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**ANGUS MCMILLAN: DISCOVERER OR
BUTCHER?**

Angus McMillan: Discoverer or Butcher?

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Image 1: Angus McMillan, State Library of Victoria (1860).

Word Count- 1,996

Author Note: I would like to acknowledge the traditional guardians and custodians of this country, especially the Gunai-Kurnai, and pay respect to their elders, past, present, and emerging. A forewarning to Indigenous people: in this essay there is mention of Aboriginal peoples who have since passed.

Descriptor: Angus McMillan was long regarded as the 'discoverer of Gippsland', but as evidence comes to light and historical reckoning begins to take place, McMillan's legacy and how we remember colonists is now pulled into question. How do the people of Gippsland allow a true historical understanding to emerge?

Standing atop Blowhard Lookout high in the Omeo Valley, the legacy of a contested man- Angus McMillan- is laid before me. A legacy of exploration, colonization, racial genocide, and persecution. It is not only McMillan's legacy contested by the people of Gippsland, the Gunai-Kurnai, and Australia. McMillan's role in the *Gippsland Massacres*, the commemoration of him and colonizers of Gippsland on statues and implications of his impact upon colonial and postcolonial environments are all important contentions in the historical reckoning of Gippsland and Australia.



Image 2: View from Blowhard Lookout, Omeo Valley, Miles Verschuur (2020).

Gippsland is rife with the name McMillan: streets, walking tracks, lookouts, hotels, and until recently, an electorate (Slater, 2018). Many 'Gippslanders', do not know of Angus McMillan, if they do, there is little understanding of this complex colonial character. In order to understand McMillan's motivations in undertaking both massacring and pastoralizing in Gippsland we need to take a trip 17,000 kilometres and 210 years back to Glenbrittle, Isle of Skye, Scotland, 14th of August 1810. That day witnessed the birth of Angus McMillan, the fourth son of Ewen McMillan and Marion Macleod (Glowery, 2017). McMillan was born in a tumultuous time for the traditional inhabitants of Scotland's Highlands and Islands. The Highland Clearances, (1750-1860) were the forced eviction of the Highlanders from their lands, resulting in degrading of their culture and ancient clan system. The Highland Clearances can be traced to the defeat of Bonnie Prince Charlie and the fifth Jacobite rebellion at the Battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746. Onwards, Highlanders were hunted and killed, and the British government created laws banning elements of Highland culture including bagpipes and tartans (Wallenfeldt, 2020). McMillan received a home education before his family moved to the Outer Hebrides Isle of South Uist, then the Isle of Barra (Clan MacMillan). Against this backdrop of economic and social hardship, McMillan decided to migrate to the colony of New South Wales. McMillan left from Greenock in Scotland aboard the *Minerva* on September 5th, 1837. McMillan documented his journey in a journal described as 'intensely religious, narrow-minded and intolerant' (Webster, 1967). In the context of the Highland Clearances, a guess these intolerances are aimed at other religions or colonizing British; however, McMillan would have known about the traditional owners of New South Wales. Therefore, we cannot rule out pre-conceived intolerance of Indigenous people.

We now understand who Angus McMillan was- a Highland Scot who faced persecution in his own country from a foreign force and culture in tatters. His motivations for moving to Australia are clear: after facing persecution in his own country; land stolen for capitalist agricultural purposes, culture diminished and people killed, he moves to a new land to make new start. Is the persecution that McMillan escaped, similar to what he perpetrated upon the Gunai-Kurnai? McMillan will always be a contested man; from his death to his argument with colonial explorer, Pawel Strezlecki, (Glowery,

2017) to whether he massacred Gunai-Kurnai people in 1843. I will now take time to explore each controversy which is important to Gippsland's historical reflection.

Warrigal Creek is a strange place. It quietly flows into Jack Smith Lake, mere metres from the crashing, wild Ninety Mile Beach. This clash of water, weather and sound is not the only clash this area has witnessed. In July 1843, at Warrigal Creek, Angus McMillan and his Highland Brigade, a group of similarly persecuted Highlanders surrounded a group of Gunai Kurnai people and mercilessly murdered them (O'Mahony, 2019). Let us explore some background of this murder. Prior to the Warrigal Creek massacre, hundreds of Gunai-Kurnai people had been murdered by McMillan and his men at Nuntin and Boney Point in 1840, Butchers Creek and Maffra in 1841 and in 1842, at Skull and Bruthen Creeks (Bataluk Cultural Trail). After a night of drunkenness, some colonizers shot an unknown number of Aboriginal people. This set about a period of 'retribution' between the Highlanders and Gunai-Kurnai.



Image 3: Jack Smith Lake, Miles Verschuur (2020).

The colonial killings of early colonial times have often been described as *The Frontier Wars* (The Guardian, 2019). In this context, the *Gippsland Massacres* are another episode of the massacre of Australia's Indigenous people. *The Age* describes 'skin colour and weapons aside, the Kurnai had much in common with the Scots.' The 'tragic irony in one disposed people dispossessing another' is strange to comprehend. The Highlanders were raised 'in grinding poverty, nursing ancient hatreds, feared as fighters' (*The Age*, 2002). This is not a justification rather an important historical context. The Gunai-Kurnai were angry that colonizers slaughtered their own. To seek 'retribution', a repeated word in the telling of these massacres, some Gunai men ambushed and murdered Ronald Macalister, the nephew of Captain Lachlan Macalister who was Angus McMillan's boss and employed him to explore Gippsland. Hours later, at Warrigal Creek, McMillan, and 'every man who could find a gun and a horse', (Crowley, 2016) opened fire killing up to 200 Gunai-Kurnai men, women and children. There were no eyewitness reports, but Willy Hoddinott's account in the *Gap Magazine* 80 years later offers a chilling perspective.

'The brigade coming up to the blacks camped around the waterhole at Warrigal Creek surrounded them and fired into them, killing a great number, some escaped into the scrub, others jumped into the waterhole, and, as fast as they put their heads up for water, they were shot until the water was red with blood.'

The persecution of Aboriginal people by Angus McMillan's Highland Brigade did not end there. McMillan was responsible for raising fears for a European woman kidnapped by Indigenous people in

1840 and again in 1846-7. There was little evidence of kidnapping in both instances, but in 1847 two search parties were sent by the Port Phillip Governor, which resulted in more murder of Indigenous people; up to 50 were killed at once in Central Gippsland (Glowery, 2017). Furthermore, it is rumoured McMillan carried a saddlebag of skulls for a period after the massacres (The Scotsman, 2016). A friend of McMillan's, Caroline Dexter, in 1858 said early in Gippsland days, McMillan was 'compelled to destroy numbers of more treacherous natives.' The source- McMillan himself, however, what is alluded to here is slightly blurred. McMillan's impact in Gippsland is frightening, but what really happened at Warrigal Creek (which ironically is now a hunting reserve) is highly contested.

Although Peter Gardener's account of the *Gippsland Massacres*, published in 1983 brought light to the atrocities which Angus McMillan enacted, most aspects of these terrible events are contested. There are vastly different fatality figures from 75 to 300. One important contention about the massacres is from Peter Crowley in a review of Cal Flyn- McMillan's great-great-great-niece's book, *Thicker than Water*. Crowley contends there was no mention of McMillan in the secondary sources about the massacres, and no evidence there was a leader of the massacres. Crowley points to Frederick Taylor, a lowland Scot who was homicidal and torturous towards Aborigines. Taylor in 1839, wiped out an entire tribe in Western Victoria, after fleeing to India, he resurfaced in Gippsland in 1842, but was denied land in fear of his murderous potential. Let us interrogate Crowley's contentions. McMillan was a leader of the colonial settlement of Gippsland at the time and had a strong influence. Therefore, he could have prevented the slaughter if he were a 'Protector of Aborigines' (The Age, 2002). We know Macalister, who the massacres were seeking 'retribution' for was the nephew of McMillan's boss. McMillan would want to do what Captain Macalister saw right, as he was known to persecute the Indigenous as Bathurst Police Captain (Daley, 2018). Crowley credits McMillan as the man who found Ronald's body, given the 'every man who could find a gun' plea and the massacres occur mere hours later, a role for McMillan is implied. If all three of those are found to be false, McMillan is a bystander to massacre, which given his leadership role is enough for him to be held accountable. Although McMillan's role is blurred and complicated in this horrific act, it is the reckoning which is important. There is little mention of the murderers at Warrigal Creek but how is McMillan commemorated across Gippsland?

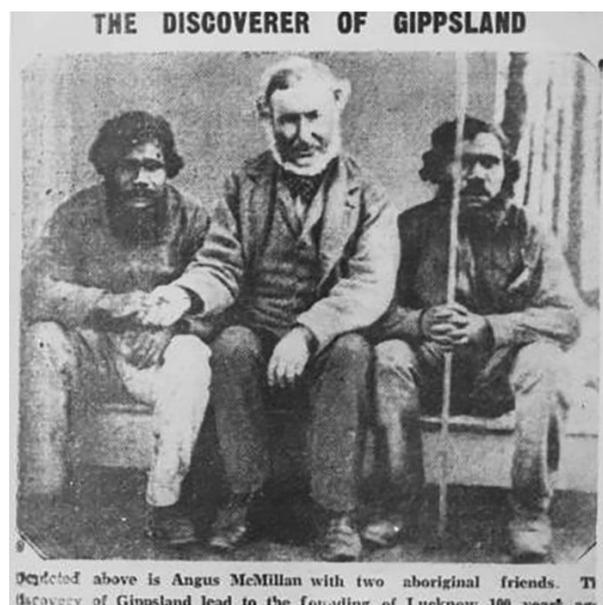


Image 4: Angus McMillan with two assumed massacre survivors, State Library of Victoria (n.d.).

From Benambra to Port Albert, Gippsland is dotted with 19 cairns to Angus McMillan (Monuments Australia). Some brick, some pebble, some concrete; each pertaining a slightly different message from ‘Pathfinder’ or ‘Discoverer of Gippsland’ to simply, ‘passed here’. None refer to the *Gippsland Massacres*. To be fair, these monuments were erected in 1927, when interest in explorers was high (Monuments Australia). In 2020, under the guise of the Black Lives Matter movement, many people, especially in Wellington Shire, where eight cairns are located, contested the monuments should be removed due to McMillan’s murderous past. A vote was defeated in Wellington Shire to remove the statues. Many opinions have been offered on how to manage this; let us address some. Professor Sarah Maddison from Melbourne University contends ‘for the sake of truth, statues must fall.’ Paul Daley, historian and essayist from *Guardian Australia* offers ‘no statue must stand eternal.’ He suggests giving more context such as displaying two statues: one reading ‘discoverer of Gippsland’, the other ‘butcher’. Others suggest they belong in a museum. Others say move on, nobody cares, but that would be abhorrent as the Gunai-Kurnai are still impacted by intergenerational trauma. The ultimate goal should be that Gippslanders pause to reconsider who we celebrate and in what ways. This thought can be applied to McMillan’s legacy too.



Images 5 & 6: All of the Cairns to Angus McMillan in Gippsland, Miles Verschuur (2020)

In simple terms, Angus McMillan’s legacy is the journey along the Great Alpine Road from Omeo along the Tambo River and then to Port Albert, however, the reality is much more contested. McMillan for over a century has been considered the ‘discoverer of Gippsland’, but taking the Gunai-Kurnai 18,000 years of inhabitation (Ramahyuck, 2017) and the *Gippsland Massacres*, ‘first white man’ is probably a better term. Even this is contested. In 1834, Monaro stockmen James Macfarlane, George MacKillop and John Pendergast entered Gippsland at the Omeo Valley. They are remembered on the Benambra cairn for McMillan, and their descendants are still in the region today (Morgan, 1997). McMillan is credited for establishing the first stock route in Gippsland; similar to where the Alpine road now runs. That was initially used by the Gunai-Kurnai for mountain travel and McMillan was shown it (The Age, 2002). Even Gippsland was named by Strzelecki. This is not an attempt to discredit McMillan, rather what needs to be taken into consideration when pondering his legacy. Gippsland would not be what it is today without McMillan, his Highland Brigade and the Omeo Valley pioneers. Gippsland needs leadership in supporting a period of self-reflection and consider who and how we remember those from our early colonial history. The title ‘Discoverer or Butcher’ is not up for me to decide, rather, Gippslanders. Gippsland is not unique; many regions of Australia need to enter open discussion about how events and individuals of the past are commemorated.

From my vantage point 765 metres above in the Omeo Valley, the blueish, bald mountains symbolize Angus McMillan’s impact on Gippsland. The livestock, roads and town, in this case, Benambra, depict Gippsland’s growth into its current form: a flourishing agricultural region. However, like in the Omeo Valley, progress and advancement came at a cost. In the Omeo Valley, it is the native vegetation which are the victims. In the context of Gippsland, the Gunai-Kurnai. For both, there are

still remnants of what was- trees dotted about the landscape, and a re-emerging culture. To restore the impacts of colonists such as McMillan it will take significant time and commitment. It is up to the people of Gippsland, to put aside conflicting contentions of a contested man and face up to the history. Not only can Gippslanders do this but, this approach can be applied to the wider context of postcolonial Australia. Contested histories allow us to explore people like Angus McMillan and events such as the *Gippsland Massacres*, but a unified community and inclusive approach allows for a true understanding of history to emerge.

Bibliography:

ABC Gippsland. (2017, November 24). AEC asked to consider McMillan name change to remove association with Aboriginal massacres. ABC News. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-11-24/aec-consider-mcmillan-name-change/9183272> News article about community urging the AEC to change the name of the McMillan electorate due to association with massacres. Provided support of different perspectives in the community about McMillan and gave an Indigenous perspective on the issue.

Allam, L O'Mahony, C, Nadel, J. (2019, November 18). The killing times: a massacre map of Australia's frontier wars. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/ng-interactive/2019/mar/04/massacre-map-australia-the-killing-times-frontier-wars> An interactive map of all massacres during Australia's colonial period with evidence and statistics. Gave statistics, locations and journal entries about the *Gippsland Massacres*.

Author of Inscription Unknown. (n.d.). Angus McMillan- Place of Death Memorial. Iguana Creek, Victoria. Memorial at Iguana Creek of Angus McMillan. Gave a very supportive opinion of McMillan and I used some dates and achievements listed.

Bambery, C. (2017, April 8). The Highland Clearances: a capitalist tragedy. Counterfire. Retrieved from <https://www.counterfire.org/articles/history/18871-the-highland-clearances-a-capitalist-tragedy> This article explained the Highland Clearances in more depth. This gave me a more complex understanding and a different perspective on the Highland Clearances.

Bataluk Cultural Trail. (n.d.). Massacres. Bataluk Cultural Trail. Retrieved from <https://www.batalukculturaltrail.com.au/massacres.php> This article provides the dates and impact of the *Gippsland Massacres*. I utilized the dates mentioned and gave me a starting point for detailing the massacres. It also provided me with an Indigenous perspective.

Cook, M. (2020, June 27). Hidden skulls in commemorative artwork shows artists play role in creating awareness. ABC News. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-06-27/angus-mcmillan-artwork-featuring-hidden-skulls/12393840> This article talks about an artist who represented McMillan as a murderer, against the wishes of the Wellington Shire. I used this as a perspective on the issue and the different wishes of government and people. I also used it to discuss key stakeholders in the issue.

Costa, J. (2020, June 17). Wellington Shire Council votes to keep Angus McMillan monuments, despite explorer's link to murders. ABC News. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-06-17/wellington-council-votes-down-mcmillan-cairn-removal/12361546> This article explains how the Wellington Shire voted to keep McMillan monuments in place. This article showed me the different contentions on McMillan's legacy and how colonists are commemorated.

Crowley, P. (2016, June 2). Is this such a man? Inside Story. Retrieved from <https://insidestory.org.au/is-this-such-a-man/> Crowley reviews Cal Flyn's book about Angus McMillan, *Thicker than Water*. This gave me a different perspective on Angus McMillan's involvement in the *Gippsland Massacres*. There was also some evidence of McMillan's discrimination against Indigenous people.

Daley, P. (2018, August 7). Bathurst, where the spirits prowl and whisper painful, bloody truths. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2018/aug/07/bathurst-where-the-spirits-prowl-and-whisper-painful-bloody-truths> This article talks about the systematic persecution of Indigenous people in the Bathurst area. I linked this to Capt. Macalister's tenure as police captain, and subsequent affirmation of racial discrimination.

Daley, P. (2020, June 10). The toppling of statues overseas might give Australia pause to reconsider who we celebrate. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/postcolonial-blog/2020/jun/10/the-toppling-of-statues-overseas-might-give-australia-pause-to-reconsider-who-we-celebrate> Paul Daley discusses how Australia might approach the commemoration of colonists. I quoted Daley in a solution to the problem of how we commemorate Angus McMillan and others like him. It helped build my perspective of the issue.

Encyclopaedia Britannica. (1998, July 20). Emigration. Encyclopaedia Britannica. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/emigration> This is a definition about human emigration. I used this to help build an understanding of Angus McMillan's trip from Scotland to Australia.

Ergo. (n.d.). Angus McMillan. State Library of Victoria. Retrieved from <http://ergo.slv.vic.gov.au/explore-history/land-exploration/exploration/angus-mcmillan> A simple biography on Angus McMillan. Provided an understanding about McMillan's legacy and his early life.

Flyn, C. (2016, May 22). 'My relative was a mass murderer of Australia's Gunai people. Can I make amends?' The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2016/may/21/aboriginal-sorry-day-massacre-gunai> Cal Flyn provides a short reflection on her own historical reckoning of Angus McMillan. This provided some more evidence and perspectives on the issue for my contentions.

Gardner, P. (1990). *Our Founding Murdering Father*. Essay. Ngarak Press. [2.] Gardner's book is one of the first detailing the *Gippsland Massacres* and Angus McMillan's impact on Gippsland. I used some of the evidence and contentions presented in this to form my argument.

Gardner, P. (2001). *Gippsland massacres: the destruction of the Kurnai tribes, 1800-1860*. Essay. Ngarak Press. This is the first mainstream publication and detailing of the *Gippsland Massacres*. I used the evidence and arguments presented in this book to form my argument.

Glowery, C. (2017). Angus McMillan. Australian Dictionary of Biography. Retrieved from <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcmillan-angus-2416/text34996> A simple biography about Angus McMillan. It provided a good biography to base and understand McMillan's motivations for coming to Australia and understand his early life.

Lazzaro, K. (2020, June 16). Angus McMillan monument remove considered by council over his links to Indigenous murders. ABC News. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2020-06-16/victorian-council-to-vote-on-removal-of-angus-mcmillan-monuments/12355930> This article discusses how McMillan's statues should be removed due to his association with the *Gippsland Massacres*. I used this as evidence to suggest the commemoration of McMillan and fellow colonists is contested.

Lythgoe, D. (n.d.). Capt. Lachlan Macalister. Clan Macfarlane and Associated Clans' Genealogy. Retrieved from <https://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/getperson.php?personID=143784&tree=CC> Brief biography of Captain Lachlan Macalister. Gave me an overview of Angus McMillan's boss, whom had an influence on McMillan.

MacMillan. (n.d.). Macmillans in the Hebrides. Clan MacMillan. Retrieved from <http://www.clanmacmillan.org/pages/members/lands/hebrides.html> A brief article about members of the McMillan clan living in the Hebrides of Scotland. This gave me further information about Angus McMillan's early life.

Maddison, S. (2020) For the sake of truth, and the nation, the statues must fall. Sunday Age, June 14, 2020. This newspaper opinion piece discussed how removing colonial commemorations benefits the nation. I used this to build an argument and point to a perspective.

Marr, D. (2019, November 18). Blood, brains and foul murder: evidence of Australia's massacres is in its newspapers. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/nov/18/blood-brains-and-foul-the-evidence-of-australias-massacres-are-in-its-newspapers> The article discusses how the 'frontier war' massacres were represented in newspapers. This gave an idea about different historical perspectives on the same issue, almost a comparison between multiple perspectives in different times on the same issue.

McAloon, C. (2008, July 10). Who Was Angus McMillan? ABC Gippsland. Retrieved from <https://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2008/07/10/2299398.htm> A brief biography on Angus McMillan and how he is being represented in the community. The article gave me an idea of how Gippslanders see McMillan and more general information about him.

Monument Australia. (n.d.). Angus McMillan. Monument Australia. Retrieved from <http://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/people/exploration/display/30131-angus-mcmillan> This article gave an overview of McMillan, a diary entry about the erection of the monuments and why they occurred. This article was useful in analysing a primary source, as well as harnessing an understanding of why the monuments were built.

Morgan, P. (1997). The Settling of Gippsland- A Regional History. Traralgon. Gippsland Municipalities Association. This book details the settling of Gippsland and the people which were important in doing so. I focussed on the three pioneers of the Omeo Valley and their impact in the region.

O'Mahony, C. (2019 March 8). The Scottish explorer who became the butcher of Gippsland. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/08/the-scottish-explorer-who-became-the-butcher-of-gippsland> The article gave a perspective on the issue of massacres and a biography on Angus McMillan. I used this to form arguments and give a better understanding on who McMillan was.

O'Mahony, C. (2019, March 6). Living on a massacre site: home truths and trauma at Warrigal Creek. The Guardian. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/06/living-on-a-massacre-site-home-truths-and-trauma-at-warrigal-creek> This was an interview with a woman who lives next to the Warrigal Creek Massacre Site and what occurred in the *Gippsland Massacres*. This gave me good information about the massacres and the intergenerational trauma it caused.

Pendergast, J. (1968). *Pioneers of the Omeo District*. Melbourne. Riall Brothers. This book discussed those who established the first stock runs and towns in the Omeo District, written by a descendent of one of those pioneers. This helped in discussing the Omeo Valley pioneers and their impact.

Preiss, B. (2020, June 16). Gippsland council rejects call to tear down monuments to notorious pastoralist. *The Age*. Retrieved from <https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/voice-to-make-change-gippsland-council-to-vote-on-monument-removal-20200616-p5531r.html> Article discussed the reasons for and against the rejection of the removal of the monuments to McMillan. Demonstrated a contested opinion between governments and people about the issue of colonialism.

Ramahyuck. (2017). *Gunai/Kurnai People*. Ramahyuck. Retrieved from <https://www.ramahyuck.org/about/gunaikurnai-people/> This talked about the Gunai-Kurnai people and their relationship with their land and culture. I used the information about how long the Gunai-Kurnai had inhabited the now Gippsland region.

Rule, A. (2002, April 27). The black watch, and a verdict of history. *The Age*. Retrieved from <https://www.theage.com.au/national/the-black-watch-and-a-verdict-of-history-20020427-gdu5tt.html> This article discusses the two sides of the *Gippsland Massacres*, and their similarities as well as how McMillan is now seen in the community. This assisted in seeing balance between the two sides as well as providing motivations for both sides.

Slater, M. (2018, June 21). McMillan ditched. *Latrobe Valley Express*. Retrieved from <https://www.latrobevalleyexpress.com.au/story/5481109/mcmillan-ditched/> The article informs that Angus McMillan's name will no longer be given to a Federal Electorate. Gave different community and government perspectives on the issue.

Stewart, T. (2017). The Highland Clearances. *Historic UK*. Retrieved from <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofScotland/The-Highland-Clearances/> The article explained the Highland Clearances and the impact they had on the Highland Clans. I gained an overview of the event and how it potentially impacted people such as Angus McMillan and members of the *Highland Brigade*.

The Scotsman. (2016, October 5). Australia to remove tributes to Scot who massacred Aboriginals. *The Scotsman*. Retrieved from <https://www.scotsman.com/whats-on/arts-and-entertainment/australia-remove-tributes-scot-who-massacred-aboriginals-1467100> This article informs that Angus McMillan's name will no longer be given to the Federal Electorate and raised some important community perspectives, looked through a Scottish Lens. The article talked about the saddlebag of skulls which is rumoured McMillan carried after the massacres, which is important to discuss.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Bruthen, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Bundalaguah, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration and contention.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Bushy Park, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration and contention.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Calulu, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration and contention.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Ensay, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration and his settlement of Numblamunjie.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Heyfield, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Lucknow, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration and contention.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Mossiface, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration and contention.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Omeo, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Port Albert, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Rosedale, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration and contention.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Sale, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Stratford, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Swift's Creek, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Willung South, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Angus McMillan Cairn. Yarram, Victoria. Cairn to Angus McMillan. Accessed dates of exploration.

Victorian Historical Society. (1927). Omeo Valley Pioneer Cairn. Benambra, Victoria. Cairn to Omeo Valley Pioneers Pendergast, McMillop and Macfarlane. Accessed dates and locations of exploration.

Victorian Places. (2015). Benambra. Victorian Places. Retrieved from <https://www.victorianplaces.com.au/benambra> Gave a brief outline of the town of Benambra, and when and by who it was founded. This allowed me to understand the Omeo Valley pioneers motivations and impact.

Watson, D. (1984). *Caledonia Australis: Scottish Highlanders on the frontier of Australia*. Sydney. William Collins Pty Ltd. Watson's book discussed McMillan's *Highland Brigade* and their impact on Gippsland. This gave me further perspectives on Gippsland's colonial history perpetrated by the Highlanders.

Webster, T. (1967). Angus McMillan. *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Retrieved from <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcmillan-angus-2416/text3203> This biography gave an overview on McMillan's life from a more historical perspective. I used the overview to build an understanding of McMillan's entire life as well as used the journal interpretation due to McMillan's journal being inaccessible due to COVID-19.

Images:

Image 1: State Library of Victoria. (1860). Angus McMillan seated, wearing a suit and holding a cane. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/08/the-scottish-explorer-who-became-the-butcher-of-gippsland> This image depicts McMillan when he was elected to the Victorian Parliament. This gave a perspective of a slightly evil, guilty man, who was clean, juxtaposed against Image 7.

Image 4: State Library of Victoria (n.d.). Angus McMillan with two aboriginal Friends. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2019/mar/08/the-scottish-explorer-who-became-the-butcher-of-gippsland> This image depicts Angus McMillan with two Indigenous people. This image gave a perspective of 'Discoverer of Gippsland' and encouraged the view of McMillan's positive relationship with the Gunai-Kurnai.

Image 7: State Library of New South Wales. (n.d.). Angus McMillan (1810-65). *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Retrieved from: <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mcmillan-angus-2416/text3203> This is a portrait of Angus McMillan, earlier in his life. This gave a perspective of a worn and beaten man from his exploration through Gippsland and hardships faced earlier in life.

Images Taken in the Field:

Image 2: Verschuur, M. (2020, June 30). View looking South over Omeo Valley from Blowhard Lookout. This image shows a panoramic view of over Omeo Valley. By visiting this point and taking this photo, I was able to gain a physical representation of McMillan's impact on Gippsland.

Image 3: Verschuur, M. (2020, July 7). Looking North from the South Shore of Jack Smith Lake, Giffard West. This image shows Jack Smith Lake, where the main event of the *Gippsland Massacres* occurred. This gave a feel for the place which these atrocities took place.

Images 5 & 6: Verschuur, M. (2020, June 30, July 7). Galleries of Cairns to Angus McMillan. These cairns are dotted through Gippsland and commemorate McMillan's exploration. These gave me perspectives on McMillan's achievements and how colonial people are now remembered.

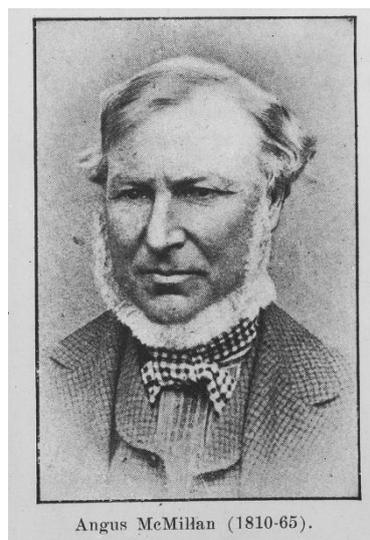


Figure 7: Angus McMillan, State Library of New South Wales. (n.d.).