

**Tourism, Roads and Cultural Itineraries: Meaning, Memory and Development
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**‘Roads and Remembrance:
Meaning, Memory and Forgetting along Australia’s Great Ocean Road’**

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Intro:

The Great Ocean Road winds for over 240 kilometres along the south-west coastline of Victoria abutting Bass Strait and the Southern Ocean. It is renowned as one of Australia’s most spectacular tourist drives, revealing diverse landscapes and seascapes, including: the temperate rainforest of the Otway Ranges, lush farmlands, surf beaches and the ancient rock stacks of the Port Campbell Limestone Coast, most notably, the famed Twelve Apostles.

In April 2011 the road and its environs achieved National Heritage listing for its ‘outstanding scenic landscape values, including some of ‘the world’s most dramatic cliff and ocean scenery able to be viewed from a vehicle’. It is described as ‘an inspirational landscape capable of evoking strong emotional responses’.

Less widely known is the road’s role as ‘the longest war memorial in the world’.¹ As well as being one of the first roads in Australia constructed purposely as a scenic tourist route, it was also intended to be a memorial to World War I servicemen. The road was built between 1919 and 1932 by more than three thousand returned ‘diggers’ — as the Australian soldiers are commonly known — and largely funded by public subscriptions. As such, it presents a

unique case study in Australia. Yet, the road's memorial function is largely overshadowed and forgotten in public imagination, usurped by its fame as a tourist route.

This paper examines the history of the road's setting, construction, promotion and subsequent interpretation. The Great Ocean Road was built at a time when Australia was caught between the desire to commemorate the past and the pull of the future and modernity, as represented by the motor vehicle and the developing motor tourism industry. I argue that the overshadowing of the road's memorial role reflects the difficulty of imposing memorial function on a landscape disconnected from the events it is intended to commemorate; the mixed messages as to the road's primary purpose; and the transformed cultural context in which the road has operated since World War II.

A Terrible Beauty

Explorer, Matthew Flinders, wrote in the early 1800s, as his ship rounded Cape Otway, 'I have seldom seen a more fearful section of coastline.'² In the nineteenth century, clipper ships sailing the 'Great Circle Route', sailed along the coast, harnessed the 'Roaring Forties' in the Southern Ocean.³ The wild conditions and treacherous rocky coast claimed many victims, some of whom were buried on the mainland. The numerous wreck sites, some still extant, are recalled in place names such as Schomberg Rock and Loch Ard Gorge.

European settlement began in the early nineteenth century when sealers and whalers operating in Bass Strait frequented the south-west coast. In the 1840s whaling gave way to timber-getting, farming and grazing and a number of small settlements sprang up.⁴ These grew in isolation, dependent on coastal trading vessels for transport and communications.

Transport & Tourism

If sea communications were dangerous, those by land were almost non-existent until the mid-nineteenth century as the terrain was so difficult. The few routes through the Otways to the coast were steep and circuitous. Visitors began coming to the area for recreation from the 1860s and by the later 19th century, places such as Lorne and Apollo Bay became popular destinations for Melbourne's wealthier residents who came to bathe in the sheltered waters, fish and walk in the forest. Yet there was no land route to connect the developing coastal resorts. Access to Apollo Bay required travelling along the beach over sand, shingle and jagged rocks to cross creeks and rivers at their outlets. Around 1908 the idea of a coast road, to take full advantage of the scenic potential of such a route, was gaining popularity among local residents. It was not until World War I, however, that serious plans for such a road began.

The genesis of the Great Ocean Road began late in 1916 as part of plans for repatriating Australian servicemen. Road construction and maintenance would be one means by which men could be gainfully employed and reintegrated into society on their return from war. The chairman of Victoria's Country Roads Board, William Calder, suggested several potential new roads to the State War Council. Among these was a South Coast Road along the route that became the Great Ocean Road. But this road would later be invested with far greater symbolism.

Australia & WWI – Gallipoli campaign 25 April 1915 and birth of the 'Anzac legend'

Here, it is important to understand the significance of World War 1 in Australian history and culture. The defining moment of the war for Australia occurred during the disastrous Allied campaign at the Gallipoli Peninsula in Turkey between April and December 1915. The aim

was to distract the attention of defending Turkish troops from a landing further south by British forces, which, if successful, would open the way to Eastern Europe. The Gallipoli campaign was a monumental failure — difficult terrain and fierce Turkish defence meant that it deteriorated into a bloody stalemate and Australia suffered heavy casualties, with over 8,000 killed and more than 18,000 wounded. Yet, it became hugely symbolic. This was the first major campaign in which Australians fought as a part of the first Australian Imperial Force and were separately identified as the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) — a distinct unit, although fighting alongside the British and French.

Gallipoli was said to represent Australia's 'coming of age as a nation' – no longer a dependant child of Britain, but having made a significant contribution to the Allied war effort. The beach on which the landing took place on 25 April 1915 — Ari Birun — became known as ANZAC Cove shortly thereafter and was officially renamed in 1985.

The 'Anzac legend' began with the war correspondent, Charles Bean, who, through his writings and images in works such as the 'Anzac Book', portrayed the 'Anzacs' as exemplifying the qualities of courage, tenacity, resourcefulness and loyal mateship. They were depicted as taller, stronger and better fighters than others (especially the British), and had a laconic wit, anti-authoritarian attitude and larrikin streak. These qualities came to be seen as defining national traits.

The anniversary of the landing at Gallipoli — 25 April — was first commemorated in 1916 and while enthusiasm has waxed and waned over the years, Anzac Day continues as probably the most sacred national day in Australia — an extremely secular country.

‘Practical Patriotism’: the Anzac Memorial Highway or Great Ocean Road

While the concept of a road constructed as a war memorial was novel, the idea began to capture public imagination in 1917.⁵ The *Australian Motorist* magazine began a series of articles in February that year, with the headline: ‘How to Preserve the Memory of the Anzacs — A Great National Anzac Highway’, which envisaged a highway almost entirely encircling the continent, connecting capital cities.

In December 1917, the Mayor of Geelong, Howard Hitchcock, announced a scheme for the construction of the ocean road to be ‘carried out by returned soldiers as a memorial to those who had fallen’.⁶ The road would also: assist settlers in transporting produce; open up further land, including timber country, for development; increase land values, and, importantly, enhance the tourism potential of the region. Hence, virtually from the outset, the Ocean Road had multiple aims and meanings. The Great Ocean Road Trust was established and chaired by Hitchcock to raise funds, employ workers and oversee the road’s development in co-operation with the Country Roads Board and the Repatriation Board.

The *Australian Motorist* seized upon the launch of the ‘Great Ocean Road Scheme’ in March 1918 as signalling the ‘first link in the Anzac Highway’.⁷ A further article in May urged the adoption of the name ‘Anzac Highway’ as ‘carrying this title, a road would go down to posterity in the same manner as the “Appian Highway” and the more modern “Lincoln Highway”’.⁸ The road, however, never officially bore that title, nor did it circumnavigate the continent.⁹

The Great Ocean Road scheme received extensive and enthusiastic press coverage as patriotism ran high in the aftermath of the war and the nation searched for the most

appropriate ways to honour those who had fought and died. The earliest news articles delighted in stressing the proposed road's character as a 'practical memorial'.¹⁰ This suited the characterisation of the 'diggers' themselves as practical down-to-earth men of action rather than sentiment and ornament. Journalists declared that soldiers who have given their all 'would not appreciate a memorial erected at great expense which would serve no useful purpose'.¹¹

The road's proposed length of over one hundred miles was equated with the nation's anticipated 'long memory' of the Anzacs.¹² The utility, permanence and longevity of the road were highlighted throughout its construction period as evidence of its superior status as a memorial in comparison to mere pillars, statues, obelisks or arches, which would soon decay, and whose purpose would be easily forgotten.¹³ Indeed, the idea of an everlasting memorial echoed the belief in the eternal life enjoyed by the fallen Anzacs, who shall not grow old, whom age shall not weary, nor the years condemn.

The plan was that bridges in each locality through which the road passed would be named after local soldiers and that trees and landscaping would also personalise the memorial, connecting sites to particular individuals, but this did not eventuate.

Landscape and Memory

Simon Schama argues that 'landscape is a work of the mind. Its scenery is built up as much from strata of memory as from layers of rock.'¹⁴ Although 'diggers' worked on the road, in constructing the Great Ocean Road as a memorial to the Anzacs, memory, mythology and emotion had to be imposed to a large extent upon a landscape not directly linked to the events

of World War I. Links were made, often retrospectively, between the experiences of the returned soldiers in building the road and aspects of the Anzac legend.

In the years immediately following the war it became apparent that many who returned bore mental and emotional as well as physical scars and did not fit the image of the heroic Anzac constructed by Bean and others. Moreover, authorities feared the potential threat they posed for social unrest unless they could be gainfully employed and rehabilitated. The Great Ocean Road project ideally suited that task and continued to provide work for unemployed diggers in the crisis years of the Great Depression. Howard Hitchcock associated the road's environment with restoring the men to a state synonymous with the mythical image of the Anzacs. He recalled:

I well remember meeting one party of seven men at the Geelong Railway Station.... They were all suffering more or less from war strain, poison gas, and the like, and could eat little or nothing.... Three weeks later I met them at work on the Road at Cape Patton...and I was delighted to see that the fresh air and the tang of the ocean had turned them from invalids into healthy, vigorous, sun-tanned men.¹⁵

The work itself was extremely difficult and dangerous at times. The road had to be hewn and blasted out of rocky cliffs, over steep escarpments and through forest, following the natural contours of the landscape as far as possible. Place names such as Big Hill, Devil's Elbow and Mount Defiance hinted at the obstacles to be overcome.

The physical difficulties and dangers faced by the men in constructing the road were linked to the hardships and sacrifices they had endured in battle and to their character. Hitchcock

declared in 1931 that the Great Ocean Road commemorated ‘the brave men whose spiritual ideals made them defy distance and defy death’. It would ‘stand as a memorial to persistent self-sacrificing effort.’¹⁶ In 1936, George Broadbent, a passionate advocate for roads and motoring, reflected on how travelling the road could be an act of memorialisation. He wrote: ‘A road is symbolical of life. Its long reaches are symbolical of journeys to be done; of long marches on the field of battle; its hills of difficulties to be overcome; its shaded nooks of rest.’¹⁷ Broadbent united memory and modernity, past and future as he wrote:

The Great Ocean road is now a glorious avenue that breathes life. It is a road of a thousand charms. To traverse it is an inspiration... It is enduring and as a monument it is from its nature admirably suited to recall to the minds of future generations the tragedy and the glory of our country’s part in the greatest of all wars and of the heroism of those who fought for the country through which the road passes.¹⁸

Broadbent sought to exploit the sublime and spiritual qualities that were already associated with the road’s physical environment, in order to heighten its emotional impact as a war memorial. The scenic grandeur and majesty of the location would surely inspire contemplation of great and heroic deeds.

Naming, or re-naming places along the route was another way in which the existing landscape could be inscribed with and incorporated into the Anzac legend. As survey and construction work was carried out, the work parties ‘re-christened’ principal sites after World War I battlefields. For example, ‘Cape Patten became “Mount Kemmel,” Mutton Fish Cliff became “Messines Ridge,” and the mouth of the Grey River was “Suvla Bay.”’¹⁹ A stretch of road en route to Lorne was known as ‘The Somme’.²⁰ Most of these names did not stick, however, and were not officially adopted. Those still in use are Monash Gully (named after

General Monash), Shrapnel Gully and Artillery Rocks — clusters of carbonate in sandstone, resembling cannon balls — west of Mount Defiance.²¹

Despite a report that the Trust proposed to name the entire road the ‘Anzac Memorial Ocean Road’ in December 1918, this did not eventuate, and henceforth the road was almost always referred to as the ‘Great Ocean Road’.²²

Memorial Structures

Permanent structures reminding travellers of the road’s memorial role were few and did not appear until the 1930s. An archway, with the inscription, ‘Returned Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Great Ocean Road’, was built near the toll gate at The Springs, but was demolished some time after the toll was removed between 1936 and 1937.²³ A new archway at Eastern View was unveiled in October 1939; however, it was dedicated to the memory of the late Major McCormack, who had been Chairman of the Country Roads Board and honorary engineer to the Great Ocean Road Trust during construction.²⁴ A memorial wall, unveiled in April 1935, featured ‘two bronze tablets set in a stone parapet, 190 feet above sea level, where the Great Ocean Road is carved out of the face of Mount Defiance’. One tablet commemorated the late Alderman Howard Hitchcock, a major initiator of the project; the other was in memory of ‘The Sailors and Soldiers in the Great War, 1914-18’.²⁵ The siting of the memorial wall at one of the most spectacular look-outs along the road sought to unite the sublime scenery with the awe-inspiring memorial.

Some time after 1939, tablets were added to the stone base of the Memorial Arch at Eastern View, honouring both Major McCormack and the soldiers and sailors who served in the Great War.²⁶

Memory, Motoring and Modernity

A memorial road alone could not realistically hope to attract vast numbers of tourists.

Promoters of the Great Ocean Road knew that as well as commemorating the past it also represented the future. The road's memorial function faced competition from an increasingly dominant discourse promoting pleasure touring, facilitated by the modern technology of motor vehicles, film, advertising and the developing tourism industry.

Internationally, particularly in America, roads were being constructed specifically as scenic touring routes and Australian promoters were keenly aware of such developments. They compared the Great Ocean Road to California's coast road — which became scenic Highway One, built between 1919 and 1937 — noting the enormous benefits brought to the state of California by tourist traffic.²⁷

Of course, the Great Ocean Road was not always as 'great' as its name suggested. When the first section of the road opened in 1922 *The Age's* assessment was scathing. The 'road' was little more than a winding, unsealed narrow track — a 'tight-rope'. The journalist described the daunting sound of the Southern Ocean heard from the 'motor car crawling round the side of the cliff like a nervous insect, with nothing but a few inches of track between it and eternity.'²⁸

Yet, the element of danger added to the attraction for some motorists, and the article concluded that both the journey and the scenery were breath-taking.²⁹ Increasingly, the language and imagery of the sublime were employed in promoting the road as a tourist destination. From the late 1920s as the road was extended around the coast, the section near Port Campbell and Peterborough received greater attention, with its dramatic limestone rock

formations and its history of shipwreck tragedies. The technologies of cinema and photography were exploited to full effect in promoting the road locally and internationally.

While the memorial aspect of the road continued to feature in newspaper articles, more often it was combined with tourism promotion. The Great Ocean Road was designated officially as a 'tourist road' in 1936, further associating it with tourism rather than memorialisation.³⁰

Pleasure, Remembering and Forgetting after World War II

It may have been expected that the road's memorial role would be revived and accentuated after World War II, commemorating those who fell and served in the second conflict as well as the first, but this did not occur. The road's memorial function was almost entirely forgotten in the decades following the war. This was in part because of the altered cultural context and meanings for memorialising war. At the time of the road's construction, war was seen by some as a purifying experience, 'diverting attention from pleasure, leisure and material advancement to more serious, spiritual concerns'.³¹ In the aftermath of the Depression and another world war, Australians reacted against such sentiments; they wanted the good life. Importantly, a much more critical attitude towards Anzac Day developed from the 1950s and especially in the aftermath of the Vietnam conflict in the 1960s and 1970s.

A more hedonistic attitude towards tourism along the Great Ocean Road after World War II reflected the impact of post-war prosperity and material consumption, including private car ownership and leisure, in Australia generally. Tourism promotion placed greater emphasis on personal enjoyment, escapism and indulgence through the consumption of beautiful scenery, superior accommodation and cuisine; 'basking' on golden beaches; and participating in the 'gaiety' of social life at resorts like Lorne. 'Paradise' was within easy reach thanks to the

‘comfort, convenience and speed’ of improved roads and motor vehicles.³² In the late 1950s, the section of coastline through which the Great Ocean Road passed, was often referred to as the ‘Riviera of Victoria’, bestowing a sense of European sophistication on the ‘playgrounds of Anglesea, Lorne and Apollo Bay’.³³

Another key development in this period was the rise of beach and surf culture, and especially the beach holiday road trip. Bell’s Beach, near Torquay, first held surfing contests in the 1960s and eventually gained international fame for its unique surf conditions. These factors ensured that the Great Ocean Road became known primarily as a touring route, synonymous with leisure and pleasure.

Recovering Landscape and Memory: 1980s and Beyond

In November 1982 the Great Ocean Road celebrated its ‘Golden Jubilee’. A ceremony to mark the fiftieth anniversary of its opening included a parade of vintage cars, which travelled from the Memorial Arch at Eastern View to Lorne. When the Memorial Arch was destroyed in the Ash Wednesday bushfires of 1983, the Country Roads Board was reluctant to replace it, but pressure by the local community ensured its reinstatement at the same location.³⁴

While interest in the road’s memorial role revived to some extent, particularly in the wake of renewed enthusiasm for the Anzac legend since the 1980s and especially in the 1990s, pleasure tourism continues to dominate.

Pleasure and sensory indulgence has become even more sophisticated, with guides published specifically catering to gastronomic touring.³⁵ Greater emphasis is also placed on accessing an unspoilt natural environment and in exploring regions away from the roadside by

bushwalking. The ‘Great Ocean Walk’, opened in 2005, is promoted as an accompaniment or alternative to driving the route.³⁶

Guides and interpretive material produced in the last twenty years reflect an increasing awareness and acknowledgement of the region’s Aboriginal history. The Aboriginal population suffered the devastating consequences of frontier warfare, disease, starvation and loss of their traditional lands. Only the place names — Massacre Bay, Massacre Point and Bay of Martyrs, west of Peterborough — hint at the violence that took place in this undeclared and officially unacknowledged warfare on Australian soil. No further explanation or interpretation of these place names has been revealed; however, such names were usually bestowed to record European victories rather than to commemorate the loss of Aboriginal lives.³⁷ Recent research has identified at least thirty other massacre sites in the region, but none of the sites are publicly memorialised.³⁸ In this respect, it is also a landscape of forgetting, or at least, selective memory.

Shipwreck Coast

In recent years, the coastline between Apollo Bay and Port Campbell was christened ‘The Shipwreck Coast’ and features prominently in tourism promotion. It is the ‘memory’ of these wrecks, with their sometimes visible remains, including wreck sites and graves, and the tragic, romantic stories they carry, that resonates most powerfully in this land and seascape, rather than the memory of World War I servicemen. Bill Bryson wrote of his trip along the Great Ocean Road in the late 1990s. After briefly acknowledging that the road was built as a ‘make-work scheme for veterans’, Bryson describes the ‘hair-raising’ drive around ‘hairpin bends’ as it reveals the dramatic, spectacular coastline, but concludes, ‘This stretch of Victoria is famous for two things: surfing and shipwrecks.’³⁹

Conclusion

To conclude, the Great Ocean Road was conceived during World War I as both a memorial to fallen and returned servicemen and as a scenic tourist road; however, over the long construction period from 1919–32, the memorial role became less well-defined. Built at a time when motor vehicles were coming to prominence, the demands of the burgeoning motor tourism industry ensured that the discourses of pleasure and modernity overcame that of memorialising the past. That process intensified after World War II within a context of changing cultural assumptions regarding leisure, consumption and the Anzac legend. Despite attempts to inscribe the memory of the Anzacs onto this landscape, it is the memory of nineteenth-century shipwrecks that evokes the most powerful emotional response. This is largely because the shipwreck sites recall events directly associated with this place and bear tangible reminders of what happened there. Anzac Cove at Gallipoli, the battlefields of Western Front and the Kokoda Track in Papua New Guinea, though not on Australian soil, are war memorial pilgrimage sites which carry far greater emotional symbolism for Australians than could ever be evoked along the Great Ocean Road — a route that has long been and will continue to be a prime tourist destination.

Endnotes

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- ² Planbooktravel, *Great Ocean Road and Grampians*, p. 67.
- ³ Cate Cousland, *Travelling the Great Ocean Road...A Journey Through Time and Place* (Apollo Bay, Vic: Petticoat Publishing, 2007), p. 33.
- ⁴ Cousland, *Travelling the Great Ocean Road*, pp. 22-3, 37; K. L. Cecil and R. V. Carr, *The Roads to Lorne: The Story of Communication between Geelong and Lorne including that via the ANZAC's Highway* (Anglesea, Vic: Anglesea & District Historical Society, 1988), p. 7.
- ⁵ Cecil and Carr, *Roads to Lorne*, p. 121.
- ⁶ *The Argus*, 4 December 1917, p. 7.
- ⁷ *Australian Motorist*, April, 1918, pp. 695-6.
- ⁸ *Australian Motorist*, May, 1918, p. 790.
- ⁹ Peter Alsop, *A History of the Great Ocean Road* (Geelong, Vic: Geelong Historical Society, 1982), p. 12.
- ¹⁰ *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 February 1918, p. 13.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Cairns Post*, 20 December 1920, p. 7; G. R. Broadbent, 'Great Ocean Road. Its Purpose and Progress', *The Argus*, 4 May 1923, p. 14.
- ¹⁴ Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 1995), p. 7.
- ¹⁵ *Melbourne Herald*, 3 January 1931, reproduced in K. L. Cecil, *The Great Ocean Road* (Anglesea, Vic: Anglesea & District Historical Society, 1990), p. 170.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ George Broadbent, 'The Great Ocean Road. Road of Remembrance. Soldiers' Memorial Highway', *The Argus*, 10 October 1936, Weekend Supplement, p. 30.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *The Argus*, 17 September 1918, p. 8.
- ²⁰ Cecil, *Great Ocean Road*, p. 128; *The Argus*, 27 January 1926, p. 13.
- ²¹ Douglas Stone, *Explore the Great Ocean Road: Along Australia's Southern Touring Route Geelong to Mt Gambier* (Lilydale, Vic: See Australia Guides, 1991), p. 41.
- ²² *The Argus*, 10 December 1918, p. 8. Very few official records of the Great Ocean Road Trust survive as most were destroyed during World War II, together with other documents relating to the road's construction. The records had been stored at the office of a film production company owned by a Trust member but were destroyed to make space for storing newsreel footage during the war.
- ²³ Julianne Lewis, 'Shadows on the Landscape: Memorial Aspects of the Great Ocean Road' (Masters of Tourism and the Visual Arts thesis, University of Melbourne, 1999), p. 30; Australian Heritage Database: Great Ocean Road, on Australian Government Department of Sustainability, Environment, Water Population and Communities website: <<http://www.environment.gov.au/heritage/places/national/great-ocean-road/information.html>>, accessed 20 July 2011.. 'The Springs' is probably Spring Creek, near Torquay.
- ²⁴ *The Argus*, 26 October 1939, p. 2.
- ²⁵ *The Argus*, 5 April 1935, p. 11.
- ²⁶ Lewis, 'Shadows on the Landscape', p. 31.
- ²⁷ John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, *Motoring: The Highway Experience in America* (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 2008), p. 137; Roger Southern, *Our Road to the Coast: Behind the Building of the Main Road from Melbourne to Geelong, and on to the West Coast, 1912-1932* (Geelong, Vic: Geelong Historical Society, 2007), pp. 38-9.
- ²⁸ Alsop, *History of the Great Ocean Road*, pp. 35-6.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Country Roads Board Victoria, *Country Roads Board Victoria 1913-1963 Fifty Years of Progress* (Melbourne: Country Roads Board Victoria, c. 1964), pp. 21-2.
- ³¹ Marilyn Lake, Henry Reynolds, Mark McKenna and Joy Damousi, *What's Wrong with Anzac?* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2010), p. 31.
- ³² *The Argus*, 16 June 1950, p. 7; *The Argus*, 10 March 1951, p. 47.
- ³³ *Australian Women's Weekly*, 22 April 1959, p. 34.

³⁴ Lewis, 'Shadows on the Landscape', p. 31.

³⁵ For example, Max Allen, *The Food and Wine Lover's Guide to the Great Ocean Road: Restaurants Wineries People Places Produce Recipes* (Pahran, Vic: Hardie Grant Books, 2005).

³⁶ Australian Heritage Database.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁸ Lewis, 'Shadows on the Landscape', p. 46; Ian D. Clark, *Scars in the Landscape: A Register of Massacre Sites in Western Victoria, 1803–1859* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, 1995), pp. 17, 121, 173-5.

³⁹ Bill Bryson, *Down Under* (London: Doubleday, 2000), pp. 140-41.