Nineteenth Century Indigenous Land Use of Albury (NSW)

Dirk HR Spennemann
Cover: Photograph 'Mungabareena Ford” © Dirk HR Spennemann 2015
Nineteenth Century Indigenous Land Use of Albury (NSW) as reflected in the historic sources

Dirk HR Spennemann

Albury
May 2015
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Introduction
This report has been written at the request of the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) to provide context for the evaluation of Mungabareena Reserve as an Aboriginal Place under the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Act (Johnston, 2015). It compiles historic sources relating to Indigenous land use in the Albury area.¹ As requested, this report specifically does not consider the findings (and predictive models) of archaeological surveys, nor does it take into account oral histories of current Indigenous persons. Further, it does not attempt to write a cultural history of the Indigenous communities of the Albury-Wodonga area. Given the complexities of clan and group associations with, and explicitly or implicitly expressed claims to the Albury-Wodonga area (i.e. Wiradjuri, Dhudhuroa, Bangerang, etc)(see Kammainga, 2007 for a summary)² and the nineteenth century assertions that Indigenous ownership of the land changed in the ‘recent past’, no formal attribution has been made and the generic term ‘Indigenous Australian’ has been used throughout.³

The Sources
The primary historical sources are patchy. Critically, local newspapers did not commence publication until the mid 1850s. The principal local papers are the Border Post (published from 1856, Spennemann, 2001), and the Albury Banner (from 1862, Spennemann, 2014a). In addition, the Wodonga and Towong Sentinel (from 1885), the Albury Daily News (from 1891) and the Border Morning Mail (from 1903) yielded some data, mainly in the form of reminiscences by older settlers of the area. Pre-1850s newspaper reports are based on individual correspondence reproduced in the pages of the Sydney and Melbourne papers.

A major eye-witness source is John Francis Huon Mitchell, grandson of the first owner of the Mungabareena run, Elizabeth Mitchell. He and his brothers were residents at Thurgoona and later at Hawksview Stations (both part of the earlier Mungabareena run) from 1842. Growing up and playing with Indigenous boys, spending time at the

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¹. Previous work was the very limited publication by Tucker (1985), pulled together before several newspapers were digitised. See also Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation (1982).

². Frequent reference is made in nineteenth and early twentieth century newspaper sources, to the ‘Woradgery’ (Anonymous, 1908; J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904, 1906, 1917; Sherrie, 1906, 1908). Also mentioned, but not by Mitchell, are the Barri Barri (Bridge, 1906; Julius, 1906) who in 1847 “had a sort of outpost camp near the border to give time warning of the approach of the energetic and irrepressible Hoodees” (Boyd, 1906) somewhere at the foot of the Black Ranges. Boyd (1906), who claims to have been an eyewitness in 1847, mentions that the ‘Hoodee’ were originally from Victoria. See also Hoodi (Julius, 1906) and Houdi (Bridge, 1906). Also mentioned is a group ‘Goom Goom’ (Bish, 1906b) or ‘Gum Gum’ (Boyd, 1906) who are claimed to be the Barri Barri (Bridge, 1906). None of these three reputed groups are mentioned in Wesson (2000, see below).

For modern analyses, see inter alia Barwick (1984); Tindale (1974); Wesson (2000). In particular the in-depth study by Sue Wesson (2000) reviews a much of the early attributions and name variations of Indigenous clan, groups and tribes and language groups of North-East Victoria and South-Western New South Wales.

Wesson (2000) describes the following groups as residing, or meeting in Albury and Wodonga: Billabula (p. 69), Dhudhuroa (p. 84), Gillamatong (p. 59, 63), Ginning-matong (p. 64), Kiewa (p. 70), Kindarener mitter (p. 64), Pallanganmitter (p. 70), Pallaranmitter (p. 58), Tarrar mitter (p. 59), Theddora mittung (p. 84), Unorring (p. 74), Waveroo (p. 58), and Wiradjuri (p. 58, 86).

For early wordlists see for example (Emu Mudjug: David Reid, 1878, collected at Barnawatha), (Pallaranmitter: T. Mitchell, 1878, collected at Tangambalanga), as well as (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904, 1906).

³. See also Wesson (2000, p. 58) for comments of the presence of groups vs actual ownership of country.
The early European observers describe the general area of Albury (away from the flood plain) as generally open woodland:

“What I saw to-day has not pleased me so much as that which I passed over yesterday; it was generally undulating open forest, tolerably grassed, but not seemingly so sound as is desirable. On the banks of the [Murray ed.] river are swampy flats of rich soil, covered with reeds and reedy grass, but apparently often flooded and ill-drained. Behind these flats, lagoons are frequently met with. Besides these, there are forest flats of inferior soils, with less berbage” (Walker, 1838, p. 22).


Of these, only Arthur Andrews can be regarded as reasonably reliable as, in his capacity as one of Albury’s physicians, he had regular social and professional contact with a wide range of eyewitnesses and their memories. Arthur Andrews was a physician living and working in Albury from 1874 until his retirement in 1919 (Fielder, 1979). Interested in local history, Andrews gave numerous lectures and (e.g. Andrews, 1907; Andrews, 1917), published two major historical studies (Andrews, 1912a, 1920), as well as a number of articles (Andrews, 1919, 1921). Of the more recent publications (post Andrews), journalist Howard Jones (1991) makes some good observations on the nature of Indigenous presence in the Albury area.

While there are a number of images of Albury dating to the 1850s, and 1870s, there are, at present, no nineteenth century photographic images that exist which depict Indigenous peoples or Indigenous sites of the Albury area. JFH Mitchell donated some photographs to the Mitchell Library in Sydney (e.g. Smithwick, 2003, p. 3), but it is likely that they stem from the period after his departure from Albury. Some may also have come from his brother Thomas Mitchell who owned Bringenbrong Station, a safe haven for some of the Indigenous population (Anonymous, 1908; Sherrie, 1908).

Background

The early European observers describe the general area of Albury (away from the flood plain) as generally open woodland:

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4. There is also an 1897 reference to a ‘Banner Aboriginal Dictionary’ (Anonymous, 1897), but no such dictionary could be identified. It is possible that this was a working vocabulary held by the editor of the Albury Banner.

5. His ‘History of Albury’ first appeared as a series of articles in the Albury Banner (Andrews, 1911a, 1911b, 1911c, 1911d, 1911e, 1911f, 1911g, 1911h, 1911i, 1911j, 1911k, 1911l, 1911m, 1911n, 1912b, 1912c, 1912d, 1912e, 1912f, 1912g, 1912h, 1912i, 1912j, 1912k).

6. The Chiltern-based painter Alfred William Eustace painted two images of Albury that could provide some pictorial background “First Glimpse of Albury (from a steamer)” painted in 1856 (Anonymous, 1856b) and “The Hovell tree and the Murray” painted in 1857 (Anonymous, 1857b). Later images by the same painter, especially those on gum leaves, are very formulaic (Ashley, 1992).

7. See for example wood cut views by (G. Milner Stephen, 1871, 1872).
That better land Walker refers to was the Table Top area along Bowna Creek, described by him as “very fine open forest, beautifully undulating with sound granite ridges, … covered with excellent grass” (Walker, 1838, p. 21). A few kilometres further north, between Bowna and Mullengandra, the land was equally described as an “undulating open forest with evidence of the grassed areas having been burnt recently” (Walker, 1838, p. 20).

We have to imagine a productive region, dominated by the floodplain of the Millewa (Murray) River to the south and woodlands to the north. The areas along the drainage lines of the various major creeks, such as Bungambrawatha Creek west of the current town centre and Eight-Mile Creek to the east, would have exhibited more open vegetation.8 The practice by the Indigenous communities to annually burn off the land retarded the growth of dense shrub and kept the land open, but also provided sufficient fresh growth of native grasses to attract kangaroos, wallabies and other wildlife (see the multiple references to that effect by Hume & Hovell 1824: Andrews [ed.], 1981; Andrews, 1920, p. 27). The area now covered by south Albury was a series of billabongs interspersed with creeks and sand hills. While most of the latter have long since been quarried and the creeks turned into concrete drains, some of the billabongs still remain: Brown’s Lagoon and Neill’s Lagoon still give evidence. The area that encompasses current central and northern Albury would have been open woodland interspersed with patches of denser vegetation (described as lightly timbered and scrubby by J. F. H. Mitchell, 1917).

**European Albury and the Indigenous Community in the nineteenth century**

Even though the first Europeans crossed through the countryside as early as 1824 (Hamilton Hume & William Hovell)(Andrews [ed.], 1981, p. 130ff), the area saw at first little disruption.9 The N.S.W. government in Sydney was reluctant to over-extend its resources and thus actively discouraged any settlement south of Goulburn. Serious European land use of the area started in 1835 with the establishment of the grazing run of Mungabareena (by James Wyse for Charles H. Ebden)(Andrews, 1920, p. 22ff; 170ff). This increased between 1837 and 1840 when, during the period of squatting extension, more and more country on both sides of the Murray was taken up by large grazing runs.

Albury had been built on the northern bank of the Murray River.10 The Indigenous name for some of the area at the foot of Monument Hill was ‘Bungambrawatha,’ as indicated on the first map of Albury in 1839 (Townsend, 1839), and ‘Yarrawudda’ for the area at the western foot of Eastern Hill (see also Vagabond, 1896). The initial European settlement occurred on the flood plain, with Robert Browne’s11 1835 hut and store being located near the confluence of Bungambrawatha Creek and the Murray and directly at the location of a ford across the river (Townsend, 1839). This location is hardly surprising given the Aboriginal use of the same general location as a camp area.

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8. The area to the north of Mungabareena Ford (p. 17), for example, is marked as ‘open forest’ on an 1855 map (Partridge, 1855). At that time, large-scale land-clearing had not yet commenced at Albury. The intensification occurred in the first half of the 1860s.

9. Hume and Hovell did not encounter any Indigenous people, but concluded that “[t]he natives, it would seem from their tracks, are here numerous” Jones (1991). Standing on what appears to be Dight’s Hill, they also noted smoke some five miles to the west-north-west (Bland, 1831, p. 37). Hovell noted in his diary for 19 Nov 1824 that “[t]here is every appearance, that the Natives are Numerous, in this quarter, and that they frequently Cross the River in Barked Canoes” (Andrews [ed.], 1981, p. 135; Bland, 1831, p. 41).

10. Formally gazetted on 13 April 1839 (Thomson, 1839).

11. Robert Browne had sold out and purchased Collendina run (Thomson, 1848a).
Situated on the Sydney to Melbourne overland track, Albury emerged as the principal crossing place across the Murray (in the 1830s called ‘Hume’s Crossing,’ D Reid, 1902), both for people and especially for overlanders driving livestock from New South Wales to Melbourne. In addition to the ford at Albury proper (see Bungabrawatha Ford, p. 20), there were two another fords close-by, one at Yarrawudda (see p. 21) and another at Mungabareena (see p. 21). The next reliable, major ford was at Howlong, some 30km downstream. Excised from the Mungabareena Run, Albury was gazetted as a township in 1839 (Andrews 1912, p. 6). From then onwards it was included in the weekly mail route between Sydney and Melbourne in lieu of Howlong (Andrews, 1912a, p. 11; Mackenzie, 1845, pp. 40–41). Development of Albury was initially slow with the population rising to only 65 in 1846 (Anonymous, 1876) and then 442 people in 1851. Small-scale farms grew grain and vegetables in what is today downtown Albury. Initial ploughing and establishment of fields happened on the alluvial flats, as they were more fertile and easier to clear (Andrews, 1912a, pp. 22-23).

The river could be forded when the water levels permitted. The first punt, replacing a wooden log raft (or dug-out canoe), was owned (but not operated, see below) by John Brown from 1841 onwards (Anonymous, 1841). It was replaced in 1844 by a punt capable of carrying heavy-loaded drays (Anonymous, 1844). While the punt served the crossing place very well, it could not operate when the river was high.

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12. The appreciation of the location, and traditional use, of river crossings is important for the understanding of early European communications patterns in south-eastern Australia, which, inevitably, would follow Indigenous pathways. Early European visitors to the Riverina (such as Hume & Hovell, Sturt, Mitchell), when describing the landscape, make repeated reference to evidence of the presence of Indigenous Australians even when none were seen. In the main, this will refer to well-established pathways and travel routes, as well as evidence of campsites and the like.

13. Following Surveyor Thomas Mitchell’s trip in 1836 (T. L. Mitchell, 1839, p. 302ff), which received wide attention, many drovers switched to the crossing at Howlong (Roberts, 1964, p. 149ff), which had also been used as the principal crossing for mail in 1837 and 1838 (Andrews, 1912a, p. 11). The change to Albury was already proposed in October 1837 (Anonymous, 1837).

14. The Sydney and Melbourne mails met, and were exchanged at Albury, every Saturday in 1842 (Bushman, 1842) and every Wednesday in 1844 (Anonymous, 1844)

15. The punt, which cost between £300 and £400, allowed a loaded dray drawn by eight oxen to be carried (at a cost of £1) (Anonymous, 1844)

16. In the summer of 1844/45 the punt was out of action for two months with goods, people and mails backing up on both sides (Anonymous, 1844).
By the end of 1848 Edward Crisp, then proprietor of the Hume Inn, established a formal punt service departing from the end of Hovell Street (Andrews, 1912a, p. 14; Anonymous, 1910a).

The gold rush of the 1850's in the Ovens and Indigo Gold fields created a demand for a wide range of produce; concurrently the agricultural exploitation of the Albury area increased rapidly, both in extent and in intensity. It can be assumed that most of the undulating and rolling lands have been under the plough at least once.

**Relationship between Indigenous Australians and white settlers**

The relationship between the Indigenous Australians and white settlers seems to have been solely dependent on the attitude of the individuals concerned. The early settlers adopted much of the Indigenous bushcraft to secure their own survival. William Wyse, the first European to settle in the Albury area, for example fixed his own camp close to the Indigenous camp at Mungabareena (Andrews, 1920, p. 22). Exchange of goods for services between the Europeans and the Indigenous population commenced soon after, with the Indigenous population quite cognisant of the relative value of European objects (see example in Smithwick, 1936a).

A drover passing through in December 1838 noted

> “The blacks are very tall men, and some of them are very powerful and well proportioned. Among the females, what few I saw, were rather pleasing in their appearance, but not so well featured as those Murrumbidgee, where I saw upwards of three hundred men, women and children. The chiefs paint their bodies in various shapes with yellow and red kind of ochre, and grease themselves under the idea that it makes them more supple. Their principle weapons are spears and waddies, with which they are very expert”

(Anonymous, 1839a).

As previously mentioned, one of the early pastoralists, John FH Mitchell, compiled a word list of Wiradjuri terms (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904, 1906) that he had learnt while he was a boy playing with Indigenous boys and spending time at the camps of the Indigenous people. Later in life he, as did his brothers, adopted a very protective, paternalistic attitude to the Indigenous population (Anonymous, 1908), but even he could not escape the racist semantics of the time.

Several Indigenous peoples attached themselves as servants to white settlers and officials performing menial tasks in return for food of low quality (entry 2 Oct 1844, G. A. Robinson, 1844–45; see comments by Lady Jane Franklin [19 & 20 April 1838] in Russell [ed.], 2002, p. 60ff). Relationships between ‘master and servant’ were often strained, with at least one suicide of an Indigenous person attributed to maltreatment (Bushman, 1842). Indigenous men also worked on the land that the whites had alienated from them and were employed as farm hands, stockmen and drovers (Anonymous, 1856a; Sherrie, 1906).

A steady demand existed for the boating skills and river knowledge of the local Indigenous population. In 1844, for example, bark canoes were made seemingly on demand as the need arose (entry 3 Oct 1844, G. A. Robinson, 1844–45) (see also

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17. The homestead location was later moved to the ford at Thargoona (p. 21).

18. Having owned his property on the Tangambalanga (Vic) run since 1850, Thomas Mitchell created a safe haven, formally a 640 acre ‘reserve’, for Indigenous people on in 1864 (Temple, 1971, pp. 4, 33). When he sold his property in 1874 and moved to Bringenbrong, the informal reserve was rescinded and many of the Indigenous residents followed. Thomas’ son Peter Stuckey Mitchell even codiciled the protection in his will.—See also background in (Anonymous, 1908; Sherrie, 1906).
Anonymous, 1845). The first formal punt across the Murray was operated by an Aboriginal man, reputedly called ‘Merriman’ (Andrews, 1912a, p. 5). Repeated references are made in peoples’ recollections of 1850s life in Albury that Indigenous men paddling bark canoes maintained the cross-river communications once the Murray was in flood and the punt was flooded (Andrews, 1917; Asher, 1907). During the floods even the mail was entrusted to and carried across by Indigenous Australian men (Mackenzie, 1845, p. 199; D Reid, 1898).

Indigenous Australians also assisted the overlanders with the crossing of stock at Bungumbrawatha Ford and it was considered that they put in more work than they were being rewarded for (song mentioned in G. A. Robinson, 1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840).

The general shortage of European women in the region resulted in extended relationships between Indigenous women and Europeans, including, sadly, the transmission of sexually transmitted infections (G. A. Robinson, 1844–45, entry 2 Oct 1844). Such relationships also resulted in a number of offspring. By the 1850s such relationships were frowned upon by the white community, however, often with tragic consequences to the Indigenous women (Anonymous, 1857c).

Even though relations between settlers and the Indigenous community at first appeared to be amicable (Anonymous, 1908; Sherrie, 1906), this soon changed. Events that stand out in the wider region are the Faithfull ‘massacre’ of April 1838 when numerous Indigenous people were killed near Benalla in response to them killing some Europeans (Bassett, 1989), and the Dora Dora massacre of 1838, when a number of Indigenous Australians were indiscriminately killed by settlers (Smithwick, 1936a, 1936b). Travelling from Albury to Howlong, Henry Bingham commented that ‘the natives appear to have a hostile feeling to the squatters from past experience’ (Bingham, 1839).

Furthermore, on occasion violent, clashes among the Indigenous population itself made European settlers nervous (Sherrie, 1906). Reminiscences written at the end of the nineteenth century mention a 1846 conflict between some 800 Indigenous Australians from the Murrumbidgee and the Murray, fought out near Bungumbrawatha (Anonymous, 1896a).19

Some residents later claimed that “it was scarcely safe to wander the suburb now represented by Guinea-Street without firearms” (Anonymous, 1902). In response to a real, or more likely perceived, threat by the Indigenous people (see for ex. D Reid, 1902 for his perceptions in 1840), the New South Wales government agreed in 1838 to establish a police camp at Bungambrawatha (Anonymous, 1839b; Bayley, 1954, p. 24; Lady Jane Franklin [19 April 1838] in Russell [ed.], 2002, p. 60).

When the Crown Lands Commissioner, Henry Bingham visited Albury in August 1839, he came across a large party of natives ‘who appeared much alarmed at our first appearance’ (Bingham, 1839). Bingham estimated in December 1844 that some 100 Indigenous Australians were present in the Albury area (Bingham, 1845).

19. “The blacks sometimes proved troublesome, and at periods their marauds on the flocks and herds of settlers were frequent, and even the lives of pioneer residents were in danger. One old black, named Merriman, was a noted murderer of white people, and was held in great fear by them, and also by his own race, for he was not particular who suffered at his hands. In 1846 the few residents were much excited and perturbed to witness a native battle near the Hume and Hovell tree. Eight hundred of the Murrumbidgee and Murray blacks fought for a week over some point of difference, and the sight was a most imposing one” (‘a local writer’ cited in Anonymous, 1896a).
In late September 1844, when George Augustus Robinson travelled through the Albury area, he counted 50 huts with about 250 inhabitants (entry 2 Oct 1844, G. A. Robinson, 1844–45). Ten years on, that situation had changed dramatically. Depopulation of the district proceeded rapidly so that in 1854 Revd Henry Elliot could assert that “[f]rom Albury and its immediate neighbourhood, too, the blacks have for a considerable time past almost entirely disappeared” (Elliott, 1906). The causes were both deaths and dislocation. For the period 1851 to 1854 alone, Elliott was aware of the deaths of at least 30 adults in the Albury area, and believed that “many more [had] died or been killed besides infants” (Elliott, 1906). With regard to dislocation, Elliot noted that while some had moved to Lake Urana, “they [had] chiefly gone over to the valleys of the Mitta Mitta, the Little Hume and the Yackandandah” (Elliott, 1906). In the mid 1850s some camps existed in the floodplain towards Wodonga, with the residents frequently going to Albury itself (Howitt, 1858, p. 178). How long that camp persisted is unclear.

Camping near the punt in April 1854 a traveller noted that Albury was “frequented by a great number of the Murray black fellows, and on the occasion alluded to, I saw about thirty or forty of them nearly all of whom were drunk, as were also I regret to say, not a few of the towns-people. After dark the camp fires of the blacks could be seen in all directions on both sides of the River. Many of them camped within a few yards of us, and kept up a corrobory all night, much to our annoyance and disgust” (Anonymous, 1854).

As an emerging centre, Albury became the regional hub for the interaction between Indigenous Australians and European society. From 1814 onwards the government issued blankets to groups of Indigenous Australians, usually on occasion of the Queens’s birthday.20 It is not clear when this practice commenced in Albury, but observations by George Augustus Robinson in 1844 suggest that it did not occur at that time. On record are distribution events for the years 1857 (with reference to earlier distribution events) and 1858 (Anonymous, 1857a, 1858c).

The 1860s and 1870s saw a dramatic transformation of Albury from a sleepy crossing place to a busy rural service centre, mainly brought about by the small selectors that had taken up land and intensified the agricultural production in the Southern Riverina (Buxton, 1967; M. E. Robinson, 1976; Spennemann, 2014b; Spennemann & Sutherland, 2008). As one writer proudly commented when describing Albury, “the wastes that formed the hunting grounds for wandering tribes of aborigines have been converted into pastures for countless flocks and herds” (Anonymous, 1876). This statement is illustrative of the negative sentiments towards Indigenous Australians at the time.

The 1860s saw the establishment of reserves and missions, which served as centralised ‘collection points’ for the Indigenous peoples, regardless of their tribal affiliations, thus mixing people who, under traditional circumstances, would not be permitted to mix at close quarters. By 1882 only a single Indigenous person remained as a resident in Albury (Report by the first Protector of Aborigines in 1882, Pennay, 2003).

20. The local administration (e.g. police or magistrates) maintained a ledger that listed the recipients of the blankets. While such lists exist, for example, for Bathurst (State Library of NSW, 2015), and Armidale (Court of Petty Sessions Armidale, 1904) the ledger for Albury does not seem to have survived.—Blankets were still handed out in 1870 in Yass and Wagga Wagga (down to only 11 Indigenous Australians turning up) (Anonymous, 1870a). The local paper carried the opinion that (in Yass) the Indigenous Australians should wait and that flood-affected Europeans should have preference (Anonymous, 1870b); see also Deniliquin 1871 (Anonymous, 1871).
Indigenous people, of course, continued to travel through Albury (e.g. Anonymous, 1896b). An Aboriginal man is included in the 1891 census, for example, as ‘travelling on the road’ with an Alfred Watson (Blomfield, 1891; State Records NSW, 2015). In 1902 another traditional Aboriginal man is on record, observed travelling down the Murray in a bark canoe. That canoe was acquired for the local museum,21 even though the visitor offered to provide a new canoe cut from a suitable tree (Anonymous, 1902).

**Historic observations on Indigenous Land Use**

Historic observations on Indigenous Land Use are sparse. There appears to have been a substantial permanent Indigenous population, however, and it was deemed necessary to give one of the elders, dubbed ‘King Bungambrawatha,’ a brass breastplate as a mark of recognition by the white authority in the area. It appears that the plate was given by Robert Brown (Jones, 1991, p. 19).22

**Fig. 2. Aerial view of the Albury area with the approximate location of Indigenous place names mentioned in the text.**

**Place Names**

A number of Indigenous place names are indicated on early maps, some of which have been incorporated into modern place names. On record are:23

Bowna

‘Bownyan’ in Thomson (1848c);

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21. The canoe, as well as the associated pole, was subsequently displayed in the Albury Technical Museum (Anonymous, 1916).
22. No nineteenth century source has been noted that would confirm this assertion. There is no ‘Bungabrawatha’ plate among the known breastplate collections.
23. Where available, the etymology of the word has been provided. It should be noted that Indigenous communities the world over are known to have given spurious appellations to objects and places, merely in order not to loose face and appear unknowledgeable when asked; in addition, there are cases where the informant chose spurious terms to send up the interrogator.
Nineteenth Century Indigenous Land Use of Albury (NSW), as reflected in the historic sources

Budginigi two hills, on modern maps (-35.959361, 147.029018); ‘Budginigi’ in Andrews (1920, p. 170).

Bungamba ‘Bungamba (Trig Stn) on map by (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1849); so marked on Department of Lands (1900); now ‘Nailcan Hill’ (-36.063556 146.901484); ETYMOLOGY: bun—creek; gamba—?

Bungambrawatha 'Bungambrewatah' in Townsend (1839); ‘Bung.gain.re.art.ter’ in G. A. Robinson (1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840); ‘Bung.gam.re.art.er’ in G. A. Robinson (1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840); ‘Bung.yarn.brethe.wuther’ in (G.A. Robinson 1844 cited in Wesson, 2000); 'Bungambrewatha' and 'Bungambrewah Creek' on map by (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1849); 'Bungambrewather' in J. F. H. Mitchell (1906); 'Bungambra Terrace' just north of the Botanic Gardens (Turnbull, 1923); ETYMOLOGY: Bun—Creek that runs only during winter and spring; gamba—?; bra—white; watha—hearing.


Currajong so marked on Department of Lands (1900), now unnamed Hill (-36.075281 147.047096); ETYMOLOGY: Currajong—shade tree (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1906, p. 8).

Diremer (?) ‘Deer.re.mer’ “name of the hill where the police barracks stands” G. A. Robinson (1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840); now known as ‘Monument Hill’ (-36.079027 146.902157).

Ettamogah ‘Ettamogah’ (Bratt, 1868); (approximately -36.010703 146.985305); ‘to have a drink’ (McCarthy, 1952, p. 11).

Jindera originally known as ‘Dight’s Forest;’ Jindera Parish formalised since 1861; township of Jindera (approximately -35.954654 146.888745); ETYMOLOGY: Jin—?; dera—home (?).

Jingera ‘Dight’s Hill’ (Andrews, 1920, p. 14); (-36.06137 146.817764).

24. The etymology of some terms warrants further in-depth research.

25. Note that Robinson spells the pronunciation of ear as ‘woo.ter.’ in G. A. Robinson (1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840), yet in his 1840s notation of ‘Bungambrawatha’ (see above) there is no ‘oo’ sound.—On the other side of the river is the community of ‘Barnawatha’, spelled Bara-woother in J. F. H. Mitchell (1906, p. 10). For this Mitchell gives the meaning of ‘without hearing, deaf and dumb’.

26. Lot 2 on DPS33429 (according to NSW Department of Lands SixViewer).

27. In the past this hill had also been called ‘Western Hill’ and ‘Hospital Hill.’

28. At least since October 1861 (Anonymous, 1861a).
Mullenjagunyah

Table Top (‘Battery Mount’);
‘Mullyan-agrina’ in Andrews (1920, p. 174);\(^{29}\)
‘Mullyan-yar-gunyah’ in Andrews (1920, p. 174);
**ETYMOLOGY:** *Mulyan*—eagle; *gunyah*—house, dwelling place (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904); ‘breeding place of the eagles’ (Andrews, 1920, p. 174).

Mungabareena

‘Mur_er_ber_ung_bun’ in diary by G. A. Robinson (1844–45, entry 29 Sep 1844);
‘Mungabbaruna’ in Thomson (1848b);
‘Mungabarina’ on 1884 Town Map (Surveyor General's Office, 1884);
‘Mungabareena’ in Andrews (1920, p. 170);
**ETYMOLOGY:** *mun*—something very (or abnormally) large; *gabba*—very tall talk; *reena*—favourable surroundings. (J.F.H. Mitchell, cited in Andrews, 1920, pp. 22, 170); claimed to mean ‘Place of Plenty Talk’ by Jones (1991).

Thurgoona

‘Thurgona’ on an 1855 map (Partridge, 1855); “Where the rocks nearly reach the east bank of the River Murray” (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904; 1906, p. 15);
*Note* located closer to the river than the current suburb of the same name (-36.085764 146.999022);
**ETYMOLOGY:** *thurgoon*—The Earth (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904).

Wiralinga

so marked on modern maps (-36.065143 146.990267).

Wodonga

‘Wor_dong_her’ in G. A. Robinson (1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840);
‘Woo_dong_ger’ in diary by G. A. Robinson (1844–45, entry 29 Sep 1844);
‘Wordonger’ in diary by G. A. Robinson (1844–45, entry 3 Oct 1844);
‘Wodonga’ in official correspondence (Ely, 1854);\(^{30}\)
‘Woodonga’ in Andrews (1920, p. 146);
‘Woodanga’ in Andrews (1920, p. 146);
Howitt (1858);
**ETYMOLOGY:** *wodonga*—an edible plant growing in a lagoon (Andrews, 1920, p. 146).

Yambla

also known as Mount Battery (Anonymous, 1872); on 1886 map of County of Goulburn (McLean, 1886);
‘Yamble Range’ (Anonymous, 1853a);
**ETYMOLOGY:** *yambler*—liar (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904).

Yarrawudda

‘Yarrawudda’ on 1849 town map (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1849);
‘Yarrawudda’ on 1884 town map (Surveyor General's Office, 1884); (-36.095179 146.928716);
**ETYMOLOGY:** *yarr*—red, *wudda*—earth (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1906).

\(^{29}\) Not to be confused with ‘Mullengandra’ (see Andrews, 1920, p. 169). See also footnote 32.

\(^{30}\) From 30 April 1852 onwards the European settlement at Wodonga was named ‘Belvoir’ (Lonsdale, 1852).
Habitation Sites

Aboriginal settlement in the Albury area was scattered throughout the area with a few concentrations. The Indigenous Australians “usually chose a cleared space for their camps, in the neighbourhood of water, as fish and birds were their principal articles of food (Andrews, 1920, p. 35). Andrews notes that ”although these camps must have been continuously used for long periods by large numbers, but little trace is left, and nothing to compare with the “Kitchen middens” of the Lower Murray (Andrews, 1920, p. 35).

The Camp at Bungumbrawatha Ford

In Albury proper, two locations of fords are on record. The area east of the mouth of Bungambrwatha Creek (Fig. 3 nº 2) is reported as ‘a head camping place’ on “a small clear portion of land on the river bank” (Anonymous, 1891a; see also Anonymous, 1908), later also conflated with the space at the punt reserve (Andrews, 1912a, p. 4).31 The camp site was used in 1840 (G. A. Robinson, 1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840) and apparently was still in use at least in the mid 1850s (see above p. 7)(Anonymous, 1854).

31. It is a possibility that this conflation occurred due to the use of the punt, first at the ford at Robert Brown’s Hut, and later at the outlet of Mudge’s Canal (now Norieul Park) at the end of Hovell Street in South Albury (James Wyse in Anonymous, 1891a) (See Fig. 12).
En route from Mullenganadera\textsuperscript{32} to Albury in September 1844, George Augustus Robinson noted a “large camp of natives in vicinity of crossing place” (entry 29 Sep 1844, G. A. Robinson, 1844–45). While Robinson does not specify the location any further, he describes and depicts the huts as a cross beam supported by two Y-shaped branches stuck into the ground with sheets of bark hooked over the beam to provide a one-sided shelter.

The Camp at Mungabareena Ford
Mungabareena, is noted as a “camp generally occupied” (Andrews, 1920, p. 35) as late as the 1860s (Andrews, 1912a). Andrews (1920, p. 22f) identifies the location of the camp as the place “where now the Albury waterworks stand” and observes that “[t]his camp was the only space on the banks of the river above flood level for a considerable distance.” This places the camp at the northern bank of Mungabareena Ford (see p. 21).

It is worth noting that on his first visit to Albury, George Augustus Robinson made frequent reference to Bungambrawatha Camp but does not mention Mungabareena at all (1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840). This is the more intriguing as at the same time Robinson collected a number of place names related to Holbrook (‘Billy Bong’) as well as all the way up to the Murrumbidgee.

Other Camps
In addition to these, there will have been other occupation sites in use. William Hovell notes in 1842 that “[i]n all the creaks [sic] there are Mussels, which the Natives get, by diving for, we always find the Shells, where they have had their fires” (Andrews [ed.], 1981, p. 141).

Rock art sites
Rock art sites are reported from the Black Ranges to the north-west of Albury (Bish, 1906b; Boyd, 1906; Bridge, 1906; Sumner, 1906). Bish (1906b) claims to have “seen devices of fishes, male and female figures, implements of war, skins for carrying water and many other devices, including many crude drawings of the ‘Wooloo,’ or devil-devil”

It appears that some samples of rock art were removed and taken to Sydney by JP Bish (Bish, 1906a, 1906b), who was immediately roundly criticised for the illegal removal from Albury (Anonymous, 1906c; Boyd, 1906; Julius, 1906; Sumner, 1906). It is not clear what happened to the art that was removed.

Burial Sites
There is evidence of Indigenous burials throughout the Albury area.\textsuperscript{33} Robinson noted in his diary that he “saw Native grave in low mound with mia on it in half mile from R.B. [Robert Brown, ed.] to Wordonger” (entry 3 Oct 1844, G. A. Robinson, 1844–45).

\textsuperscript{32} Alternative early spellings (for the record): ‘Mulinjunder’ (G. A. Robinson, 1844–45 entry for 28 September 1844); ‘Mulyanjandera’ (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1904); ‘Mullingendery’ (Anonymous, 1838); ‘Mullingandra’ (Thomson, 1848g) with ‘Woommaganinia’ (Thomson, 1848b) nearby; ‘Mullinjandry’ (Anonymous, 1853a).

\textsuperscript{33} Although not pertinent to the immediate Albury area under discussion, it is worthwhile to put here on accessible record other newspaper references to Indigenous remains (considered to originate from Aboriginal burials) in the Albury region. Human remains were also reported from Howlong (Anonymous, 1934); Gerodgery (Anonymous, 1858a, 1858b, 1858e, 1858f); between Walla Walla and Walbundrie (Anonymous, 1939); the Doodle Cooma swamp near Henty (Anonymous, 1950); as well as Wangaratta (Anonymous, 1907b) and Wagga Wagga (Anonymous, 1891b).
A sand dune existed at the southern end of Olive and David Streets, Albury, which was used for Indigenous and also for early European burials (Anonymous, 1860a, 1861c, 1861d, 1861e, 1896b, 1910b; Vagabond, 1896).34 Indigenous burial in that dune, with bodies placed between two sheets of bark, are on record for 1840 and 1841 (Bushman, 1842). As Albury grew, that dune was increasingly quarried for sand for purposes of house construction and the cemetery was in an increasingly bad shape (Anonymous, 1862). Over time, the sand delivered to the buildings sites frequently contained human remains (Anonymous, 1874).

On at least two occasions Indigenous human remains were also discovered in situ. A tibia and femur were excavated between St. Matthew’s Church and the courthouse in 1877 (Anonymous, 1877). Found 30cm below the surface, there was no indication that the bones had been carted in with sand. In late September 1878, a skeleton was encountered at the ‘new down-river road skirting Hospital Hill’ (now Monument Hill). The skeleton, which was reported as in a good state of preservation, was assumed to belong to an Indigenous person and was taken charge of by the police (Anonymous, 1878). The location suggests that the burial was located south of Monument Hill, at the edge of the flood plain.

Indicative of the sentiment at the time, the skull of an Australian Aboriginal person, presumably obtained somewhere in the Albury area, had apparently been exhibited as a talking point in the boardroom of the Albury Pastures Protection Board (Anonymous, 1904c).35

Meeting Places and Ceremonial Grounds
The presence of ceremonial sites can be inferred based on historical accounts of corroborees in the immediate and wider area, even though many of them may not or no longer have any physical trace in the landscape. For example, in 1844 George August Robinson noted that he “went to corroboree” describing some of the aspects (entry 3 Oct 1844, G. A. Robinson, 1844–45).36

Ten years later, in 1854 Revd. Henry S. Elliott remarked in a letter to a Canon Allwood of Sydney:

“Ever since I came to Albury [i.e. 1851] I have seen more than 100 blacks present at the corroborees they used to hold on the river flat, close to town” (Elliott, 1906; Strickland, 1862, p. 74).

Also, Andrews (1920, p. 40) asserts that:

“[a]t certain seasons of the year, The Murray blacks were in the habit of meeting amicable not far from Albury, for the choice of wives for the younger men, but more especially to resort to the mountains in pursuit of bogong or bugong moths”

34. The lack of a European-style cemetery was deplored by a correspondent in 1842 (Bushman, 1842).

35. Throughout Australia there was a general demand for ethnographic curios. Albury newspapers frequently carried advertisements by individuals seeking ‘Aboriginal weapons, spears etc.” (e.g.Manders Telegram Agency, 1896)

36. Robinson wrote “1, Native Corroboree, 2. Women ditto; 3. Men in a body with spear and moving to and fro; 4. Men in body leave spear and form single file gracefully moving their arms as they dance along good corroboree. The first part came with them all corroborrying together and shaking their legs, as usual, a very lively time.”
In the same work, Andrews (1920, p. 22f) describes Mungabareena as “...the usual meeting place of the various tribes when on their annual visits to the mountains in search of the “bogong” or “bugong moths,” a very favourite article of their diet. Here also they were, on these occasions, accustomed to arrange for the wives for the younger members of the tribes.”

He identifies the location of the camp as the place “where now the Albury waterworks stand” (Andrews, 1920, p. 22).

Mungabareena: a Run, a Parish, two Reserves and a Lagoon

It is widely assumed today that the current Mungabareena Reserve area was a traditional Indigenous ceremonial and meeting space. The current draft management plan for Mungabareena Reserve (NSW Crown Lands, 2011), refers to this, but makes very little reference to any solid historic information.

There is no evidence in nineteenth century papers, however, that identifies the current Mungabareena Reserve as a ceremonial place. On the contrary, the site of the camp and the presumed ceremonial ground appears to have been where the current water works are located (see above)—outside and to the north of the Reserve. At this point it needs to be unequivocally stressed, however, that the question of actual nineteenth and pre-nineteenth century use of the Mungabareena Reserve area has very little bearing on the indisputably high level of cultural significance for the modern-day Indigenous community of the wider Albury Region that is ascribed to the current Mungabareena Reserve.38

Care needs to be exercised not to conflate the various spellings of ‘Mungabareena,’ used for the run and the reserve, and ‘Mungabarina,’ used for the parish and the lagoon. To add to the confusion, in the past both spellings were used interchangeably, much to the annoyance of some residents (Lippon Dairn, 1913). Given the conflation, it is appropriate to attempt to disentangle the various constructs of ‘Mungabareena.’

Mungabareena Run and Mungabareena Station

The first reference to Mungabareena occurred in 1835, when Charles Hotson Ebden selected land on both sides of the river, establishing the Mungabareena and Bonegilla Runs (Anonymous, 1876). Known as Ebden’s run, Mungabareena run was placed under the management of James Wyse. Paul Huon, owner of the Wodonga run (La Trobe, 1848), purchased Mungabareena in 1836 (Andrews, 1912a, p. 3f; 1920, p. 22ff; 170f).40 Huon received a pasturage licence in February 1837 (licence nº 202, Thomson, 1837).39

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37. The location of the Indigenous camp was at the location of the modern water works (see p. 11).

38. Mention should be made to the long-standing connection of the area with Indigenous issues and reconciliation [see also Fig. 6].—Mungabareena Reserve is the location of the Bogong Moth / Ngan Girra Festival (since 1994) commonly held in November at the Reserve (Hilvert, 2006; River Murray Urban Users Committee, 2004). On record, inter alia, for the years 1999 (Thorpe, 1999), 2002 (Thomas, 2002), 2005 (ISX, 2005), 2008 (Aboriginal Art Directory, 2008), 2009 (Conroy, 2009).—See Seary (2008) for a discussion on the meaning of the Bogong Moth Festival and the relevance of the Bogong moth in Indigenous culture (food or ceremony or both) — For the role of Ngan Girra in Indigenous tourism see (Zeppel, 1999).—For the Mungabareena Reserve-Wiradjuri Reconciliation Project see (Land & Water Australia, 2009; Yalmambirra, 2008, n.d. [2007]).—See also (Basinski & Parkinson, 2001).

39. Ebden continued to operate the Bonegilla run until 1851 (Anonymous, 1851b; La Trobe, 1847, 1848).—But see advert for sale of station in 1840: (Anonymous, 1840).

40. Renewed July 1838 (licence nº 289, Thomson, 1838).—Pasturage license to James Mitchell (Campbell, 1840, p. 171 [under ‘Murrumbidgee’]).
The run was the passed on to Huon’s sister Elizabeth and her husband William Mitchell (Anonymous, [1935?]).

Mungabareena run continued to be known as ‘Ebden’s Station’ until at least the late 1830s (Anonymous, 1837, 1838). In 1848 it is referred to as ‘Mungabbaruna’ run, with the following boundaries gazetted (Thomson, 1848b) (see Fig. 4):

“Bounded on the east by a range, general bearing being north and south, distance six miles and three quarters, terminating at the Port Philipp Road,” adjacent to the run of the late Matthew Smith and Mr. Henry Calder; this line has been defined by Mr. Commissioner Bingham; bounded on the north by a line running west by north, distance five miles, adjacent to the run of Mr. T.V. Foote; this line is disputed; on the north by a line running west by south, five miles adjacent to the run of Mr. William Lester; bounded on the west by a leading range, running north and south, distance six miles and three quarters, adjacent to the run of Mr. John Dight; on the south by the Hume River, running east and west, distance seven miles and a half.”

Andrews (1920, p. 170), interpreting the data, describes Mungabareena run as follows:

“The boundary of the run commenced on the north bank of the Murray, at the mouth of Bungambrewatha Creek [sic]. It extended hence nearly north-westerly to “The Pinnacle” east of the township of Jindera. Thence roughly east, between “Budgingi” and “Maryvale”, to the northern end of Shelley’s or Hawksview Range, then south-easterly by the top of that range past “Shelley’s Flat” and “Smith’s Selection” to the top of the hill, due north of Hawksview House. There it turned east to the bank of the river, which it followed to the point of commencement. It thus included the site of Albury.”

Over time, Elizabeth Mitchell expanded the family holdings with the acquisition of ‘Table Top’ Station in 1851. At the same time, parts of the Mungabareena run closest to Albury were excised and sold off as small holdings. The debate on the future of Mungabareena even entered the NSW Legislative Assembly. Mungabareena ceased to

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41 William Mitchell had received a pasturage licence on 7 February 1837 for the Monaro (license no. 208, Thomson, 1837).

42 The Sydney to Melbourne Road, also known as “The Great Southern Road,” now the Hume Highway. Note that the highway was rerouted after the construction of the Hume Dam and the subsequent flooding of the former township of Bowna in 1933.

43 Matthew Smith’s property was ‘Bownyan Creek’ (Bowna) (run no 160, Thomson, 1848c).

44 Thomas V Foote’s property was ‘Table Top’ (run no 45, Thomson, 1848a).

45 The gazettal of Foote’s Table Top run gives the following description for the boundary with Mungabareena Run: “Bounded on the south by the northern bank of a creek, known as Four Mile Creek, for a distance of two miles, in a south-west by south direction, or where a small creeks joins the above-mentioned Four Mil Creek; from said junction up to the northern bank of said small creek in a west-northwest direction, for a distance of one mile; from thence by a line drawn west and north to a hill known as the Red Hill; from said Red Hill along the top of a range of mountains running due west from said Red Hill, and such line continued across a creek, known as the Forest Creek, for a distance of two miles” (Thomson, 1848a).

46 William Lester’s property was ‘Morebringer’ (run no 98, Thomson, 1848b).

47 John Dight’s property was ‘Bungowanah;’ it was “bounded to east by the village reserve of Albury” (run no 40, Thomson, 1848a).

48 After Matthew Smith’s death in 1840, Thomas Shelly took over Bowna Station (Andrews, 1920, p. 151f). He resided on Shelley’s Flats along the western shore of Bowna Creek.

49 Allotments at ‘Mungabbarina’ were sold in 1850, 1851 and 1853 (Anonymous, 1850a, 1850b, 1851a, 1853b).

50 See *inter alia* Legislative Assembly (1857) and the proposed structure of Elizabeth Mitchell’s holdings in Partridge (1855).
exist as a property in 1859 when the Mitchell holdings were fully reorganised into ‘Table Top,’ ‘Thurgoona’ and ‘Hawksview’ (Anonymous, [1935?]).

Fig. 4. Approximate location of Mungabareena run, based on the boundary description provided by Thomson (1848b). Also marked are the alignment of Sydney Road as well as the neighbouring pastoral runs.

Fig. 5. Map of Mungabarina Parish (Department of Lands, 1892a).
Nineteenth Century Indigenous Land Use of Albury (NSW), as reflected in the historic sources

Mungabarina Parish
When the New South Wales colonial government organised the County of Goulburn into parishes in about 1860, it chose to employ Indigenous names for the parishes that envelop Albury. Thus we have the ‘Parish of Thurgoona’ and the ‘Parish of Bowna’ as well as the ‘Parish of Mungabarina.’ The latter parish is located to the north of Albury and thus encompasses the northern part of Mungabareena Run after which it had been named (Fig. 5). It is first mentioned in the newspapers in August 1860 (Anonymous, 1860b).

Mungabareena Recreational Reserve
The area that is today called Mungabareena Reserve (lots 174 to 181 on DP753326) was originally gazetted for the purposes of public recreation, notified 13 February 1904 (R37208 and 37209) (Department of Lands, 1916b; Rochford, 1905). It appears that R37209 was revised on 6 December 1957 (Department of Lands, 1977).

The reserve functioned as a popular recreational space: “The Mungabareena reserve… is a favourite rendezvous for picnic parties, for which its pretty river frontage and its abundance of umbrageous trees render it particularly suitable” (Anonymous, 1907a) with picnics on record from pre 1907 onwards (Anonymous, 1907a, 1910c, 1911, 1912b). Albury’s favourite picnic spot was the peninsula, then known as ‘The Point” (Anonymous, 1912b).

Fig. 6. Carving of a goanna into a River Red Gum as part of cultural activities at the Mungabareena Reserve in 1994. Appearance in 1996 (left), 2008 (center), 2012 (right). (Photos Dirk HR Spennemann).

Mungabareena Stock Reserve
A section to the north (lot 33), just to the west of Mungabareena Ford (p. 20) was gazetted as C. & T.S.R. nº 2011 on 12 August 1878 (Department of Lands, 1916b),

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51. From 1825 onwards New South Wales was organised into Counties and Parishes. As the boundaries of closer settlement were expanded, new parishes and counties were declared.

52. After World War I it was argued that a tree lined road leading to the picnic area should be planted as memorial (Henderson, 1918a, 1918b), to be named ‘A.I.F. Boulevard’ or ‘Anzac Boulevard.’ The idea was supported by the editor of the Border Morning Mail (BMM, 1918) but did not eventuate until the 1930s.

53. ‘C. & T.S.R’ probably stands for ‘Camping & Travelling Stock Route.’
and placed under the control of the Pastures Protection Board, then extended on 27
October 1922 (Department of Lands, 1925).55 It appears that it was revoked 18
February 1939 (Department of Lands, 1956), but is still included in (Department of
Lands, 1977). Part of the reserve had been excised on 28 May 1883 to erect the Albury
water works.56

Fig. 7. The Reconciliation Circle at the Mungabareena Reserve (Photo Dirk HR Spennemann 2012).

Until the establishment of the above-mentioned reserve for public recreation,
Mungabareena Stock Reserve was simply known as ‘Mungabareena Reserve”. For
example, Albury Town Council resisted pressure by local saw millers to log the area and
decided to keep the timber in the Mungabarina Reserve (Anonymous, 1881).

In 1908 the Albury Pastures Protection Board regarded Mungabarina Reserve [sic]
as the “most important reserve in the Albury district, used by tens of thousands of sheep annually,
going to and coming from the Albury sale yards” (Anonymous, 1909c).

Mungabarina Lagoon
Finally, Mungabarina Lagoon is a place name for a billabong area just to the north. Fig.
8 shows the spatial relationship between the three.

54. The allotment was also “Reserved from Occupation for Residence or Business Purposes on 25 July 1893
(Department of Lands, 1916a).
55. Rabbits were discovered at Mungabareena Reserve in early 1885 (Anonymous, 1885b), assumed to have
come across the ford from the Victorian side (Anonymous, 1885d) and were (temporarily) successfully
eradicated (Anonymous, 1885c).
56. See water reserve W.R. 3060 on Department of Lands (1925).
Fish Traps and Crossing Places

The Murray River provided ample food resources to the Indigenous Australians, mainly in the form of mussels and fishes, but also waterfowl and turtles. While these could be collected, caught or speared individually, such an approach did not provide for large volumes of food, such as those required to sustain a larger population in the event of a ceremonial gathering.

Large quantities of fish, however, could be gathered by way of fish traps. The first description of an Indigenous fish trap in the Albury area comes from the diary of William Hovell, who on 17 November 1824 noted:

"The Natives frequently resort here, & I have no doubt are numerous, as Fish are plentiful both in the River and Lagoons, it appears they are caught in Dams where there is a running stream as there is one they have made now in front of us, they are drawn into the dam by the natives, at one end, then closed up when they think they have sufficient, made intoxicated [as is usually done near to the Sea Coast about Five Islands] by [the bark of the Willow Tree which] they throw into the place, [by this they are made intoxicated] which I suppose bring them to the top they [the natives] then get into the water and thrown them out.—In the solid wood of a healthy tree I cut my name” (Andrews [ed.], 1981, p. 137).

The reference to the tree marked by Hovell suggests that the observed fish trap may have been located in the vicinity of Bungambrawatha as the Hovell Tree, which he carved on 17 November 1824, is close by.\footnote{The Hovell Tree with the inscription “W. Hovell, November 17, 1824” was already fenced in the 1850s to protect it (Anonymous, 1853c). When Hovell recut the inscription in March 1859 he did not, as Andrews (1912, p.) suggests, make a mistake in the date.}
We can assume a correlation between the occurrence of shallow, fordable sections of the Murray and stone weirs and fish traps. A number of crossing places are on record for the immediate Albury area (Fig. 9).\textsuperscript{58}

Moreover, it appears that the Murray River was not a border but a liminal zone for groups that had their center of gravity in adjacent areas. Thus, in the Albury-Wodonga area the Waveroo (Minubuddong) were reputed to have accessed both banks of the Murray (Mollison, 1837 [1980], p. 41) as were the Wiradjuri (Lane, 1859; cited in Wesson, 2000, p. 58). Fords were essential locations to facilitate and maintain communication.

Bungambrawatha Ford

Bungambrawatha Crossing is located at the confluence of Bungambrawatha Creek and the Murray River (location: -36.084281, 146.906810). This is the location of the initial crossing place, where Brown’s Hut had been erected in 1835 (Townsend, 1839). It remained the primary crossing until the construction of the punt in 1848, which shifted the location of the crossing some 350m upstream (Fig. 12). The first bridge, opened 2 September 1861, is located a further 600m upstream (Anonymous, 1861b).

In 1853 Bungambrawatha Ford was described as:

“There is a punt by which teams and travellers generally cross, but at the present season the ford lower down is practicable. The water just reaches the body of a cart, and a man can wade over. The bottom is shingly, and the banks are easily accessible” (Anonymous, 1853a).

Bungambrawatha Ford continued to be used in the 1860s to drive cattle across the Murray (Turnbull, 1923)\textsuperscript{59} and to avoid having to pay the bridge toll.\textsuperscript{60} As late as 1896 it is on record as being used, occasionally, in summer (Anonymous, 1896b).

\hspace{1cm}

\textsuperscript{58} Albury was known, in the very early postal days, ‘as late as 1845’, as ‘Mungabareena Crossing Place’ or ‘Thurgoona Crossing Place,’ Hume River (JFH Mitchell in Anonymous, 1906b).

\textsuperscript{59} A good description of cattle and sheep being forded is given by George Augustus Robinson (1839–40, entry for 25 April 1840).

\textsuperscript{60} The ford is still marked on the town map of 1884 (Surveyor General’s Office, 1884), but no longer on the third edition of 1927 (Department of Lands, 1927).
Yarrawudda Ford

The ford at Yarrawudda is located the south-western end of Eastern Hill, near Doctor's Point (-36.096808, 146.928351). The ford is mapped on the Albury town map of 1884 (Surveyor General's Office, 1884) (Fig. 13), but intriguingly, not marked on the 1849 map (Colonial Secretary's Office, 1849). In addition, a small ford existed cutting across the small arm of the billabong (as indicated on the 1905 annotations to the 1888 parish map: Rochford, 1905).

Mungabareena Ford

The ford at Mungabareena (-36.078189, 146.955461) is located about 50–60m downstream of the current bridge at the end of Boundary Road (Fig. 15). As with all fords, safe crossing was dependent on river levels, while horses and cattle could be swum across if needed. While one reputedly could walk Mungabareena Ford dry-

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61. The ford is no longer marked on the 1927 town map (Department of Lands, 1927).—The reserve at the northern approach to Yarrawudda Ford was notified on 9 January 1884 (R3170) (Surveyor General's Office, 1884).

62. This is the current road from Doctor's Point to Mungabareena Reserve.

63. The construction of the bridge had been mooted as early as 1857, even before the bridge at Albury proper had been built (Anonymous, 1857d), and formally revisited by Albury Borough Council in 1901. The bridge was eventually built during World War II (Pennay, 1992).

64. The Ford was used to drove cattle and other stock across the Murray, once the town of Albury had grown to such a degree that the ford in Albury was no longer suitable and cattle could not be driven in large numbers across the Union Bridge (from 1861). In 1857 a Beechworth butcher argued that the ford at Mungabareena would be the one most suited for the erection of a bridge across the Murray (Anonymous, 1857d).
footed\textsuperscript{65} in 1842 (James Mitchell cited in Alpha, 1915) and while the ford is reported as falling almost completely dry during most summers allowing for easy passage (Anonymous, 1858d)\textsuperscript{66} so much so that even drays could easily cross the ford during extreme low water levels (Anonymous, 1868),\textsuperscript{67} the ford could be treacherous at other times, with people on record as having drowned (Anonymous, 1885a).\textsuperscript{68}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Fig_11.jpg}
\caption{Mungabareena Ford looking downstream from the bridge. Seen in May 2015. \textit{Photo Dirk HR Spennemann}}
\end{figure}

Thurgoona Ford at Galloway Park
A ford is located in the Galloway Park area, Hawkscote Road (approx. -36.085381, 147.001865) (Jones, 1989, p. 7).\textsuperscript{69} The river has an array of rock outcrops allowing a person to pass dry-footed when the river is low (A. Macdonald, 2015). The location is marked as ‘Thurgoona’ on an 1855 map (Partridge, 1855).\textsuperscript{70} J. F. H. Mitchell (1904) notes that Thurgoona is the place “[w]here the rocks nearly reach the east bank of the River Murray.” It is on record as being used from the 1850s onwards to drive stock in summer (J.F.H. Mitchell cited in Bendleby, 1915).

\begin{itemize}
\item At the time the bridge across the ford at Mungabareena was discussed in 1906, another option raised was to construct a bridge at Mount Pleasant, Hawksview Estate (Anonymous, 1906a). It is not clear whether this is the same location or yet another location, further downstream towards Mungabareena.
\item But not mapped on the 1892 Parish Map (Department of Lands, 1892b).
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item rabbits were discovered at Mungabareena Reserve, possibly coming across the ford from the Victorian side (Anonymous, 1885d).
\item I am indebted to Bruce Pennay (Albury) for the reference relating to Chinese miners possibly using Mungabareena Ford to bypass the Victorian customs post in order to evade the Victorian Protector of Chinese at Wodonga.
\item Mungabareena Reserve was fully flooded in 1895 (Anonymous, 1895a) and also in 1909 (Anonymous, 1909a, 1909b), 1912 (Anonymous, 1912a) and 1917 (Anonymous, 1917).
\item Mungabareena Ford is still marked on the Parish map of 1925 (Department of Lands, 1925).
\end{itemize}
Fig. 12. Section of the Map of the Town of 1884 (Surveyor General’s Office, 1884) showing what is today Norieul Park. Marked are the ford at Bungumbrawatha as well as the punt reserve. Compare with aerial image below (Land and Property Information, 2014). Note that north is on the right.
Fig. 13. Section of the Map of the Town of 1884 (Surveyor General’s Office, 1884) showing the location of ‘Yarrawunna’ and a ford across the Murray.

Compare with aerial image below (Land and Property Information, 2014). Note that north is to the right.
Fig. 14. Section of the Map of the Town of Albury showing Mungabareena Ford and parts of the former stock reserve (Department of Lands, 1925). Compare with aerial image below (Land and Property Information, 2014).
Hawksview Ford
The ford is located at Hawksview (approx. -36.105645, 147.029601), just downstream of the location of the Hume Dam (J. F. H. Mitchell, 1906, p. 22). The ford was eventually bridged.\textsuperscript{71}

Additional Fords in the area
The water levels of the Murray were, of course, also subject to inflows from tributaries. Thus, for example, when in 1824 Hume and Hovell reached the Murray at Albury, they found no way across at any of the four fords listed above, but eventually crossed the Murray at another ford, just upstream of the junction with the Mitta Mitta River (Fig. 9 nº 6) (Andrews, 1919; J. F. H. Mitchell, 1914b). On the return trip they crossed even further upstream, approximately at the location of the current Bethanga Bridge (Fig. 9 nº 7)(Andrews, 1919).\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{71} A bridge at the Hawksview Crossing had been mooted in the 1890s. The Hawksview Bridge was proposed in 1892 but met with resistance by the Wodonga businessmen who feared a loss of clientele (Anonymous, 1892). While it was built and opened in 1895 (Anonymous, 1895b) its merits were still discussed in the first decade of the 1900s (Anonymous, 1905). Some of the bridge supports are still visible at low river levels (Spennemann, 2010).

The modern bridge, erected after the construction of the Hume Dam, is located some 930m downstream.

\textsuperscript{72} Mention is also made of ‘Connor’s Crossing’ (Anonymous, 1906d), but this may be a ford across Wodonga Creek, a side arm of the Murray River instead across the Murray proper.
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