Who founded Melbourne?

Section 2

Who 'Founded' Melbourne?

John Hunter
The Founding of Melbourne

La Trobe Picture Collection,
State Library of Victoria 975530

Teachers' Guide

Background Briefing

Invasion

Koorie people had some contacts with Europeans before the establishment in August 1835 of the permanent European settlement at the place which became known as Melbourne.

The earliest contacts were with sealers and whalers who set up temporary camps at various parts of the Victorian coastline. There would also have been some contact with escaped convicts, and shipwreck victims.

A settlement was established at Sorrento in 1803, though it did not last long because of the lack of fresh water. Several convicts escaped, however, and one, William Buckley, was taken in by a Koorie group and lived for the next thirty years with them.

But the main impact before 1835 was probably the spread of European-carried diseases, such as smallpox, for which most Koorie people had little immunity. This disease spread down waterways well ahead of the original European carriers, devastating Koorie populations and reducing their ability to confront the later human invaders.

When parties of Europeans came into Koorie territory in 1803, 1834 and 1835, they were not met with hostility. When the permanent settlement was established at the falls opposite the present day Old Customs House, there were a variety of responses to the invasion: some Koorie people co-operated, and others planned physical resistance. An attempted expulsion of the invaders was frustrated in 1835 when the Koorie Derrimut warned the settlers of the plan. The Europeans were grateful for his warning, but many Koorie people saw his act as a betrayal.

Generally, the Koorie people of the Melbourne area were overwhelmed by the numbers of the invaders, their speed of increase, and their superior weapons. An uneasy co-existence developed, with the Koorie inhabitants gradually being pushed further off their land as the settlement expanded.
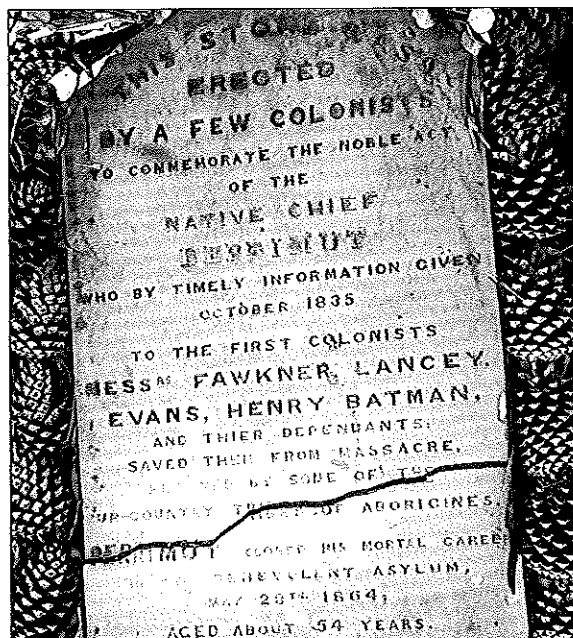
Inscription on the headstone of Derrimut
Melbourne General Cemetery

Photograph: R. Lewis

Creating a new settlement

There has been some debate over the years about the "foundation" of Melbourne. John Batman died in 1839, only four years after the initial settlement, but John Pascoe Fawkner lived on in Melbourne for many years as a prominent citizen, and more importantly, as proprietor of its first newspaper. He always claimed to have been the "founder" of Melbourne.

Certainly he owned the schooner Enterprize which brought the first settlers here, and he planned and equipped the expedition with the intention of beginning a new settlement somewhere in either Westernport or Port Phillip. He also intended to be aboard the vessel on her first trip, but was unfortunately forced by his creditors to remain in Van Diemen's Land. The decision where to locate the new settlement was actually made by his representative as head of the expedition, Captain Lancey.

Later a rival claim was made on behalf of John Batman, on the ground that he had the original idea of settling southern Victoria, that he arrived

in his chartered vessel Rebecca earlier in 1835, set up a base camp at Indented Head, trekked around the western and northern areas of the ultimate metropolis, and made his famous 'treaty' with some Koorie people. It was also mistakenly believed that he personally visited the site of the later settlement.

It has since been argued that neither Batman nor Fawkner actually visited the ultimate site prior to settlement, nor made the decision where to locate it, nor was present when the first settlers arrived and established themselves.

There has been some lively debate among historians and Batman family members – evidence of which can be seen in the variety of conflicting information and claims made in memorials around Melbourne. But it is now accepted by the Melbourne Foundation Day Committee, the Melbourne City Council, and the Royal Historical Society, that it is the first settlers in the Enterprize who should be acknowledged as the founding group, and that the appropriate date to celebrate is 30 August, 1835, the day those settlers unloaded the ship and established the new settlement.

This unit asks students to investigate those claims. It enables them to acknowledge that the Europeans were invaders on Koorie land. It also asks them to be very clear about the criteria for judging 'establishment' or 'foundation', and look at a variety of evidence of possible claimants before coming to their own conclusion.

'Interrogating' monuments

Melbourne is studded with monuments to the foundation experience. Students can analyse these, see the contradictions and uncertainties which exist in many, and consider the most recent sets of monuments reflecting Koorie viewpoints as well as the Melbourne Foundation Day Committee influence on the existing ones.

Key Understandings

Students will develop their understandings that:

- the European settlement of Melbourne involved an invasion

- the site of Melbourne was a geographically logical one for establishing a new settlement

- there is conflicting and misleading evidence in memorials about the foundation process

- Melbourne began as a port associated with the pastoral development of the hinterland

- it quickly developed into a thriving settlement

- there is dispute about the 'founder' of Melbourne

- the process of European settlement quickly disrupted the resource base of the indigenous people and devastated their social organisation

- evidence of the origins of the European settlement of Melbourne is still present in the city.

Focus Questions

INVESTIGATION 1
What do memorials tell us about the foundation of Melbourne?

INVESTIGATION 2
Why did Europeans choose to settle Melbourne?

Who was the 'founder' of the settlement of Melbourne?

INVESTIGATION 3
What impact did this settlement have on the Koorie people of Melbourne?

How did they respond to the invasion?

Links to CSF II

The appropriate Learning Outcomes for Level 6 History for this Section are:

H6.1
Describe the reasons for the colonisation of Australia.

Suggested Classroom Activities and Learning Outcomes

In 1994, for the first time, 30 August was proclaimed as 'Foundation Day' for Melbourne. This probably has little practical effect on anybody's life - but it does raise issues about the past, about historical accuracy and interpretation, about 'foundation' and its implications, and about the nature of commemoration, which are all worth exploring in the History classroom.

The materials in this unit allow all these issues to be raised while students use evidence to try and establish what happened in the Melbourne area in 1835. Suggestions are offered about ways of using this material in the classroom - but teachers should adapt the unit to suit their own needs.

For a full discussion of the Melbourne memorials to early settlement, see Stuart Duncan, "Monumental Untruths About Early Melbourne", *Victorian Historical Journal*, Vol 65, No 1, June 1994.

Students also consider the impacts of this invasion / settlement on the Koorie people. What variety of responses were there? How can we understand the rapid disintegration of Koorie society in the face of the invaders?

At the end of the exercise students can look at the 'revisionist' memorials which are being placed at various places around Melbourne - including the Koorie 'Another View' sites. Students can discuss the nature of memorials, the nature of representations of History, and the nature of evidence in their consideration of these memorials.

A number of classroom activities are suggested below, together with possible activities which can demonstrate students' achievement of the desired learning outcomes of the History strand. Teachers may follow these suggestions, or adapt them to suit their own needs.

Classroom activities	Possible exercises to demonstrate students' achievement of learning outcomes:
Brainstorm Ask students: 'Who founded Melbourne?' Answers should be put on the board or a sheet of paper, and kept throughout the unit for on-going reference. Students will probably come up with Batman, Koorie people, Fawkner. There may also be other offerings - e.g. Cook. There will need to be additions made to the list as the unit progresses - e.g. Grimes and his party. The remainder of the unit will examine the claims of five people/groups, through a study of evidence. These will be: Koorie people, Batman, Fawkner, the *Enterprize* party, the Grimes party. Teachers should also raise here the question of terminology: was it 'settlement' or was it 'invasion'? Write the two words on the board, and ask students to give meanings to them. Discuss these examples of situations with students to help them develop their understandings of the meanings of the words: • The land was unoccupied and the newcomers arrived and stayed.	• Describe and discuss the differences between 'settlement', 'colonisation' and 'invasion' • Imagine and describe situations in which each word is the most appropriate one to describe a situation

• The land was occupied but the original inhabitants invited the new group to stay. • The land was occupied and the original inhabitants asked the newcomers to go, but they just stayed. • The land was occupied, the original inhabitants asked the newcomers to leave, and the newcomers used force to stay. • The land was occupied, and while the original inhabitants asked the newcomers to leave, the newcomers thought that most of it was not occupied by the original inhabitants and stayed. Students can be encouraged to decide on their own preferred term whenever the issue arises throughout the unit.	
What does Melbourne tell us about its establishment? Distribute **Activity 1**. This can be used by students to summarise dates as they come across them, and also to help them 'locate' the places mentioned easily. Distribute **Activity 2** and **Sources 2.1 - 2.13**. Explain that the task of the group is to summarise the information on various memorials around Melbourne, to see if this will answer the question of 'who founded Melbourne?'. Have students fill in as much as possible in the grid for each of the memorials. A class grid can be put on the board to keep a comparison. Discuss the results with students. Discussion should bring out: • a variety of claimants • a variety of dates • some contradictory information • some incorrect information. Some students may feel that they now know the answer, although there is likely be elements of uncertainty and disagreement. Most students will realise that these memorials are not sufficient evidence to be certain, and that we need to look at more evidence to establish or to test likely answers.	• Identify contradictions in the wording of memorials, and list the issues which need to be decided • Create, illustrate and explain a timeline of early settlement
Who founded 'Melbourne'? Further Evidence Distribute **Activity 3** and **Sources 3.1 - 3.10**. These evidence pages should be distributed in the following way to explore the 'claims' of various individuals and groups: • Koorie people - **Sources 3.1 - 3.5** • Grimes party - **Source 3.9** • Batman - **Sources 3.4 - 3.6** • Fawkner - **Sources 3.7 - 3.8** • *Enterprize* party - **Sources 3.7 - 3.8**.	• Prepare a summary of the case for each of the 'founder' claimants • Critically analyse the claim of one or more individuals or groups to be the 'founder' of Melbourne

1. Each student can be given all the sources. In this approach, each student will work through the five 'claimants', and make their own decision after class discussion.

2. A group can be given one set of sources only. The group then has to work out the main case for and against this claimant. Do not tell the group which case they will be arguing – then split the group into two, and have one half present the case for, and the other the case against. The advantage of this approach is that it weakens the 'ownership' the group may otherwise come to feel for 'their' candidate if they were only asked to argue a case for the person/group. In this way, students' minds are more likely to be kept open to both the strengths and the weaknesses of all the claimants.

3. Students can be formed into 'expert groups'. In this approach a group of students looks at one of the five sets of evidence, and becomes an expert on this set. Each member of this group then forms a new group with an expert from each of the other expert groups, so that each member of the new group has to explain his or her claimant's case to the others, who in turn explain their claimant's situation. In this way, every person in the group must explain and learn about each of the claimants.

Whichever approach is used, the key now is to discuss and critically examine each of the claimants' situations. In doing this a range of issues will arise, which should be discussed:

- What does 'foundation' mean? What does 'settlement' mean? What do we understand by 'Melbourne'?
- Does the motivation of the claimants matter in coming to a conclusion?
- How good is the evidence on which claims and decisions are being made?
- How well do secondary texts present the complexities and difficulties, as well as the 'facts', of a situation?

At the end of the process, students could be allocated the task of arguing the claims of one group. They have to present a case, and field questions from the rest of the class on their case.

Understanding the impact of the settlement/invasion on the Koorie people of the Melbourne area

These activities and associated evidence ask students to think about the nature of the non-Koorie invasion of the Melbourne area, and its impact on the local Koorie people.

One way of illustrating the farce of the legal document is to choose two students to communicate to each other without words. Tell one student that the aim is to have the other student agree to give the land over, to be signified by that student raising both hands. This is the accepted sign for agreement. The other students does not know of these secret instructions. The instructions to this student are that he or she may allow strangers to move through the land peacefully. The accepted sign for this is to pat the ground with both

- Describe why Europeans decided to settle the Melbourne area
- Describe different demands on and uses for the land by Koorie and European people
- Compare the way of life and values of the European invaders with those of the indigenous people
- Predict the likely consequences of a meeting of the two groups
- Create a list of the key changes likely to be brought about by European settlement of Melbourne

hands. Neither student may speak to the other. The object is for each to get the other to make the agreed sign. Of course, what happens is that both students end up agreeing with each other – but each thinks the agreement means something else. In this way, the students better understand what they are about to learn about the nature of the legal 'agreement' (**Source 4.1**) between Batman and the 'chiefs'. **Sources 5.1 - 5.2** illustrate some of the impacts of the invasion on Koorie people.	• Prepare a flow chart to show the impacts of different uses of the environment on the land, ecosystems, people and culture • Examine the extent to which co-operation was encouraged and occurred between the two groups, and explain why • Research further the life of a Koorie or European involved in the foundation of Melbourne • Research the European settlement of their own suburb and the impacts of this on the indigenous people • Prepare a management report on a significant early site • Create a diorama or sketch of early settlement and explain the event displayed • Create a cartoon history or storyboard sketch of the settlement process and explain the sequence of events and the people involved in the process • Create a play which dramatises the story of the European settlement • Write an analytical essay discussing the reasons for and nature of the settlement.
Looking at modern memorials This activity involves looking again at the set of photographs of memorials around Melbourne. Some of these Memorials no longer exist - one having been stolen, and the other officially removed as a result of a change in knowledge and attitudes. The fact that representations of history are being changed and challenged in these ways is worth discussing with students. Students will see a number of inaccuracies and disagreements on Melbourne's memorials, as well as many different claims to 'foundation' on them. Some of these have now been amended or have new information added as a result of Stuart Duncan's and A. G. L. Shaw's efforts for the Melbourne Foundation Day Committee. Students can choose the one/s which they now think are the most appropriate / accurate statements of what they now understood happened in 1835.	• Compare and explain different representations of the 'foundation' of Melbourne in various monuments and memorials • Prepare a display which critically analyses a variety of representations of the foundation of Melbourne in memorials, including the Koorie 'Other View' representations • Prepare a walking guide which includes a selection of representative memorials, with analytical comment on them

What commemoration is appropriate? Students will now be in a position to think critically and knowledgeably about the nature of the commemoration of 30 August, and of the existing memorials. Are they accurate? Are they appropriate? What meaning do they carry? Are there hidden meanings or unheard voices in all this? Is there a better way of commemorating the events which led to the foundation of Melbourne? Students might be asked to design a memorial or plaque which now expresses their ideas about the issue. Or they may be asked to write a number of paragraphs for a history textbook which deals with the situation in an appropriate way.	• Design an accurate and appropriate memorial commemorating the foundation of Melbourne • Gather information from census and other materials on Koorie people's life in Melbourne today
Comparing the history texts The two articles (**Sources 6.1 and 6.2**) are a statement of the founding of Melbourne as it is understood and represented by those who support the claims of passengers on the *Enterprize* as the founders of the non-Koorie settlement of Melbourne. Debate over the role of John Batman as 'founder' of Melbourne can be seen in the references given by Stuart Duncan, and in *Agora*, the journal of the History Teachers' Association of Victoria, 3/1993. These resources are recommended only for those more senior students who wish to explore in great detail some of the evidence and arguments involved.	• Survey history text books and summarise what each says about the 'foundation' of Melbourne • Write an entry for a history text book which addresses the issues, refers to the evidence, and provides an accurate narrative of the 'foundation' debate

Resources

Useful resources for this unit include:

History texts

Agora 3/1993, History Teachers' Association of Victoria

Richard Broome and Alan Frost, *The Colonial Experience. The Port Phillip District 1834 - 1850*, La Trobe University, Melbourne, 1997

Alastair H. Campbell, *John Batman and the Aborigines*, Kibble Books, Malmsbury, no date

P. J. Coutts, *Readings in Victorian Prehistory, Volume 2, The Victorian Aboriginals 1800 to 1860*, Victoria Archaeological Survey, Melbourne, 1981

Stuart Duncan, "Monumental Untruths About Early Melbourne", *Victorian Historical Journal*, Vol 65, No 1, June 1994

Meyer Eidelson, *The Melbourne Dreaming, A Guide to the Aboriginal Places of Melbourne*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 1997

John Morgan, *The Life and Adventures of William Buckley, Thirty-two years a wanderer amongst the Aborigines*, Facsimile edition, Ares Books, 1996

A. G. L. Shaw, *Victoria Before Separation, A History of the Port Phillip District*, The Miegunyah Press / Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1996

Shirley W. Wienke, *When The Wattles Bloom Again, The Life and Times of William Barak, Last Chief of the Yarra Yarra Tribe*, Published by the author, Melbourne, 1984

Novels

Craig Robertson, *Buckley's Hope, The Story of Australia's Wild White Man*, Scribe, Melbourne, 1980

Mick Woiwood, *The Last Cry*, Tarcoola Press, Melbourne, 1997
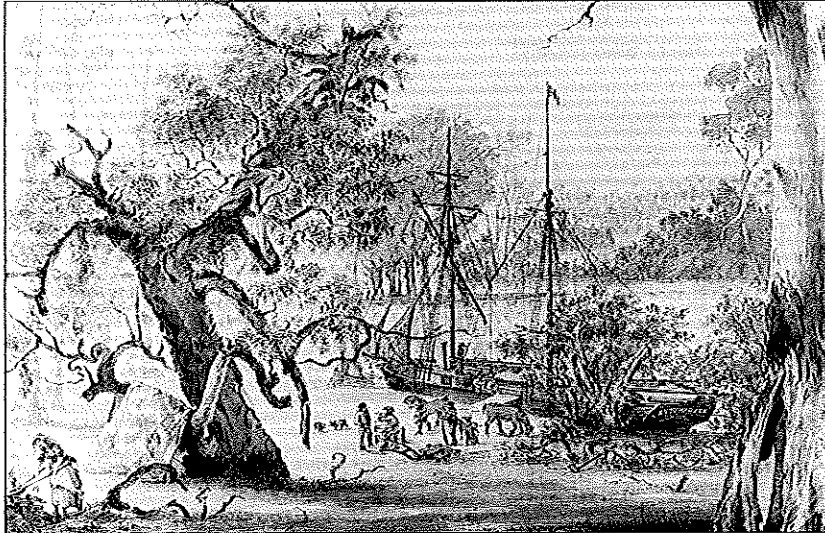
Museums and Walks

'Another View' walking trail, available from the City of Melbourne

Polly Woodside
Melbourne Maritime Museum,
Lorimer St (East) Southbank

WHO 'FOUNDED' MELBOURNE?
Student Materials

John Hunter
The Founding of Melbourne

La Trobe Picture Collection,
State Library of Victoria 975530

Overview

Melbourne is proud of its history. Look around and you will see many monuments to the great people and events of past, including its settlement by Europeans. But the place was already settled when the Europeans arrived, so when we say 'settlement' we are really saying 'invasion'.

This unit allows you to investigate the origins of the European settlement of Melbourne, the controversy over that event, the process of 'city building', and the impact of those activities on the Koorie people whose land was invaded by the Europeans.

There is also a debate over who might be acknowledged as the 'founder' of Modern Melbourne. You will be asked to decide whether that is an important issue, and if so, who you believe should be acknowledged in this way.

You will also be asked to look at monuments to the Koorie people who were here for thousands of years before the invasion, and to decide if Melbourne's monuments are telling appropriate and accurate stories.

Your tasks are:

INVESTIGATION 1
What does Melbourne tell us about its foundation?

INVESTIGATION 2
Why did Europeans choose to settle the site of what is now 'Melbourne'?

Who 'founded' Melbourne?

INVESTIGATION 3
What impact did this settlement have on the Koorie people of Melbourne?

How did they respond?

Activity 1
Constructing a Time Line

As you work through the materials in this unit, it will be useful to keep a record of them on a time line like these. This may be done individually or as a class record.

Date	Koorie people	Batman	Fawkner	Grimes	*Enterprize*	Other
Before 1800						
1833						

Activity 1
Constructing a Time Line

Date	Koorie people	Batman	Fawkner	Grimes	*Enterprize*	Other
1834						
Jan						
Feb						
Mar						
Apr						
May						
June						
Jul						
Aug						
Sep						
Oct						
Nov						
Dec						
1835						
Jan						
Feb						
Mar						
Apr						
May						
June						
July						
Aug						
Sep						
Oct						
Nov						
Dec						
1836						

Activity 2
What does Melbourne tell us about itself?

Melbourne has many monuments which tell us the story of foundation. But do they all tell the same story? Look at the memorials **(Sources 2.2 - 2.13)**. Mark their location on the map **(Source 2.1)**. Record their stories by using one of the grids below. Then summarise the information on to the summary grid on page 66, and compare and discuss them, looking for similarities and differences.

Foundation of Melbourne - Evidence From Memorials	
Identify and describe the memorial:	
What does it tell us about: Who is the 'founder'?	
When?	
Why that person arrived?	
Where?	
How?	
Results/Outcome?	

Foundation of Melbourne - Evidence From Memorials	
Identify and describe the memorial:	
What does it tell us about: Who is the 'founder'?	
When?	
Why that person arrived?	
Where?	
How?	
Results/Outcome?	

Source 2.1
What does Melbourne tell us about itself?

Location of some memorials around Melbourne

2.2   Memorial to John Batman, Victoria Market, Queen and Therry Sts, Melbourne

2.3   Memorial to Charles Grimes, Footscray and Sims Rds, Footscray

2.4   Headstone of George Evans, Melbourne General Cemetery, Parkville

2.5   Monument to John Batman, Fawkner Cemetery, Fawkner

2.6   Statue of John Batman, Collins and Market Sts, Melbourne

2.7   Statue of John Pascoe Fawkner, Collins and Market Sts, Melbourne

2.8   Statue of Mary Gilbert, Conservatorium, Fitzroy Gardens, East Melbourne

2.9   *Enterprize* memorial plaque, formerly at Enterprize Wharf, Melbourne

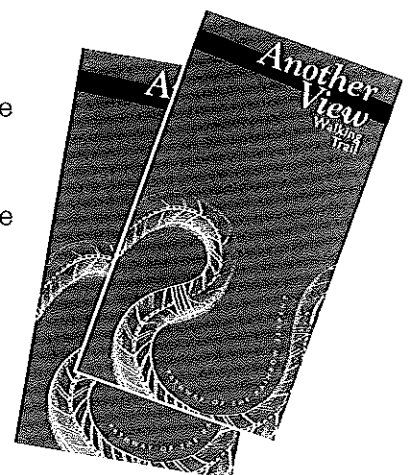2.10 Memorial plaque to John Batman, formerly at William and Flinders Sts, Melbourne

2.11 Memorial to Koorie people, Kings Domain, Melbourne

2.12 Visual art works along the *Another View* walking trail, Melbourne

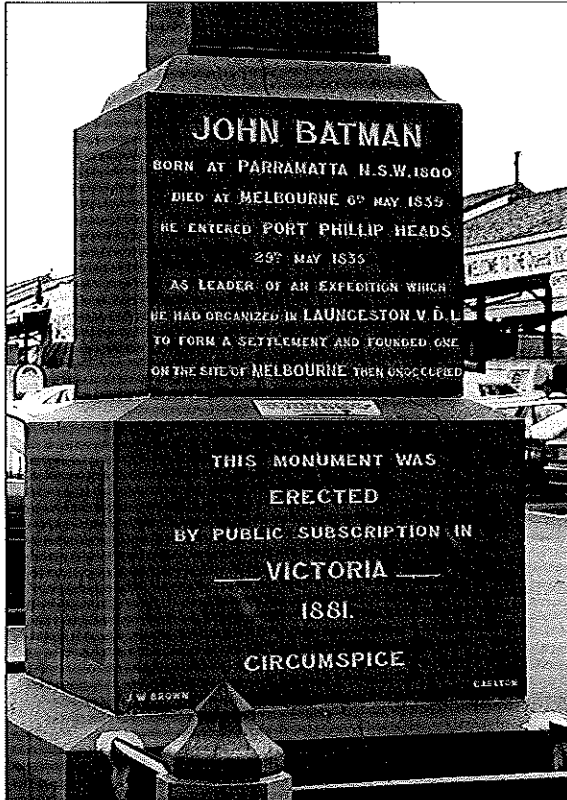2.13 Visual art works along the *Another View* walking trail, Melbourne

What does Melbourne tell us about itself?

Summary Grid.

Foundation of Melbourne - Evidence From Memorials Summary Grid						
Memorial	Who?	When?	Why?	Where?	How?	Results/ Outcome?
2.2						
2.3						
2.4						
2.5						
2.6						
2.7						
2.8						
2.9						
2.10						
2.11						
2.12						
2.13						

Source 2.2
Memorial to John Batman

JOHN BATMAN

BORN AT PARRAMATTA N.S.W. 1800

DIED AT MELBOURNE 6th MAY 1839

HE ENTERED PORT PHILLIP HEADS

29th MAY 1835

AS LEADER OF AN EXPEDITION WHICH

HE HAD ORGANIZED IN LAUNCESTON V.D.L.

TO FORM A SETTLEMENT AND FOUNDED ONE

ON THE SITE OF MELBOURNE THEN UNOCCUPIED

THIS MONUMENT WAS

ERECTED

BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION IN

VICTORIA

1881.

CIRCUMSPICE

MELBOURNE

WHEN THE MONUMENT WAS ERECTED IN 1881 THE COLONY
CONSIDERED THAT THE ABORIGINAL PEOPLE DID NOT OCCUPY LAND.
IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT PRIOR TO THE COLONISATION OF VICTORIA
THE LAND WAS INHABITED AND USED BY ABORIGINAL PEOPLE.
MELBOURNE CITY COUNCIL 19

MONUMENT

Victoria Market

Source 2.3
Memorial

Shepherd Bridge, Footscray Rd

THIS MONUMENT HAS BEEN ERECTED TO MARK
THE ORIGINAL JUNCTION OF THE YARRA AND
MARIBYRNONG RIVERS WHICH WAS NEAR THIS
SPOT THESE RIVERS WERE ORIGINALLY DISCOVERED
BY CHARLES EDWARD GRIMES IN FEBRUARY 1803
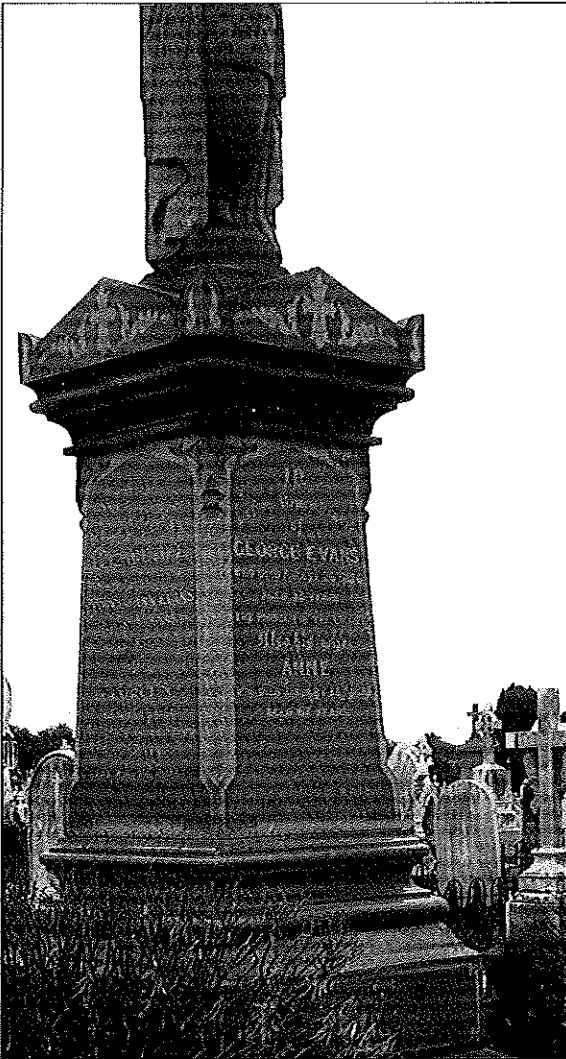AND REFOUND BY JOHN BATMAN IN JUNE 1835

Source 2.4
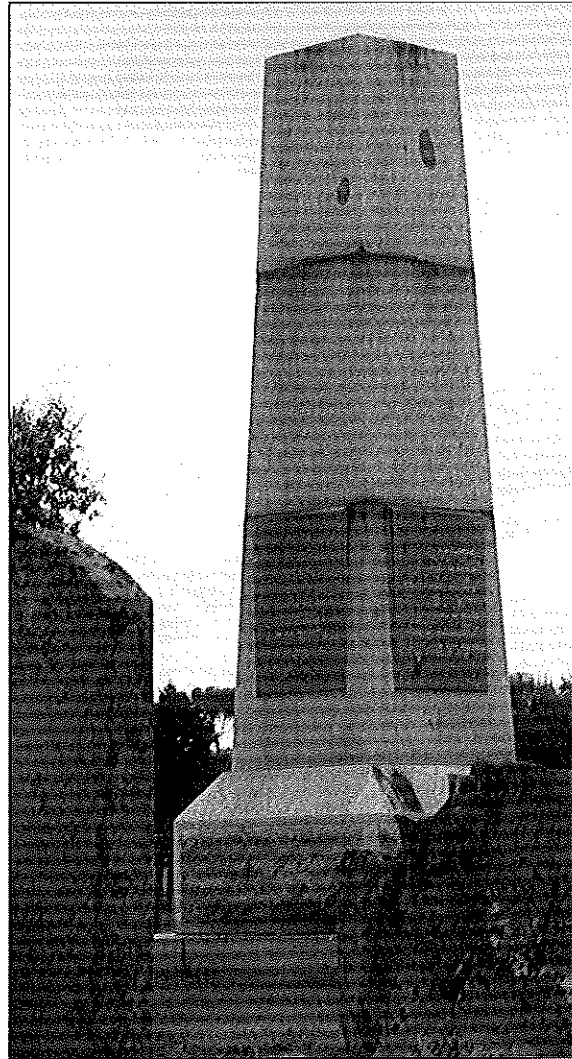Gravestone of George Evans

Melbourne General Cemetery

In loving rememberance
of
GEORGE EVANS
Who died August 26th 1876
Aged 92 years
The Pioneer of the Colony
Also his wife
ANNE
who died Jauary 12th 1893
Aged 67 years

Source 2.5
Monument to John Batman

Fawkner Cemetery, Fawkner

ON 6TH JUNE 1835
BATMAN ENTERED INTO A TREATY
WITH ABORIGINAL NATIVES
FOR THE PURCHASE OF LAND, AND
ON THE 8TH OF THE SAME MONTH
HE STOOD ON THE SITE OF MELBOURNE
CONCERNING WHICH HE WROTE IN HIS JOURNAL:
'THIS WILL BE THE PLACE
FOR A VILLAGE'

Source 2.6
Memorial to John Batman

Corner of Collins and Market Streets

1979 VERSION
JOHN BATMAN 1801 - 1839

AUSTRALIAN PIONEER BORN AT PARRAMATTA, NEW SOUTH WALES, ON JANUARY 21 1801.

SKILLED BUSHMAN FRIEND OF EXPLORER HAMILTON HUME.

IN 1821 MOVED TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND (NOW TASMANIA) WITH HIS BROTHER HENRY. SETTLED AT KINGSTON NEAR BEN LOMOND IN 1824.

MARRIED ELIZABETH THOMPSON (1828) CAPTURED MATTHEW BRADY THE PRINCE OF BUSHRANGERS. HELPED CONCILIATION WITH ABORIGINES AND BY 1835 HAD 7,000 ACRES OF LAND AT KINGSTON.

BECAUSE OF OVERSTOCKING OF PASTORAL LAND IN VAN DIEMENS LAND , SETTLERS THERE FORMED THE PORT PHILLIP ASSOCIATION IN 1835 THE OBJECT PASTORAL EXPLORATION OF PORT PHILLIP.

AFTER CROSSING BASS STRAIT IN THE 50-TON SCHOONER "REBECCA" ON BEHALF OF THE ASSOCIATION, NEGOTIATED WITH THE ABORIGINES OF PORT PHILLIP.

ON JUNE 6, 1835, PURCHASED 600,000 ACRES WHICH INCLUDED THE PRESENT SITES OF BOTH MELBOURNE AND GEELONG. THE GOVERNMENT LATER CANCELLED THE PURCHASE BECAUSE OF THE UNORTHODOX NATURE OF THE TRANSACTION.

BATMAN AND HIS PARTY ROWED UP THE YARRA RIVER ON JUNE 8 1835 AND LANDED NEAR THE SITE OF THE FORMER CUSTOMS HOUSE. HE RECORDED IN HIS JOURNAL "THIS WILL BE THE PLACE FOR A VILLAGE."

THREE WHITE MEN FROM THE BATMAN PARTY AND FIVE NEW SOUTH WALES ABORIGINES WERE LEFT BEHIND TO BUILD A HUT AND ESTABLISH A GARDEN. HE RETURNED THE FOLLOWING YEAR TO SETTLE IN MELBOURNE.

JOHN BATMAN DIED ON MAY 6, 1839, AGED 39 YEARS.

1996 VERSION
JOHN BATMAN 1801 - 1839

BORN AT PARRAMATTA, NEW SOUTH WALES, ON 21 JANUARY, 1801. A SKILLED BUSHMAN, HE WAS A FRIEND FROM BOYHOOD OF THE EXPLORER, HAMILTON HUME.

IN 1821, BATMAN MOVED TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND (NOW TASMANIA) AND SETTLED AT KINGSTON NEAR BEN LOMOND. IN 1824 HE MARRIED ELIZA THOMPSON. BY 1835 HE HAD 7,000 ACRES OF LAND.

WHEN PASTORAL LAND IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND BECAME FULLY STOCKED, SETTLERS LOOKED FOR LAND ACROSS BASS STRAIT. IN 1835, SOME PASTORALISTS FORMED AN EXPEDITION, LED BY BATMAN AND CARRIED IN THE SLOOP "REBECCA", LANDED AT INDENTED HEAD ON 29 MAY. BATMAN SERACHED FOR ABORIGINES WITH WHOM HE COULD NEGOTIATE A LAND PURCHASE.

ON 6 JUNE A GROUP NORTH OF MELBOURNE AGREED TO SIGN THE TREATY DOCUMENT HE HAD BROUGHT WITH HIM. THE BOUNDARIES, DEFINED LATER, TOOK IN THE SITES OF BOTH MELBOURNE AND GEELONG. BECAUSE THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT RECOGNISE NATIVE TITLE, BATMAN'S TREATY WAS DEEMED INVALID.

ON 8 JUNE A BOAT PARTY FROM THE "REBECCA" ROWED UP THE YARRA RIVER IN SEARCH OF WATER. IN HIS JOURNAL, BATMAN WROTE, "THIS WILL BE THE PLACE FOR A VILLAGE."

WHEN THE "REBECCA" SAILED FOR LAUNCESTON NEXT DAY, BATMAN LEFT THREE EUROPEANS AND FIVE NEW SOUTH WALES ABORIGINES AT INDENTED HEAD TO WARN OFF INTERLOPERS.

BATMAN'S ASSOCIATES, INCLUDING SWANSTON, WEDGE AND GELLIBRAND, FORMED THE PORT PHILLIP ASSOCIATION TO GAIN RECOGNITION FOR HIS PURCHASE, BUT WITHOUT SUCCESS.

THE BATMAN FAMILY SETTLED IN MELBOURNE IN APRIL 1836. BATMAN DIED ON 6 MAY 1839.

Source 2.7
Memorial to John Pascoe Fawkner

Corner of Collins and Market Streets

1979 VERSION
JOHN PASCOE FAWKNER 1792 - 1869

AUSTRALIAN PIONEER, BORN AT CRIPPLEGATE, LONDON, ON OCTOBER 20, 1792.

WITH HIS FATHER, MOTHER AND YOUNGER SISTER, FAWKNER JOINED "H.M.S. CALCUTTA" AT PORTSMOUTH AND SAILED WITH THE EXPEDITION OF DAVID COLLINS ON APRIL 29, 1803 TO SETTLE AT PORT PHILLIP.

WHEN THIS SETTLEMENT WAS ABANDONED IN 1804 THE FAMILY MOVED TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND (NOW TASMANIA).

THEY LIVED INA PRIMITIVE HUT AT THE NEW SETTLEMENT OF SULLIVAN'S COVE NEAR HOBART.

FAWKNER MADE A SIMILAR DECISION TO JOHN BATMAN TO SETTLE AT PORT PHILLIP AND FORMED A SYNDICATE IN LAUNCESTOIN WHICH PURCHASED THE 55-TON SCHOONER "ENTERPRIZE".

FAWKNER AND HIS PARTY OF SIX SET SAIL FROM LAUNCESTON BUT BECAUSE OF SEA- SICKNESS, FAWKNER HAD TO BE SENT ASHORE. THE PARTY EVENTUALLY SAILED WITHOUT HIM.

ON AUGUST 29, 1835, THE "ENTERPRIZE" SAILED UP THE YARRA RIVER AND ANCHORED OPPOSITE THE SITE CHOSEN EARLIER BY BATMAN AS "THE PLACE FOR A VILLAGE".

FAWKNER'S PARTY THEN BEGAN TO ERECT THE SETTLEMENT'S FORST HOUSE.

THE "ENTERPRIZE" RETURNED TO LAUNCESTON FOR FAWKNER AND HIS FAMILY.

THEY EVENTUALLY ARRIVED AT THE SETTLEMENT ON OCTOBER 10, 1835.

FAWKNER LATER REPRESENTED DALHOUSIE IN THE FIRST LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, HE WAS RETURNED FOR THE CENTRAL PROVINCE OF VICTORIA, HOLDING THE SEAT UNTIL HIS DEATH ON SEPTEMBER 4, 1869.

1996 VERSION
JOHN PASCOE FAWKNER 1792 - 1869

BORN IN LONDON ON 20 OCTOBER 1772. WITH HIS PARENTS AND SISTER, FAWKNER JOINED "H.M.S. CALCUTTA" AT PORTSMOUTH AND SAILED WITH THE EXPEDITION OF LIEUT.-COL. DAVID COLLINS ON APRIL 29, 1803 TO SETTLE

AT PORT PHILLIP. AS WATER SUPPLIES AT SORRENTO PROVED TO BE INADEQUATE, THE SETTLEMENT WAS MOVED TO VAN DIEMEN'S LAND (TASMANIA), WHERE HOBART TOWN WAS ESTABLISHED ON SULLIVAN'S COVE, IN 18204.

IN 1819 FAWKNER MOVED TO LAUNCESTON, WHERE HE MARRIED ELIZA COBB IN 1822.

IN 1834-35, FAWKNER, LIKE BATMAN AND OTHERSDECIDED TO INVESTIGATE THE LAND NORTH OF BASS STRAIT. HE BOUGHT A 55-TON SCHOONER AND, WITH LANCEY, EVANS, MARR AND JACKSON, FORMED A SYNDICATE TO SEARCH FOR A SETTLEMENT SITE. BEFORE HIS SCHOONER, THE "ENTERPRISE", WAS DELIVERED, FAWKNER HEARD OF BATMAN'S SUCCESS AT PORT PHILLIP.

THE "ENTERPRIZE" LEFT LAUNCESTON ON 21 JULY 1835, BUT WAS DELAYED OFF GEORGE TOWN BY BAD WEATHER. FAWKNER WAS OBLIGED TO LEAVE THE SHIP AND THE PARTY LEFT WITHOUT HIM. WITH JOHN LANCEY AS LEADER, THEY EXPLORED WESTERN PORT AND THE EASTERN SIDE OF PORT PHILLIP, WITHOUT FINDING ADEQUATE FRESH WATER. THIS WAS EVENTUALLY FOUND ON THE YARRA RIVER, ABOVE A WATERFALL (SINCE REMOVED). ON 29 AUGUST THE "ENTERPRIZE" ANCHORED BELOW THE FALL. NEXT DAY, CARGO UNLOADING BEGAN. FAWKNER AND HIS FAMILY ARRIVED IN THE "ENTERPRIZE" ON ITS SECOND VOYAGE, IN OCTOBER 1835.

A MEMBER OF VICTORIA'S FIRST LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, FAWKNER REMAINED A MEMBER UNTIL HIS DEATH, ON 4 SEPTEMBER 1869.

Source 2.8
Statue of Mary Gilbert, Conservatory, Fitzroy Garden, Melbourne
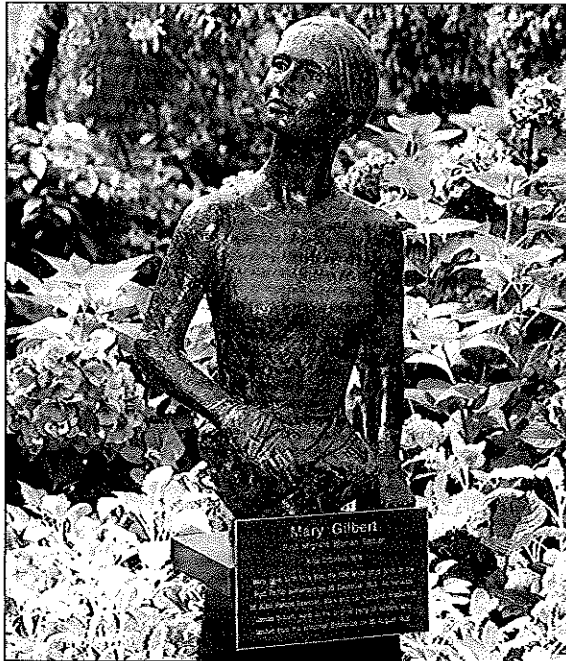
Mary Gilbert

Mary Gilbert
First Migrant Woman Settler

Ailsa O'Connor 1974

Mary gave birth to a son, the first white child born in the Port Phillip settlement on 29 December 1835. As servants of John Pascoe Fawkner, Mary and her husband, blacksmith James Gilbert, were in the original party of settlers who landed from the schooner Enterprize on 30 August 1835.

Source 2.9
Enterprize Memorial, formerly at *Enterprize* Wharf

THE ENTERPRISE LANDING MEMORIAL
1835 — 1985

THIS MEMORIAL COMMEMORATES THE LANDING NEAR HERE IN 1835 OF THE FIRST EUROPEANS TO SETTLE ON THE SITE WHICH WAS TO BECOME MELBOURNE.
THEY ARRIVED ON THE SHIP "ENTERPRISE" FOLLOWING A JOURNEY FROM LAUNCESTON, TASMANIA.
AFTER MAKING THEIR WAY UP THE YARRA RIVER THE VESSEL WAS MOORED ON THE 30TH OF AUGUST, AND UNLOADED THE FOLLOWING DAY WHEN THE FIRST BUILDING, A TURF HUT, WAS BEGUN.
THIS MEMORIAL WAS UNVEILED ON THE 1ST OF SEPTEMBER 1985 BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORD MAYOR OF MELBOURNE, COUNCILLOR THOMAS S. LYNCH.

Source 2.11
Memorial to Koorie people Kings Domain, Melbourne

THIS IS THE RESTING PLACE FOR THE SKELETAL REMAINS OF 38 ABORIGINAL PEOPLE. THEY ARE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE FOLLOWING TRIBES OF VICTORIA.

BIDAWAL BRABIRALUNG BRAIKAULUNG BRATAUOLUNG BUNGJANDITJ BUNJILKRAURA BUNRONG DJILAMATANG DUDUROA GUNDITJMARA JAADWA JAARA JAITMATHANG JARIJARI JUPAGALK KATUBALUT KIRRAE KOLAKNGAT KRAUATUNGALUNG KURNAI KURUNG KWATKWAT LATJILATJI MARDITJALI MINJAMBUTA NGUELBAN PANGERANG TATITATI TATUNGALUNG TAUNGURONG TJAPWURUNG WAMBAWAMBA WATIWATI WATHAURUNG WARKAWARKA WATJOBALUK WURUNDJERI YORTAYORTA

RISE FROM THIS GRAVE
RELEASE YOUR ANGER AND PAIN
AS YOU SOAR WITH THE WINDS
BACK TO YOUR HOMELANDS.
THERE FIND PEACE WITH OUR
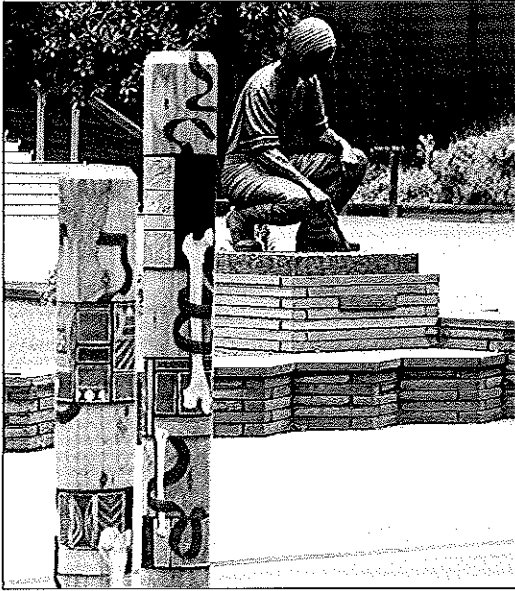SPIRITUAL MOTHER THE LAND
BEFORE DRIFTING OFF INTO THE
"DREAMTIME"

Source 2.10
Memorial to John Batman, formerly outside the Old Customs House, Flinders St, Melbourne

JOHN BATMAN
LANDED NEAR THIS SPOT
JUNE 1835
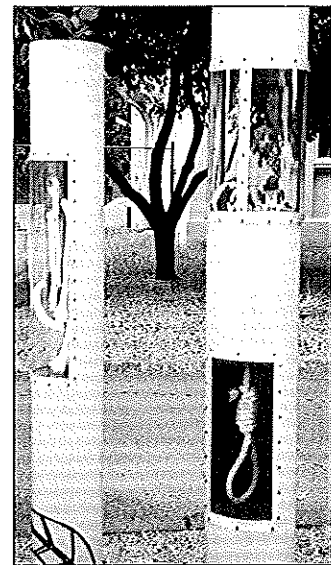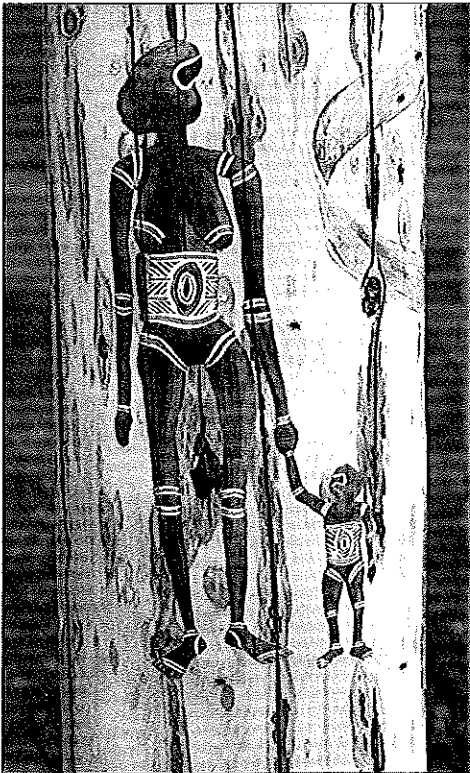THIS WILL BE THE PLACE FOR A VILLAGE

Source 2.12

Memorials from the *Another View* walking trail

Source 2.13

Memorials from the *Another View* walking trail

Activity 3
Who 'founded' Melbourne?

Look at the information in **Sources 3.1 - 3.11**.

1. Summarise the information on each of the possible claimants in a grid like the one below.

2. Then come to your own decision about who 'founded' Melbourne. Explain your reasons.

3. Is it important to be able to give some person or group that title? Explain your answer.

4. Work with your group to present your information to the class by:
   - a talk
   - a dramatic performance
   - a multimedia presentation
   - an annotated powerpoint display
   - or any other method.

Group or individual	Arguments For their claim to be the 'founder' of Melbourne	Arguments Against their claim to be the 'founder' of Melbourne

Group or individual	Arguments For their claim to be the 'founder' of Melbourne	Arguments Against their claim to be the 'founder' of Melbourne

Source 3.1
J. Prout, 'Native Encampment'

La Trobe Picture Collection,
State Library of Victoria

Source 3.2
C. L. Montefiore, 'Melbourne from the Falls, 1837'

La Trobe Picture Collection,
State Library of Victoria

Source 3.3
Koorie sites of modern Melbourne

Gary Presland,*Aboriginal Melbourne*, Penguin,
Melbourne, 1998 page 45

Source 3.4
An artist's impression of the Batman 'treaty'
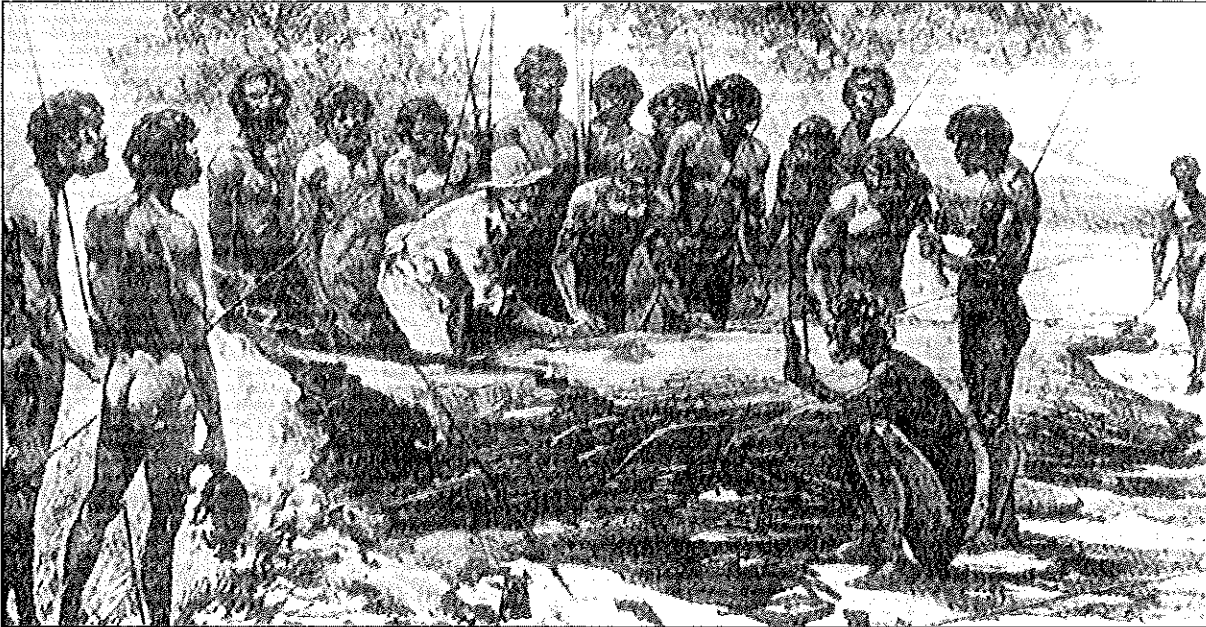
Historical Sketch of Victoria, 1980

Source 3.5
An artist's impression of the Batman 'treaty'

John Wesley Burtt, fl 1860 - 1900
La Trobe Picture Collection,
State Library of Victoria 976074

Source 3.6

Batman's map of Dutigalla and Port Phillip Bay,1835. Drawn from the Report of the Select Committee on Disposal of Lands in British Colonies (Parliamentary Papers UK, 1836)
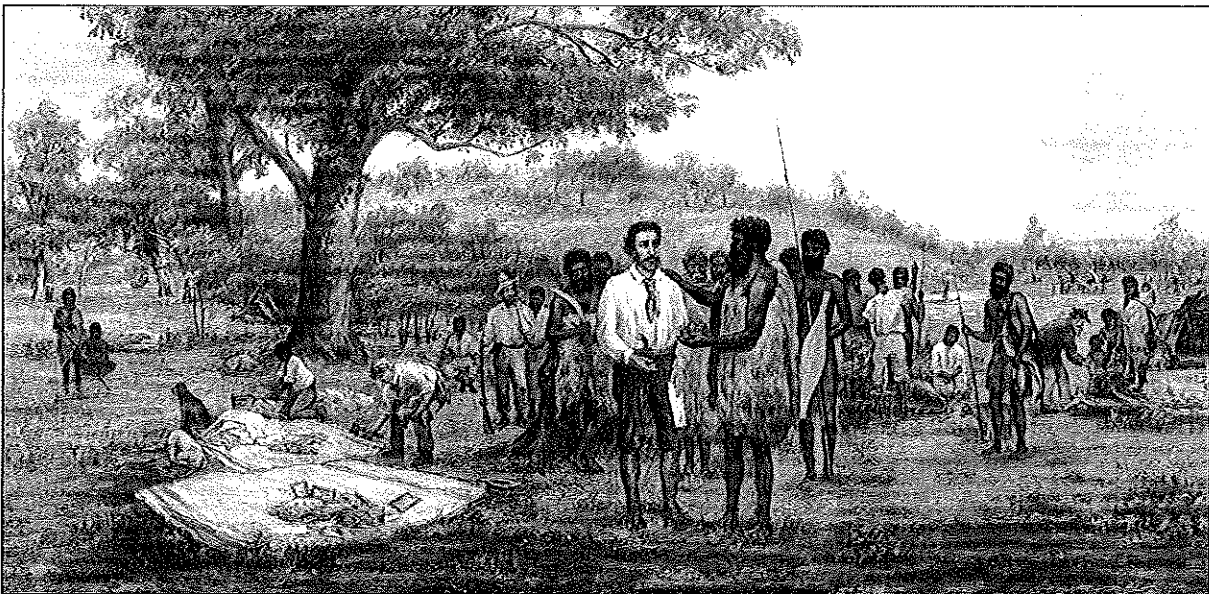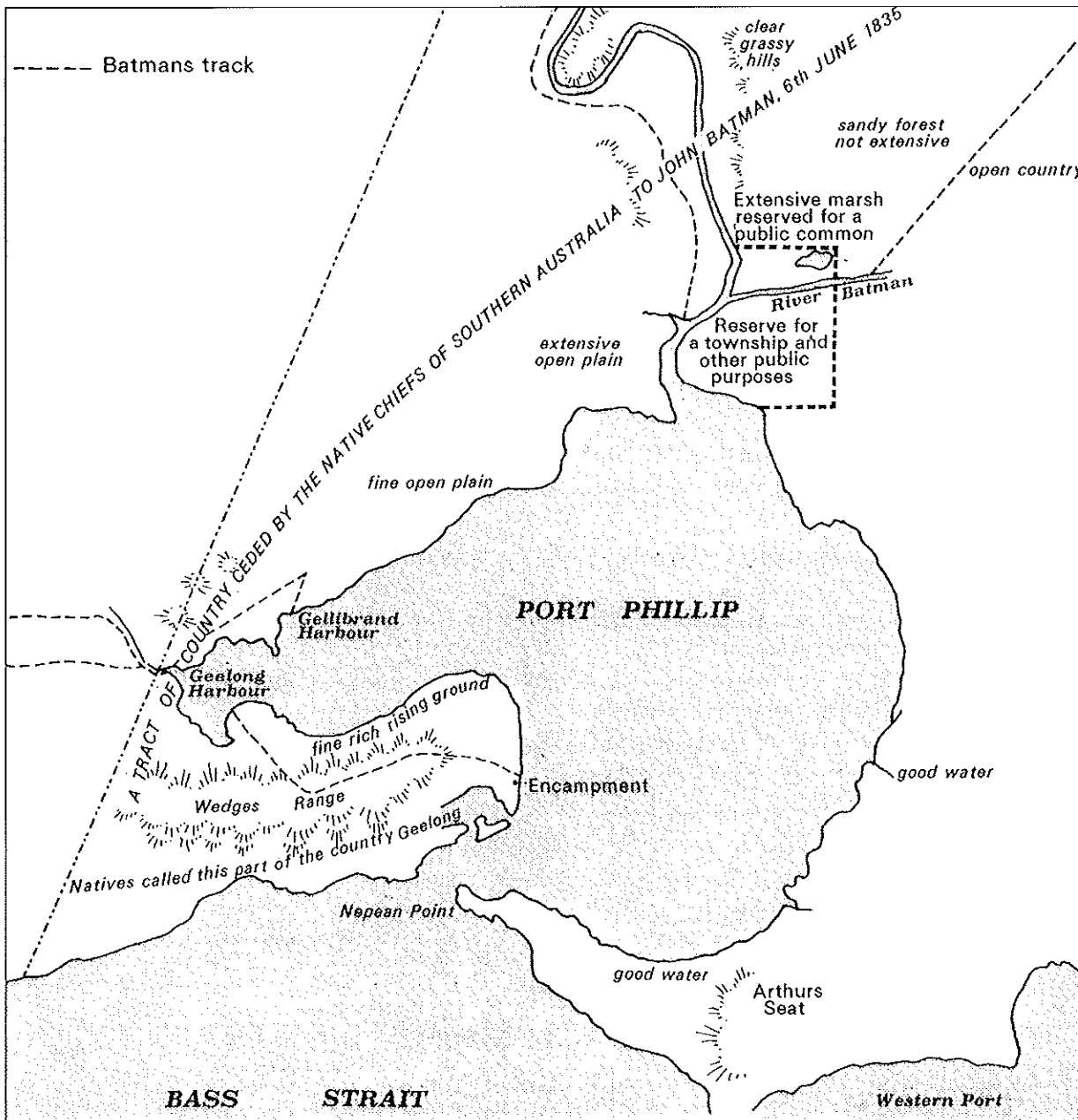

- - - - - Batmans track

clear grassy hills

TO JOHN BATMAN, 6th JUNE 1835

sandy forest not extensive

open country

Extensive marsh reserved for a public common

TO JOHN BATMAN ESQ OF SOUTHERN AUSTRALIA

River Batman

Reserve for a township and other public purposes

extensive open plain

A TRACT OF COUNTRY CEDED BY THE NATIVE CHIEFS

fine open plain

Gellibrand Harbour

PORT PHILLIP

Geelong Harbour

fine rich rising ground

good water

Encampment

Wedges Range

the country Geelong

Natives called this part of

Nepean Point

good water

Arthurs Seat

BASS STRAIT

Western Port

In Pamela Statham (ed)
The Origins of Australia's Capital Cities
Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989
in the chapter by A.G.L. Shaw,
'The Founding of Melbourne', p209

Source 3.7
One writer's interpretation and representation of the events

But we should not continue to accept John Batman, even at this late date, as the founder of Melbourne. His own aim, as the leader of the Port Phillip Association, was a worthy one, and that was to open up the rich grazing lands of Victoria - not to found a city. Even Captain Lancey, the one who really determined the site of Melbourne when Fawkner had to turn back to Tasmania could not be called the founder of Melbourne. He was simply the finder of the attractive site on which the city was built.

Shortly after Batman returned to Launceston, Fawkner set out from the same seaport in his 55-ton schooner *Enterprize* which was laden with agricultural implements, 2,500 fruit trees, horses, dogs, ploughs, stores and material for a house as well as tomahawks and blankets for the aborigines.

Fawkner's company included two carpenters, William Jackson and Robert Hay Marr, a plasterer, George Evans, and his servant Evan Evans; a master mariner, John Lancey, and Fawkner's three servants, Charles Wise, ploughman, Thomas Morgan, general servant and James Gilbert, a blacksmith, his wife and her favourite cat.

The *Enterprize* immediately ran into such a heavy storm that Fawkner became violently seasick and had to be put ashore. The others set out again, and on 8th August they reached Western Port Bay where for a week they searched unsuccessfully for good land. They then sailed around into Port Phillip Bay - the next opening in the coastline - and on 20th August the shore party came upon the east [that is, the east bank of the Yarra - the right bank looking downstream] where they found a good stream of fresh water and 'beautiful hills and plains of good soil and excellent grass'. Captain Lancey in his diary says 'Here we made up our minds to settle and share the land in the most satisfactory manner to all parties.'

On 29th August 1835 - an historic day for Melbourne - the *Enterprize* was unloaded near the present site of the Customs House, and Evans and Jackson began building a store for the pork, sugar and other provisions which included three and a half gallons of gin.

Fawkner arrived in the settlement on 11th October, by which time the city's first vegetables - radishes - were ready for the table and five acres of wheat had been sown near the corner of what was to become Flinders and Spencer Streets. . . . The city's traditional founder - John Batman - arrived on 9th November.

In December 1835, the blacksmith James Gilbert and his wife became the parents of the first white child born in the little village. He was later christened John Melbourne Gilbert, but at his birth the settlement still had no official name. By that time a number of pioneers had brought in many sheep and cattle and they were becoming increasingly worried about the lack of any title to the land they occupied.

W.H. Newnham, *Melbourne: Biography Of A City*, Hill Of Content, Melbourne, 1985 pp. 4-9

[Note: Some modern historians believe that there are several factual errors and misinterpretations in this account - such as the date of unloading the *Enterprize*, and the reason why Fawkner did not make the trip on the *Enterprize*.]

Source 3.8

Disembarking from the *Enterprize* in 1835, painting by John Hunter
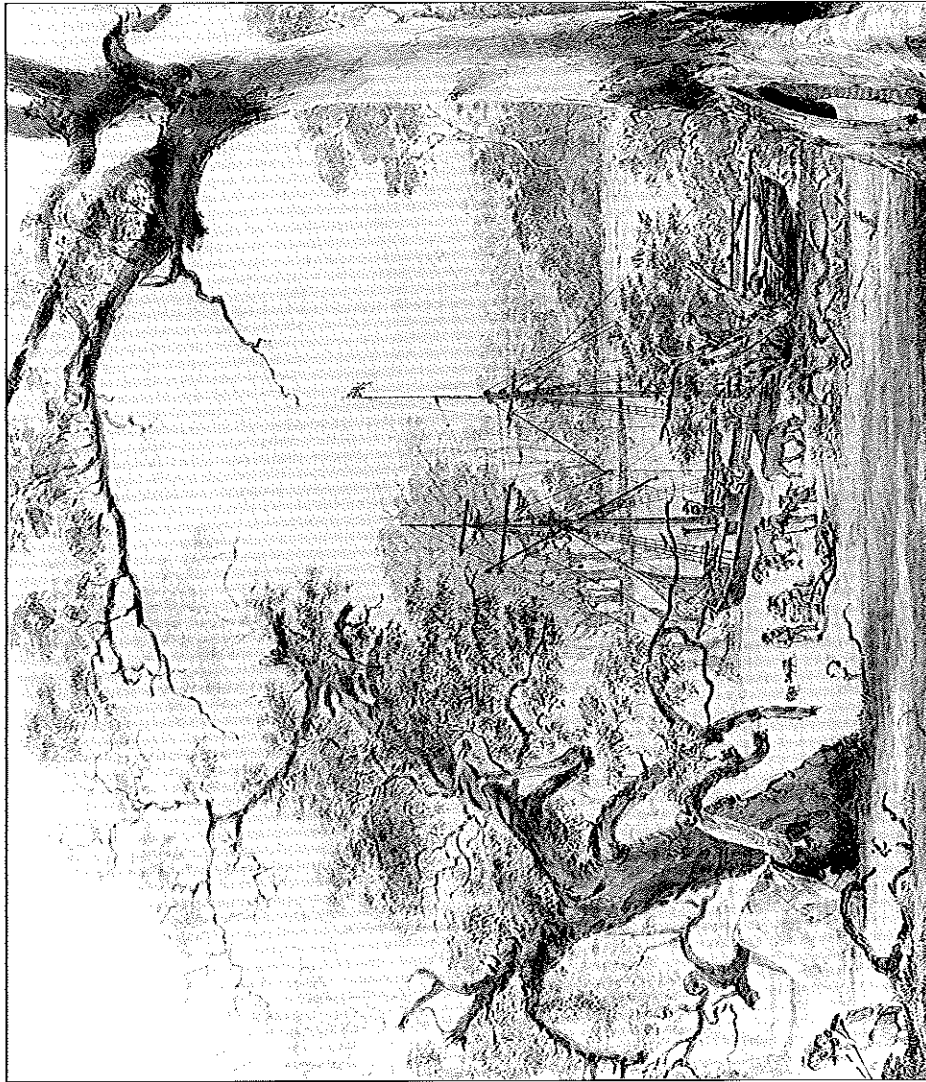
La Trobe Picture Collection,
State Library of Victoria
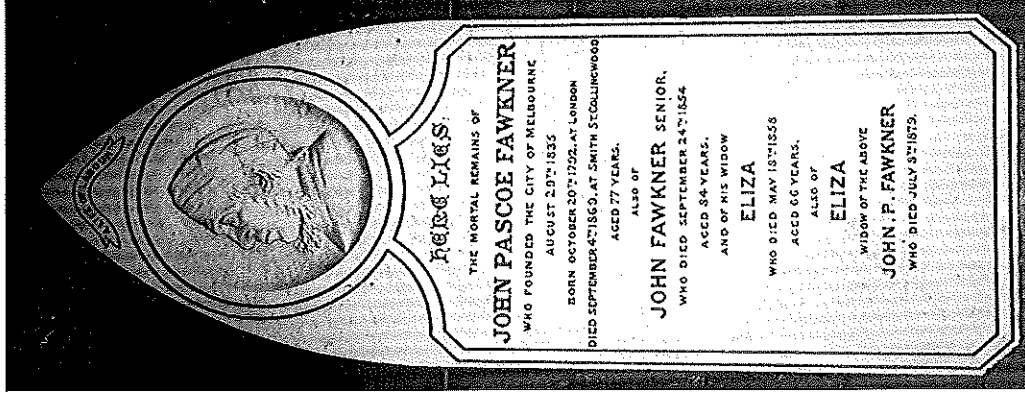
John Pascoe Fawkner's headstone
Melbourne General Cemetery
Photgraph: R.Lewis

Source 3.9
The Grimes party

Governor Philip [Gidley] King of the Colony of New South Wales, instructed his Surveyor-General, Charles Grimes, to walk around Port Phillip Bay and report on any suitable sites for settlement. The Governor also wished to forestall any attempt by the French to claim this part of Australia.

In February 1803 Grimes and his party arrived in Port Phillip Bay. On the 2nd of that month they disembarked on the sandy beach between St. Kilda and Port Melbourne and, in walking overland, discovered the mouth of the river. Next day they rowed up this estuary to the junction to two rivers, decided to take the left-hand branch - the Saltwater [Maribyrnong] River - and travelled [a distance up the river].

The following day they travelled up the other branch - the Freshwater [Yarra] River - as far as Dight's Falls. On their return to Sydney James Flemming, the young gardener called by courtesy 'an agriculturalist', anticipated Batman's famous remark about a suitable place for settlement but Grimes reported unenthusiastically.

Flemming, a member of the party, anticipated Batman's prophetic words when he wrote in his diary: 'The most eligible place for a settlement I have seen is on the Freshwater River.'

Source: W.H.Newnham, *Melbourne: Biography Of A City*, Hill of Content, Melbourne, 1985 pp. 4-6

Source 3.10
Extracts from the diary of James Flemming

[2 February 1803]
'Soon afterwards came to a large river [Yarra]...The ground is a swamp on one side and high on the other. Saw many swans, pelicans and ducks.'

[3 February 1803]
'The land became high, where we landed and went on a hill. The soil a reddish loam from ten to fifteen inches deep. Saw a lagoon at a distance. Went over the hill to a large swamp [the Moonee Ponds]. Soil black, eighteen inches, with blue clay at bottom. No trees for many miles... We went up the river till we came to rocks [near Avondale Heights] . . .

[4 February 1803]
'Started at six and came to the branch we passed before [junction of Maribyrnong and Yarra], at the entrance the land swampy; a few miles up found it excellent water, where we saw a little hill [Batman's Hill] and landed...went on the hill, where we saw the lagoon seen from the hill where we first landed. It is a large swamp between two rivers; fine grass, fit to mow; not a bush in it [West Melbourne Swamp]. The soil is black rich earth about six to ten inches deep, when it is very hard and stiff. About two miles further went on shore again; the land much better and timber larger.'

[8 February 1803: in Studley Park]
'We went inland a little way. It is stony, about six inches black stiff soil, white clay at bottom. Mr. Robbins got up a tree; saw it to be gently rising hills, clothed with trees, for ten or fifteen miles. . . . We were not more than half a mile from the river.'

James Flemming, in J. Shillinglaw, *Historical Records of Port Phillip*

Activity 4
Koorie people's reactions to the invasion of the area

1 Look at **Sources 4.1 - 4.2**, about John Batman's claim to have made a 'treaty' with the local Koorie people in 1835.

a What did Batman claim in the Treaty?

_____

_____

b What does this mean?

_____

_____

c Who did he make this claim from?

_____

_____

d What does he offer in return?

_____

_____

e Who has 'signed' the document?

_____

_____

f What aspects of Koorie society make it likely that this document meant something different to the Koorie people than it did to Batman?

_____

_____

g What do you think the treaty meant to the Koorie people Batman spoke to?

_____

_____

2 Did Batman 'buy' Melbourne? Explain your reasons and justify this position to a group of students in class

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Source 4.1
John Batman describes making a treaty

Saturday, June 6, 1835 — The wind blew hard all night, with some rain. We started this morning at eight A.M. to find the natives. ... We walked about eight miles when we fell in with the tracks of the natives, and shortly after came up with a family — one chief, his wife and three children. I gave him a pair of blankets, handkerchiefs, beads and three knives. He then went on with us, . . . saying he would take us to the tribe, and mentioned the names of the chiefs. We walked about eight miles, when, to our great surprise, we heard several voices calling after us. On looking back we saw eight men all armed with spears, etc.

When we stopped they threw aside their weapons and came very friendly up to us. After shaking hands, and my giving them tomahawks, knives, etc., they took us with them about a mile back, where we found huts, women and children. After some time, and full explanation, I found eight chiefs amongst them, who possessed the whole of the country near Port Phillip. Three brothers, all of the same name, are the principal chiefs, and two of the men of six feet high, and very good looking; . . . After a full explanation of what my object was, I purchased two large tracts of land from them about 600,000 acres, more or less ... and delivered over to them blankets, knives, looking-glasses, tomahawks, scissors, beads, flour, etc., as payment for the land, and also agreed to give them a tribute, or rent, yearly.

The Treaty said:

Know all persons that we, three brothers, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, Jagajaga, being the Principal Chiefs, and also Cooloolock, Bungarie, Yanyan, Moowhip, and Mommarmalar also, being the Chiefs of a certain Native Tribe, called Dutigallar, situate at and near Port Phillip, called by us, the above mentioned chiefs, Irumao, being possessed of the Tract of Land hereinafter mentioned, for and in consideration of Twenty Pairs of Blankets, Thirty Tomahawks, One Hundred Knives, Fifty pairs Scissors, Thirty Looking-Glasses, Two Hundred Handkerchiefs, and One Hundred Pounds of Flour, and Six Shirts, delivered to us by John Batman, residing in Van Diemen's Land, Esq., but at present sojourning with us and our tribe, Do for Ourselves, Our Heirs and Successors, GIVE, Grant, Enfeoff, and confirm unto the said John Batman, his Heirs and Assigns, ALL THAT Tract of Country [then described for the yearly rent of] ... One Hundred Pairs of Blankets, One Hundred Knives, One Hundred Tomahawks, Fifty Suits of Clothing, Fifty Looking-Glasses, Fifty Pairs of Scissors and Five Tons Flour. ... Signed Sealed and Delivered, in the presence of us, the same having been fully and properly interpreted and explained to the said Chiefs.

In C. P. Billot, *John Batman*, Hyland House, Melbourne, 1979, pages 96 - 98

Source 4.2
An extract from an article by a modern historian.

John Batman's 1835 'treaties' with the leaders of clans near Melbourne are an example of how permission for temporary access was granted in a ritual exchange of gifts and formal presentation of tokens (soil, plants, water, food) symbolising the owners' hospitality [known as a 'tanderrum']. Batman's escort of 'Sydney' Aborigines were familiar with such ceremonies, and Batman's overtures were no doubt perceived by the Woiworung and Bunurong clan-heads as a rather puppyish eagerness to initiate the required *tanderrum* ritual.

Diane E. Barwick, 'Mapping the Past', *Aboriginal History* vol 8 Part 2 1984 p 107

Activity 5
Koorie reaction to the invasion of the area

1 Look at the information about the European invasion, set out in **Source 5.1**

What effects did the invaders have on:

a natural resources available to Koorie people

_____

_____

_____

b Koorie health

_____

_____

_____

c Koorie way of life?

_____

_____

_____

2 What evidence of resistance is mentioned?

_____

_____

_____

3 Another response was 'accommodation'. Explain what this means, and give some examples of it.

_____

_____

_____

4 Why do you think the Koorie people of the Melbourne area might not have been able to effectively resist the invasion?

_____

_____

_____

5   Look at **Source 5.2**, a work of art by an unknown Koorie person who experienced the invasion in Victoria.

Identify the:

a   animals

_____

_____

b   vegetation

_____

_____

c   artefacts

_____

_____

d   activities which are shown.

_____

_____

6   What is the story of European settlement / invasion which this drawing is telling us?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Source 5.1

A summary of some elements of Koorie - European contact around Melbourne in the 1830s and 1840s

- The first settlers (or invaders) from the *Enterprize* unloaded the first of their supplies, equipment and animals on 30 August of 1835. Within six years 12 000 people had arrived, with hundreds of thousands of sheep, cattle and horses.

- These people brought with them many new diseases for which the Koorie people had no immunity: colds, influenza, smallpox, pneumonia, venereal diseases.

- The Woiworung and Bunnerong were at the focal point of the invasion, as the new settlement was set up in their territory.

- The Koorie people on a few occasions resisted the invasion, though this was done more in the outlying areas than in the area of Melbourne, as they were quickly 'swamped' by the ever-increasing numbers of Europeans in the area.

- There was one attempted attack on the Europeans in 1835, but A Koorie man, Derrimut, warned the Europeans and the attack was not able to go ahead.

- Koorie people co-operated with the new settlers in many ways - guiding them, providing information, attending European-run schools, supplying lyrebird feathers and other items as trade, doing jobs for payment, even manning a Customs Depot boat.
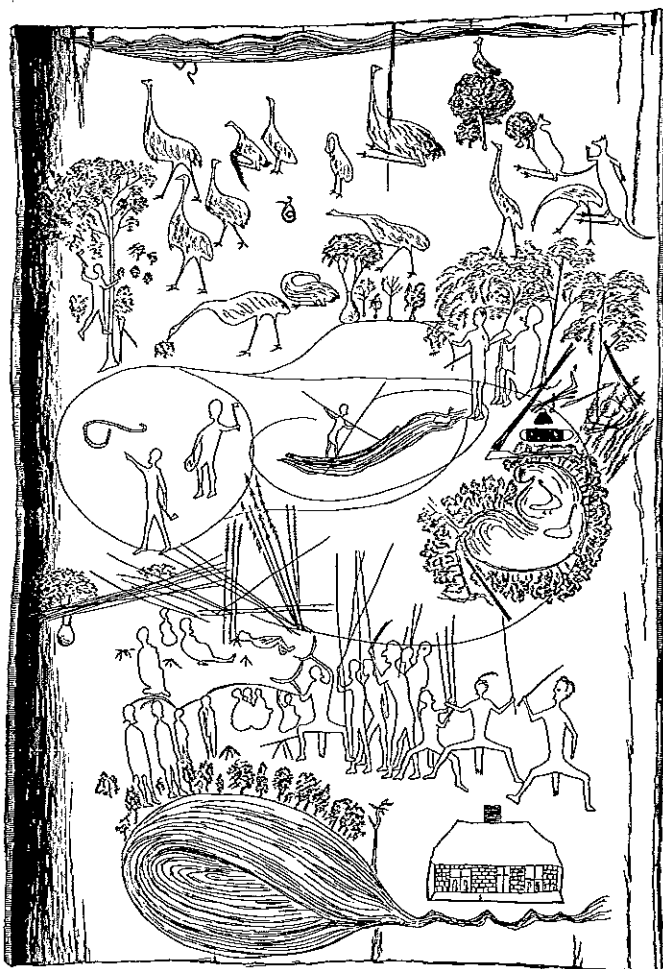
- In 1842 several Koorie people from the Melbourne area joined the Native Police, and were used to help defeat and arrest or kill other Koorie people who were resisting the invasion.

- Some Koorie people stole supplies from the settlers, or killed their stock.

  Some were forced off their traditional lands, and sought to join other Koorie groups.

- Under the new social and cultural pressures, the Woiworung and the Bunnerong population very quickly declined. From an estimated 350 in 1836, there were only 209 in 1839, 59 by 1852, and 33 by 1863.

Source 5.2

A Koorie image of contact

A copy of a drawing made on bark
Source: R Brough Smyth
The Aborigines of Victoria Vol 1 1876

Source 6.1
Two historians on the Foundation of Melbourne

(1) A.G.L.Shaw

When was Melbourne founded? — and why? The latter question is easy to answer. Graziers in Van Diemen's Land (now called Tasmania) wanted more land for their increasing flocks (up from 680,000 sheep to 824,000 between 1831 and 1835 — that is more than 20 per cent.) Land was dear. Government charged £1 per acre (roughly $5 per hectare) — $100 in today's money — for Crown land. Recent Fencing and Impounding Acts had made it difficult for the pastoralists to graze livestock on any vacant land which they had not bought. But the pastoralists knew from reports from whalers, who were active in Bass Strait, that there was good land on its northern shores. Since the explorers, Hume and Hovell had travelled overland to Corio Bay in 1824, and a short-lived penal settlement had existed at Corinella in Western Port in 1826-7, a number of pastoralists, like John Batman, Thomas and James Henty, the lawyer, Joseph Gellibrand, and many others, had asked the authorities in both London and Sydney for land grants on the mainland. They had been consistently refused; neither government wanted to incur the expense of setting up a new settlement. So settlement became a matter of taking the law into one's own hands, and in November 1834 Edward Henty (Thomas's son) did so. Sailing from Launceston, he squatted at Portland Bay where he and other whalers had seasonally set up whaling stations and established there the first permanent settlement in the territory of the future state of Victoria.

Spurred on by this success, Batman, Gellibrand, the banker, Charles Swanston, and the government surveyor, John Wedge, decided that they would do the same. They would reinforce their claim by buying land from the Aborigines if they found it suitable. In April 1835, Batman chartered the 35-ton sloop *Rebecca*, and after being forced by bad weather, to take shelter, first in George Town and then in Port Sorell, finally reaching Indented Head on the Bellarine Peninsula in Port Phillip on 29 May.

He first explored the Geelong area, but failed to locate any male Aborigines. He then made for the head of Port Phillip, and followed the route described below by Stuart Duncan **(Source 6.2)**. He found the country excellent — 'beyond my most sanguine expectations'. He met a party of Aborigines beside one of the little tributary streams flowing south to the Yarra, and here, on 6 June, they signed copies of the treaties that Gellibrand had drafted and Batman had brought with him. By these Batman claimed to have bought, first, 500,000 acres (about 200,000 hectares), running forty miles (64 kilometres) north-east from the branch of the river 'at the top of the port', forty miles west and then south-west past the You Yangs to Geelong harbour, and, secondly, 100,000 acres (40,000 ha) between Geelong and Indented Head, i.e., the Bellarine Peninsula. The total price was about £200 worth of goods handed over immediately and the promise of similar payments every year.

Returning to the *Rebecca* next day on a line north of the site of Melbourne, Batman reached 'the river I had gone up a few days before' — i.e., the Maribyrnong — probably near the present site of Flemington Racecourse, and followed it downstream, until he reached 'a much larger river than the one we went up and have just come down' — that is, he reached the junction of the Maribyrnong with the Yarra, which was then a short distance (some 200 metres) south of the Footscray Road bridge.

Batman asked two of his 'Sydney natives' — Bullet and Bungett, to swim across the Maribyrnong, walk down the west bank of the lower Yarra to where the *Rebecca* was anchored, and to bring up the ship's boat. This they did; they then ferried the rest of the party across the Maribyrnong and then rowed Batman down to the vessel. [See Stuart Duncan's article **(Source 6.2)** for more details.]
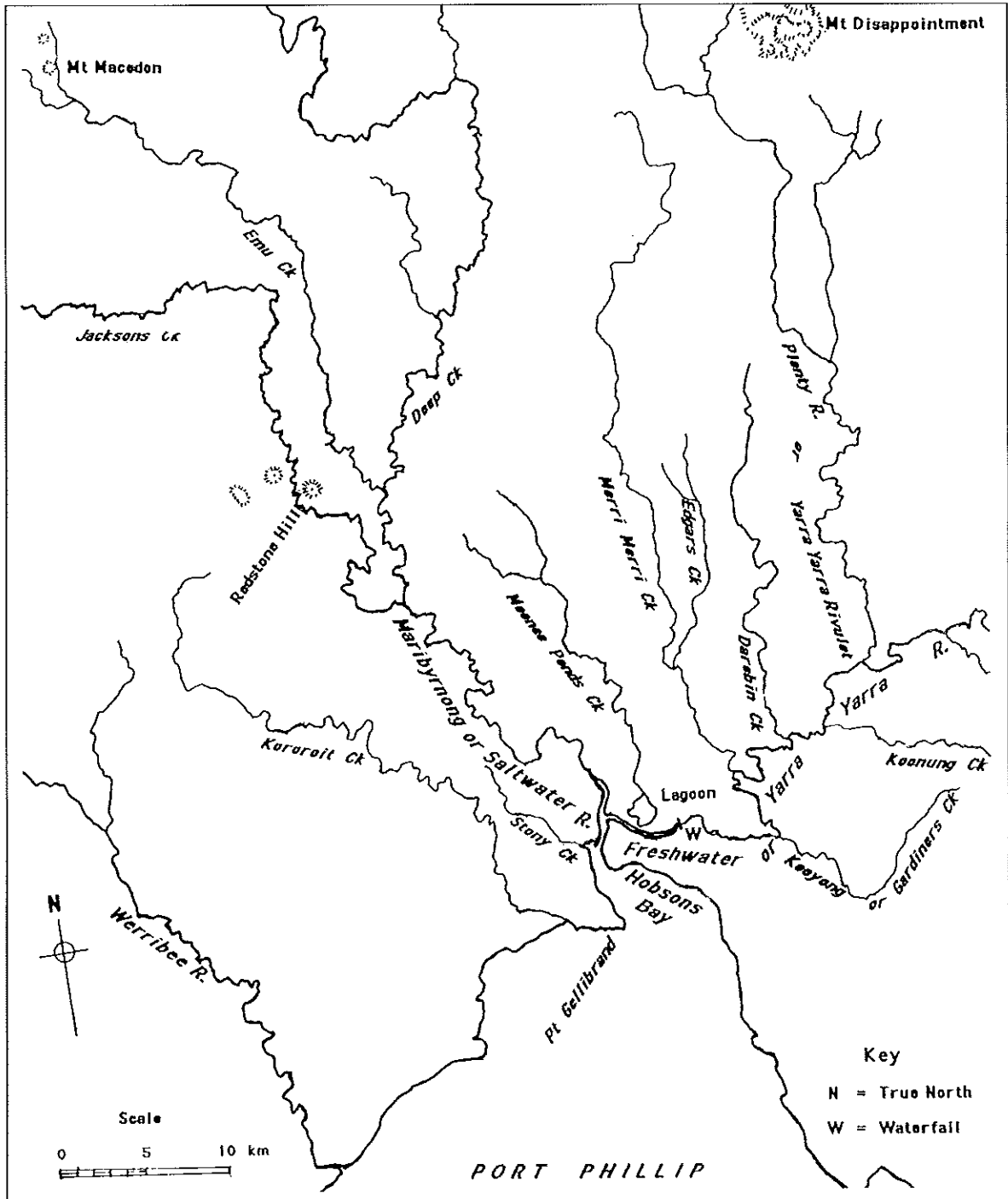
A SKETCH MAP OF
THE SITE OF MELBOURNE

On 9 June Batman left a party of eight at Indented Head to look after the land he had 'bought'. Three days later, it is said, he was telling his fellow drinkers in the bar of the Cornwall Hotel, at Launceston, 'I am the greatest landowner on the world'.

In fact, he was not. When Lieutenant-Governor Arthur in Hobart and Governor Bourke in Sydney heard of the treaty, neither was willing to recognise either it, or the settlement that followed, without authority from London. It would take at least a year for either to receive instructions, and Bourke issued a proclamation declaring that in the meantime he would regard anyone settling at Port Phillip as a trespasser on Crown Land. When Bourke's instructions arrived, in September 1836, they allowed the settlement to go ahead but declared Batman's purchase invalid.

This decision accorded with the government's general land policy, but, apart from that, there were some doubtful factors in Batman's claim. He did not show his journal to Governor Arthur in Hobart, but submitted a Report, together with maps prepared by Wedge after his return. The Report alleged that Batman and the chiefs had marked trees at all corners of the purchased land; this was clearly impossible and the Journal recorded the marking of only one tree. The maps altered the route of Batman's return journey from the place where the treaty had been signed, presumably in order to claim land along the north bank of the Yarra — a river that Batman did not know existed when he made his purchase — in the area which he had 'bought'.

However, neither Governor Bourke's authority nor the difficulty of crossing Bass Strait stopped people going to Port Phillip. By the end of June, Batman and his backers had formally organised the Port Phillip Association (known at first as the Geelong and Dutigalla Association), with fifteen members, to send over 20,000 sheep that year. John Aitken, another pastoralist, soon made plans to go too. George Evans, a Launceston builder and plasterer, later alleged that when he heard Batman tell his story in the Cornwall hotel,

he turned to the landlord, John Pascoe Fawkner, and said, 'Well, Fawkner, what do you say about going to Port Phillip?' Both were soon to go, for the enterprising Fawkner, builder, merchant, publican and newspaper owner, son of a convict who had come out to Sorrento in 1803, had already shown an interest in settling and trading there. In April he had bought the 55 ton schooner *Enterprize* to take him to Port Phillip, though he did not get possession of it until 18 July.

With four associates — master mariner John Lancey, George Evans, William Jackson and Robert Marr, a carpenter, and five servants (including Mary Gilbert, the pregnant wife of James Gilbert, blacksmith) — Fawkner got ready to sail; unfortunately, while the ship was held up by bad weather, his Launceston creditors forced him to disembark to stop him leaving Van Diemen's Land. When the *Enterprise* finally sailed on 4 August, Fawkner was not on board, Captain Lancey was acting as leader of the 'settlers' and Captain Peter Hunter was in charge of the vessel.

Searching for a place to settle, the party looked first at Western Port and then at the eastern side of Port Phillip. Captain Hunter's log, as transcribed by Fawkner, records the events of the voyage. (See *Melbourne's Missing Chronicle*, C.P.Billot, editor, Quartet Books, Melbourne, 1982.)

> *16 (August) Sunday*
> Entered Port Phillip. Wind E
>
> *17 Monday*
> This day reached Arthur's seat — Settlers went on shore and Retd. in the Evening.
>
> *18 Tuesday*
> This day they landed again the vessel moving up the bay, came on board again at 4 P.M.
>
> *19 Wednesday*
> This day landed them again and went through the upper part of the bay. Vessel moving upstream

20 Thursday
This day the vessel arrived at the River at the Head of the Bay only Marr & Lancey landed.
[This was the combined Yarra-Maribyrnong, which next day was called the Hunter.]

21 August Friday
The Party went up to examine the Hunter River & Retd. at night Found the Wattle Trees on the Banks of the River in full Bloom

22 Saturday
Party went up again to Explore and to search for fresh water Vessel at anchor.

23 Sunday
Party retd. having found fresh water and a beautiful country The Yarra Yarra, named subsequently
[This last comment has been added at a later date.]

24 Monday
Vessel in attempting to ascend the River got aground

25 Tuesday
Got the Vessel off, Party again went up the River to explore to stay till Thursday

26 Wednesday
Warped the Vessel up the River against a strong breese could not proceed far
[To warp — to pull a ship or boat by hauling on a rope fastened to a tree or some other fixed object.]

27 Thursday
Strong breese, could not get up Sent the Ship's boat at that and Settlers retd.

28 Friday
Employed working up the Channel

29 Saturday
This day warped up to the Junction got a breese and ran up the falls
[They reached the falls at dusk.]

30 Sunday
This day moored alongside the Bank and landed the Horses and other lumber off the Deck

31 Monday
This day lay waiting Mr Lanceys orders to discharge.

1 September - Tuesday
Discharged all before dinner, and made all ready to return waiting Mr Lancey

2 September
Employed on shore, thatching the Store, All hands

3 September Wednesday
Vessel left the Basin at the falls to go down the river but took the [ground] near the Entrance of the River
[The days and dates are confussed here.]

4 September
Got out of the River took in 5 Boat loads of Ballast

5 September
Weighed at 2 A.M. and sailed for Launceston

Thus on 30 August, the *Enterprize* was moored in the Yarra near the foot of the future William Street and the Custom House Building. Falls in the river where Queen's Bridge now stands prevented the schooner from going any further upstream and also ensured that fresh (not salty) water was available above them. The men disembarked and at once began to put up their tents, build a store hut and clear some land for growing vegetables. By the time the *Enterprize* left on 3 September, to go back to Launceston, settlement at Melbourne had begun — without either Batman or Fawkner.

Fawkner arrived on 16 October, as a passenger on the second voyage of the *Enterprize*; John Batman on board the *Norval* on 9 November. Much earlier, however, his partner, Wedge and his bother, Henry Batman, had gone over in the *Rebecca* to join the party John had left at Indented Head. Wedge had explored as far west as Lake Modewarre and south towards Point Addis. When he heard of the arrival of the *Enterprize*, he went on foot to the settlement on the Yarra, arriving there on 2 September. He protested to Captain Lancey against the occupation of the land on the Yarra by the *Enterprize* party, but for the moment both parties agreed to refer the matter to their principals in Van Diemen's Land. In the end, when John

Batman arrived, he agreed to pay Fawkner £20 to move his 'garden' across the river, but the latter kept his cottage where it stood near the landing place, on the north bank of the Yarra.

Who then founded Melbourne and when? Was it either Batman or Fawkner as is so often claimed, and if so, which of them? The answer depends on what is meant by 'founding'. No one would wish to deny that the idea of pastoral settlement around Port Phillip came from John Batman. He had thought of it at least as early as 1825 and had suggested it to others. He had partly financed and had then led the party that visited Port Phillip in May-June 1835, had persuaded others to invest in it, and had signed the treaty buying land from the Aborigines. He planned to settle with others on the shores of Port Phillip, but he was no more the founder of the city (or 'village') of Melbourne, than he was of Portland. I do not believe he visited the 'place for a village' in June 1835, because he does not mention doing so in his Journal.

The settlement that Batman established on his first visit was at Indented Head. Wedge might have moved from Indented Head to the Yarra before the *Enterprize* arrived, but he did not. When he did come to the Yarra, *Enterprize* was already there.

Fawkner bought the *Enterprize* and largely (though not entirely) financed her voyage. He sent his party over, not as pastoralists, but to establish a village, as can easily be seen from examining the items of the cargo carried in the schooner. As we have seen, Fawkner was not aboard. His role at that time was that of financier, just as Swanston, Gellibrand, Wedge and others had helped to finance Batman's trip. But he could not claim credit for the initial settlement. This must go to those who were on board the *Enterprize*, and their leader (in Fawkner's absence) John Lancey.

Fawkner soon fell out with his four associates and soon all had left save one — George Evans. He was the first who came and settled permanently, working first in Melbourne and then occupying a small run on the Maribyrnong River before moving to one of 2,000 acres near Sunbury, where he built a sandstone house at Emu Bottom. By June 1836 there were 177 'trespassing' pastoralists, farmers, tradesmen and their servants at Port Phillip, 142 males and 35 females. Without doubt, the Port Phillip Associationists, Swanston, Gellibrand, Wedge, and especially Batman, played a major role in the establishment of a settlement at Port Phillip, and so did Fawkner. But none of them was present on the day when the site of the future Melbourne was first settled — 30 August 1835. Those who were present were those on the *Enterprize*.

Source 6.2
Two historians on the Foundation of Melbourne

(2) Stuart Duncan
Where did Batman go?

When John Batman arrived in Port Phillip, on 29 May, 1835, he looked first in the vicinity of Corio Bay for Aborigines who might be persuaded to sell or lease their land. He located some women and children, but learned that their menfolk were all absent. He asked Captain Harwood to sail the vessel to the head of Port Phillip, and, as it was raining, decided to go with him rather than walk there. Next day, he landed on the west bank of the lower Yarra River, where Stony Creek joins it. His route from there on is largely recorded in his journal, and is also shown on the map drawn for him, on his return to Tasmania, by John Helder Wedge, and submitted to Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, with his report. The map is unreliable, as it has been deliberately falsified to show Batman's return track meeting the Yarra east of where Melbourne would soon be located, but it is of some value for the early parts of the journey as a sketch of what Batman saw and where he went. The scale, however, varies from one part of the map to another.
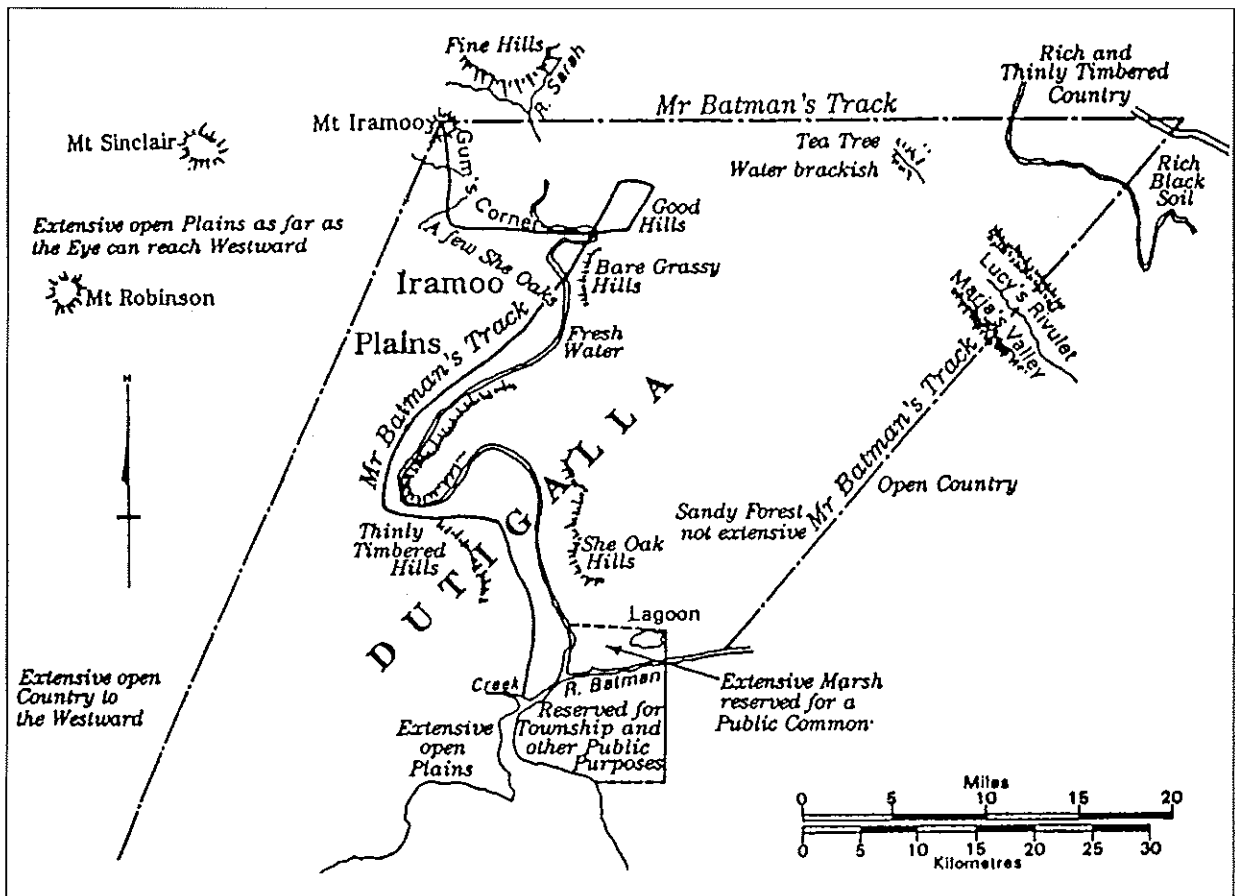

Part of John Batman's sketch map of 'Dutigalla', with a selection of his descriptive phrases.
Adapted from F. Dangerfield's lithographed facsimile (1871).

Batman's journal is one of the treasures of the State Library of Melbourne. It has been transcribed and printed by C.P.Billot, in his book, *John Batman*, published by Hyland House, Melbourne, in 1979. Batman kept the journal for his own use, and did not submit it for Governor Arthur's perusal when he sent in a report on

hills rather than on the open basalt plains he had crossed.

Next morning, he left the river and headed up the ridge now followed by the Calder Highway, with Taylors Creek on his left and Jacksons Creek on his right. From the crest of the ridge,
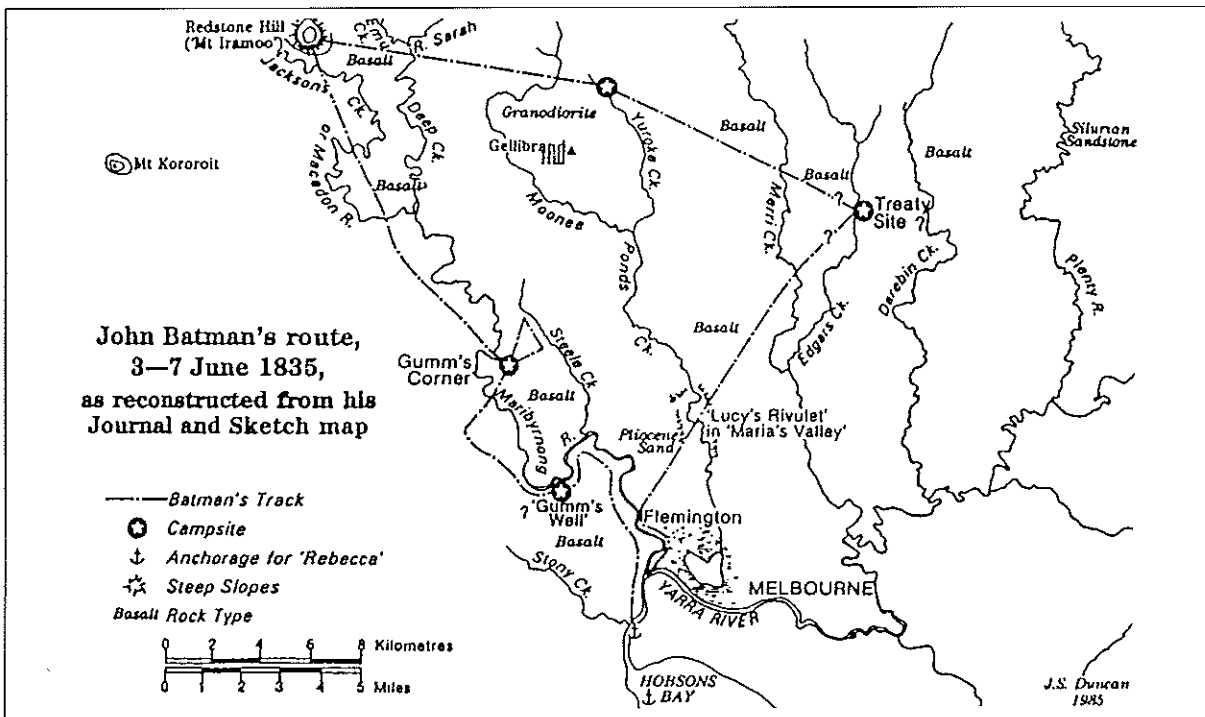
Reconstruction of John Batman's route 3-7 June 1835

his journey. The report has also been printed by Philip Billot, and anyone who reads both report and journal cannot help but notice discrepancies between the two. The author's reconstruction of the route taken in the Melbourne area has relied on the journal rather than on the report[1].

For two days, the party followed the west bank of the Maribyrnong River, through what are now Footscray, Maribyrnong, Braybrook, and Sunshine, to make their second camp at Horseshoe Bend, Keilor. From the high ground near the Keilor Cemetery, Batman probably got a clear view of the hills to the north-west, in the direction of Mt Macedon and Mt Blackwood. He had met no Aborigines in two days, and may have thought to find them in the forested

in Sydenham Park, he could have seen the three volcanic hills south of Sunbury. His map shows a sudden change of direction, and his journal entry reads as follows:

Friday, June 5, 1835. Left the river this morning for west-north-west direction. The river came from a north one. I intend to cross some large plains and get into tiers on the other side. Crossed the plains, which were very extensive on all sides as far as I could see. . . Crossed three streams of fresh water and both sides of each of the banks were steep, but covered with grass to the edge of the water. In some parts of the creeks the water did not run, but large and deep ponds remained in the bed. The three creeks I crossed I am inclined to think are the

same, running in different directions, and empties itself into the river... We passed a small forest, about two miles in length, of sheoak, about eight or ten to the acre. ... Ascended the top of a beautiful hill, bare of timber at the top, with a few sheoak on the sides... We have just seen the smoke of the natives in an easterly direction, and [are] going to take that course. (Billot, 1979, 95.)

This part of the journal, except for the first three sentences, seems to have been written during a midday break, probably for a meal, on top of the hill named on Batman's sketch-map, as "Mt Iramoo."

A careful study of the map and the ground suggests that Mt Iramoo was Redstone Hill, south-east of Sunbury, the easternmost of the three volcanic hills mentioned above. Three crossings of Jacksons Creek could have been made between Sydenham Park and Redstone Hill.[2] This identification is important, because "Mt Iramoo" became, for a time, the north-west corner of the block that Batman would claim to have purchased at the eastern end of his march. The probability that it is correct is increased when we reconstruct the afternoon's eastward march, which Batman wrote up thus:

We kept in the direction of the smoke for about sixteen miles, over fine plains, and crossed a fresh-water creek just at the junction of another running from north-north-east. We then crossed plains again, and came into a small forest about two miles through, some gum and box, ... with sheoak. This forest was thickly covered with excellent grass. We caught one of the largest kangaroos I ever saw; more than nine feet long. We then came upon beautiful open plains, with a few wattle and oak, gentle rising hills of very rich black soil, with grass up to our middle, and as thick as it could stand. It was very bad walking through it. This land I think was richer than any high land I have seen before. We came on to a small valley, and, to our joy, found a teatree scrub, at the upper end of a small creek running south-east. Here we found good water at sunset, and remained for the night. (Billot, 1979, 96.)

There is no need to assume that the distance from Mt Iramoo to the crossing of the creek was 16 miles, or even to take that distance as the length of the afternoon's journey. We can find country that fits the sequence listed by Batman in the first eight miles east of Redstone Hill. This view is supported by Batman's map, which shows the junction of two creeks — one named "R.Sarah" — not far east of "Mt Iramoo". Now the junction of Emu Creek and Deep Creek lies just two and a half miles, or 4 km, east of Redstone Hill.

Two miles (say, 3 km) further east, the basalt surface gives way to the older (Devonian) granodiorite of Gellibrand Hill, which still carries some eucalypt forest in the Woodlands Historic Park. The granodiorite outcrop is about two miles across. In the forest, the party would have crossed the headwaters of the Moonee Ponds Creek, but this is not mentioned in Batman's journal, nor marked on his map. Perhaps the killing of the big kangaroo distracted his attention from the topography, but the stream may then have been less conspicuous — even shorter — than it is today, when land clearance has increased run-off. The modern stream has steep, freshly eroded banks up to three metres high.

East of the granodiorite, there is more (Quaternary) basalt, with the black soils and relative scarcity of trees, so characteristic of the basalt plains. The area is now dominated by the Greenvale Reservoir, but the small Yuroke Creek rises just to the west of it, and runs to the south-east past the foot of the dam. The shelter offered by the teatree scrub, the finding of "good water", and the very fact of the sun's setting, made this a good place to stop for the night. The party must have walked nine or ten miles before reaching "Mt Iramoo", so that the afternoon's march, added to that, would have made the total for the day at least 17 miles — more than 27 kilometres — almost certainly the longest day's march of the trip. In early June, Melbourne gets only nine and a half hours of daylight. To walk two miles (3 km) in an hour

would have been good going for heavily laden men — walking through long, wet grass, fording at least four creeks, and taking only one meal break — so that the available daylight would have been used up by the time they reached Yuroke Creek.

In the night it rained and "the wind blew hard." The party would have been glad of the shelter the teatree scrub in the small valley. In his journal, Batman noted that they left at 8 a.m. next morning. After travelling some distance, they fell in with an Aboriginal family. They went on together, and crossed a freshwater creek. This was probably Merri Creek, somewhere south of Craigieburn, but north of Campbellfield. After this, they met the rest of the group, who "took us with them about a mile back, where we found huts, women and children." While he was with the Aborigines, Batman recorded very few details of the topography, and his journal is of little help in route reconstruction until he begins his return march to "the river", still unnamed, where he expected to find the *Rebecca*. The location of the actual site at which the treaty of sale of land was "signed" is still hotly debated.

The safest method of solving the mystery is to reconstruct the return march *in reverse*, using the details in the journal. Batman was very confident that "the river" was the one "I had gone up a few days before." He mentions it again — the river "we went up and had just come down" —when he came to the banks of the Yarra near the junction of the two rivers. His surprise at finding this "much larger river" seems genuine, but is puzzling, as both rivers had been discovered and named by Grimes in 1803. Its "discovery" frustrated Batman's plan "to come on the opposite side of the river and hail the vessel." As he had started his journey on the western bank, the "opposite side" was clearly the eastern bank.

Batman's description of his journey along the banks of the Maribyrnong to its junction with the Yarra starts with a mention of crossing on the banks of the river a large marsh, with a large lagoon at its upper end. Such a lagoon appears on early maps of Melbourne, including Batman's, but it has since been drained and the land reclaimed. It seems likely that he reached the river at or near the site of the Farnsworth Avenue bridge, i.e. near Flemington Racecourse. The racecourse is still liable to flood, but there are natural levees along the banks of both the Maribyrnong and the Yarra that would have prevented the Moonee Ponds Creek from reaching either river, thus creating the marsh.

Shortly before he reached the Maribyrnong, Batman records that "the land, for the first time, was rather sandy, with a little gravel." This comment suggests that he had crossed the ridge up which Mt Alexander Road climbs; a ridge capped by the Tertiary formation known as the Red Bluff Sands. These are of Pliocene age, and are younger than the "Older Volcanics", but older than the "Newer Volcanics" that had underlain most of Batman's route.

His return march, which he described as "about twelve miles … in a south-west direction" crossed a creek, which he called "Lucy's Rivulet" after one of his daughters. His map shows it running between steep slopes in a broad valley, to which he gave the name, "Maria's Valley", after another daughter.[3] The rivulet and the valley walls are shown lying athwart the line of march, which may explain why Batman did not follow the valley downstream.

Earlier writers have taken the view that Lucy's Rivulet had to be Merri Creek, but this has a much less imposing valley than Moonee Ponds Creek, which meanders across the flat floor of a valley that is up to half a mile wide. In any case, Moonee Ponds Creek had to be crossed if Batman and his party were to reach the Maribyrnong at or near Flemington Racecourse.

Batman's map shows three creeks that were crossed on the return march, and if the last of these is Moonee Ponds Creek, then Merri Creek has to be the second one. This is shown on the map as being crossed both on the eastward march and on the return march, with the creek making a right-angled change of direction

between the two crossing places. Merri Creek makes a similar change just south of the Mahoneys Road bridge. To the east of the return track, the map shows the creek meandering southward in an area marked, "Rich Black Soil." The meander appears to be about the same size as Horseshoe Bend on the Maribyrnong River. The stream called Merri Creek on modern maps has no such bend. Nor is there anything like it on any of the three streams to the eastward — Edgars Creek, Darebin Creek or the Plenty River. What, then, did Batman see? His journal offers no clue, but the sketch-map shows something that cannot be dismissed as a mere doodle.

One possible explanation is that he saw the parallel courses and confluence of Merri and Edgars Creeks, just north of Murray Road, near where Newlands Road joins it. If Batman saw this from higher ground, near Sydney Road, he could have seen the two creeks running parallel, but he could have failed to see the united stream running away into a forested valley, to the south-east. If this hypothesis is valid, then the stream at the treaty site, the one that Batman named "Batman's Creek, after my good self", is Edgars Creek, and the treaty site is somewhere in Thomastown. If it is not valid, its critics will have to find an alternative, better explanation for the apparently large meander on the sketch-map.

Edgars Creek is a minor tributary of Merri Creek, and in a drought year can come by the end of summer, to deserve its alternative name of "Dry Creek". On some early topographic maps it was omitted altogether, which may account for its having been overlooked for so long by those trying to locate Batman's treaty site. There is no reason to believe it would have been dry in June 1835, so that Batman would have had to cross it on his eastward march to have reached Darebin Creek. Had he got that far, his return march to the Maribyrnong would have had to cross Merri Creek below its junction with Edgars Creek, to keep the number of creek crossings mapped to three. This would leave the large meander, discussed in the preceding paragraph,

without a plausible reason for its presence on Batman's map, east of his route.

When Batman found himself on the point between the Yarra and the Maribyrnong Rivers, he debated for some time as to what to do for the best. His solution was to order two of his "Sydney natives" — Aborigines from New South Wales who worked on his Tasmanian pastoral property and were serving as porters on this journey — to swim across the Maribyrnong, walk down the west bank to where the *Rebecca* was anchored and to bring its boat up the river to the junction. It was dark when they returned, but when the rest of the party had been ferried across the Maribyrnong, Batman and "Old Bull" — another of the Aboriginal employees, who had hurt his foot — were rowed down to the *Rebecca*. Safely on board once more, Batman could write, "my travelling I hope (on foot) will cease for some time, having done everything I could possibly wish."

For the next day, Monday, 8 June 1835, the journal has a short but significant entry. *The wind foul this morning for Indented Head. We tried, but could not get out of the river. The boat went up the large river I have spoken of, which comes from the east, and I am glad to state, about six miles up found the river all good water and very deep. This will be the place for a village. The natives on shore."* (Billot, 1979, p.101.)

It seems reasonable to assume that if *Rebecca* had managed to negotiate the bar at the entrance to the lower Yarra, she would have gone straight to Indented Head, where Batman intended to leave his three European and five of his Aboriginal employees, to start a garden, build a hut, and warn off interlopers. It seems clear that Batman had no plans to explore "the river which comes from the east", but Captain Harwood may have sent the ship's boat up the river to fill the water casks for the voyage back to Launceston, simply to keep his crew occupied on a day of enforced idleness.

With most of the crew away in the boat, and his "Sydney natives" on shore — which they much

preferred to their cramped quarters on board —
Batman would have had a chance to write up
his journal, which he may not have done since
he left "Mt Iramoo". This could have taken some
time.

There was also an urgent need for Todd, who
had made copies of the treaty while the
Rebecca was storm-bound in Port Sorell [19-25
May], to complete his work by adding the
boundaries of the block Batman would claim to
have purchased. This could not have been done
at the treaty site, as the description mentions the
"Branch of the river at the top of the Port" and
we can infer from his journal that when the treaty
was signed Batman was unaware that the river
had a branch! As Batman had resolved to leave
Todd at Indented Head, as journal-keeper for the
party, the only time for the copying to be done
was on Monday, 8 June. All the known copies
are unquestionably in Todd's handwriting[4].

The words used in the journal entry cited above
sound like a report of what Batman was told
when the boat returned to "the vessel" (as he
called it). Had he been in the boat himself, it is
much more likely that he would have written,
"We went up the river in the boat… and I found
the river all good water and very deep."

The case *for* Batman's having been in the boat
rests mainly on the recollections of Robert
Robson, mate of the *Rebecca* on the voyage in
question. There are two versions[5]. One, printed
in 1862, purports to be Robson's log of the
voyage. In 1866, James Bonwick asked a friend
in Launceston, the Rev. R.K. Ewing, to interview
Robson. The dates given in the two accounts
differ markedly, and neither set agrees with the
dates given in Batman's journal. Batman's
version of events and Robson's are mutually
incompatible on many points. As between the
contemporary journal and recollections written
down thirty years later, one has to prefer the
former.

If Batman was not in the boat, then the claims
made on his behalf, that he founded Melbourne,
have to be reconsidered. His map supports the
idea that that he thought 'a village' might
develop on the left bank of the lower Yarra.
However, the falsification of the map to include,
within the block 'bought or leased', the site soon
to be chosen by Lancey, on the right bank of the
river, at the head of navigation, suggests that
someone - Wedge, perhaps - saw this as the
more logical place for a port-town to develop,
and wanted to ensure that the profits from land
sales would accrue to those who had sent
Batman on his trip[6].

Endnotes:

1   The author's first attempt to reconstruct the route to and from the treaty site can be found in his article, 'John
     Batman's Walkabout', in the *R.H.S.V. Journal*, Vol.57, No.2, June, 1986, pp. 1-12. This contains the two maps
     reproduced here.

2   Batman seems to have missed seeing the junction of Jacksons Creek and Deep Creek, below which they form
     the Maribyrnong River.

3   The distinction between the rivulet and the valley is a logical way for a layman to describe what
     geomorphologists call an 'underfit' stream, i.e. one not large enough, now, to have carved the valley it
     occupies.

4   See Rex Harcourt, 'The Batman Treaties', *Victorian Historical Journal*, Vol. 62, Nos 3 & 4, 1991-92,
     pp. 85-97.

5   Both versions are printed in *John Batman: the Founder of Victoria*, by James Bonwick. In the Link History
     series edition (C.E.Sayers, ed.), Wren Publishing Pty Ltd, Melbourne, 1973, Robson's log can be found on
     pp. 96 - 98; the interview appears on pp. 63-65.

6   For a discussion of how Wedge extended the block claimed by the Port Phillip Association, both to the north
     and to the west, on successive versions of his maps of the block, see J.S.Duncan, 'The Port Phillip Association
     Maps', in *The Globe*, No 32, 1990.