Last Notes 2025

Introduction

I apologise for any repetition and errors in the following notes as much of this is based on memory. Most of these essays were written in the last year or so with two being resurrected from my archives of some previously unpublished material. The exceptions being the notes on the Kurnai language and my introspective analysis of my motivations for writing history both which were originally written more than 20 years ago and for either personal or political reasons not published until now. It is unlikely I will write any more of these essays barring a miraculous discovery of a new source such as Andrew Wrathall's discovery of the Login diary excerpts, originally published in the 1912 Gippsland Mercury and recently republished online in TROVE. Consequently these will probably be my last notes.

1. The Case of the Missing Reference

About 18 months ago Shane Rees [1] noted that he was unable to locate a reference I made on page 108 of the second edition of *Through Foreign Eyes*. Instead of listing the reference

exactly in an endnote as was done in the rest of the book it was described in the text as "a talk on Gippsland history given at Nyerimilang in 1907 and published with the permission of the Melbourne University Archives (MUA). The speaker knew the early pioneers of Gippsland…" The quote describes the murder of Macalister and the retaliation that was led by 'Capt. Macalister' and then went on to mention the Butchers Creek massacre and Allan McLean as a child, later to become Premier of Victoria. The inference being that the speaker at Nyerimilang may well have been McLean himself. The full quote went as follows:

> "One day they killed Ronald Macalister the most popular young man in the settlement. Capt. Macalister determined on a black raid. He mustered all the good shots and they kept up the chase until they found Ronald Macalister's clothes, killing over 500 blacks on the trip. Allan McLean had told the master he had seen hundreds of skulls near the beach south of Sale, many showing the bullet holes. Ronald Macalister was the man who lifted Allan McLean out of the boat when, at the age of 2 ½ years he landed at Port Albert. The weapons of the whites were only old army muskets and carbines but were superior to the crude native weapons. Another massacre of blacks was started at the Newlands backwater close to Paynesville. They had been very aggressive and the whites set upon their camp, drove them round through where Bairnsdale was now, swimming the backwater, the Nicholson and the Tambo, and rounded them up at the head of a little creek. There they killed every man woman and child and the place was known to this day as Butchers Creek."

After much searching by Shane and the MUA staff they were unable locate the reference. It was noted that another historian was also endeavouring to locate it. Shane described his search after the failure at the MUA:

> "I wrote and rang the Historical Societies at Maffra and Traralgon, and they did some research for me and found nothing. I visited Lakes Entrance, told them what I was looking for and gave them a copy of your p.108 TFE. They promised to get back to me but never did. I visited Nyerimilang and was given access to their library. They had a lot of old papers from the era. I went through them pretty thoroughly (spent whole morning there) but found nothing. I went to Bairnsdale HS and searched through your two boxes of working papers but again didn't find the missing quote. There was quite a lot of correspondence there between you and Patrick Morgan which seemed promising, but in the end yielded nothing." [2]

The second historian seeking the reference I recently learnt was Rob Christie. He wrote:

> "Macalister's role is supported in Gardner's Through Foreign Eyes, where he quotes from a speech given in 1907 by Allan McLean, a former Victorian Premier, at Nyerimilang homestead on the Gippsland Lakes. The written speech is reportedly held in the Melbourne University Archives. McLean knew the early Gippsland settlers and speaking of the Macalister murder said: 'Captain Macalister determined on a black raid. He mustered all the good shots and they kept up the chase… killing over 500 blacks on the trip'. [3]

Christie incorrectly end noted this with "48 Peter Dean Gardner, Through Foreign Eyes, Ensay, Vic.: Centre for Gippsland Studies, 1988, p.95. [4] I have not been successful in locating the speech in the Melbourne University Archives or its other collections."

Originally I thought the quote came from my research on the Disher Papers in the MUA and I may have misled Shane Rees on this matter. Much of this confusion can be explained by the process of editing by Paddy Morgan, which took a long time and was done manually rather than electronically over about 12 months – with the manuscript going backwards and forwards between Ensay and Churchill. Towards the end of 1987 when I was trying to get my McMillan book published, Paddy suggested that a final chapter be added which became chapter eleven – 'The Massacres: a retrospect'. This chapter summarised the various types of evidence for the massacres and had one page on "New Evidence". As a late, add on, chapter

and mostly revision and summary, end notes were not considered necessary. However in the 'new evidence' page, which appears to have mostly been written by Morgan, the Nyerimilang speech and a quote from Caroline Dexter's *Ladies Almanac* were added.

With hindsight this could have been done much better, with specific end notes added for these new pieces of information, as had been done in the rest of the book. Generally I have been fairly particular about my end notes and most have stood the test of time. Not for the first time my impatience – in this case to get the McMillan book published – held sway. The result was a compromise with both the location's descriptions in the text which then seemed quite adequate. However one only has stood the test of time whilst the other reference was discovered to be 'missing in action' many years later.

I contacted Paddy recently but he could not add any information on the work done more than 35 years ago. It is now clear that both the new pieces of evidence Morgan found whilst working in Melbourne and I had not viewed the originals of either of them – and I still have not – and the 'new evidence' section [5] of the last chapter was mostly written by him, with some input I hope, from me. Morgan's 'signature' on this evidence is his specialty on Gippsland literature where both Allan McLean and Caroline Dexter are mentioned, and in the case of the Dexters later became one of his full length publications [6]. Perhaps my correspondence with Morgan noted by Rees, now held by the EGHS, may hold a few clues. For a while it seemed a distinct possibility that Paddy may have inadvertently mixed his McLean references. Another possibility was the misspelling of Nyerimilang in the reference – a mistake I have also made.

Then a chance discovery on the internet led me to a quote from the same speech detailing the Butchers Creek massacre which initially led me to believe that someone had independently discovered the document. This was compiled by David Khyber Close who wrote:

> "An account of it is contained in a speech by Allan McLean, son of Highland Scots pioneers and Premier of Victoria in 1900.
>
> 'Another massacre of blacks was started at the Newlands backwater close to Paynesville. They had been very aggressive and the whites set upon their camp, drove them round through where Bairnsdale was now, swimming the backwater, the Nicholson and the Tambo, and rounded them up at the head of a little creek. There they killed every man woman and child and the place was known to this day as Butchers Creek.'" [7]

The endnote for this quote was "Allan McLean Speech Nyerimilang Papers, University of Melbourne Archives". It identified McLean as the speaker and the MUA as its location, but gave a different date for the speech presentation. However Shane Rees informed me that the most likely source for the quote was not the original reference but Morgan's *The Settling of Gippsland* (Gippsland Municipalities Association, Leongatha, 1997) which I have since confirmed. Similarly Close used Morgan's incorrect reference - the same as I had used in *Through Foreign Eyes* – and, like me, obviously had not read the original document either.

One wonders why McLean was not identified by Morgan as the author in *Through Foreign Eyes* but instead referred to him as the "speaker [who] knew the early pioneers of Gippsland…" Also it is of some note that McLean referred to himself in the talk in the third person: 'Ronald Macalister was the man who lifted Allan McLean out of the boat when, at

the age of 2 ½ years he landed at Port Albert.' Finally we are left with the discrepancy in the dates of 1900 and 1907 - whilst with the former date McLean was still the Premier of Victoria for most of the year. He held this office until 1 November 1900 when he was defeated. Whether this makes his speech more or less likely at this date I am not sure.

Shane continued in his email:

> "You should note that Morgan only quotes 2nd half of your quote, leaving out the part about 'Capt Macalister'. On checking back with p.108 TFE, I noted that your quotation is broken where Morgan's begins (how much separated in the original document is not clear). In the sentence before his quote Morgan talks about Boney Point not Warrigal Creek. Strange that he hasn't referenced Warrigal Creek, if it was mentioned in those very descriptive terms in the original document."

Note that Warrigal Creek was not specifically mentioned in the original quote but it is generally accepted as the location of the massacre described in the account. Both Boney Point and Butchers Creek are separate events. All very interesting but does not lead us any closer to the full description and location of the original reference.

There is a certain irony that *Through Foreign Eyes* was conceived as being based on the original writings of the various subjects of each chapter – that is being primary sources - except for Chapter Eleven. Hopefully the missing speech will eventually be located and its exact title, date and specific location be published [8].

2. Primary sources and Warrigal Creek

What constitutes a primary source on frontier conflict may be hard to define and an exact one hard to locate. The aphorism "absence of evidence is not evidence of absence" may well apply to a demand made by some historians for 'primary' evidence in frontier conflict. Under a very narrow definition of 'primary' evidence – that of a contemporary participant or witness to a specific event such as a massacre – the "absence of evidence" is almost in all circumstances total. Locally, this is for an obvious reason - at the time of the conflict in Gippsland any evidence of this sort was incriminating and would possibly have resulted in a criminal trial of the source, for which the ultimate penalty for a guilty verdict was death. Thus for some to conclude – as does the 'Windschuttle' thesis – that "the absence of evidence" meant these events did not occur is erroneous.

In fifty years of study I have found only one example that fits this narrow definition and that from an anonymous source, at a location outside Gippsland, and which was recorded more than twenty years after the event [9]. This leads us to what may be considered 'near primary' evidence or reliable evidence of some kind. This includes an approximation in both place and time of the original source to the event, whether that source is identified and how far removed from the original source is the recorder of that evidence.

Re-examining the evidence with regards the Warrigal Creek massacre I have so far found seven separate accounts that fit the "near primary" category. All of them have problems either with some specific detail or ascertaining who their original source was. One

specifically mentions Warrigal Creek and of the alternative massacre locations nearby Bruthen Creek is also mentioned. I have commented on all these resources previously but perhaps not exclusively on their reference to the Warrigal Creek Massacre. A brief summary of these accounts follows.

I have been critical of the claim that Caroline Dexter was a primary source for a long time [10]. However with McMillan being the possible source of her information and her note that "he was compelled in his early struggles to destroy numbers of [the] more treacherous natives" [11] fits her into the 'near primary' evidence category. Very similar is the recently rediscovered quotation from the Reverend Login's diaries [12]. Both Login and Dexter are making their observations about the same time, were friendly with McMillan and considered him 'liberal' and generally a friend of the 'remnants' of the Kurnai [13]. It is assumed that McMillan was the original source for both quotes. The difference between them is Login specifically mentions the murder of Ronald Macalister and that McMillan led the 'revenge' party in response to his murder, whereas Dexter's observation remains general, whilst still implying McMillan's role in the early conflict. It is possible that both these authors added evidence from other sources as both were writing at least 10 years after the event[14].

Another account I have not spent a lot of time on has been that of Hatcher, a carrier of Pentridge, and brother-in-law of Buntine in South Gippsland. Buntine had an inn on Bruthen Creek, approximately at current day Woodside, and the massacre as reported by Hatcher to assistant protector William Thomas in 1845 as having occurred on this waterway. There "a great slaughter of the blacks took place" after the murder of Macalister. [15] This account is often highlighted by my critics as an alternative to Warrigal Creek as if it disproves the enormity of the event by offering an alternative location. It is quite possible that substantial killings took place at both these locations as also at other possible massacre locations – Gammon and Freshwater Creeks. It is of note that with the exception of the latter, all these creeks are in adjacent watersheds. The Login account has McMillan and party absent for some weeks pursuing their 'revenge' and a number of the accounts, including Login's, mention that retribution was carried out at unspecified locations. This account also mentions Robert Buntine, as a child, playing in a bark canoe.

Henry Meyrick[16] arrived in Gippsland within 3 years of the Warrigal Creek massacre and, along with Hatcher, is the closest in time to the event of all the sources. Generally I have claimed him as a primary source with some justification. As with the others he does not mention Warrigal Creek but does mention the murder of Ronald Macalister during his visit to assistant Aboriginal Protector William Thomas, who in turn recorded that the response to the murder was an "awful sacrifice of life reckless & merciless." Meyrick recorded all the sordid details of the frontier war in Gippsland in a long letter home where "Men, women and children are shot wherever they can be met", where he estimated "not less than 450 have been murdered altogether" and where "murder is made a topic of everyday conversation". Whilst the main fatalities occurred before the Meyricks arrived in Gippsland the killing was still going on. When Henry's cousin Maurice Meyrick was out with a party that came across a Kurnai camp "he refused to fire on them…to the intense indignation of the party who

returned leaving them unmolested". The fact that Meyrick arrived soon after the main massacres and that the killings were continuing surely qualifies him as a primary source.

Likewise William Hoddinott's[17] (alias Gippslander) account I have considered a "near primary" source for many years. Whilst the publication in the 1925 Gap Magazine is the latest of all these accounts Hoddinott was born in 1857 on the Sunville run – the neighbouring station to Warrigal Creek – and that he gleaned the stories that later became his account from both Aboriginal and European sources as well as his family. His use of a pseudonym has meant that his account has been open to unfair criticism, most of which I have answered or explained previously. As the latest of the published sources [18] he identifies the specific location of the massacre, that 150 were killed on that day, and that the 'revenge' party after Macalister's murder was called the "Highland Brigade" implying a Scottish ethnicity. He does not 'implicate' McMillan as the leader of the "brigade" although his name is the only one mentioned in the article.

By contrast the account by Allan McLean, onetime premier of Victoria, names 'Capt. Macalister' as the leader of the 'revenge' party [19]. In a speech to an audience at Nyerimilang he noted that 500 were killed as a result of this episode. McLean was in Gippsland when the murder occurred although he was only three to four years old, and claimed that Ronald Macalister had lifted him out of the boat when he arrived with his family at Port Albert. His detail must have come from a variety of sources and the fact that it was recorded sixty years after the massacre, like that of Gippslander, somewhat reduces its impact. The big problem with this account, as outlined in the previous essay (above), is that the reference is missing, hopefully buried somewhere in the MUA and awaiting rediscovery.

Finally the Rev. G. Cox [20] in his articles on Gippsland history prior to world war one noted information from Charles Lucas that after the murder of Macalister "a great massacre of blacks followed". The Rev Cox noted that Lucas got his information from a Kurnai named Darby and elsewhere in his notes lists Lucas as the source of a massacre at Freshwater Creek. He also recorded that William Lucas said that they were 'shot by hundreds'. I am not sure of the relationship between William and Charles.

Thus of our "near primary" sources we have two specific locations and two possible leaders. I have argued for many years that the sources are both complimentary and cumulative evidence of the frontier conflict in general. For Warrigal Creek they all spell out in their separate ways the enormity of the conflict and that the death toll in the 'hundreds' taken by the 'revenge' party after Macalister's murder was 'horrendous'. Perhaps these notes also will help put to bed the frequent criticism that 'Gippslander' is my only source for the Warrigal Creek massacre.

3. Some Notes on the Kurnai Language (c.2000)

For many years there was a debate running between various groups of Kurnai descendants on the correct pronunciation on the grouping of the Gippsland tribes. It is now generally

accepted as ‘GunaiKurnai’. Alfred Howitt used the term ‘Kurnai’ in the title of his first book *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* and continued with it in his *Natives Tribes of South East Australia* published 20 years later. For reasons of clarity and consistency I have continued to use the Howitt spelling.

But there is no clear answer as to who was right or wrong in this debate. One problem is that there appears to have been no English equivalent of the original sound. I suggest the sound probably began with an initial "k" produced by a kind of clicking at the back of the throat being followed immediately by a more guttural sound which gave the hard "g" sound. Because of the difficulty of transposing or translating this sound to an obvious English equivalent we are left with the various early European observers' close approximations. It would seem therefore that both usages are, at least in part, correct.

Another probably complicating factor is regional variation and dialect. In my compilation *The Language of the Kurnai Tribes of Gippsland* (Ngarak Press, Ensay, 1999) I give several variations for Howitt's Kurnai including Kunnai, Gunnai, and Gooni from three different sources (Mathews, Howitt, Pettit and Dawson) noting that it was the name of the Gippsland language and collective noun for people. This probably is also an indication of a regional variation in pronunciation which is also found in a wide variety of other words. This became an added complication on top of the problem of transposition. Where we have more than one source for a word we usually have more than one spelling of the same word and, much less frequently, a different word altogether.

Modern English is probably an analogous situation where there is substantial accent variation in the spoken language not only between countries but between sometimes geographically adjacent localities within Great Britain. In this analogy Kurnai is the equivalent of English and the various counties the equivalent of the Kurnai tribes. Just as many Australians have distant English cousins and a few distant American ones so a Kurnai speaker in the east would have considered a fellow speaker of a different tribal group of the west or south as a distant cousin, and been able to converse with them, though possibly sometimes with difficulty.

Howitt divided the language into three dialects and noted that they were “more or less unintelligible to each other”. The dialects were Nulit spoken by the Brayakaulung, the Brataualung and the Tatungalung; the Muk-thang “or excellent speech” spoken by the Brabralung; and Thangquai “or broad speech” spoken by the Krauatungalung [21]. But in his numerous examples of both speech and vocabulary Howitt does not say which dialect he is transcribing. It should also be noted as an aside that in my compilation on the Kurnai language I neglected a detailed analysis of both Howitt’s publications and manuscript material and these should enable new research to expand substantially both the Kurnai grammar and vocabulary.

4. A few notes on Patrick Morgan's *The Settling of Gippsland*

I have been rereading Morgan's *The Settling of Gippsland* (Gippsland Municipalities Assoc. 1998) recently to try locate the missing reference in *Through Foreign Eyes* (see above). When Paddy's general history – a successor to Charles Daley's *The Story of Gippsland* (Whitcombe & Tombs, Melbourne, 1960) – was published I was deeply involved in research and writing my history of the coal miners of South Gippsland - *A Gippsland Union*. Consequently I did not give *The Settling of Gippsland* then the attention it deserved.

In his introductory chapter Morgan notes: "this book is a written introduction to Gippsland setting out the main lines of the region's development and conveying its atmosphere. I have attempted to incorporate the findings of recent research on Gippsland. This book is not a comprehensive history: it simply seeks to understand how the region became what it is today." [22] While it may not be a 'comprehensive' history, it certainly is a genuine successor to Daley and, as far as I am aware, has no other valid competitor to this day.

Morgan has two chapters of particular personal interest to me – 'The Ganai before European Settlement' and 'The Ganai after European Settlement'. This can be compared with Daley's treatment of the original population in a few pages. Both these chapters exhaustively treat the available literature at the time and the former is a first in its extensive outline of the pre-European state of the Kurnai - based mainly on Alfred Howitt. I get an honourable mention in the latter chapter: "Peter Gardner was the first recent historian to try to explain these early events. He argued there had been a series of major massacres carried out in secret before the processes of the law were in place." [23] Aside from some minor criticisms Morgan accepts the general thrust of my argument – that of frontier conflict in the first five years of 'settlement'.

This leads to my main dislike of an otherwise admirable book – the title and some chapter headings. In the late 1970s or early 1980s I was contemplating writing a general Gippsland work - similar to Daley and very roughly in line with what Morgan later produced – a work that never got beyond a few chapters and which I tentatively named 'White Conquest'. Aside from my tendency to hyperbole in titles and chapter headings I think my unused title idea contains more than a few grains of truth. No doubt it is most unlikely that the publisher – Gippsland Municipalities Association – would have contemplated anything other than a benign title. The term 'settling' implies a peaceful occupation whereas 'white conquest' was probably far closer to what actually happened. If you can ignore this the rest of the book is interesting and informative reading.

5. The political history and motivations of a minor black-armband historian or some snippets of autobiography (c.2007)

"The historical understanding of issues like frontier conflict is never going to be detached, because history lies at the heart of identity." p.82 Krygier & van Krieken in Manne, R.(ed) *Whitewash: on Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Schwartz Publ. Melb. 2003

I was born in Burke Road Camberwell - part of the post-war baby boom. My parents were middle-class and in my father's line, shopkeepers, as I am today. Their politics were conservative and at one time both my parents were members of the Liberal Party. In 1964 I went to Monash to study economics and history and although my degree was in economics I was much more interested in the latter subject. When I commenced studying at Monash I was apolitical - I had plenty of opinions but they were spread across the political spectrum. However conscription changed all that. I was in the second draft in late 1965 and was immediately convinced of the injustice of such legislation. Opposition to conscription soon included opposition to the Vietnam War and I attended a number of demonstrations and political meetings at university and elsewhere. At no time, however, did I join the Monash Labour Club, nor was I ever even vaguely connected with any of their coterie. I naively assumed that the electorate would quickly right the errors of our political masters and was devastated by the results of the 1966 election. Consequently I dropped out of active politics for four years and in that time completed my studies, married, worked in private enterprise and as a teacher, canoed, bushwalked and travelled.

Whilst travelling abroad I absorbed George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* (Secker &Warburg, 1951) and was impressed by his somewhat romanticised account of the anarchists of Barcelona. For a short time I probably called myself an anarchist. And it was whilst travelling overseas that the news of the Moratorium movement and their massive demonstration in Melbourne in May 1970 came to me. On return to Australia I joined my local Moratorium group. The next 18 months or so were politically active, culminating in leafletting and campaigning for, though not joining, the labour party.

For me the obvious lesson of Vietnam was that those in power established a set of lies, often propagated by a subservient media, to justify their actions. It followed that similar situations may have produced similar results with other sets of lies, distortions and omissions, with events being written into, or out of, our history and becoming accepted as fact. My political experience taught me that the dominant culture suppresses or overwhelms other aspects of history. Those considered 'losers' were written out of history. This also touches on the question of the 'search for truth' which I will consider below.

My political activities after moving to the bush were for some time subdued, although I arrived with a large ALP sticker in the back window of my vehicle. During the 70's I indulged in a few letter campaigns run through the local media including political (anti-Omega base) and environmental (the Grayling) ones. It was in the early 80's when there was a sudden burgeoning of the nuclear disarmament movement that I was, for a short time, a member of, and parliamentary candidate in the seat of Gippsland for the Nuclear Disarmament Party. By this time I had been writing and researching local history for 10 years and Gippsland Massacres was first published in 1983. Aside from this brief period in the NDP I have never belonged to a political party. [24]

In the 90s I began writing a short monthly essay called "Mountain Echoes" about a variety of different topics which was first published in the Anarchist Age Monthly, a publication of the Melbourne Libertarian Workers, and after that magazine ceased publication, on their website.

Due to pressure of work I ceased writing this column in 2006. The Libertarian Workers' political position was as close as I could find to my own personal philosophy which stressed non-violent actions as the means along with liberty and equality as the ends. Except for perhaps a short time in the early seventies I have never considered myself to be an anarchist and, indeed, one of the Mountain Echoes numbers was entitled "Why I am not an Anarchist". My politics remain primarily near pacifist and overwhelmingly concerned with the use of non-violent means for achieving political ends.

What then is the connection between my politics and writing? The assertion that political motivation is my primary concern - that I am writing to gain certain political ends - is not true. However it would be foolish to deny that my politics has not had some influence or been a part of motivation for writing. There appears to be an obvious and direct link with my concern for non-violence and the frontier violence that I ended up studying although it is difficult, if not impossible, for me to say which came first and as I point out below chance was also an important factor. In a very general way I see the writing of history as a way of helping to improve society by making it fairer and more just. There can be no doubt that my selection of subject, then material, and the process of writing was, and is, tempered with both my libertarian bias and egalitarian sympathies. My concern, on a very regional base, was with the underdog - with those previously ignored or written out of history.

There were other equally important influences on me. Why did I originally choose to study local Aborigines and then write about them? It was purely by chance I came to the Upper Tambo area as a secondary school teacher at Swifts Creek in 1973. My family (wife and nine month old daughter) and I first lived in a farmhouse at Tongio. I was acutely aware of family and young children at that time and during long evening walks I wondered what had happened to the former inhabitants of the countryside I was walking across, and in particular, what was the fate of their young children. Having a young child helped me to empathise with the parents and children of an otherwise seemingly remote, and perhaps even non-existent, past. This, more than any other, was the motivation for my initial, tentative research and enquiries, which quickly transformed from the specific area of the Upper Tambo to the regional and tribal area of Gippsland. Early on it became quite apparent that the history I was interested in was a most unpleasant one and the process of uncovering the "secret" and "sordid" stories of a past that was "best forgotten" occupied, on a mostly part time basis, the next 15 years of my life. My motivation has thus been part politics, part curiosity, part empathy and chance has also had an influence.

But overall, the search for the truth, or truths - the quest to know what really happened in early Gippsland - is to me the most important motivating factor in my work. Whilst a case can clearly be made in support of the early squatters and some justification offered for the violence they employed, the evidence seems rather to support my general thesis, with, for instance, Henry Meyrick as an honest critic of his times. No doubt there are many 'grey areas' in between, other areas of uncertainty, and subjective variability depending on the perspective or stance of the historian. To me, the simple truth - that violence was employed on a large scale in Gippsland over a substantial period of time against the original inhabitants - seemed obvious then and remains so.

Finally there is the general influence of a Christian upbringing and society which was probably the most important 'moral' factor in the 'search for truth' and asking questions of right and wrong. It is an influence I am least able to quantify or assess. Certainly I was not anything other than your average child in this regard - my brother and I use to rise early on Sunday mornings and abscond (over the back fence) to avoid being sent to Sunday School and the period of "RI" once a week in school was quickly forgotten. On the other hand in my youth and of my own volition I read large slabs of the bible starting with Genesis and working well into the New Testament; some of the prophets and the 'Sermon on the Mount' remain my favourite pieces. Christianity was also the major influence not only of my own generation but also the generation I was writing about. No doubt questions of morality and some of the commandments, especially "Thou shalt not kill" were subtly assimilated at an early age. There appears to me to be a definite and clear division between right and wrong especially when applied to the use of violence.

And whilst all this may sound somewhat pious isn't all history written with some aspect of today's morality applied to yesterday? More often than not it is the history of the 'status quo'.

6. Random Notes

For many years I had a copy of Howitt's *Native Tribes of South East Australia* 1904 edition on my shelves. But going through the library copy (1996 edition) recently searching for material on the dialects of the Kurnai language I came across two quotes on early frontier conflict which I had either previously ignored or was unaware of. Briefly Howitt noted that "the last Birraark was killed in the troubles which occurred in the early years of settlement in Gippsland." [25] Later he similarly noted "the old men of 1844 had mostly died off, or been killed in the troublous times of early settlement."[26] I have generalised about Howitt's treatment of this period of frontier conflict in my online essay "Howitt's Line of Blood" [26] and noted that he said very little about the conflict in *Kamilaroi and Kurnai* and nothing in his *Native Tribes…* Whilst he says very little about the conflict, the sentences above, brief as they are, clearly indicate that Howitt was aware of the 'troubled times".

* * *

"Our Founding Murdering Father is an 'alternative' biography of Angus McMillan, the European 'discoverer' of the region of Gippsland in south-east Australia. It is 'alternative' because it deals especially with his relations with the original indigenous inhabitants - the Kurnai. In particular it deals with a period of frontier conflict during the first years of European occupation and looks at a number of massacres of the Kurnai. This culminated in the massacre at Warrigal Creek where they were reputedly killed in their hundreds. Other aspects examined include the so-called 'discovery' debate, the controversy of the siting of the Ramahyuck mission and possible corruption involving Aboriginal stores. This book is the third in the author's Kurnai trilogy following *Gippsland Massacres* and *Through Foreign Eyes"*.

Publicity internet promotion. This title is now available as an ebook available at Barnes & Noble, Smashwords, Kindle, Kobo, and Apple.

* * *

Other than the captive 'chief' Bungeleen and his wives Parley and Mumbalk, the young Kurnai Tackawarren is one of a very small number of Kurnai whose actual name has been recorded during the first fifteen years of occupation. Known variously as Jacky Warren, Jack Warrington etc. Tackawarren was at McMillan's Bushy Park about nine months before the hunts for the white woman began. In the pursuit of the white woman he was to play a leading role as guide and interpreter. Some accounts have him as a 'half caste boy' but this is most unlikely. The search for the 'white woman' and the role of both McMillan and Tackawarren is told in my *Our Founding Murdering Father* in some detail. The Rev. Login noted that "a young boy named Thackewarren was caught in the bush and taught some English, and using him as an interpreter, the natives were told that the woman must be found" [28] however making no mention of the role of McMillan.

The white woman hunts more or less ended with the apprehension and imprisonment of Bungeleen and his family. In a recent paper on Bungeleen I noted that by June 1847 "Tyers had abandoned the 2nd Expedition and any official attempt to rescue the woman and then requested that Henry Dana of the Native Police take charge of his 'captives'. Towards the end of June a party consisting of four Europeans, seven Natives (including Tackawarren and two other Kurnai) and the three adults and three children of the Bungeleen family, made their way from Eagle Point to Narre Warren." [29]

Our subject then emerges as Jacky Warren from Gippsland at the Merri Creek school. There Lucy Edgar in her account *Among the Black Boys* (London, Emily Faithfull, 1865) relays the story of "Jacky" and the violence of the Native Police towards the Kurnai that he witnessed, emphasising the role of "Captain Danna". It is difficult to establish whether 'Jacky' was referring to Henry or William Dana and it was most likely the latter, who was regularly in Gippsland for a number of years. Also it is not clear whether this was 'the' Jacky Warren or another Kurnai who adopted the same name. Finally there is a possibility that either one or other of these "Jacky Warrens" for some time around 1850 was a member of the Native Police.

• * *

McMillan's life with regards the Kurnai can briefly be summarised in three era's – from 1840-44 as one of antagonism and conflict, which ran concurrently with his obsession of a white woman held captive by the Kurnai until 1848, and finally a long period of amicable relations up to his death in 1865. As early as 1845 he had the boy Tackawarren in his care, although we do not know how this situation came about, and it is quite possible he was a survivor of a massacre. It is quite likely that McMillan's learning the basics of the Kurnai language, as noted by the Reverend Login, started with Tackawarren. In 1848 squatters in

south and central Gippsland began employing Kurnai and this coincided with the end of the black war and the general movement of survivors out of the bush to congregate around the stations. [30]

Whilst a substantial amount has now been written about the conflict and the white woman affair little has been written about the last period, beyond brief observations of the camps, McMillan's role as a Protector, a distributor of Aboriginal stores and his preference for Aboriginal companions. Some of the negative aspects of these activities have been covered in my *Our Founding Murdering Father*.

But for most information on the camp we can only speculate. We can definitely assume that by 1849 there was a substantial Aboriginal camp at Bushy Park, as was later described by Login in 1854 as "a suburban environment of blackfellow's camps" [31]. At the former time sheep were worth only 6/- for tallow and skins – a ready and cheap payment in return for Aboriginal labour.

Probably McMillan provided basic supplies for the decade of the fifties – mainly in the form of mutton when the price was low and from diseased sheep (footrot) and offcuts when the price was high for those first few years following the gold rushes. Thereafter is a confusing picture with problems of distribution of Aboriginal stores, the arrival of missionary Rev Hagenauer in 1862 and the establishment of the Ramahyuck mission the following year – at the same time as McMillan was being evicted from Bushy Park.

What we do know is that in November 1860 Aboriginal Guardian William Thomas visited Bushy Park and recorded the details of the 54 Aboriginals present - specifically their gender, age, and name - whom Thomas called Woor Yeal. For many years I had a copy of this census that Thomas took of the 220 individuals in Gippsland, including the 54 at Bushy Park, which has since been lost or possibly been donated to an archive that I have lost track of. The originals are in the Thomas papers in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Finally McMillan, his family and one or two black companions, including Jimmy Raymond, moved to Tabberaberra station on the Mitchell River, whilst the remainder of the 'Woor Yeal' moved onto the Ramahyuck Mission.

7. Some Rough Notes on the Native Police and the Dana brothers

I recently gave a power point lecture (publicity image above) to a small audience based on a pre-covid lecture I had previously given to a local U3A class. Using my own Kurnai trilogy, Phillip Pepper and Marie Fels as my main sources, I concentrated on the White Woman hunts, a brief history of the Native Police and the Bungeleen story.[32] This reminded me that I had done substantial work on other aspects of the Native Police and the Dana brothers and at one stage had intended to write about them. I was discouraged from this by the large amount of research required to complete the work satisfactorily. I made a small attempt at this again in the pre-covid era (possibly 7-8 years ago) when I examined some material in both the

PROV and the State Library. What follows then are rough notes which are often incomplete, and not specific to Gippsland.

On 3 September 1839 Henry Dana arrived in Launceston from England. This destination, instead of Melbourne, suggests that the plan to set up a run in the Portland district - originally occupied from Tasmania - was already underway. Billis and Kenyon note that the Nangeela run of Savage and Dana on the Glenelg River was about 10 miles north of current day Casterton, of 16,000 acres and licensed to depasture 6,500 sheep. [33] The licence was granted in February 1840 and was probably taken up earlier, also clearly indicating that Henry Dana's original purpose in coming to Australia was to establish, or help establish, the run. [34] This can be compared with the Australian Dictionary of Biography entry that claims that Dana spent two unsuccessful years trying to get suitable employment in Tasmania. [35] According to Fels the run was never stocked fully and Savage and Dana's pastoral pursuits occupied about 1000 acres of land on which they carried a relatively small number of sheep. [36] The run was doomed to failure as the partners had probably purchased their stock at top market prices in 1839-40. This was followed by a long depression with sheep eventually only valued for their skins. Henry Dana lost at least £200 on this venture and probably most of his capital. The run appears to have been abandoned in the early 1840s.

In 1841 he met with Superintendent La Trobe in Melbourne where the revival of the Native Police in the Port Phillip district was probably discussed. It is possible La Trobe had previously met Dana in London at his second cousin Lord Kinnaird's place in 1838 or 1839. After his appointment as Commandant of the Native Police Dana frequently saw La Trobe as part of Native Police business, travelled with him a number of times as part of a Native Police escort, and probably socialised with him when the Native Police were stationed at Merri Creek or when he regularly visited Melbourne from Narre Warren. The ADB noted that "It was intended that he join the Indian service, and while awaiting his commission, Dana was appointed to the staff of the lord lieutenant at Dublin Castle".[37] This appears to have been the total of his military service - and was probably a "purchased" commission – to qualify for his appointment as Commandant of the Native Police.

The Native Police with Dana as Commandant was set up at Narre Warren (North Dandenong) at the Aboriginal Protectorate base of Assistant Protector William Thomas in February 1842. Present were Aboriginal Protector George Robinson, Henry Dana, Thomas and 'head man' Billebellary, along with 140 natives. On 24 February Dana signed up 20 troopers (some accounts say 25) as the first recruits and they, along with their immediate family members, were entitled to government rations. The troop remained at the Protectorate station less than 2 months before departing for Merri Creek, due to the lack of water in Dandenong Creek. Here they remained until 1845 when they returned to Narre Warren and the Thomas' Protectorate headquarters moved to Merri Creek.

Later in 1842 Dana and 10 troopers were in the Portland Bay District. Fells noted that on 1 November troopers Buckup and Nerimbineck dragged the unconscious Dana from the flooded Wannon River after Dana had nearly drowned whilst trying to swim his horse across [38]. They were back in Melbourne on 5 December and with close friend FA Powlett at

Westernport. In 1843 Henry joined the Melbourne Club and his younger brother William is supposed to have arrived in Melbourne though the exact date of his arrival has not been clearly established. In January Henry Dana and his troopers were in the Echuca district where he met and was described by EH Curr, whose longwinded comments were summarised by Michael Cannon. Curr "who met Dana early in his new career, left an amusing description of his 'jaunty ways', his 'preternaturally erect carriage', and his fondness for stroking his moustache with 'little caresses'. The squatter found Dana's habitual use of military phraseology to be 'extremely comical'…" [39]

In 1844 Dana's future brother-in-law William Walsh was appointed as the second officer of the Native Police and later still Dana and his men were involved in a fight with Aboriginals at the Grange which resulted in a "considerable number" of the blacks being killed or wounded, possibly as many as seventeen. Probably because of this event William Thomas accused Henry Dana of killing the natives and is thought to have made an official complaint. This complaint remains unseen and Thomas' noted that he had been "ordered to take out part of my report" and "Another passage of my report after 8 months order'd to be erased."[40]

This leads us to the poor relations between the Protectorate and the Native Police - particularly between Dana and Thomas. Basically the aims of the two organisations were incompatible, the former's purpose to protect and civilise the native population whilst the latter's was to protect settlers and their stock against the depredations and attacks of the natives. Often natives were arrested and charged by Dana with Thomas trying to translate and defend the same accused in court. One instance was the case of Ningoliblin in the Supreme Court which caused conflict between Henry Dana and Sgt Bennett and which eventually led to Bennett's dismissal. Thomas noted that Sgt Bennett was treated "shamefully" by Henry Dana "after giving evidence in the case of Ningollobin, he was swore at as ever coming forward as a fool, & and asked why he did not let the fellow be hung." Bennett claimed Henry Dana censured him for "not killing blacks" "but you do not know him sir what I have to contend with from Mr Dana." [41]

Often Thomas required witnesses to be summonsed to court – a process to be carried out by the Native Police and often neglected by them. In January 1844 the conflict between Dana and Thomas surfaced. Thomas wrote: "Whilst Going round the Encampt this morning…Mr Danna… began abusing me, in language that I [would] [not] [ordinarily?] repeat, calling me a D-/d liar, A useless officer of Governt &c &c &c that he would publish my report to the World &c &c &c that he would kick me from there to Melbourne &c &c &c, was there the least particle about me worth kicking. Had I been anything but a public officer I would have come & taking out a warrant against him. He left after he had vented his spleen." [42]

Younger brother William Dana was appointed third officer on 1 January 1845, the first entry in the Day Book was made on the 28 January and the following month CJ La Trobe, with Henry Dana and a native police escort travelled to Eagle Point, Lake King Gippsland via Port Albert presumably to visit Crown Lands Commissioner CJ Tyers. The same year Henry Dana was with La Trobe travelling to Port Fairy and Portland. La Trobe's request for a pension for his widow after Henry Dana's death clearly shows that a close and friendly relationship had

existed between them. [43] The nepotism in the Native Police was obvious and the favouritism in employment probably extended well beyond this organisation into the La Trobe administration. [44]

The favouritism of La Trobe did not appear to extend to Henry's younger brother William Dana whose behaviour was at times assertive, aggressive, privileged and influenced by his alcohol consumption. In his early years in the district he appeared before the Magistrate courts on at least three occasions - the Madden case, the theatre case and the Manton case – which probably represented the 'tip of the iceberg' of his unruly and aggressive behaviour. The affairs with Maddern and Manton both occurred in the winter of 1845. The former can be dealt with briefly and in July William Dana was bound over with a "good behaviour bond" after threatening his brother's servant that he would "blow his brains out". [45]

The Manton case occurred in June 1845 and was far more complicated with various differing accounts. The essence of the story was that Gildon Manton, a brother-in-law to Henry Dana, was supposedly spreading stories about William and his relations, which, when he heard the gossip took violent exception to. Accordingly he either pursued Manton through the streets or located him in Collingwood where he gave him a thrashing. Anne Young, a descendant of Henry and Sophia Dana, quoted from The Port Phillip Guardian: "you mentioned my name to my brother" (said) William Dana and then struck Manton on (the) face with a horsewhip and followed him into the house continuing the assault. William Dana claimed Manton had "circulated a most diabolical report about him" was fined 5 pounds which he paid immediately and was bound over to keep the peace." [46] This was the first indication that all was not well in the Dana family household and of a possible affair between William and his sister-in-law Sophia. By this time the Native Police were stationed back at Narre Warren.

The last case occurred in a Melbourne Theatre on 18 May 1846. This incident was reported in detail by Garryowen:

> ". . . William Dana, brother of the Commandant of Native Police, of which force he was second officer, was, with a boon companion, named Croker, comfortably enjoying a cigar in one of the boxes or dress circle. The "blowing of the cloud" soon attracted the olfactory attention of the proprietor (Mr. Smith), who rushed to the footlights, declared smoking to be prohibited, and requested the offending party to desist. Dana coolly replied, "He would see him hanged first," whereupon Smith invoked the assistance of Sugden, the Chief-Constable, who happened to be in the house, but he declined to interfere until there was a breach of the peace, with which he was soon gratified. Smith, summoning some of the employees to his assistance, proceeded to eject Dana, who showed fight, and cuffed and kicked all round, Croker remaining a passive, amused spectator. Smith was very partial to the display of large white shirt fronts, and in the fray one of these fineries was irretrievably demolished. Dana was at length overpowered and cast forth, when he fell into the clutches of another batch of Philistines — the Chief-Constable and some of the police—by whom he was unceremoniously hauled off to the lock-up, but was bailed out during the night . . ." [47]

He was later fined £2.

Garryowen noted the pay scales of the organisation as follows: "Commandant, Captain H. E. P. Dana, £250 per annum; Second Officer, Mr. W. H. Walsh, £100 per annum ; Third Officer, Mr. W. A. P. Dana (the Captain's brother), £60 per annum ; Sergeant Henry McGregor, £40

per annum ; Corporal, £20 per annum ; four Privates (natives) at 3d. each per day. Of course there were, besides, such incidentals as rations, horses, equipments, uniforms, forage, and other etceteras . . ." [48] Whilst Bridges noted "the pay situation [was n]ever properly attended to…Deserving troopers were sometimes given small gratuities as a mark of government approval and a few of the more tried and trusted threepence a day – there was nothing more – and Assistant protector Thomas alleged that the officers were not above pocketing these few pence themselves." [49] And he listed the lack of pay for the troopers as one of the main reasons for the failure of the organisation.

The other main reason listed by Bridges for the failure of the Corps was having "inferior quality officers". This presumably refers to Walsh and William Dana and the Day book has a number of instances of conflict and infighting between the Officers including the brothers Dana. The effect of alcohol on all ranks was pronounced although less visible with the officers and probably included Sofia Dana. The Day book mentions the Officers "seediness" on one occasion and the instance of a drunken William Dana failing off his horse whilst returning from Melbourne and having to walk home. [50] By contrast, unlike the readily paid fines of William Dana, the punishment for similar offences by the troopers was severe and usually involved incarceration. [51] The offence most severely punished in the Narre Warren lock-up was desertion or "absconding" as it was referred to in the Day book.

On the 13 January 1851 William Walsh rode up to William Dana, who had just helped Walsh's new wife dismount, and shot him. The story often repeated and wrong is that Walsh was jealous of Dana's attention to his new wife whereas it was later revealed in a petition to La Trobe:

> "That previously to the month of January last, it was currently reported that an improper intimacy existed between the said William Dana and Sophia, the wife of the said Henry Dana and sister of your petitioner William Hamilton Walsh. That on this report reaching the ears of [Walsh] he immediately informed Henry Dana and demanded of him whether there was any foundation for so foul a scandal being disseminated respecting his wife and your petitioner's sister. that Henry Dana scouted the idea and appeared to be so confident of the chastity of his wife that the apprehensions of your petitioner were quieted for a time. that immediately preceding the tenth of January last, the same report again reached your petitioner. in such a form and from such a source as to admit of little doubt in his mind that it was too true." [52]

Walsh pleaded "insanity" and the scandal was effectively hidden. However he was found guilty of one of the charges and sentenced to 7 years. William Dana had recovered enough from his wound to give evidence at the trial and later went on extended leave to England. La Trobe rejected the petition but Walsh was released in June 1852 and died in 1853 at Port Fairy. By July 1852 William Dana was back from England and had returned to duty.

Henry Dana does not appear to have been convinced of his brother and wife's affair until about November 1852, when he was dying in the Melbourne Club and had just changed his will disinheriting Sofia.[53] He was probably informed of the affair by his sister Charlotte de Crespigny who had arrived with her family in Melbourne earlier in the year. On the 23 November he refused to see Sophia and possibly brother William though this is not at all

clear as the note from Trevor Winter below implies that only Sophia was excluded. Henry Dana died in the Melbourne Club on 24 November 1852.

Family friend Trevor Winter noted that Henry Dana's property in St Kilda was worth £500-£600 per acre or about £8000 or £9000 "which he had left to his children leaving Mrs Dana nothing but the Williamstown property he had settled on her. Mrs Crespigny was [with] him during the time he was ill and would not let Mrs D near him. He left Dandenong on the Sunday before he died and parted on very good terms with his wife. When she heard he was ill she went in town to see him but Mrs C & William Dana would not let her see him. Poor thing I was very sorry when I heard of his death as he was one of my best friends." [54]

The antagonism towards Sophia Dana continued well after her husband's death in the form of control by his executors de Crespigny, FA Powlett and EPS Sturt. This included depriving her of funds and various attempts at removing her children from her care. William Dana noted this poor treatment in a letter to family friend Samuel Pratt Winter, full of spleen against his brother's executors and claims he supported Sophia and family when they were destitute. [55]

> "I am sorry you misconstrued my last note so far as it related to Powlett. I am well aware that he is actuated by honest and conscientious intentions towards the members of my late brothers family but he is to a certain extent influenced by that scoundrel Crespigny who dare not come openly forward, but simply to satisfy a personal dislike in which his wife participates, he does not hesitate to avail himself of his position as an executor to bully and insult a widow, friendless and singularly unfortunate not satisfied with the shock she sustained in the first instance by the loss of her husband scarcely had time to recover this [wh]en her eldest boy was rudely torn from her side and before a few short months elapsed he too followed his Father, and never forsooth if sorrow is not enough they must add to it by severing the Mother from the daughter. I wish to know by what law, I say it is neither God or mans…I do not intend to defend her conduct as regards her one peculiar failing, far from it but / p.2/ it does not justify the means by which the remedy is proposed to be applied." [56]

After discharging Sophia's debts of £400 William wrote in a letter 'solely' to Sam Winter-Cook again attacking the executors of his brother's estate:

> "but it really does enrage me to hear a parcel of Blockheads like Powlett Sturt and Co really talking about separating small infants from their Parent as if they were calves or Foals. As regards Crespigny he wisely stands aloof at least I never see him the only time I had this honor of speaking to that Gentleman I distinctly informed him that "if he ever interfered in the least in any thing I was concerned in I should at once crush him" I am prepared to put in force this caution at a moments notice so he / p.5/ had better be careful." [57]

It would appear that William also felt the opprobrium of La Trobe, writing on 31 December 1852 that "the Governer (sic) keeps me perpetually on the roads. I hate the Governer as I do the devil…" [58] After the abandonment of the Native Police William Dana was appointed an acting Superintendent of the new police force and worked at numerous country locations including Kilmore. In 1856 he married Sophia Dana in Launceston. He continued to use his political influence to further his career [59] and Sophia died in 1860. In 1866 whilst Superintendent of Police at Geelong he married the widow Antoinette Besserat but died 3 months later aged forty years. [60]

Of all the European characters in the Native Police era my sympathies are with Sofia. Whatever her particular failing was - mentioned but not identified by William Dana - we will never know. She was possibly an alcoholic. From 1845 as a young mother living in the bush for lengthy periods and without companionship beyond personal servants, she must have at times been terribly lonely. On 24 January 1849 Sophie Dana requested that the Bungeleen children be placed in her care, they having been abandoned by their mother after their father's death the previous November. [61] I suspect that she had already been looking after them for 2 months or longer. Like the Bungeleen brothers' short lived careers as civilized black men, the careers of the Danas, William Walsh and the black troopers they commandeered are just another 'melancholy tale'.

End Notes

1. Gippsland historian from Lake Tyers. Author of "Warrigal Creek Revisited" unpublished paper.
2. email from Shane Rees 2.3.24. Note that the papers are held by the East Gippsland Historical Society not the Bairnsdale HS. https://eastgippslandhistoricalsociety.com/
3. La Trobeana Journal of the C J La Trobe Society Inc Vol 22, No 2, July 2023 p.36 I suspect that this reference to 'Capt. Macalister' particularly suited Christie's 'scapegoat' thesis.
4. This endnote should read P.D. Gardner, *Through Foreign Eyes*, Churchill, Vic: Centre for Gippsland Studies, 1988. My brief critique of Christie's book can be found in this collection "4. Notes on Rob Christie's Angus McMillan: a convenient scapegoat" https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Notes-on-Massacres-and-other-essays-2024-2.pdf
5. Gardner, P.D. *Through Foreign Eyes*, Ngarak Press, 1994 Pages 107-9 of the 2nd edition – just under 2 pages
6. Morgan, Patrick. *4. Notes on Rob Christie's Angus McMillan: a convenient scapegoat https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Notes-on-Massacres-and-other-essays-2024-2.pdf* Without the work of Morgan and the support of the Centre for Gippsland Studies the publication of *Through Foreign Eyes* would never have appeared and for this I am grateful.
7. Buckley, Batman & Myndie: *Echoes of the Victorian culture-clash frontier*, Sounding 6 The Gipps Land Grab compiled by David Khyber Close https://books.google.com.au/books/about/BUCKLEY_BATMAN_MYNDIE_Echoes_of_the_Vict.html?id=0xUYEAAAQBAJ&redir_esc=y accessed 8.3.24
8. Email to SR 19.1.25 "Shane, not sure whether you followed this up in your search for the missing MUA reference in Through Foreign Eyes. Patrick Morgan discovered the reference in 1988 when the Centre for Gippsland Studies was publishing Through Foreign Eyes. It was decided to add the last chapter and add the new references discovered by Morgan in "New Evidence" but not worth adding into the end notes and (what was thought to be) the exact references were then added in the text. However Morgan clearly asked permission of the MUA to publish the quote and there is possibly a written request from him on this matter with more exact details of its location exists in their correspondence files. The correspondence from Patrick Morgan would be dated 1987/8. Is this of interest or have you already made similar inquiries in your previous search? Or should I make a few inquiries along the lines of above?" Shane followed this up with a request to MUA but as far as I am aware there has been no further response.
9. https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/A-Grampians-Massacre.pdf
10. https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Notes-on-a-McMillan-Review-rev.ed_.pdf
11. Gardner, P.D. *Through Foreign Eyes*... p.108
12. 'Facebook Gippsland History writer Andrew Wrathall recently (24.2.24) sent me a quote from a 1912 article 'The Chronicles of Early Gippsland' by R.T. Easterby. The quote originated from the diary of the Rev. W.S. Login and was amongst the notes supplied to the 'Chronicler' by his daughter Jessie Harrison'. Andrew noted the Gippsland Mercury for 1912 had only just been copied to TROVE making the article widely available for the first time. See 'The Macalister Murder, McMillan and Warrigal Creek: an impeccable source' in https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Notes-on-Massacres-and-other-essays-2024-2.pdf
13. The Aboriginal camp at Bushy Park in the 1850s was clearly evident to both these observers.

14. It is highly likely that McMillan also informed Richard Mackay about a massacre in the Maffra district.
15. Gardner, P.D. *Through Foreign Eyes*,…p.51
16. There is a chapter on Henry Meyrick in my *Through Foreign Eyes*. All following quotes from there.
17. Hoddinott writing as 'Gippslander' in the 1925 Gap Magazine.
18. Technically the Meyrick account is later being first published in 1939, F.J. Meyrick *Life in the Bush* (Nelson, London, 1939).
19. Gardner, P.D. *Through Foreign Eyes*,…p.108
20. A good summary of Rev. Cox can be found in the Jack Irving interview and his paper in https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2024/03/Notes-on-Massacres-and-other-essays-2024-2.pdf
21. Howitt, A.W. *Native Tribes of South East Australia*, Abor. Studies Press, Canberra, 1996 p.73
22. Morgan, P. *The Settling of Gippsland*, Gippsland Municipalities Assoc. Leongatha, 1998 p.11
23. Ibid p.57
24. Between 2009 and 2016 I joined a succession of single issue climate parties ending with the Renewable Energy Party. For a short time I was the secretary of the REP before it became defunct. I am now a financial supporter of Climate 200 and some Climate Independents.
25. Howitt, A.W. *Native Tribes*… p.392
26. Ibid p.505
27. Gardner, P.D. "Howitt's Line of Blood" https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Howitts-Line-of-Blood-3rd.ed_.pdf
28. Leslie & Cowie (eds) *The Wind Still Blows: extracts from the Diaries of Rev. W.S. Login, Mrs. H. Harrison, Mrs. W. Montgomery*, privately published, Sale, 1973 p.44
29. Gardner, P.D. Notes on Bungeleen and the Stud Road Cemetery, https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Bungelene-Stud-Rd-2.pdf
30. This did not occur for another 4 or 5 years in east Gippsland.
31. Leslie & Cowie (eds) *The Wind Still Blows*… p.23
32. Fels, Marie Hansen. *Good Men and True*, MUP 1988; Gardner, P.D. *Our Founding Murdering Father*, Ngarak Press, Ensay, 1990; Gardner, P.D. *Through Foreign Eyes*…; Gardner, P.D. *Gippsland Massacres*, Warragul Education Centre, Warragul 1984; Pepper & De Araugo. *The Kurnai of Gippsland*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1985
33. Billis & Kenyon. *Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip*, Stockyard Press, Melbourne 1974
34. Ibid.
35. The Australian Dictionary of Biography entry for Dana https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dana-henry-edward-pulteney-1952 accessed online on 24.5.25 noted "After two years he was still applying in vain for positions at Launceston" when he was clearly engaged in pastoral pursuits. Likewise Sadleir, J. *Recollections of a Victorian Police Officer*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1973 incorrectly has Dana as the ADC to Sir John Franklin. See below for other Sadleir errors and exaggerations. Other errors in this ADB entry include the source of the original recruits for the Native Police - they were not from "central and western Gippsland" but were Wurundgeri and Bunurong from Melbourne and Western Port. This error is widespread in the literature. Possible Gippsland recruits around 1850 include Tackawarren (Jacky Warren) and tailors' boy Charlie Never. Also the appointment Of William Dana as 3rd officer was 1.1.45 not 1844.
36. Fels, Marie Hansen. *Good Men and True*…p.47. The account of Fels is generally good with the exception of Gippsland
37. The Australian Dictionary of Biography entry for Dana https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dana-henry-edward-pulteney-1952 accessed online on 24.5.25
38. Fels, Marie Hansen. *Good Men and True*… p.137 Ironically Sadleir states that Henry Dana is supposed to have saved La Trobe's life on two occasions about which there is no information at all, aside from his statement. See Note 50.
39. Cannon, Michael. *Who Killed the Koories*, William Heinemann, Port Melbourne, 1990 p.110
40. Stephens, M. The Journal of William Thomas, Vol.2 p.75 nd
41. Ibid Vol 2 19.8.1845 p.123
42. Ibid Vol 2 3.1.44
43. The pension granted amounted to £2000 or £200 for each year of service. These funds went to Henry Dana's executors not to his widow. By contrast 14 years later William Dana's widow of 3 months was granted £1000.
44. For example Henry Dana's executors all had government employment at one time or other including his other brother-in-law de Crespigny who was made a police magistrate and goldfields warden after his arrival in Victoria in 1852. The other executors were Powlett who was a Crown Lands Commissioner, squatter, friend of La Trobe, and like Henry Dana had aristocratic connections in the old country and EPS Sturt, former squatter and Crown Lands Commissioner, brother of the explorer, police magistrate and later superintendent of the Melbourne Police.

45. Fels, Marie Hansen. *Good Men and True*… p.204
46. Port Phillip Guardian 10.6.1845. Note from Anne Young a direct descendant of Henry and Sophia Dana.
47. Garryowen. *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne – 1835 to 1851* Vol I – published 1888 online link https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Chronicles_of_Early_Melbourne/Volume_1/Chapter_6 accessed 8.9.25 William Dana was actually the third officer but often mistakenly referred to as the second.
48. Ibid. The natives paid 3d per day were non-commissioned officers not privates.
49. Bridges, B. The Native Police Corps, Port Phillip district and Victoria 1837-1853 Journal of the RAHS Vol. 57, Part 2 p.125
50. Day Book 14.4.1849 file:///C:/Users/User/Desktop/ALL%20PETE'S%20FILES%2020150723/Unpublished%20Essays/Stud%20Rd/Day%20Book/Day%20Book%201849.pdf ; "The Brothers Dana" by John Sadleir Old Time Memories in the Australasian 26.3.1898. Sadleir noted 9.3.1848 "Commandant and Mr W. Dana on station; both gentlemen exceedingly seedy" and the next day "if anything still more seedy". Sadleir referred to the hero in Henry Kingsley's novel Geoffrey Hamlyn as "Captain Beerborough" instead of Desborough'. This may have been intentional or a Freudian slip. The "Captain" in the novel was supposedly based on Henry Dana or a composite of the brothers and Sadleir's name may merely have been an allusion to the Dana's liking of alcohol. One questionable account of Sadleir's reminiscences states that "on two several (sic) occasions he (Henry Dana) was the means of saving Mr La Trobe's life. A friendship sprang up between the two which endured to the end." I have not been able to verify either of these occasions although there can be no doubt of their close friendship. Sadleir was a strong apologist for the Native Police.
51. Cannon, Michael. *Who Killed the Koories*, p.113 In November 1845 Native trooper 'Lively' was convicted of being drunk and disorderly and assaulting a publican and given 14 days jail.
52. Fels, Marie Hansen. *Good Men and True*… p.203. The reference to the petition quoted by Fels "Petition of William Hamilton Walsh and Others, 51/104 enclosed with VPRS 1189 Box 4, 51/1287" is missing at this location in the Public Records Of Victoria. Fels noted that "the claims of the petitioners may well be true". The affair itself may have been long standing as William's early behaviour indicates. Generally speaking Fels is very good on this and her quoting the petition reveals the scandal that La Trobe probably wished swept under the carpet.
53. Public Records of Victoria Online VPRS 28/P0 unit 8, item 1/029. Unfortunately these records are incomplete. Henry Dana is thought to have made a new will & codicil on 21 November. These documents are not in his probate papers although it is clear that Sophia was excluded from his estate which was in the hands of his executors.
54. State Library of Victoria MS10840 Box 3 Envelope 4, 3.4.1 Outward correspondence of Trevor Winter
55. ibid MS 10840 Winter Cooke Ms Box 2 1.3.25 (letters to Samuel Pratt Winter) William Dana letter 16 Dec 1853 from Police Office Kilmore. The date appears one year earlier than noted by Fels but with Sophia's son's death is more likely to have been 1854.
56. ibid 1.3.23
57. ibid
58. ibid William Dana letter
59. Haldane, R. *The People's Force* MUP, Melbourne, 1993 p.53 Charles MacMahon, chief police commissioner "became involved in a vitriolic administrative conflict with Superintendent W.A.P. Dana." In 1858 Dana wanted to move from a rural district, possibly to Richmond, which was opposed by MacMahon but supported by Premier O'Shannasy. MacMahon considered the Premier was interfering in the internal affairs of the police force.
60. Obituary of WAP Dana in the Geelong Advertiser 8.10.1866. For example it called him 'Captain' Dana instead of his current rank of Superintendent. This is something Dana probably cultivated himself as his rank in the Native Police, which did not exist. He was the 3rd officer and generally referred to in the Day Book as 'Mr'. One obituary noted "he long enjoyed the intimate friendship of Governor Latrobe, by whose arrangement place him in charge of a corps of native police, for which he received the Queen's commission as Captain" which was false and aside from the rank this almost certainly referred to Henry Dana rather than William. More truly it noted "For a considerable period he was engaged in repeated encounters with the blacks…but which resulted in the subjugation of some of the more troublesome tribes." Mourners included the top ranks of the police force and his brother-in-law Phillip de Crespigny and Snodgrass MLA. Pallbearers included Captain Standish and Inspector Hare who later featured in the Kelly gang saga. http://ayfamilyhistory.blogspot.com.au/2016/07/trove-tuesday-death-of-captain-w-p- dana.html accessed 16.9.25.
61. Day Book 24.1.1849 file:///C:/Users/User/Desktop/ALL%20PETE'S%20FILES%2020150723/Unpublished%20Essays/Stud%20Rd/Day%20Book/Day%20Book%201849.pdf This request was not granted