

East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project

HISTORICAL NOTES RELEVANT TO
IMPACT STORIES OF THE EAST KIMBERLEY

Cathie Clement*

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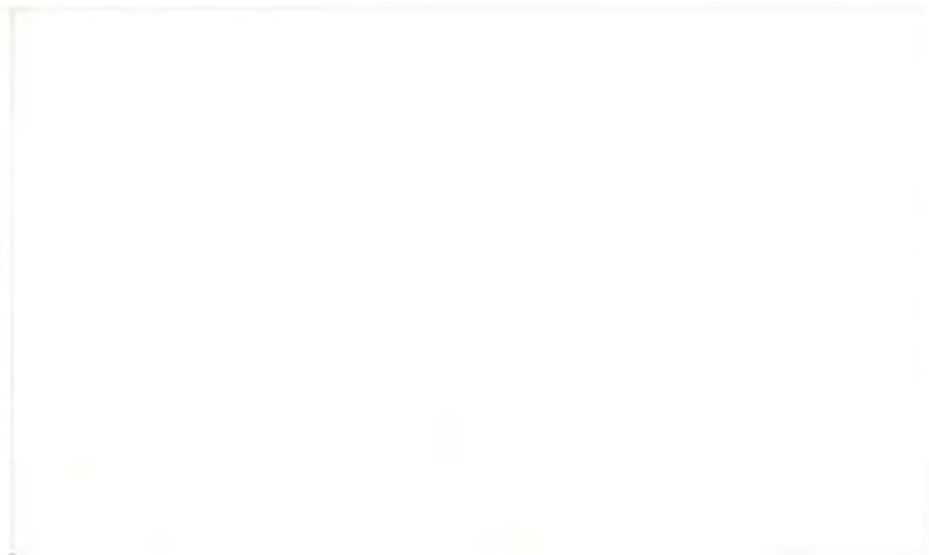
A Joint Project Of The:

Centre for Resource and Environmental Studies
Australian National University

Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies

Anthropology Department
University of Western Australia

Academy of the Social Sciences in Australia



The aims of the project are as follows:

1. To compile a comprehensive profile of the contemporary social environment of the East Kimberley region utilising both existing information sources and limited fieldwork.
2. Develop and utilise appropriate methodological approaches to social impact assessment within a multi-disciplinary framework.
3. Assess the social impact of major public and private developments of the East Kimberley region's resources (physical, mineral and environmental) on resident Aboriginal communities. Attempt to identify problems/issues which, while possibly dormant at present, are likely to have implications that will affect communities at some stage in the future.
4. Establish a framework to allow the dissemination of research results to Aboriginal communities so as to enable them to develop their own strategies for dealing with social impact issues.
5. To identify in consultation with Governments and regional interests issues and problems which may be susceptible to further research.

Views expressed in the Project's publications are the views of the authors, and are not necessarily shared by the sponsoring organisations.

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I am grateful to the Battye Library and State Archives staff who cheerfully made available the hundreds of items required for the compilation of this paper.

I also wish to thank Dr Helen Ross, Mrs Maggie Lilly and Mr & Mrs Les Wylde whose contribution of time and knowledge enabled me to clarify awkward historical points.

The archival files used to compile this paper are too numerous to list individually. However, since these files are stored and/or indexed in chronological order, readers interested in undertaking further research will find the extensive use of dates within this paper a convenient guide. The files used are from:

- * Police Department (W.A.) Archives Accession 430
- * Aboriginal Affairs Planning Authority (W.A) Archives Accessions 255, 652, 653 & 993
- * Department of Land Administration (W.A.) Archives Accession 541, plus various pastoral leasing records.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

This paper supplements *Impact Stories of the East Kimberley* (East Kimberley Working Paper No.28). It is written specifically to enable readers of that paper to place the impact stories within the context of European occupation of the East Kimberley. The locality histories presented in this paper are detailed, but are not intended to be comprehensive. They merely afford insight into how things were in the 'early days' - the era to which many of the stories belong. Readers seeking a fuller coverage of this topic are urged to read both papers in conjunction with *Community Social Impact Assessment: A Cumulative Study in the Turkey Creek Area, Western Australia* (East Kimberley Working Paper No. 27).

The locality histories are arranged in alphabetical order, with individual entries proceeding chronologically. The majority of localities are, or were, cattle stations in the area surrounding Warmun Community (formerly part of the settlement known as Turkey Creek).

Historically, the principal impacts identified in the stories are the introduction of livestock, the erection and protection of the Wyndham to Halls Creek telegraph line, and the arrival and effect of the police. In this paper, the introduction of livestock is chronicled in the locality histories. These also identify many of the Europeans who pioneered the cattle industry around Turkey Creek. Most of the historical references to the telegraph line and the police are contained within the entries for Fletcher Creek and Turkey Creek.

In the impact stories there are many references to the violent imposition of colonisation. Much of this violence arose through Aborigines hindering or resisting European efforts to occupy and utilise the East Kimberley. In this paper, the discussion of violence is limited to an elaboration of some of the incidents mentioned in the impact stories. This discussion is presented as part of the appropriate locality histories.

Another recurrent theme in the impact stories is the introduction of welfare for Aboriginal people. The entries for Turkey Creek, Frog Hollow station, Violet Valley Aborigines' feeding depot, and Moola Bulla Aborigines' cattle station discuss this subject.

The archival research for this paper began only after all of the material contained in *Impact Stories of the East Kimberley* had been recorded. The only influence that this research has had on the stories paper is to clarify the spelling of European names.

As far as people and places are concerned, the findings of the archival research correlated extremely well with the contents of the impact stories. This high correlation attests to the worth of oral history as a research tool. It also shows that the combination of oral history and archival research provides insight that neither type of research can yield independently. Further, that the combination of these two approaches can yield a sound foundation for assessing social impact.

Every care has been taken to ensure that the information provided in this paper is accurate. It should be borne in mind, however, that some of the stations to which the stories refer were short-lived ventures which existed in an era when horses, donkeys and camels were the principal means of local transport. Early maps seldom showed the Kimberley's topography precisely, or in detail, and these therefore give outsiders little hope of locating such places.

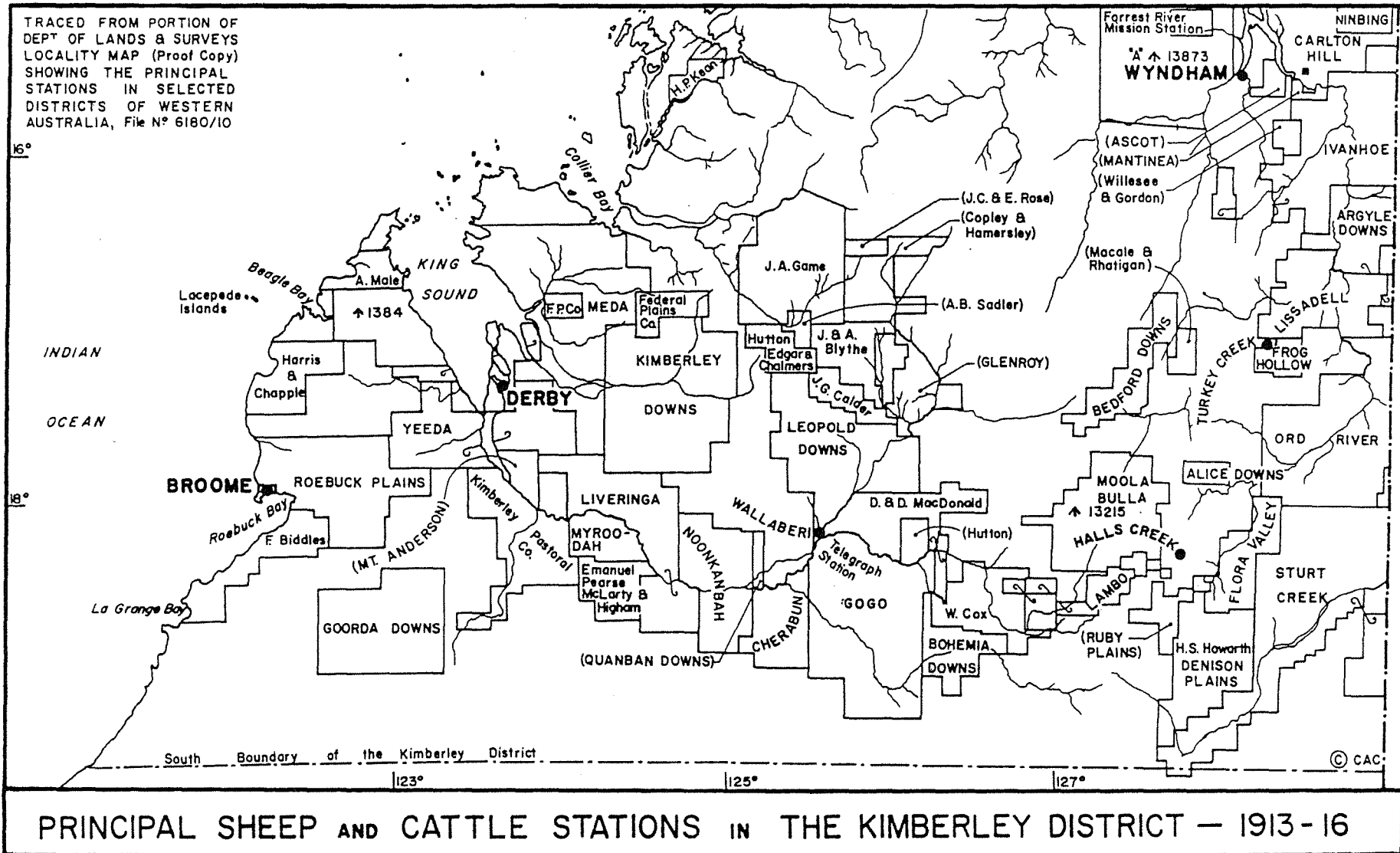
It is also relevant that early maps were concerned with showing the distribution of leases and paid little attention to where the boundaries of so-called stations fell. Even when identification of stations became customary, many small Kimberley stations were not registered with the pastoral lease board. The areas covered by specific stations also changed over time, as did the locations of their homesteads. Use of station names in historical writing thus only ever gives a generalised, and at times misleading, idea of where events under discussion actually took place.

This paper gives some details regarding routes used for access to former pastoral stations. The distances cited in such cases are those given by police on mounted patrol, and are therefore only approximate and in accordance with horse pads in use at the time.

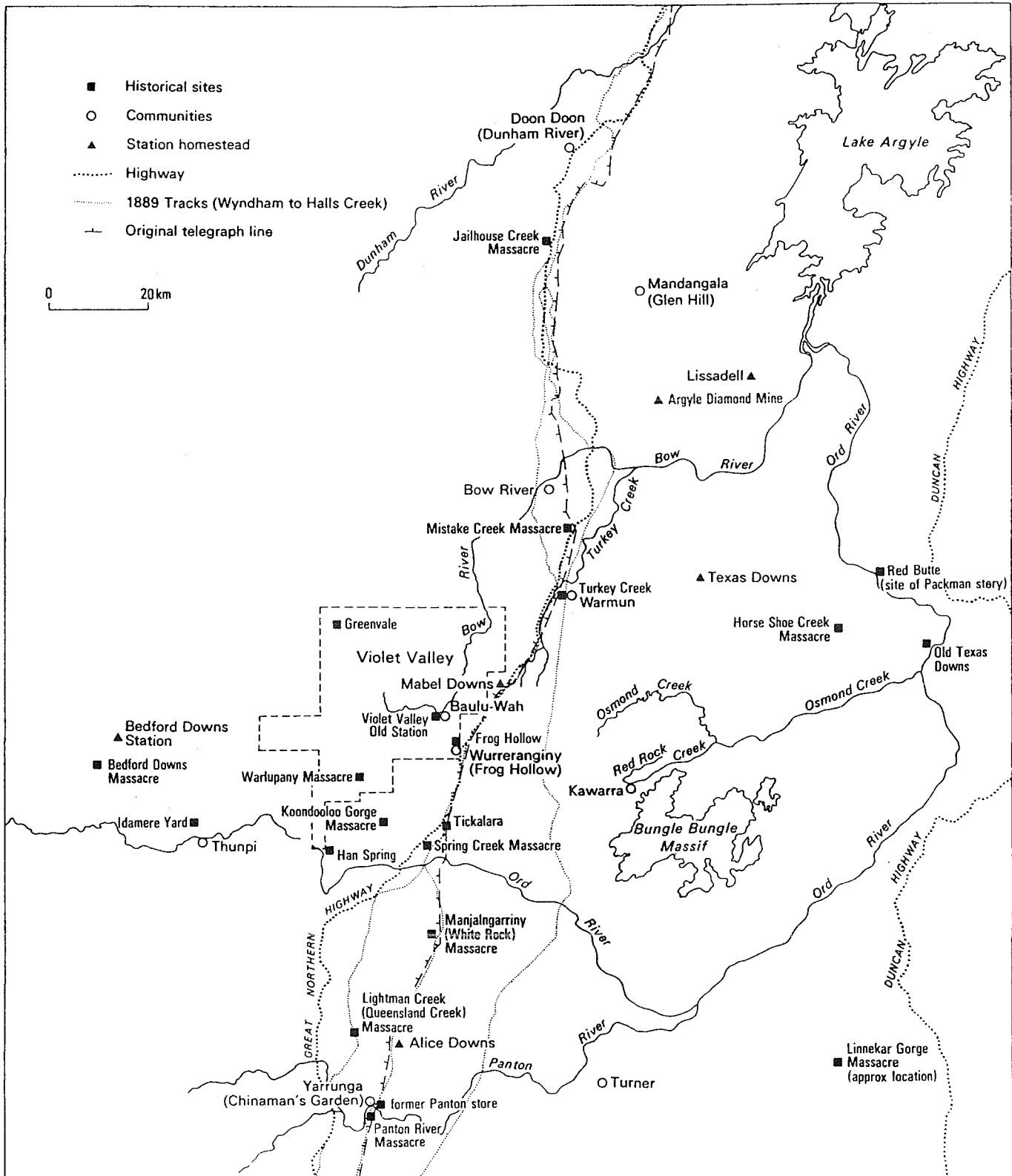
The issue of speculation in land prior to pastoral occupation is not addressed, but readers should understand that all localities discussed in this paper were previously leased to speculators. European exploration and land speculation in this area prior to 1885 is documented in East Kimberley Working Paper No. 24: *Pre-settlement Intrusion into the East Kimberley*.

High occupational mobility has always been a feature of Kimberley colonisation. This, and the distance between this frontier and even the smaller administrative centres, gave European immigrants considerable autonomy in their dealings with the indigenous people and the environment. In this paper, key information relevant to the mobility of individuals is given in brackets against their surnames. Information regarding variations between given names and the names by which individuals were known is given in brackets against first names or initials.

All indigenous people discussed in this paper are referred to as 'Aborigines' and are not further identified according to language groups. This is done in the belief that records which document European history do not afford sufficient information for writers to assign the Aborigines mentioned therein to specific language groups. The term 'of mixed descent' is used to describe people who were officially classified as Aborigines (or Natives, according to the era), but whose parents were not both indigenous.



MAP 1: Principal sheep and cattle stations in the Kimberley District, 1913-16.



MAP 2: Localities relevant to impact stories of the EAST Kimberley.

Adavale station

Adavale was a small cattle station on the Wilson River. Alfred Gregor and Tom McLoughlin first took up this land for pastoral purposes late in 1907. A year earlier they had had one hundred head of cattle and horses in the Kimberley and leased several small blocks of land near what eventually became Karungie Downs station. Whether or not they actually ran stock on that land is unclear, but in 1907 they let these blocks revert to the Crown. McLoughlin (a stockman on Texas Downs station in 1901) stocked Adavale in 1908.

The station fell within the patrol area of the Wyndham police and was reached by travelling along a horse pad via Coffee Spring (25 miles) from Ellen Vale station (25 miles) on the upper Dunham River. At this time John Winn (formerly of Fletcher Creek) owned Ellen Vale. Turkey Creek police also later patrolled to Adavale.

In March 1911 the police referred to Adavale as Durack & Martin's place. Neal Durack began selecting land in this locality in 1912, but did not have McLoughlin's interest in Adavale station transferred into his name until 1915. As early as 1912, however, Aborigines on the Wilson were eating Durack's beef.

As an outlying station, Adavale was seldom visited by police. In 1915 a wide-ranging search for the witnesses to the Mistake Creek massacre took the Turkey Creek police there. Adavale provided them with a safe place to leave their horses and plant while they went on foot towards Elgee Cliffs and into areas not yet occupied by Europeans.

In March 1917 Bob Beattie (formerly of Mistake Creek station and Violet Valley) and George Griffiths (a Mabel Downs stockman) had Adavale transferred to them. Beattie ran Adavale with a small Aboriginal work force and at one time reported Aborigines killing stock on the eastern side of the station. He was badly injured in 1924 in an altercation with an Aboriginal station hand. In 1926 Beattie lost the station through Connor, Doherty & Durack foreclosing on him. He then went to work on Bedford Downs.

Walter Macale subsequently leased the Adavale land, using it as an outstation for his Greenvale station. Distance from Greenvale made cattle grazing at Adavale fair game for poddy-dodgers from some of the further westward stations. Macale's executors sold Adavale and Greenvale to Maggie and Sam Lilly in the late 1940s, and the two places became part of Lilly's Bow River station.

Alice Downs station

Frank Taylor and Ben Cranwell formed Alice Downs cattle station in 1901 at the northern extremity of the area most affected by the 1886 gold rush. At least two large massacres of Aborigines had occurred in this locality, probably during the 1888 reprisals for the killing of George Barnett (see Fletcher Creek). Cranwell transferred the Alice Downs homestead block to Frank Taylor in 1901, but stayed on for some years with Taylor and William Yates.

An Aboriginal woman from Halls Creek, Gilljarra (known as Kooljer or Jenny McGrath), worked on Alice Downs from the start. Some of her family, including a sister Coombully (known as Mary McGrath), also did stock and domestic work on this station.

Alice Downs fell within the area patrolled by the Halls Creek and Turkey Creek police. In 1909 Aborigines raided the homestead (a substantial building) during the owners' absence, smashing the door with a tomahawk to take food, tobacco and knives. In 1910 the station carried 2000-2500 cattle and 100-150 horses. It had two branding yards, but few other improvements.

In 1917 Charlie Newman (formerly of Springvale station) bought into Alice Downs and worked there with Frank Taylor. Newman had been in the East Kimberley since the 1890s, initially working as a prospector. He died in 1919.

In 1921 Frank Taylor went into partnership with Edgar G. Parnell of Queensland. The Alice Downs Pastoral Coy. Ltd. came into being, and Willie Sclanders managed the station for a time. Jenny McGrath and other Aboriginal workers stayed with Sclanders. In 1924, while he was sinking a well at Alice Downs with Alf George, Sclanders fell down the well and suffered fatal injuries.

Alf George (formerly a blacksmith at Wyndham Meat Works) managed Alice Downs until 1929, when he and his wife Pearl (nee Rhatigan) went to Lilyvale station (now Kingstons Rest). Mr & Mrs R. Ross were next on Alice Downs. In 1930 Ross reported that the station was running 7000 head of cattle and 200 horses. He was feeding and clothing twenty-five Aborigines at this time.

In the 1940s Mr & Mrs F. Reynolds managed the station, and at the end of that decade it became part of Naughtons' holdings.

Bedford Downs station

Gordon Bros. & Buchanan (of Flora Valley station) formed this cattle station in or before 1906. Two Aborigines were employed under agreement on Bedford Downs in 1906, and others camped about three hundred yards from the homestead. There was an early Wet that year and some of these men were arrested for killing cattle.

Bedford Downs was initially outside the area patrolled by the Halls Creek and Fitzroy Crossing police. Little information is consequently available on the early days of this station. To reach Bedford Downs from Halls Creek in the early days, police travelled either via Springvale station or via D.W. & M.E. Green's Greenvale station (subsequently part of Moola Bulla).

In 1908 Bob Sexton and "Texas" Jack Kelly of Texas Downs station purchased Bedford Downs. Kelly remained on Texas Downs while Sexton ran Bedford Downs. Sexton had Billy Linklater (alias Billy Miller) as his cook and "Mally" Gordon as a stockman. By 1910 there was a new homestead a day's ride to the north of the original one. In later years the Turkey Creek police travelled via Violet Valley and Idamere station to reach the new homestead.

Relations between Aborigines and police on Bedford Downs ranged from cordial to downright hostile. Aboriginal people continued to frequent the area around the old homestead and in 1910, after consultation with a patrol, brought fifty-three people in from Bedford Creek to constables camped at the homestead. The police found fourteen of these people old, infirm and mostly blind, and took them back to Halls Creek for medical treatment and rations. This exercise was the forerunner to removing such people to Moola Bulla. That Aborigines' cattle station opened in 1910 as a food distribution reserve, but later became a catch-all centre for the control of Aborigines. The Moola Bulla area was not frequented by the people who hunted on Bedford Downs, and so did nothing to stem Aboriginal raids on this and other eastward cattle stations. Government recognition of the reason for the unabated killings on Bedford Downs eventually led to the establishment of subsidiary feeding depots near Turkey Creek.

Around 1914, Sexton and Kelly endeavoured to sell the station but had it turned down at seven thousand pounds. They sold cattle to Ascot Downs in 1915 and then in 1917 accepted an offer of sixteen thousand pounds for Bedford Downs. At this time, in addition to an unspecified number of Aboriginal workers, the station usually employed two Europeans. Its herd comprised around seven thousand head. The new owners, Mather, Ralston, Ross & Manning, soon sold to the Quilty family (of New South Wales and Queensland).

In 1919 Paddy Quilty had "Black" Pat Durack clear a road suitable for motor vehicles from Junction station to Bedford Downs. This linked the station with the Wyndham to Halls Creek road, allowing Quilty to use motor vehicles for his transport needs. Workers on Bedford Downs remained predominantly Aboriginal. The Europeans who were registered there as voters in the 1920 election included George Kerr Higgins (carpenter), Carl Linderoth (station hand), William Miller (cook) and John Edward Wilson (stockman).

In 1921 Harry Annear (a man of mixed descent from the Fitzroy Crossing area) started working on Bedford Downs as a boundary rider. Annear also recruited station labour and, after abducting some Aboriginal girls in the Chapman River area, was speared by their menfolk in November 1921. Although he actually died of a self-inflicted gunshot wound, the police considered Annear's demise a criminal matter and pursued the Aborigines involved in his spearing. There were allegations that two trackers shot Aboriginal people on the Durack River during this pursuit, but subsequent inquiry failed to substantiate these claims.

Jack B. Smith (originally from Beverley in WA and a former Turkey Creek police constable) did the cooking on Bedford Downs in 1924. Around this time mustering was done with the help of neighbours, in particular Alex B. (known as "Scotty") Sadler of Tableland station, James A. (known as "Scotty") Salmond of Karungie Downs station, and Patrick B. (known as "Barney") O'Leary of Galway Downs station. The Siddons brothers, who had leases near Bedford Downs, were also part of this pastoral network. The region in which this group of stations lay was known as "the black-blocks" or "the underworld".

Paddy Quilty put a manager on Bedford Downs in the late 1920s; first Walter O'Connor (later of Elgee Cliffs station) and then Gordon Smith. Aboriginal hunters were still killing cattle on the station in this period. In 1936, Quilty again took control. The following year he put Bedford Downs under Harry King (from the Northern Territory), and then under Frank Bridge (son of Joe and Deborah Bridge), while he ran Bradshaw station in the Northern Territory. Paddy Quilty died soon after this and Frank Bridge stayed on as manager. Prior to disposing of Bedford Downs in the 1970s, three generations of Quiltys owned this station.

Bungle Bungle station

This former cattle station included the northernmost tip of the Bungle Bungle Range. Some of its land was taken up for pastoral use in 1907 by Billy Madden, a Texas Downs stockman. He called his station Stonehenge and was in partnership with Edward Brennan (at one time the Wyndham to Halls Creek mail contractor) of Mt. John station.

Madden's camp at Stonehenge (there is no evidence of a homestead) was on Red Rock Creek, about 18 miles from Mt. Parker and 21 miles from Osmand Yard. In 1921 he and Brennan acquired a third lease, which lay between Stonehenge and Mt. John. This had been held by Alexander Wilson & Co. since 1902. Madden died at Ord River station in 1927. He left a will in favour of Jack D'Arcy. D'Arcy moved the station horses and goats across to the Salt Pan on the Ord River and Aboriginal workers took care of them there.

In 1928 Frank McManus (a relative of the late Billy Madden) set up camp on what had been Stonehenge and for a while it was called Red Rock station. At the end of the year, when the late Billy Madden's leases expired, Arthur Muggleton (once of Frog Hollow station, and owner of Tickalara station) applied to lease the land. His application was approved in 1929, and Muggleton moved most of the remaining stock off the station and closed camp. He then set about building the station up again, and it was at this time that it became known as Bungle Bungle.

Muggleton, his mate Fred Terone, and Aboriginal station hands ran Bungle Bungle in conjunction with Tickalara station. In 1930 Harry Raymond and Billy Long were among the people working on Bungle Bungle. In September 1932 one of the hands, Charlie Mung Mung, helped police to capture an Aboriginal killer there.

In 1937 Mr & Mrs Ernest Bridge took over Bungle Bungle. Bridge sold the following year to Billy Skuthorp (another east Kimberley pastoralist and one-time Wyndham store-keeper) who also purchased Tickalara and Hann Spring stations. Following Muggleton's lead, Skuthorp had his Tickalara manager, Jack Huddleston (formerly of Mabel Downs station), run Bungle Bungle station (and probably Hann Spring as well) from Tickalara. Soon after purchasing these stations, Skuthorp also bought Spring Creek station on the Northern Territory border. He ran Spring Creek himself and eventually shifted the Aboriginal residents and the livestock from Bungle Bungle to Spring Creek.

In 1946 Skuthorp sold both Spring Creek and Bungle Bungle to The Turner Grazing Company Pty. Limited - the Vestey Brothers company which owned Turner station. This company operated Bungle Bungle in conjunction with Turner station, building new yards there in 1952. The two places used a single brand, and the company moved stock from one to the other according to seasonal conditions.

In 1967 the Western Australian Government resumed Turner and its Bungle Bungle outstation as part of the regeneration plan for the Ord River Catchment Area.

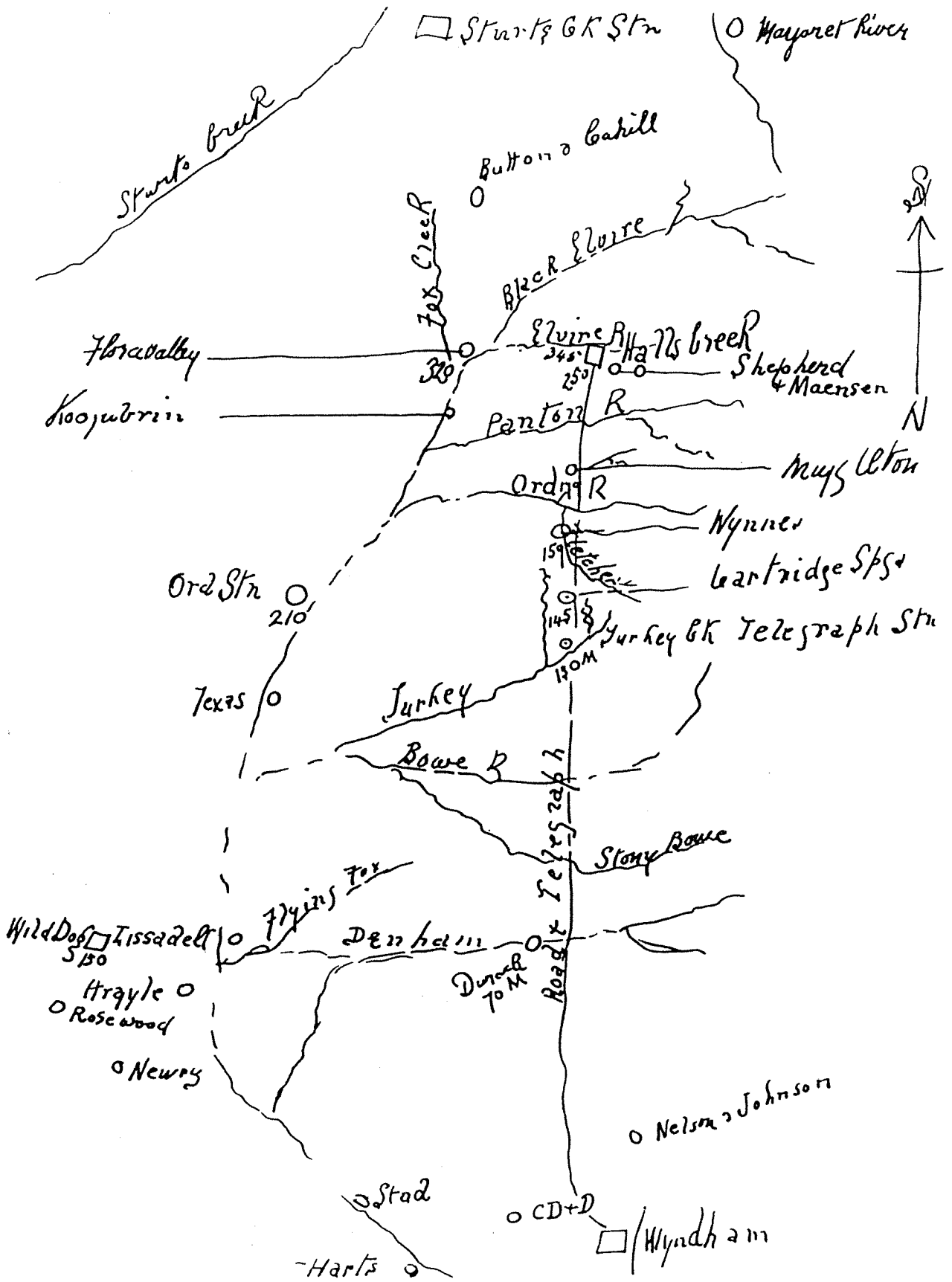
Fletcher Creek

This locality was at one time a police camp, and later became a cattle station.

From mid-1887, after a new section of track opened between the Dunham River and the Panton store, police carrying mail between Wyndham and Halls Creek used one of the Fletcher crossings as an exchange point. Contractors did not carry the mail on this route until 1889. Aborigines in this locality had little contact with settlers until July 1888. Two confrontations north of Fletcher Creek then left George Barnett dead and Thomas Cadley wounded.

During the period leading up to these incidents, Aborigines had apparently been gathering in big mobs on the Ord and Bow Rivers. Barnett, whose brother Edward had the Panton store, used draught horses to carry goods commercially on the goldfield route. He was about fifteen miles north of Fletcher Creek on 9 July, on his way to Wyndham to collect loading, when about thirty Aborigines began to follow him. Some of them jumped onto his wagon, and onto his horses, while others armed with spears approached along a creek. Two overhead revolver shots scattered them, but not before they had grabbed bags of rations from the wagon. A short chase followed, and they dropped the rations as they fled.

Barnett considered this the end of the matter and continued on his way. Shortly afterwards Aborigines attacked and killed him. He sustained seven spear wounds in his left side, with two going through to the right side. His assailants removed the spears, but left two spear heads lying nearby. Barnett's horses bolted and were later found about a mile away.



MAP 3: ROUGH SKETCH OF EAST KIMBERLEY RIVERS AND STATIONS, 1901.

Thomas Cadley (a teamster) and William West had passed Barnett during the day, and, having established that he was safe after hearing the two shots, had continued towards Fletcher Creek. The next morning, when Cadley went ahead to check the route, he rode into an ambush at the top of a hill known as the Jump-up. One spear caught him as he flung himself off his horse, but West was at the foot of the hill and cleared the Aborigines away with his revolver. West dressed Cadley's wound and they moved on, unaware of Barnett's fate. Others found his body next day.

Widespread and savage reprisals followed the finding of Barnett. One local report stated that police and settlers rode more than seven hundred miles in three weeks, and 'dispersed over 600 adult male natives, and a number of females and children'.¹ A later anecdote referred to this as 'a massacre that is regarded as one of the most sweeping in local history'. This anecdote also tells of Edward Barnett having 'cut a triangular notch in the stock of his rifle for every native he shot with it ... and the notches numbered thirty-five!'²

Not surprisingly, it was many months before Europeans again saw Aborigines anywhere near the goldfield road.

Travellers continued to use Fletcher Creek as a camping ground, and in November 1890 a detachment of police from Halls Creek set up a camp there. The sole purpose of the camp was to protect the telegraph line from the damage that Aborigines caused by taking the porcelain insulators for spear heads. Damage and arrests were both plentiful. Erection of the telegraph line had begun at Wyndham in August 1888. The line reached Halls Creek in July 1890, but remained largely inoperative through continual damage by Aborigines and the elements.

The government initially handled protection of the telegraph line by arresting and imprisoning Aboriginal men found with telegraph line materials in their possession. When this approach proved ineffective, and also when rugged terrain made arrests awkward, the police resorted to the use of their firearms to keep the area along the line clear of Aborigines. Imprisonment in this period meant a walk to Wyndham and back.

Two troopers and two native assistants constituted the initial strength of Fletcher police camp. Mick Rhatigan (later telegraph lineman at Turkey Creek) was there from April '91 to January '93. Towards the end of this time the government rewired the telegraph line and installed many new insulators.

In 1893, as part of a more aggressive policy for protection of the line, the department sent Rhatigan to the Midway police camp (Dunham River) and increased the strength of the Fletcher Creek camp by thirty per cent. The government also set aside a reserve for the use of the police at Fletcher Creek, committing itself to the area regardless of where any intermediate telegraph station might be built.

In the meantime, the local Aborigines were surmounting the impact of the massacres that had followed Barnett's death. In December 1892 they raided a wagon owned by William Hill (a carrier) near the Bow River, while Hill was horse hunting. They took Hill's rifle and ammunition, along with six hundred pounds of flour and a host of other things. Two men who were later arrested at the Jump-up, where Cadley had been ambushed in '88, were reputedly there waiting to kill Hill. Six months later Aboriginal men used fire-sticks to burn the Fletcher Creek police camp to the ground.

It was also at this time that Aboriginal people at Turkey Creek and the Bow River started killing Lissadell station cattle. Six men tried for this at Halls Creek in '93 received 18 months' hard labour at Wyndham. En route to gaol they were made to work as labourers building a house for the Fletcher Creek police.

In January 1894, when the two constables at Fletcher endeavoured to arrest a man for a tribal killing, several other Aborigines lured them into rough country and fought savagely with them. The police were poorly armed but managed to kill at least one man and wound others. The daring shown by these Aborigines brought a strong response from the police officer in charge of the Kimberley. Arguing that 'native troubles in East Kimberley are only commencing', he called for the Aborigines to be taught to respect some power in the whites - either the police or the magistrates.

Police archives contain very little information on patrols undertaken in the vicinity of Fletcher Creek around this time.

In July 1895 John Winn (a carrier and a former mail contractor on the Wyndham to Halls Creek road), received approval to lease land adjacent to the Fletcher police reserve. Aborigines worked for Winn, and for several years he cared for an Aboriginal woman who was blind. After Winn shifted from the Fletcher late in 1900 (to form Ellen Vale station on the upper Dunham River), this woman moved to Turkey Creek.

In late 1895, when Winn probably began to run spare horses on his lease, he would have been the only settler occupying land in the Fletcher and Turkey Creek area. A steady stream of traffic nonetheless passed through the area, moving between the

goldfield, outlying stations, and the port. By late 1895 it seems that the local Aborigines had come to terms with this traffic. Some were also beginning to use it to procure occasional food and tobacco.

In January 1896, the police withdrew from Fletcher Creek and set up the Argyle police station near the Northern Territory border.³ The Argyle police, and those out on patrol from other stations, continued to use the Fletcher Creek reserve as an overnight camp.

Various speculators had held land around the Fletcher since 1881, without ever occupying it. In the late 1890s, however, Western Australia's fast expanding European population looked to such localities for land on which to form small stations. Aboriginal depredations were far more noticeable in the few hundred head of stock on these small stations than in the enormous herds on the large properties in the river valleys. It was also significant that most of these smaller properties were owner-occupied. The combination of these two factors led to further massacres and to widespread gaoling of Aboriginal men for cattle killing.

In 1901, when the police had no further need of the reserve at Fletcher Creek, the government declared this a resting place for travellers and stock.

In 1903 Allan Murphy occupied the old police house at Fletcher Creek, and for many years afterwards police and travellers used the reserve as a camping place. Livestock from Alice Downs and Frog Hollow stations also grazed there.

In 1924, after the government reduced the reserve's size, Arthur Muggleton (once of Frog Hollow station) acquired the balance of this land to form a cattle station (see the entry for Tickalara station).

Frog Hollow station

Sam Muggleton formed this once large cattle station around 1900 by gradually moving his livestock away from Piccaninny Creek (in the Bungle Bungle Range area). Muggleton hailed from New South Wales and had worked his way "across the top" in the late 1890s. He was working on Ord River station's Negri outstation around the time that he first took up Kimberley land.

Sam Muggleton appears to have been assisted in his pastoral enterprises by John McKenzie and Turkey, an Aboriginal woman from Borroloola. Turkey was working on Frog Hollow in 1903, and was hurt when Aborigines attacked the station during Muggleton and McKenzie's absence. After this attack, Joe Stevenson came in as manager for a year or so.

Frog Hollow was the first station in the district around Turkey Creek to gain a name for kindness to Aborigines. In 1905 Fred Terone (a stockman who had worked on Carlton station) took up residence on the station and encouraged local people to camp near the homestead. This was supposed to stop them disturbing and killing the Frog Hollow cattle as they moved about hunting game and collecting food. The exercise was fairly effective, but at the expense of the neighbouring stations. The provision of Frog Hollow beef bones more often than not camouflaged the fact that the beef being eaten in the Aborigines' camp carried the Bridge family's brand.

Muggleton and McKenzie both died at Frog Hollow in March 1910, the former after being found ill on the road by William Yates (of Alice Downs) and the latter after being accidentally shot. They were buried at Frog Hollow by Muggleton's brother, Arthur, and Constable Fanning (of Halls Creek). Arthur Muggleton moved to the Northern Territory for a time, but later returned to the East Kimberley and built up other stations with Terone. Fred Booty, Sam Muggleton's executor, engaged Sam Russ to manage Frog Hollow.

In September 1910 Frog Hollow's reputation for taking care of Aboriginal people grew when Russ agreed to issue government meat and rations. This was part of a bid to curb cattle killing to the north and north-east of the recently established Moola Bulla Aborigines' cattle station. James Isdell (Travelling Inspector of Aborigines) used the Frog Hollow outlet to attract people to Violet Valley while he set up the feeding depot there. Initially they walked across to Frog Hollow to pick up their beef, but many later camped at the station itself. Distribution of food from Frog Hollow ceased when Violet Valley feeding depot was established in May 1912.

At this time Booty sold Frog Hollow to William Naughton who put a Mr (probably James) McKenzie in as manager. Sam Russ, Turkey, and some of the other workers moved to Tickalara. Turkey was one of the few Aborigines in the Kimberley who owned livestock in this era. She and her sons had a mob of horses and some goats.

William Naughton subsequently acquired other leases around Frog Hollow, and merged this property with Mabel Downs station. The old homestead site, however, retained its name and it is now the location of Wurreranginy community, founded by descendants of the original workers.

Greenvale station

Walter Macale, who had a loose partnership arrangement with Mick Rhatigan (the telegraph lineman at Turkey Creek),⁴ formed Greenvale as a small cattle station around 1910. The Aborigines' feeding depot at Violet Valley later opened on the eastern boundary of Greenvale. Macale had worked on Mabel Downs in 1903 and he spent the rest of his life in the East Kimberley.

The work force on Greenvale was almost wholly Aboriginal. In the 1930s Macale's son Jack helped to run the station, using Adavale (Bob Beattie's former station) as an outstation. The Macales delivered bullocks regularly to the Wyndham Meat Works. Greenvale carried more than 2000 head of cattle in the mid-1930s and in excess of 3000 head in 1941.

Macale had a strong relationship with his Aboriginal workers. He kept numerous dogs on Greenvale and, as an old man, he tried to register his workers' dogs to prevent the police shooting these in their periodic culling of Aborigines' dogs.

In the late 1940s Macale's executors sold his various leases to Maggie and Sam Lilly (of Bow River station). They used the land that had been Greenvale and its Adavale outstation as part of Bow River station. The Aborigines who had been on Greenvale shifted to Bow River, and some became part of that station's work force.

Guda Guda

This is a small community at Wyndham '9 mile' founded by ex-Bow River people after leaving that station.

Hann Spring / Old Han Spring

In this locality, which is adjacent to the eastern boundary of Springvale station, Sam Russ (formerly of Frog Hollow and Tickalara) seems to have formed a small station around 1915. This was probably abandoned during the 1920s following Russ's death. Ernest Kimberley Bridge formed a new station called Hann Spring in 1931. At times during the 1930s, Arthur Muggleton and Fred Terone (both once of Frog Hollow station, and later of Tickalara station) held an interest in Hann Spring station. It

passed to Billy Skuthorp (of Spring Creek station, and owner of Tickalara Bungle Bungle stations) in 1939 and later to S.R. Tivey. It has since been abandoned. The correct name of this locality is not known. In 1915 it was referred to as Hannet Spring and in 1918 as Hannest Spring.

Idamere station

This small cattle station was adjacent to, and later taken over by, Bedford Downs station. In 1912 one of the Gordon brothers ran Idamere. He was probably William Stewart (better known as "King" Gordon, later of Violet Valley and Moola Bulla). By 1917 Idamere was a Bedford Downs outstation.

Killarney outstation

The land around Killarney bore on Texas Downs, some 15kms from Warmun Community, was originally an outstation for Mabel Downs. Three hundred head of cattle grazed there in 1902, overseen by fourteen year old Bert Bridge and an Aboriginal worker. By 1911 Bert Bridge had a small station at Mt. Parker. Some of his Aboriginal workers from Mt. Parker lived at Killarney while he was away droving.

The Bridge family sold Killarney outstation in 1914, as part of Mabel Downs station, to William Naughton. Naughton subsequently purchased Texas Downs station and began using Killarney as an outstation for Texas rather than Mabel Downs. During the 1920s the Killarney fence was the eastern boundary of the Turkey Creek post office reserve.

Lissadell station

Lissadell was the earliest of the cattle stations in the area surrounding what is now Warmun Community. "Long" Michael Durack arrived from Queensland with cattle for Lissadell in September 1885. It has been said that the 'most serious clash' of the Durack's entire overland drive from Queensland to the Kimberley occurred when Aborigines challenged the passage of the drovers as they moved cattle down the Ord River from Red Butte.⁵ Although no record of the outcome of this clash exists, it is possible that it paved the way for the acquisition of three boys who were the first East Kimberley Aborigines to work on stations in this area.

In 1886 Durack sold Lissadell cattle to butchers from the Halls Creek goldfield. He worked closely with his relatives who were on Argyle and Rosewood stations. During these early years his access to the port of Wyndham was via these stations, along what was known as the 'station road'. Lissadell was not linked to the Wyndham to Halls Creek road in any way until the 1890s.

In 1889 Durack employed one Chinese man and two Aboriginal 'boys' on Lissadell. Like other East Kimberley pastoralists, he did not encourage local Aborigines to approach the station. These people were numerous, he argued, and would be more dangerous to the few immigrants if allowed to become familiar. At this time Lissadell carried around 4000 cattle and 140 horses.

In 1893 Lissadell and Argyle stations' bullocks travelled via Turkey and Fletcher Creeks for shipment from Derby to Fremantle. The following year Durack's cattle were grazing around Turkey Creek, with beef constituting part of the Aboriginal diet there.

From the late 1890s, a succession of managers looked after this station. In 1900, when Blackfellow Creek became an outstation, Jerry Durack was in charge.

By 1905 Lissadell had a work force of six Europeans and eighteen Aborigines caring for 25000 head of cattle and 450 horses. Jerry Durack was still manager, and Sir Alec Cockburn-Campbell was in charge at Blackfellow Creek. Tragedy struck this outstation in August 1908 when Aborigines led by Major (formerly of Texas Downs station) killed the manager, young George Fettle (of Wellington in NSW), and the cook, Thomas Davidson (known as Geordie Davis).

After this tragedy, Fred Hill managed Lissadell for several years and Dave Wilson put in a long term through the 1920s. Wilson stayed on in 1925 after William Naughton added Lissadell to his other Kimberley holdings. He was succeeded by A.P. (known as "Paddy") Macnamara (general manager for Naughton Estates) around the end of 1932. Macnamara was the son of the renowned "Clancy of the Overflow" and nephew of "The Man from Snowy River".⁶ After their changeover, Lissadell replaced Mabel Downs as the headquarters of Naughton's general management in East Kimberley.

Mabel Downs station

Joe Bridge and his family formed this cattle station, which now covers much of the original Frog Hollow lease, in the late 1890s. Mabel Downs was initially known as Cartridge Springs station. It was among the earliest of the small pastoral stations in the area surrounding what is now Warmun Community.

During the first few years, Deborah Bridge (nee O'Shea) and her children often ran the station while Joe Bridge, like other small cattlemen in this district, worked for wages elsewhere. Their property was far from any township (Turkey Creek had only the newly erected telegraph station) and they were the first to run cattle in their immediate vicinity.

The Bridge family was among the most resourceful of early East Kimberley settlers. The eldest daughter, Mabel, was proficient in handling livestock after travelling "across the top" as a child in 1895-6. Her brother Bertie, with the assistance of an Aboriginal offsider, oversaw three hundred cattle on Killarney outstation at the age of fourteen in 1902.

In January 1901 a Fitzroy Aborigine named Nicolas (an employee of Taylor, possibly connected with Alice Downs station) died near Mabel Downs station. Although police initially assumed that the cause of his death was influenza, they later decided that some of the local Aborigines had had a hand in this.

The Bridge family ran numerous goats on Mabel Downs. These and the family's few hundred head of cattle provided a ready source of meat for the indigenous people around the station. Repeated complaints resulted in many Aborigines going to gaol for killing stock or for unlawfully possessing meat taken from the carcasses of Mabel Downs animals.

Mabel Downs used Aboriginal labour quite early. Deborah Bridge had six Aboriginal women and children working for her in August 1906. Police described these people as healthy and well treated.

The Bridge family disposed of Mabel Downs to William Naughton in 1914 and moved to Springvale.

John Rademy managed Mabel Downs for Naughton, with the help of George Griffiths (an experienced East Kimberley station hand). Rademy was general manager for Naughton in the East Kimberley. When he finished and went to Queensland in 1923, Griffiths took over the general management.

Griffiths, who was also a Justice of the Peace, remained on Mabel Downs until the end of 1932. A.P. (known as "Paddy") Macnamara then came in as general manager, but resided at Lissadell rather than Mabel Downs station.

Mr D. Clairs managed the station until 1934. After this, Mabel Downs seems to have been under a head stockman responsible to Macnamara on Lissadell. Fred Fraser was head stockman on Mabel Downs in 1934-35, then Mr A. Rogers in 1935. Jack Huddlestone filled this position in 1936-7 and when he went over to Tickalara station David D. (known as "Sandy") McIndoe came in. Other head stockmen included F. McMahon (1942) and David Mellcombe (1956).

Mistake Creek

In this locality, which is to the north-east of Turkey Creek, Bob Beattie (later of Adavale station) formed a small cattle station in 1904. Beattie suffered the usual Aboriginal depredations on his livestock, and from time to time found that his camp had been raided. In one such instance, he and Richard Bell (the manager of Mabel Downs in October 1904) chained a suspect, but failed to persuade the police to charge this man.

Beattie, like other owners of small stations near Turkey Creek, undertook waged work away from his home. He also had loose partnership arrangements with such settlers as Mick Rhatigan (the Turkey Creek telegraph lineman), Hector Burness (a Moola Bulla drover, later of Violet Valley), and Walter Macale (of Greenvale station). The livestock that grazed around Mistake Creek thus often belonged to men other than Beattie.

Beattie employed Aborigines under permit on Mistake Creek in 1913 and over the following two years worked on a casual basis for the officer-in-charge at Violet Valley Aborigines' feeding depot.

In 1915, two of Rhatigan's workers slaughtered Aboriginal people in a camp downstream from Beattie's Mistake Creek homestead.

The archival evidence relevant to this attack can be summarised as follows:

On 19 March Mick Rhatigan and his Aboriginal offsider, Hopples, came home after patrolling the northern section of the telegraph line. Hopples had worked for the Turkey Creek postmaster for nearly two years and had ridden numerous patrols with Rhatigan. When he was not working, Hopples lived with his woman, Nellie, and other local people in Tiger's Mistake Creek camp. This camp was about eight miles by road from Turkey Creek, but only three miles through the hills. When either Rhatigan, the postmaster or the police wanted someone to work, they sent out to Tiger's camp for whomever they required.

Rhatigan's family lived in Turkey Creek. His wife Kate used part of her home as a small store and dining room. Rhatigans employed various Aborigines, some of whom had been with them for several years. One, Carogbiddy (known as Nipper), had been working at the house while Rhatigan was away. He was on hand when Rhatigan decided to bring in some of his horses from around Mistake Creek on 27 March 1915. The other man who took part in this exercise was Joe Winn (a Port Darwin Aborigine). Joe Winn had come in from around the Dunham River with Rhatigan and Hopples the previous week.

Joe Winn had been around the East Kimberley for a long time. At one stage he and Nellie had been together. Now, however, he was said to bear a grudge against her for taking up with Hopples. It was this grudge that apparently sparked the Mistake Creek attack.

Joe Winn had a bad name with the settlers and police in the East Kimberley, but as a rule did not go about armed. Hopples, on the other hand, carried a revolver. He was one of few Aborigines in the district to do so legally. The police were not happy about this, but they had no grounds on which to prevent it. What they did prevent was Hopples' access to the postmaster's shotgun.

Hopples and Nellie, along with four of Hopples' female relatives and some other men, were staying at Tiger's camp when Rhatigan, Nipper and Joe Winn went out horse-hunting. The horse-hunting party apparently split up, and Rhatigan later reported that the two Aborigines had come back to the camp where he left his swag and had taken his firearms from this.

Nipper and Joe Winn (and some say Rhatigan¹⁰) attacked Tiger's camp at daybreak on 30 March 1915. Rifle bullets killed Tiger, Hopples, Nellie, Wallaby, Long Nellie, Mona, Gypsy, and Little Elsie (known as Charcoal Mona). The latter three were little more than children. Two men, Ben and Yarrrie, fled from this mayhem and sought refuge at Violet Valley. Another man, Charlie, who had been shot in the arm, went to the camp at the top of the hill at Turkey Creek. A 'boy' from this camp told his boss, the postmaster, who in turn informed the police, that Rhatigan and his 'boys' had attacked Tiger's camp.¹¹

Jack Flinders, the constable in charge at Turkey Creek, sent his offsider, Constable Cullen, and two trackers out to investigate. They pursued Joe Winn, who was riding one of Rhatigan's horses, and the tracker Sandy shot him dead. They captured Nipper, and Cullen asked Rhatigan to accompany him back to Turkey Creek and give a statement regarding the whole affair. Once there, acting under instructions from the officer in charge of the Kimberley, Cullen arrested him on suspicion of wilful murder. Subsequent inquiries indicated that there were no grounds for assuming that Rhatigan had participated in the attack. The charge against him was therefore withdrawn.

Nipper was taken to Broome to be tried on three counts of wilful murder. He was an East Kimberley man, and his wife and child later went to Turner station. The Crown eventually dropped the charge against Nipper when the police, despite many wide-ranging searches, failed to bring in the massacre survivors as witnesses. Nipper was deported to the south of the state so that he would not be killed, and thereby cause further trouble at Turkey Creek. He worked at the police stables in Perth and died of tuberculosis in Perth Hospital in March 1918.

After the Mistake Creek massacre, while Beattie worked elsewhere, Rhatigan and Macale saw to about three hundred head of cattle on Mistake Creek station. There was no permanent water available, and these cattle, along with Rhatigan's other livestock, came in to water at Turkey Creek during the Dry.

In 1931, after Beattie's death, the Mistake Creek lease passed to George Griffiths (general manager for William Naughton, resident on Mabel Downs station). The name Beattie's Pool remains as a memento of the original lessee.

Moola Bulla Aborigines' cattle station

This property (a reserve) was created in 1910 through the Western Australian Government buying Mary Downs (Mt. Barrett), Nicholson Plains and Greenvale stations. Frans Meinsen and James Shepherd, who had formed and run these three stations, first ran cattle in this locality in 1902.

The idea of establishing stations or depots where cattle could be bred for the sole purpose of supplying Aborigines with food was broached in 1907 by Police Commissioner Fred Hare (once Government Resident at Wyndham). Hare saw this as a means of overcoming the futile cycle of arresting and imprisoning Aborigines for cattle killing. Other men, including Sergeant Pilmer (once a constable at Fitzroy Crossing), also pushed for the introduction of such a scheme in the years leading up to the creation of Moola Bulla.

The opening of Moola Bulla brought about a marked reduction in cattle killing by Aborigines for whom this land was traditional territory. It had little effect further afield. In particular, Moola Bulla failed to attract Aborigines from the north and north east - land largely taken by Bedford Downs and other smaller cattle stations towards Turkey Creek. James Isdell (Travelling Inspector of Aborigines) argued that Aborigines in this area were killing cattle because their traditional food supply had been overtaken by livestock. To overcome this, he set up Frog Hollow and Violet Valley as subsidiary outlets for government rations.

As well as enhancing local Aborigines' survival prospects, Moola Bulla was seen as a means of quietening them, and thus as a cheap and effective way of allowing European occupation of land north of the King Leopold Ranges and west of the Chamberlain River.

Arthur Haly (a former government stock inspector) initially ran Moola Bulla from Meinsen's house. By 1916 the station was self-supporting, carrying some 13000 head of cattle and about 500 horses.

Between three and four hundred head of cattle were slaughtered annually on Moola Bulla, and slightly less than this on Violet Valley. More than six hundred Aborigines were believed to be 'coming within the influence of the settlement' at this time.

After a succession of managers, Angus T. (known as Tom) Woodland took charge of Moola Bulla in 1921. His background included the management of Flora Valley and Ord River stations, and a term as general manager for Vestey Brothers. By this time there was a car on Moola Bulla and, mechanical condition allowing, it made periodic visits to the cattle station's depot at Violet Valley. Tom Woodland remained on Moola Bulla for almost twenty years. During this time the school opened and the station developed as an institution for containing people whose presence in other areas annoyed settlers, government officials and police. Some Aborigines were also held there under warrants of detention for misdemeanours committed elsewhere.

In 1929 the government began sending Kimberley children of mixed descent to Moola Bulla. Such children had previously been sent to institutions at Moore River, Forrest River and Beagle Bay. The change to Moola Bulla was seen as more humane way of keeping them from the influence of their Aboriginal kin, but, in the case of girls, was not a solution favoured by Woodland. Some teenage girls schooled at Moola Bulla were sent to Perth and employed as domestic servants in a bid to stop them forming relationships with Aboriginal men. Later, and until World War II, Aboriginal children were also brought in from Turkey Creek, and other areas, to attend the Moola Bulla school.

In 1940 Tom Woodland retired. His place was taken by Alf George (formerly of Lilyvale and Alice Downs stations). George ran Moola Bulla and its depot at Violet Valley in a no-nonsense way and tried unsuccessfully to persuade local police and settlers to assist him in turning the cattle station into a closed reserve. This particular era was noteworthy, among other things, for total lack of rapport between Moola Bulla management and the police. This lack of rapport gave the Aborigines from Moola Bulla more scope to come and go from their reserve than might otherwise have been the case. In general the police left matters on Moola Bulla in the hands of the station staff, usually electing not to buy into the issue of how they maintained discipline.

A population of two hundred was not unusual for Moola Bulla, and most of these people worked for their keep. Many were occupied with stock work and others cured hides and made leather products. In the late 1940s some of the men worked for Alf George trapping brumbies for private sale. George finished up in 1949.

Charles L. (known as Lew) McBeath (formerly a police constable at Halls Creek and later officer-in-charge of Violet Valley depot) took over from Alf George. McBeath had worked with the Department of the North West since being appointed Inspector of Natives for the North in 1939. He remained on Moola Bulla until 1954.

In 1955 the government disposed of Moola Bulla to a pastoralist and transported the residents to the mission at¹² Fitzroy Crossing. Many later returned to live in Halls Creek.

Panton River / The Panton

This locality, which is on the Panton River on the old Wyndham to Halls Creek road, was the scene of gold discoveries, and a rush, in October 1886. The area yielded good nuggets early in 1887 and by mid-year supported five reefing claims, including the Scottish Chief and Caledonian. In January 1888 Edward Barnett (formerly of Queensland) took out a wayside house licence for the Panton. He sold liquor and general stores, while his brother George used a team of draught horses to carry goods from Wyndham.

Aborigines killed George Barnett north of Fletcher Creek in July 1888. His brother was among the settlers and police who avenged his death. Edward Barnett stayed on at the Panton. In January '89 there were fifteen Europeans residing in this area and living mostly by fossicking. The reefs had been

abandoned temporarily for want of capital, and by August 1889 the European population was down to seven men and one woman. At this time Edward Barnett moved to Donkey Gully to work as a miner, and Mr & Mrs Morris took over the Panton wayside house licence. By mid-1892 James Shepherd and his wife (he had been a carrier on the Wyndham to Halls Creek Road since 1887) were the Panton licensees. Barnett was by now licensee of the Queensland Hotel in Wyndham. Mr and Mrs Shepherd ran a butchering business at the Panton, and later started Mary Downs (Mt Barrett) station (part of the land purchased by the government in 1910 for Moola Bulla Aborigines' cattle station).

Archival material regarding the Panton is limited. It seems that the Shepherds allowed their liquor licence to lapse and that only a few miners were living in this area by 1896.

Texas Downs station

Mortimer John (known as "Texas" Jack) Kelly formed this cattle station early in 1897. Texas Downs, like Mabel Downs to the west, was one of the first stations formed by small independent land-holders in this part of the East Kimberley. It occupied the ranges that bordered Ord River station (established in 1884) and Lissadell station (1885). Kelly, who had previously worked as a stockman on Ord River station, built his homestead on the west bank of the Ord River, midway between the Negri River and Osmand Creek junctions. He had horses running at Growler's Gully in '98 and may have continued working on Ord River station as he built up Texas Downs.

Late in 1901 Aboriginal women went to Argyle police station and reported that a Texas Downs boundary rider named Tom had shot two men over the killing of a bullock. A constable found the charred remains of two men in the vicinity of Horseshoe Creek and, acting on the evidence at the scene, rode to Texas Downs to arrest Tom McLoughlin (later of Adavale station). McLoughlin defied arrest and was not brought to court for several years. By this time only one of the witnesses, a woman named Mary, was still said to be alive. The police failed to locate her and, in the absence of other witnesses, withdrew the charge against McLoughlin.

Early workers on Texas Downs included Major (an Aborigine brought from the Northern Territory as a boy by "Texas" Jack Kelly) and such Europeans as John Budd and Billy Madden (later the owner of Stonehenge station near the Bungle Bungle Range). By 1908 the Europeans living on Texas Downs included Kelly's wife Annie and their child, and Kelly's nephew, John McNamara.

In July 1908 Major, who had apparently fallen out with Kelly and Madden, shot Richard Nettle (known as John or "Scotty" McDonald) at Grab-em Gully on next door Mt. John station. Following this and other killings (at Blackfellow Creek outstation on Lissadell) most of the Europeans in this district left for Wyndham. They returned only after a police party killed Major and two of his companions at the Nine Mile Creek near Texas Downs in September.

An ironic twist to the hunt for Major saw Tom McLoughlin employed with the police, as a special constable, because of his intimate knowledge of the terrain in this locality.

Kelly continued to run Texas Downs, and employed such stockman as Charlie Lincoln and Roy Settatree from time to time. In 1919 he sold the station to William Naughton.

Sid Scobell managed Texas Downs for Naughton in 1924, under the general management of George Griffiths (who operated out of the Mabel Downs headquarters). In 1926, after the new Texas Downs homestead was built closer to Turkey Creek, Fred Terone (once of Frog Hollow station, and afterwards of Tickalara station) ran the station. The work force on Texas Downs was largely Aboriginal. A 1927 electoral roll lists John James King (stockman), John Mead (saddler) and Bertram Allan Ogden (contractor) as resident there.

In 1932, a Texas Downs worker, Dil-batue (known as Long Billy), killed Chimpangalie (known as Beg Pardon Billy) who was away on holiday with his wife, Judy, at Growler's Gully. With the help of Charlie Mung Mung and other Aborigines, the police arrested Dil-batue at Bungle Bungle station. He was gaoled in Broome and died less than two years later in the hospital there.

Around this time both George (known as "Geordie") Nicholson and R. Timms were Texas Downs managers. Jimmy Klein came in as head stockman in 1934, answering to A.P. (known as "Paddy") Macnamara at Naughton's headquarters on Lissadell station. Klein, who was appreciated by Aborigines for his just treatment, stayed on Texas Downs until 1973.

Tickalara station / Tickalara bore

Sam Muggleton probably first ran cattle in this locality around 1900, when he moved from Piccaninny Creek and formed Frog Hollow station. At that time, however, very little of this land was available for lease. It was still part of the Fletcher Creek police reserve even though the police had long since gone. Their new camp, Argyle, was well to the north-east

at Wild Dog Spring. The only Europeans resident in the vicinity of Tickalara in this era were John Winn (who was soon to shift his horses and goats from Fletcher Creek to Ellen Vale, on the Dunham River) and the Bridge family (who had cattle, horses and goats at Mabel Downs).

In 1901 the government altered the purpose of the Fletcher Creek reserve to cater for the needs of the travelling public and their livestock. But it was far from any settlement, and few people were in a position to know whether the cattle running there were on a reserve or on leasehold land. In fact, it seems likely that Muggleton found Aboriginal inroads into his small herd too severe upon first forming Frog Hollow, and so pulled the cattle back to Tickalara to escape these losses. The name Tickalara existed at least as early as 1912.¹³ In that year, following the sale of Frog Hollow, Sam Russ and some of his Aboriginal workers shifted to Tickalara. It was also a place to which people from Violet Valley Aborigines' feeding depot went to fight, and to kill cattle, after that depot first opened.

In 1920 Douglas A. (known as "Gus") McAtee, took out the first pastoral lease to include all of what became Tickalara station. McAtee (originally from the Pinjarra area) had worked on stations in this area for many years, and as far back as 1888 had carried mail between Derby and Halls Creek. McAtee transferred his lease to Arthur Muggleton (once of Frog Hollow, and brother of the late Sam Muggleton). Muggleton formed a small station (initially, but only briefly, called Fletcher station) on this lease. This was late in 1924 and he had McAtee run the station for a while.

Muggleton was often away from Tickalara, droving and attending to his other pastoral interests. He relied heavily on Aboriginal workers. In 1929 he took out a lease over what had once been Billy Madden's Stonehenge station and built this up, calling it Bungle Bungle station and running the property from Tickalara.

Muggleton's long-standing mate Fred Terone (once of Frog Hollow station) managed Tickalara from 1931 to 1934. In 1938 Muggleton sold Tickalara station to Billy Skuthorp (another east Kimberley pastoralist and a Wyndham based carrier) who put Jack Huddlestone (formerly the head stockman on Mabel Downs station) in as his manager. Skuthorp purchased Bungle Bungle around the same time and had Huddlestone run it in conjunction with Tickalara.

In 1942 Skuthorp abandoned his Tickalara lease and concentrated his attention on building up Spring Creek station on the Northern Territory border. The Tickalara land later became part of Mabel Downs station.

Turkey Creek

In 1887, seeking a short cut from Fletcher Creek to Bow River, "Black" Pat Durack (brother of "Long" Michael Durack of Lissadell station) reputedly struck the head of Turkey Creek.¹⁴ Following this down to around where the settlement was later established, he then headed north-west and crossed Mistake Creek.

Durack later recalled naming the first watercourse Durack's Creek and the second, on which he shot a turkey, Turkey Creek. Some error, however, resulted in the name Turkey Creek being given to Durack's Creek. The original Turkey Creek therefore became known as Mistake Creek.

Always keen to shorten any journey, travellers on the goldfield road began using the new route. The traffic consisted primarily of horse teams (both in harness and carrying packs), occasional buggies, and groups of travellers on horseback or foot. Camels and donkeys came in around this time and these gradually replaced horses as the principal beasts of burden. Use of this section of road was perpetuated when the contractors erecting the telegraph line from Wyndham to Halls Creek put poles along part of Turkey Creek in mid-1889. The following April a small piece of land was set apart on the creek, one of twenty-two such areas reserved for public purposes along the line. The road at this time was only a track made by the traffic itself, linking one waterhole or creek with the next, and altering direction as soon as someone found a more appealing route.¹⁵

In 1890 two young men, Shadforth and Taylor, who had overlanded from Queensland with 30 horses the previous year, set up a small inn and butcher's shop at Turkey Creek.¹⁶ The site of their hut was called Shadforth's Crossing. By October a few of the young Aborigines were venturing down to their hut, while the older men remained in the nearby ranges. Around this time the water dried up and Shadforth and Taylor shut up shop and cleared out.

Apart from serving as a camping place for police and travellers, Turkey Creek does not seem to have again been used by Europeans until 1897. As early as 1892, however, it was earmarked for a telegraph station.

The station was erected in 1897 and the following staff appointed in July: J.W. Murphy (postmaster), G.B. Tate (operator) and M. Rhatigan (lineman). Mick Rhatigan (formerly an East Kimberley police constable with experience throughout

the district) brought his wife Kate to Turkey Creek and worked as lineman there until his death in March 1920. A month after the station opened, the postmaster died. This left Tate in charge, and his position was later upgraded.

The telegraph station made a great difference to law enforcement in this locality. Although the Fletcher Creek police camp had been established specifically to protect the telegraph line, the line had been inoperative for much of that camp's lifetime. Nor was there a telegraph station closer than Halls Creek from which the Fletcher Creek police could send or receive messages. Now, with the telegraph line operating almost continuously, patrols from the Wyndham, Halls Creek and Argyle police stations oversaw the central portion of the East Kimberley.

One significant change in law enforcement was that news of the Aboriginal prisoners who frequently escaped from Wyndham gaol could be wired through to Turkey Creek as these people made their way inland. An occasional planned patrol was thus likely to be more effective for capturing escaped prisoners than the old-style regular line patrols undertaken by the Fletcher Creek police.

Telegraphic communication also facilitated the investigation and pursuit of Europeans suspected of criminal activity. The illegal use and branding of livestock was one of the principal subjects of such investigations. A more positive aspect of the line was the scope for securing help in the event of injury and illness.

The main purpose for which police patrols visited the Turkey Creek area at this time was to arrest Aboriginal men for killing livestock on Lissadell, Mabel Downs and Mistake Creek stations. Telegraph line insulators and wire from the angle post stays were still popular items for spearheads, and the patrols also sought to effect arrests on this score.

Towards the end of 1900, when Sam Muggleton moved from Piccaninny Creek to Frog Hollow, Aborigines in the area around Turkey Creek became increasingly bold in their cattle killing. Pursued by furious settlers and the police, some small family groups were left unable to fend adequately for themselves when their menfolk were arrested or killed.

Late in 1900 the government agreed to ration three Aborigines at Fletcher. The following February a Wyndham constable took a man known as Blind Tommy into Turkey Creek. George Tate rationed Blind Tommy, and had him live with other Aborigines who worked there tending the post and telegraph office garden. The arrival of Blind Tommy heralded the start of rationing at Turkey Creek. In the four years up to this time Tate had, in

his own words, 'shunted' people other than 'the Home natives'. But now, with the impact of European occupation on indigenous people becoming obvious in this area, he argued that the aged, infirm, and very young sorely needed some form of assistance. The Chief Protector of Aborigines authorised Tate to ration Blind Tommy, Blind Jinny (who subsequently seems to have been known as Mary) from Fletcher Creek, and the wives and children of Aboriginal men who were in Wyndham gaol.

In April 1901 a meeting of East Kimberley settlers howled down the police protection they had so far received. They called for 'methods similar to those employed in North Queensland', i.e. the wholesale killing of Aborigines in station areas. Francis Connor M.L.A. pressed the Premier to build a police station at Turkey Creek, arguing that owners would otherwise be forced to abandon Mabel Downs, Frog Hollow and Fletcher (see Tickalara) stations.

Police from Wyndham and Halls Creek moved into the district and arrested some of the men reputed to be ringleaders in the cattle killing. They also took a young girl, and later still a pregnant woman, to Tate for protection and relief. By August 1901, things were quiet and the further presence of police seemed unnecessary.

The local pastoralists, however, felt that little had been done. Sam Muggleton saw Wyndham gaol as nothing more than a 'fattening paddock', and he and Joe Bridge declared, according to one police report, 'that they Did not want Police they could Keep the Blacks out of their Cattle themselves'.

Muggleton and Bridge were certainly not alone in their views. In November 1901 a boundary rider on Texas Downs reputedly shot two men he found with the carcass of a freshly killed bullock. Oral history and archival records indicate that, on various Kimberley stations, some Europeans and their Aboriginal offshoots shot at and killed Aborigines - much as they did the dingoes that worried their stock. Further, that some also knowingly gave poisoned food to Aborigines who were troublesome or with whom they were competing for the sexual favours of women. Both practices were common in Australian colonisation and were, by the time Europeans occupied the Kimberley, basic means of solving frontier problems. Adult males were often targeted. Their removal, as well as cutting stock losses, made some women and children more amenable to accepting work on stations.

During 1902-03 police patrols found no signs of Aborigines having visited their usual camping places between Turkey Creek and Texas Downs. An Aboriginal worker on Blackfellow Creek outstation told one Argyle patrol that this was because 'Policeman & Whitefellow been finish them'. The Texas Downs massacres that are mentioned in Impact stories of the East

Kimberley and illustrated in the paintings of Rover Thomas¹⁷ probably occurred during this era. It is also possible, however, that killings which occurred up to and during the 1920s gave rise to these versions of some of the more sinister aspects of the district's history.

In 1903 George Tate was transferred from Turkey Creek and, as the number of Aboriginal people on relief gradually increased, the Chief Protector of Aborigines allowed his successors to exercise greater discretion in deciding who would be entitled to receive relief. The rationing was handed over to Mick Rhatigan and he in turn eventually passed it to his wife Kate.

Game which had earlier been abundant around Turkey Creek was now increasingly scarce. Aboriginal raids on the settlers' cattle and goats continued in the face of numerous arrests, some killings and long gaol sentences. The police patrolling the area were obliged, like it or not, to perform as de facto boundary riders for the pastoralists who had, from the beginning, used open range grazing for station management.

By the end of 1904 the small European population was sufficiently integrated to host its first race meeting. Held at Cartridge Springs (Mabel Downs station), this proved a dry affair when a police patrol confiscated grog brought in from Wyndham.

Around this time the local Aborigines became more militant - some demanding rations from the stations as they returned home from Wyndham gaol, and others threatening to kill all the settlers. Sometimes one person got a job with settlers to act as a lookout for others who were killing livestock nearby. Alarmed by this militancy, the European settlers asked for a police station to be established at Turkey Creek.

It was not until August 1908 that this station was built and the Argyle police transferred to Turkey Creek. This move coincided with the hunt for the Aboriginal killer Major (formerly of Texas Downs) and his associates, and was therefore accompanied by many patrols and a great deal of police movement about the locality. Initially, Constable Sam Jenkins took charge of the station. He worked with Constable Alf Yates and Trackers Charlie, Dickie, Donald and Sardine. Their work was mostly the pursuit of Aboriginal cattle killers, and they were required to patrol Adavale, Alice Downs, Argyle, Bedford Downs, Frog Hollow, Lissadell, Mabel Downs, Ord River, Rosewood, and Texas Downs stations. On returning from patrols they sometimes brought a blind or feeble Aborigine in to Kate Rhatigan for rations.

In 1909 the government began using the East Kimberley police to identify and collect children of mixed descent from stations. This was carried out under the 1905 Aborigines Act. In the same year changes in Police Department policy (see under Moola Bulla) resulted in only the supposed ringleaders being charged in cattle killing cases. While this afforded respite to those who escaped, a simultaneous programme of dog culling no doubt reduced the productivity of their further hunting.

In these early years, the constables stationed at Turkey Creek served only a year or two before they were transferred elsewhere. In later years, some postings were more substantial, e.g. Jack Flinders (1914-18), Jack Cooney (1918-24, 1927, 1928-30), Bill Bunt (1930-44) and Vic Merry (1948-55).

Trackers stayed with the police for anything from a few weeks to over twenty years. Tracker Frank (known as Coomberag-gee or Coomeroo) worked for the Turkey Creek police from 1924 to 1951.

Various Aboriginal people congregated at Turkey Creek during the early years of this century. Three early camping grounds were on the hill at the settlement itself, on Turkey Creek and on Mistake Creek. These people augmented their diet with European food that they received both as relief and in return for work. Their kin and friends also came in from time to time, but, unless they too needed relief or took employment, European residents discouraged them from remaining near the settlement. The one exception was the encouragement of women and girls to meet the age-old demand for sexual fulfillment of male residents and travellers.

From 1910, when planning for Violet Valley Aborigines' feeding depot started, the government sought to keep Aborigines, and especially women and girls, away from Turkey Creek. Most of the indigenous people based there shifted of their own accord as soon as rations became available at Frog Hollow. After the Violet Valley depot opened in 1912, the government cancelled the balance of Kate Rhatigan's rationing contract. A few old people later went back to Turkey Creek, saying that they disliked competing against the younger people for food at Violet Valley.

One group of Aboriginal people who worked for the police and the postmaster had a camp at Mistake Creek. In March 1915 an attack on this camp killed eight of the occupants. In the months that followed, the survivors found a haven at Violet Valley. In fact, it seems that for much of its lifetime the Violet Valley depot afforded considerable shelter for East Kimberley

Aborigines. Turkey Creek continued to be the hub of local European policing and communications, but, apart from this function, seems to have had a low profile as far as Aboriginal matters were concerned.

In the 1920s returned soldiers began moving into East Kimberley, encouraged by a government subsidised land settlement scheme, and opened up country beyond Bedford Downs. Dave Rust and James A. (known as "Scotty") Salmond (both formerly of the Fitzroy River area) formed Karungie Downs, and the Turkey Creek police extended their patrols to include this and other outlying stations.

Another ex-soldier, twenty-six year old Constable Denis Regan (originally of Perth), put Turkey Creek in the news in 1927 after he and a constable from Wyndham were charged with having killed Aborigines at Forrest River the previous year. Regan and Tracker Frank came to be in the Forrest River area through coincidence. They had escorted a prisoner down to Wyndham, and were on duty in town when the patrols were formed to act upon information that Aborigines had killed a settler by the name of Hay. Tracker Sulieman (a Halls Creek man who sometimes worked for the Turkey Creek police) was with the Wyndham police at this time. A court later discharged both constables on the grounds that the evidence against them was insufficient for 'a reasonable jury' to bring in a verdict of guilty.

The pace of life changed in the 1930s when motor trucks came into general use around Turkey Creek. Although mostly private, these vehicles altered the lives of government workers and the people for whom they took responsibility. Whenever possible constables utilised spare seats and space in motor vehicles. In 1932, for example, after the arrest of Dil-batue on Bungle Bungle station, he and four witnesses went to Wyndham by truck. In under ten hours they covered a distance that would otherwise have involved at least a week of walking under a mounted escort.

Motor transport also changed the duties of police trackers in that now they often assumed responsibility for the horse plants, continuing or completing patrols while constables went off elsewhere as passengers in trucks or cars. A strong horse plant remained necessary at Turkey Creek because few stations in this district were accessible by car. The work undertaken by police was now of a more general nature, and involved very few cases of Aborigines killing livestock. The illegal use and branding of livestock was still common, and there were cases of assault and murder from time to time.

Yet another aspect of motor transport was that it brought such people as Michael Terry, Ion Idriess, Ernestine Hill and Phyllis Kaberry into the East Kimberley. Photographs and tales (fact and fantasy) concerning local identities, buildings, places and events thus found their way into the nation's printed records.

At the end of 1937 the widow Kate Rhatigan sold her small Turkey Creek lease, and the old bush timber house that stood on it, to Maggie Liljenqvist (surname later shortened to Lilly), and moved to the south of the state.

Kate Rhatigan had spent most of her adult life in the settlement. She is remembered by Aborigines as a kind woman. As well as rearing her own children, she also raised Lola Budbaria (mother of Hector Chunda, Winnie Budbaria, Martin Joogood and another woman who has since died).

Over the years Kate Rhatigan had sold provisions and meals from her house. At various times she had also endeavoured to secure a liquor licence. Her failure to do so was due to government fears that licensed premises would have a detrimental influence on the lives of the numerous Aborigines resident in this locality.

After 1937 the house originally owned by the Rhatigan family was used as a residence only. In 1945 Maggie and Sam Lilly used its roofing iron as part of the original Bow River station homestead.

In 1944, following the closure of Violet Valley, the police at Turkey Creek began issuing rations to aged, blind and feeble Aborigines. Coming and going as they wished, up to twenty-six people took advantage of this service up to 1949. Aborigines and people of mixed descent had by now become an integral part of the work force, with the latter earning three to four pounds per week. Some were also self-employed, and in this era local women, often the trackers' wives, worked as 'house girls' for the wives of the officers-in-charge of Turkey Creek police station.

In the 1950s the P.M.G. Department erected new quarters for the local lineman at Turkey Creek. Although the post office was still operative, there was little happening in the way of mining or business in the area. So, with improved access available from both Wyndham and Halls Creek, the Police Department decided to dispense with its Turkey Creek station. The closure occurred in November 1955. The reserve on which the police station and post office stood was cancelled in June 1984.

Turner outstation / station

In pastoral terms the Turner River area was first an outstation of Ord River station. Osmand and Panton (of Victoria) owned Ord River when this land first became part of that station. Turner was later a station in its own right.

In 1907 George Griffiths (later of Mabel Downs) worked at Turner outstation. William Palmer died there in 1909. Later that year the police called at the Turner camp and collected electoral roll applications from George Robertson (stockman), Edward Gooley (miner), and John Norton (cook). The manager (unnamed) was about to leave for Perth. Robertson died shortly afterwards and was buried at Turner River.

The Turner camp fell within the patrol area of the Halls Creek police. A report written by police in November 1909 stated that 'the country around Turner is no doubt one of the best cattle runs in the district, and carries Mitchell grass in abundance, it also has a permanent supply of water'. Access to the outstation from Halls Creek was given as via Spring Creek (8 miles), Flora Valley (16), 18 Mile Waterhole (18), Coodelring Yard (20) and then another 20 miles from this yard.

On 30 May 1910 another European, R. Hudson (of Granville in NSW and known as John Norris), died at Turner camp. The men present when he died were G. Armstrong, G. Lee and P. Mack. They signed a statement which Mr W. Lawford, who was there with his musterers gave to the police in July.¹⁸ In January 1911 the police named H. Lawford as the man in charge.

Men named Lawford and North submitted stock returns to a police patrol at Turner 'station' in 1916.

In 1918, while owned by the Vestey Brothers, (though held and run in the name of the Turner River Grazing Co. Ltd.), Turner station carried 1500 head of cattle and 40 horses. Over the next few years the station developed rapidly. By 1920 it carried almost 7000 head of cattle, and in 1924 had its new homestead linked by private telegraph line to Flora Valley station.

Jim Egan managed Turner station in 1928 and he (or another man with the same surname) was in charge for many years afterwards.

In 1946 the expansion of Turner station took in Bungle Bungle station. The two were run together until their resumption, as part the regeneration plan for the Ord River Catchment Area, in 1967.

Violet Valley Aborigines' feeding depot

The proposal to establish this outlying branch of the Moola Bulla Aborigines' cattle station came from Chief Protector C.P. Gale. His intention was to cater for people whose traditional territory to the north and north-east of Moola Bulla had been taken over by settlers. These were people for whom the provision of beef at Moola Bulla held no attraction. Unlike Moola Bulla, which was formed through the purchase of existing stations (and included a homestead and yards), the Violet Valley depot was an enterprise that was virtually started from scratch by the government.

James Isdell (Travelling Inspector of Aborigines) selected the site and set up the depot. His selection of Violet Valley in 1910 was based in part on his finding that it had 'been a regular meeting & camping ground for hundreds of years, natives from over a hundred mile radius, from the Ord, Panton, Chamberlain, Wilson, Bow, Denham (sic), Lower Ord, Elvire & Negri river all make it a common camping ground'.

Isdell's consultation with Aborigines and settlers indicated that both groups were in favour of a depot being established at Violet Valley.

Some livestock had grazed in this locality since at least 1904, but not in such large numbers that the owners had felt any need to keep Aborigines out of the valley. Isdell made Frog Hollow beef available to people who camped at Violet Valley in September 1910, and soon drew in many people whose hunting had long angered local pastoralists. This area had more small herds than other parts of the Kimberley, and thus proportionally more settlers who could ill afford to lose livestock to Aboriginal hunters.

In mid-1911 some two hundred people were camped at Violet Valley. Isdell and Douglas A. (known as Gus) McAtee (later of Tickalara station) began setting up the depot in January 1912. Joe Bridge (of Mabel Downs station) erected the house there. Distribution of meat, rations and tobacco from the depot began in May 1912 and people who had so far received rations at Frog Hollow and Turkey Creek were encouraged to live at Violet Valley.

Aboriginal drovers brought mobs of cattle across from Moola Bulla on a regular basis, and these were killed two or three at a time according to demand.

When Isdell retired in 1914, William Stewart (known as "King") Gordon came in as manager. Gordon had had twenty years' pastoral experience in the East Kimberley (some of it possibly on Idamere station). He was keen to secure this position, but stayed only for twelve months, deterred by loneliness and reluctant to leave his wife at the depot with so many Aborigines there.

The year 1914 was bad for sickness at Violet Valley. Nine people died of measles, while cancer killed another man.

A Moola Bulla stockman and drover, Hector Burness, replaced King Gordon, staying at Violet Valley until his mandatory retirement in 1934. Burness proved a capable manager and, as James Isdell had done, employed Gus McAtee as his offsider from time to time. McAtee had been in the Kimberley since the 1880s and had worked on most of the bigger East Kimberley stations.

Bob Beattie (of Mistake Creek and later of Adavale station) also worked with Burness at times. Burness and Beattie were partners in a cattle raising venture, and in 1916 had twenty head of stock running on Violet Valley. They also owned other stock elsewhere in the district.

As officer-in-charge of the Violet Valley depot, Burness answered to the Moola Bulla Aborigines' cattle station management. When he went on leave, such Moola Bulla employees as George Trenouth or Steve Lacy filled in at the depot. Because the government was reluctant to match wages paid on the surrounding stations, it was difficult for Burness to keep a cook on Violet Valley. After McAtee left at the end of 1920, Peter Lawless and George Williams each came in for a while. The depot also employed a European tanner and stockman around this time.

In 1930, during the depression, the government proposed withdrawing all staff and residents from Violet Valley - relocating them at Moola Bulla. Under this scheme, someone would have gone over once a month to feed any Aborigines who came in from the bush. To prevent this happening, Burness took a cut in wages and stayed on at the depot with four male and four female Aboriginal workers.

Violet Valley catered for fewer people than Moola Bulla, but the numbers were still high. In 1935 Phyllis Kaberry recorded some four hundred people there. Old people lived at Violet Valley all year round. Younger people and visitors went there for holidays. People speak fondly of the quality of the blankets¹⁹ given out and of the foot-races held at the Christmas parties.

After Burness retired, the depot had a succession of managers. Mr & Mrs Charles L. (known as Lew) McBeath and their children were there from 1934 to 1937. McBeath had been a constable at Halls Creek in the 1920s and later became Deputy Commissioner of Native Affairs and then manager of Moola Bulla. Mr & Mrs Hodges ran Violet Valley depot in 1938, and Raymond Bell in 1939.

Early in 1940 some of the workers found the newest manager, Alf George (formerly of Alice Downs and Lilyvale stations), not to their liking. They secured jobs away from the depot, but George had the Turkey Creek police arrest several of them under warrant (for absconding from their work) and escort them back from Texas Downs station. George shifted to Moola Bulla that year, to take over from Tom Woodland. There too his style of management irked some of the workers, but when they took off from Moola Bulla they benefited from the repercussions of the Violet Valley incident and thus encountered less pressure from the police to return to the reserve.

The government closed Violet Valley around 1943, and later leased the land for nineteen years to a pastoral company. In 1986 the Baulu-Wah community acquired it under a ninety-nine year lease.²⁰

Endnotes.

1. Northern Territory Times and Gazette, 8 September 1888.
2. Mary Durack, 'Golden Days of Kimberley' in Walkabout, April 1st, 1946, p.p.34-6. The observation regarding the notches on the stock of this rifle is based on the rifle having later come into the possession of a member of the Durack family.
3. The Argyle police station is the topic of a paper due to be read to the Royal Western Australian Historical Society by the author of this paper in June 1989.
4. This place should not be confused with the Greenvale station that formed part of the Moola Bulla package bought in 1910.
5. P.M. Durack, 'Pioneering the East Kimberleys' in Early Days, Vol II, 1933, Part XIV, p.27
6. Biographical information collected by Dame Mary Durack.
7. The distinction between Cartridge Springs and Mabel Downs stations is unclear in archival records. A second homestead appears to have been built on the opposite side of the creek early this century, and it was probably this which became known as Mabel Downs. In general, however, the two names seem to have been used interchangeably until at least 1920.
8. This place should not be confused with Mistake Creek station on the Negri River.
9. It is possible (but only the author's conjecture) that, prior to joining Rhatigan, Joe Winn came from around John Winn's Ellen Vale station on the upper Dunham River. A police patrol visiting John Winn's station in April 1902 recorded that 'his native boy Joe was in charge'. Prior to forming Ellen Vale late in 1900, John Winn had had a small station at Fletcher Creek. It is thus conceivable that Joe Winn lived with the woman Nellie at Fletcher Creek. Although her name is a common one, other archival evidence does point to some of the people from Tiger's camp having been in the Fletcher Creek area in earlier years.
10. Aboriginal story-tellers say that Mick Rhatigan participated in the Mistake Creek massacre. A similar (though lightly disguised) version is told by Keith Willey in Boss Drover, pp.15-6. Willey's book, which is essentially a biography of Matt Savage, contains some anecdotes about people and places mentioned in this paper.

11. Ion Idriess, in writing up this massacre and the subsequent hunt for Nipper and Joe Winn in Tracks of Destiny, bases his story on the police file for this case. His portrait of Hopples as an outlaw is unfounded, but the rest of his story is reasonably true to the information contained in the file.
12. Information supplied by Helen Ross.
13. On some of the Department of Land Administration's cancelled public plans, lease 396/741 is incorrectly named as Tickalara station. A reproduction of the relevant section of this plan can be seen on page 23 of the Department of Conservation and Environment Bulletin 261, April 1986: Bungle Bungle Working Group Final Report to the Environmental Protection Authority. This land was held by George Williams (known as "The Mountain Devil", and later of Wild Dog station on the King River) from 1914 to 1928, and then by Fred Terone from 1930 to 1937. In 1938 Jack Huddlestone took out a new lease over the land, and later still it was taken up by John Green, a Queensland-born drover. He named the property Osmond Valley in the 1960s.
14. P.M. Durack, op.cit., p.42. In this article Durack mentions Mr and Mrs Shepherd as having the store and wayside house at the Panton when he passed through there in 1887. Historical evidence from other sources shows this to be incorrect, but indicates that Durack would have been in the locality in '87. He remained in the East Kimberley for many years and probably confused one licensee with another in his reminiscences.
15. One good first hand account of travelling in the Kimberley in this era is G.H. Lamond's Tales of the Overland: Queensland to Kimberley in 1885 (Hesperian Press, Carlisle, WA, 1986). This press will soon be releasing another annotated volume (working title Kimberley Scenes) which contains, as well as reminiscences, early Kimberley diaries, letters, and reports.
16. One of the men involved in this venture was almost certainly Theodore Tudor (known as Tudor) Shadforth. He had been in the Turkey Creek area in 1887-88 carrying goods from Wyndham to the goldfield with pack-horses. In November 1889 he took a contract to carry a mail on horseback from Wyndham to Halls Creek and vice versa every six weeks. This finished in June of the following year. On 7 November 1890, while working as an Ord River station stockman, Shadforth died at the hands of Aborigines on Osmand Creek. It is possible (but nothing more than conjecture) that his partner at Turkey Creek was Frank Taylor who was later on Alice Downs station.
17. One of these paintings (Robert Holmes à Court Collection) was exhibited at the WA Art Gallery in February 1989.

18. The initial given here is not necessarily correct. Patrol journals vary in accuracy and were often roughly handwritten.
19. Information supplied by Helen Ross.
20. Ditto.

ATTACHMENT 1

EAST KIMBERLEY WORKING PAPERS 1985-89

- 1985/1 East Kimberley Impact Assessment Project: Project Description and Feasibility Study.
East Kimberley Working Paper No.1
ISBN 0 86740 181 8
ISSN 0816-6323
- 1985/2 The East Kimberley Region: Research Guide and Select References.
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- 1985/3 Aborigines and the Argyle Diamond Project.
Submission to the Aboriginal Land Inquiry.
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- 1985/6 A Preliminary Account of the Ethnobotany of the Kije People of Bungle Bungle Outcamp.
N.H. Scarlett
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Sue Kesteven
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