy and Natcuyong under orders to proceed to Mr Morris' station to join Commandant; 12 Sep 1846 - Being fitted out by Sergeant; 14 Sep 1846 - In Melbourne with Sergeant on route to the Glenelg; 15 Sep 1846 - Delayed with Sergeant at Police Station to interpret for a native apprehended for stealing sheep and attempting to murder shepherds. Tomboko proceeded west (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - With 3rd Division at H.Q., date of enlistment Jan 42 (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 18 Mar 1847 - Tomboko alias Henry and his lubra came to encampment with complaints against his commander and gave me his statement...on cross-examination, the whole affair originated with a dog...advised him to return and offered him a letter to his commander, knowing him to be a great
favourite of Mr Dana; 22 Mar 1847 - Tomboko taken into custody...visited him twice; 24 Mar 1847 - Tomboko liberated (Thomas Quarterly Report, Mar-May 1847, 47/7444 in Ao of NSW 4/2782); 19 Mar 1847 - Men paraded and drilled by Commandant, then mending paddock fence, Tomboko exceedingly insolent and said he would desert; 20 Mar 1847 - Tomboko deserted. Conduct of all the men with exception of Tomboko very good and orderly this month(VPRS 90); 22 Mar 1847 - Dana issued warrant for Henry who has deserted; Constable O'Bryan arrested him at Merri Creek; Set of letters re desertion of Tomboko, his confinement in gaol and release, and disciplinary powers (none) his case raised (Dana to LaTrobe with enclosures VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/866); 25 Mar 1847 - Tomboko taken as a deserter and confined to gaol(VPRS 90); 12 Apr 1847 - Listed as NP with the rest who sent off their clothes to NNW with a boy on horseback...something amiss with the NP (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, unit 8, 47/561), and VPRS 11, unit 10/659); 28 Oct 1848 - Tombocco alias Henry informed re death of Tommy, the Port Fairy boy killed... one of twenty ex-schoolboys at the punt (Thomas Quarterly Report, Sep-Nov 1848, 48/13880 in AO of NSW 4/2816.4); 7 Nov 1848 - Tombocco alias Henry gave statement re killing of Figur alias Pickaninny Tommy, the Port Fairy boy killed after leaving the mission on 24 Oct 1848 (VPRS 11, Box 11/708); 13 Dec 1851 - Tomboko alias Henry, male Warwoong, wife Yearnin (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML); 15 Mar 1852 - Commissioner McCrae's report on Henry of the Yarra tribe working during summer and autumn at Orr's special survey Alberton with Gippsland blacks (PP Great Britain, 1853: 180); 1853 - This black continued in the service for at least three years; Captain Dana was particularly partial to him. His lubra was also of great service. She could wash, iron and do needlework almost as well as a white woman.

An altercation however took place at the Police Barracks, NNW. The sergeant brought Tomboko to Melbourne handcuffed and lodged him in the watch-house. My blacks at the Merri Creek gave me information of it. I attended the Police office next morning. No one appeared against him, and he was discharged. With all I could do, I could not get him to return. He was industrious and sober. He 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 (Thomas in Bride, T. F. 1983: 409-410).

**TOMMY - Gippsland**

9 Dec 1846 - Great stress is placed on his and Yal-Yal's information re white woman (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1);
27 Dec 1846 - Mr Walsh and 1st Division returned from Gippsland with two new recruit, Long John and Tommy\textsuperscript{35} (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper Tommy, 1st Division, date of enlistment Jul 46, horse's name Pack Pig-eye, aged not fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 6 Apr 1847 - One of boat crew in search for white woman with Yal-Yal, Toby, Jack-a-wadden (Tyers to La Trobe, VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/701).

PORT FAIRY TOM - Port Fairy

1 Mar 1847 - Tommy, one of two men of same name in 1st Division, date of enlistment Apr 1846, horse's name Robroy, aged not fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 24 Feb 1848 - Port Fairy Tom received gratuity five shillings in presence of Mr WAP Dana and Sergeant O'Brien (VPRS 90).

TOMMY

5 Jul 1847 - One Tommy only on list of twenty-six names of troopers for whom La Trobe approved gratuity (Dana to La Trobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 14 Aug 1847 - Corporal Gellibrand and Trooper Tommy started for Gippsland with despatches from Superintendent; 4 Sep 1847 - Corporal Gellibrand and Trooper Tommy returned from Gippsland with despatches; 23 Aug 1850 - Troopers Quandine and Tommy took a cow to Melbourne for H.H., also Mr Costella's chestnut horse, and Mr Winter's chestnut colt; 3 Sep 1850 - Corporals Gellibrand and Tummile, Troopers Jack and Tommy arrived from Melbourne; 7 Sep 1850 - Commandant, Corporal O'Bryan and Yapton, Lankey and Tommy left for Melbourne to await orders to proceed to Goulburn R.; 26 Sep 1850 - Corporals Cowan and Yapton, Troopers Lankey and Tommy returned from the Goulburn; 25 Oct 1850 - Troopers Bushby and Tommy in Melbourne; 28 Oct 1850 - Trooper Tommy arrived from Melbourne with despatches; 13 Apr 1851 - Trooper Tommy with Troopers Lee, Geelong, Dick and Billy left to do duty at stockade (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Tommy [one only] on pay abstract receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 19 Jul 1851 - Corporal McCauley and Trooper Bacchus left for the Goulburn to call at Pentridge and take Trooper Tommy to relieve Trooper Lee who is sick; 25 Oct 1851 - Corporal Hannam and Troopers Yapton, Tommy, Jerey and Jamie arrived from the Goulburn (VPRS 90); 14/15 Jun 1853 - Policeman Tommy was shot and wounded by Thomas Gilman at the black's camp outside Wangaratta in an incident where Larry (perhaps Yarri

\textsuperscript{35} The problems with the name Tommy replicate those of Billy, and are dealt with in like manner. There are at least two individuals, Tommy from Port Fairy and Tommy from Gippsland; in addition, Marmbool was known sometimes as Tommy. So two listings are made for two individuals, then unattributable observations are listed chronologically.
N.P.) was killed; Larry's wife was apparently the cause; both the European and Policeman Tommy
and Larry had been drinking at Crisp's Inn (VPRS 30, unit 206, NCR 1016); Incident occurred
on way to diggings - (LaTrobe, C.J. Returns...H 6971, LtSL).

TOOTGARN - Geelong

1 Jul 1846 - Sergeant McGregor got three of the Geelong natives to join the NP (VPRS 90); 2 Jul
1846 - Tout-Garn alias Billy, one of a number of Barrabools who arrived at Merri Creek; Tout-Garn
got drunk and was put in the watch-house which had some effect on the others (Thomas Quarterly
Report, 1 Sep 1846, encl with 46/7609 in Ao of NSW 4/2744); 3 Jul 1846 - Above
natives enrolled in usual form (VPRS 90); 2 Nov 1846 - The bearer Barraboomaonook has complained
to me that two of Captain Dana's troopers on their return from the westwards a few days since stole
his wife and another native woman and have detained them at the NP station (Parker to Robinson,
VPRS 11, Box 10/647); 8 Nov 1846 - The bearer's real name is Burra Mooradook...Tootgarn
identified as a Barrabool man and a NP...he is the one alleged to have stolen women from the
Barrabools...but there was no stealing...the Barrabools promised the two women Tooturook and
Muthermurrum to the NP...and they came willingly to NNW, walking through the bush while the NP
rode the public road on the way back from the westward (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box
10/647); 10 Apr 1847 - A Barrabool NP was captured drunk, lay in the watch-house till Monday
when he was put in the stocks; 26 Apr 1847 - A Barrabool NP got drunk...and with another man a
Yarra black broke the windows of the baker's shop in Newtown...the baker Mr Grant said the black
who damaged his shop was one of his favourite blacks and a daily customer...Thomas told them the
offence made them liable to transportation, so they both fled, the Barrabool to his own
country...warrants were issued (Thomas Quarterly Report, Mar-May 1847, 47/7444 in AO
of NSW 4/2782).

TUGENDUN - Warwoorong

Mar 1842 - Georg Tuggendun, aged sixteen, Port Phillip tribe, attending school at Merri Creek
(VPRS 26); 25 Feb 1843 - Left with Captain and McGregor for Gippsland leading two of HH's
horses (VPRS 90); Jul-Sep 1843 - At H.Q.; Oct-Nov 1843 - With CCL Tyers to Gippsland; Dec
1843 - Goulburn with broken leg; Jan-Feb 1844 - Blank; Mar 1844 - At H.Q. then blank; Remarks,
smart and likely to do well (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177a); 2 Mar 1845 -
Tuckanong, with LaTrobe, Dana, McGregor and two black police, man and boy; 11 Mar 1845 - Tyers
with above group as well (LaTrobe, C.J. Memoranda..., Box 79/1, LtSL); 23 Mar 1845 -
With six other named NP given permission for good conduct to go to Merri Creek; 3 Apr 1845 - Left with CCL TYers and another NP on route for Tarwin River; 11 Jun 1845 - In Melbourne with Commandant; 28 Sep 1845 - Tugendun sick, returned to H.Q. with Tomboko from the Wimmera... brought despatches from WAP Dana; 30 Sep 1845 - Sergeant issued medicine to him (VPRS 90); Oct 1845 - Tugendun died, date of enlistment Jan 1842, length of service three years nine months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 4 Nov 1845 - Tuggendun, aged seventeen, Yarra tribe, single, Native Police, died at encampment east of Melbourne, came into encampment in dying state having left NNW where under medical advice (Thomas return, Appendix D, Governor's Despatches Apr-Jun 1846, vol 51, ML).

TUNMILE - Konung-Willam section of Warwoorong
20 Mar 1839 - Dunmile, unmarried male Warwoorong tribe, aged sixteen, on Dredge's census of Aborigines in vicinity of Melbourne whose family not ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Mar-Aug 1840 - Tanmail, male unattached young, one of the Konungwillam section of the Warwoorong tribe inhabiting the Mt Macedon country (Parker census, Ao of NSW 4/2512.1); Feb 1842 - Name not on list of original recruits; 27 Jul 1842 - Tonmile, Trooper 2nd Division, rationed since 1 Feb, on duty with CCL Powlett (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 5 Dec 1842 - Dana left Tonmiel, McNall and Yamaboke with CCL Powlett at Westernport to do duty in that district (Dana Diary in O'Callaghan, T. Ms LsSL); 1842 - Tonnial or Tounpy, aged eighteen, single, no children, never punished, on duty at Mt Macedon police station, on duty at the Lodden and Westernport with the Crown Commissioner, general conduct very good, active, intelligent, cleanly, anxious to please and smart (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Turnmile present yesterday, daubed, in battle formation with nineteen other NP and Goulburn and Yarra blacks for fight with Westernport and Port Phillip blacks on south side of river (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/ 586); Jul 1843 - On road to Portland, Grange, marching prisoners; Aug 1843 - Grange, seeking Ward's child, arrested two natives on suspicion; Sep 1843 - Port Fairy, Glenelg, Grange, collision with supposed murderers of Bassett (Dana return, Jul 1843-Jun 1844, in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 27 Sep 1843 - Tunmile alias Billy, on duty since 27 Jun in Western District with Dana, Sergeant and nine other NP (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Oct 1843 - Portland, marching prisoners, discovered Lockhardt's stolen property (Dana return, Jul 1843-Jun 1844, in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 25 Oct 1843 - One of my best men Tunmiel dangerously wounded in two places...third week in October...near Mt
Eckersley...heads of two spears taken out of him and glass and flint...recovering (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 52, 43/2566); Nov 1843 - To Melbourne (Dana return, Jul 1843-Jun 1844, in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 10 Nov 1843 - NP return from Portland Bay; 11 Nov 1843 - Tunmiel relates his shooting of the blacks and receiving two wounds, one on left shoulder...story round fire of seventeen shot...Tunmiel shot three (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3, ML); Another version from Thomas states Tunmiel showed him his wounds and stressed Yeaplyne's attempts to avoid shooting (Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep-Dec 1843, VPRS 4410); 2 Dec 1843 - Turnmile and Beruke arrived from NNW with LOA (Thomas Journal, 1 Sep 1843-29 Jan 1844, set 214, item 3, ML); 30 Dec 1843 - Mentioned in Sergeant Windredge's letter of this date, present at clash at Pyrenees, wounded by two spears (Enc with 47/3711 in AO of NSW 4/2781 and Windredge's statement re clash at Lockhardt's dray in Governor's Despatches, vol 52, CY reel 684, ML); Dec 1843 - At H.Q.; Jan 1844 - Westernport, assisted in capture of illicit still; Feb 1844 - Sick (Dana return, Jul 1843-Jun 1844, in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Named as one of a large number of NP assembled among a crowd of 700 at Merri Creek to witness judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/469); Mar 1844 - Sick; Apr-Jun 1844 - With Sergeant Windredge to Gippsland; remarks smart and well-conducted (Dana return, Jul 1843-Jun 1844, in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Apr 1844 - With Chief Protector, Sergeant, five other NP on route to Gippsland, Tunmiel and Warwoorong behaved themselves very well (Sergeant Windredge to Dana, 27 May 1844, AO of NSW 4/2666); Apr 1844 - On route to Gippsland (Haydon, G.H. 1846: 122); 19 Feb 1845 - CCL Tyers praised the four NP including Tunmiel on duty with Sergeant Windredge in Gippsland for past seven months (Tyers to LaTrobe, enc with VPRS 19, Box 68, 45/324); 28 Feb 1845 - With Dana and Sergeant-Major Bennett met LaTrobe on route to Gippsland; 1 Mar 1845 - With Sergeant Bennet returned to NNW; 23 Mar 1845 - With six other NP given permission for good conduct to go to Merri Creek; 30 Apr 1845 - Corporals McGregor and Tunmiel ordered on route to Pyrenees; 25 May 1845 - They returned from the westward, horses very much fatigued; 28 Nov 1845 - Sergeant McGregor on Harry, and Corporals Buckup and Tonmile on Merriman and Trumpeter started for Cape Otway with His Honor (VPRS 90); 4 Dec 1845 - Tanmire, black policeman with LaTrobe, Dana and Corporal on perambulation (LaTrobe, C.J. Memoranda...Boc 79/1, LtSL); 29 Dec 1845 - Tonmile, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb 1842, length of service three years eleven months (Dana return, VPRS 19, BOX 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 -
Listed in Thomas' criticism of the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes presently in force (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 12 Jan 1846 - Issued with saddle complete, sword, pistols and carabine, two pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, three regatta shirts, one red shirt, two pairs new boots, cartridge box and belt, kit complete (VPRS 90); 20 Oct 1846 - Mentioned in report of Serjeant Windredge of Border Police who was in charge of NP in Mr Walsh's absence...one of two NP with him...tracked party of 100 Gippsland Aborigines who when caught up with had great quantity of beef from McAllister's run...NP attempted to secure ringleaders...were attacked...Windredge gave order to fire...two killed, one wounded...Tonmile's carbine almost wrested from him (Deposition, 27 Jan 1847, enc with 47/1680 in AO of NSW 4/2781); 5 Jan 1847 - Commandant and Tonmile in Melbourne for quarterly supplies (VPRS 90); 1 Mar 1847 - Corporal Tonmile, 1st Division, date of enlistment Jan 42, horse's name Insolvent, aged seven, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six men for whom LaTrobe approved gratuity five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Request gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Corporal Tonmile received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark; 8 Mar 1848 - Left with LaTrobe's party, Mr Walsh, McLelland, O'Brien and Trooper Charley for Western District; 23 Mar 1848 - Returned with Sergeant McLelland from the westward; 31 Mar 1848 - Corporals Thornhill and Tunmile arrested a man on a warrant and placed him in the native police watch-house; 18 Jul 1848 - Tunmile arrived from Gippsland with despatches; 19 Jul 1848 - In Melbourne with despatches (VPRS 90); 1-30 Nov 1848 - Corporal Tonmill on pay abstract in place of Corporal Buckup[died 3 Oct 1848] receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 34); 1-31 Jan 1849 - As above (VPRS 29, vol 35); 10 Jan 1849 - Troopers Jock, Bill and Peter bolted, Corporal Tunmile sent in pursuit with a note to Commandant in Melbourne; 11 Jan 1849 - Tunmile returned; 18 Jan 1849 - Tunmile one of five troopers to Melbourne to escort LaTrobe to Cape Otway and Portland; 7 Feb 1849 - Corporal O'Brien and Tunmile returned from Portland with His Honor (VPRS 90); 1 May- 31 Jul 1849 - On duty with Corporal McDonald and eleven other NP at Lower Murray (VPRS 4466, unit 1/16); 22 Oct 1849 - Corporals O'Brien and Tunmile escorted prisoner, runaway convict from Westerndorf, to Melbourne; 26 Dec 1849 - Corporals McDonald and Tonmile and Troopers Marmbull and Peter ordered to take up their quarters at the Police Barracks to do duty as orderlies in place of Mounted Police disbanded; 7 Mar 1850 - Commandant, Sergeant McLelland, Corporals Charlie and Tunmile out with Superintendent in Western District; 6 Jun 1850 - Troopers
Marambool and Tunmille arrived from Melbourne with despatches for Gippsland, bringing with them six cows belonging to His Honor and Mr Bell; 26 Jul 1850 - Tunmille arrived from Melbourne; 16 Aug 1850 - Commandant attended by Corporals Cowan, Yapton, Tunmille and Marambool left with Mr Powlett for Pt Nepean; 3 Sep 1850 - Corporals Gellibrand and Tunmille, Troopers Jack and Tommy arrived from Melbourne; 12 Sep 1850 - Troopers Tallboy and Tunmille in Melbourne for Doctor's advice; 4 Nov 1850 - Corporal Tunmille died; 5 Nov 1850 - Corporal Tunmille buried with full military honours (VPRS 90); A young steady and faithful policeman, continued in the service until his death; he had been on duty the whole round of the Colony, from Portland Bay west, to Gippsland east, to the Murray north (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 409).
WALLACE

8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for Wallace (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Jan 1850 - Mr Dana, Sergeant McDonald and Trooper Charlie on duty after Troopers Jamie, Jack, Wallace and Woola deserted (VPRS 90).

WARUNGITOLONG/ WARUNGUTSULONG - Westernport Bonurong

Worindidjolong/Warendedolong/Warranggitolong, born 1826, his country located at Massie and Anderson's about Bass River, clan head in 1846 (Barwick,D. AH, vol 8, Pt 2, 1984:119); 2 Dec 1841 - Warrungitolong, one of the seven local blacks who volunteered to assist Thomas, CCL Powlett and the military to capture the VDL blacks, others were Warwador alias Lively, Pereuk alias Poky Poky, Beruke, Nunuptune, Buller Bullup and Bugup; as a reward, they asked for a blanket, shirt, trousers, leather band with buckle, neck handkerchief, straw hat and gun (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/415); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark, deserted a few days later, subsequently wanted to return but Dana refused to take him back as by then LaTrobe had instructed him to limit the Corps to twenty (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 8 Mar 1842 - Three police desert, Westernport blacks and three who were most dextrous in getting VDL blacks could not be found when muster rolled, Warrengetolong, Buller Bullup and Lively (Thomas Journal, CY reel 732, item 5e, ML); Jan 1846 - On Thomas list criticising the NP as one of the Melbourne blacks who had been in the Corps but deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 29 Jun 1846 - Warungutsulong enlisted36(VPRS 90); 20 Jan 1848 - Warrangitolong, male aged twenty-two, single, died at Westernport (Thomas return, 1 Dec 1847-1 Dec 1848, set 214, item 11, ML).

WARWORONG/ MURRAY - Wawoorong

Warworong/Young Murry, clan-head Baluk-Willam, whose country embraced the area around Yering across to the LaTrobe River (Barwick,D. AH vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 120); Jul 1839 - Wa-Wo-Rong/ William, name recorded in encampment (Thomas "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 17 Jul 1839 - Warwong alias Mr King37 arrived at Geelong with Ningolobel, Deremott, Ballaymoro, Murra Murranbine, Bunranrung (Sievwright to Robinson, 39/10217 in AO of NSW

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36 A re-enlistment; it is just possible that re-enlisting was associated with his inheriting the clan-head position in 1846.
37 Sievwright, just out in the field, probably got his alternative name wrong; this group is a powerful one down in Geelong on business.
4/2471); Oct 1840 - Warworong/ Mr Murray, name on list of those apprehended by Major Lettsom against whom charges have been laid (40/10609 in AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 24 Feb 1842 - Received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 32 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Warworong, Trooper 1st Division, rationed since 1 Feb, remained at Merri Creek (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1842 - Woverong or Murray, aged twenty-seven, married with one wife, one child, never punished, on duty at the camp, general conduct good, fond of rambling, intelligent and cleanly (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday daubed in battle formation with Goulburn and Yarra blacks for fight with Port Phillip and Western port blacks on south side of river (Thomas to Robinson, 24 Feb 1843, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Jul 1843 - To Grange; Aug 1843 - Pursuing natives and recovering Dwyer's sheep; Sep 1843 - Grange (Dana return, Jul 43-Jun 44, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Sep 1843 - Waverong/Murrey on duty in Western District since 27 Jun last (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Oct 1843 - Wannon; Nov 1843 - To H.Q (Dana return, Jul 43-Jun 44, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 18 Nov 1843 - Warworong lodges a complaint that Sergeant Rolls had stolen his opossum skin rugs...begs a letter to Commandant...goes off with glee...returns on horseback...Thomas reproves him, tells him he must not take the horses without the Captain's approval (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3, ML); Dec 1843 - Sick; Jan-Mar 1844 - At H.Q (Dana return, Jul 43-Jun 44, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - While the rest of the NP were named individually as present at Merri Creek to witness judicial proceedings, Warworong and McNoel were listed as out, with or for settlers (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/ 469); Apr 1844 - With Sergeant Windredge to Gippsland; remarks, active and well-conducted (Dana return, Jul 43-Jun 44, AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Apr 1844 - With Sergeant Windredge and five other NP and Robinson, on route to Gippsland (Haydon, G.H. 1846: 122); 25 May 1844 - Worworong behaved himself very well (Windredge to Dana, enc in AO of NSW 4/2666); 19 Feb 1845 - Praised by CCL Tyers as one of four NP on duty in Gippsland for last seven months (Tyers to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 68, 45/324); 24 May 1845 - With Yepten, sent to Mr Ryrie's station up Yarra to recruit for NP; 1 Aug 1845 - Arrived at H.Q. with Commandant and Yepten escorting prisoner; 30 Oct 1845 - Returned from Wimmera with WAP Dana and three other NP (VPRS 90); 29 Dec 1845 - Waverong, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment Feb 42, length of service three years eleven months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); 16 Jan 1846 - Articles issued to Waverong No 5 include
saddle complete, one pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, new boots, one red shirt, one regatta shirt, sword and pistol carabine, kit complete; 16 Jan 1846 - En route to Murray with WAP Dana and Buckup, Gellibrand, Woonalpoop, Moibechoim, Tomboko and Barney (VPRS 90); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes still in force (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc to 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 1 Mar 1847 - Waverong, Corporal 2nd Division, date of enlistment Jan 42, horse's name Clifton, aged five, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 3 May 1847 - Commandant, Third Officer, Corporals O'Brien and Murray in town (VPRS 90); 5 Jul 1847 - One of twenty-six troopers for whom LaTrobe approved gratuity five shillings (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 8 Jan 1848 - Request gratuity for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Corporal Murray received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90); 8 Jul 1848 - Warwoorong of the NP very ill, when last called at NNW...now camped with blacks forty miles from Melbourne north of Tyers new road to Gippsland (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 11/699); This black continued in the service I should say, at least four years beyond my expectation; so much so that when Billibellary presented him, I told Captain Dana it was useless to have his name. Neither he nor any member of his family could be kept for any continuance from the Yarra ranges; he however, was enrolled, and proved a faithful servant of Government; but becoming at last constitutionally affected with the venereal disease, he left or had LOA. Dr Jamieson and others gave him medicine; his disease gained on him, and like all blacks in great affliction, wandering seems the last recipe; he went rambling with a few Yarra blacks, and died in the Yarra ranges, the date I cannot exactly give, but it was between 1849 and 1850 (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 410).

WIDECULK or WI-GEEL-GULK / William Tommy - Warwoorong

Wigeulk, son of aged leader Berberry who was Billibellary's brother and who inherited from Billibellary the position of clan head of the Wurundjeri-Willam upon Billibellary's death; Wideulk's brother was Calcallo; their country was the south side of the Yarra from Gardiner's Creek upstream to the north slopes of the Dandenongs (Barwick, D. AH, vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 112,122,124); 20 Mar 1839 - Wagakulk/ William, Warwoorong tribe, aged seventeen, listed on Dredge's census as unmarried male whose family not yet ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Wid-de-karlik/ Billy, name taken in encampment (Thomas census, "A" diary, set 214, item 1, ML); 22 Nov 1839 - Wadeyulk, Bonurong male aged fifteen (Thomas census, VPRS 10, unit 1); Not on Dana's list of original enlistees; 27 Jul 1842 - Trooper Wediculk, 2nd Division, rationed
since 1 Feb, to the westward (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); 1842 - Wideculk/William, aged twenty-seven, married with one wife, one child, punished, rations stopped, handcuffed, sent to lock-up, on duty at the camp, a good messenger, general conduct bad, fond of rambling, plausible and intelligent, can behave himself very well if he likes - a great scamp (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); Nov 1843 - Wideculk and four others left without leave on 10 Aug, returned now with their lubras demanding rations; Thomas refuses, lectures them on responsibility (Thomas Journal, set 124, item 3, ML); 8 Feb 1844 - Wijekulk one of the NP in a crowd of 700 assembled at Merri Creek to witness judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/469); 25 Jun 1844 - Committed to gaol, offence larceny at Melbourne; 13 Jul 1844 - Tried before Mr Justice Jeffcott; 15 Jul 1844 - Discharged, not guilty; prisoner belonged to the tribe ordinarily frequenting Melbourne and its vicinity; stole a parcel of tapes from a warehouse in Melbourne; Assistant Protector testified (enc Nos 1&2 with LaTrobe to Col Sec 4 Jul 1846); 1844 - Wigeulk alias Tommy, a Melbourne black, tried for larceny and acquitted (Robinson Annual Report, vol 61: 17, ML); 29 Dec 1845 - Wedgeulk, native place Yarra Yarra, date of enlistment May 1842, dismissed for being drunk and disorderly (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Undated - Wideculk, dismissed (VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177a); Jan 1846 - On Thomas list criticising NP as one of the Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 13 Dec 1851 - Wigeulk alias William, male Warwoorong tribe, wife Terengrook alias Maria, children Wongum alias Rosa, and Koodorrook, female, one year (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML); Wideculk, also a fine youth, was in the force nearly two years. After returning from the Murray River, he became tired of that kind of life, and though continuing in the force, was continually asking for furloughs, and would come to Melbourne, plant his police clothes and get drunk with impunity. He subsequently was tried for larceny on 15 Jul 1844. Since then he has led a dissipated life. He is at present if alive, in Gippsland (1853) (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 410).

WILLIAM

8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity for Trooper William (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper William received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90); 1 May-31 Jul 1849 - Trooper William on duty at Lower Murray with Corporal McDonald and eleven other NP (VPRS 4466, unit 1/16); 16 Jan 1850 - Troopers Johnny and William in Melbourne with two cows for His Honor; 7 Feb 1850 - Same entry; 3 Nov 1850 - Corporal Pearson,
Troopers Johnny and William arrived from the Murray; 14 Apr 1851 - Troopers Souwester, Johnny, Beerack, Jack and William returned from the stockade; 5 May 1851 - Sergeant-Major Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Gibson, Trooper Haines, Toby, Loughman, William, Andrew, George, John, Sambo left for stockade (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper William on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 20 Oct 1851 - Sergeant Gibson, Troopers William, Jack and Joe left for Mt Alexander goldfields (VPRS 90); 11 Aug 1852 - Committed to gaol; charge assault and rape committed at Mt Alexander; 17 Sep 1852 - Trial; sentence five years on the roads, guilt very doubtful (LaTrobe, C.J. Returne... Ms H 6971, LtSL); 17 Sep 1852 - Bour-Tournng alias Billy of the Native Police, offence assault and rape, committed at Mt Alexander, tried, found guilty, the court showed symptoms of great surprise on the verdict being given, even to the learned judge, who had no other alternative but to pass the five year sentence (Thomas return of Aborigines tried for offences against Europeans..., Bride, T.F. 1983: 412); 23 Aug 1852 - Trial, Queen v William an Aboriginal native; papers include depositions taken in Castlemaine before two J.P's on 26 Jul 1852 of Mary Anne Fleming aged thirteen, the alleged victim, her mother Ellen Fleming, her brother Andrew Fleming; the family was living on Mr Campbell's station at Strathloddon, Andrew as cook at the head station and the mother and daughter at an out-station two miles away. There are too, depositions from Charles Hadley, Sergeant of Police at Castlemaine and Dr William McCrae, Assistant Colonial Surgeon, residing at his H.Q. at Mt Alexander. The story went as follows:- William was at Campbell's station on business for the NP, something to do with horses; he sat in the kitchen of the homestead with the cook Andrew Fleming for about twenty minutes, when Mary Anne Fleming arrived. When Mary Anne left, William followed her. Mary Anne testified that she remembered little of the attack as she was "some time on the ground...stupid". Her mother testified that her daughter told her on return home that she had been assaulted by a blackfellow...there were several bruises on her body and blood on her chemise. The Sergeant of Police testified that there was no blood on William's clothes and that he had had no opportunity to wash. The Assistant Colonial Surgeon testified that he could not find sufficient marks of violence to enable him to state that the girl had been violated. He said the girl was not a virgin (VPRS 30, Box 17, Brief 1-160-39); 25 Oct 1852 - Memorial of William alias Bourdering of the Native Police to LaTrobe; the Lt-Governor referred the memorial to Mr Justice Williams (L. Gilles to Thomas, set 214, item 13, ML); 19

3 Note that this date, the one written on the original brief, does not correspond with that of the returns of Thomas and LaTrobe, written subsequently
Jul 1853 - I remind you that application for remission of his sentence of five years imprisonment was not to be made until the expiration of twelve months from last October (Vic Col Sec to Thomas, set 214, item 13, 1852-3, ML); 20 Oct 1853 - Poor Mr William whom I am sure Your Excellency recollects is now undergoing his sentence for a breach of the law at the goldfields; he is now at Pentridge Stockade in the capacity of a servant to Mr Barrow (EPS Sturt in Bride, T.F. 1983: 368); 27 Mar 1854 - Thomas retrospective view...William had been known to Europeans since he was a child of eight; he was highly respected by every officer in the Native Police from Mr Dana down; the officers assured Thomas he must be innocent...the girl was subsequently found to be "of a most objectionable character"...more than one of the jury remarked to Thomas that had they known before the trial what they knew an hour after it, a verdict quite the reverse would have been given...a memorial to La Trobe for commutation of sentence was signed by the foreman of the jury and all the members of the jury except two who had already left for the goldfields (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 413)

WOOLA
9 May 1849 - Troopers Poligerry and Wool left for Cape Otway; 28 May 1849 - Trooper Poligerry returned from Cape Otway; Trooper Woola sick, stayed in town; 23 Jul 1849 - Corporal O'Brien and Troopers Woola, Andrew and Poligerry started for Gippsland; 28 Dec 1849 - Troopers Tallboy and Woola ordered to Cape Otway; 24 Jan 1850 - Mr Dana, Sergeant McLelland and Trooper Charlie out after Troopers Jamie, Jack, Wallace and Woola deserted (VPRS 90).

WOORAJOOP
3 Apr 1845 - Two native troopers Tugendun and Woorajoop started in boat for Tarwin River with three Europeans belonging to Mr CCL Tyers (VPRS 90).

WORRONGULK / CRIB - Devil's River
Dec 1843 - Wurrenalkpoop recruited, promises well (Dana return, 1 Jul 43-30 Jun 44, VPRS 19, Box 60, 44/1177a); Dec 1843 - Wurrenalkpoop recruited with Moibercoim; Jan-Jun 1844 - At H.Q., remarks, promises well (Copy of above in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 25 Aug 1845 - Three recruits enrolled in the NP:- Boroonail alias Jack alias Billy L., Worrongulk alias Crib and Lively; 30 Oct 1845 - Wurrenalpop returned from the Wimmera with WAP Dana and three other NP (VPRS 90); 10 Dec 1845 - Warrungulpoop, drunk with Lively at Merri Creek encampment (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/621); 29 Dec 1845 - Warrangulkum Crib, native place Devil's River, date of enlistment Jan 44, length of service two years (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77,
45/2179); 12 Jan 1846 - Articles issued to Worrenalpoop No 15 include saddle complete, sword and carabine, one pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, one red shirt, one regatta shirt, new boots; 16 Jan 1846 - Issued with one jacket, two pairs duck trousers, spurs, carabine, sword; 16 Jan 1846 - En route to Murray with WAP Dana and Buckup, Gillebrand, Waverong, Moiberchon, Tomboko and Barney (VPRS 90); Jan 1846 - Warringulk listed in Thomas' criticism of NP as one of the tribes from Melbourne now in the Corps (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 1 Mar 1847 - Worranalpoop, Trooper 2nd Division, recruited Jan 44, horse's name Trumpeter, aged eight, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 12 Apr 1847 - Warrinalpoop at Merri Creek having been down from NNW for duty at races...sent clothes back to NNW...something amiss with the NP (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, unit 8/561, VPRS 11, Box 10/659); 31 Jan 1849 - Corporal Gellibrand and Trooper Jack returned from the Yarra having captured a deserter; 1 Feb 1849 - Trooper Waringalprip tried by a court-martial, sentenced to be flogged\(^4\); 9 Feb 1850 - Troopers Munite and Warrinelpop in town with three troop horses to be shod; 16 Feb 1850 - Trooper Waminelpup returned from Gippsland (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Warrinelpup on pay abstract, receiving one and a half pence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127).

**YAL-YAL / MR Meyrick - Bonurong**

20 Mar 1839 - Yal-Yal/ Dr Ewen, Boonworong tribe, aged fourteen, listed in Dredge's census as unmarried male whose family not yet ascertained (Robinson Papers, vol 54, ML); Jul 1839 - Name recorded twice on same list as Yal Yal, and as Yel-le-al/ Mr Thorn (Thomas "A" diary, set 124, item 1, ML); 22 Nov 1839 - Yal Yal, male Bonurong (Thomas census, VPRS 10, unit 1); 24 Feb 1842 - Yall Yall received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark, deserted a few days after enlistment, sise wished to return but in the interim Dana had received orders to limit the size of the Corps to twenty so refused (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 1844-Jan 1845 - Henry Meyrick found in Yal Yal a friend on whose loyalty and affection he could always rely; Yal Yal accompanied Henry Meyrick driving 2000 sheep for ten weeks on a trek to new station on Thomson River in Gippsland; 4 Feb 1846 - With Meyrick's party again on route to Gippsland (Meyrick, F.J. 1939: 142, 171, 193); 30 Apr 1845 - Two reliable Aboriginal informants tell Thomas that Yal Yal had often threatened to kill Pinterginner, and had done

\(^4\) What he did besides desert would be interesting to know; it is the only example so far found of such a sentence
so, and the story re a collision between the NP and Gippsland blacks was but a cover-up for this killing (Thomas to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/759); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); Sep 1846 - Yal Yal and other Westernport blacks were examined by the Committee in search of the white woman... Thomas too has closely examined Yal Yal and Tommy on whose word much reliance has been placed... Yal Yal supposed to have seen her... not so... Yal Yal got the story from a Gippsland black (Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep-30 Nov 1846, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); Jan 1847 - Yal Yal alias Mr Meyrick cool and daring in search (de Villiers report in PPP, 10 Feb 1847); 6 Apr 1847 and 22 Apr 1847 - Yal Yal mentioned as one of party in Tyers instructions for search (Tyers to LaTrobe, enc with VPRS 19, Box 92, 47/701 and 907); 21 Sep 1849 - Mentioned in Tyers diary (Tyers Journals etc, reel 2, LtSL); 26 Mar 1852 - Yal Yal / Mr Merrick killed, coast or Boonoorong tribe, two lubras Turkerbruk / Linner and Wyoorung / Judy (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML); 1853 - Yal Yal reported killed at Brighton some time ago (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 418); Yal Yal / Mr Ewen / Mr Merrick, father Bobbinnary (Barwick, D. AH, vol 8, Pt 2, 1984: 117).

YANKEE

Jul 1846 - Date of enlistment; 1 Mar 1847 - Tankey, recruit with 3rd Division at NNW, no horse (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 3 Feb 1848 - Troopers Yankee, Harry and Vorporal Gellibrand confined eighteen hours in guard room for creating a disturbance; 4 Feb 1848 - Released; 24 Feb 1848 - Trooper Yankee received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark (VPRS 90).

YANKI YANKI / ROBERT (Bob) YANG YANG CUNNINGHAM - Westernport

8 Jun 1841 - The bearer is the intelligent Aborigine of whom I spoke yesterday... who was, with his lubra, stole from the bush between Arthur's Seat and Pt Nepean about six years back... he states his own history in good English and answers to the name of Yunk Yun-ker... Your Honor will render me much service in giving him council [sic] to encourage his tribe to locate (Thomas to LaTrobe, VPRS 10, unit 3/843); 16 Jun 1841 - Dredge relates story of of a man recently arrived via the Edwina from Adelaide... five or so years ago his party was captured at Arthur's Seat, taken to

38 More details see HRV vol 2A: 52-5
G.H. Haydon "Five Years in Australia Felix"
Preservation Island in Bass Strait and kept there...this man escaped to Launceston...got passage on a boat to the Swan River...worked there...got passage to Adelaide then Melbourne (Dredge Diary, 1839-43: 196, LsSL); 24 Jun 1841 - The intelligent young man Yanki Yankie said that he would come soon [re-locating encampment] but that he was going with some blacks to the Barraboolys (Thomas to LaTrobe, VPRS 10, unit 3/940); 5 Feb 1842 - Mr Dana draws [rations] for five police only; Yanki leaves without leave (Thomas Journal, CY reel 732 item 5e, ML); 24 Feb 1842 - Yanki Yanki received clothing, blankets and equipment, enrolled and made his mark, Corps remained at NNW till 28 Mar, left because of scarcity of water, marched in easy stages to Yarra Yarra opposite Surveyor’s paddock (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); Yanki Yanki not on Thomas’ list of original enlistingees; 27 Jul 1843 - Yanki-Junker with Murrumurrumbean thwarted the ends of justice by warning two Barrabool men of a plan by the Chief Protector, Assistant Protector and Chief Constable to capture them...everyone left the encampment (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/596); 9 Dec 1843 - Yanki Yanki accuses Thomas of writing a letter to the Governor to put Billy Lonsdale and de Villiers in gaol (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 3, ML); 14 Apr 1844 - Yang Yang alias Robert Cunninham brought up before the magistrate for obstructing the Chief Constable in his attempt to take...Billy Lonsdale...for the murder of an Aboriginal boy in the service of Mr Manton at Westernport. Yang Yang pleaded to the bench that Lonsdale was about to submit to the ordeal of spearing viz seven of the principal men of the Western Port tribe were each to throw a spear at him. If he warded them off he was no longer amenable. If he was killed satisfaction was complete. He further pleaded, that had they not been interrupted, he would afterwards have induced...Lonsdale to surrender himself to the Chief Constable, or aided to take him. Upon this occasion, the black native police refused to act. At the intercession of Mr Protector Thomas, Yang Yang got off with an admonition and forty-eight hours confinement (Smythe, R.B. 1972, vol 1: 81-82); Jan 1846 - Yonker-Yonker on Thomas criticism of NP as one of the tribes around Melbourne who has deserted from the Corps (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 1 Sep 1846 - Yonker Yonker, called by some the civilised black was caught drunk, lodged in gaol, fined ten shillings which was paid by a gentleman (Thomas Quarterly Report, Jun-Sep, enc with 46/7609 in AO of NSW 4/2744); 14 Oct 1846 - Yonker Yonker alias Bob Cunningham was caught drunk, far from the first time, obstreporous, committed to gaol for fourteen days; 5 Nov 1846 - Thomas saw a fresh grave and aware that no-one was ill, got the Chief Constable to dig it up...it was Yonker Yonker who but a
few days previously was released from gaol for drunkenness and assaulting a constable...no marks of violence on the body...he had been slightly poorly since release...reburied him...Thomas deplored the end of this young man who had been almost bred and matured to manhood under the whites...at one period he had a pound a week and rations; Yonker Yonker, Westernport black, aged twenty-three, male, married, died south of the Yarra 4 Nov 1846, remarks...the most civilised but a great drunkard, who after being reared by the whites to manhood returned to his native habits (Thomas Quarterly Report and Return of Deaths, Sep-Nov, enc with 46/9277 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); Youki-Youka, a Westernport man captured by sealers...lived there seven or eight years...worked in Adelaide...spoke good English...received with joy by tribe on return from Adelaide (Haydon, G.H. 1846: 119); Robert Yang Yang Cunningham - This man used to give William Hull information because of his confidence in him...called Mr Murray his uncle...a very superior man indeed, and a highly intellectual man and spoke English fluently...this man Cunningham with Murray and Benbow attest the story of Port Phillip Bay once being their hunting ground (Vic Leg Co V&P 1858-9, Report of Select Committee on Aborigines: 9, 12).

YAMABOKE or YAM-MER-BOOK - Warwoorong

Oct 1839 - Author met Yammabook or Hawk’s-eye at Port Phillip (Bunce,D. Australasian Reminiscences...,Melbourne, 1857: 64); Mar-Aug 1840 - Yammabook listed as male adult, son of Yowroom, part of Marinbulluk section of Waverong tribe, inhabiting the Mt Macedon country (Parker’s return in AO of NSW 4/2512.1); 24 Feb 1842 - Yammabook received clothing, blankets and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Yamaboke, Trooper 1st Division, to the westward, rationed since 1 Feb (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); Aug 1842 - One of five dismounted troopers who accompanied Dana on first journey to Portland Bay; Dec 1842 - Left with McNall and Tonmiel with CCL Powlett at Westernport to duty in that district (Dana Diary, O’Callaghan,T. Police and Other People, Ms LtSL); 1 Feb 1843 - Yumaboke, aged twenty-four, single, no children, frequently punished at first, rations stopped, on duty at NNW in search of lost woman and two children, on duty three months in Portland Bay district, out with CCL in Westernport district; at first inclined to be insubordinate; at the first formation this man was dirty, insolent and indolent, but his conduct for the past six months is much altered; he is now cleanly, smart, active and obedient (Dana return for 1842 in NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); Jun-Oct 1843 - At H.Q.(Dana return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Sep 1843 - Yamabook alias Charley, on duty since 19 Sep with
Sergeant Bennet and six others in Gippsland (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Nov 1843 - With CCL TYers to Gippsland; 25 Dec 1843 - Returned to H.Q.; Jan-Mar 1844 - At H.Q. (Dana return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 8 Feb 1844 - Yammabo, one of the named NP in a crowd of 700 at Merri Creek assembled to witness judicial proceedings (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, unit 8/469); Apr-Jun 1844 - With Sergeant Windredge to Gippsland; remarks, willing and likely to do well (Dana return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Dec 1845 - Yamaboke, native place Yarra Yarra, enlisted Feb 1842, dismissed from the troop for insolence, insubordination and stealing (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - On Thomas list of criticism of Corps as as one of the Melbourne tribes who deserted (Thomas Quarterly Report, eenc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 13 Dec 1851 - Yammerbook, male Warwoorong alias Jemmy, lubra is Koorrerrgrook alias Sally (Thomas census, set 214, item 12: 143, ML); An intelligent and faithful black good-tempered, and no-one on a bush excursion more to be depended upon; was a considerable time in the Np39, and had accompanied most of the journeys through the district. 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 [1853]; he has for years been a notorious drunkard (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 410).

YARRY

Oct-Dec 1840 - Yarry40 on Major Lettsom's list of wanted men (Thomas Journal, set 214, item 2c, ML); Jul 1845 - Yarry enlisted; 1 Mar 1847 - Trooper Yarry, 2nd Division, horse's name Pannekin, aged eight, fit for duty (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 8 Jan 1848 - Gratuity requested for him (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90).

YUPTON/ McBELL - Devil's River

In the early history of the colony, his father, mother and elder brother were shot by the settlers in a sheep robbery between the Goulburn River and the Ovens, which left him to the care of Billibellary chief of the Yarra tribe to whom his aunt was married (Thomas in Bride, T.F. 1983: 411); A middle-sized active warrior with a smooth face, heavy straight hair and a grim jaw. I thought at the time he must be very like an American Indian41(Browne, T.A. 1899: 81); 1 Aug 1839 - Assistant

39 This appears to be one of Thomas' mistaken identifications.
40 This could be Larry; it is a compound problem, with the possibility of an error made in mishearing or miscopying then, and misreading now.
41 This is admittedly a stereotypical description, but there is a Trooper with unusual features, drawn by two different illustrators who fits well this description.
Protector Dredge at Hamilton's station...five blacks came and asked for flour and sugar, Yapton, Jack Mollison, Tommy Murray, Lanky, Lank Billy; 11 Oct 1839 - Wargoolk alias Jack Mollison, aged twenty a Tonguerong at Goulburn Protectorate bargained with Dredge for a new pocket knife as the old one he had belonged to Yapton his brother (Dredge Diary, 1839-43: 31); 24 Feb 1842 - Yeapunte received blankets, clothing and equipment, enrolled and made his mark (Dana to LaTrobe, 31 Mar 1842, VPRS 19, Box 28, 42/674); 27 Jul 1842 - Yupton, 1st Division, rationed since 1 Feb, to the westward (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 30, 42/1143); Aug 1842 - Yupton, mounted on Mousey, one of the troopers who accompanied Dana to Portland Bay; 10 Oct 1842 - Accompanied Dana Grange to Hopkins River and return, calling at all stations on the way; 26 Oct 1842 - Yupton's horse swimming flooded Glenelg River got foul of a log and Yupton was obliged to get off...in doing so he hurt his leg and spoiled his cartridges (Dana Journal, in O'Callaghan, T. Ms LtSL); 22 Nov 1842 - Buckup and Yapton saved Dana from drowning swimming flooded Wannon River (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 38, 42/2153); 1842 - Yupton, aged twenty, single, no children, never punished, on duty NNW, brought in the VDL natives from the River Henty, three months at Portland Bay, out with the Mounted Police, general conduct very good, quiet and tractable, cleanly, obedient and a good tracker but slow (Dana return, NSW Leg Co V&P 1844); 24 Feb 1843 - Present yesterday, daubed with nineteen other NP plus Goulburns and Yarra men in battle formation for fight with Port Phillip and Westernport blacks (Thoms to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/586); Mar-Apr - With another NP [name undiscovered] accompanied Chief Protector on 1000 mile excursion to Murray River and return...Robinson reported that the two Native Troopers conducted themselves to his satisfaction...Yupton in particular is deserving of marked encouragement (Robinson to LaTrobe, 31 Dec 1843, in Governor's Despatches, vol 44, Jan-Apr 1844, ML); Jul 1843 - Corporal Yupton, road to Portland, Grampians, Glenelg, recovered sheep; Aug 1843 - Tracking and recovering sheep; wounded Corney's station; Sep 1843 - Corney's station, recovering sheep, Glenelg marching prisoners (Dana return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 29 Sep 1843 - Yephen alias Billy on duty since 27 Jun in Western District with Commandant, Sergeant and nine other NP (LaTrobe to Col Sec, 43/7302 in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Oct 1843 - Gibson's station, marching prisoners, recovering sheep and Lockhardt's property; Nov 1843 - To H.Q. (Dana return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); Nov 1843 - Thomas describes exertions of one Yupton to avoid shooting a black that would have done credit to the most enlightened philanthrope...his own life had nearly fallen victim to
his humanity (Thomas Quarterly Report, 1 Sep-1 Dec 1843, VPRS 4410, unit 3/78); 30 Nov 1843 - Authority for Yuptain and Buckup, Corporals, two of the best men to receive pay at the rate of threepence per day (Col Sec to LaTrobe, VPRS 29, vol 13); Dec 1843 - Sick(Dana return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 1-31 Jan 1844 - Corporal Ypton receiving threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 18); Jan-Mar 1844 - At H.Q.; Apr 1844 - Sick; May 1844 - With CCL Powlett in collision at Pyrenees; Jun 1844 - H.Q.; remarks conduct uniformly good (Dana return in AO of NSW 4/1135.1); 16 Dec 1844 - Yeaptune has been taken into custody with three others including Ningolobill [after murder of Booby] but Thomas sure it is a mistake as Yeaptune was not out of the encampment on Thursday...he is one of the most amiable of all the blacks I ever knew (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 11, Box 10/601); 25 May 1845 - Yupton and Waverong sent to Mr Ryrie's on Yarra for recruits for NP; 11 Jun 1845 - In Melbourne with Commandant and Waverong; 17 Jun 1845 - Left with Commandant(VPRS 90); Jul 1845 - Corporal Ypton cut down Yanem Goona after a long resistance (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 78, 45/1379); 1 Aug 1845 - Yepthen returned with Commandant and Waverong marching prisoners from Western District; 28 Nov 1845 - Corporal Yepthen started with Sergeant McGregor, Corporal Buckup and His Honor for Cape Otway (VPRS 90); 12 Dec 1845 - Yupton camped with Thomas and Quandine and Tomboko...three young men awoke sick...attended by nine female doctors...recovered (Smyth, R.B. 1876, vol 1: 465-6); Oct, Nov and Dec 1845 - Corporal Yupton receiving pay threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 18); 29 Dec 1845 - Yuptain, native place Devil's River, enlisted Feb 42, length of service three years eleven months (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 77, 45/2179); Jan 1846 - Listed in Thomas criticism of the Corps as one of the Melbourne tribes still serving (Thomas Quarterly Report, enc with 46/3341 in AO of NSW 4/2745.1); 26 Jan 1846 - Saddle complete, sword and carabine, pistols, cartridge box and belt, all of old; issued with two pair duck trousers, one pair moleskins, two regatta shirts, one red shirt, new boots; 29 Mar 1846 - Commandant returned with Yepthen and four other NP; 1 Apr 1846 - Commandant with O'Brien and two other NP left station(VPRS 90); 22 Aug 1846 - Sending Corporal Yapton to Melbourne for proper medical assistance...severe illness...inflammation of the pleura. Letter minuted by LaTrobe:- Treated by Dr Cusson (Dana to LaTrobe, VPRS 19, Box 84, 46/1320); 4 Sep 1846 - Corporal Yepthen and Corporal Tolboy returned from the Glenelg with despatches for the Commandant and directions for medical aid for Yepthen; 5 Sep 1846 - Sergeant went to Government doctor with Yepthen who pronounced him to be very ill with pleurisy and the strictest care must be taken of him; received medicine and returned to
station; 7 Sep 1846 - A blister put on Yepthen’s chest and some powders taken; 8 Sep 1846 - Yepthen better; 21 Sep 1846 - Yepthen to Melbourne for medical aid (VPRS 90); 1-31 Dec 1846 - Corporal Yepthen receiving threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 24); 1-31 Jan 1847 - Ditto (VPRS 29, vol 27); 1 Mar 1847 - Yepthen Corporal, date of enlistment Jan 42, with 3rd Division at NNW (Dana return, VPRS 19, Box 97, 47/1861); 24 Mar 1847 - Corporals O’Bryan and Yepthen on duty to execute a warrant (VPRS 90); 12 Apr 1847 - At Merri Creek encampment with other NP down from NNW for duty at races...sent clothes back to Merri Creek...something amiss with NP (Thomas to Robinson, VPRS 10, unit 8, 47/561 and VPRS 11, Box 10/659); 5 Jul 1847 - Yupton one of twenty-six men for whom La Trobe approved gratuity of five shillings (Dana to Latrobe, VPRS 19, Box 94, 47/1225); 1-31 Dec 1847 - Corporal Yepthen receiving threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 28); 8 Jan 1848 - Request for gratuity of five shillings for Yapton (Dana to La Trobe, VPRS 19, Box 101, 48/90); 3 Feb 1848 - Commandant in town, Corporal Yapton attending as orderly, returned to barracks same day; 24 Feb 1848 - Corporal Yapton received gratuity five shillings, made X his mark; 4 May 1848 - Corporals O’Brien and Yapton in Melbourne (VPRS 90); 1-30 Nov 1848 - Corporal Yuptain receiving threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 34); 1-31 Jan 1849 - Ditto (VPRS 29, vol 35); 15 Jan 1849 - Corporal Yapton and Trooper Tallboy on furlough to the Goulburn; 9 Jul 1849 - Corporals O’Brien, Yapton and Gellibrand arrived from Gippsland; 16 Jul 1849 - Above three to vet with troop horse Wellington; 17 Jul 1849 - Yapton and Gellibrand on patrol up Yarra after Troopers Harry and Muggins; 21 Jul 1849 - Yapton returned, did not succeed in capturing deserters; 26 Jul 1849 - Corporal Yapton started for Gippsland with despatches; 7 Aug 1849 - Corporal Yapton arrived from Gippsland with despatches and started for Melbourne; 16 Oct 1849 - Sergeant McLelland and Yapton guarding prisoners at the bridge from Dandenong; 17 Oct 1849 - Sergeant McLelland and Yapton marched to Melbourne with prisoners; 12 Jun 1850 - WAP Dana and Corporal Yapton returned from Gippsland; 21 Jun 1850 - Troopers Yapton and Gellebrand proceeded to Melbourne; 16 Aug 1850 - Commandant attended by Corporals Cowan, Yapton, Tunmille and Marambool left with Mr Powlett for Pt Nepean; 22 Aug 1850 - Corporal Yapton returned from Pt Nepean; 7 Sep 1850 - Commandant, Corporal O’Bryan, Lankey and Tommy left for Melbourne to await orders to proceed to the Goulburn River; 26 Sep 1850 - Corporals Cowan and Yapton, Troopers Tommy and Lankey returned from the Goulburn; 24 Oct 1850 - Corporal Yapton left for Mr Barkers with letters; 6 Jan 1851 - Robert Redhead bullock-driver discharged Troopers Yapton and Gellibrand in Melbourne; 8 Jan 1851 - Yapton returned with Commandant, Walsh and Gellibrand; 13 Mar 1851 -
Troopers Lease and Yapton escorted prisoner who robbed Beilby to Melbourne; 7 Apr 1851 - Commandant, Corporal Cowan, Troopers Gibson and Yapton returned; 16 May 1851 - Sergeant O'Bryan, Corporal Hannan, Troopers Yapton and Charlie...left for Cape Liptrap in pursuit of bushrangers from VDL; Troopers Redden and Yapton arrived with three prisoners from Westernport; 17 May 1851 - Troopers Redden, von Bibra and Yapton escorted prisoners to Melbourne (VPRS 90); 1-31 May 1851 - Trooper Yaptain, pay at threepence per day (VPRS 29, vol 55: 127); 6 Jun 1851 - Corporal Hannan, Troopers Yapton, Joey, Lee and Bacchus left for the Broken Rise to do duty in that quarter; 25 Oct 1851 - Corporal Hannan, Troopers Yapton, Tommy, Jerey and Jamie arrived from the Goulburn; 30 Oct 1851 - Mr Winter and Trooper Yapton examining the ranges for parties in search of gold; 1 Nov 1851 - Mr Winter and Yapton returned; 4 Nov 1851 - Mr Winter and Yapton out on ranges (VPRS 90); 14 Jan 1852 - Yeapton alias McBell of the Native Police, committed to gaol for drunkenness and outrage, in Melbourne, tried summarily, found guilty and sentenced to fourteen days imprisonment (Thomas return of offences, in Bride, T.F. 1983: 412); 1854 - Yeapton, one of the coolest commanding tempers that ever I knew in a black, but when drunk the most determined on mischief. Captain Dana and other officers have assured me that for patience, perserverence and other requisites in a long journey, no European could equal him. This was the black who, in the conflict with the blacks to the westward, had the full opportunity of shedding blood to no small extent, but would not on his race, although he received several wounds - two on his head being very severe - in saving the life of his superior officer, for which he received on his return the commendation of His Excellency the present Lieutenant-Governor. However since he left the service, and while in it when opportunity offered, he would get drunk, and to such excess that he was in continual trouble; the last time he was convicted with imprisonment, I advised him when I got him from the gaol to keep to the bush which he has done since. In every other respect a more kind-hearted, feeling black could not be found...he is still alive with the Devil's River tribe (Thomas in Bride, F.F. 1983: 410-1).
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. UNPUBLISHED WORKS

(i) Government Papers

Public Record Office, Laverton

For this kind of history, engaged with reading the meanings of the reported actions men rather than the intentions of government, by far the most valuable source was the record of observation in the form of incoming letters first to Police Magistrate Lonsdale, then to Superintendent LaTrobe, subsequently Governor. In these series are to be found most of the Commandant's official reports and returns (including as enclosures reports from the Divisional commanders in the field to the Commandant, and in some cases even reports from NCO's to the field officers), other Government official's letters, e.g. Commissioners of Crown Lands, Crown Prosecutor, Police Magistrates, Justices of the Peace etc, and settler's letters.

These are to be found at:

VPRS 4, Police Magistrate, PPD, 1836-1839, Inward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 19, Superintendent PPD, 1839-1851, Inward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 1189, Colonial Secretary's Office, 1851 - Inward Registered Correspondence

Next in importance would be the observations recorded by Protectorate officials. These records have been microfilmed since this work was begun, and collectively, they are now to be accessed as VPRS 4467, M/f: Aboriginal Affairs Records, reels 1 - 4. This umbrella categorisation includes twenty-one series, of which the following were used:

VPRS 10, Registered Inward Correspondence to the Superintendent of PPD relating to Aboriginal Affairs
VPRS 11, Unregistered Inward Correspondence to the Chief Protector of Aborigines
VPRS 4410, Aboriginal Protectorate Weekly, Monthly, Quarterly and Annual Reports and Journals VPRS 12, Aboriginal Protectorate Returns
VPRS 2895, Chief Protector of Aborigines Outward Letter Book
VPRS 4399, Duplicate Annual Reports of the Chief Protector of Aborigines
VPRS 4466, Unregistered Papers relating to the Native Police Corps
VPRS 4414, Copy (abridged) of the Chief Protector's Journal of an Expedition to the Eastern Interior; VPRS 2897, Registered Inward Correspondence to the Land Branch Superintendent of PPD relating to Aboriginal Stations
VPRS 2893, Registered Inward Correspondence to the Superintendent of PPD from W. Thomas, Guardian of Aborigines and E.S. Parker, Assistant Protector of Aborigines.

In addition, the following records were used:

VPRS 3, Police Magistrate, PPD: Inward Correspondence Register
VPRS 1, Police Magistrate, PPD: Letter Book, Letters Outward
VPRS 17, Superintendent PPD: Index to Inward Correspondence
VPRS 18, Superintendent PPD: Registers to Inward Correspondence
VPRS 21, Attorney-General: Inward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 51, Police Office, Port Phillip: Deposition Registers
VPRS 5, Surveyor-General's Department, Port Phillip: Outward Registered Correspondence to Surveyor-General (Sydney)
VPRS 6, Melbourne Survey Office: Outward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 9, Port Phillip, Commissioner of Crown Lands: Letter Book, 1839-1840
VPRS 28777, Superintendent of PPD, Immigration and Land Branch: Inward Correspondence 1847-1851
VPRS 26, Department of Aborigines: Account Book, School Records, 1841-1843
VPRS 93, Surveyor-General: Miscellaneous Records, 1840-1857
VPRS 44, Department of Crown Lands and Survey, c 1840 - 1878: Inwards Registered and Unregistered Correspondence
VPRS 1411, Colonial Secretary's Office, 1851 -1855: Index to Inward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 30, Criminal Trial Briefs
VPRS 16, Superintendent PPD: Outward Registered Correspondence, and VPRS 2146, the recently completed mf of same
VPRS 515, Central Register of Male Prisoners
VPRS 4105, Superintendent PPD: Confidential Correspondence, Indexed Outward, Letterbook and Register
VPRS 29, Port Phillip Expenditure Accounts
VPRS 78, Supreme Court: Criminal Record Book
VPRS 73, Surveyor-General's Department, PP Branch: Correspondence and Report Book
VPRS 71, Colonial Architect, 1850-1852: Letter Book
VPRS 72, Department Crown Law, Port Fairy Bench of Magistrates: Inward Correspondence, 1846-1850
VPRS 50, Melbourne Court of Petty Sessions: Letter Book, Letters Outward
VPRS 49, Melbourne Court of Petty Sessions: Register of Drunkards
VPRS 2, Police Magistrate, PPD: Confidential Despatches to Governor Bourke
VPRS 95, Commissioner of Crown Lands, Western Port: Inwards Correspondence, 1840-1856
VPRS 103, Crown Lands Commissioner Western Port: Letter Book, 1848-1856
VPRS 5825, Pastoral Run Registers
VPRS 47, Land Branch and Immigration Branch: Registers of Inward Correspondence
VPRS 1186, Colonial Secretary's Office: Inward Correspondence Registers
VPRS 28, Probate and Administration Files
VPRS 3219, Colonial Secretary's Office: Outward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 1226, Superintendent PPD, Colonial Secretary's Office: Supplementary Inward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 2879, Colonial Secretary's Office, Land Branch: Registers of Inward Correspondence
VPRS 2878, Colonial Secretary's Office, Land Branch: Inward Registered Correspondence
VPRS 1080, Minutes of the Executive Council, 1851-
VPRS 32, Police Magistrate Portland: Letters Inward 1840-1859
VPRS 34, Police Magistrate Portland: Letter Books, 1840 - 1868
VPRS 43, Police Office Alberton: Inward Letter Book, 1845-1854

Archives Authority of New South Wales

The records used were mainly the In Letters to the Colonial Secretary. Letters, reports and returns known to exist but not found at PRO Laverton were mostly found here. Whether or not an original went to Sydney seems to have depended upon whether or not LaTrobe had a copy-clerk or secretary:

4/1135.1 - Aborigines and Native Police, 1835-1844
4/2334.5 - Port Phillip 1836
4/2373.5 - Port Phillip 1837
4/2423.3 - Port Phillip 1838
4/2471 - Port Phillip 1839, (1); 4/2472.1 - Port Phillip 1839, (2); 4/2433.1 - 1839 Aborigines;
4/2857 (formerly 4/2437.2) - Commissariat 1839
4/2510 - Port Phillip 1840, (1); 4/2511 - Port Phillip 1840 (2); 4/2512.1 - Port Phillip 1840 (3)
4/2547 - Port Phillip 1841 (1); 4/2548 - Port Phillip 1841 (2); 4/2549 - Port Phillip 1841 (3)
4/2588 B - Port Phillip 1842 (1); 4/2589 A - Port Phillip 1842; 4/2589 B - Port Phillip 1842,
Part 2
4/2626 - Port Phillip 1843; 4/2627 - Port Phillip 1843, Part 2; 4/2628 - Port Phillip 1843, Part 3;
4/2629.4 - Port Phillip 1843
4/2665 - Port Phillip 1844; 4/2666 - Port Phillip 1844; 4/2667 - Port Phillip 1844; 4/2668.1 -
Port Phillip 1844
4/2680 - Commissioner of Crown Land 1845; 4/2702.2 - Port Phillip 1845; 4/2703 - Port
Phillip 1845; 4/2704 - Port Phillip (3) 1845; 4/2705 - Port Phillip, Superintendent's Office
4/2741 - Port Phillip (1) 1846; 4/2742 - Port Phillip (2) 1846; 4/2743 - Port Phillip (3) 1846;
4/2744 - Port Phillip (4) 1846; 4/2745.1 - Port Phillip 1846
4/2779.3 - Port Phillip (1) 1847; 4/2780 - Port Phillip Part 2, 1847; 4/2781 - Port Phillip Part
3, 1847; 4/2782 - Port Phillip Part 4, 1847; 4/2783 - Port Phillip Part 5, 1847; 4/2784 - Port
Phillip Part 6, 1847
4/2821 - Port Phillip 1848 Part 1; 4/2822 - Port Phillip 1848 Part 2; 4/2823 - Port Phillip 1848
Part 3; 4/2824 - Port Phillip 1848 Part 3; 4/2816.4 - Port Phillip Part 5, 1848 (bundle)
4/2871.2 - Port Phillip (1) 1849; 4/2872 - Port Phillip Part 2, 1849; 4/2873 - Port Phillip Part
3, 1849; 4/2874 - Port Phillip Part 4, 1849; 4/2875 - Port Phillip Part 5, 1849; 4/2876.1 - Port
Land; 4/2842 - Commissioner of Crown Land 1849; Reels 2748, 2749 - Itineraries, Commissioners
of Crown Land; 4/1141.2 - Reserves for Aborigines, 1848-9; Reel 853 - Entrance Book to Sydney
and Darlinghurst Gaol 1837-8; Reel 856 - Sydney and Darlinghurst Gaol Description Books,
1835-39; Reel 2650 - Court of General Sessions, Sydney, Copies of Letters Sent by Magistrates;
COD 5 - Maps and Plans Returned to Victoria, 1856
Parliament House, Melbourne
Strutt, William. Victoria the Golden (Bound volume of original sketches etc presented by author).
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LaTrobe Library

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Macknight, C. Dunmore Journal

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Papers relating to William Barak

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Author/s:
Fels, Marie Hansen

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