

## The People of the Kulin Nation

When Europeans first settled the Port Phillip region it was occupied by five Aboriginal tribes or language groups. They spoke a related language and formed what was known as the Kulin nation or confederacy. The five tribes were the Woiworung, Bunurong, Wathaurung, Taungurong and the Jajowrong. Each tribe could be broken down into smaller units called clans. The clan was the land-owning unit of the tribe and members spoke the same language.

The Woiworung tribe consisted of five clans (including the *Wurundjeri*) and occupied the area defined by the Yarra River and its tributaries. Six clans made up the Bunurong tribe and they occupied the area that is today the southern suburbs of Melbourne south of Mordialloc Creek, and a small coastal strip around the top of Port Phillip Bay.<sup>2</sup>

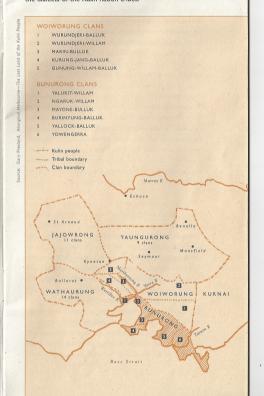
For hundreds of generations the Kulin people lived as hunters and gatherers. The men hunted using a variety of tools made from stone and wood, including spears and spear throwers. Each woman had her own digging stick for

The campsite locations of the Kulin people were affected by seasonal changes. For example the Wurundjeri clan of the Woiworung tribe spent the summer months on the banks of the Yarra River, and in winter they would move to higher land near the Dandenong Ranges where there was more shelter and firewood.

In marriage it was the practice for Kulin men to seek partners from outside their own clan. The giving of a daughter in marriage ensured that groups could call on one another in times of need and abundance.<sup>5</sup> The Kulin people would meet regularly for interclan gatherings and each clan would camp in a particular location. The site selected by the first settlers for the village of Melbourne

was precisely the place most favoured by the Kulin for interclan gatherings.<sup>6</sup>

The Aboriginal words used in this brochure are from the dialects of the Kulin nation tribes.





# Parliament House

The natural environment of this site was a wyebo bunnul (small hill) with underground springs, hence the name Spring Street. This was the site where the Wurundjeri people performed to the white man for the first time their great national dance 'Ngargee'. The performance was at night, and was the Aborigine's contribution to the festivities held earlier in the day to commemorate the birthday of William IV on 21 August 1836.7

#### ARTWORK

The pavement mosaic is an interpretation of the painting *Ceremony* (circa late 1890s),<sup>8</sup> by William Barak the last headman of the Woiworung people. The corroboree figures signify this site as a traditional ceremonial ground and meeting place for the different tribes of the Kulin nation. The Rainbow Serpent swallowing its tail symbolises the commencement and completion of the 'Another View' Walking Trail.

# Old Melbourne Gaol

This area was once part of the colonial place of suffering known as Gallows Hill. The first prisoners executed by public hanging in Melbourne on 20 January 1842, were two Tasmanian Aborigines named Maulboyhenner (Jack) and Devay (Robert). Several thousand people in Melbourne flocked to witness the spectacle of the execution.

In 1839, George Augustus Robinson was appointed the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Victoria. He brought with him a group of Tasmanian Aborigines who would act as go-betweens to persuade the Aborigines of Victoria to move onto settlements. Maulboyhenner and Devay were members of this group, and had accompanied Robinson in

Tasmania where he had been instrumental in removing the remaining Tasmanian Aborigines from their land onto Flinders Island in Bass Strait.<sup>10</sup>

Whilst in Victoria, Maulboyhenner and Devay left Robinson and joined up with a group of Aborigines from Westernport. They were skilled in the use of firearms and committed numerous attacks. Maulboyhenner and Devay were arrested by the Aboriginal Police Corps and charged with the murder of two whalers at Western Port.<sup>11</sup>

#### ARTWORK

The metal poles display screenprinted images of the two Tasmanian Aborigines hanged in 1842. These images are reproduced from watercolours by Thomas Bock painted three years before in 1837. <sup>12</sup> The wooden poles describe the scene at the execution with text extracts from the Chronicles of Early Melbourne.

# Former Site of Batman's Grave Batman's grave is now in Fawkner Cemetery

A eumemmering (creek) originally ran through this area. Today it still flows under Elizabeth Street and into the Yarra River. This area was known as a place where Aborigines obtained millanganda tabrotong (white clay) for ceremonial purposes. The men would mark their bodies with the clay, and the whiteness was highlighted in the campfires giving a dramatic effect to the dance.

This site became the second European cemetery in Melbourne and John Batman was buried here in 1839. In 1881, this monument was erected with an inscription referring to the land selected for settlement as being 'unoccupied'. In 1992, the City of Melbourne placed an additional plaque acknowledging that prior to colonisation the land was inhabited and used by Aboriginal people'.

# Flagstaff Gardens—Pioneer Monument

This gingin buller (hill) was once an Aboriginal burial site and a lookout point from where the Aborigines first observed the white settlers sailing up Port Phillip Bay in 1835. In 1836 the first Melbourne settlers were buried here and it became known as Burial Hill. The child William Goodman was the first white person to be buried here, followed by the pastoralist Charles Franks and his shepherd, who were killed by Aborigines using tomahawks.<sup>13</sup> The Pioneer Monument was erected over thirty years later in memory of these first settlers.

"The impact of a sustained European presence on the Kulin people was sudden and dramatic. From the start the Aborigines were at a disadvantage. The very location at which Melbourne was created struck at the heart of the Aboriginal traditional lifestyle. The area had previously been a meeting ground for the member clans of the Kulin and it was now virtually barred to them. As the settlers grew in number and spread out with their sheep and cattle, more and more areas became off limits for the Aborigines. The settlers' stock grazed on many of the plants that were traditional sources of food, and also disrupted the habits of the

- Walling of R

native animals. It soon became much harder to acquire

food in the usual fashion. Increasingly, there were conflicts between Europeans and Aborigines, conflicts

which in the long term the Aborigines could not win."14

The Aboriginal population declined rapidly in the years following European settlement. This was due to a number of factors, including death from introduced European diseases such as pulmonary disease, dysentery, venereal disease and smallpox. 15 Aborigines also died brutally at the hands of white settlers for trespassing on the land to obtain food, they were shot at for 'sport' and set upon by trained dogs. 16 There was also a drastic reduction in the birthrate. William Thomas (Assistant Protector and later the Guardian of the Aborigines) suggested in his reports, that infanticide was increasingly practised as the Aborigines came to feel that there was no point in having children when they had been deprived of their land. 17

## ARTWORK

These three boxes are a symbolic representation of the relationship between the early pioneers and the local Aborigines. Miniature replica paintings of early settlers are taken from photographs of the artists ancestors. The red ribbons are symbolic of the sinews and veins of all people connected with the land. The text on the glass is taken from Liam Davison's book *The White Woman*. <sup>18</sup>

Artwork by Megan Evans

Since the beginning of European occupation, the labour of Aboriginal women and men was often exploited to contribute to the development of Australian industry and the building of this nation. From 1798 Aboriginal women along the southern Victorian coast were kidnapped by sealers and taken to the islands in Bass Strait. Here they worked long hours in the whaling industry—catching, skinning seals and rendering the fat. The profits of these labours contributed to the NSW economy through the exports of the skins to China.

In the mid 1800s the Immigration Barracks was located on this site. It housed women from the United Kingdom who had come to Australia in response to advertisements promising a better life in the 'new' country. Treatment in the Barracks was strict while women waited for work opportunities as domestic servants. Employers complained that the women were choosy in selecting jobs and often stayed in the Barracks in preference to a life of hardship in the bush. Aboriginal girls were also sent to out-stations to work for European couples for little or no remuneration. The purpose was to assimilate the girls into European culture and to breed out the Aborigine, in the hope that they would lead a 'better life'.

## ARTWORK

Students from the Victorian College of the Arts, Lucy Tancredi, Kirsten Lacy and Lorrae Head have created two mosaic pieces in consultation with the artists and residents from the Galiamble Men's Recovery Centre. The work is a personal response from the students to the broad issues of the 'Another View' Walking Trail project.

orner-Collins and Spencer Streets

This area was once covered with she-oak trees and was traditionally the borderline between the Woiworung and the Bunurong tribes of the Kulin nation. Members of the Kulin nation were governed by two social totems, Bunjil the Eagle Hawk and Waang the Crow. Each tribe also had their own insignia. The Woiworung tribe were known as the coograballuk (possum skinned people), and the Bunurong tribe were the boonatallung (kangaroo skinned people). Both tribes wore possum skinned cloaks and would mark their totems on the inside of their cloaks. The cloaks were highly valued because of the work put into making them.

"It would take about/eighteen possum skins to make a cloak. The skins were cut into squares and stretched out on sheets of bark using wooden pegs to hold them fast. The inner side of the pelt would be scraped clean with a mussel shell and when dry incised with lines to make it more flexible. The ruside surface would be treated with ted ochre and charcoal insect with jot to provide insulation. The skins were sewn together with

punched by the long tooth of a kangaroo." 19

sinew or muscle fibre through holes that had been



Group of Blockfellows 1857 A Fauchery

John Batman built his house in this vicinity, now the Spencer Street Railway station and yards. Batman is known as one of the pioneers of settlement at Port Phillip. He had sailed from Tasmania (Van Dieman's Land) with the purpose of acquiring land in the Port Phillip region. On the 6 June 1835 he signed the Treaty of Doutta Galla and Geelong with the Ngurungetti (head men) of the Wathaurung tribe. In return for land, the Aborigines received blankets, knives, tomahawks, looking-glasses, scissors, handkerchiefs, clothing and flour.<sup>20</sup>

One purpose of the treaty was to persuade the governments in Sydney and London that Batman would treat the local Aborigines fairly, so that the new settlement initiated by independent landowners should be sanctioned.<sup>21</sup> After signing the treaty Batman sailed back to Tasmania and left written authority with the holding party "to put off any person or persons that may trespass on the land I have purchased from the natives".<sup>22</sup>

Next year the British Government disallowed the purchase, holding that the land was not occupied by a settled people and was therefore terra nullius (belonging to no one); the Aborigines therefore had no title to it and it belonged to the Crown. At the same time, Batman had not realised that according to Aboriginal traditions, the

tribes were merely custodians of the land and could not sell it.

#### ARTWORK

The painted electricity box and pavement mosaic illustrate John Batman's original house (from a water colour by Liardet) and the artists' representation of the kangaroo and possum insignia's of the Woiworung and the Bunurong tribes.

National Mutual Plaza
John Pascoe Fawkner and John Batman
statues

At the time that Batman and Fawkner were establishing themselves on the land that is now known as Melbourne, the British Government and the Anti Slavery Society was intent on civilising the Aborigines. Having achieved it's aim of abolishing slavery throughout the British Empire, the Society turned its attention to the native peoples in British colonies. Christianity was seen as the natural means to civilising the Aboriginal people.<sup>23</sup>

The first mission station was set up in 1837, and Aboriginal adults were provided with food in return for a few hours labour, and their children with lessons and three meals a day. The mission failed and was replaced in 1839 by the Aboriginal Protectorate led by George Augustus Robinson. His four Assistant Protectors, who were appointed in England, had no experience with Australian Aborigines. Each was allotted a district, and which first duty was to travel throughout their districts and win the confidence of the Aborigines in the hope of converting them to Christianity and persuading them not to interfere with the incoming pastoral settlers. Later the Protectors tried to persuade the Aborigines to settle on fixed stations and learn a trade or how to cultivate the

soil. But despite the disruption of their traditional way of life by the spread of pastoral settlement, the Aborigines held strongly to their traditional patterns of movement and resisted the Protectorate settlements.<sup>24</sup>

The Protectorate could not prevent clashes between Aborigines and the settlers nor the hostile action against the Aborigines by other government officers. By 1848, the Protectorate had clearly failed. It had been given little encouragement by the Government, most settlers bitterly opposed it and the press (except for Fawkner's paper the Port Phillip Patriot) were very critical. The prevailing view was that the Aborigines would soon die out.<sup>25</sup>

#### ARTWORK

The traditional Aboriginal pattern work on the poles represents all the Aboriginal tribes. The bones symbolise the effect of colonisation on the Aboriginal people and the ribbons the blood lines of both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

Look carefully to find the Aboriginal faces.

Old Customs House— Plaque commemorating the landing site of John Batman in 1835

It was near this site that Simon, a member of the Wurundjeri clan with other local Aborigines, is said to have threatened to kill the whites at the settlement on October 18, 1835.26 In March 1838 the settlement's first race meeting was held over two days on a course not far away, marked out near the present Spencer Street Railway Station. It was a primitive affair with two drays lashed together to make the grandstand. After the 1839 race, at a meeting held in Fawkner's nearby hotel in Market Street, it was decided to move the race to a better site—at Flemington, later the site of the VRC racecourse and the

famous Melbourne Cup.27

Many years later in 1876, a thirteen year old Aboriginal schoolboy called Peter substituted for jockey Tommy Hales in the Melbourne Cup, and rode the winner 'Briseis' a three year old black filly. Peter lived with his adopted father Jim Wilson, owner of the St Albans Stud Farm near Geelong, and he became the youngest person to win a national turf event.<sup>28</sup>

Note in reference to the inscription on the large plaque. There is some doubt as to whether Barman was with the parry that rowed up the Yarra River in 1835 and whether they landed on this side of the Yarra River. On 'Barman's map' the 'village' is marked on the south side of the river.

#### ARTWORK

This pavement mosaic depicts the figure of Simon (taken from a lithograph by A Gould) and the horse race that was the forerunner of the Melbourne Cup. Notice also the reappearance of the Rainbow Serpent and the red ribbon symbolising both the race finish and the connection to the past.



While on the bridge look north towards the Flinders Street Railway Station. Notice the spot where the water from the eumemmering (creek) flows from under Elizabeth Street and enters the Birrarang (Yarra River). It is an old Aboriginal belief that when a creek flows into a river the meeting place of the waters is the Kameruka (camp of spirit children) waiting to be reborn as human beings.

The Yarra River that flows through Melbourne was infact misnamed at the time of white settlement by surveyor John Helder Wedge who was a member of

Batman's party. In August 1835, he was exploring the Bellarine Peninsula and the coast as far as Cape Addis with the intention of finding a suitable place to establish a township. Accompanying him were two aboriginal youths from the Wathaurung tribe. Wedge's account is as follows:

"On arriving in sight of the river, the two natives who were with me pointed to the river, and called out "Yarra", 'Yarra", which at the time I imagined to be its name. But I afterwards learnt that the words were what they used to designate a waterfall, as they later gave the same designation to a small fall in the Werribee river, as we crossed it on our way back to Indented Head'.<sup>29</sup> Birrarang' means 'river of mists', and in the Wathaurung language 'Yarra' means 'falling or free flowing'.

#### ARTWORK

The painting portrays a scene of traditional daily Aboriginal life on the Birrarang (Yarra River) before white settlement. Notice the spirit children where the creek enters the river.

Artist Ray Thomas

# Princes Bridge

Prior to white settlement this was the old river crossing place or bapora, where an Aboriginal named Wharrimee was responsible for ferrying people across the river. In the mid 1840s when the Princes Bridge was under construction, William Thomas the Protector of Aborigines at Narre Narre Warren Mission, and a group of Aborigines were watching a brick maker at work. Billy Lonsdale, a Westernport Aborigine, seeing the brick maker smoothing the clay in the mould commented that the action reminded him of the Kulin creation story. The story as interpreted by William Thomas in his recordings is as follows.

Bunjil the Eagle created two male figures out of clay. He cut three large sheets of bark and mixed the clay in one and placed the soft mixture on the other two sheets. He shaped the clay into two male figures starting at the feet, and when he had completed them he performed a ritual dance around the figures. He then took some stringy-bark from the tree and made straight and curly hair which he placed on the head of each figure. Again he danced around the figures. He called the straight hair figure Berrook Boorn and the curly hair Kookin Berrook. He then lay upon each of the figures and breathed into their nostrils, mouth and navel. The figures stirred and he danced around them for a third time. He gave them speech and movement. Bunjil had created the first Kulin—

Bunjil's sister *Pallyan* the Bat, created woman *Ba Goruk* from the waters of the Birrarang (Yarra River).

## ARTWORK

The painting depicts the Kulin nation's story of the creation of men and women.

Artist Ray Thomas

### Queen Victoria Gardens— Near the St Kilda Road entrance

The Rainbow Serpent appears at this site to remind us of the central theme of the 'Another View' Walking Trail. It is seen here emerging from the ground, and is the earthly reflection of the stars in the sky in particular the Milky Way. As you near the completion of the walk, stop and contemplate the birth, death and rebirth to which this land has been a silent witness. The loss of certain rituals and traditions, their rebirth and revival, and the birth of cultures and rituals from other lands—a changing landscape that embodies the spirit of the Rainbow Serpent forever.

5 prom

ARTWORK

The pavement mosaic illustrates the Rainbow Serpent appearing from the ground and the footprints lead towards the next site. It was produced collaboratively by the artists and residents at the Galiamble Men's Recovery Centre.

# Queen Victoria Monument

The image of Queen Victoria is self-assured inspiring hope; endurance and compassion in her subjects throughout the colonies of the British Empire. The four figures recessed beneath her on the monument are allegorical representations of 'wisdom', 'progress', 'history' and 'justice'.

Through diaries, journals, paintings and later photography, the early white settlers were avid documentors of the Aboriginal people. But ethnocentrism, or the belief in the superiority of their own culture lay at the base of many of their observations. Records of Aboriginal traditional lifestyle generally stressed how the two cultures differed and depicted the Aboriginal way of life as inferior.

In interpreting the 'history' of this country, the Europeans did not comprehend the forty thousand years and more of Aboriginal settlement prior to their arrival. Nor did they understand the 'wisdom' of the ceremonial rituals and customs, as they believed the Aborigines were 'living without the benefit of God'. <sup>32</sup> The rapid rate and spread of land settlement by the Europeans was upheld as 'progress' by the Colonial Administration in Britain. But to the Aborigines, who moved in search of food and did not tend crops or animals, the purchase and settlement of land was an unknown concept. At the time of white settlement Aborigines became subjects of Great Britain and in the eyes of the law they were equal and 'justice' prevailed. But in reality the treatment was often illegal and

unjust. For example, in 1840, sixteen innocent Aboriginal women and children died from eating poisoned damper. Connell, an overseer with the Henty Brothers of Portland, was alleged as the poisoner. An extensive investigation revealed no evidence against him that could stand up in court 33

Kings Domain-

Aboriginal Skeletal Remains Rock

Buried here, under the large granite rock marked by the National Aboriginal Flag, are the skeletal remains of thirty eight Aboriginal people from tribes across *Unungan* (Victoria).<sup>34</sup> Until their return to tribal elders in 1988, the remains had been locked in a vault in the State Museum of Victoria. Now they are reunited with their land.

Rise from the grave

Release your anger and pain

As you soar with the winds

Back to your homelands

There find peace with our

Spiritual Mother the land

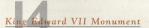
Before drifting off into the Dreamtime. 35

ARTWORK

The cluster of five painted ghostlike Eucalypt poles adorned with the spirit people, the Rainbow Serpent and the red ribbons, stand above the Burial Rock honouring the Aboriginal people of Unungan (Victoria).



Cohunguiam and Munight c.1851 Ham Brothers after William Strutt, lithograph



In October 1837, William Lonsdale the first Police Magistrate in Victoria, appointed Charles De Villiers to form a Native Police Corps consisting of Aboriginal troopers. It was intended to select all the troopers from the same clan in order to minimise fighting within the Corps.<sup>36</sup> Billibellary, a head man of the Kulin nation whose thumb print appears on the Treaty of Doutta Galla, believed that the establishment of a Native Police Force would help promote understanding and respect between Aborigines and the new settlers. It was through his powerful influence that fellow tribal members joined the force. After a year Billibellary became disillusioned and resigned. The initial attempt to form a Native Police Corps was abandoned in Victoria less than two years after its establishment. A Native Police was eventually established in Victoria in 1842 under Superintendent La Trobe, the local head of the Port Phillip government.

Native Police Corps were established throughout Australia but by far the most lethal force used against the Aborigines was the Queensland Native Mounted Police. There were numerous incidents where the Native Police, often cajoled by their European officers, were responsible for murder and other atrocities against their own people. The Native Police were still being used in a modified form in the more remote parts of Queensland in the early 20th century.<sup>37</sup>

# Matthew Flinders Statue

When Matthew Flinders circumnavigated the Australian continent in 1802–3, he was accompanied by an Aborigine named Bungaree of the *Dharuk* tribe of New South Wales, who had sailed with Flinders in the *Norfolk* up the Queensland coast in 1799. Bungaree was thus the first Australian to circumnavigate the continent. His conduct was highly praised by Flinders in his account of his Voyage and his achievement is recorded in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*<sup>38</sup>

## ARTWORK

The cross-shaped box is an artistic interpretation of the effects of colonisation on indigenous people across Victoria. The cross also recalls the four star configuration that in Aboriginal mythology symbolised *Barramal*, the emu constellation known today as the Southern Cross. It was a powerful matriarchal symbol for Aboriginal people. Early settlers saw the cross symbol etched on burial trees and rocks and believed it to be a Christian symbol.<sup>39</sup> Artist Megan Erans

# Burke and Wills Monument

In 1860, the Victorian Exploring Expedition set off to cross the continent from south to north. Robert O'Hara, Burke, the leader of the ill-fated expedition, believed that it was not necessary to employ Aboriginal trackers as was

common at the time. In the early stages of the expedition the party journeyed inland and encountered different Aboriginal tribes. Writings from their journals indicate that the leaders viewed Aborigines with some disdain. 40 Several months later Burke, Wills and King returned to Coopers Creek in South Australia to find that the depot party had given them up as lost and had left several hours earlier. The three men survived for two months on the Supplies left by the depot party and provisions from the Yuntruwanta tribe. After two months Burke and Wills died—worn out and weakened by the ordeal; Burke had refused help from the local Aborigines and fired on them. King gladly accepted their help and survived, being carefully looked after until the rescue party from Melbourne arrived several months later.

# Georges Fountain

Pause for a moment at the waterfall as it flows between the rocks. Allow your eyes to adjust. Between twillight and sunset the iridescent colours of the rainbow glow as the water flows undisturbed by the surrounding environment. Take the time now to contemplate the image of *Karak Goruk* (the seven sisters). They were the daughters of Bunjil, the Eagle man and *Ganawarra*, the Black Swan woman. They brought light and fire and were associated with water. They represented the seven colours of the rainbow and performed as the messengers for ceremonies.41

The brass inlay is an interpretation of the Karak Goruk (seven sisters).

Artist Ray Thomas

## Epilogue

Throughout this journey along the Pathway of the Rainbow Serpent, you have been encouraged to look deeper, to discover another history of Melbourne. There may be things that you have seen or read that might trouble or embarrass you. Let it be a starting point for your search for knowledge. We are all the Spirit Children of Bundaiyan (Australia).

When your eyes are open you give yourself the opportunity of seeing the world from another view.

"Let us not eat the fruits of blindness,

for the seeds of not knowing, causes the

eyes to see misunderstanding.

Instead, endure to drink from the chalice of insight...

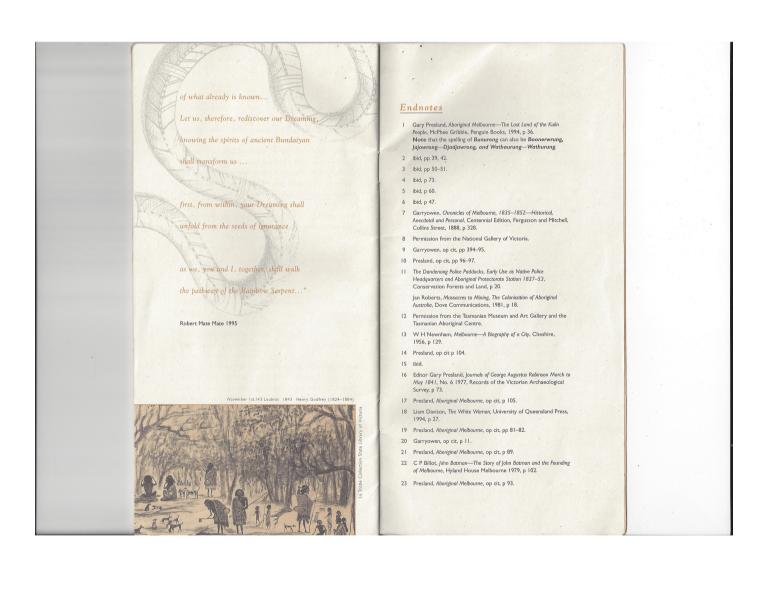
where from its waters of knowing, of realising ...

there will come a day, a year, a decade perhaps,

When you and I shall no longer thirst

for the insight of learning-for within

we had never forgotten, merely reminded





- 25 ibid, p 103.
- 26 Michael Cannon ed, Historical Records of Victoria, Foundation Series, Vol 2B, Aborigines and Protectors 1838–39 Victorian Government Printers Melbourne, 1983, p 595, and

C.P. Billot (ed), Melbourne's Missing Chronicle by John Pascoe Fawkner, Melbourne, 1982 pp 10–11.

- 27 Newnham, op cit, p 2.
- 28 Maurice Cavanouch, *The Melbourne Cup 1861–1982*, 9th edition, Lloyd O'Neil Pty Ltd, 1983, p 41.
- 29 J Bonwick, John Batman the Founder of Victoria, Melbourne, Ferguson and Moore, 1868, p 48.
- 30 Brough Smyth, The Aborigines of Victoria, Government of Victoria, Vol I. John Ferres, Government Printer, 1878, p 424. Note The spelling Pund-jel and Bunjil are both used in reference to the creator of man.
- 31 ibid.
- 32 Presland, Aboriginal Melbourne, op cit, pp 116-117.
- 33 Michael Cannon, Black Land, White Land, 1993, p 57.
- 34 Dr A Carrollin, Science of Man an Australian Anthropological Journal, Vol 1 1898–9, Hennessy Harper and Co, Sydney, p 164.
- 35 Jim Berg, Gunditjmara Tribe.
- 36 Presland, Aboriginal Melbourne, op cit, p 93.
- 37 Henry Reynolds compiler, Dispossession, black Australians and white invaders, Allen and Unwin, Sydney, 1989, p 46.
- 38 Dictionary of Biography, art. Bungaree, vol 1, 1966, p 177.
- 39 R Brough Smyth, The Aborigines of Victoria: with notes relating to the habits of the Natives of other parts of Australia and Tosmania, Government Printer, Melbourne, 1878, p. 433, and Memoirs of Rev Tirekheld, Hitchell Library.
- 40 Max Colwell, The Journey of Burke and Wills, Lansdowne Press, 1971, p 73.
- 41 Brough Smyth, op cit, p 459.

## Acknowledgment

The culture and tradition of the Kulin people has been maintained through a strong oral history tradition. This has survived through the determination of the Kulin people, despite the massive onslaught of the European invasion.

#### Dedication

The artists would like to dedicate this project to the memory of Les Griggs, a fellow Koorie artist who died on 14 December 1993.

#### Access

Walking time to complete 17 sites: 4–5hours The City Circle Tram: 2.5 hours The City Circle Tram is free and trams run regularly in both directions around the perimeter of the city every 10 minutes.

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