

Notes on Tribal Boundaries with particular reference to the Boundary between the Brataulung and the Bunurong (1)

Peter Gardner

In a previous essay I pondered on possible boundaries in the Upper Tambo Valley between traditional enemies - the Jaitmathang and Brabiralung tribes. (2) I concluded that there were probably three different types of boundaries - obvious geographical ones such as mountain ranges, historical ones that included the maximum actual expansion of tribal territory or territory claimed by a tribe (whether previously occupied or not) and the actual boundary at the advent of Europeans. In Gippsland these types of boundaries mainly coincided. Most Gippsland mountain peaks, such as Mt Baw Baw, represented all three types of tribal boundary between Gippsland and other tribes. At other places these three types of boundaries seem to diverge considerably with the upper Tambo Valley, West Latrobe Valley [see map 1], Upper Snowy River being examples and South Gippsland between the Brataulung and the Bunurong being another. I propose that there were three further concepts that may have affected actual boundaries; debatable land (ie land contested by 2 groups) 'taboo' territory (ie land where entry was forbidden to one or other group) and uninhabited or 'no-mans land' (ie country seldom or rarely traversed by any group or individual).

According to Howitt

Alfred Howitt refers to a number of these concepts relating to the boundaries in general and to South Gippsland in particular. He wrote that the Kurnai: "claimed the whole of Gippsland...but a strip of debatable land lay on the borders..." (3) He further stated that both the Bunurong and the Kurnai were essentially 'coastal tribes' implying that the people were generally concentrated around and along coastal and inland water resources. (4) This supports the concept of uninhabited or rarely frequented land - that there were some areas such as steep rugged rainforest gullies or poor scrubby areas of low economic value that were rarely traversed. The question of 'taboo' country - especially in relation to Wilsons Promontory - is covered in detail. Howitt noted that the legendary or mythical being 'lohan' resided on the promontory and offered protection for the Brataulung against their enemies. He wrote:

Although the Kurnai had no legend of the migration of *Lohan*, they also believed that he lived in the mountains of Wilson's Promontory, with his wife *Lohan-tuka*. The Brataua clan, in whose country his home is, said that their old men had seen him from time to time marching over the mountains with his great jag-spear over his shoulder. They also believed that he watched over them, and that he caused their country to be deadly to strangers. It was therefore to him that they attributed the taboo which protected them against the visits of other tribes, from the eastern extremes of Gippsland to the lower Murray River. (5)

Again it is not clearly stated but rather implied that the promontory was 'taboo' to the Bunurong. With regards the actual boundary Howitt noted that: "There was another division called Jato-wara-wara of the Brataulung clan which occupied the country east of Anderson's Inlet, being, the neighbours of the Bunurong to the west of it. Here the

Kulin and the Kurnai intermarried...” (6) Howitt does not state how these marriages took place. This suggests that such marriages could be by elopement but as the groups were hostile to each other this procurement of wives must have been by theft or capture. Howitt noted that the procurement of wives by capture was widespread (7) and that the Kurnai called those “living in the Western Port district ... Thurrung or tiger-snakes, because, as I heard them say, they came sneaking about to kill us.” (8) Thus the border between the Bunurong and Brataualung was according to Howitt “east of Anderson’s inlet” and Wilsons Promontory was definitely part of Bratauolung territory. In his *Native Tribes...* Howitt clearly has the border starting at Cape Liptrap. [see map 7]

Sue Wesson and Succession

Wesson’s theory of succession fits neatly into the question of ‘debateable land’. She wrote:

Succession is one way in which custodianship changed from one group of people to another. It is important to understand the history of succession in order to create a clear picture from the often contradictory accounts of territory and custodianship which were recorded during the 19th century. In the recorded history of Gippsland there have been two succession events. The first involved the dispute over the country of the Tarwin River. Yowenjerre (a Bunurong group) and Jota-wara-wara (a Gunai group) through the killing and conquering of the Bunurong by the Gunai.” (9)

Wesson lists five pieces of evidence to support the succession of the Kurnai in South Gippsland. First she noted that it was “not inconceivable that Lohan was recognised by several people” implying that it was unlikely that Lohan legend would appear in the mythology of both the Kurnai and the Kulin. In this instance we need to ask which particular source is the most reliable. In this instance is it Howitt’s publications or his notes and those of the protectors? Where conflicts like this exist between sources – and there are many – it then comes down to a subjective evaluation of them. Second she used the fact that Surveyor Townsend’s Aboriginal guide had a name for the prom – Wamoon. See below my argument that little if any reliance can be put on the origins of place names. Third George Robinson in 1844 stated that the Yowenjerre were all killed by the Kurnai except for 2 individuals. Again this is a highly disputable. Elsewhere I have argued that the fatalities caused by tribal warfare have been exaggerated (10) although I concede that the ‘empty lands’ noted by Robinson and later emphasized by Gunson require some explanation (11). Fourth Wesson talks of the history of the ‘blood feud’ and the same objection applies to this as to the previous one (12). Fifth that William Barak implied that the origins of hostilities between Bunurong and the Kurnai were fairly recent. This is examined by Barwick below but the objection to this is the same as applied to the second point. Barak is the single source for this information in Howitt’s notes. Can the conflict between his notes and his published work be reconciled? Also there are other indications that the isolation of the Kurnai may have been of a much longer duration. (See McBryde below) Wesson also mentions the Tyers note of a 1846 clash in South Gippsland. This part of the argument is post European and therefore invalid as the debate about boundaries is concerned only with the pre

European period and this is the period when Wesson's theory can be applied. I have written of the distortions caused by the influence of Europeans elsewhere (13). This particular event was probably one of many raids and conflicts that occurred during the hunts for white woman that were merely an excuse for a blood bath with the Kulin – both Bunurong and Wurundjeri - possessing firearms. (14) Finally the idea of succession in South Gippsland is partially based on the assumption that the Barwick/Clark position of the boundary finishing at Corner Inlet is correct. Despite these arguments Wesson's theory of succession does fit with the idea of changing historic boundaries.

Niel Gunson and Debatable Land

Niel Gunson, based on R.B. Smyth's *The Aborigines of Victoria*, an intensive study of the Aboriginal protectors and a deep personal knowledge of the area, has a large swathe of the region as 'debatable land'. (15) [See maps 3 & 6] That this land was empty or unoccupied until the rush of settlers that followed after the establishment of Melbourne is not questioned. In a 2002 review article Gunson expanded on this when commentating on the brief bushranging career of a party of five of Robinson's Aborigines he had brought with him from Tasmania. He noted that:

The true 'successors' in the debatable land were probably the Tasmanians. Several of them were sent to recover the sheep lost at Western Port in 1836. By 1841 some of them were seeing it as a territory to make their own and a base to resist white oppression. Their leader 'Napoleon' claimed that 'they had unlimited bush to roam over at their will'. Their initial raids were made in the company of coastal Bunurong but in the debatable land the five Tasmanian raiders worked alone. The murder of two whalers at Cape Patterson in 1841 eventually led to their capture and punishment." (16)

For Gunson the debatable land for the period preceding and immediately following the advent of Europeans was in fact unoccupied land, more closely fitting my category of 'no-mans land'. The reasons as to why the area was unoccupied and to which tribe the land actually belonged to remains contentious. I hope to look into this later in some detail but briefly it seems to me quite possible that the Bunurong of the Westernport / South Gippsland area were 'wiped out' by disease - most likely smallpox - or a combination of diseases to which they had no resistance (17) Gunson, according to Marie Hansen Fels, thought the area was "never thickly populated". (18)

Barwick and Clark's Contentious Border

Barwick and Clark both draw the coastal boundary much further to the east and have it starting in Corner Inlet and including Wilsons Promontory in Bunurong territory, which would appear to be either a maximum eastward expansion of the Bunurong, or more likely a maximum claim of territory.(19) [see map 4] There appear to be problems with all these accounts and part of this must lie with the European concept of a 'fixed'

boundary, for these lines drawn on the map were probably never fixed between antagonistic groups and probably varied considerably over time.

The concept of 'no-mans land' would appear to be valid but only for country with low or very low economic resources, for example thick inland scrub or some rugged high country. Such a concept would certainly not be applicable for areas of high economic resources such as tidal seas and swamps, rocky coastal outcrops and the coast itself - there the rival claims almost certainly would have overlapped. Thus the areas of prime economic resource on the South Gippsland coast, the inland or sheltered waters of Andersons, Sandy and Corner Inlets are of most importance with the rocky outcrops of Liptrap and Walkerville of secondary importance. It seems commonsense that a single group would be most likely to occupy these 'prime' economic resources and most unlikely that they would be occupied for any length of time by two antagonistic groups. The boundary as drawn by Barwick and Clark in the middle of Corner Inlet, a 'prime' economic resource, is thus suspect.

This question of 'disputed boundaries' only seems to appear where the tribes were hostile and not communicating in any form. In the upper Tambo the Jaitmathang and the Brabiralung were, according to Howitt, traditional enemies. So were the Brataulung and the Bunurong. However Barwick, using information that Howitt did not include in either of his books, suggests his notes indicate otherwise:

"Barak, a Woi wurrung elder and one of Howitt's principal informants, explained that the feud between the Bun-wurrung and Ganai clans stemmed from an incident prior to the arrival of the Europeans, when the Bun-wurrung people from around Mordialloc had 'moved down to the Tarwin to feast on native cabbage' and then pursued and killed some Ganai people from Port Albert who had eaten the 'native cabbage' without permission. The Ganai had raided Bun-wurrung clans as far as Western Port in retaliation and a state of warfare had existed between the clans since that time."(20)

This account implies that the conflict between the two groups was only recent. However neither of the published works of Howitt includes this information from which it can be concluded that either he did not think it important or that other sources of information cast doubt on this story.

Archaeologists working on the Basslink project noted:

"Further to the east of the Yallock balug were another Bun wurrung clan whose name was recorded by Robinson as 'Yowenjerre' now referred to as Yowengarra (Barwick 1984:119). The Yowengarra occupied the lower Tarwin River... The clan arguably occupied the land from the Tarwin River, extending down to Cape Liptrap and Wilsons Promontory to Corner Inlet (Barwick 1984:118-9, Clark 1990) At the time Europeans settled permanently in Victoria in 1835, the Ganai and Bun wurrung clans were in a state of perpetual warfare; Robinson described the country of the Tarwin River in 1844 as 'uninhabited' assuming that the previous occupants had been attacked by sealers and whalers and 'dispersed' by squatters (Barwick 1984:115). Smyth considered that the country east of Western Port Bay was 'debatable ground' sometimes held by Ganai and sometimes by Bun-wurrung but Barwick (1984:116) argues that his field notes indicate that the boundary between the clans was clearly defined and understood." (21)

No doubt Barwick is correct when generalising that the boundaries "between the clans was clearly defined and understood" in most cases - the exceptions being where the

groups were continuously hostile to each other and 'traditional enemies' as in this particular instance. The boundary drawn to Corner Inlet by Barwick and later adopted by Clark should be considered at best a 'historic boundary' either indicating the maximum expansion of the Bunurong or a maximum claim of Bunurong territory but unlikely that it was ever occupied for any length of time, if at all. Assuming that this area was once occupied by the Bunurong then it must either have been a period of intense conflict between the two tribes or one of amicable relations. I would suggest that contrary to this the maximum expansion of the Brataulung intruded well into the Tarwin watershed and possibly at some stages included Anderson's Inlet. Also Smyth's suggestion of 'debatable land' in this instance is valid - the debatable land being the difference between the historical boundaries claimed by the two tribes. It should also be noted that between the Kurnai tribes (Howitt's clans) the boundaries were clear and perfectly understood down to movements of other tribes beyond their boundaries at specific times to collect specific foods outside their own territory. Recently Fels noted:

All these views [debatable land, empty land] have been reviewed recently by the historical geographer Ian Clark for the Native Title Unit of the Justice Department, released under Freedom of Information with considerable portions blacked out...Clark believes Brough Smyth was wrong too in his 'false conclusion that the area east of Western Port bay was "debatable ground" held sometimes by Kulin and sometimes by Kurnai'. Clark says that while Howitt's book left some things out, his 'notes proved that the Kulin-Kurnai boundary was clearly defined and that the reciprocal raiding of the 1830s and 1840s was not over land but a "blood feud"'. Clark's major interest in this report seems to have been not the debatable land of Robinson and Smyth and Gunson, but the land further east between Anderson's Inlet and Wilson's Promontory" (22)

I am not able to view Clark's original paper but trust that most of the issues he raised are covered in this paper.

Marie Hansen Fels Account

More recently Marie Fels has questioned the validity of the Barwick/Clark position on the origins of the conflict between Kulin and Kurnai. She was unable to locate the original reference to Barak in the Howitt mss and thought that this account of the origins of the enmity between Kulin and Kurnai was fallacious. Further she downplayed the importance of Howitt's work compared with the protectors. She wrote: "Unlike William Thomas and George Augustus Robinson, who lived day to day on terms of intimacy with the Aborigines, this was the only time Howitt spent with Barak, about a month."(23) One assumes that Fels criticism is specifically of Howitt's dealings with Barak as by comparison with the protectors his overall dealings with the Aboriginal people were equal to or far better than theirs and in terms of longevity of relations with them at least equal to that of William Thomas. Fels continued: "The other disconcerting fact about Barak's explanation is that the native cabbage does not appear on the list of native foodstuffs eaten in Victoria..." (24) Fels concluded that the most likely cause of the enmity was over the theft of women with which I agree that – along with the almost complete isolation of the Kurnai – were the most likely origins of the 'feud'. (25)

McBryde's Survey

McBryde's survey on the movement of greenstone implements supports the general Howitt thesis that the Kurnai were an 'isolated' people and that the 'hostility' to others – the brajerak - was of a much longer duration than that suggested by Barak. She wrote: "Gippsland is rich in resources and known to have a large population in the contact period, yet the considerable axe collections from that region contain few greenstone examples." (26) And that ethnographic evidence suggested the Kulin and the Kurnai tribes each "regarded the other as traditional enemies with whom they had no ceremonial or trading affiliations, in fact no contact other than the hostile raiding party." (27) Admittedly McBryde notes her samples "lack full documentation or clear archaeological context" (28) but they must hold at least some veracity until more thorough work is done. The small number of greenstone implements distributed in Gippsland seems to indicate a maximum extension of the Bunurong to the Tarwin watershed. This includes a single Howqua greenstone located in the Tarwin watershed and not found further east.(29) For the thesis of 'variable' boundaries to be valid a state of hostilities between the two groups must have existed and have continued to exist over a long period of time.

Place Name Evidence

If the archaeological evidence is fairly thin, so too is that offered by place names. In my *Names of South Gippsland* I suggested that with the exception of Wamoon (the Bunurong name for Wilsons Promontory) the Kulin names are found mostly in the Tarwin watershed with a few extending eastward into the Strzeleckis. This does not tell us very much except perhaps that the Aborigines naming these places obviously came from either Western Port or Melbourne. (30) There remains also the single odd Kurnai name found well inside what was considered Bunurong territory, that of Krowera meaning wind.

In my *Names of South Gippsland* booklet I wrote:

"Most Aboriginal names appear to be of local origins with a few exceptions. Also a number of eastern Kulin names extend well beyond the Bunurong tribal territory. Many features originally had names given by both tribes but only a few of these, such as those for Wilsons Promontory, have survived. With regards the latter example the fact that the Bunurong considered the 'Prom' taboo has led a number of contemporary observers to claim that the area was uninhabited by Aborigines, when it was inhabited by the Brataulung tribe as both historical and archaeological sources verify. Whilst there are many examples of country that was taboo, a substantial number of them were probably associated with areas beyond claimed tribal territory." (31)

As a part of a series of 'light' histories designed specifically for tourists this work was, unfortunately, not footnoted and I cannot give the reference for the 'Prom' being 'taboo' or forbidden or as 'no go' country for the Bunurong. Possibly it was the 'lohan' legend cited by Howitt above. As well as being beyond claimed tribal territory these 'taboo' areas were probably also found on the periphery of tribal territory. Another example of this is the slopes of Mt. Baw Baw being 'taboo' to the Braiakaulung with the peaks and

the plateau of this mountain in reality probably being part of Wurundjeri tribal territory. (32)

Conclusions

The actual boundary at the time of European occupation (1841) appears roughly to have started from the coast between Inverloch and Cape Liptrap and skirted the upper parts of the Tarwin watershed in a north, north easterly direction into the Strzleckis at, or near, Mirboo North. Based on Robinson's notes Clark acknowledges that there were only 2 Yowengare of the Bunurong from the Tarwin area surviving even in the 1840s.(33) Both Howitt's boundary in his published works and Tindale's drawn from Howitt are close to this boundary. The hostility of the Kurnai to the European intrusion combined with an attack in the Tarwin region on an early attempt to travel overland from Melbourne to Port Albert (1844) would indicate that this attack was probably carried out by the Jato-Wara-Wara of the Brataulung. (34) Likewise the meeting of the Clonmel crew with Aborigines at Sealers Cove on the 'Prom' does not appear to have been friendly. (35)

There appears to be no obvious geographic boundaries here, especially near the coast and the obvious resources such as Andersons Inlet would usually be in one or other territory with the geographic boundaries being drawn in between. The actual boundary described above is probably one geographic boundary; another would start between the Tarwin and Westernport about Wonthaggi and be drawn approximately northeast inland from the coast to Mirboo North.

The historical boundaries would differ markedly for each tribe probably being the Barwick/Clark boundary in the East for the Bunurong and probably a line from Wonthaggi to Korumburra and across to Mirboo North for the Brataulung. The difference between them is the 'debatable' land. It is also possible that groups claimed country within eyesight which they had never frequented. If, for instance, the actual boundary between the tribes was at one time around Walkerville on the coast then that could explain both the Bunurong claim and their naming of the 'Prom'. Only on, or near, the coast, wherever the actual boundary was, would there have been an overlap of claims and the place where both contact and conflict was most likely and frequently to have occurred.

In depth archaeological studies may eventually provide more insight into these matters. In the meantime I believe that both Howitt and Smyth's concept of 'debatable land' is certainly valid in this instance. Also that the actual boundary approximated by Howitt, and later by Tindale, but included Cape Liptrap and at least some of the coast further west in Brataulung territory. Perhaps it is necessary to adopt a more flexible approach to tribal boundaries. Even areas of 'no-man's land' can possibly be incorporated into models of this sort.

End Notes

1. Unpublished paper written about 2003 revised and revised and rewritten 2014-15. I have made no attempt to rationalise or standardise tribal names or their various spellings. My preference remains with Howitt's Kurnai and Bunurong and Tindale's spellings for the Gippsland tribes or Howitt's clans. The variations in the spelling of the tribal or clan name of 'Bunurong' are substantial, often confusing and I have occasionally erred with names like 'Bunerong'. (See Maps 1 & 2 below).
2. Gardner, P.D. *Some Notes on Victorian Alpine Aborigines*, Ngarak Press, Ensay, 1997; tribal boundaries based on Tindale, N. *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* (2 vols) University of California Press, Berkeley 1974; Howitt and Fison. *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, George Robertson, Melbourne 1880 p.227
3. Howitt and Fison. *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p.227
4. Howitt, A.W. *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra 1996 p.227
5. Howitt, A.W. *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, McMillan, New York 1904 p.498
6. Howitt, A.W. *Native Tribes...*, 1996 p.272
7. *ibid* p.257
8. *ibid* p.41
9. Wesson, Sue. *An historical atlas of the Aborigines of Eastern Victoria and Far South-eastern New South Wales*. Dept. of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash Uni. Melbourne, 2000 p.18. Wesson wrote of two successions. We are only concerned with the first in this paper. However the second 'succession' she talked about in East Gippsland seems more questionable than that in South Gippsland. The evidence for a 'succession' in East Gippsland is very thin. Was there a squabble over land in South Gippsland? More likely the differences were over physical contacts as the land itself was basically unoccupied. It follows that in this instance the Kurnai have not succeeded the Bunurong except perhaps in the Tarwin River area. Also the premise that tribal warfare was part of cause of succession in this case is in dispute.
10. <http://petergardner.info/publications/myth-of-tribal-warfare/>
11. *ibid*. I have made some mention of the conflict in South Gippsland and post European conflict in this paper. I hope to elaborate on the question of the depopulation of the Bunurong in either a revised edition of this paper or a new essay.
12. Unfortunately Howitt's definition of 'blood feud' was very loose and he used the term to cover both intense inter-tribal enmity involving fear, hatred and continued hostility of the Kurnai with their neighbours and intra-tribal (ie within the Kurnai) disputes more like family squabbles. Howitt wrote of the latter events that they were legalised conflict to a set of rules with certain ceremonies: "When the Nungi-nungit ended either with the single ordeal of the Wait-Jurk or by a general fight, the matter was set at rest and friendly relations were restored." Howitt, A.W. *Native Tribes...*, 1996 p.347. The inter-tribal 'feuds' on the other hand often ended in deaths, ceremonial cannibalism and theft of women and children.
13. <http://petergardner.info/publications/myth-of-tribal-warfare/>
14. Wesson, Sue. *An historical atlas ...* p.19
15. Gunson, Niel. *The Good Country: Story of Cranbourne Shire*, FW Cheshire Melbourne 1968; Smyth, R.B. *The Aborigines of Victoria*, (2 vols) Govt. Printer Melb. 1876
16. Gunson, Niel. Reality, History and Hands-on Ethnography: The Journals of George Augustus Robinson at Port Phillip 1839-1852, Aboriginal History, No. 26, Nov. 2002

17. Gunson's arguments as to why this country was unoccupied remain contentious.
18. Fels, Marie Hansen. 'I succeeded once': the Aboriginal Protectorate on the Mornington Peninsula 1839-40, ANU E Press and Aboriginal History Incorporated, Canberra 2011 Aboriginal History Monograph 22 p.280
19. Barwick, Diane E. "Mapping the past: an atlas of Victorian clans 1835-1904" in Aboriginal History 8:1984:100-31.: Clark, Ian D. *Aboriginal Languages and Clans: an historical atlas of central and western Victoria 1800-1900*, Dept. of Geography and Environmental Science, Monash University, Melbourne, 1990
20. Barwick, Diane E. quoted in McCarthy, J. (ed) *Cultural Heritage Assessment of the Proposed Basslink Development Stage 1*, Vol. 1 Main Report, Austral Archaeology, Nov. 1999 p.48
21. McCarthy, J. (ed) *Cultural Heritage Assessment...* p.48
22. Fels, Marie Hansen. I Succeeded Once ...p.280. See note 12 for a brief discussion on Howitt's loose use of term 'blood feuds'.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid. p.278
25. Ibid. p.288
26. McBryde, Isabel. "Wil-im-ee Moor-ring': or, where do axes come from " in Mankind 11:1978:237. ibid p.363
27. ibid p.355
28. ibid p.372
29. ibid
30. Gardner, P.D. *Names of South Gippsland*, Ngarak Press, Ensay 1993 See my map 6 below for more details. Note there is also an incorrect boundary drawn from Inverloch on this map.
31. ibid p. 40
32. Gardner, Peter. Unpublished report to the Historic Places section of the Department of C & E 1989
33. Clark, Ian D. *Aboriginal Languages and Clans...*p.369
34. George Dunderdale and the Kurnai <http://petergardner.info/publications/george-dunderdale-and-the-kurnai/> p.203 In this paper I wrote: "Brodrigg and Hobson party with "four Port Phillip blacks" were attacked by "Western Port blacks near River Tarwin". It is possible that this attacking party was Kurnai as it would have occurred in the extreme west of the then Kurnai occupied lands. The "Port Phillip blacks" were either Bunurong or Wurundjeri and spoke the same language - eastern Kulin. Because of this it seems unlikely that the attackers were Bunurong or "Western Port blacks". The location of the tribal boundary and of a so-called 'debatable land' remains in dispute."
35. ibid p.212 I noted that: "three Aborigines [were] sighted at Sealers Cove by the Clonmel rescue party. An account in the Port Phillip Guardian stated the "boat left the wreck on Sunday morning, and the same night put in to Sealers Cove, where they fell in with a strong party of blacks, whose threatening motions speedily convinced them..." to continue in the boat. * A Mr. Simpson, who was in the boat "observed the natives coming down upon us."* . * Cox, Rev. G. *Notes on Gippsland History* Vol. 2, Port Albert Maritime Museum, Port Albert 1990, p.24 & p. 25

Notes on Maps

Map 1. Sketch map from my *Names of West Gippsland*. I have spelt Bunurong incorrectly.

Map 2. This sketch map comes from my *Names of South Gippsland*. Note I have spelt Bunurong incorrectly. Also the boundary drawn here is incorrect because it is coming from an important economic resource and therefore most unlikely that such a boundary existed for any period of time if at all. The starting point should be from the coast further to east, possibly at least halfway between Andersons Inlet and Cape Liptrap.

Map 3. From R.B. Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria...* The boundary along the Tarwin River is almost certainly incorrect as it too would be considered an important resource. It does however clearly illustrate the concept of 'debatable' land.

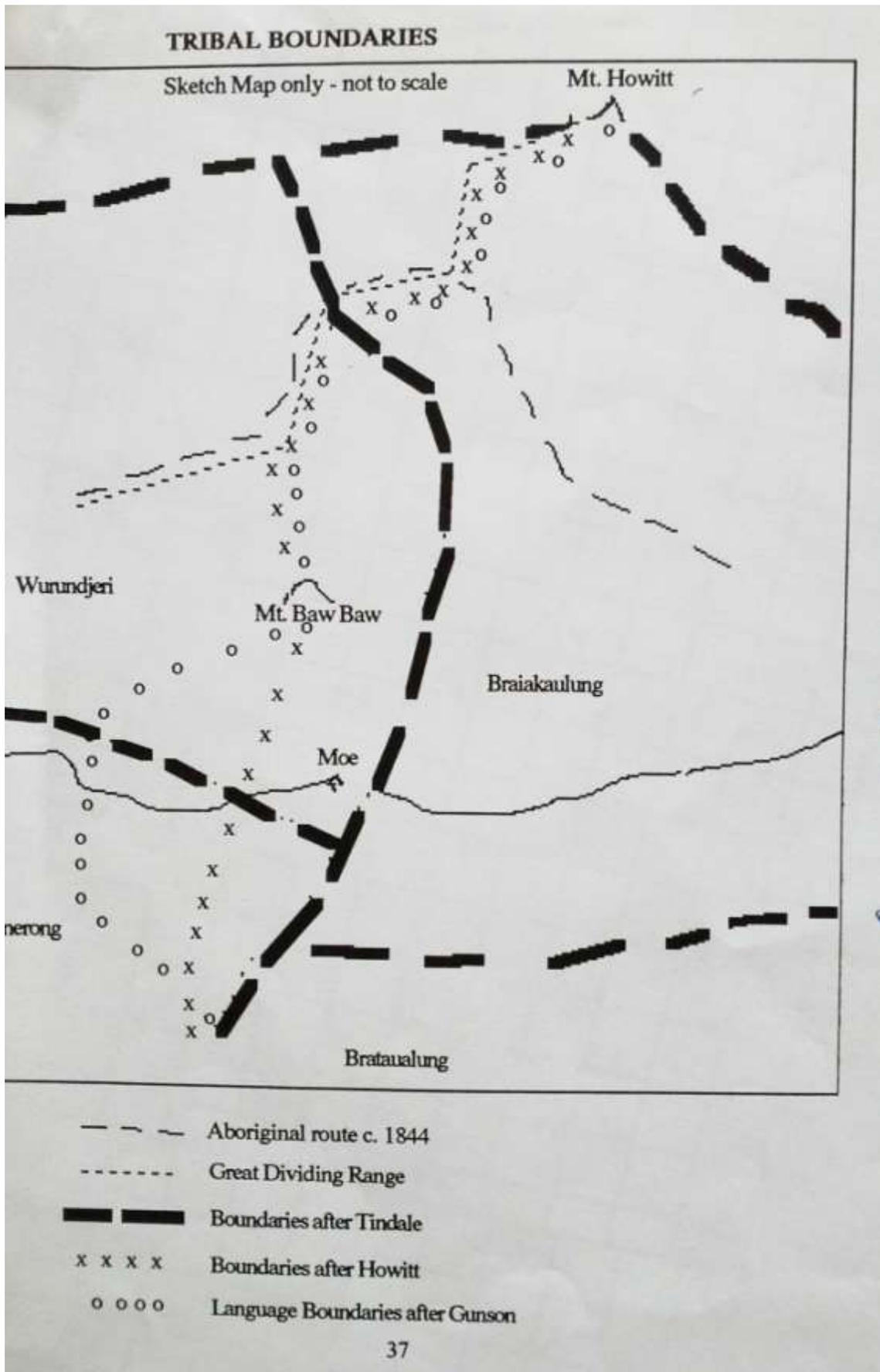
Map 4. Permission to publish has been given by Prof. Ian D Clark with thanks. (16.2.15). Note the boundary drawn from Corner Inlet. I would argue that this is at best a 'historical' boundary.

Map 5. Sketch Map based on Tindale (*Gippsland Massacres*)

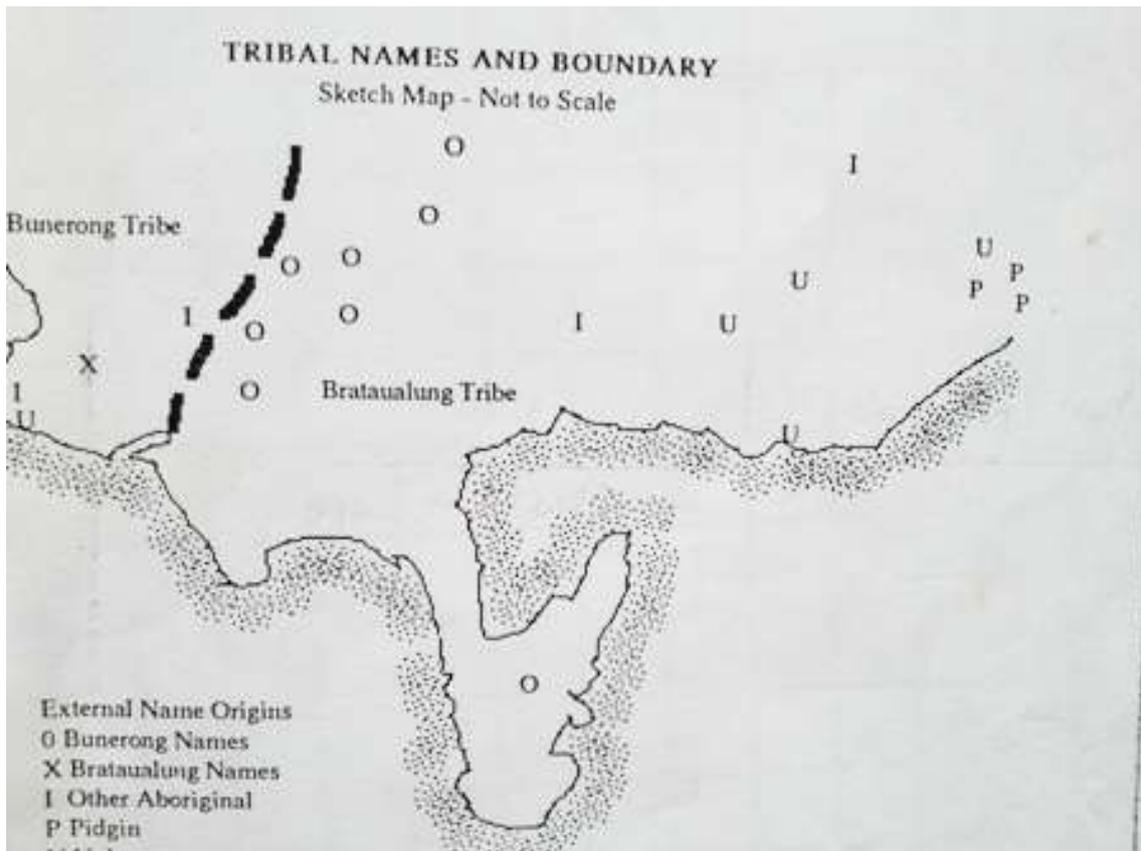
Map 6. Source Gunson, N. *The Good Country...* I have included only the bottom right corner of Gunson's map and thank him for permission to publish it.

Map 7. Source A.W. Howitt *Native Tribes...* Note boundary drawn from Cape Liptrap

Map 1 from Gardner *Names of the Latrobe...*



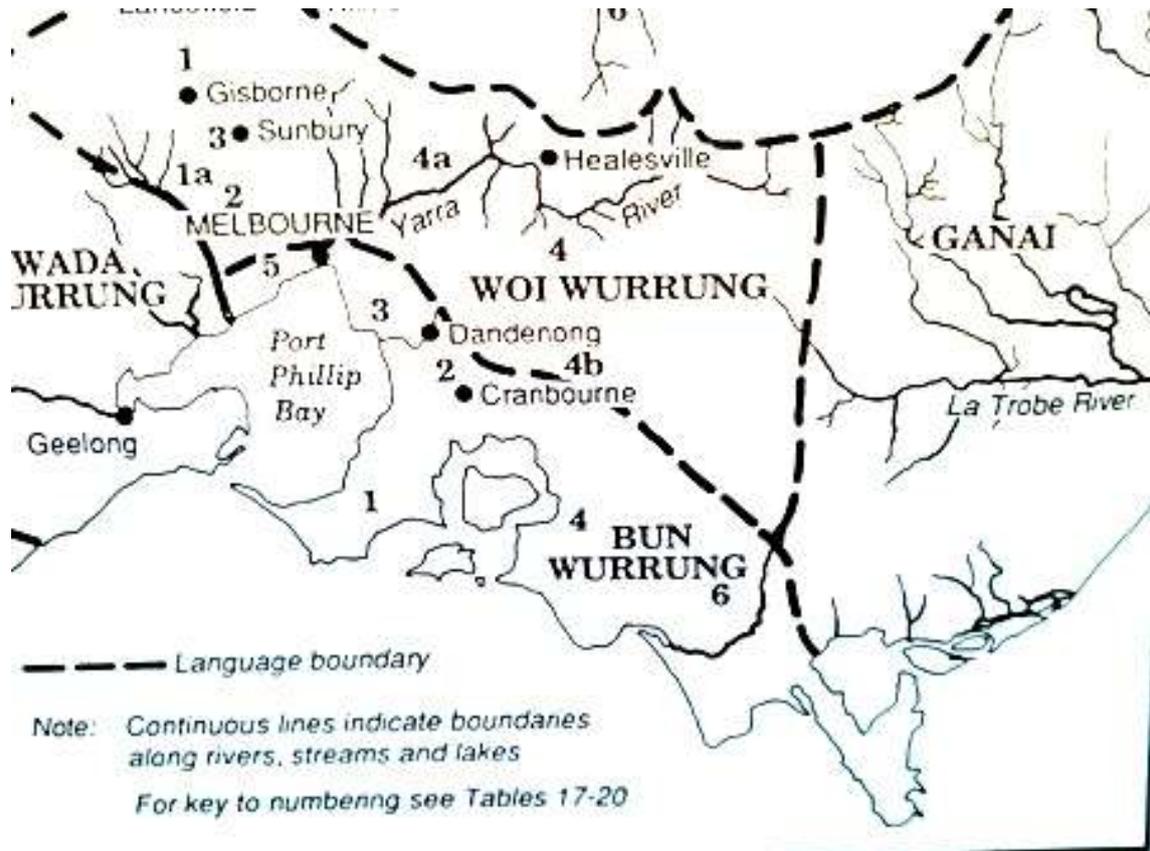
Map 2 from Gardner *Names of South Gippsland*



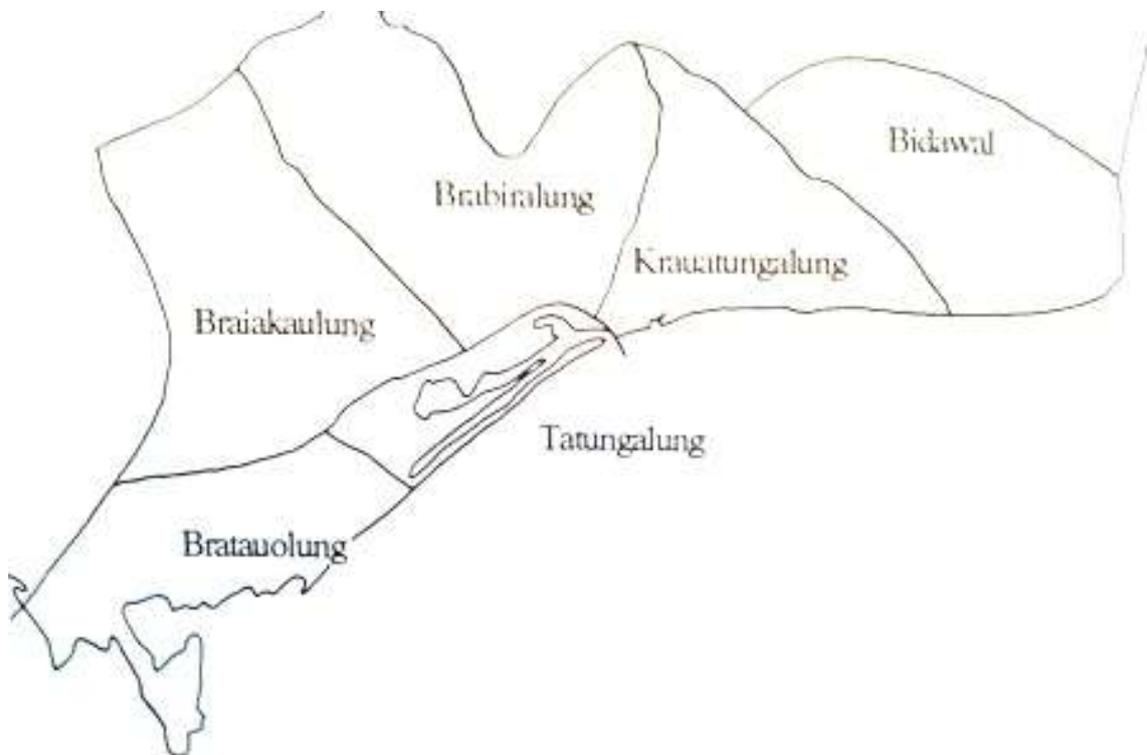
Map 3 from RB Smyth *The Aborigines of Victoria*



Map 4 from Ian D Clark's *Aboriginal Languages and Clans*



Map 5 Sketch Map based on Tindale (*Gippsland Massacres*)



Map 6 from Niel Gunson *The Good Country*



Map 7 Alfred Howitt *Native Tribes...*

