In Pursuit of Bungeleen[1]:

a journey to locate and mark the Aboriginal Cemetery at Stud Road Police Paddocks

Peter Gardner

Introduction

On a chilly winters day in 1981 I met a Mrs Bartlett who had been resident at the Stud Road police paddocks in the 1930s when it was then a farm. Our purpose was to locate and mark the site of the pine tree grave. In correspondence she had informed me that, as a child, she had looked after a fenced grave on the farm. The grave was then conspicuous with a pine tree growing out of the centre of it. We wandered for some time around the paddock between Stud Road and the low ridge on which the Native Police Station buildings had once been located and eventually Mrs Bartlett stated that we were within 50 feet or so of the site of the fenced grave. I drove a star picket deeply into the ground to mark the spot and made two very rough sketch maps of the location. The second was of compass bearings taken rapidly on a number of observable features including the so called 'Lady Franklin tree' – now gone - and the Stud Road Bridge over Dandenong Creek. This, as far as I am aware, was the first attempt to mark both the grave and cemetery. We then retired quickly to the warmth of our vehicles. The threat of this highly important historical site being overrun by suburbia was quite apparent even then. In my naivety I assumed that the steel post would be the final word in marking the resting place of Bungeleen and the cemetery and that eventually something would be done to mark his resting place. Preoccupied with earning a quid, nuclear war, climate change politics and getting my Kurnai and other histories published, thirty-five years have passed. As far as I am aware in 2017 the cemetery has still not been located, mapped or marked – a sorry commentary on our heritage and history of Aboriginal Affairs.

The Bungeleen Story Briefly Repeated

The story of Bungeleen is directly related to the hunts for the white woman supposedly held captive by the Kurnai in the 1840s. Bungeleen in particular, was thought either to be her captor or knew exactly where she could be located. In my first essay I noted:

> "…the Kurnai warrior Bungeleen and his family were captured and held at Eagle Point. It was supposed that Bungeleen was the white woman's captor. After a fruitless trip to the mountains, Bungeleen, his two wives and three children, were held as hostage for the release of the white woman and taken to the Native Police camp at Narre Warren. It seems strange that Government officials in this country could carry out such a barbarous and inhuman act. It is doubtful whether the Kurnai comprehended in the slightest the idea of holding 'hostages' and prisoner exchange. The tragic and catastrophic results of such means were soon forthcoming. Detained on June 28, 1847 [in Narre Warren] it took more than six months for Commandant Henry Dana to be authorised to be authorised to return Bungeleen and his family to Gippsland. Almost a year later on 20 November 1848 Bungeleen died, still in captivity.[2]

For many years I presumed that Mumbalk, one of Bungeleen's wives, who predeceased him was also buried at Stud Road. However information recently found in William Thomas' Journal (see below) suggests that she died at 'Peronheup' an unknown location in the Western Port district in June 1848. When Thomas visited Bungeleen and his family at Narre Warren on 24 March 1848 it was composed of Bungeleen, his lubras Parley and Mumbalk and 3 children. Mumbalk must have left Narre Warren soon after Thomas' visit. We have no information whether Mumbalk, who was 16 years old, had a child, or whether the children all belonged to Parley. It is most likely that the third child, about whom nothing is known, also died about this time, and is buried here.[3]

My Pursuit Begins

I commenced studying Gippsland Aborigines – the Kurnai[4] – in 1973 and worked intermittently on writing essays on this subject, whenever the demands of paid work and family allowed. Soon I came across the story of the white woman supposedly held captive by the Kurnai. My essay on this eventually became 'The Journals of DeVilliers and Warman: the expedition to recover the captive white woman' published in the Victorian Historical Journal (VHJ) in 1979[5] and which later became a chapter in my *Gippsland Massacres* (1984)[6]. This essay was primarily on the white woman affair and outlined the tragic circumstances of the Bungeleen family. This was followed by an essay specifically on the Bungeleen family published in the VHJ as 'A Melancholy Tale'[7] in 1981 and which later became a chapter in *Through Foreign Eyes* (1988)[8]. About 1980 I also endeavoured to trace the graves of John and Thomas Bungeleen in the Melbourne General Cemetery unaware that others were also doing so[9].

After reading the Day Book of the Native Police[10] in the Public Records Office Victoria (PROV) about 1978 I discovered that Bungeleen was buried at Narre Warren[11] and commenced efforts to locate his grave. After listing the burials in the Day Book it became obvious that there had been at least 12 burials at Stud Road and that these would most likely be in the same area – an unofficial and never gazetted cemetery. During a brief perusal of the Aboriginal Protectorate records of William Thomas I discovered the death date of Mumbalk, one of Bungeleen's wives. I compiled a basic list of those buried in this cemetery which was first sent as a typewritten note to a number of authorities and interested parties following my final visit to mark the pine tree grave[12]. This list is similar to that later produced by Fels in 1990[13]. Later this report was corrected and revised upwards with the addition of further information of mortalities from the Protectorate records and added to my chapter on the Bungeleen family in *Through Foreign Eyes* in 1988. The Day Book also told us that the fenced grave was that of Corporal Buckup[14] of the Native Police noting that the grave was fenced 3 days after he was buried 'with full military honours'.

The Stud Road Marking and My Typed Report 1981-4

The meeting and attempt to mark the fenced pine tree grave site was the culmination of one or two previous visits to the paddocks, at least one interview with Park Ranger Bill Garner and correspondence with Mrs Bartlett and others, spread over several years. The inclement weather, and perhaps my impatience, meant that the bearings on the sketch map were not as

good as they should have been. According to Fels[15] Mrs Bartlett and I were accompanied by Sgt Bliss of the Dandenong Police on this day although I have no recall of him being present whatsoever. He was however definitely one of my correspondents and it may have been through him that I contacted Mrs Bartlett.

Over the next few days I typed out a report based on my research and Mrs Bartlett's folk history and sent about 8 copies off to various interested parties including to the Victorian Archaeological Survey (VAS), Jane Lennon, who was then historian at National Parks, Sgt Bliss and Bill Garner, Churchill Park ranger. Marie Fels in her work for her 1990 VAS papers seems to have traced most of these copies. The report was very rough with lots of typos, punctuation and the occasional spelling error. But it was important as it established that there was almost definitely a cemetery at the Native Police Station and that there were at least 12 Aboriginals[16] buried there. Later using the Day Book and Aboriginal Protectorate records I compiled a list of more than 20 individuals. My perusal of the Protectorate records was with a bias towards information on Gippsland and so I may have missed some burials. Further burials could possibly be located in William Thomas' quarterly reports to the Chief Protector held in the PROV.

One of the results from this paper was a visit by VAS officials to the site, about which I was unaware. In 1982 I was a guest speaker at the Dandenong Historical Society on the topic of Bungeleen and the Native Police Cemetery. I ended my talk with a poem I had written about the Bungeleen story. The poem romanticised the episode and tended at times to doggerel about the hero/victim and was written partly in frustration at being unable to conclude the story to my satisfaction. "Black is the night, his skin and his hair / and oh shall my Bungeleen die in despair?"[17] Historians turning to fiction often create more problems than they solve[18]. After the meeting I spoke briefly with Tess de Araugo who was in the audience. Tess was Philip Pepper's co-author in *You Are What You Make Yourself To Be* (Hyland House, Melbourne, 1980) which I had recently praised in a VHJ review[19]. Unfortunately I remember nothing of our conversation except that she asked whether I intended to publish anything in book form to which I replied that I had no plans to do so. In 1984 the Warragul Education Centre published *Gippsland Massacres* in which my first essay on DeVilliers and Warman became the white woman chapter.

The Kurnai of Gippsland 1985

Philip Pepper & Tess De Araugo published *The Kurnai of Gippsland* (Hyland House, Melbourne) in 1985. Their work has two chapters on the subject at hand. The first, Chapter 16, entitled 'Bunjil-ee-nee' was a recount of the hunts for the white woman and Chapter 17 'Sons of Bunjil-ee-nee' the story of John and Thomas Bungeleen. These chapters, though different, roughly corresponded with my own earlier essays. Further both works were distinctly in sympathy with one another. Pepper and De Araugo used some sources I had either neglected or overlooked - in particular an anonymous diary written by a member of the second Gippsland expedition to recover the white woman. They noted "Bunjil-ee-nee seems quite downhearted but still keeps as stubborn as ever regarding the white woman. He shakes his head when told he will be kept until the woman is delivered up"[20]; that when away in the mountains "his family would be left at Eagle Point under guard"[21]; that "when they left for Melbourne they would take them with him to be hanged"[22]. Though held captive at Narre

Warren Superintendent La Trobe acknowledged that Bungeleen "cannot be detained by legal forms"[23] - in other words his imprisonment was illegal. According to William Thomas Bungeleen died "of grief".[24]

Good Men and True 1988

Marie Fels' *Good Men and True* (MUP, Melbourne) was published in 1988 and is a comprehensive, and highly sympathetic, history of the Native Police. In the same year *Through Foreign Eyes* was published by the Centre for Gippsland Studies and I self-published *Our Founding Murdering Father* (The Author, Ensay) which later became the first title in my publishing venture Ngarak Press. *Through Foreign Eyes* had a refined and updated version of my 1981 paper on the cemetery added to the end of the chapter on Bungeleen. This chapter was the early VHJ essay 'A Melancholy Tale' republished as The Victims: the Bungeleen Family - with hindsight perhaps an inappropriate title. *Our Founding Murdering Father* had a chapter on the white woman affair, and more specifically, on Angus McMillan's dominant role in starting and promoting it. This was in contrast with Fels who considered the white woman story was a 'hoax' of Aboriginal origins. In the second edition of *Gippsland Massacres* (1993)[25] I made a fairly detailed criticism of *Good Men and True* from a Gippsland and Kurnai perspective including the 'hoax origins'. But aside from a brief mention of the Aboriginal women at Narre Warren that they were "supported by the Corps, buried by the Corps…"[26] there was no mention of the cemetery, the Bungeleen family's occupation and imprisonment there for nearly 18 months, or of the deaths of between one and three of their number. The following year I transferred my study priorities to the coal mining union in South Gippsland, and then Melbourne Land Boom history and penned only occasional brief essays on the Kurnai.

Who Killed the Koories 1990

In his *Who Killed the Koories* (Heinemann Melbourne 1990) Michael Cannon has a chapter on the white woman hunts entitled 'White Woman Captured by Gippsland Blacks'. In my brief review in the revised edition of *Gippsland Massacres* I acknowledged this work and dealt with it briefly in a few sentences.[27] Whilst Cannon repeats some of Fels' errors generally this is a better account of the 'white woman' episode. On the first page of this chapter he acknowledges that the originator of the story was Angus McMillan. He disparages the views and evidence of de Villiers and Warman as originating from 'hearsay' and accepts that, like Fels, they were gulled by a habitué of a Port Albert Inn – most unlikely in my opinion. On the other hand he accepts that the Bungeleen family were held 'hostage' noting "Tyers disbanded the party, and asked Henry Dana to take charge of the hostages at Narre Warren Native Police camp".[28] Cannon also notes the death of one of Bungeleen's wives (Mumbalk) and that they were kept "amid scenes of idle drunkenness."[29] After Bungeleen's death Cannon incorrectly noted: "the old man's remaining wife and three sons were raised with the Native Police at Narre Warren: their fate seems to be unknown."[30]

The Stud Road VAS Reports by Fels and Rhodes 1990[31]

The first thing to note about these reports is that although they were done more than 25 years ago I did not read them until quite recently (late 2016). There is also a report by Fels to the Department of Conservation Forests and Lands in 1986 which remains unsighted. It appears that the work of Fels and Rhodes was at least in part instigated by my original note on the Native Police Cemetery. What follows is a brief summary of these reports in relation to the cemetery only and a reply to direct and implied criticisms of my original paper.

In general the papers are all sympathetic to the idea that the cemetery exists and should be rediscovered. In Volume 1 Fels has a heading 'Deaths and Burials' where in a short piece she records the deaths of 12 individuals on the station between 1845 and 1853[32]. She noted that there was "no hint anywhere in the written records as to where the graves were located."[33] Further there is a period from the end of 1843 to 1844 when we have few detailed records. My *Through Foreign Eyes* was then available listing 23 individuals buried here but this work was obviously unsighted by Fels. In Volume 2 she has far more detail under the heading 'Graves' amounting to nearly 5 pages where she critically examines my work, the evidence of Mrs Bartlett, and the 'myth' of Bungeleen. She notes "It seems essential… to make a clear distinction between fact and opinion and belief, about the site of the graves, even to the point of spelling out the status of any statement."[34] I hope to do this with regards these VAS reports below.

The Archaeological report by David Rhodes had as one of its major aims to locate the cemetery. Rhodes noted that "A remote sensing (resistivity) survey was conducted… by Don Ransom from VAS. The objective of the survey was to attempt to locate the site of the Native Police Cemetery."[35] Five areas were selected for remote sensing as the possible location of the cemetery. From what I can glean from the report plans none of these locations appear to be anywhere near that suggested by Mrs Bartlett, as both Rhodes and Fels appear to have discounted her suggestion. Another flood plain site to the south, favoured by the VAS field officers in 1981 was also not examined due to the fibrous nature of roots in the ground.[36] The search of these sites for the cemetery was unsuccessful.

In conclusion Rhodes noted: "If there is a cemetery associated with the site, it is likely to be located some distance from the buildings, but in an area that would have been readily accessible. The most likely place for a cemetery meeting the above criteria would be along the road leading into the site from Dandenong… The cemetery may have been located a short distance away from the road…"[37] Rhodes then qualified this statement by suggesting that the cemetery is more likely to be found on higher ground and to the north and east of the buildings rather than the south or west. However an examination of Rhodes' plan shows that the road to Dandenong from the Native Police buildings was to the west of them and almost entirely on flood prone land before crossing Dandenong Creek. Mrs Bartlett's location fits with Rhodes' general description being about 150m north-west of the road and 400m west nor west of the most southerly of the Police buildings. See the Rhodes' plan below with Mrs Bartlett's cemetery location added.

Some Criticisms of the VAS Reports

1. My attempt in 1981 at marking the fenced grave and the compass bearings I took Rhodes described as 'spurious'. Fels described it as "an inconsistency in the bearings which do not close." I find it disappointing that the VAS field officers who attempted to find the location of the fenced grave marked with the steel post could not do so and also that they made no attempt to contact me. If the VAS Memo on file (6.8.1981) is the date they attempted to confirm this then it occurred in the month immediately following the marking. The steel post should still have been in situ as all the landmarks were present on which the bearings were taken including the 'Lady Franklin' pine. I have now made rough schematic diagrams of the compass bearings and they all intersect with a small margin of error leaving a small triangle of land. I have then superimposed this information to mark the approximate location on the Rhodes plan. Assuming the plan is aligned true north the location is slightly north of west from the southernmost buildings marked and approximately half way between them and Stud Rd. Note the place originally marked was thought to be within a 50 foot radius of the grave. Allowances should be made for this plus a margin of error of at least the same distance in locating the marker.[38] When the bearings were taken the number of features that one could site with the compass from the marker were limited. I did not notice that my SE bearing of 130 on the road (very poor but observable features in this quarter must have been lacking) and the NW bearing of 310 on 'left hand aerial in the distance' were in a straight line. The magnetic bearings taken were meant to be a rough guide done quickly. I stood on the spot and rotated in a circle searching for identifiable features in the distance and noting the bearings. Following a reverse bearing from one of the localities such as the 'Lady Franklin Tree' site or the Stud Rd Bridge the marker should have been easily located. I requested a copy of the VAS memo to see where I went wrong but have been informed that it is not available. Unless the cemetery is found elsewhere it may be necessary to examine this site if only to prove the Bartlett thesis in the negative.
2. The suggested location of the cemetery by the VAS field officers at the other pine tree south of the ridge, near Brady Rd and beside a playing field I discounted in my 1981 notes for a number of reasons besides the memory of Mrs Bartlett. The pine tree did not seem old enough but an age could be ascertained. This raises the question of when the tree was planted for which we have no answer. A deep ditch (about half a metre) passed by this tree, and if this is the correct location, through the middle of the cemetery. One wonders how deep the graves were dug. Notably it is outside the area being considered for preservation by Heritage Victoria (see plan below). This site was considered too difficult for remote sensing by Rhodes and was not surveyed.
3. The discounting of the 'flood plain' as a possible cemetery site by Rhodes is in my view mistaken. The ground on the plain may have been much easier digging. I do not have to travel far (about a Kilometre) from my current home in Bairnsdale to locate a European cemetery that was once located on flood prone land by the Mitchell River. This first Bairnsdale cemetery was used for about a decade from 1860 before a big flood starting washing bodies from the site causing it to be relocated. Also both these pine tree grave locations originally suggested – Mrs Bartlett's as well as that by the

VAS site officers - are on flood prone land. It is also of note that the Dandenong Creek was in flood at the time of Bungeleen's burial indicating that the cemetery is definitely located north of the creek.[39] The sketch map also indicates the Bartlett site is north of a more recently constructed levee, though this is now not obvious. There is also the question of detail about both these sites – how close they are to the creek, how far are they above flood level if at all and the possible frequency of the sites actually flooding. More detail is needed.

4. Fels examined the folk history of the 1920s and 30s and noted that Mrs Bartlett was the only one of a number who lived on the station to remember any graves, specifically the fenced grave with the pine tree. All of us are fallible, but since there were demonstrably more than 20 burials here Mrs Bartlett is at least correct in this regard – that of at least one burial plot. Further a 'fenced grave', if not that of Bungeleen, is also confirmed by the records. In this, and similar instances, my preference is for the positive story rather than the absence of one.
5. Fels is critical of Mrs Bartlett for propagating the Bungeleen 'myth'. According to Mrs Bartlett the fenced grave was that of a 'great chief' of Gippsland who died of a 'broken heart'. But it is the claims by Pepper, Cannon and myself that Bungeleen and his family were ill-treated and held as hostages that Fels clearly objects to. She wrote "There is no evidence that he was captured as a hostage as is commonly written". This is incorrect. I think that Tyers and possibly La Trobe did mention this possibly in the White Woman Mss in the Latrobe Library.[40] Thomas mentions a number of times in his journal that Bungeleen was held as 'hostage' for the white woman.[41] I also quoted William Thomas to that effect in my *Through Foreign Eyes* in 1994 [42] that "not finding the white woman they secured by stratagem the old chief, Bungeleen, and they determined to detain him and his two wives as hostages…" Thomas added: "The old chief, with his family, was brought from Gipps Land to the Native Police barracks at Narree Narree Warren, where he was brutally chained to a gum tree for many days and nights…" [43] Thomas is one of Fels' main sources. He is also mine.
6. Fels posed the question that the fenced grave may have been of a horse rather than that of Corporal Buckup. The horse grave according to her description is near the stables, the site marked by Mrs Bartlett is approximately 300 metres, possibly more, from the main buildings. Also we have different descriptions of post & rail and picket fences (see image below). Also we have one with a pine tree in it – clearly of some age. The fenced grave when it is eventually located will have companions and the horse grave will not. It is interesting that the remote sensing survey done in the Rhodes report was searching for a four grave burial pattern although there is no indication as to why this was chosen.
7. Whilst it is difficult to establish from the plan in the Rhodes report the exact location of the five sites selected for remote sensing in the search for the cemetery it appears that none of these sites appear to be anywhere near the area indicated by Mrs Bartlett. Both Fels and Rhodes appear to have completely discounted her evidence and searched elsewhere. One site favoured by Marie Fels as the cemetery location was surveyed and was definitely negative.
8. Fels suggests the burial of Bungeleen would have been separate from Native police. She noted that Thomas said they "were anxious to be separated from strangers even in death."[44] I accept that this is likely but analogous to divisions between religious

groupings in a European cemetery – which this cemetery definitely was although there were probably no Europeans buried here. If so once the cemetery is accurately mapped such patterns may help in identifying individual graves. For example the graves of Bungeleen and his family are likely to be removed from the others in a grouping of 2 or 3. The Native police burials may also be apart from the others.

The Victorian Heritage Council Report 2016[45]

The full title of this report is an 'Assessment of Cultural Heritage Significance and Executive Director Recommendation to the Heritage Council' and its single recommendation is "That Nerre Nerre Warren be included as a Heritage Place and Archaeological Place in the Victorian Heritage Register under the Heritage Act 1995 [Section 32 (1)(a)]." [46] It then outlines the area that is covered by the recommendation (see below). Unfortunately the original cemetery site suggested by VAS field officers is outside this area in the vicinity of the playing fields to the south towards Dandenong Creek. The site suggested by Mrs Bartlett is covered. The report noted "There are Aboriginal burials relating to the Native Police Corps and Protectorate phases at Nerre Nerre Warren, although the locations are unknown. Identification of the location of the burials would provide important information as to the funeral practices of Aboriginal People in the 1800s." [47] No mention is made of a cemetery but the report did note that "Recent LiDAR imagery (remote sensing technology) has given further evidence of subsurface features. There is some indication of disturbance by fossickers, most likely individuals with metal detectors (March 2015)".[48] This recent work was not referenced.

My Pursuit Revived 2016

In 2010 I retired and, downsizing, our house was sold 2 years later. Amongst other things this required condensing more than 20 boxes of notes and papers down to about 4. Amongst all this I discovered a copy of my 1981 report on the Cemetery which I decided to keep. A year or so later I decided to load it onto the publications page of my website as a jpg file free to anyone interested. Whilst the typos and spelling mistakes were embarrassing and the written material had long been available in a properly edited form in *Through Foreign Eyes* the maps had never been previously published and this justified my decision to make it available. Then at the start of 2016 there was the widely publicised unveiling of the memorial at the Victoria Market dedicated to Maulboyheenner and Tunnermitterwaite the two Tasmanian Aboriginals hung in Melbourne in 1841. This in turn reminded me that my original aim in the 'pursuit' was to have some sort of memorial erected on site that marked the grave and acknowledged the tragic story of Bungeleen and his family. Consequently I began reading all the available material (or in many cases re-reading), obtaining copies of the 1990 VAS reports and other published material on the site, and entering into correspondence with Heritage Victoria, local historians and others.

The Journals of William Thomas [49]

William Thomas was often absent from Narre Warren even during the Protectorate time there – from late 1840 to 1843 – as his charges, or most of them, often abandoned the station and he was forced to follow them. However the burial records for this period must be considered reasonably accurate. [50] Once stationed at Merri Creek his records of burials at Stud Road probably have gaps. Often there is no indication in his journals as to where a death or burial took place. Because of his quickly acquired antipathy to the Native Police, and to Henry Dana in particular, he seldom visited there[51] and his records of the deaths at the Police headquarters must have relied mainly on natives who were more or less continuously moving between the various camps. Following the end of the protectorate in December 1849 when Thomas was appointed "Guardian of Aborigines" for the counties of Evelyn and Bourke around Melbourne until the end of 1852 there is barely a mention of the Native Police or Aboriginal deaths there in his journal.[52] For example the sensational shooting of 3rd Officer William Dana by 2nd Officer William Walsh in January 1851 is not mentioned. Nor is the death of Commandant Henry Dana in November 1852. This neglect can be partly explained as the Native Police headquarters were just outside the Bourke county and Thomas' area of responsibility - the boundary being Dandenong Creek. However careful reading of the journals has provided us with an updated cemetery list with more than 30 burials (see Appendix below) and this must be considered the minimum number.

The Day Book [53]

A return to the Day Book, now available in its entirety online, clearly illustrates how this record was only concerned with the day to day operations of the station. The first day entry is on 29 January 1845, after the Native Police had been in existence for nearly three years, although for more than half this time they were stationed at Merri Creek. By the beginning of 1844 the Protectorate had withdrawn from Narre Warren and the Native Police returned. Whilst Narre Warren was the headquarters and main place of operations a depot was also maintained at Merri Creek. As far as I am aware there is no Day Book for the Merri Creek operations or for 1844 at Narre Warren. The book rarely mentions women, either European or Aboriginal. Sophia Dana, Henry Dana's wife, gets only about 3 mentions in 8 years although she is living there all the time. As Fels noted above the women were "supported by the Corps, buried by the Corps…" For most of the time of the Native Police were at Narre Warren there was also a substantial Aboriginal camp made up mainly of relatives of the enlisted men. Further women were often attracted to the Native Police as they, and their relatives, were rationed. Boys from the Merri Creek school also found the prospect of joining the Native Police attractive and were almost certainly encouraged in this by Henry Dana, who was in Melbourne and at Merri Creek on a regular basis. Aside from the occasional death in the camp [54] the Day Book makes no mention of these people. This camp must have been quite large if we allow for a conservative average of two dependants per Native trooper – at times with 60 or more in residence.

A Return to Stud Road

I made a brief visit to the Police Paddocks on 6 June 2017. The flood plain between Stud Road and the low ridge where Native Police buildings were originally located was occupied by a large mob of kangaroos. None of the places that I originally took bearings on to mark the fenced grave site in 1981 were now visible. The 'Lady Franklin' tree and the scoreboard of the Rowville football club are gone and the rest obscured by trees planted since then and now 30 foot high all along the Dandenong Creek and Stud Road. Stud Road was in 1981 a single tarmac with little vegetation beside it and the golf course and suburbs to the west and south were then clearly visible. Likewise the banks of Dandenong Creek were also bare. The bridge over the creek is obviously still in the same place though obscured by the vegetation. I approached the bridge corner and then took a reverse bearing of 62 degrees and walked towards our original marking spot sending the roos in all directions. I approached an east west fence not previously there. There were a substantial number of low blackberry bushes that did not impede my progress and I reached the general area we marked in 1981. This is at the northernmost end of an arc that stretches south towards the creek in which Mrs Bartlett's fenced grave hopefully lies. I wandered then south amongst the gorse bushes and close to the ridge. There had been substantial rain and the flats seem a little lower close to the ridge. A dam has been constructed here which was full. I then drove around to the pine tree south of the ridge near Brady Rd. It is still there and definitely much larger than I remembered. Whilst the root system of this tree covers an area about 20 X 20 m it is a pity the Rhodes survey did not conduct their search around its periphery as a cemetery with at least thirty burials would extend well beyond this area. Assuming, of course, that it is not the cemetery site it would have been another possible location confirmed in the negative. It seems that the revegetation program, presumably by the National Parks, has left few of the possible cemetery sites – amongst them that suggested by Mrs Bartlett.

Q & A

1. Is there a cemetery? It seems most unlikely that the burial of about 30 individuals would be spread haphazardly around the paddocks or that there are even several burial places. It is most likely that the burials were generally in one area although there may be some distance between some of the graves. This is the one thing all the interested parties appear to agree on.
2. How many buried? Fels list refers only to Native Police related burials, whilst my list has added burials for the Aboriginal Protectorate. My original list of 23 individuals possibly contains a duplication and I made no claim to it being comprehensive as my bias was towards Gippsland. Fels list suggests that Corporal Gellibrand is also buried here although there is no documentary evidence to support this and William Thomas stated otherwise.[55]A similar situation arises with the third child in the Bungeleen family who most likely died in 1848. Finally there is a very slim chance that the cemetery also contains one or more European burials. One of Henry and Sophia Dana's children died whilst they were resident at Narre Warren but it is unlikely she was interred here. There were other European couples and children resident on the

station at various times between 1842 and 1852. Further there are some gaps in the documentary evidence which would indicate a cemetery with at least 30 graves.

3. The tribal affiliations of those buried needs further research. The Native Police were originally drawn from the Wurundjeri and the Bunurong. The early Protectorate burials would be members of the same tribes. There was one burial of a Native Policeman of the Geelong district. Further there were burials of Native Police of unknown or uncertain tribal origins who came from Mt Macedon, Port Fairy and the Wimmera. As well there were the graves of the Kurnai - Bungeleen, possibly Mumbalk and most probably a young child. I am aware of 2 interested parties for the Kurnai, 2 for the Bunurong, one for the Wurundjeri and at least 4 other tribal groups giving about 10 Aboriginal groups with an interest in the cemetery.
4. Mrs Bartlett insisted that the fenced grave was towards the setting sun from the farmhouse. Unfortunately we have no idea of what time of year this observation was made or when it was remembered. Museum Victoria indicates that for Melbourne there is a 30 degree variation from the equinox to the solstices giving a 60 degree arc of the direction of the setting sun from a single point over a full year. If the site is approximately 400 m from the buildings this arc gives us a north south variation of more than 250m. The site we marked is north of due west from the southern-most building (see map) indicating a siting closer to the winter solstice and towards the northern end of the arc. The southern end of this arc is between the old track and Dandenong Creek and close to the latter. Allowing for minor floods the Bartlett grave and the cemetery should be located in a narrow band north of the old track to the site we marked – approximately 160m long by 30m wide. This also fits the main criteria postulated by Rhodes.
5. How was the grave fenced? Post and Rail or picket fence. Mrs Bartlett informed Fels that the grave was fenced with a picket fence.[56] If so then iron nails were probably used. My knowledge of metal detectors is extremely limited but if so there may possibly be a detectable halo from these nails in the outline of a small rectangle.[57] [see image below]

Where to from here?

To me the cemetery is by far the most important site in the Stud Road Police paddocks, more so than the actual buildings used by the protectorate and the police paddocks. The point of this exercise is to have the cemetery located, mapped and eventually have a memorial erected on the spot or nearby. Obviously there is doubt about the various suggested locations. The priority should be therefore to test each of these sites in turn to locate the cemetery beyond doubt. Surely this should be possible now with the advances in non-intrusive technology. My original motivation in 1981 was partially prompted by the fear that the site would disappear under suburbia and unable to predict the advances in archaeological technology (or even that of the desk top computer) I incorrectly thought that Mrs Bartlett's best guess would be the last word on the matter. The tools are now available to do much better. In some circumstances a pursuit never ends. This one definitely remains a work in progress. I hope that some action will be taken as I definitely can't wait another 35 years.

Ideally Heritage Victoria will convene a sub-committee involving representatives of all interested parties – Aboriginal groups, local and academic historians and archaeologists –

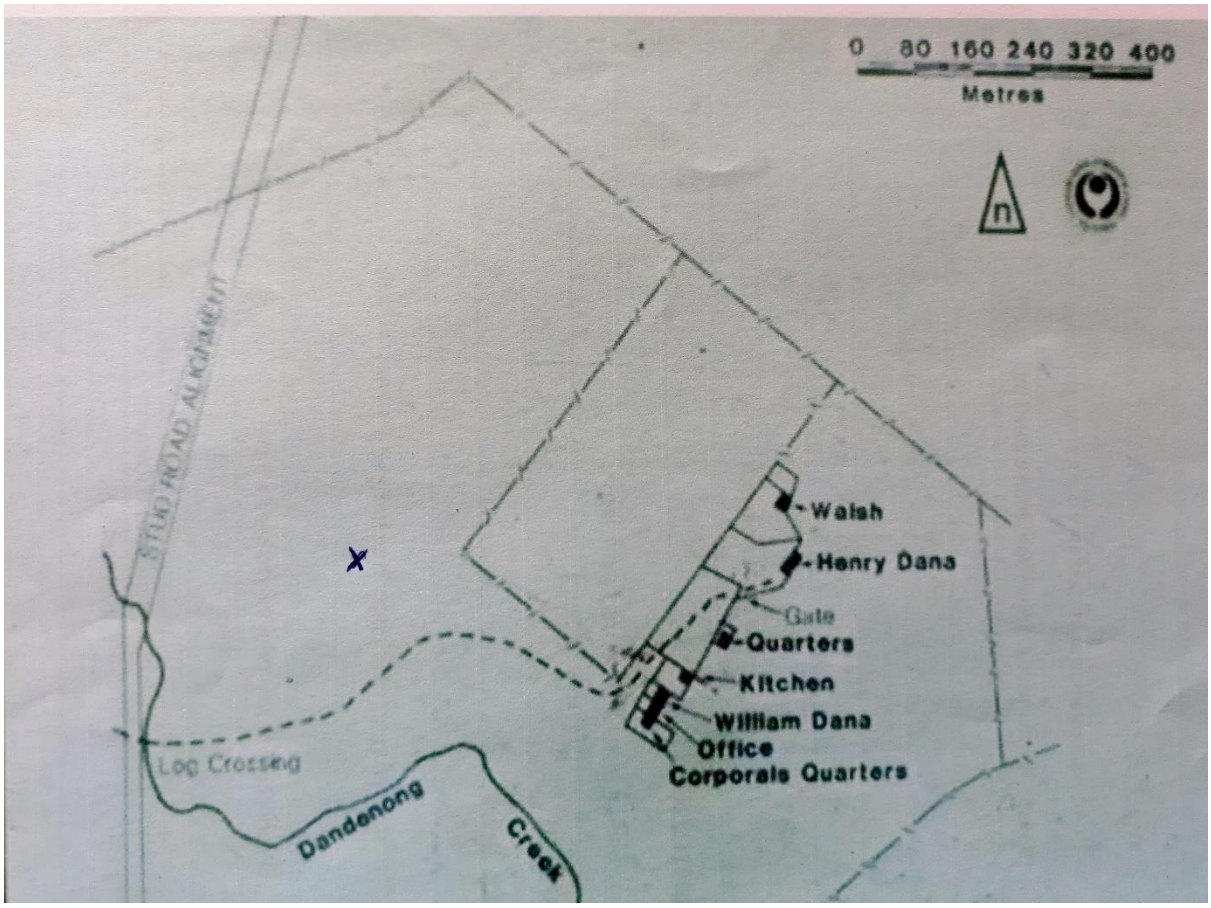
whose sole purpose will be to locate the cemetery and make recommendations about it. The rediscovery may take some time and some perseverance may be required but the tools for this purpose - modern non-invasive technology - are at hand.

Appendix

Likely Burials at Stud Road Native Cemetery 1841-1852

Date	Name	Tribe/Location	Source	Comment
1.5.41	Kanberlernin	Wurundjeri*	Stephens	p.288 Coroners Inquest on 1.5
May 41	little girl	"	"	Buried at foot of Kanberlernin
"	Elderly woman	"	"	Morragine?
31.5.41	Old Man	"	"	
5.6.41	Morragine	"	"	Same as above?
30.9.41	Brennulk	"	Thomas	8 yo female
3.10.41	Burgattergrord	"	"	8 yo male / Robinson has female
14.2.42	Jack Weatherly	"	Stephens	Snakebite / buried?
Mar 43	Infant	"	"	Christian burial by Thomas
22.1.44	Vein Perm	"	"	Very sick sent to NW no further record?
22.9.45	Kunnurrbrook	"	Thomas	Female 63 not in Day Book
29.10.45	Kuttergery	?	Stephens	NP no detail where buried?
4.11.45	Jamie	Port Fairy	"	NP not in Day Book Tuggendun?
15.11.45	Suzannah	Wurundjeri	"	Female 8 yo 'whooping cough'
17.3.46	Infant	"	Thomas	Female 2 days
Aug 46	Billebellary	"	Fels	Where buried? Merri Ck?
26.11.46	Unnamed male	Wimmera	DB	NP 17 yo
Dec 46	Tostarook	Barrabool	Thomas	Female 22
?	Womery	?	Stephens	Buried NW
2.2.47	Lubra	?	"	"
17.3.47	Infant	"	"	" 2 do
23.12.47	Wigal's brother	Bunurong	"	" 14 yo
6.3.48	Budgery Tom	Wurundjeri	Thomas	50 yo
5.8.48	Mumbalk	Kurnai	"	16 yo conflict w records where died
2.9.48	Corporal Buckup	Wurundjeri	DB	Grave fenced 3 days later
21.11.48	Bungeleen	Kurnai	DB	All men on station attend
? 48	Male child	"	-	Assumed fatality & burial
5.9.49	Old Mary	?	Thomas	
30.10.49	Old Murray	?	DB	
11.12.49	Nathergary	?	Fels	No other details
4.11.50	Tunmile	?	DB	NP
14.12.50	Poligerry	?	"	"
14.4.51	Snowball	?	"	"
14.1.52	Corporal Gellibrand	Wurundjeri	Fels	Assumes buried NW Thomas S Yarra
1.4.52	Trooper Billy	?	DB	

* As Thomas was responsible for both Wurundjeri and Bunurong it is possible that a number of these fatalities were from the latter tribe



Rhodes Plan plus Mrs Bartlett location marked ‘x’

Estimate of cemetery location using google earth and reverse bearing from Lady Franklin tree site by a local historian

A restored picket fence grave South Bruny Island (Marg Gardner). It seems highly unlikely that a fence of this type would be used to fence a horse’s grave.

VHC plan 2016 report

[1] There are various spellings of the name Bungeleen, including Bungulun, Bungelene, Bungaleen, Bungeleena and Bungil-ee-nee. By definition a 'pursuit' is largely personal and so this essay is in part autobiography and part historiography.

[2] Gardner, Peter D. *Gippsland Massacres*, Ngarak Press, Ensay 1993 2nd edition p.75
[3] When Thomas visited the Bungeleen family in March 1848 there were 3 adults and 3 children. When Mrs Dana applied to the Chief Protector to have custody of the children in January 1849 there were only two children.
[4] I use here the Gippsland tribal grouping from Howitt but note that current descendants call themselves the Gunaikurnai. Elsewhere I have used the tribal groupings of Tindale.
[5] Gardner, Peter D. The Journals of DeVilliers and Warman in the Victoria Historical Journal 50:2:1979
[6] Gardner, P.D. *Gippsland Massacres*, Warragul Education Centre, Warragul, 1984
[7] Gardner, Peter D. A Melancholy Tale in the Victoria Historical Journal 52:2:1981
[8] Gardner, P.D. *Through Foreign Eyes*, Centre for Gippsland Studies, Churchill 1988
[9] Pepper & De Araugo. *The Kurnai of Gippsland*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1985 p.88 I assume Tess De Araugo was endeavouring to trace the burial sites of John and Thomas about the same time as I was. Despite what John Hinkins claimed they were buried as paupers and thus it was not possible to have headstones on their graves.
[10] Day Book [Native Police Corps, Narre Warren]Now available in digital files from the Public Records Office of Victoria

http://access.prov.vic.gov.au/public/component/daPublicBaseContainer?component=daViewFile&entityId=090fe273815920da

[11] My preference is to use the modern term although this now is at a different locality. Spelt variously Nerre Nerre Worran, Narree Narree Warren etc.
[12] See my original type written paper here http://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/The-Burial-Place-of-Bungeleen.pdf

[13] Fels, Marie Hansen. *Victorian Archaeological Survey Reports on the Dandenong Police Paddocks*, Occasional Report 25, 1990 Vol.1 p.16
[14] Also spelt Buggup
[15] Fels, Marie Hansen. *Victorian Archaeological Survey Reports*… 1990 Vol.1 p.17
[16] There may have been a duplication in my original list
[17] Angove, Amelia. (pseud) *Bungeleen and other bush songs*, The Author, Ensay, 1988
[18] Elsewhere and using the same pseudonym of A. Angove or Amelia Angove I created a fictional account (short story) built on some of snippets of information surrounding a massacre in the Omeo district at Innisfail known locally as the "Valley of the Dead". See Angove, A. *mt.nugong no.22: poems and stories*, Ngarak Press, Ensay, 1992 pp.22-4. Unfortunately this has, incorrectly, been picked up and claimed as a primary source of massacres by others.
[19] Pepper & de Araugo. *You Are What You Make Yourself To Be* Hyland House, Melbourne, 1980. My review in the Victorian Historical Journal Vol 52 No. 2 1981 p.132
[20] Pepper & De Araugo. *The Kurnai of Gippsland* pp.70-71
[21] ibid
[22] ibid p.73
[23] ibid p.74
[24] ibid
[25] Gardner, Peter D. *Gippsland Massacres*, Ngarak Press, Ensay 1993 pp.108-111
[26] Fels, Marie Hansen. *Good Men and True*, MUP, Melbourne, 1988 p.75
[27] Gardner, Peter D. *Gippsland Massacres*…. p.108
[28] Cannon, Michael. *Who Killed the Koories* Heinemann Melbourne 1990 p. p.215
[29] ibid p.216
[30] Ibid. When William Thomas visited Narre Warren in March 1848 there were six in the family. About this time Mumbalk may have left the station, with or without a child, and gone with some Bunurong to Western Port. She died soon after in June or July either at Narre Warren or at Peronheup Western Port. After Bungeleen's death there remained Parley and 2 children. See Endnote 3. The fate of the third child is a mystery but is quite possibly interred at Narre Warren. Parley, renamed Kitty, and her 2 children were removed to Merri Creek on 1.4.49. Kitty had an affair with the eldest student at the school (Stephens, M. *The Journal of William Thomas*, Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages, Melbourne, 2014, Vol.2 p.404) about August and moved backwards and forwards between Merri Creek and Narre Warren where she cohabited with, or married, a Native Policeman. She abandoned her children in April 1850 and died on Diamond Creek less than a year later. The orphans became educated and celebrated. For their story see Ch.10 of my *Through Foreign Eyes* and Ch.17 of Pepper *The Kurnai of Gippsland*…
[31] Fels, Marie Hansen. *Victorian Archaeological Survey Reports on the Dandenong Police Paddocks*, Occasional Report 25 Vols 1 & 2, 1990; Rhodes, David. *Victorian Archaeological Survey Reports on the Dandenong Police Paddocks*, Occasional Report 25, Vol.3, 1990

[32] Fels. 1990 Vol. 1 pp.33-4. Fels list is compiled from the Day Book and does not have any of the deaths from the Aboriginal Protectorate that preceded the Native Police burials – by my count at least 5.
[33] ibid
[34] Fels. 1990 Vol. 2 p.17
[35] Rhodes. 1990 Vol. 3 p.38
[36] Presumably because of difficulties with the tree roots obstructing the remote sensor. Hopefully non-intrusive methods have advanced substantially in the last 25 years.
[37] Rhodes. 1990 Vol. 3 p.44
[38] One example of faulty memory involved my return to the Warrigal Creek waterhole massacre site after more than 20 years. The waterhole was not near the Darriman road as I recalled but a substantial distance from it.
[39] Stephens M. *The Journal of William Thomas*… Vol. 2 p.343 22.11.1848
[40] MS 10065 White Woman manuscripts (compiled by Bill Cuthill) State Library of Victoria
[41] Stephens, M. *The Journal of William Thomas*… vol.2 p.343
[42] Gardner P. *Through Foreign Eyes*… p.94 in second edition but also in the original edition published in 1988

[43] W. Thomas Victorian Parliamentary Papers 1861-2, Vol. 3 p.8. Though there is virtually no evidence I suspect that both Bungeleen's wives were sexually exploited by members of the Native Police and their hangers on possibly at Eagle Point and more likely at Narre Warren. The fact that it was claimed that Mumbalk was a Bunurong stolen some time previously by Bungeleen was accepted by Robinson and more recently accepted as accurate by Fels (Fels *I Succeeded Once* pp.288-9). This is in my opinion most unlikely. It is more likely that this claim was just a ruse to obtain possession of one of the women and this appears to have been successful. Likewise Bunurong males appear to have been regularly pursuing Parley (renamed Kitty) when she was at the Merri Creek school. Also of note in the Thomas quote is that Bungeleen was 'secured by stratagem' - that is he was tricked and deceived.

[44] Stephens, M. *The Journal of William Thomas*… Vol 2 p.17

[45] Nerre Nerre Warren (Dandenong Police Paddocks) PROV H2348 Heritage Place, Archaeological Place, File Number: FOL/15/31741 Hermes No.13456

[46] ibid

[47] ibid p.18 I have some doubt about the second sentence and would suggest the funerals were mixed. Individually they were either Christian, Aboriginal or military funerals.

[48] Ibid p.19

[49] Stephens, M. *The Journal of William Thomas*…

[50] Ibid Vol. 1 The first death recorded at Narre Warren is that of a lubra who was burned and whose death required a Coroners Inquest (p.288). The second death appears be that of a little girl. Thomas noted that the mother "beg'd that her child be buried at the foot of the lubra which was done." (p.289)

[51] Ibid Vol 2 p.134. On a visit to Narre Warren on 25.10.1845 Thomas was surprised that his reception was not antagonistic and noted "Mr Dana treated me better than I could have expected."

[52] There are 3 references in Thomas' Journal after the Protectorate had finished. On 5.7.1850 Kitty (Parley) was at Narre Warren. On 5.11.1850 Tunmile a native policeman died and on 19.4.51 Charlie Never went there to assist the Tailor. Stephens, M. *The Journal of William Thomas*… Vol. 2. It is most unlikely that Thomas actually visited Narre Warren after the Protectorate ended.

[53] See note 10

[54] As far as I can make out the Day Book mentions only 3 deaths at Narre Warren that were not those of Native policemen.

[55] In Thomas Francis Bride (ed.), *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, Public Library of Victoria, Melbourne, 1898, p.72 Thomas states that Gellibrand was buried near the South Yarra Pound.

[56] Fels, M. Reports…vol. 2 p.18

[57] I am not familiar with modern non-invasive archaeological techniques. As the troopers were buried in their uniforms and assuming they had some brass buttons on their jackets these may be traceable using state of the art deep metal detectors. Rhodes noted in his report (p.24) that fossickers with metal detectors had recovered two brass buttons from the site. It is possible that being buried "with full military honours" also meant that their swords, a much larger target, were also buried with them.