



**HERITAGE  
COUNCIL**  
OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA

## **REGISTER OF HERITAGE PLACES – ASSESSMENT DOCUMENTATION**

### **11. ASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE**

The criteria adopted by the Heritage Council in November 1996 have been used to determine the cultural heritage significance of the place.

#### **PRINCIPAL AUSTRALIAN HISTORIC THEME(S)**

- 2.6.1 Resisting the advent of Europeans and their animals
- 3.5.1 Grazing stock
- 3.13.1 Building to suit Australian conditions
- 3.16 Struggling with remoteness, hardship and failure
- 8.8 Remembering the fallen
- 8.11.1 Celebrating folk heroes
- 8.11.2 Myth making and story-telling

#### **HERITAGE COUNCIL OF WESTERN AUSTRALIA THEME(S)**

- 103 Racial contact and interaction
- 104 Land allocation and subdivision
- 106 Workers (including Aboriginal, convict)
- 301 Grazing, pastoralism and dairying
- 504 Depression and boom
- 506 Tourism
- 601 Aboriginal people
- 602 Early settlers
- 603 Local heroes and battlers
- 605 Famous and infamous people

#### **11.1 AESTHETIC VALUE\***

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* has aesthetic value through the contrast between the domestic scale of the ruined structures and the spectacular backdrop of the Napier Ranges, giving the visitor a sense of the isolation in which the place functioned more than a century ago. (Criterion 1.1)

The main extant structure at *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* shows evidence of considerable stonemasonry skill through the overall balance of the design, and through the use of larger and smaller stones in alternate courses which is both attractive and gives the structure added strength. (Criterion 1.2)

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\* For consistency, all references to architectural style are taken from Apperly, R., Irving, R., Reynolds, P. A *Pictorial Guide to Identifying Australian Architecture. Styles and Terms from 1788 to the Present*, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde, 1989.

For consistency, all references to garden and landscape types and styles are taken from Ramsay, J. *Parks, Gardens and Special Trees: A Classification and Assessment Method for the Register of the National Estate*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra, 1991, with additional reference to Richards, O. *Theoretical Framework for Designed Landscapes in WA*, unpublished report, 1997.

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* has landmark value as an isolated remnant of early European settlement in the remote Kimberley region. (Criterion 1.3)

## **11. 2. HISTORIC VALUE**

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is associated with early pastoral development in the Kimberley region. The chosen site close to the Lillimilura Grotto is an indication that settlement in the remote parts of the state was usually only possible near reliable water sources and indicates the significance of reliable water sources to aboriginal peoples and to early settlers, which often led to struggle for control of and access to these water sources. (Criteria 2.1 & 2.3)

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is associated with Jandamarra, a renowned Bunuba warrior who participated in killing Constable William C. Richardson there in November 1894 and then led Bunuba resistance to the expansion of the pastoral industry. (Criterion 2.3)

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is associated with the King Sound Pastoral Company Ltd and its Victorian-based shareholders who were responsible for early pastoral settlement of the Kimberley region. (Criteria 2.1 & 2.3)

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is associated with the Hon. James Munro who, as well as having a financial interest in Lillimilura sheep station, was a Premier of Victoria and an agent-general for that colony. (Criterion 2.3)

## **11. 3. SCIENTIFIC VALUE**

## **11. 4. SOCIAL VALUE**

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is important to the Bunuba people and is a focal point in accounts of their resistance to European occupation in the West Kimberley. (Criterion 4.1)

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is important to the Western Australian Police who have placed a memorial there for a police officer killed in the line of duty. (Criterion 4.1)

## **12. DEGREE OF SIGNIFICANCE**

### **12. 1. RARITY**

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is a rare example of a structure and setting that provide visitors with an opportunity to consider a locale of frontier conflict in Western Australia. (Criterion 5.1)

### **12. 2 REPRESENTATIVENESS**

The remnant building fabric of the ruins at *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is representative of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century use of locally quarried stone in homesteads built in the more remote and/or arid parts of the Kimberley. (Criterion 6.1)

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is representative of both the investment of large amounts of capital in the formative years of the West Kimberley pastoral industry and of the extent to which the Indigenous people opposed the establishment of that industry. (Criterion 6.2)

### **12. 3 CONDITION**

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is maintained in fair condition for tourism purposes by Conservation and Land Management (CALM). At the time of inspection it was evident that the stones has been re-pointed using a mortar containing grey

cement which detracts from the aesthetic values of the place and has resulted in the deterioration of the adjacent stone.

#### **12. 4 INTEGRITY**

The ruins at *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* are not currently used and have moderate integrity, as its function is clear. The grotto has high integrity as it is used mainly by native fauna as a water source, not being accessible to cattle, and its existence is not promoted to travellers in the region.

#### **12. 5 AUTHENTICITY**

The ruins at *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* have moderate to high authenticity, as only original fabric remains extant. However roofing iron and other building materials that were required for the buildings to be viable have been removed from the site, reducing its authenticity. It is possible that the main structure may have been partially reconstructed, although no documentary evidence to support this has been found. The grotto has high authenticity as it has had minimal intervention over time.

### 13. SUPPORTING EVIDENCE

This documentation is based on the heritage assessment completed by Dr Cathie Clement, Historian and Rosemary Rosario, Architectural heritage consultant, in November 2004, with amendments and/or additions by HCWA staff and the Register Committee.

The recommended curtilage for Lillimilura Ruins is an area approximately 100m radius from the ruins with the edge of the car park as the western boundary. This includes the adjacent creek bed and stone remnants likely to be associated with the place. A separate curtilage of 20m x 20m is recommended for Lillimilura Grotto.

#### 13.1 DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* consist of the ruins of a homestead built in 1887 and a natural grotto located on the southern face at the base of Napier Range. The ruins later served intermittently as a police outpost.<sup>1</sup> The Lennard River land on which *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* stand was one of many pastoral leases approved after Alexander Forrest's expedition of 1879. When allocated to the King Sound Pastoral Company, Limited in 1883, the land comprised lease 5/114.<sup>2</sup>

The company was formed in 1883 with five Victorians each taking 100 of the 10,000 shares that would provide it with capital of £50,000. Those men (F.E. Beaver, J. Munro, J. Fergusson, K. Gunn, and W. Forrester) aimed to purchase and develop eleven pastoral leases containing a total of 1,000,000 acres (404,686 ha).<sup>3</sup> Their enterprise resembled that of the Western Australian based Kimberley Pastoral Company, which established Liveringa Station.<sup>4</sup>

The initial batch of King Sound Pastoral Company leases included two on the east side of King Sound and nine around the Napier and Oscar Ranges. Other leases, which included lease 5/114, were later acquisitions.<sup>5</sup> The company initiated its pastoral venture in September 1883 by shipping William Forrester, station workers, and livestock (mostly sheep) from Melbourne.<sup>6</sup> Forrester established a camp on the leases adjacent to King Sound and, by mid-1884, the company had committed more than half its capital to obtaining more livestock.<sup>7</sup> By the end of that year, Forrester had three shepherds watching flocks at the

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<sup>1</sup> Multiple spellings exist for the place name. The spellings most often used for the sheep station were Lillimaloora, Lillmooloora and Lillimooloora. The one used in this assessment is Lillimilura which was used by the Royal Australian Survey Corps, SE 51-8 Lennard River, 1:250,000, Topographic Survey Map Series, September 1982, reprinted 1988.

<sup>2</sup> Cathie Clement, *Kimberley District Pastoral Leasing Directory, 1881-1900*, National Heritage, for the Kimberley Historical Sources Project (KHSP), Mount Lawley (WA), 1993, lease 5/114, and Map 8. The relationship between the early lease and the position of the ruins has been determined by comparing plans for the period 1884 to 2004.

<sup>3</sup> Battye Library of West Australian History, PR753, *Memorandum and Articles of Association of the King Sound Pastoral Company, Limited*, Fergusson & Moore, Melbourne, 1883, pp. 5 and 6.

<sup>4</sup> See HCWA, Register of Heritage Places, Assessment Doc'n *Liveringa Homestead Group*, 11/12/1999

<sup>5</sup> Clement, *Kimberley District Pastoral Leasing Directory*, leases K550, K551, K552, K553, K554, K555, K556, K557, K693, K694, K699, K700, K701, K897, K898, 5/114, 5/115, and 5/166, and Maps 8, 9, 12 and 13. See the explanatory notes at the front of the directory for six sketches that depict the history of the Lillimaloora leases.

<sup>6</sup> Public Record Office Victoria, VPRS 3506, Outward Passengers to Interstate, U.K. and Foreign Ports (Microfilm copy of VRPS 948), Reel 42, Passenger list for *Ocean*, 29.9.83, extract in KHSP, Lillimaloora, electronic file; G.C. Bolton, 'A survey of the Kimberley Pastoral Industry from 1885 to the Present', MA thesis, UWA, 1953, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> SROWA, Police Department, Acc 430, 917/84, Journal of PC James Sherry, extract in KHSP, Lillimaloora; *West Australian*, 1 July 1884, p. [3], copy held by Peter J Bridge.

Napier Range. Their camp, situated 20 miles (32km) beyond any other camp on the Lennard River, was approximately 90 miles (144km) from Derby.<sup>8</sup>

All Australian pastoral settlement impacted on Indigenous people and, between the Lennard and Fitzroy Rivers, the incursions affected the Nyikina, Bunuba and Unggumi. Tension was inevitable and, while some resources were shared, misunderstandings and inequities led to violence. Documented incidents date from 1885 when William Forrester's workers built fences near Mt Percy (to the south of the Lennard River) and a shearing shed and stockyard near Devils Pass. Now known as Windjana Gorge, the pass has significance for the Bunuba as a Wandjina site.<sup>9</sup> It is likely that disputes often originated over controlling and gaining access to water sources. Therefore the Lillimilura grotto is likely to have been a contested site.

In 1886, the government declared that the track from Derby to Devils Pass constituted a main road. It also declared that a track from the pass, 'extending South by East about 14 miles to Mowrowia Pool, at Elimbirrie Cliff Station', was a minor road.<sup>10</sup>

Until 1886, the year of the Kimberley gold rush, housing in the region was rudimentary. That situation prompted one Derby correspondent to remark that:

One of our settlers has at last come to the conclusion that it is no crime to make oneself comfortable if the means are available, and has therefore commenced to build a house of large sun-dried bricks or 'bats,' which will be far cooler in summer than the usual 'tin shanty,' or even a wooden structure.<sup>11</sup>

'Tin shanties' were visible along the Fitzroy River and, in 1887, an iron shed provided a 'temporary dwelling' on Liveringa.<sup>12</sup> On the Lennard River, a two-room homestead on Balmaningarra had mud batt walls and an iron roof, as did a four-room homestead on Lennard River Station.<sup>13</sup>

At Lillimilura Station, a new wave of construction began in the Wet season of 1886/1887. George Henry Bostock helped to build a kitchen there in December 1886, getting in local timber to make the door and then 'putting up the store'. At that time, he and other workers appear to have lived several kilometres away near Windjana Gorge.<sup>14</sup> The choice of site for the new buildings at Lillimilura Station was a result of the location of reliable water at Lillimilura Grotto.<sup>15</sup> This

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8 SROWA, AN 5, Police Department, Acc 430, 532/85, Kimberley District, Derby Station, Journal of PC James Sherry 9.12.1884 - 20.12.1884; SROWA, AN 5/Derby, Acc 738/6, Report books and journals, 23.4.1885 - 1.1.1886, Journal of P.C. Adlam, 23.4.1885 to 6.5.1885, extracts of both items in KHSP, Lillimilura.

9 Howard Pedersen and Banjo Woorunmurra, *Jandamarra and the Bunuba Resistance*, Magabala Books, Broome, 1995, pp. 15, 24-25, 33-37 and 162 (map); SROWA, AN 5/Derby, Acc 738/6, Report books and journals, Journal of P.C. McAtee, 7.8.1885 to 28.8.1885, extract in KHSP, Lillimilura.

10 *Government Gazette, WA*, 11 February 1886, p. [89]. SROWA, Department of Land Administration, Cons 4898, 505 796, 7K, No. 4, Cancelled Public Plan, drawn 28.10.89, cancelled 17.11.94, indicates that Elimbirrie Cliff Station comprised the King Sound Pastoral Company's paddock and hut near Mt Percy.

11 *West Australian*, 27 October 1885, p. [3], copy held by Peter J. Bridge.

12 *Daily News*, 4 November 1887, 'Kimberley Goldfields - From Derby to Hall's Creek', copy held by Peter J. Bridge; 'Liveringa', *The Property of the Kimberley Pastoral Company, Limited*, Cyclopaedia Co., Perth, 1912, pp. 6-7.

13 J S Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopaedia of Western Australia: An Historical and Commercial Review*, Hussey & Gillingham Limited, Adelaide, vol. 2, 1913, facsimile edition, Hesperian Press, Carlisle, 1985, pp. 189-90.

14 Battye Library, MN 807, Acc 2641A, Diary kept by George Henry Bostock whilst in the Kimberley, August 1886 - December 1887, entries for 11 and 17-20 December 1886, extracts in KHSP, Lillimilura.

15 The grotto is also referred to as Lillimilura Spring which is the name under which it is recorded by the Department of Land Information. It is probably the site of the Lilly Lagoon referred to in the diary of Robert Wolfe (1857-1937) as reproduced in *Kimberley Scenes* ed. Cathie Clement and Peter Bridge, Hesperian Press, 1991, p. 173.

water source located in a grotto, at the base of the southern face of the Napier Range is identified by the Department of Indigenous Affairs as a traditional/historical water source of the Aboriginal people of the area.<sup>16</sup>

In February 1887, Bostock shifted 'to the new house' at Lillimilura Station and helped to construct the stone homestead. His diary entries record 'Squaring timber for windows and door Frames' and 'Helping Merriman to put up the walls of the house'.<sup>17</sup> Whether Joseph Merriman had experience as a mason is unknown. He had undertaken general work for William Forrester before that man's death in June 1886 and, in 1887, he worked for the new manager, James Gunn.<sup>18</sup>

The construction work continued intermittently and, on 14 May 1887, Bostock's diary recorded 'Quarrying stones for store'. In June, he 'went down river with bullock team to cut and cart timber for mens hut'. A naturalist was visiting Lillimilura Homestead at that time, and he later wrote:

The homestead consisted of four rooms and was made of sun-dried bricks. The Chinese cook had a shack behind. A little band of aborigines, consisting of an old warrior, three women, four children and a young buck, about 18 years old, had a camp a few hundred yards away under the cliffs.<sup>19</sup>

Rudolph Schuler, a German artist, was also at Lillimilura Homestead in June 1887. Bostock had him sketch the place with the range in the background. He then sent the sketch to his sister in England, with a description of the colours, so that she could paint it. Her work, which Bostock prized, depicts the buildings, fences, people and animals.<sup>20</sup>

In September 1887, after travelling from Derby to Devils Gorge, Dr T.H. Lovegrove wrote:

Turning to the right we followed the road under the range & came to the new house lately erected by Mr Gunn in about a mile & a half. It is a neat building mostly of limestone & is prettily situated overlooking parklike country . . .<sup>21</sup>

Sergeant Patrick Troy provided additional detail:

The station which consists of a small but neat house, partly constructed of lime-stone, and partly of clay, with a verandah front and rear, a shed to cook in, a garden, and a stock yard & horse-paddock, is pleasantly situated about 600 yards from the base of

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16 Department of Indigenous Affairs site 985 Lillimilura Grotto. Documentation supplied by DIA and the Department of Land Information indicates that this water source is very consistent and results from a flow-stone at the rear of the cave which feeds a creek.

17 Battye Library, MN 807, Acc 2641A, Diary kept by George Henry Bostock whilst in the Kimberley, August 1886 - December 1887., entries for 7-11 February 1887, extracts in KHSP, Lillimilura.

18 KHSP, biographical index cards for Merriman, Forrester and Gunn.

19 W. W. Froggatt, 'A Naturalist in Kimberley in 1887', Presidential Address, given at the Annual General Meeting of the Society, August 7, 1934, *The Australian Naturalist*, Vol IX, Part 4, November 1934, p. 73, copy donated to KHSP by Pam Masters. It is assumed that the passage of time accounted for Froggatt failing to mention the stone construction. The aboriginal camp may well have been located at the Lillimilura Grotto.

20 The information about Rudolph Schuler comes from Bostock's diary and from material located by Peter J. Bridge. The painting is well known. The Derby Public Library has a copy on display, and both the Battye Library and the Art Gallery of Western Australia hold negatives. It appeared in Pedersen and Woorunmurra, *Jandamarra*, pp. 58-9, and it was used for the cover of R. H. Pilmer, *Northern Patrol: An Australian Saga*, Hesperian Press, Carlisle (WA), 1998.

21 SROWA, Colonial Secretary's Office, Acc 527, 176/90, Inspector of Accounts, Audit Office Perth, with the quotation taken from Item 4446/87, Journal Kept by Thomas Henry Lovegrove Government Resident whilst on an Expedition from Derby to Halls Creek, pp. 6-7.

the Napier. . . A considerable amount of fencing has been done and the sheep - about 12,000 are all in paddocks.<sup>22</sup>

Later, the workmen erected another hut and put a roof on the blacksmith's shop.<sup>23</sup> With so much done, the King Sound Pastoral Company looked set to prosper. Yet, while the Kimberley Pastoral Company went well after building its first stone homestead on Liveringa in 1888,<sup>24</sup> the owners of Lillimilura Station soon faced serious problems.

When the problems began is unknown but, in May 1888, Lillimilura Station (by then lease 71/40) passed to one of the King Sound Pastoral Company shareholder, James Munro.<sup>25</sup> He was the Member for Geelong and the emerging Leader of the Opposition. He was also a well-known financier, with investments that extended well beyond the Kimberley.<sup>26</sup>

Munro put a new manager, W. Murray Martin, on Lillimilura Station and, in 1888, Martin was among the colonists who had the Derby police act against Indigenous people for killing sheep. The police had reservations about that action because they thought that other losses were also being attributed to those people. The colonists' complaints nonetheless induced the government to establish police camps on the Lennard River, the Robinson River (to the north), and the Fitzroy River (to the south).<sup>27</sup>

In August 1889, the Derby police noted that A. Knapton went to Barrier Station to roof some new buildings. Those buildings probably belonged to the King Sound Pastoral Company because the police, who erected a tent near Windjana Gorge, seem to have lived under canvas.<sup>28</sup>

The police and colonists remained at loggerheads with the Indigenous people but it was hard to know how anyone fared. Figures put forward in a bid to make outlaws of the 'natives' from the ranges near Lillimilura Station and Lennard River Stations claimed that 4000 of Munro's sheep had been killed in the past year, and that he was 7000 sheep short of his last muster.<sup>29</sup> The Inspector of Police refuted those figures, stating that Munro's flock had increased from 14,150 to 14,442 in 1889, and that he had imported about 900 head of cattle from Queensland.<sup>30</sup>

In 1890, the conflict worsened. A Chinese worker was 'speared through the back' but reached Derby 'in a hopeful condition'. He claimed to have done nothing to

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- 22        *ibid.*, with the quotation taken from Item 1666/87, Diary of a journey with Dr Lovegrove's Party from Derby to Halls Creek, pp. [5–6], cited by Bolton, 'A survey of the Kimberley Pastoral Industry', pp. 43–4.
- 23        Battye Library, MN 807, Acc 2641A, Diary, entries for 24-27 October 1887 and 19 November 1887. It is noted that Bostock did not state whether the later structures were situated at Lillimaloora or near Windjana Gorge.
- 24        John Taylor Architect, 'Conservation Plan for Liveringa Homestead Group, Shire of Derby-West Kimberley, Western Australia', prepared for Liveringa Pastoral Co., 2004, pp. 28-30.
- 25        SROWA, WAS 1311, Lands and Surveys Department, Cons 5869, Item 12, Lease Register and Index, 71 1 to 405 and 98 121 to 2254, 1887-98, p. 5.
- 26        Ann M. Mitchell, 'James Munro', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 6, 1861-90, p. 313.
- 27        *Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Western Australia*, 1888, Paper No. 27, pp. 7-8 and 10-12, cited by Bolton, 'A survey', pp. 48-50.
- 28        SROWA, AN 5/Derby, Police Department, Acc 738/6, Occurrence Book, 27.3.1889 – 21.5.1890, entry dated 4 August 1889; SROWA, AN 5/1, Police Department, Acc 430, 193/90, Kimberley District, Derby Station, Journal of P.C. Watts from 7th Nov' to 21st December 1889, extracts of both items in KHSP, Lillimaloora. KHSP files show that, in the 1880s and 1890s, people used the term 'the Barrier' interchangeably to refer Lillimaloora Station, the Napier Range, and the Lennard River police camp.
- 29        *Western Mail* (Perth), 30 November 1889, 'The Kimberley Settlers and the Natives', copy held by Peter J. Bridge; *Victorian Express*, 7 December 1889, cited by Bolton, 'A survey', p. 50.
- 30        SROWA, AN 5/1, Police Department, Acc 430, 3573/03, Annual Report for 1889, extract in KHSP, Lillimaloora.

provoke the assault but the Indigenous people told a different story.<sup>31</sup> The police continued to arrest them for killing Munro's sheep despite the belief that their inroads into the stock were still being exaggerated.<sup>32</sup>

By 1890, Munro had become the Premier of Victoria. He spent just over a year in office; made way for his deputy; and went to London as the colony's agent-general. By 1893, he was back in Victoria filing for bankruptcy. His financial acumen had, for years, been overrated.<sup>33</sup>

To reduce his Lillimilura Station outgoings, Munro had discarded outlying portions of lease 71/40 in 1891. He then seems to have mortgaged his Kimberley leases to Dalgety & Co. in 1892. That company put Lillimilura Station up for auction the following year but allowed Munro's other leases to revert to the Crown. Its advertisement described Lillimilura Station as 680,000 acres of pastoral lease with improvements comprising about 100 miles (160km) of wire fencing enclosing eight paddocks, homestead and yards. The station carried 10,300 sheep, 300 cattle and 40 horses.<sup>34</sup>

A new manager took charge before Lukin and Monger, the owners of the adjacent Lennard River Station, purchased Lillimilura Station. They soon had Munro's late manager, Martin, on the road to the Murchison with about 3500 sheep. The cattle may have gone to the Emanuel brothers to be used as the nucleus for their herd on Gogo Station.<sup>35</sup>

Lukin and Monger barely had time to rationalise their holdings before a record flood killed an estimated 14,000 of their sheep in February 1894. Of those sheep, 2,000 ewes and 1,500 lambs drowned on Lillimilura Station. When the manager next submitted a return of the livestock, he listed 5684 sheep, 14 head of cattle and eight horses.<sup>36</sup>

Despite the devastation, Lillimilura Station continued to function. The annual shearing occurred; teams carted wool to Derby for export; and other traffic continued to move between the station and the port.<sup>37</sup> William C. Richardson, a Lillimilura Station employee who became a Lennard River police constable, also went to and from Derby. He travelled with Captain (a 'native assistant') and, on some occasions, with Jandamarra (a young Bunuba man who was known to Richardson and the settlers as Pigeon).<sup>38</sup>

Lillimilura Homestead achieved notoriety in November 1894 when Jandamarra and Captain shot Richardson as he slept in the central passage of the homestead. Richardson had 17 Bunuba prisoners 'on the chain' nearby, and

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31 *Inquirer*, 3 September 1890, p. [3], copy held by Peter J. Bridge; SROWA, AN 5/1, Police Department, Acc 430, 1670/90, West Kimberley Dist. Barrier Police Camp, Report of a trip to the bush from 17 Sept to 17 Oct 1890 by P.C. William Armitage, extract in KHSP, Lillimilura.

32 SROWA, AN 5/1, Police Department, Acc 430, 1360/91, West Kimberley District, Lennard Sub District, Lennard River Police Camp, A report on the pastoral stations in this Sub District, 21 July 1891. Mitchell, 'James Munro', p. 314.

34 Clement, *Kimberley District Pastoral Leasing Directory*, leases 71/40, 71/41 and 71/76; *Western Mail* (Perth), 13 May 1893, p. 6, copy held by Peter J. Bridge.

35 SROWA, AN 5/Derby, Police Department, Acc 738/21, Letter Book, October 1892 – 24.6.1893, letter dated 30 May 1893; SROWA, AN 5/Derby, Police Department, Acc 738/11, Occurrence Book, entry dated 21 October 1893, extracts in KHSP, Lillimilura; Pilmer, *Northern Patrol*, p. 49. Gogo Station is situated near the Margaret and Fitzroy River junction.

36 Pedersen and Woorunmurra, *Jandamarra*, pp. 85–6; *Inquirer*, 2 March 1894, p. 16, copy held by Peter J. Bridge; SROWA, AN 5/1, Police Department, Acc 430, 3573/03, Commissioner – annual reports for 1889 and 1893 of stations, extract in KHSP, Lillimilura.

37 SROWA, AN 5/Derby, Police Department, Acc 430, 738/11, entries dated 19 July, 9 August and 7 November 1894, extracts in KHSP, Lillimilura.

38 Pedersen and Woorunmurra, *Jandamarra*, pp. 95, 98, 115 and 116.



those people were promptly set free. People have speculated about why Richardson was killed but, at the most basic level, the conflict generated by the establishment of the pastoral industry can be seen to have precipitated his death.<sup>39</sup>

A fortnight before his death, Richardson had portrayed Lillimilura Station and the Lennard River police camp as separate places. He spent time at both but apparently occupied the homestead, which was protected by a wire netting fence ten feet (3m) high.<sup>40</sup> It is quite likely that, with the reduction of pastoral activity on Lillimilura Station, Lukin and Monger allowed or even encouraged Richardson to occupy the homestead.

In the wake of the killing, the homestead was considered to be too close to the range to serve as a police station. The police, however, chose to work out of it immediately after the killing and again during most of 1896. It was April 1897 before their efforts resulted in the death of Jandamarra and the death or arrest of the other Bunuba warriors who had resisted the introduction of livestock into their country. By that time, the Lennard River police camp was near Mt North Creek (between Lillimilura Station and Lennard River Station). The constables built quarters for themselves there in 1898, using locally cut timber for the walls and corrugated iron for the roof.<sup>41</sup>

Lukin and Monger abandoned Lillimilura Station, which still constituted the eastern extremity of the Lennard River settlement, in 1895. Other tenure followed, with M. C. Davies, the owner of Balmaningarra Station, developing a long-term interest. In 1900, he purchased Lennard River Station and, in the years that followed, he acquired other leases and, by amalgamating Balmaningarra, Lennard River, and the homestead portion of Lillimilura Station, created Kimberley Downs Station.<sup>42</sup>

In 1905, the Lillimilura Station buildings were described as 'remains' rather than buildings, and, by the early 1930s, only the walls were in place.<sup>43</sup> Pastoral use of the locality continued until 1971, with the ruins positioned within the north-eastern corner of Kimberley Downs. People who mustered or did other work in that vicinity may have camped there from time to time. In December 1971, the land occupied by the ruins became part of Class 'A' Reserve No. 31107, which was designated as the Windjana Gorge National Park and placed under the control of the National Parks Board of Western Australia. The creation of the reserve recognised the need to preserve both the scientific and scenic aspects of

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39 *ibid.*, pp. xii, 117-18 and 195-8.

40 SROWA, AN 5/Lennard River, Police Department, Acc 746/1, Occurrence Book, 1.9.1894 – 17.1.1898, entries dated 20 and 21 October 1894, extracts in KHSP, Lillimilura; Pilmer, *Northern Patrol*, p. 49.

41 SROWA, AN 5/Lennard River, Police Department, Acc 746/1; SROWA, AN 5/1, Police Department, Acc 430, 66/96, Journal of Sub Inspector Ord from 25.11.1895 to 13.12.1895; Pedersen and Woorunmurra, *Jandamarra*, pp. 122-61 and 179-93; Pilmer, *Northern Patrol*, pp. 52-53, 56-58, 60, 69-72, and 74-75; SROWA, AN 5/1, Police Department, Acc 430, 2465/98, Sub Inspt Ord's Journal May 6th to May 26th 1898.

42 Clement, *Kimberley District Pastoral Leasing Directory*, leases 71/40, 71/310, 71/377, 146/98, 182/98, 248/98, 249/98, and 278/98; J S Battye (ed.), *The Cyclopaedia of Western Australia*, vol. 2, pp. 188-91; Department of Land Information (DLI), Crown Lease 914/1919.

43 W V Fitzgerald's Diary of the Kimberley Trigonometrical Survey Expedition, April 5 to October 25 1905, p. 10, extract in KHSP, Lillimilura; Battye Library, 9819B/32, photograph from the Kimberley Downs collection, c. 1931, reproduced in Pilmer, *Northern Patrol*, p. 48.

Windjana Gorge and the historic aspect of the conflict that occurred at *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto*.<sup>44</sup>

On 10 February 1999, the Lillimilura Grotto, approximately 300 metres north north east of Lillimilura (ruins) was registered under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 1972*. It is recognized as a traditional water source.<sup>45</sup> Officers from Conservation and Land Management (CALM) visited the site in 2005 and noted that the grotto is accessible to native fauna. There is no access path or road to the grotto and CALM officers stated it would be detrimental to the grotto and the water source if access were encouraged.<sup>46</sup>

In 2005, Lillimilura ruins are a popular tourist destination managed by the Department of Conservation and Land Management. It is accessed by an unsealed public road that also provides access to the Windjana Gorge and Tunnel Creek National Parks and to the Aboriginal communities, cattle stations and conservation areas that occupy the surrounding country. Signage erected by the department, with input from the Bunuba Corporation, provides information about the place and the conflict that occurred in the vicinity. An adjacent memorial, erected by the Western Australian Police, pays tribute to Constable Richardson.

### 13.2 PHYSICAL EVIDENCE

*Lillimilura (Ruins and Grotto)* comprises the ruins of a group of stone buildings and a grotto situated in a natural bush landscape located at the base of the Napier Ranges and within the boundaries of the Windjana Gorge National Park. The ruins are to the east of the Fairfield–Leopold Downs Road that links the Gibb River Road with Great Northern Highway, and approximately 20km south of the Gibb River Road intersection. The GPS coordinates for the main ruin are 8072285N by 51 708629E.

The grotto is located approximately 350m to the north east of the ruins in the Windjana Gorge National Park and is located at the base of the southern face of the Napier Range. The grotto entrance is approximately 3m x 3m wide and from this entrance there is a depression from which the creek bed emerges. There are trees growing around the entrance and along the creek bed and barrier fencing has been erected around the entrance to the grotto. The grotto is approximately 12m x 5m and water covers most of the floor of the cave fed by the outflow from a flowstone at the rear of the cave. Information from Department of Indigenous Affairs, CALM and Dept of Land Information indicates that this is a reliable and consistent water source. Around the entrance to the grotto there is evidence of considerable exposure to fire and post European effects. The GPS coordinates for the grotto are 8072461N by 708949E.<sup>47</sup>

The ruins comprise physical remnants of three former structures. One structure is partially intact with components of the original room layout evident. The second structure comprises the outline of a building and the third is a pile of stone indicating a collapsed building. There is a creek bed to the north of the ruins.

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44 SROWA, AN 3/20, Land Administration, Acc 1764, 3931/1964, Leases, Pastoral Lease, Kimberley Downs Station, Kimberley Division, Napier Downs Pty Ltd, vol. 1, pp. 51–3; *Government Gazette, W.A.*, 10 December 1971, pp. 5170, 5185, and 5189, and 11 February 1972, p. 281; DLI, Crown Lease 179/1968.

45 Department of Indigenous Affairs, letter to Heritage Council of Western Australia, dated 26 May 2005, on Heritage Council file P3691. A site visit in 1994 stated that the grotto was fenced to keep out cattle but the water was still accessible to native animals and birds.

46 Information from Rod O'Donnell, CALM officer Broome in conversation with HCWA officer 8/11/05.

47 Information from Senior Heritage Officer Peter Randolph, Department of Indigenous Affairs, Nov 2005, in HCWA file P03691.

Adjacent to the creek bed are remnants of another structure, possibly a washhouse (GPS coordinates 8072349N by 51 708620E).

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* is located within the Windjana Gorge National Park. There is a car park approximately 60m from the ruins with an access path through the bush. At the edge of the car park, CALM has erected a timber-framed shelter with four interpretation panels providing historical information pertinent to the ruins. Adjacent to the ruin is a memorial stone cairn with a plaque that reads:

*Dedicated to the memory of Constable William Richardson who was killed in the line of duty on October 31<sup>st</sup> 1894 at Lillimulura [sic] Police Outpost whilst on patrol from Derby Police Station.*

The main structure at the site of the ruins comprises two wings of a former building with an open area, which may have been a breezeway, in the centre. The structure is approximately 12m x 8.8m and faces approximately west. There is an area of flagstone paving in the central space.

The northern and southern wings are approximately equal in area, each being approximately 3m x 8.8m. The wing on the southern side comprises an open area with two former window openings 900mm wide spaced symmetrically on the southern wall. There are return walls approximately 1.2m long into the centre of the buildings.

The northern wing is of similar size and has two former window openings corresponding to the windows on the south. The northern wing has a 2m wide central opening however with two former rooms on either side. The opening is flanked by walls approximately 2m long and both rooms have return walls 1.2m long corresponding to the walls on the southern side.

The walls of the main structure are constructed of rock faced limestone and are approximately 300mm thick. The walls are partially collapsed and vary in height to approximately 2.8m at their highest point. Although at first glance the walls appear as random rubble, the coursing has been consistently arranged with two to three courses of larger stones interspersed with flatter stones to give a reasonably regular appearance. Stones are bonded using a mixture containing river sand to which a solution of grey cement has been added recently. A pile of cement was located adjacent to the ruin at the time of inspection.

The ruin of the main structure comprises partially collapsed walls with loose stone in some of the adjacent internal spaces. None of the windows have heads over them and there are a number of cracks to the walls. There is evidence of cement render on some of the internal walls. The ruin is generally overgrown with shrubs and grasses.

Adjacent to the main structure and approximately 6m to the south is a second structure approximately 10m x 5m. The extant fabric of this structure comprises the rubble base of the perimeter walls together with remnants of the northern wall that varies from 1.8m to 1.5m in height. This ruin is overgrown with shrubs and bushes.

Approximately 10m to the east of the structures a pile of stones indicates the presence of a third building approximately 6.5m x 4.5m aligned at right angles to the other two buildings. The rubble remnants suggest that the building may have had stone gables at the western and eastern ends and may have been a store or kitchen.

Approximately 60m to the north east of the main group of former buildings, a collection of stones adjacent to the creek bed indicates the likely presence of a fourth building. This structure measures approximately 3m x 5.5m, is aligned with

the creek bed on a northeast, southwest axis and may have been a washhouse. The only remnants are at ground level as a pile of stones. There are also several stone steps in the adjacent creek.

The limestone for all the ruins is the same. The stone however is not the river stone found in the immediate area, but has markings to indicate that it has been quarried, probably from the nearby Napier Ranges. The stone matches stone seen in cuttings through the ranges along the Gibb River Road.

The site does not contain other building materials such as timbers or iron from former roofs and there is no evidence of former plantings. It is likely that other building materials have been removed from the site and that it has been cleaned up considerably over time. From the state of the remnant stone it is possible that the main structure has been partially reconstructed, however there is no documentary evidence to support this conjecture.

Despite possible cleaning up, the site is relatively undisturbed and likely to contain archaeological evidence relating to the former human occupation of the place. This evidence has the potential to add important information relevant to the history of *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto*.

### **13.3 COMPARATIVE INFORMATION**

Information available from the Register of Heritage Places and the Kimberley Historical Sources Project indicates that, while parallels exist with such places as *Ord River Station Homestead (fmr) & Cemetery*, two factors make *Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* distinctive. Those factors, in order of importance, are the direct association with frontier conflict and the involvement of investors from outside Western Australia. Only the latter factor is relevant to *Ord River Station Homestead (fmr) & Cemetery*, which is on the Register of Heritage Places as place number 01174.

With regard to frontier conflict, a comparison exists with Old Homestead Oscar Range Station, which is identified as a ruin on the Shire of Derby/West Kimberley's Municipal Inventory. However, very little documentary or physical evidence is available for the place.

Similar ruined stone homestead buildings exist on Mount Hart Station and Leopold Downs Station. Those ruins are also on the Shire of Derby/West Kimberley's Municipal Inventory. Old Homestead Leopold Downs Station, which is believed to date from circa 1900, comprises two ruined buildings constructed of stone with remnants of timber-framed additions on a concrete slab. The roofs of the buildings are not extant. The Leopold Downs ruins are more intact than the Lillimilura ruins but are of similar construction.

Closer to Derby, the *Liveringa Homestead Group*, including the stone homestead constructed in 1908, is included on the Register of Heritage Places as place number 0694. That homestead is more substantial than those mentioned above, and it remains intact.

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* stands apart from other homestead ruins in the Kimberley primarily because of its association with well-known frontier conflict.

### **13.4 KEY REFERENCES**

Kimberley Historical Sources Project, Lillmalooora, electronic file.

### **13.5 FURTHER RESEARCH**

For comparative purposes, and because all Western Australian pastoral leases are due to expire in 2015, it is essential to record the age and type of

homesteads and other notable structures on all pastoral leases and former pastoral leases. At present, the lack of readily available information about those structures stands in the way of comparative information being provided in relevant heritage assessments.

*Lillimilura Ruins and Grotto* has the potential through archaeological excavation to provide information about the history of the use of the place and about life on a Kimberley station in the late nineteenth century.