INTRODUCTION

Investigating Dispossession: conflict and coexistence, 1838-1844 is addressed to community historians and to history teachers in what is now known as the border region of south-west New South Wales and north-east Victoria. It makes a selection of documentary and pictorial evidence readily accessible to help readers pursue, in the wider community, or in the classroom, evidence-based investigations of the early entanglements of First Nations Peoples and colonists in this region. It is presented as a set of inquiries with readings and investigations, which teachers may tailor to cater for student interests, needs and abilities, and to meet history curriculum requirements.

The resource encourages examination of two violent interactions between local First Nations Peoples and local colonists in early post-contact times. It deals with the resistance and reprisals associated with, first, the Broken River attack on the Faithfull overlanders, and then, the attack on Dr George Mackay's Whorouly station (pronounced War.rou.ley, as originally spelt). The first attack is interpreted as a bold armed attempt to resist the colonists encroaching into the countries of First Nations Peoples. The second, as an equally bold armed attempt to oust the intruders and reclaim territory.

Investigating Dispossession also prompts explorations of the ways colonists and First Nations Peoples were learning to live together at the Murray River Crossing place and its surrounds. It draws on three key witnesses to depict 'contact zones,' that is 'places where people geographically and historically separated, encountered each other, and were beginning to establish ongoing relations.'[1]

The resource ends with reflection on how conflict and coexistence are remembered at public memory places.

INVESTIGATION ONE

A 'MOST FURIOUS ATTACK' AT BROKEN RIVER, 1838-39: RESISTANCE AND REPRISALS

Story outline

In April 1838, a party of First Nations warriors killed eight overlanders at Broken River (modern day Benalla). Such heavy loss of colonists' lives was unprecedented. The attack was hailed as 'most furious.'[2] Historian Stephen Gapps tells how it 'sent shockwaves through the entire colony of New South Wales.' For Gapps, it seemed to mark the beginning of a colony-wide 'general rising of Aboriginal resistance to the white invasion of the inland.'[3]

The attack was met with immediate reprisals from local pastoralists.

And it drew from the colonial government responses intended to establish law and order and to make for peaceful coexistence. After the attack, Governor Sir George Gipps looked for ways to support colonists who were opening the new country for pastoralism beyond the limits of settlement. He provided for two forms of policing:

i. Mounted police. There were military posts set along the route from Yass to Port Phillip. These posts, manned by mounted police, would provide 'for the protection of colonists frequenting the route and provide for the apprehension of [convict] runaways.'[4]
ii. Border police. There were newly formed border police contingents, commanded not by the Army but by Commissioners of Crown Lands, for the protection of property, colonists and First Nations Peoples.

A third form of police – the Native Police – had been established in 1837, before Gipps arrived. They were specialised mounted military units consisting of detachments of First Nations troopers under the command of European officers. They were active elsewhere in the Port Phillip District.[5]

The Yoorrook Justice Commission advances argument that the creation of these police forces and the introduction of British law and order were to enforce dispossession. Their presence had long-lasting and widespread impacts that stretched well beyond Broken River. [6] More narrowly, Marie Fels has observed that along the 'Sydney road,' 'the presence of law and order [was] considerably greater than the show of power and authority elsewhere.' [7] Even more narrowly, local communities along that route south, looking for local town and district foundation stories, note carefully that Gipps endorsed a proposal to establish settlement towns near all the proposed military posts. The new settlement towns were to be 'regular halting places or posts of protection' with 'post houses and houses of public entertainment.'[8] They were originally intended to be at the principal crossing places – the Murrumbidgee, the Murray, Ovens, Broken and Goulburn Rivers and Violet Creek.

The establishment of officially guarded crossing places, with adjacent settlement towns had profound consequences for First Nations Peoples and their ways of life. It changed the crossing places and their surrounds forever.

INVESTIGATION TWO
A 'GRAND' ATTACK AT WHOROULY, 1840-1844: RESISTANCE AND REPRISALS
Story outline
On 26 and 27 May 1840, about twenty First Nations warriors attacked Dr George Edward Mackay's run at Whorouly, near present day Beechworth. They almost destroyed the run and killed a hut keeper. *The Colonist* reported it as 'a grand attack conducted it in a most masterly manner.'[9]

The 'grand attack' occurred a few days after threatening attacks on Peter Stuckey's run, on a branch of the Broken River, then on John Chisholm's station at Myrhee, near Greta. A few days after the Whorouly attack there was yet another devastating attack at David Waugh's run, near Mansfield – so devastating it forced Waugh off his run. This set of four attacks, and other less threatening skirmishes were presumed to be made by a similar party of First Nations warriors.[10]

The 'grand attack' at Whorouly was longer and more spectacular than the others. It drew the loudest squatter protests and was followed by government-condoned reprisals over the next eighteen months.[11] The attacks at and near Whorouly, together with the subsequent mass arrest of hundreds of First Nations men, women and children, attracted colony-wide attention. They seemed to show colonists losing, then regaining control of newly acquired territory. For First Nations Peoples they seemed to exemplify the legal injustices of the time.

Together, both the attack at Broken River and that at Whorouly, marked a pinnacle of local resistance in turbulent times.[12] Claims of territory were met with counter claims, founding a pattern of uneasy coexistence that persisted.

INVESTIGATION THREE
NEGOTIATING CO-EXISTENCE
Story outline
Contemporary investigations of the Broken River and the Whorouly attacks invariably were to attribute blame and to apprehend those responsible for deaths, loss of stock and damage to property. They were also to recommend ways of avoiding future collisions. They were to help First Nations Peoples and colonists co-exist.

Three key witnesses observed how the First Nations Peoples and the colonists interacted. These witnesses took close notice of challenges that were made to the culture of the dominant invaders. There were two sides to the negotiation of coexistence.

APPROACH

We have boldly produced a big story. In doing so we draw attention to the complications of evidence-based storytelling. We have prompted readers to assess the value of different kinds of evidence.

Ultimately the value of evidence relates to how it is used to advance or refine arguments. Hence, we regularly pose 'so-what' questions. Fundamentally, we have selected and framed evidence within themes related to arguments on how the claims for territory were made, disputed and partly resolved. In doing this, we draw attention to the show of power associated not only with violence but also legal injustice. Further, we trace actions and attitudes which enabled and/or impeded the negotiation of coexistence. We convey glimpses of some of the ways First Nations Peoples experienced colonisation.

Pictorial and place evidence loom large. Throughout these accounts we have included contemporary pictures and referred to special interaction places. Pictures help establish a collective vision of the past.[13] Public memory places sharpen communal remembering.[14] Both pictures and places, we suggest, are especially important to historians trying to glimpse the perspectives of First Nations Peoples.[15]

We have heeded the reservations advanced by Inga Clendinnen in her studies of entanglement. Clendinnen admitted that she was using one-sided evidence prepared by early colonial record keepers 'to gather glimpses into Indigenous perspectives of contact − although such sources, bound by their colonial lenses, are at best slippery and elusive.'[16] Nevertheless, there is much in the colonial archive that is worth sharing.

First Nations Peoples can and do speak for themselves. We think it important to share the work done by the Yoorrook Justice Commission.[17] We advance the contemporary drawings of a Wiradjuri artist, Tommy McRae (aka Yakunda).

Cultural warning, vocabulary and word emphasis

Some of the historical material quoted in this resource contains content and language that is racist or otherwise discriminatory, derogatory and offensive. That language is reflective of some prevailing attitudes of the time. It is in no way representative of the editors.

We use the term 'First Nations Peoples' which acknowledges that nations existed in Australia before 1901.[18] However, we have also used the terms 'Indigenous' and 'Aboriginal' in different contexts, most often in reference to other work or in accord with the curriculum or syllabus descriptions at the National or State level.

The specified classroom requirements have framed not only the choice of terms we have used, but also our choice of inquiries, informants, documents and images.[19] We have been guided by the advice given by Ann Maree Payne and Heidi Norman, *Coming to terms with the past? Identifying barriers and enablers to truth telling and strategies to promote historical acceptance* Reconciliation Australia, Sydney 2023, and by *8 Aboriginal Ways of Learning: Aboriginal pedagogy,* NSW Department of Education, Wagga Wagga.[20]

Pictures and texts of violence may be distressing not only to school students, but also to community members. Teachers and community historians should be sensitive when reproducing or referencing

them. Readers should be aware that this resource contains images and names of First Nations Peoples who are deceased.

Readers should note that the wording in the original documents is often cumbersome. We have made silent adjustments to punctuation. We have added emphasis in bold font to help readers interpret the source and/or to weigh its relevance to broad arguments. Editorial comment is often made in italics.

ANTICIPATION

Contemporary accounts of the attacks at Broken River and at Whorouly were set on explaining the conduct of the fighting; ascertaining the causes of the conflicts; and tracing any consequences. Readers can expect to learn how historians argue about cause and effect; how they weigh different perspectives; and how they acknowledge the contestability of different interpretations.

LEAD QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: What happened at Broken River and at Whorouly?
QUESTION 2: What were the causes of the conflicts?
QUESTION 3: What were the consequences?
QUESTION 4: What measures were used to reckon how well colonists and First Nations People were learning to live together?
QUESTION 5: Why are historians wary of personal testimonies? How do they assess their value?

PEOPLE PICTURE AND PLACE PROMPTS

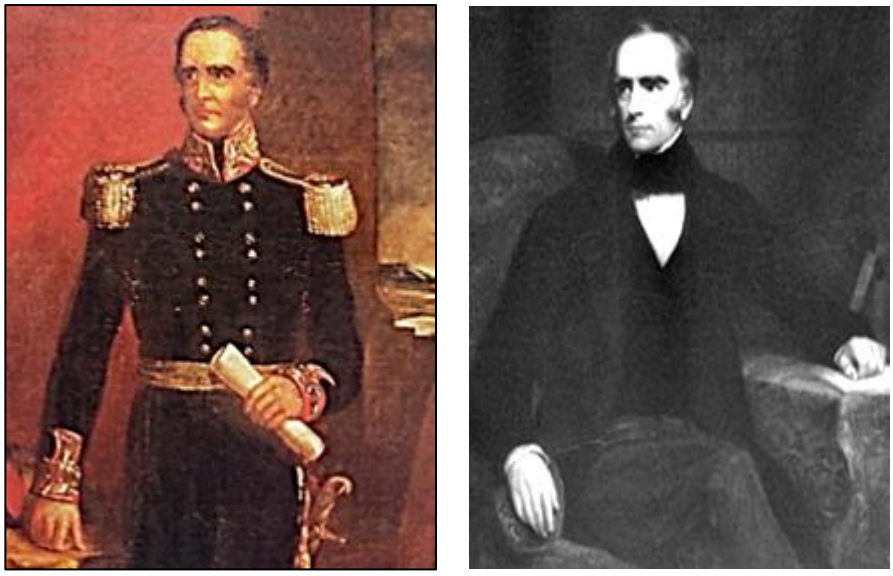
ANTICIPATION

The witness of three government officials can be used to trace how colonists began to take possession of the land through the river system of what was south-west New South Wales. The witness of another three observers indicates something of how coexistence was being negotiated. The evidence, which all six provide, raises questions for historians about using official correspondence and reports, private letters, private journals, memory pieces and drawings. Three sets of maps illustrate the rapid dispossession that accompanied the expansion of white settlement in the 1830s and early 1840s.

LEAD QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: Why was Governor Gipps so influential?
QUESTION 2: Which of his policies had the greatest effect on the way First Nations Peoples lived?
QUESTION 3: How did the Mounted Police assist in the dispossession of First Nations Peoples?
QUESTION 4: What roles were played by the Border Police in securing law and order on the southern frontier?
QUESTION 5: What do the observations made by Lady Franklin and by George Augustus Robinson reveal of the ways First Nations Peoples and colonists interacted?
QUESTION 6: What do the drawings made by Tommy McRae reveal of the way First Nations Peoples and colonists were learning to live together and separately?
QUESTION 7: How do maps created to explain the spread of white settlement also depict the dispossession of First Nations Peoples?

Introducing Sir George Gipps, the Governor of New South Wales, 1838-1846



Portraits of Governor Sir George Gipps, Mitchell Library, NSW.

QUESTION: How are the portraits different/alike?

A biographer reading the official portrait of Gipps in ceremonial uniform said, 'the keen black eyes and bushy eyebrows are arresting, the face intelligent, shrewd and handsome, the chin firm and

decisive.' An historian of pastoralism described him as 'not a likeable man,' 'a hard man.' Lady Franklin found 'he laughed rarely' and although 'straight forward and frank' when asked questions, he asked none himself. It is easy to imagine him being displeased.[21]

Gipps was Governor of New South Wales between 1838 and 1846, as colonists were spreading beyond the limits of location in a 'frenzied land grab' turning the inland 'into a range of sheep walks' and 'ready for the plough.'[22] Pastoralists were rapidly intruding into First Nations Peoples' countries to the north and south, as they moved northward beyond the Liverpool Range and southward beyond Yass.

These were turbulent times: a 'frenetic period of expansion from 1837 to 1842' leading to 'the height of Indigenous resistance from 1840 to 1843.' By the early 1840s 'the conflict had reached a fever pitch.'[23] Richard Broome has described the social turmoil of the time as 'wild times,' with 'the meeting, clashing and entangling of cultures, as European intruders, invaders and settlers encroached on the lands of Aboriginal Victorians.'[24] For First Nations Peoples, these were years of dispossession and desperation; years of 'force and fear.'[25]

Official records of Gipps' term as Governor relate principally to his responsibility for the economic management of the colony. Gipps oversaw the colony through straitened times. Convict labour was being withdrawn and free labour not readily available to replace it. A drought in 1840 and a drop in wool prices helped create depression until 1844. Consequently, Gipps worried constantly about getting government revenue from Crown Land and was frequently concerned, for instance, about the expenses of policing the colony and of providing welfare to First Nations Peoples.

Nevertheless, Gipps' policy towards First Nations Peoples has been described as 'humane, practical, and courageous.'[26] Officially, First Nations Peoples were considered British subjects, protected by British law and justice, as outlined in the report of a committee to the House of Commons in 1837 and as explained to Gipps' immediate predecessor Governor Sir Richard Bourke.[27]

This was not an easy policy to follow. Seeking protection as they moved beyond the settled districts, colonists mocked Gipps for posing, they thought, as a 'White Father' in distant Sydney. For them it seemed Gipps thought,

> blacks were innocent and unsophisticated children of nature. He said that squatters forced natives to labour and did not pay them, that lonely shepherds plundered their womenfolk, and that squatters forcibly despoiled them of their traditional homelands. [28]

First Nations Peoples, when or if they thought of him, probably saw Gipps as the representative of all government policies and actions. They would have been profoundly displeased with the various ways he facilitated mass settler invasion for Gipps, after all, was responsible for empowering police to secure law and order. They may have approved the way he secured justice for the Myall Creek massacre and the ways he tried (unsuccessfully) to win the admissibility of the evidence of First Nations Peoples in courts. They were profoundly disappointed in the way he organised and condoned the Lettsom raids which followed the attack on Whorouly.[29]

INTRODUCTORY READING: Wikipedia, George Gipps: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_Gipps

ANTICIPATION: Through these inquiries, readers might expect to question how Gipps' alleged 'humane, practical, and courageous' policies were acted on along and about the route between Yass and Melbourne.

Introducing Major James Nunn and the mounted police

In October 1838 Nunn and a party of twelve mounted police built the mounted police barracks at the Murray. Nunn commanded the men posted there until he left New South Wales in 1846.

A portrait of Nunn currently hangs in a magnificent gold frame in the special collection on permanent display at the State Library of NSW. A biographical note explains Nunn was with the 80th Regiment and was deployed to take command of the New South Wales Mounted Police. The caption gives Nunn the rank of Colonel for he was promoted, after further service, on his return to his regiment. It explains that 'Nunn and those under his command killed an unknown number of Indigenous men in what became known as the Waterloo Creek Massacre in January 1838.'

Major James Nunn, Australian Mounted Infantry, 1837-1846, Oil painting attributed to Joseph Fowles, State Library of NSW.

Historian, Roger Milliss, uses Nunn's formal portrait as a frontispiece to his book which critically examines Nunn's part in the Waterloo Creek massacre of January 1838 and gives a lengthy account of how Nunn was never punished for that indiscriminate slaughter.[30] Milliss delights in pointing out the pomposity of Nunn's portrait. He points to the way Nunn is portrayed as slim, handsome, dapper. His plumed cap sits tall on his head. The colours of his sash, cummerbund, epaulettes, shoulder and neck pieces match those of his regimental banner. He has a ceremonial sabre. He is an active soldier, in the field. The landscape is harsh. There are tents behind him.

INTRODUCTORY READING:

Wikipedia. 'Waterloo Creek Massacre': https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waterloo_Creek_massacre

National Heritage Listing: 'Waterloo Creek,' 1838: https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=5067313

Colonial Massacres in Australia: 'Waterloo Creek, 1838': https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=577

QUESTION 1: What was the Waterloo Massacre?
QUESTION 2: What part did Major Nunn play in it?
QUESTION 3: Why might Roger Millis mock the heroic pose of Major Nunn?

The Mounted Police

In April and May 1838, mounted policemen from Melbourne and from Goulburn took part in the investigations following the attack at Broken River. In October 1838 they established military outposts at the Murray, Ovens and Goulburn Rivers. From these outposts, they were to protect

travellers along the road and to arrest runaway convicts. They acted under military orders and were reluctant to respond to civilian complaints about harassment. In 1840 they were ordered to help Border Police round up suspects involved in the Whorouly attack, first, under Commissioner Bingham, and then under Major Lettsom.

Governor Gipps had originally proposed a large contingent of three Mounted Police and nine infantry at the Murray, but as few as four or five mounted policemen were posted there, as at the other crossing places. All three of the new police barracks at the river crossings served as government outposts and travellers' conveniences. Mounted policemen arranged for the dispatch and delivery of mail. They hosted travellers who could camp in their fenced paddocks. They hired horses.

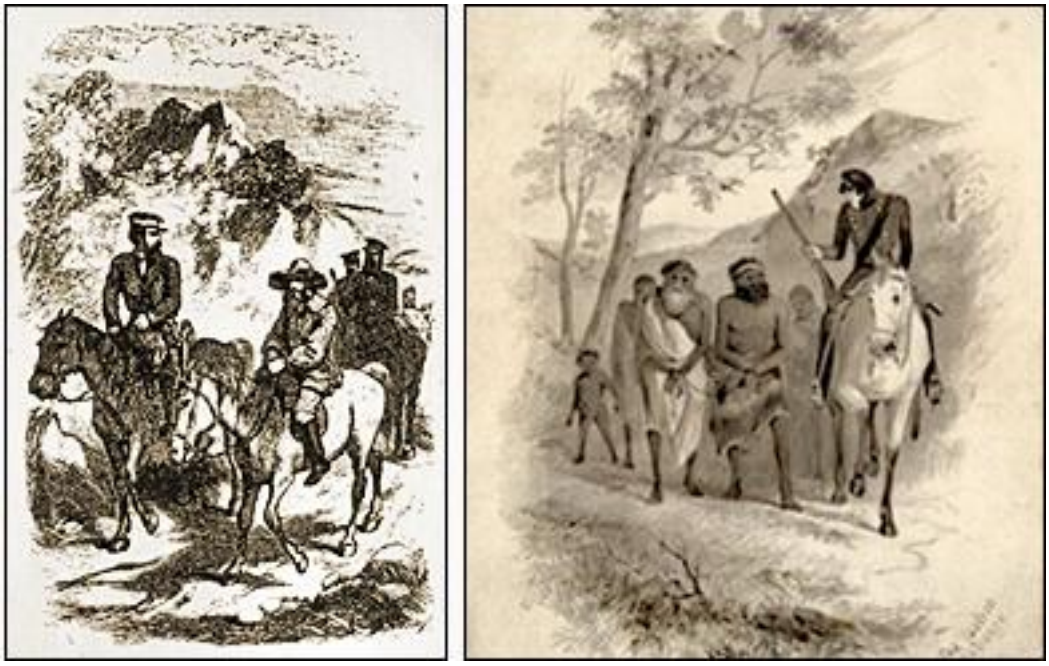
First Nations Peoples frequently referred to the uniformed policemen as soldiers but readily visited the police huts, seeking, for example, help with medical problems.[31]

Gipps worried about the costs of policing the colony. Administrators calculated that it would cost 20 shillings per month to keep an officer and his horse at the posts.[32] Given forage costs, the money allocated showed 'men were much cheaper than horses.'[33] In 1848 funding for the Mounted Police Corps was questioned by members of the government as New South Wales was, by then, no longer 'a convict colony and subjected to the outrages of bushrangers.'[34] In 1849 the Corps was considered 'too showy' and 'too military.' There were complaints that the mounted policemen did not answer to civil magistrates. [35] In 1850 funding was withdrawn. The units at the Murray, Broken and Goulburn rivers disappeared

Mounted policemen were volunteers seconded principally from the 80th Regiment. As volunteers they could negotiate resignation from their police duties and return to their regiment whenever they pleased, but they were expected to be seconded for four or five-years.

They seem, in the main, to have been adventurous soldiers wanting to escape the boring drudgery of Hyde Park Barracks or to avoid the unpleasant duty of glorified gaolers supervising road gangs of convicts in isolated country. By volunteering to join the mounted police, soldiers won opportunities to ride independently through the country on specially selected strong horses and to learn bushcraft. What is more, they could even earn extra money by capturing escaped convicts. Indeed, they were to receive a month's salary for each capture. Not surprisingly, some saw the capture of convicts and bushrangers as their prime duty. [36] Major Nunn boasted of the number of runaways his Mounted Police caught each year. [37] A spokesman for the garrison contingents complained that the Mounted Police took their 'most active and well-conducted soldiers' from the Regiment.[38]

Mounted police in South Australia were within another jurisdiction but commissioned pictures show them performing escort duties such as accompanying a bushranger, and separately, a First Nations prisoner with his family. In New South Wales they had a similar smart dress uniform consisting of a blue jacket and black trousers with red stripe, Wellington boots and a pill-box cap. They were armed with carbines, horse pistols and sabres. They disliked escort duty, which they were commonly called upon to do.



Unattributed, 'Capture of the Bushranger,' William Burrows *Adventures of a Mounted Trooper in the Australian Constabulary*, Routledge, Warne & Routledge, New York 1859, p 160;
Samuel T Gill, 'Adelaide mounted police and native prisoners' 1846, State Library of SA.

QUESTION 1: How did commissioned pictures of mounted policemen reassure would-be immigrants that the frontier was safe?
QUESTION 2: Why might mounted policemen have disliked escort duty?

ANTICIPATION
Readers might expect to make assessment of the roles Major Nunn's mounted police played in winning possession of the land in protecting First Nations Peoples as well as colonists.

Introducing Commissioner Henry Bingham and the Border Police

Henry Bingham was the Commissioner for Crown Lands for the Murrumbidgee Squatting District. He was based in Tumut and had responsibility for Crown Lands extending south beyond the Murray River to the watershed of the Ovens River. Bingham was in command of the Border Police, who amongst other duties, were charged with 'protecting Aboriginal people.' He lodged regular reports of his itineraries dealing with how the land was occupied and giving impressions 'relative to the treatment of the Aborigines' and 'the disposition of the Aborigines towards the white population.'

Commissioner Bingham (with white horse). Oil painting attributed to Thomas Balcombe, 1840s, State Library of New South Wales.

Bingham was charged with investigating the attack on Whorouly station and attempted to arrest suspects. Under his command, and then that of Major Samuel Lettsom, the Border Police, supplemented with mounted policemen and specially recruited stockmen acting as sworn special constables, played major roles in hunting suspects involved in the Whorouly attack.

QUESTION 1: What similarities and differences can you see between this portrait of Commissioner Henry Bingham and the previous portrait of Major Nunn?
QUESTION 2: Why is Bingham portrayed bare headed and reclining?
QUESTION 3: Why does his tall, strong horse, saddled and prepared with side arms, dominate the background and indeed the picture?
QUESTION 4: What is lavish about his formal uniform?
QUESTION 5: Why is Bingham portrayed in a pensive mood?

Unlike Nunn, Bingham was not a military man but seemed to enjoy the trappings of his office. 'He invariably took into the bush, fine food, wine, a table servant and an accomplished cook, and sat down to meals as an English gentleman.'[39]

Squatters were reliant on the Commissioner's good offices to ensure their runs were sufficient. Behind Bingham's back, the Docker family smirked at the pomposity of a powerful government official, who with his Border Police in 'bright blue and white uniforms,' could influence their prosperity.

> Commissioner B when you are out on a spree
> With your Border Mounted Police
> you think, by the Lord, you are loved and adored,
> like an Arabic Sheik at the head of his horde;
> You silly old 'Justice of the Peace. [40]

Nevertheless, Bingham seems to have been well regarded as a Commissioner who did his job well. He was a good bushman and an energetic government officer.[41] Further, historian Bill Gammage compares Bingham with the neighbouring Commissioners and decided that 'Bingham was unquestionably one of the most sympathetic Europeans ever to contact the Wiradjuri.'[42]

At a previous posting in the north-west, Bingham had reported in 1837:

> the prevailing habit of many of the Servants at the distant stations taking and keeping by force the Black Native women, the wives of the natives, and making use of the arms … to threaten the Blacks if they attempt to take them back. [43]

His report prompted Gipps' predecessor, Governor Richard Bourke, to officially ban this kidnapping.

In 1841 Bingham reported favourably on the more extensive employment of First Nations Peoples on pastoral stations. He had seen instances of First Nations men and women being readily and profitably employed and could foresee that happening more often, as more free married immigrants replaced assigned servants. The assigned servants had, he observed, 'generally a great dislike of natives and are jealous of seeing them employed and threaten them.' He called for a 'more liberal and generous spirit among the wealthy stockholders' to enable First Nations Peoples to be employed.[44]

The Border Police

Following the Waterloo Creek Massacre in January 1838, Governor Gipps reinvigorated the positions of Commissioners of Crown Lands, making them full-time officers with a newly established Border Police force to help them implement policies. The expansion of pastoralism meant there more frequent disputes about land borders. Police protection had become more urgent because of the 'frequent aggressions made of late by the Aboriginal natives upon the flocks and herds of the colonists as well as on the lives of their stockmen − and by the outrages which have been committed on the Aborigines as well as by them.[45]

Gipps' decision to use police rather than soldiers relieved the Crown of the management costs. This was in accord with wider changes in 1838 that saw the imperial Government limiting its expense of British Army protection and passing on colony protection costs to the colonists.[46] Gipps decided that pastoralists should meet the costs of the Commissioners and the Border Police via a levy, as they were the chief beneficiaries of the new protection. As a result, Michael Cannon observes that:

> The Border Police tended to act more as armed servants of squatters against the Aborigines than and as disinterested keepers of the peace. This tendency was reinforced by the fact that squatters were paying for much of their upkeep through the official levy, as well sometimes feeding them or providing them with small luxuries as they moved through rural areas. [47]

The Border Police had a broader remit than the Mounted Police and were almost constantly in the field. They were comprised principally of assigned convicts who had formerly been soldiers transported to Australia due to crimes of military indiscipline. One dismissive description has them as 'louts from Hyde Park Barracks, called police' [48]

Border policemen observed military discipline but were under the command of a civilian officer, the Crown Lands Commissioner. He was helped by experienced non-Commissioned officers seconded from the Mounted Police Corps. Like assigned convicts, border policemen were not paid. They were simply 'armed, mounted and accoutred.' They enlisted with the hope that satisfactory service would win them some remission of their sentence.

Their standing orders drawn up after the attack on Broken River in April and the Myall Massacre in June 1838, included guidance on dealings with First Nations Peoples:

- The offences … which the Governor will never overlook or forgive, are, any harsh or unkind treatment, or ill usage of the natives; any attempt to teach them bad language, or lead them into various practices, or to mock or laugh at them.

- Any person whatsoever giving or offering to give spirits to a native; or encouraging in any way a native to drink spirits, will be immediately dismissed.
- Any person whatsoever having improper intercourse. Or attempting to have improper intercourse with a female native, even with her own consent, or the consent of her friends, will in like manner be immediately dismissed, and otherwise punished to the utmost extent of the Governor's power. [49]

Initially there were ten troopers, three other men and twelve horses appointed to the Murrumbidgee District. A later report lists only the Commissioner, three troopers and three horses. As with the Mounted Police, there was a great deal of attention was given to procuring good horses, most of which were at least fourteen hands high.

The Border Police were disbanded in the late 1840s, when the roles of Commissioners of Crown Lands were substantially changed with new Land Acts.

INTRODUCTORY READING: Wikipedia. Border Police of New South Wales
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Border_Police_of_New_South_Wales

ANTICIPATION: Readers might expect to reflect on the analyses Bingham made of how colonists and First Nations Peoples interacted and how their conflicts might be resolved. They will also reflect on the roles the Border Police played in taking possession of the land and in protecting First Nations Peoples as well as colonists.

Introducing Lady Franklin and her Letters

The letters Lady Franklin wrote to her husband on an overland trip from Port Phillip to Sydney in 1839 were never intended to be published. They were private correspondence: letters from a wife to a husband, telling him of her adventures and passing on information that he, Sir John Franklin, might find helpful as the Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land.

'Sketch of Lady Franklin in 1838, when she was 47 years old, about the time of her overland trip, Thomas Bock, 1838, Wikipedia.

Lady Franklin's encounters with First Nations Peoples were momentary, fleeting interactions, mostly arranged for her 'amusement' at stopping places. Penny Russell, one of her biographers, observes, Lady Franklin encountered two sets of First Nations Peoples – '[some] still fighting to protect their traditional livelihood by courage, stealth and skill;' and 'some accepting dependence and cultural dislocation as the price of survival on pastoral stations.'[50] Her letters provide a privileged white woman's one-sided account of place and people. She was a shrewd, perceptive person who was sensitive to the indifference with which she was greeted by First Nations Peoples.

Lady Franklin's trip began in Melbourne on 6 April 1839. She travelled between the Goulburn and Murray Rivers 18-20 April, then between the Murray and Murrumbidgee River 20-27 April. After she reached Yass, where the limits of location had been set, she went on to Goulburn, the Illawarra and finally Sydney on 18 May. Her route had been carefully selected to ensure her safety, for until she reached the Murray River, her party of ten was travelling across land where 'the process of dispossession was not complete.'[51] The track had been surveyed in 1838 and was only roughly marked through what seemed 'cartographic blankness.' She tells how the party sometimes lost its way.

Lady Franklin's party reached the Murray on 20 April, day 7 of the 43-day trip. She told her husband it marked a significant point in her journey. She felt greatly relieved to have passed safely through dangerous country, still being contested near the Broken and Ovens Rivers. By way of contrast, she saw signs of civilisation at the Murray and noted that 'the natives there were quite quiet,' though still given to stealing stock. She dined at the police hut and camped in the fenced police horse paddock, where the horses were rested for a whole day. She spent the rest day looking about the place, talking with and observing two Wiradjuri families and gathering her thoughts.

Contemporaries were wary of placing too much weight on Franklin's observations of early colonial life. Critics mocked Lady Franklin and her trip: her party was 'a gipsy group accompanied by men; she rode side-saddle into towns expecting acclaim as if she and her retinue matched that of the Queen of Sheba.'[52] She was a privileged woman reporting on ordinary folk.

Unkind depictions of Lady Franklin have prevailed in imaginative popular culture relating to her life in Van Diemen's Land. Richard Flanagan in his novel *Wanting* accuses her of giving way to a misplaced

enthusiasm in adopting and attempting to educate Matthina, a young First Nations girl from Flinders Island. The adoption ended abruptly when the Franklins left Van Diemen's Land. Matthina was simply abandoned.[53] The Bangarra Dance Company created 'Matthina,' a ballet which depicted a stolen girl story in which Jane Franklin played an infamous part.[54]

'Scene from 'Matthina,' Bangarra Dance Theatre, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wgEw4cgcE7o

QUESTION 1: How might historians' interpretations of Lady Franklin's life in Van Diemen's Land unsettle opinions of her as a reliable witness?

ANTICIPATION: Readers might expect to observe and think about how Lady Franklin saw some First Nations Peoples and how they saw her. Critical readers will ask the overall question – 'so what'? Why look over Lady Franklin's shoulder to see what she was writing to her husband? In what ways do the letters help in understanding how First Nations Peoples experienced colonisation?

Introducing George Augustus Robinson and his Journal

As the Chief Protector of Aborigines of Port Phillip district between 1839 and 1849, George Augustus Robinson was a key witness to the impact of rapid dispossession. He visited the Murray River Crossing Place in April 1840 and October 1844 and visited Whorouly in February 1841 and December 1842. On these and his other journeys through and just beyond the Port Phillip district, Robinson recorded his impressions in personal journals. He prepared only one journal for publication, that of his 1844 travels.

George August Robinson. Thomas Bock. 1838, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

As the Chief Protector, Robinson had a broad mission. He was charged with caring for and advancing the rights of First Nations Peoples. In doing so, Robinson was to 'create a personal knowledge of the natives, and a personal intercourse with them.' That meant he was to learn their languages and to record their number. Importantly, he was to ascertain congenial employment opportunities. Consequently, he was keen to observe how First Nations Peoples and colonists were interacting wherever he went.
Thomas Bock depicted Robinson as a hair-swept adventurer. He was fair-skinned and suffered from sunburn frequently in his out-of-doors life.

Three historians knew Robinson's journals well. Henry Reynolds claimed Robinson 'probably had more first-hand experience of the impact of settler violence than any other European.'[55] Lyndall Ryan called for Robinson 'to be recognized as a man ahead of his time, a champion of the Aborigines and one of the most significant figures in nineteenth century colonial history.' Inga Clendinnen judged him as 'a worthy guide to places without a known past.'[56] Clendinnen found him vain, easily flattered, difficult to work with, self-protective, but also brave, independent and tough. For her, Robinson was set on tracking the First Nations Peoples' world of meanings and imagination. And assessing the potential of the land for pastoralists.[57]

Historians have worried about Robinson's testimony. As a government official, he was complicit in the dispossession of First Nations Peoples. He was an agent of the law, which granted lands away from First Nations Peoples and 'failed to protect them from wanton, most deliberate murder.'[58] The Protectorate system's 'promises of shelter and safety cloaked its true purpose – It was not a shield, but a gear in the great colonial machine, designed to pave the way for settler expansion.'[59]

Even so, Robinson was intent on trying to understand First Nations Peoples ways. He sought and recorded their perspectives on the affrays he investigated. He gave account of how they were experiencing dispossession.

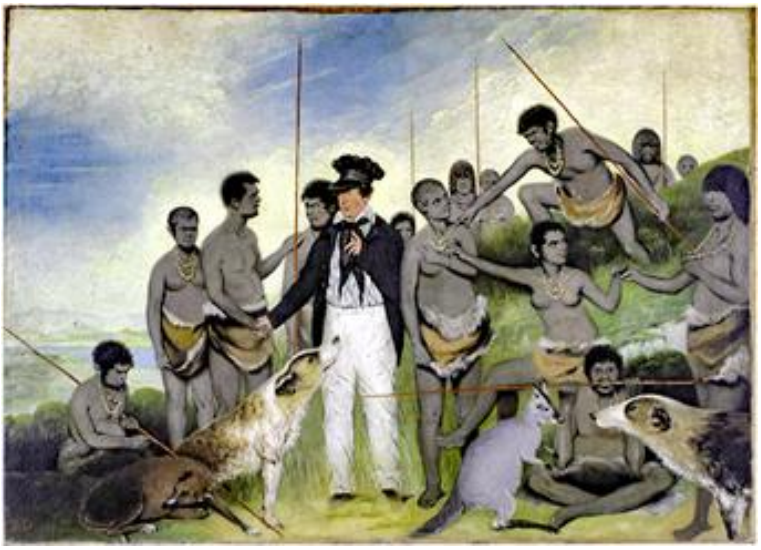
The text in Robinson's journals is accompanied by his rough sketches, usually recording aspects of First Nations People's culture, bush oddities, colonist housing and directional maps. Some enlarge his observations of co-existence and of frontier justice in graphic form.[60]

Robinson failed in that he neither civilised the First Nations Peoples, nor won support from settlers. Newspapers, pastoralists, politicians were highly critical of what the protectors achieved, especially

as they were appointed by the Imperial Government but paid for by the Colonial Government. Governor Gipps and Superintendent C J La Trobe lost patience early: they reduced the money allocated to the protectorate from 1844 on. The protectorate was abolished it in 1849.[61]

The public imagination of Robinson has not always been kind. Before coming to New South Wales in 1839, Robinson worked with the First Nations Peoples of Van Diemen's Land and served as Superintendent at the ill-fated Wybaleena Aboriginal Settlement on Flinders Island.

Duterrau's painting was to advance Robinson's reputation as a national figure. It endorsed the notion of benevolent British colonialism. Modern day readings of the picture are influenced by knowing the deceptive part Robinson played in luring First Nations Peoples from their countries and the consequent dispossession of those he was to protect.[62] In the picture, he is depicted as a 'a soft faced' European surrounded by his First Nations charges. Clendinnen mocked his strange 'pastry-cook hat.'



Benjamin Duterrau, 'The Conciliation,' 1840, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery.

Robinson was convinced that peaceful coexistence depended on the education of the children of First Nations Peoples. This concern for children has been critically interpreted as part of a vision of the children becoming 'vessels for acculturation.'[63] While in Port Phillip, Robinson became focused on achieving peaceful coexistence by promoting the employment of First Nations Peoples. He seems to have been influential in bringing Governor Gipps to similar understandings. Both Robinson and Gipps insisted that the employment should be paid in money not in rations.

ANTICIPATION: This resource draws frequently on George Augustus Robinson's journals and reports to try to understand how First Nations Peoples and colonists interacted. Readers can expect to appreciate Robinson's peculiar position, as Chief Protector of Aborigines. He tried to find out about and to consider First Nations Peoples' perspectives on how they were faring. Readers can also expect to weigh the evidence he provides critically.

QUESTION 1: Why are historians wary of using unpublished personal letters, journals or diaries as evidence? What are the advantages/disadvantages of using them?

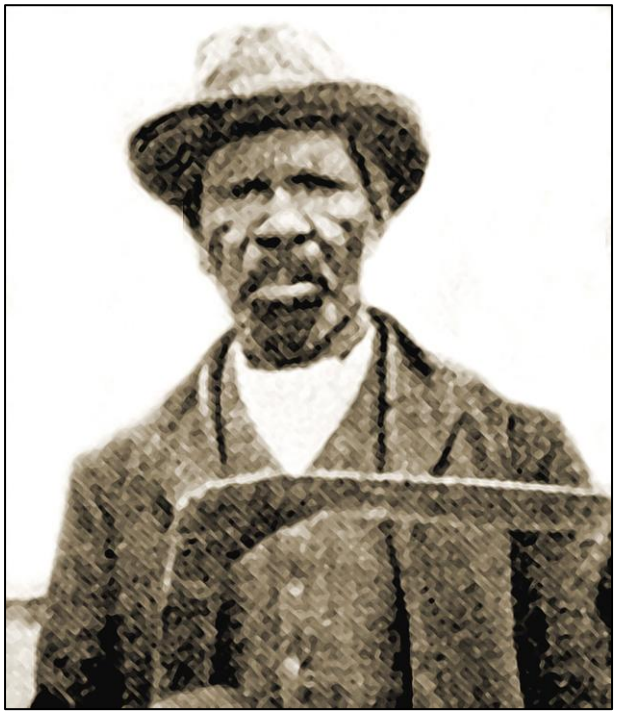
QUESTION 2: How might George August Robinson's encounters with First Nations Peoples in Van Diemen's Land affect readings of records he kept of his encounters on the mainland? How do interpretations of his earlier life confirm or unsettle opinions of him as witnesses who helps explain First Nations Peoples' perspectives and experiences?

QUESTION 3: Why might assessment of a person's achievement differ from an assessment of their testimony?

Introducing Tommy McRae and His Drawings

Tommy McRae was a Wiradjuri man who lived on his country through the troubled times at the beginnings of white settlement. He drew many sketches, principally in pen and ink on paper and sold his works to supplement his meagre income.

McRae did not read or write. Most of the titles and inscriptions applied to his works seem to have been derived from European patrons. There is no written evidence of the author's intentions. It is, therefore, difficult to interpret such pictorial evidence, especially as cultural considerations render the works opaque.

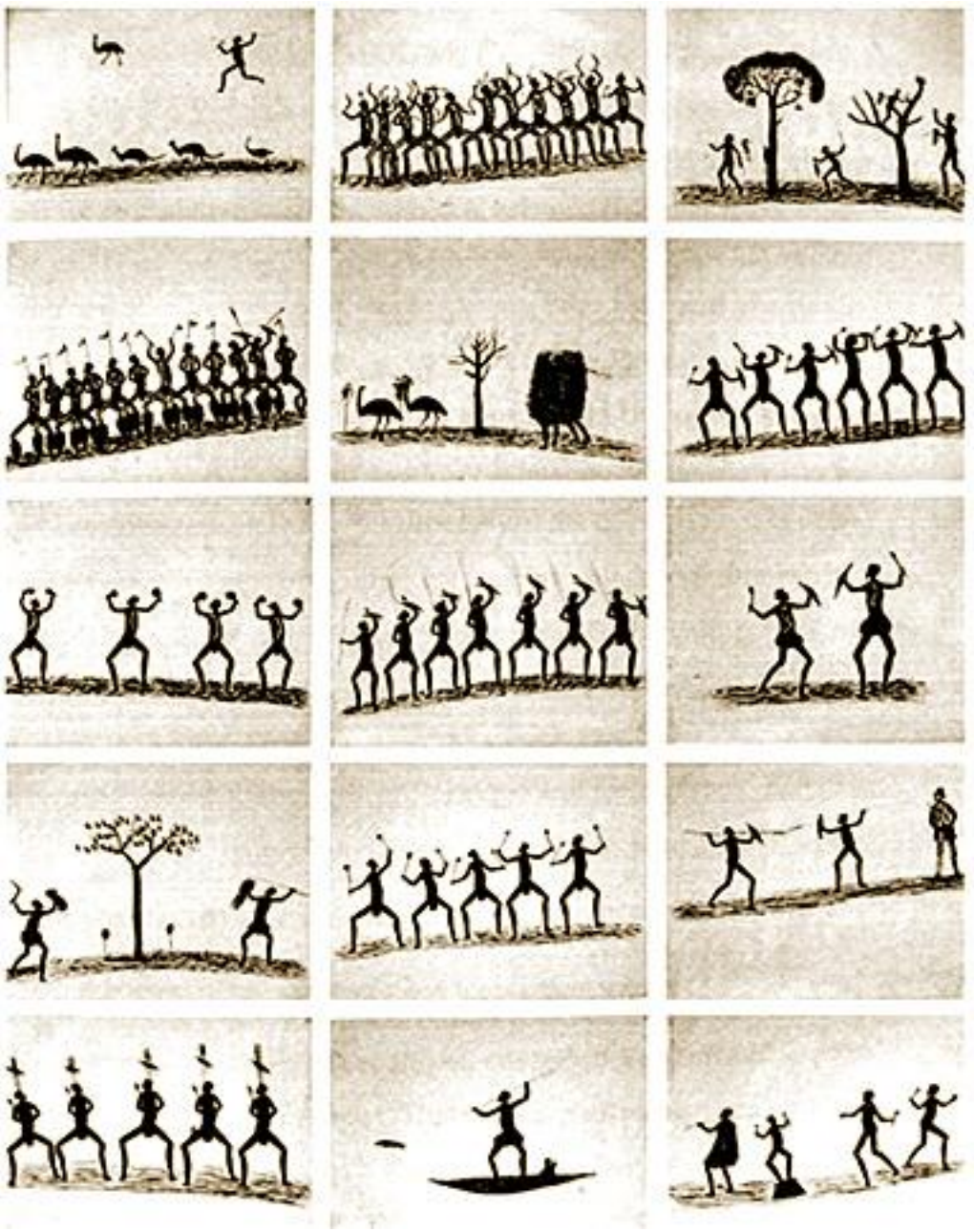


Tommy McRae.
Source: Brian Burton, *Flow Gently Past,* Corowa Shire Council, Corowa, 1973, fronting p5.

McRae made frequent references to Western styles of dress in his drawings. They suggest that the adoption of European clothing was a visible indicator of ways First Nations Peoples' lives were changing.

McRae was versed in the intricacies of male western dress. Biographers differ when explaining McRae's origins. He seems to have been born c.1835, as the first colonists took up runs along the Murray River. He was called 'Yakaduna' but was better known as 'Tommy McRae,' though sometimes known as 'Tommy Barnes' or 'Tommy McCrae.' It is as Tommy McRae that his reputation as an artist was firmly established. [64]

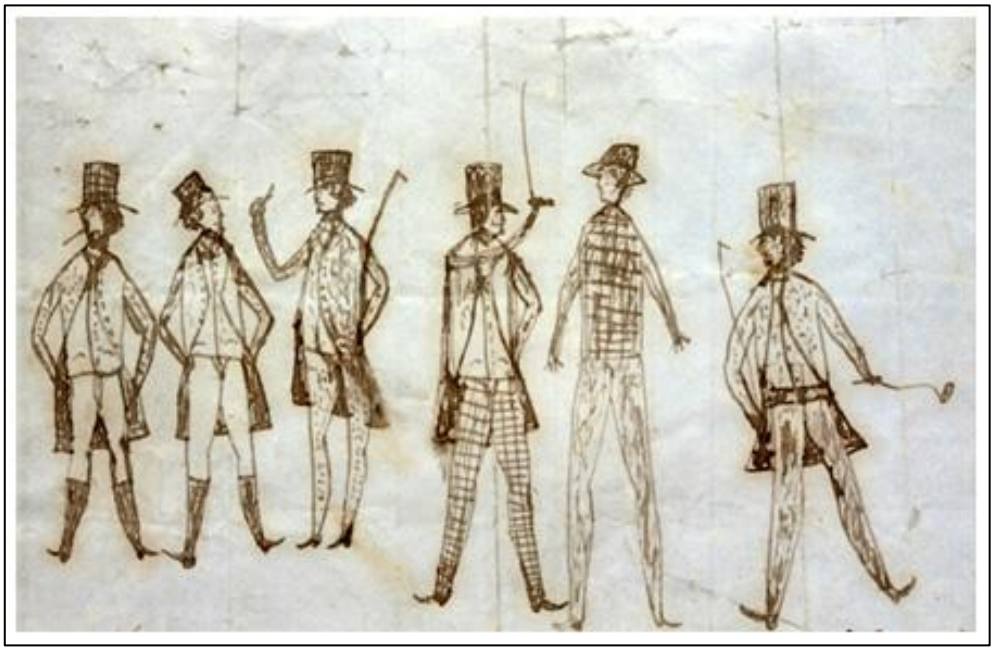
In his mind's eye, McRae remembered what he called 'olden times.' He does not depict violence between First Nations Peoples and colonists. Instead, most of his drawings were of traditional ceremony and life before conquest. He seems to have been intent on capturing and perpetuating memory of ways of life being fast forgotten. He commonly drew memory pictures of First Nations Peoples' ceremonies and of men hunting, fishing and fighting.[65]



Tommy McRae, 'Drawings depicting Aboriginal Life,' c. 1885, SLNSW PXA 2129, State Library of NSW, reproduced in Johnathan, Jones, *Murruwaygu: Following in the footsteps of ancestors*, PhD thesis, UTS, Sydney, 2019, p 217. Note the squatter observer clearly distinguished by his clothes in the second last row. Moral permission Jean Morgan-Kelly.

QUESTION 1: McRae drew to make money. His pictures were intended 'to amuse the invaders with images of yesteryear.' Why might people have prized and continue to prize McRae's simple pen and ink pictures of silhouetted figures in olden times?

McRae also had a sharp eyes for the everyday world around him. He drew pictures commenting on social relationships in his time. He made, 'shrewd sketches of manners in the contact zone.'[66] One such drawing of a group of squatters provides insight into how they interacted with each other.



Tommy McRae, 'Squatters,' Mitchell Library, State Library of NSW.
Moral permission Jean Morgan-Kelly.

QUESTION 2: Which details of European dress caught McRae's eye?
QUESTION 3: How is one of the squatters different from the others. Why?
QUESTION 4: What comment is McRae making about society at the time?
QUESTION 5: How does McRae create a sense of movement and vitality with expressive gestures and stances?

McRae's artwork caught the attention of collecting agencies as early as the 1870s. By 1896 he had won some recognition outside Australia, and, in more recent times, his work has been selected for major exhibitions beyond Australia. He has also won popular regard and was hailed as local prophet in his own lifetime. [67] Nowadays, his name has been applied to part of the bridge between Wahgunyah and Corowa. There is also a 'Tommy McRae Walking Trail' by the river, near Lake Moodemere. A sculptural work honouring him is being installed at nearby Lake King. [68]

ANTICIPATION: Readers are invited to ponder further this Wiradjuri artist's perceptions of the impacts of colonisation on his people.

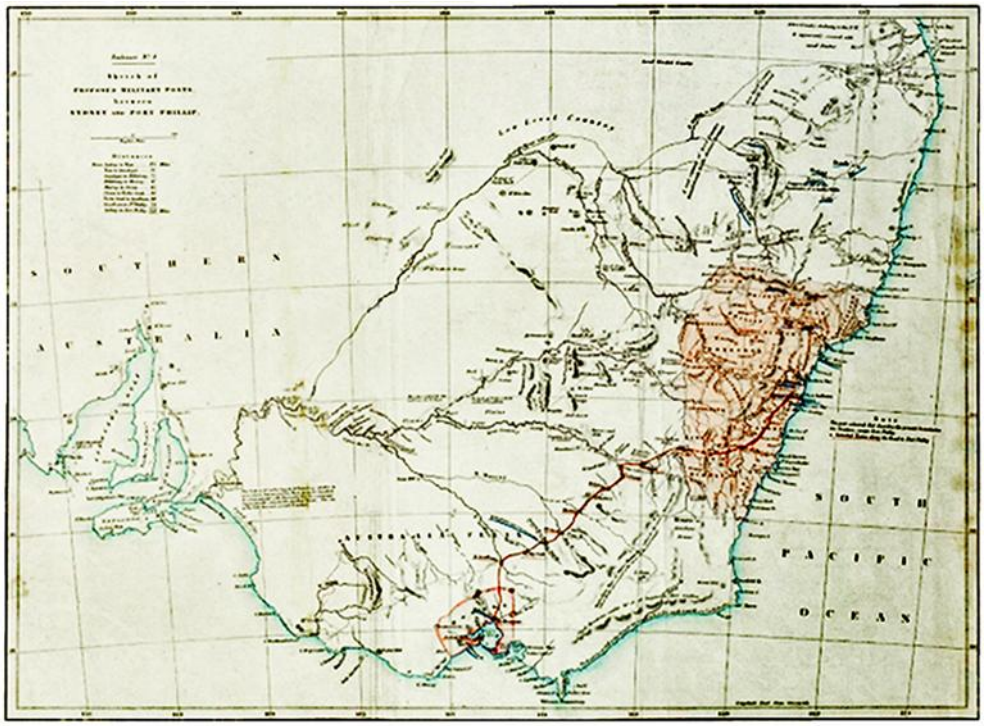
FURTHER READING/VIEWING

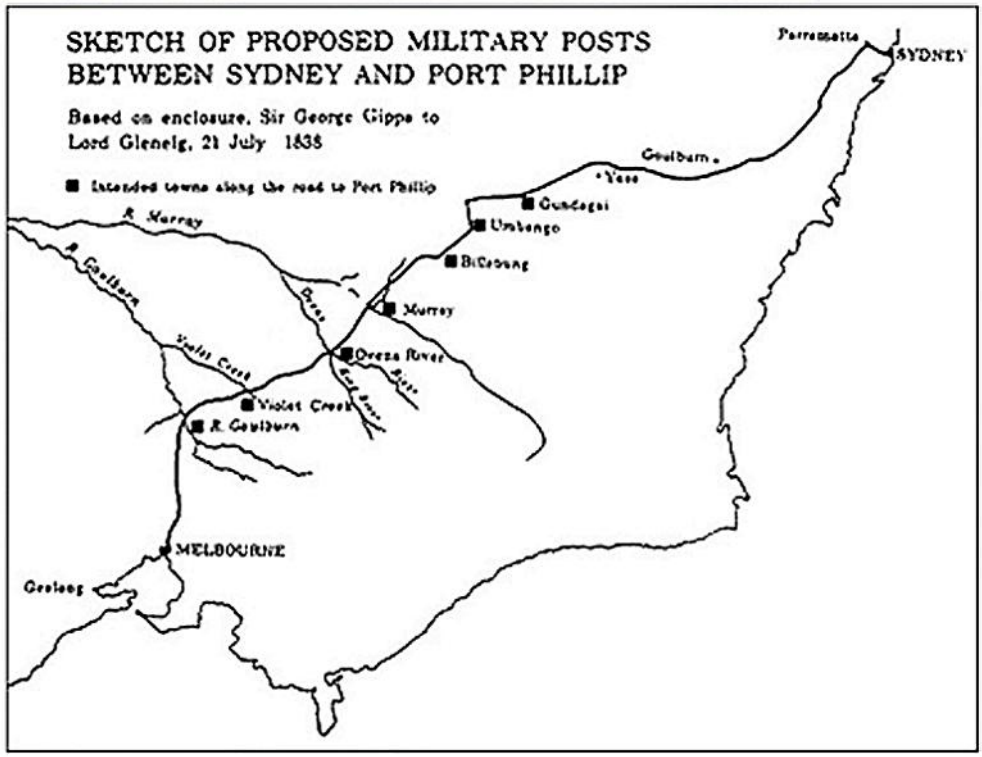
Jonathan Jones, *Murruwaygu: Following in the Footsteps of Our Ancestors*, a 3.5-minute video, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/art/watch-listen-read/watch/609/ Art Gallery of NSW, 2015.

Bruce Pennay and Yalmambirra, 'Picturing Civilisation,' *JRAHS*, vol 111, no 2, December 2025.

Mapping Dispossession

Two 'sketch' maps





Top: Gipps' original sketch map Bottom: The simplified sketch map

Gipps had a 'sketch' map drawn to explain to his London superiors how he intended to go about his mission of managing the rapid pastoral expansion beyond the nineteen counties, beyond the limits of location (coloured pink). With this map, he wanted to impress London with the geographic

enormity of his responsibility of establishing law and order. He showed where he hoped to establish military posts along a line of road through the southern river system.

The original 'sketch' map was dense but Gipps made note of two incidents on it, one 500 miles south of his base in Sydney, the other 300 miles north. The note in the far south showed 'Faithfull's men murdered here' at Swampy or Broken River. The note in the far north showed 'supposed site of the massacre of a native tribe' at Myall Creek. The first was an 'an outrage committed by the Aboriginal people,' in the second 'the outrage was not by them but on them.'[69]

Redrawn sketch map

Gipps' sketch map was simplified for *Historical Records Victoria* to clearly show the settlement towns and military posts.[70]

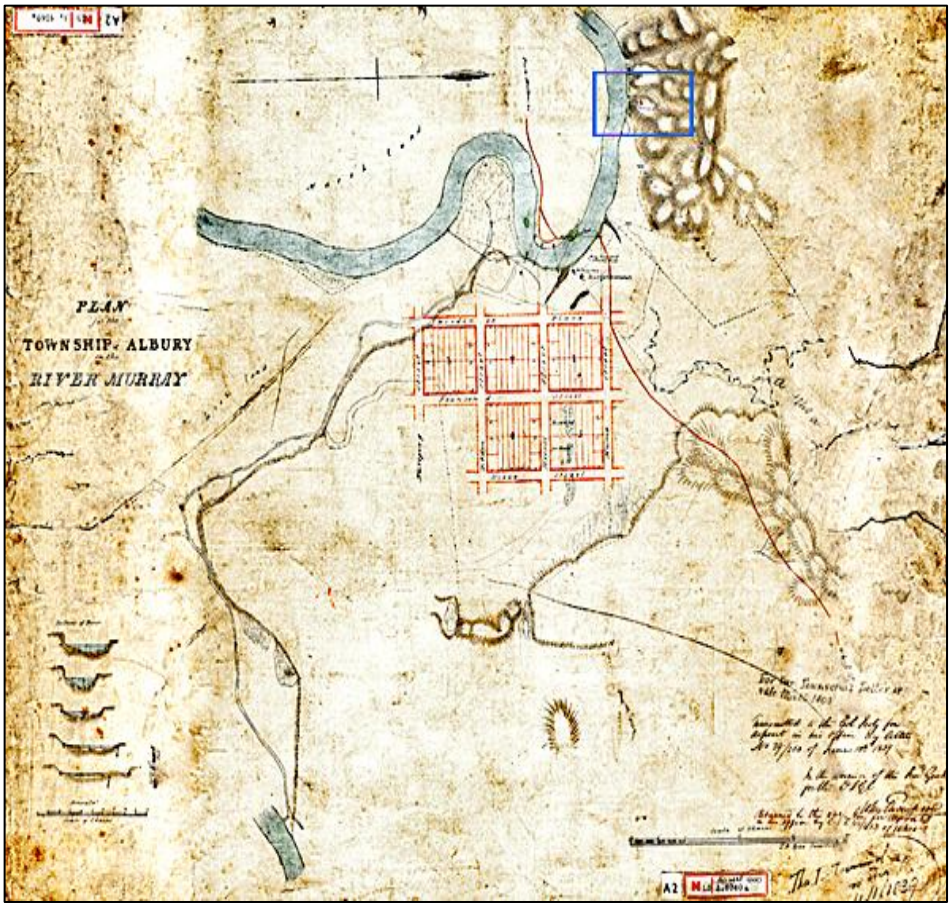
Gipps had looked to the Surveyor-General's office for advice on where and how to place parties of mounted police 'for the protection of the colonists frequenting the route.' That route was becoming increasingly busy as settlers moved southwards, beyond the limits of location at Yass.

Mounted police posts, he said, could also help ensure the colony retained its convict workforce. The police might capture runaway convicts taking advantage of the new southern route to leave their assigned workplace without permission or even to escape custody. The convict workforce was important to the colony's economy. Perhaps, just as importantly, Gipps could show London he had the approval of Major-General Sir Maurice O'Connell, the Brigadier-Major, for military involvement. O'Connell approved a scheme that would be popular with his men, for those seconded as police officers were promised monetary rewards for apprehending the runaways.

Gipps had accepted advice that it would be wise to establish settlement towns near the military posts to sustain their on-going presence and to meet the needs of travellers with post stations, 'houses of entertainment,' ferries, where necessary, and eventually, courts, churches, schools, and other public establishments such as market reserves. In effect, he was following a familiar military strategy of ensuring that newly acquired territory was secured by establishing new settlements that would fortify occupation.

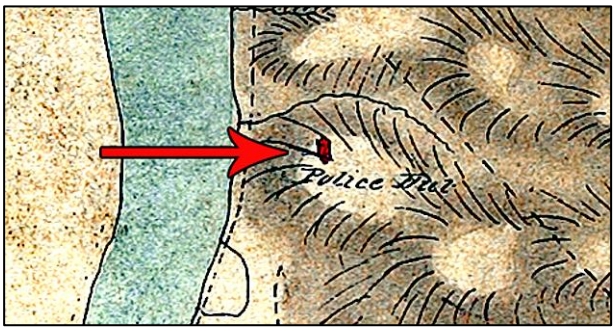
Townsend's survey of the Murray River Crossing Place

Surveyors were dispatched to locate the best crossings at the Murrumbidgee, the Murray, the Ovens and the Goulburn Rivers and at Violet Creek. They were also to site the adjacent settlement towns. Hopefully 'artisans from both ends of the line of communication' might be enticed to buy town blocks and to settle at the crossings and entrepreneurs might be encouraged to set up houses of entertainment.[71]



Plan of the Township of Albury, Ms. A. 1040 a, 1839, NSW State Archives

As ordered, Thomas Townsend, a Government surveyor, submitted a map of the Murray River Crossing Place showing the site of a crossing place and the depth at the ford. He drew attention to the newly built police hut on the hill Robinson said was called Deer.re.mer, overlooking the ford. And to the newly fenced 'police paddock' stretching into the plain beyond the hills as far as an extension of the modestly named Townsend Street.

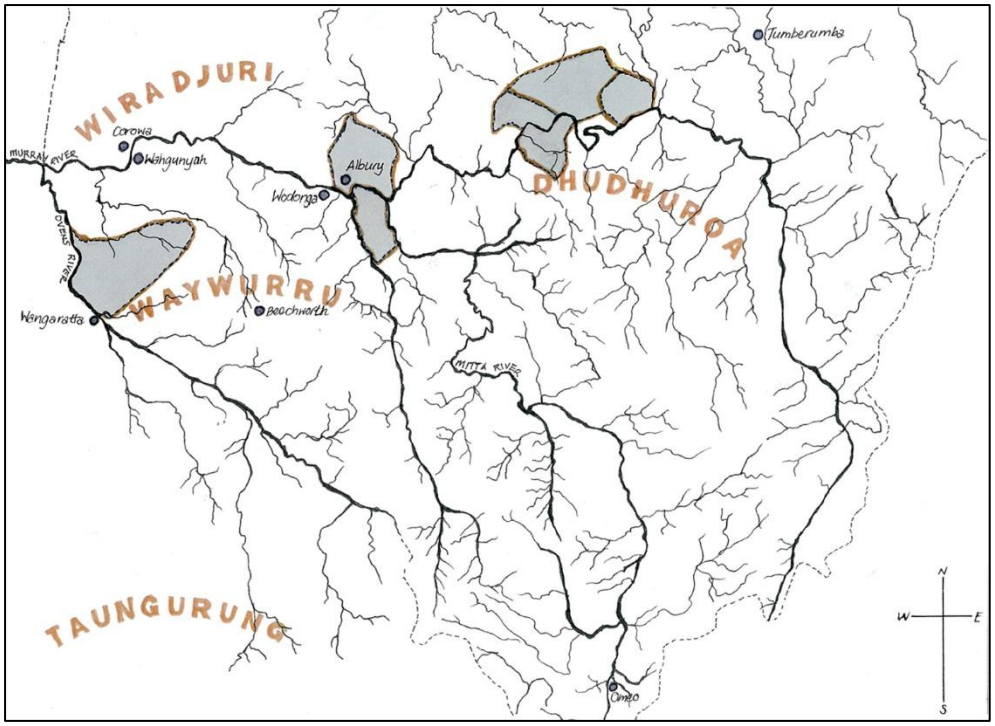


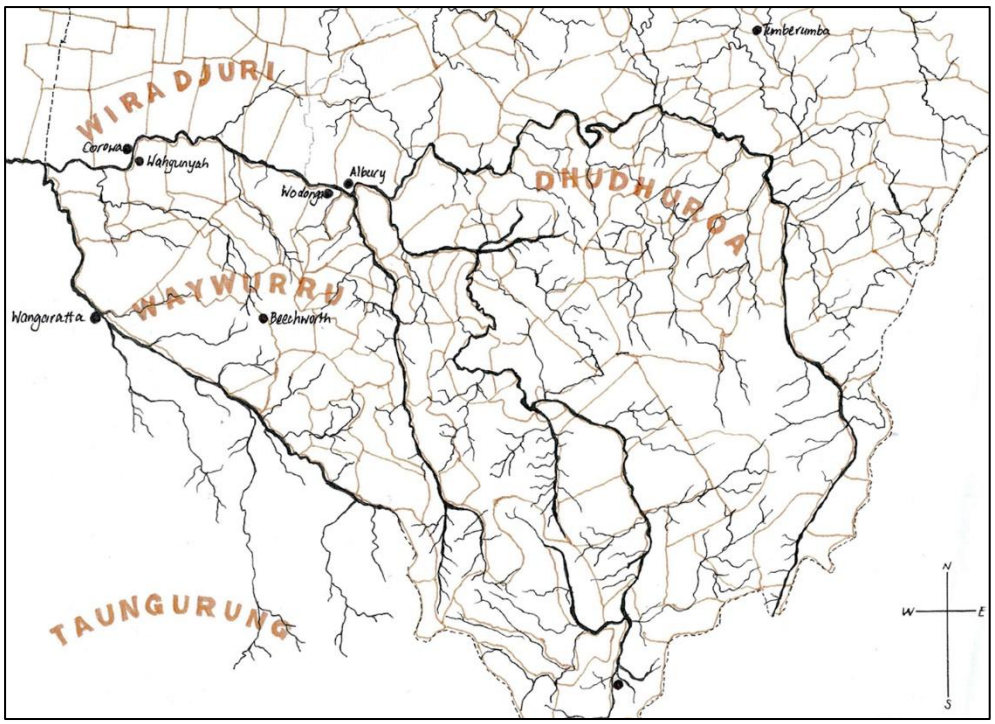
Detail of Townsend's map (blue rectangle in map above)

Townsend set down pegs on the Wiradjuri land where there could be a town. That town was named 'Albury' and the lots were encouragingly offered for sale in April 1839 at half the price of similar lots for sale (with minimal success) at Mitchellstown on the Goulburn river in January 1839.

Re-drawn maps illustrating the rapid dispossession of land

Newly arrived pastoralists paid no heed to the claims on country made by clans who occupied the river lands. Modern day towns locate those lands between the Ovens and Murray Rivers.





Maps Celia Pennay

In his self-published history of white settlement of the Upper Murray, Arthur Andrews dared the publication extravagance of including as a frontispiece a photograph of Frank Gilbert's painting of 'Bontherambo,' Joseph Docker's crude but substantial homestead. And he included an even greater extravagance with a large fold-out map endpiece. The map showed and named the many land runs (shown in red).

Unravelling the story of her family's settlement years, Kate Grenville worried that the term 'take up,' might be not more simply and honestly replaced with 'take.' The runs depicted were taken up/taken principally in the 1830s and 1840s.[72] In 1849, Commissioner Henry Bingham noted that the First Nations inhabitants 'felt deeply the alien occupation of their country.' [73] Grace Karskens has observed that, 'What was inconceivable to Indigenous People was the idea that settlers now 'owned this land.'[74]

In 2025, the Yoorrook Justice Commission has reframed white settlement as black dispossession:

> We were told this land was empty. A myth stitched into maps and laws, into classrooms and monuments. But the truth was always here – in the earth, the rivers, the sky. In culture forbidden but not forgotten. In the whispers that survived when language was punished. The history of this land is bound by two cloaks. One is warm, woven from fibres of care and culture, wrapped close around Country and kin. The other is a heavy cloak of forgetting and silence: truth draped in denial. This second cloak was meant to smother. But even under its weight, memory moved; quiet but alive…
>
> Surveyors … by marking land as property, redefined [country] as European space, ready to be carved up and exploited; its ageless rhythms broken into neat calculations. Rivers once flowing with story and ceremony were reduced to water systems, bent to serve the invaders' will. Sacred grounds became pasture, the soft tread of bare feet replaced by the relentless march of hooves. The land, once alive with its own law, its own breath, was forced into grids and parcels, leased, bought and sold as if its spirit could be owned. In the wake of this transformation, the land itself was made a stranger to its own seasons, its own heartbeat. There was no forethought – nor afterthought – given to what the lines on the maps meant for people that lived here. It was going to happen and whatever was in the way was either seen as an obstacle or an enemy. [75]

QUESTION: How and why might maps drawn to illustrate the expansion of white settlement in the 1830s and early 1840s be re-interpreted as illustrations of dispossession?

ENDNOTES – INTRODUCTION PEOPLE AND PLACE PICTURE PROMPTS

[1] M L Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel writing and transculturation*, Routledge, London, 1992, pp 6-7.
[2] Colonel JC White to Colonial Secretary, 15 April 1838, Michael Cannon ed, *Historical Records of Victoria,* vol 2A, *The Aborigines of Port Phillip, 1835-1839*, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne, 1982, p 339.
[3] Stephen Gapps, *Uprising: War in the colony of New South Wales*, 1838-1844, NSW Press, Sydney 2025, p 4.
[4] Gipps to Acting Secretary, 3 June 1838, 4/2476.1 *Colonial Secretary In letters*, ML. See also *Historical Records of Victoria*, 2A, pp.349- 353.
[5] Native police: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Australian_native_police; Marie Hanson Fels, *Good men and true The Aboriginal Police in the Port Phillip District, 1837-1853,* Melbourne University Press, 1988, pp 154-162, see 158-162 for an encounter at Moira in 1844.
[6] Yoorrook, *Truth be Told,* p 56 citing https://www.yoorrook.org.au/submissions/submission-dr-william-bill-pascoe.
[7] Fels, *Good men and true*, pp 154-162 and p 183.
[8] *Historical Records of Victoria,* 2A, p 352.
[9] *The Colonist,* 24 June 1840.
[10] Dr GE Mackay in Robinson, *Journals*, 23 November 1840; Rev Joseph Docker to Governor Gipps, 31 December 1840, '*Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, British Parliamentary Papers, House of Commons, 1844, (*BPP*), pp 107-108.
[11] 'George Edward Mackay' in T F Bride ed. *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, Public Library, Melbourne, 1898/1969, p 212.
[12] Fels, *Good Men and True*, p 172.
[13] Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies' *History and Theory* vol 41 no 12, 2002, p 191.
[14] Laurjane Smith, *Emotional Heritage: Visitor Engagement at Museums and Heritage Sites*, Routledge, London, 2020, Chapter 12.
[15] See, for example, Rachel Perkins, The Australian Wars,' Blackfella Films for SBS television, 2022; Lynette Russell, '"Tikpen," BoroBoro": Indigenous economic engagements in early Melbourne,' in Lieth Boucher and Lynette Russell, *Settler Colonial Governance in Nineteenth Century Victoria,* ANU Press and Indigenous History, Canberra, 2015, pp 29-30; Jane Lydon ed, *Calling the Shots*, *Indigenous Photographies*, Indigenous Studies Press, Canberra, 2015; and Amanda Nettelbeck, 'Precarious Subjects: Picturing Indigenous British Subjecthood in Mid-Nineteenth Century Australia, *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 54, Issue 2, May 2023, pp 330-353. Also see National Heritage Register for Myall Creek Massacre and Memorial Site and NSW State Heritage Register for Appin Massacre Site.
[16] Quoted in Anna Clark, *Making Australian History*, Vintage/Penguin, Australia, 2024.
[17] Yoorrook Justice Commission https://www.yoorrook.org.au/. Note unless otherwise stated all web sites accessed July 2025.
[18] Narragunnawali Recognition in Education Guide: Narragunnawali - A Guide to Using Respectful and Inclusive Language and Terminology; Australian Government Style Manual: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples | Style Manual.
[19] NSW curriculum content example: https://curriculum.nsw.edu.au/learning-areas/hsie/history-7-10-2024/content/stage-4/fa1230b35b?show=advice%2Cexample
[20] Identifying Barriers : https://www.reconciliation.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Barriers-and-enablers-to-truth-telling-report.pdf; 8 Aboriginal ways of Learning: https://www.8ways.online/
[21] C McCulloch, 'Sir George Gipps,' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*; Stephen H Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia, 1838-1847,* Melbourne University Pree, 1935, p 331; Roger Milliss, *Waterloo Creek: The Australia Day Massacre of 1838, George Gipps and the British Conquest of New South Wales,* McPhee Gribble, 1992, p 210.
[22] Gapps, *Uprising*, p 58.
[23] J Boyce, *The Foundation of Melbourne and the Conquest of Australia*, Melbourne, Black Inc, 2013, pp 1 50–154; Yoorrook Justice Commission, *Truth Be Told,* 2025: https://cdn.craft.cloud/06ad3276-b3d9-4912-bcbb-37795aade9a8/assets/documents/Yoorrook_Official-Public-Record_Accessible.pdf p 43.
[24] Richard Broome, *Aboriginal Victorians: A History since 1800,* Allen & Unwin, 2nd edition, 2024, Chapter 1.
[25] Marguerita Stephens and Fay Stewart-Muir, *The Years of Terror, Banbu-deedn" Kulin and Colonists at Port Phillip, 1815-1851* Australian Scholarly Press, 2023.

[26] SC McCulloch, 'Sir George Gipps and Eastern Australia's Policy towards the Aborigine, 1838-1846,' *Journal of Modern History*, vol 33, no 3, pp 261-269.
[27] House of Commons Select Committee on Aborigines 1837, *Historical Records of Victoria,* 2A, pp 61-71; Glenelg to Bourke, 26 July 1837, *British Parliamentary Papers Relevant to Aborigines, NSW*, 1844.
[28] Stephen H Roberts, *The Squatting Age in Australia 1835-1847*, MUP, Melbourne, 1964*, p* 331
[29] Yoorrook, *Truth Be Told*, pp 32- 46 and pp 46- 60.
[30] Milliss, *Waterloo Creek*, frontispiece and pp 13-15.
[31] Robinson, *Journal*, 1 October 1844; 'The intelligent corporal' observation, 15 April 1839, Penny Russell, *This Errant Lady: Jane Franklin's Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2002, p 54.
[32] John Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars*, *1788-1838*, University of NSW Press, 2002, p 119.
[33] HS Parris, 'Early Mitchellstown and Nagambie,' *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol 23, no 3, 1950, p 140.
[34] Dangar, 'Legislative Council,' *SMH* 6 July 1848 p 2.
[35] Hazel King, 'Some Aspects of Police Administration in New South Wales, 1825-1851,' *JRAHS,* vol 42, no 5, 1956, p 226.
[36] Peter Stanley, "'Oh! The Sufferings of My Men': The 80th Regiment in New South Wales in 1838," *The Push from the Bush: A Bulletin of Social History* 11, November 1981, pp 1–22; Russell, *Franklin Letters*,19 April 1839, p 51.
[37] 'Mounted Police,' *Commercial Journal and Advertiser*, 27 November1839, p 4.
[38] King, *Police Administration*, p 226.
[39] Gammage, *Narrandera Shire*, Narrandera Shire, Narrandera, 1996, p 31.
[40] J M McMillan, *The Two Lives of Joseph Docker*, Spectrum, Richmond, 1994, p 167.
[41]'The poor blacks again,' *Sydney Herald*, 30 October 1840.
[42] Gammage, *Narrandera Shire,* pp 36-37.
[43] Cited in Milliss, *Waterloo Creek*, pp 147-148 and in Gapps, *Uprisinig*, p 46.
[44] 'Henry Bingham,' *Australasian Chronicle*, 18 September 1841.
[45] Gipps at Legislative Council, March 1839, *Historical Records of Victoria*, vol. 2B, p. 751.
[46] Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars*, p 119-121.
[47] *Historical Records of Victoria,* vol 2B, p 748 and 751.
[48] *Sydney Herald,* 19 August 1840.
[49] Standing Orders for the guidance of Border Police, 15 July 1838, *Historical Records of Victoria, v*ol 6, pp 283-284.
[50] Penny Russell (ed), *This Errant Lady: Jane Franklin's Overland Journey from Port Phillip to Sydney, 1839*, National Library of Australia, 2002, p 98.
[51] Russell, *This Errant Lady.*
[52] Penny Russell, 'Antipodean Queen of Sheba,' *Meanjin*, vol. 2, no 4, 2003.
[53] Richard Flanagan, *Wanting*, Penguin, 2023.
[54] Bangarra Dance Theatre, 'Matthina,' 2008-2011: https://www.bangarra.com.au/productions/mathinna/ ; Alison Alexander, 'Matthina,' *People Australia*, 2019, ANU, Canberra: Mathinna, https://ia.anu.edu.au/biography/mathinna-29655
[55] H Reynolds, *The Whispering in Our Hearts*, Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1988, pp 47–60.
[56] L Ryan, 'Historians,' in A Johnston and M Roll, *Reading Robinson,* Clayton, VIC, Monash University, 2012.
[57] Clendinnen, *Tiger's Eye: A memoir,* Text, Melbourne, 2010, pp 191-218.
[58] Clendinnen, *Tiger's Eye*, p 215.
[59] Yoorrook, *Truth Be Told*, p 50.
[60] B Pennay, 'Interpreting a Picture: Picturing Sound and Song at the Murray River Crossing Place,' *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 99, no. 10, 2022 and B Pennay, 'Interpreting a Picture: George Augustus Robinson's Yass to Port Phillip Road, 1840–1844,' *JRAHS* vol 110, no 1, 2024.
[61] Broome, *Aboriginal Victorians,* p.68-70.
[62] Anna Johnston & Mitchell Rolls, *Reading Robinson: Companion essays to George Augustus Robinson's Friendly Persuasion,* Monash Publishing, 2012, p 17. See also the exhibition The National Picture at the National Gallery of Australia; https://nga.gov.au/exhibitions/the-national-picture/; and Tim Bonyhady & Greg Lehman, *he National Picture: The art of Tasmania's Black War,* National Gallery of Australia, Canberra, 2019.
[63] Yoorrook, *Truth Be Told,* p 50.
[64] Jacqui Durrant and Andrew Jeffries, *Ngurai-ilam, Waywurru and Dhudhuroa: their socio-political identity, interrelationships, country and ancestors*, Holding Redlich, 2023, vol 5, pp 234-240; Mary Eagle, 'Tommy

McRae' in *Design and Art Australia Online*, 2008/2011: https://www.daao.org.au/bio/tommy-mccrae/biography/ (Accessed 1 December 2024); Johnathan, Jones, *Murruwaygu: Following in the footsteps of ancestors*, PhD thesis, UTS, Sydney, 2019, pp 204-206.

[65] See reproductions at National Gallery of Australia: 'Tommy McRae' : https://nga.gov.au/search/?query=McRae&category=works-of-art&page=1and at State Library of Victoria: https://find.slv.vic.gov.au/discovery/search?query=any,contains,Tommy%20McRae&tab=searchProfile&search_scope=slv_local&vid=61SLV_INST:SLV&offset=0 (Both accessed 1 December 2024)

[66] Ian McLean, 'Mysterious Correspondences between Charles Baudelaire and Tommy McRae: Reimagining Modernism in Australia as a Contact Zone,' *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Art*, vol 3, no 1, 2013, p 71.

[67] *Rutherglen Sun and Chiltern Tmes,* 7 March 1899.

[68] Arts Rutherglen (2021-2024) *Tommy Yakaduna McRae Tribute*: https://artsrutherglen.com.au/sculptures-trail/tommy-mcrae-tribute/ (Accessed 1 December 2024).

[69] Gipps to Glenelg, 21 July 1838, Historical Records of Australia, XIX, p 510.

[70] *Historical Records of Victoria*, vol, 5, p 234 et seq.

[71] Surveyor General Correspondence 1823-1851, NLA MS 3570, S A Perry to Townsend, 5 July 1838, Ms 83570.

[72] Run selections as illustrated in a map insert, Arthur Andrews, *The First Settlement of the Upper Murray,* Albury, 1921. Kate Grenville, *Unsettled: A journey through time and place,* Black Inc, 2025, p 15.

[73] Bingham quoted in Gammage, *Narrandera Shire,* p 70.

[74] Grace Karskens, *People of the River*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney, 2010 p 130.

[75] Yoorrook, *Truth Be Told*, p 46.