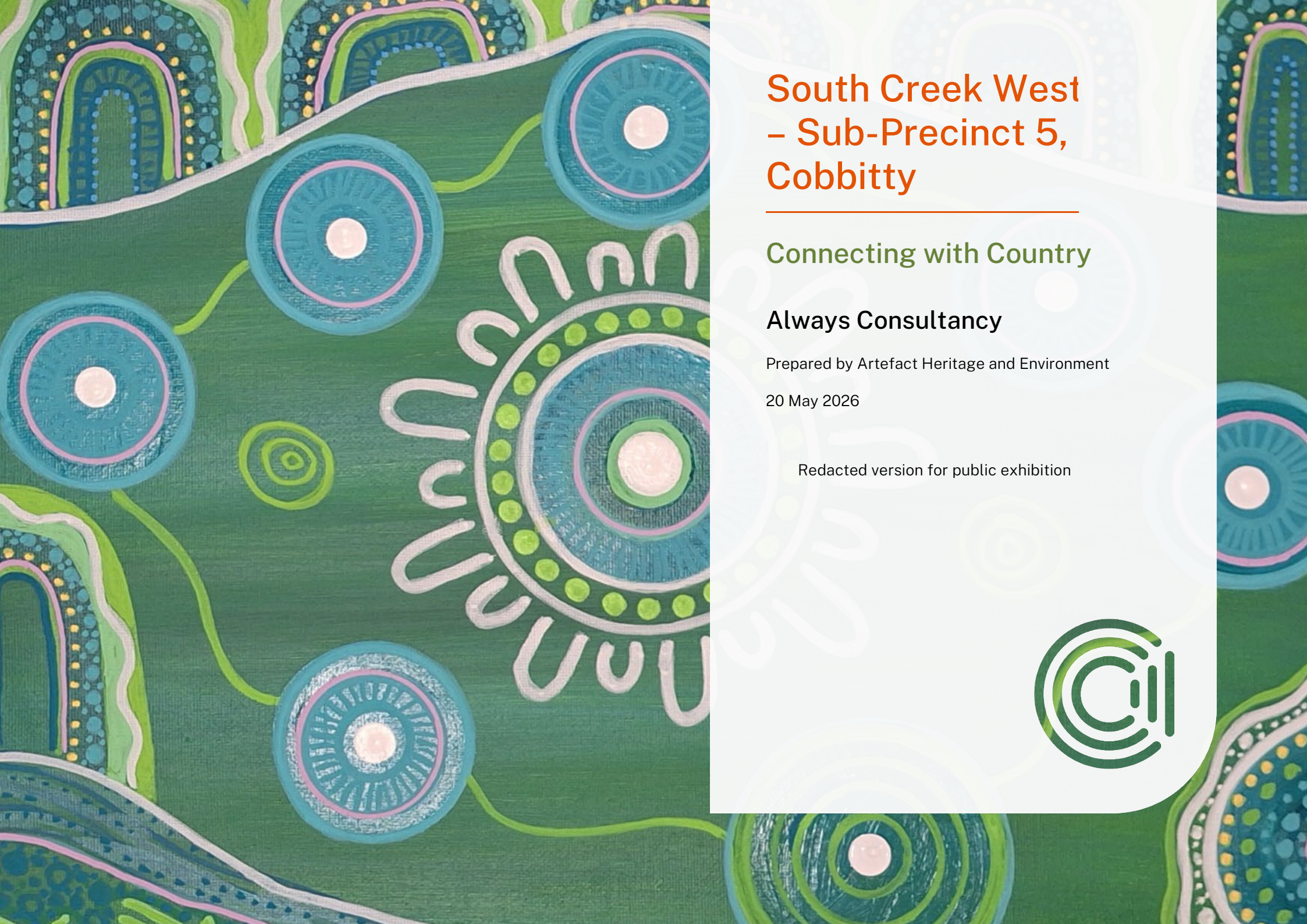


The background of the entire page is a vibrant Indigenous Australian artwork. It features a dark green base with several large, stylized circular motifs in shades of blue, green, and pink. These circles have concentric patterns and some contain small white dots. Wavy, light-colored lines meander across the composition, and there are smaller, intricate patterns in the corners.

South Creek West – Sub-Precinct 5, Cobbitty

Connecting with Country

Always Consultancy

Prepared by Artefact Heritage and Environment

20 May 2026

Redacted version for public exhibition





ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF COUNTRY

Artefact acknowledges Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the traditional custodians of our land, Australia.

We acknowledge the Gadigal people as the custodians of Pirrama (Pymont) where our Sydney office is located, the Awabakal, Worimi and Wonnarua of the Hunter Region where our Mulubinba (Newcastle) office is location and the Wiradyuri of the Central West where our Bathurst Office is located. We pay our respects to them, their culture and their Elders past and present. We extend our respect to any Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people with whom we work.

When we travel to Country we acknowledge the traditional custodians of the lands on which we walk. We acknowledge the Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara, the traditional owners and custodians of the lands and waters around where this project was undertaken. We thank them for sustaining and caring for Country for millennia.

Front cover: *Walk on Country Cobbitty and Bringelly*

© Kayelene Slater (2024)

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“My artwork represents a journey with connections to Country on the green pastures of land and waterways surrounding of Dharawal Nation with beautiful views of Country, and to continue to care for the land and waterways from now and beyond”

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Cultural warning: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are advised that this report contains the names and images of people who are deceased.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

JJ Cobbitty Development proposes to rezone land within the South Creek West – Sub-Precinct 5, Cobbitty, for residential development. The indicative layout plan of the precinct shows that low and medium density housing is planned throughout the precinct, with public spaces such as open spaces, playing fields, school and service station being constructed too.

A planning proposal for the Precinct was lodged in December 2021 to rezone the land to residential development.

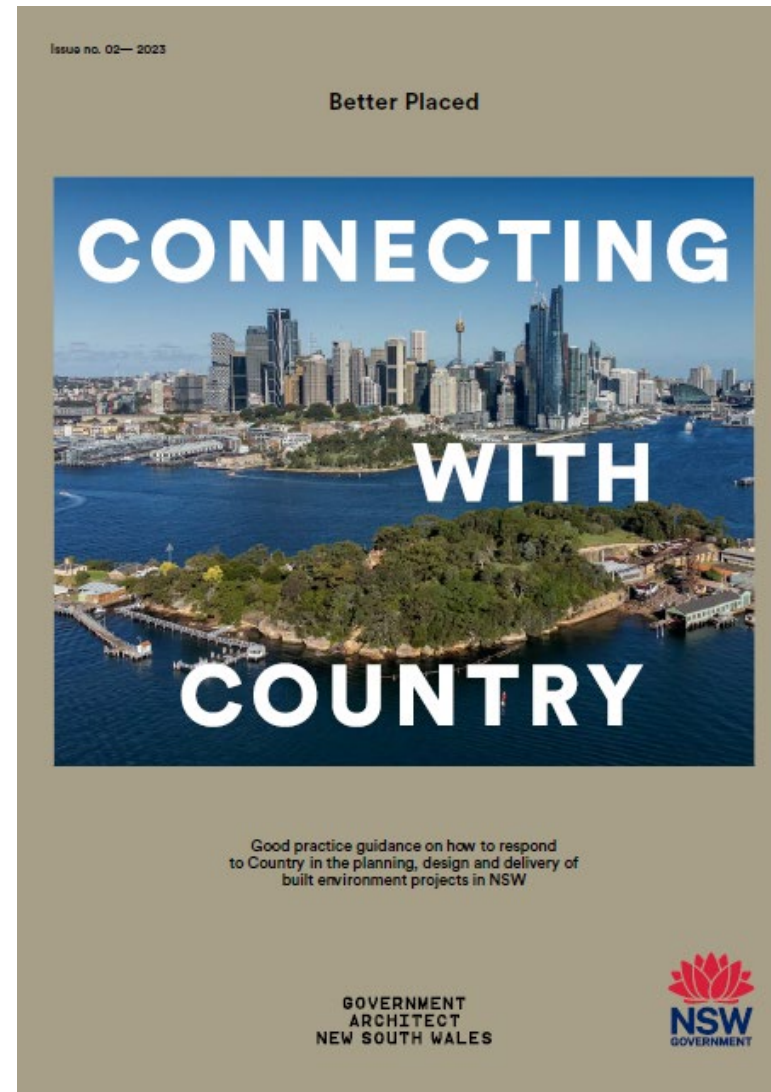
1.2 Scope of report

This Connecting with Country report has been developed by Artefact Heritage and Environment (Artefact) for Always Consulting on behalf of JJ Cobbitty Development. It has been Informed by the cultural connections to Country shared by stakeholders, provides actions, outcomes and design principles to embed Country into the development of the site, identifies Country narratives and interpretive themes for the development, and provides a best-practice framework for designing with Country.

1.3 Guiding documents

The following guiding documents have been consulted during the preparation of this Connecting with Country report:

- Government Architect New South Wales, 2023. Connecting with Country.
- Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), 2013, *Charter for Places of Cultural Significance*.



1.4 The study area

The South Creek West – Sub-Precinct 5, Cobbitty consists of land within Lot 500 DP 1231858, Lot 2 and 4 DP1216380, Lot 1 and 4 DP 1273487 and part of Lot 3 DP1216380. It is situated within a semi-rural landscape in the suburb of Cobbitty and the Local Government Area (LGA) of Camden. It is located within the County of Cumberland and the Parish of Cook. The study area falls within the boundaries of the Tharawal Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC).

Precinct 5 is located within the broader South Creek West Land Release Area (SCW), which is one of the largest greenfield precincts in Sydney. SCW comprises of five distinct precincts across approximately 1,500 hectares, including Precinct 5.

1.5 Terminology

Due to the huge disruption of colonisation and the challenges of translating Aboriginal language into written English, there are a variety of ways of referring to the Aboriginal peoples and languages of the area. As language is revitalised and more knowledge is shared, terminology may also change. This report therefore uses different terminology and spellings interchangeably depending on the source for example Dharawal and D'harawal.

This report may also contain words and terms in quotations from works written by non-Indigenous people in the past that may be confronting and considered inappropriate today.

Artefact does not endorse these views or the use of these terms. These historical sources have been included because they provide information on the lives of Aboriginal people in the region.

1.5.1 Cultural context

A number of key contextual issues are important to consider when developing a Connecting with Country framework for a new project:

Country, culture and community: The many interpretations of Country are often expressed by Aboriginal communities through cultural practices.

Caring for Country: Caring for Country is a cultural obligation that Aboriginal people undertake with a deep sense of responsibility, ownership and stewardship. Caring for Country includes caring for the wellbeing of Country's interconnected systems now and for the future.

Identity: For Aboriginal people, Country is at the core of identity. Aboriginal peoples' connection with Country has continued over thousands of years, from deep time. It is a source of valuable wisdom and knowledge that can guide all of us to improve the way we plan and design the places where we live and work.

Cultural safety: Cultural safety is about creating a socially, emotionally, physically and spiritually safe space where there is no challenge or denial of a person's identity. For Aboriginal people this means feeling safe, valued and able to

participate in their cultural, spiritual and belief systems, free from racism, discrimination and lateral violence.

Indigenous cultural and intellectual property: Australian Indigenous cultural and intellectual property (ICIP) are the rights that Aboriginal people have to protect their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and cultural expression.

1.6 Cultural warning

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are advised that this report contains the names and images of people who are deceased.

1.7 Indigenous Cultural Intellectual Property

Artefact has prepared this Connecting with Country report for the South Creek West – Sub-Precinct 5, Cobbitty. This report, and the information and cultural knowledge gathered in its preparation, are to be used for the above project only. This project aims to facilitate a meaningful, considered, and functional framework for understanding the relationships between Country, community and individuals and integrating this understanding into design principles for the site.

Please note that all cultural knowledge shared by Elders, knowledge holders, Registered Aboriginal Parties (RAPs) and the Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) that is included in this document remains the intellectual property of those who have shared it. The rights

of Indigenous Cultural Intellectual Property (ICIP) must be protected at all times. The following best practice ICIP guidelines from the GANSW Connecting with Country (2023) will be followed:

- Payment made to knowledge holders for their traditional knowledges shared.
- Credit of organisations or individuals for their traditional knowledges.
- Information and guidelines about IPIC included in reports.
- All usage of the information must be approved by the organisation or individual before finalised or published.
- If requested by the organisation or individual, ICIP can be included in a written agreement with the organisation or individual.

1.8 Authorship and acknowledgements

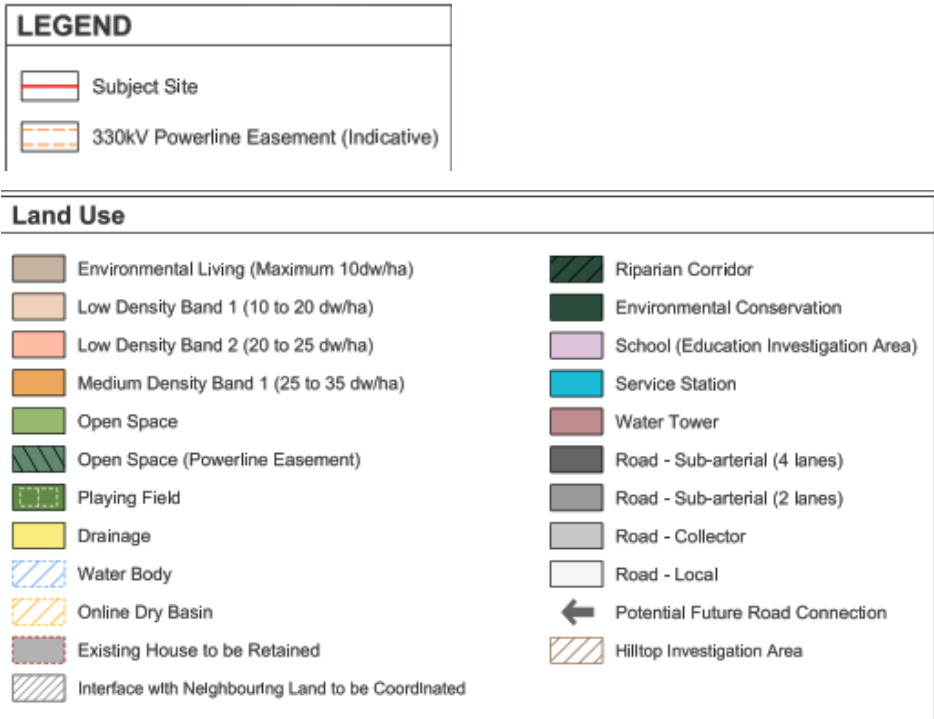
This report has been prepared by Alexandra Gaffikin (Senior Associate, Artefact), Beatrix Ye (Graduate Heritage Consultant, Artefact), Katherine Chalmers (Heritage Consultant, Artefact), Stephen Gapps (Historian) with input and review from Sam Higgs (Principal, Artefact) and Carolyn MacLulich (Principal, Artefact).

Artefact has worked in collaboration with a number of Aboriginal knowledge holders for the report and would like to thank all knowledge

holders for their generosity in sharing cultural knowledge for this project.



Figure 1: Sightlines to ridges across Country, 28 August 2024, (source: Artefact)



2. GANSW CONNECTING WITH COUNTRY FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The Connecting with Country Framework 2023, prepared by the Government Architects NSW Office, seeks to assist design project teams to integrate Aboriginal culture into development projects. The predominant message of the framework is that the current design approach mentality needs to shift from Human Centric to Country Centric, to create a healthy Country with culturally diverse and safe spaces that simultaneously address the growing environmental problems that society face today.

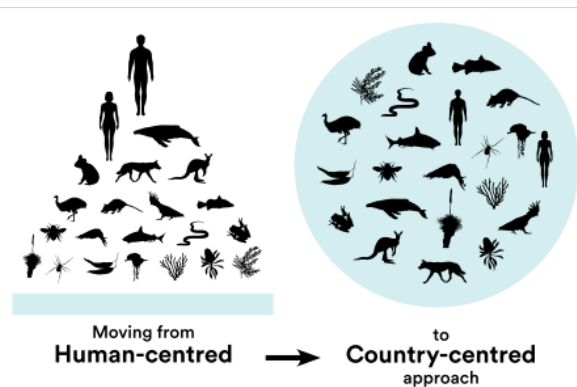


Figure 3: Human-centred or Country-centred approach (GANSW Connecting with Country)

It advocates for an integrated approach that combines Aboriginal knowledge and western science which recognises and appreciates the interconnectedness of all elements of society and the environment. The essential message is that if we look after Country, Country will look after us. To facilitate the behavioural change required to put Country at the forefront of new design, the framework expands upon three components of Aboriginal cultural knowledge systems and aligns them with three cognitive elements (Thinking, Feeling, Behaviour):

- **Communing with Country (Thinking):** the connection to Country through mind and spirit as demonstrated through forms of cultural expression.

- **Sensing Country (Feeling):** immersive cultural practices to provide insight into the emotional connection to Country.
- **Being on Country (Behaving):** working together to share knowledge and perspective to create cohesive and respectful designs.

To implement this Country centric approach, the framework identifies how Country can be incorporated into each phase of the design process as guided by the Aboriginal community:

- **Project formation** – starting with Country – ensuring that the project teams understand the nuanced concept of Country through cultural awareness training.
- **Project design** – imagining with Country – designing led by interpretive cultural narratives and an understanding of Country.
- **Project delivery** – shaping Country – design and construction led by the need to protect and promote Country.
- **Project maintenance** – a commitment to nurture all parts of Country, of which the new development project is part.

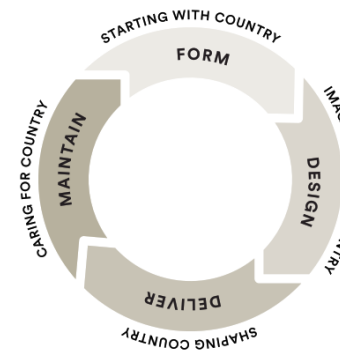


Figure 4: Project lifecycle from an Aboriginal perspective (GANSW Connecting with Country)

The framework has specific guidance around ways to Design with Country, exploring opportunities for design to support connection to Country in built environment projects. These include:

Design focus:

- Language use and first place names.
- Connect to the broader landscape.
- Promote and protect Aboriginal cultural heritage.
- Acknowledge our shared history.

Design opportunities:

- Learn from traditional Aboriginal architecture.
- Support living ecosystems.
- Reawaken memories.
- In between spaces.
- Indirect connections.

The framework also provides practical assistance for how Country can be considered in project design at a precinct wide level, a building-scale project level and a small-scale project level.

2.1.1 GANSW Designing with Country discussion paper (2019)

The Government Architect NSW draft Designing with Country discussion paper predates the Connecting with Country framework and fed into its development.¹ It posed questions around developing practical guidance for the design industry to respond to current directions in planning policy. Its

¹ GANSW, 2020b.

aim was to contribute to better understanding of, and better support for, a strong and vibrant Aboriginal culture in our built environment.

- It stated that there are three essential elements of designing with Country: nature, people, and design:
- Architecture considers design and people (informed by nature). Architecture without people is just a sculptural object.
- Passive design considers design and nature, and when used by people becomes environmental design.
- Biophilic design considers the innate relationship between people and nature. Informed by design, this relationship could be understood as a genesis for Indigenous architecture.

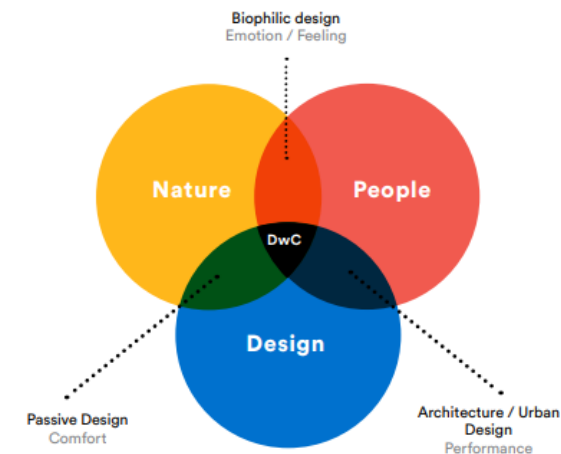


Figure 5: Elements of Designing with Country. Source: GANSW Designing with Country Discussion paper. Considering Country

3. CONSIDERING COUNTRY



3.1 What is Country?

Country means to me a peaceful connection – whether city or Country. You can always find somewhere to feel at home or at peace. You can always find somewhere to find yourself.

The concept of Country does not have a corresponding concept in Western culture but is a deeply personal yet universal worldview fundamental to Aboriginal and First Nations people. Individual relationships with and definitions of 'Country' are deeply nuanced, and can vary depending on a person's life experience, place, and personal beliefs. It is key, therefore, to deeply listen to the perspectives of Aboriginal people and remove Western biases when thinking about Country.

Country is everything – all of us Aboriginal people have connection to the waterways and lands. We look back to our ancestors and what they have done and that connection has continued all the way through.

A definition of country as 'land' may be the initial association made by a Western person, but this is far too simplistic; instead, the idea of Country is an all-encompassing continuum of past, present and future, connecting tangible things like ecosystems, water, and people, as well as intangible concepts like story, identity, and home.

Water, beaches, spiritual connection and the animals that are all entwined.

Country and identity are deeply linked for Aboriginal people, and an understanding of Country is key to understanding both themselves and their community.' Country encompasses everything. It includes both living and non-living elements. It holds everything within the landscape, including

Earth, Water and Sky Country, as well as people, animals, plants, and the stories that connect them'² Therefore, a person's identity and personal value cannot be separated from Country and is connected to all elements around them. A person's actions can positively or negatively affect all aspects of Country, including themselves.

Country means to me is the waterways – food sources and drinking water, and places where Aboriginal people would settle down.



Figure 6: Interrelationships between Country, community and individuals (GANSW Connecting with Country, 2023)

² GANSW 2023. Connecting with Country Framework

Country, just like people, can be healthy or sick, and requires care and respect. A network of mutual care between the land, animals, plants, and people stretches into deep time and must be constantly protected and nurtured to ensure the health of Country. Knowledge of how to maintain this network of mutual care is expressed through Aboriginal language, stories, and cultural practices and provides the bedrock of First Nations cultures. The network is interconnected and interdependent; changes in language, for example, affects all other elements.

'We have got connections to waterways, Country itself, flora and fauna, cultural heritage like grinding grooves.... It is deep within us.'

Country is both spiritual and physical. Country is something that can be experienced, and that physical experience is key to the mutual health of First Nations people and Country itself. Walking on Country, feeling the touch of the air, sun, and wind, speaking to and listening to Country, and hunting on Country are ways of practicing culture that have been passed down for many generations. The act of being on Country and feeling the connection with place is deeply significant for Aboriginal communities and a way of ensuring that individuals and families can thrive.

Cultural practices (also called cultural law/protocols) and the languages used to refer to Country, are deeply diverse, reflecting the development of thousands of communities across Australia over millennia. All practices, however, are rooted in the idea of responsibility towards Country.

Country has been significantly disturbed by the colonisation of Australia. Delicate physical and spiritual ecosystems that have been nourished and maintained since deep time have been damaged by deforestation, loss of biodiversity, dislocation of community, and general development. The Western systems of thinking and land-use cannot maintain or nourish Country, and some knowledge of how to care for Country has been lost.

The resilience of Aboriginal people across Australia and the strength of cultural practices, however, has allowed much cultural knowledge and lore to survive colonisation. The knowledge of Aboriginal people of how to care for Country is diverse, and includes practices of agriculture, health,

spirituality, and sustainability. This deep knowledge, based on the idea of mutual responsibility, should play an essential part in future placemaking and planning.

'Country to me is seeing, hearing and feeling. Walking on Country. I love it.'

Designs that echo traditional forms and stories and their contemporary interpretations are increasingly being integrated within new developments, sending strong, respectful messages about the timeless links between First Nations peoples and the landscape, and allowing for reflection and connection to Country. Traditional knowledge, when embedded meaningfully into development, has positive outcomes for communities and the environment. The significance of such design integration does not just lie in its aesthetics, but in the empowerment that public statements of value bring and the value of sustainable future development.

The involvement and authority of Aboriginal knowledge holders and Aboriginal architects, designers, and artists is paramount in developing future projects that connect meaningfully with Country and promote, sustain, and nurture the health of Country.

4. ABORIGINAL HISTORIES OF THE AREA

4.1 Early history

Many Aboriginal people, like other Indigenous or First Nations people around the world, state that they have been living on Country for ‘time immemorial’ – that they have always been here, and their origins lie in the creation of the land and animals.

Over the last few decades, archaeologists’ knowledge of deep human time in Australia has expanded from just a few thousand years in the 1950s, to 25,000 years in the 1960s, then 40,000 years, to now around 60,000 years or more.³

Archaeological evidence of Aboriginal people living in the Sydney region from Shaw’s Creek west of the Nepean River is dated at around 14,000 years ago and numerous other sites in the area have been dated at around 15,000 ago. While Cranebrook Terrace, near Penrith in Western Sydney, has been dated to 41,700 years and a site near Parramatta at 30,000 years old, there is growing consensus among archaeologists and historians that people have lived across the Sydney region from around 50,000 years ago.⁴

More ancient sites lie off the coast and in river valleys, now deep under water. Before the major sea level rise event at the end of the last ice age around 17,000 years ago, Aboriginal people living along the Parramatta River could have walked downstream along the riverbanks to the sea about 30 kilometres beyond the current day coastline. Over generations they would have watched and told stories about the gradual change as the sea

rose to fill the ‘drowned river valley’ of what is now Sydney Harbour until it reached present levels around 6,000 years ago.⁵

Given the devastating impact of violent dispossession and disease upon Aboriginal people in the Sydney region during colonisation, the precise identification of language groups and historical traditional lands or Country for a given area is often difficult today. Early colonial observer Watkin Tench believed there was at the least coastal and inland dialects of the same language and, while this is challenged by some historians who prefer less distinction between what were all ‘canoe cultures’ around Sydney’s coast and waterways, there seems to have been an alignment with inland economies of the rivers, creeks and open forests of the Cumberland Plain, and coastal ‘saltwater’ focused groups.⁶

Prior to colonisation, Aboriginal people in the relatively resource rich Sydney region lived in extended family groups estimated at around 30 to 50 people. These groups were associated with certain territories or places that gave clan members particular social and economic rights and obligations. Each of the estimated 30 clans in the Sydney region had a name often associated with a place or resource such as the Cabro (Gabra) gal (people) at modern day Cabramatta. Clan groups moved around a defined area in response to changing seasons and the availability of food and other resources. European observers mistakenly took this as a nomadic lifestyle, when in fact they moved around a ‘limited and deeply known’ area. There were also forms of more sedentary agriculture and aquaculture, and villages such as those described by early colonial diarists at Kamay-Botany

³ Belshaw, Nickel & Horton, 2020. ‘Histories of Indigenous Peoples and Canada’; Griffith, 2018, *Deep Time Dreaming*, p. 112; Karskens, *The Colony. A history of early Sydney*, 2009, p 25. Munro in Currie, *An Aboriginal history of Willoughby*, 2008, p. 4

⁴ Attenbrow, 2010, *Sydney’s Aboriginal past*, pp 18-20; Nanson, Young & Stockton, 1987, ‘Chronology and palaeoenvironment of the Cranebrook Terrace’, p. 77; Williams, et al., 2017, ‘The Cranebrook Terrace revisited’, pp 100-109; Jo McDonald, 2005, ‘Heritage Conservation Strategy for Aboriginal sites’, pp 4, 87-94; Attenbrow, 2012, ‘Archaeological evidence of Aboriginal life in Sydney’. Williams et al., 2012, ‘A terminal Pleistocene open site on the Hawkesbury River’. Karskens, Burnett & Ross (2017) ‘Traces in a Lost Landscape’, p. 4).

⁵ Nunn & Reid, 2016, ‘Aboriginal Memories of Inundation of the Australian’ p. 11; Attenbrow: 2010, *Sydney’s Aboriginal past*, pp 154-155; Birch, 2007, ‘A short geological and environmental history of the Sydney’, pp 217-219.

⁶ This historical overview does not seek to contest traditional or current definitions of affiliation with Country and acknowledges that multiple interpretations of such identity may exist. A frequently used indication of Country is language identity. However, far more complex factors are known to have often taken precedence over language in determining Aboriginal people’s definition of Country. See Aboriginal Heritage Office, 2015, *Filling a void: a review of the historical context for the use of the word ‘Guringai’*; Stanner, 1965, ‘Aboriginal Territorial Organization’, pp 1-26. There is debate on the extent and name for the language itself, some preferring to use ‘The Sydney Language.’ Watkin Tench observed that though the coastal and inland men he met conversed and understood each other, many words for common things bore no similarity while other words were only slightly different (1793 [2004], *A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson*, p. 122).

Bay and later accounts of '70 huts' at Bent's Basin on the Nepean River west of Sydney.⁷

Some areas had shared boundaries or reciprocal rights with bordering and neighbouring groups. With appropriate permission and protocols, people could travel through and hunt on other groups' lands. On special occasions such as feasts associated with the beaching of a whale; a kangaroo hunt on the open forests of southwestern Sydney; trading or exchanging stone, tools and other items, as well as ceremonial occasions, people would often travel long distances around and from outside the Sydney region.⁸

With several rivers and estuarine coastal areas, the Sydney region sustained a comparatively large population, unlike more arid inland areas. Fish and shellfish were a major part of Saltwater peoples' diets. The *nawi* (tied-bark canoe) was a common sight both day and night in rivers and creeks. There are many accounts by early colonists of Aboriginal people in canoes fishing and cooking their catch on small fires on hearth stones within the vessels. Women were the primary fishers from *nawi* (men usually fished with spears). Women were highly skilled with shell hooks and twine fishing lines and thus played an important economic role in Sydney. They were noted as cradling their children while fishing, as their songs floated across the waters of Sydney Harbour.⁹



Figure 7: Fishing hooks crafted by Aboriginal communities living around Sydney Harbour, John White, 1790.¹⁰

⁷ Gapps, S. (2010), *Cabrogal to Fairfield City*, pp 26-60; Attenbrow, (2010), *Sydney's Aboriginal past*, p. 78; Karskens, (2009), *The Colony*, p. 36; Gammage, B. (2012), *The biggest estate on earth*, pp. 281-304.

⁸ Gammage, (2012), *The biggest estate on earth*. As Paul Irish (2017, *Hidden in plain view*, pp 22-27).

⁹ Banks, 1770 [2005], 'The Endeavour Journal'; Attenbrow, 2010, *Sydney's Aboriginal past*, 38. Collins' estimates of the population of the Sydney region as a whole vary between 3,000 and 20,000 (1789, *An account of the English colony*, p. 557).

¹⁰ John White, (1790), *Journal of a voyage to New South Wales with sixty-five plates of non-descript animals, birds, lizards, serpents, curious cones or trees and other natural products*, State Library of NSW, <https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/74VKJ3NqBBQd/Nwr2GDdJzvE8g>

People living inland across the Cumberland Plain focused on hunting small animals, gathering plants and catching freshwater fish and eels. Banksia flowers, wild honey, varieties of yam and burrawang nuts (macrozamia - a cycad palm with poisonous seeds that require processing to remove toxins) were recorded as important food sources. Xanthorrhoea, also known as the grass tree, had many uses - the nectar was eaten, the stalk used as a spear and the resin as a glue. Small animals such as bandicoots and wallabies were hunted with traps and snares. Watkin Tench noted the skill in cutting toeholds in trees to swiftly climb to hunt possums.¹¹

The landscape and environment before Europeans arrived was a finely managed one. In 1790 John Hunter observed people 'burning the grass on the north shore opposite to Sydney, in order to catch rats and other animals'. In 1804 Henry Waterhouse described the land around Cowpastures as 'a beautiful park, totally divested of underwood, interspersed with rich, luxuriant grass ... except where recently burnt'. These forests that had been managed by many generations of Aboriginal people through such methods as what is known as 'firestick farming'. Fire was an important tool and also used to open up tracks, to 'clean country', drive animals into the paths of hunters, cooking, warmth, treating wood, cracking open stones and for a place to gather, dance and share stories and knowledge.¹²

The Sydney region was a landscape rich with the imprints of activity, art and culture such as rock engravings and paintings, scarred and carved trees, ceremonial rock and mound structures, cooking ovens, villages of bark huts, stone tool quarries, grinding grooves and tool-making sites, burial and other shell middens, and other artefacts. All this activity had a lasting impact on the landscape, and many elements such as rock engravings in particular survive or have been kept intact or cared for by community members. Over time, many Aboriginal pathways were taken up

by the colonists and made into roads, some still on the same routes today. 'Kangaroo grounds' became colonial estates, fishing creeks became drains, hills and peaks used for communication became signalling stations and lookouts, and shell middens became the limestone for the bricks and mortar of early colonial buildings.¹³



Figure 8: Carving of Echidna in Ku-ring-gai National Park. (Image: Stuart Humphreys © Australian Museum)¹⁴

The large swathes of Hawkesbury sandstone across the Sydney region were the canvas for what has been likened to an enormous open air art gallery – engravings of the outlines of spirit creatures, marsupials, birds, fish, weapons, footprints and even European boats alongside people, showing a continuity that carried on beyond the arrival of British colonisers

¹¹ Tench, 1793 [2004], A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson, p. 82, 230; Kohen, 1985, Aborigines in the west, p. 9; Attenbrow, 2010, Sydney's Aboriginal past, p. 41.

¹² Hunter, An historical journal of events at Sydney and at sea, (1787-1792, 1793), p. 312; Waterhouse quoted in Historical records of New South Wales Vol. 5, p. 359; White, 1790 [2003], 'Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales', p. 163; Gammage, 2012, The biggest estate on earth, pp 163-185; Griffith, 2018, Deep time dreaming, p. 240.

¹³ Griffith, B (2018), Deep time dreaming, p. 241; Gammage, (2012), The biggest estate on earth, p. xix; Attenbrow, (2012), Sydney's Aboriginal past.

¹⁴ Australian Museum, Carving of Echidna (2012) <https://australian.museum/learn/cultures/atsi-collection/australian-archaeology/indigenous-rock-engraving-of-an-echidna/>

in 1788. This Sydney art tradition was distinctive from other regions such as inland New South Wales where carved trees were more prominent, or further south where painting dominates. There are more than 4,000 known rock art sites and more than 3,000 rock shelters with pigment or painted art, often featuring hand stencils. The Sydney Basin has been compared to Kakadu National Park in terms of the vast numbers of Aboriginal sites that remain today.¹⁵

4.2 First Encounters

The first encounters between the British colonists and the Sydney people were initially based in curiosity, with both sides attempting to comprehend each other. However, misunderstandings or transgressions of Aboriginal law and protocol soon escalated into violence and retribution. Unarmed convicts outside the encampment at Sydney Cove were increasingly targeted during 1788. However, in April 1789, what Sydney Aboriginal people called *galgala* or smallpox broke out and more than half - possibly even 80 percent - of the population around Sydney Harbour were dead within a month. Captain John Hunter wrote that 'it was truly shocking to go round the coves of this harbour [seeing] men, women and children, lying dead'. David Collins wrote that those who witnessed the Sydney man Arabanoo's grief and agony could never forget either - on being taken on a boat around the harbour Arabanoo 'lifted up his hands and eyes in silent agony [and exclaimed] 'All dead! All dead!''¹⁶

Despite such massive death and disruption to Aboriginal lives across Sydney, in 1794 resistance warfare against the colonisers began in earnest along the new settlements on the Dyarubbin (Hawkesbury) River and was to carry on through the 1790s, largely under the leadership of the famous

warrior Pemulwuy. This 'constant sort of war' as one colonist described it, continued until Governor Macquarie ordered the now infamous military campaign across the Sydney region that ended in the Appin Massacre of April 17th, 1816.¹⁷

Sydney Aboriginal society was not static and did not cease after contact with Europeans. Both material and cultural traditions of Aboriginal Sydney continued after the devastation to Aboriginal society, sometimes for example, by incorporating non-Aboriginal materials in traditional elements such as using glass and ceramics to make spear points and other tools. Twenty-nine engraved and pigment art sites have been dated to the period after European arrival. Some creation and other stories told to R. H. Mathews by Gundungurra (Gandangara) people in 1901 were carried on for generations and survive today.¹⁸

4.3 1800s Sydney

As the Cumberland Plain became more closely settled during the 1800s, Aboriginal people continued to live near their traditional Country where they could. Some managed to live in the centre of the growing city of Sydney such as a group of families who caught and sold fish at Circular Quay and Rose Bay, while other families continued to live on the outskirts of populated areas such as at La Perouse and at Salt Pan Creek on the Georges River. From the 1880s, others moved to or were forced on to reserves such as Sackville in the northwest. Families including the descendants of Lucy Leane, continued to live in Liverpool. All carried knowledge of their ancestors and their Country down to this day. During the 1800s many Aboriginal women married European men. Some families knew

¹⁵ Karskens, G. (2009), *The Colony*, p. 32; Griffith, 2018, *Deep time dreaming*, p. 188; Mulvaney & Kamminga, (1999), *Prehistory of Australia*, pp 284, 376-381; McDonald, 2007, *Dreamtime Superhighway*.

¹⁶ Gapps, S. (2019), "'They have attack'd almost every person who has met with them' - Re-reading William Bradley"; Karskens, 2009, *The Colony*, p. 50. Evidence of smallpox, including dead and sick people, was also found well away from Sydney. See Gapps, 2018, *The Sydney Wars*, pp 55-56.

¹⁷ Gapps, S. (2018), *The Sydney Wars*, pp 125-155, 226-255.

¹⁸ Irish & Gowan, (2013), 'Where's the evidence? The archaeology of Sydney's Aboriginal history', p. 61. Artefact Heritage, 2022, 'Aspect Industrial Estate', p. 18. See also Goward, 2011, 'Aboriginal glass artefacts of the Sydney region'; Meredith, 1989, *The Last Kooradgie*. According to Smith & Jennings, a site near the Wollondilly River has 'post-contact creation or restoration of a traditional subject by Traditional Owners' (2011, 'The petroglyphs of Gundungurra Country', p. 241).

of their heritage but often kept it hidden. Others only found out much later through family history work from the 1980s.¹⁹

Much language spoken across the Sydney region was in effect stolen from Aboriginal people who were forced to learn English and not speak traditional languages at school or in public under threat of their children being taken away. Still, a number of early colonial word lists such as those given by Sydney woman Patyegarang to William Dawes, form the basis of language revival today. Some Sydney words became widespread across Australia such as corroboree, dingo, cooe, waratah and woomera. In many suburbs across Sydney, Aboriginal placenames were incorporated into suburbs or street names such as Maroubra, Bondi, Turramurra, Cabramatta and Bunnerong to name a few.²⁰

Many of Sydney's roads and streets today follow the original tracks and pathways that had been used for millennia by Aboriginal people. When the colonists arrived in 1788 and began journeying out from Sydney Cove, they often followed pathways, or as Surgeon John White wrote in May 1788, 'we fell in with an Indian path'. As Sydney language expert Jakelin Troy notes, it often made sense that the colonists would use established pathways particularly in avoiding dense forest areas and rugged terrain. Troy has noted how these pathways were used for 'visiting family, collecting food or conducting ceremonies'. According to Paul Irish, the Europeans pronounced the local Sydney Aboriginal word for a pathway or track as 'maroo'. Many of these *maroo* underpin the structure of Sydney to this day.²¹

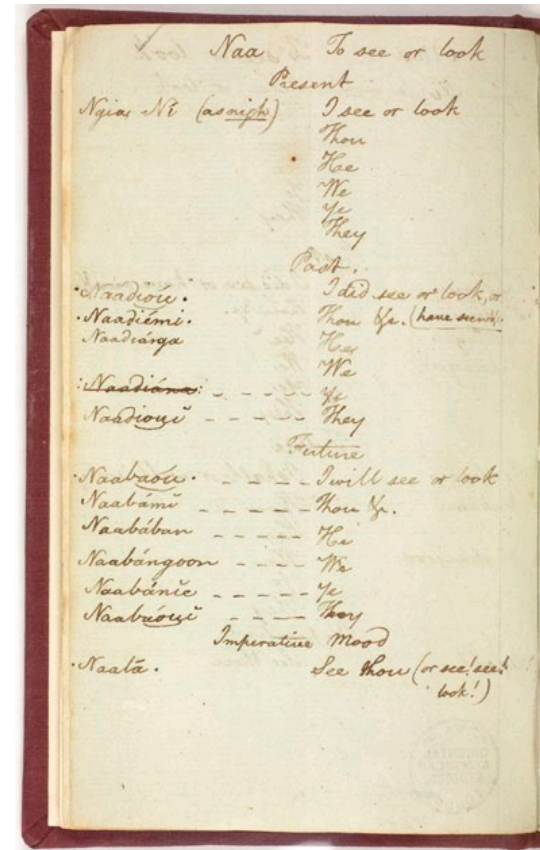


Figure 9: Page from notebook of Sydney language words compiled by Patyegarang and William Dawes (source: *The Notebooks of William Dawes*)

¹⁹ Johnson, (2003), *Aunt Joan Cooper*. Kohen, 2009, *Dharuganora: Dharug Country*. As Goodall & Cadzow (2009), *Rivers and resilience*, p. 41).

²⁰ Dawes, W. (1791), *Notebooks on the Aboriginal language of Sydney*, pp v-vii; Troy, 1992, *The Sydney Language*; Karskens, 2009, *The Colony*, p. 33.

²¹ White, 1790 [2003], 'Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales', 30 May 1788; Daniel, 2018, 'Walking in their tracks'.

4.4 Dharug, Dharawal and Gandangara Countries

As the British colony expanded out from Sydney Cove across the Cumberland Plain during the 1790s and early 1800s, Aboriginal people along the Nepean River and around its headwaters to the southwest of Sydney had been relatively immune from closer settlement as had occurred near Parramatta and Windsor.

From 1798 to 1804, the colonists sent parties to the south of Sydney to find wandering cattle, escaped convicts and a way across the rugged fringes of the Sydney Basin. They all began at Prospect Hill and followed what was to become the Cowpastures Road. In 1802 Ensign Barrallier was guided by a man from 'Liverpool or the Cowpastures' named Kogi (Cogey) who took him along this route which almost certainly connected the southern Gandangara and Dharawal people to the Warmuli clan of Dharug around Prospect. Modern day Cabramatta Road was another Aboriginal pathway. At present day Carne's Hill at the junction of Cowpastures and Bringelly roads, in 1804 the botanist George Caley (who was informed by his guide 'Daniel' Moowattin) described a 'native pathway'.²²

As linguist Jeremy Steele has noted, it is difficult to be precise about traditional language 'boundaries' in the Sydney region today. To the south and east of the large northern loop of the Georges River, the Norongerragal group of the Dharawal language group bordered the Cabrogal across the river. Resource rich areas such as the upper reaches of the Georges River – where the tidal influence reaches nearly 30 kilometres inland – may have been shared boundaries, or boundaries with accepted access rights. Indeed, the ease with which Aboriginal people moved in *nawi* (tied-bark canoes) along the waterways of the Sydney basin suggests hard boundary distinctions should be limited.²³

²² Flynn, (1997) 'Holroyd history and the silent boundary project', p. 17; Gapps, (2010) *Cabrogal to Fairfield*, p. 87-8

²³ Steele (1892), 'The Aboriginal language of Sydney', p. 8. Hill and Thornton, Notes on the Aborigines of New South Wales etc., Sydney, Goodall and Cadzow, (2009), *Rivers and resilience*, esp. chapters 1 and 2.

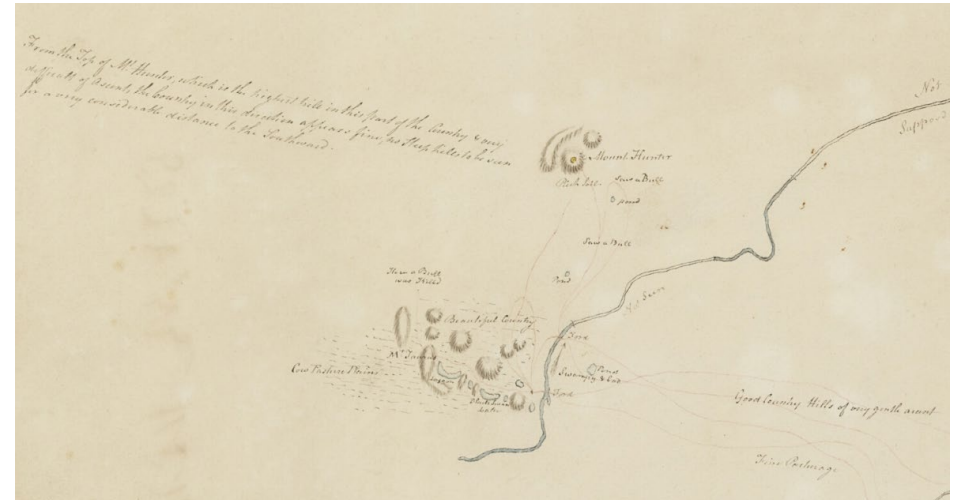


Figure 10: Detail of New South Wales sketch of the settlements 20th August 1796, Governor John Hunter showing Cowpastures (source: State Library NSW)

After several reports from returned convict 'bolters', as well as a report of an Aboriginal dance that included what appeared to be the action of a charging bull – Governor Hunter decided in 1795 to investigate the southern area where it seemed the cattle that went missing in 1788 might be. Hunter and his party found 'a fine herd of cattle' and the governor decided not to bring them in but to exclude people from the area so they would be a productive source for the government in future. He called the area 'Cow Pasture Plains'. The cattle were not only the subject of an Aboriginal dance but were depicted in art at what is now known as the Bull Cave near Campbelltown.²⁴

Up to 1810, Aboriginal people living around present day southwestern Sydney were largely only visited by travellers, land seekers and surveyors.

²⁴ Gapps, *Cabrogal to Fairfield*, (2010) p. 83. See also McDonald 'Rock art and cross-cultural interaction in Sydney' esp. p. 7 and *Dreamtime Superhighway*, pp. 4-5

In 1803 the botanist George Caley led an expedition that passed through the Mulgoa Valley, Badgerys Creek, Bringelly and South Creek. Caley was guided by the Aboriginal man 'Daniel' Moowattin. Moowattin was born near Parramatta and from the age of 14 he assisted Caley by acting as his interpreter, guide, 'plant getter' and hunter on Caley's botanizing expeditions around Sydney.

In 1802 the Engineer Francis Barrallier witnessed a *patagorang* (kangaroo) hunt near Menangle Swamp. This was obviously a combined group hunt with large numbers of people involved. Barrallier was impressed at how the hunters were spaced '30 paces [apart] and formed a circle which contained an area of 1 or 2 miles'.²⁵

In 1805 and 1806, acting-surveyor James Meehan undertook a survey of South Creek to determine the suitability of the region for land grants, with the earliest grants in the region at Bringelly in 1805.

In 1807 Caley travelled south again, this time looking for a koala specimen. In appreciation of Moowattin's skills, and obviously with Moowattin's knowledge of Country, they passed a river and series of waterfalls and Caley recorded it as the 'Cataract of Carrung-Gurring' and called the river 'Moowattin Creek'. These names appeared in Matthew Flinders 1814 Atlas of Terra Australia but were later changed to the Cataract River and Appin Falls.²⁶

Then, in late 1810, after a tour of the entire fringe of the Sydney Basin, Governor Macquarie declared the districts of Minto, Airds and Appin to the south of Liverpool, open for settlement. The southern frontier of the colony around Sydney now moved further into Dharawal land.²⁷



Figure 11: Joseph Lycett, *Aborigines hunting kangaroos*, 1820 (source: National Library of Australia.)

Broughton's farm was at the centre of a gently undulating plateau that stretched to the southwest of where the township of Appin had been designated. The edges of the land grants were defined by sharp creeks, rivers and rocky terrain that had been cut away by the Carrung-gurring (Cataract) and Upper Nepean Rivers. The group of farms around Broughton's were on the edge of the colony in the Sydney region, connected to it by a single road to the north. To the south, rugged terrain limited colonial expansion. But this terrain also seems to have provided an area where Aboriginal people could engage with the Europeans - a labyrinth of sandstone overhangs along such areas as the Rocky Ponds Creek provided shelters for family groups who could continue to camp with

25 Barrallier, (1802), *Journal of the expedition etc.*, p. 3

26 Smith, (2005) *Moowattin, Daniel (1791-1816)*, ADB online,

27 Perry, 'Meehan, James (1774-1826)' ADB online; Irving, 'Blaxland, John (1769-1845)' ADB, online; Sales, *The History of Luddenham Methodist Church*, p.3. See Gapps, *The Sydney Wars*, esp. pp. 196-201

access to water, a safe route back away from the settled areas, as well as access to the farms around Appin. Of the early colonists at Appin, Broughton, Kennedy and Hume in particular actively sought to establish good relations with Dharawal. Governor Macquarie visited their farms in 1815 and was impressed with the clearing of land and the flourishing wheat crops – which had been done with the help of local Aboriginal people. The governor noted that ‘those Natives [at Appin] live in a state of perfect peace, friendliness, and sociality with the settlers, and even shew a willingness to assist them occasionally in their labours’.²⁸

4.5 Resistance warfare and conflict 1814-1816

The summers of 1812 and 1813 had been dry, and by early 1814 the entire greater Sydney region was in a period of drought. In May 1814 the Gazette reported ‘violences between the natives and ourselves, which from the tranquillity and good understanding that for the last 5 or 6 years’ it had hoped ‘were not again likely to occur.’ But in February and May there were attacks at George Cox’s farm at Mulgoa and at Governor Macquarie’s private secretary John Thomas Campbell’s farm near Wallacia.²⁹

With settlers clamouring for action, Macquarie immediately requested more troops and arms from Britain, continued earlier efforts to expand the constabulary and encouraged the formation of civilian paramilitary ‘Associations’.³⁰ Macquarie’s hopes were soon dashed. In June, there were apparently ‘hordes of natives’ near the ‘Cow Pasture Settlement’ creating ‘considerable alarms among the Settlers’ many of whom were fleeing like war refugees; ‘wives and children have forsaken their dwellings, and sought shelter in securer places’. In what was a remarkable and alarming report if true, the Gazette newspaper continued:

²⁸ Whittaker, *Appin The Story of A Macquarie Town*, pp 5-10. Macquarie *Journals of His Tours*, 113-27

²⁹ Macquarie to Castlereagh 30 April 1810 HRA VIII, 258; *Gazette* 16 November 1811; Suttro to Banks 12 November 1812 Banks Papers ML CY 3681, 397-400; Macquarie to Bathurst 19 January 1814 HRA VIII, 121. Perry, *Australia’s First Frontier*, 30; Turbet *The First Frontier*, 194-98;

‘The natives of Jarvis’s Bay are reported on good authority to have coalesced with the mountain tribes [and] ... have declared a determination, that when the Moon shall become as large as the Sun, they will commence a work of desolation, and kill all the whites before them’.

It seemed that what was in effect a declaration of war had been made.³¹



Figure 12: Joseph Lycett, *View upon the Nepean River at the Cow Pastures, New South Wales, 1825* (source: National Library of Australia)

In December 1815 conflict escalated once more and some settlers at the ‘distant farms’ in the southwest either abandoned their properties or had them destroyed by fire. In early March 1816 Aboriginal warriors killed five men at Bringelly and attacked and plundered other farms in the area. At the

Inquest into the death of William Reardon SARNSW 6021 4/1819, 539-46.; *Gazette* 7, 14 May; Connor *The Australian Frontier Wars*, 46; R. F. Holder. ‘Campbell, John Thomas (1770-1830)’ ADB

³⁰ Montague ‘The Men of the NSW Corps’ JRAHS, 219 Macquarie to Bathurst 28 April 1814 HRA 1, VIII, 148. Macquarie to Bathurst 24 March 1815 HRA I, VIII, 465; Macquarie to Bathurst 7 May 1814, HRA 1, VIII, 250-1; *Gazette* June 14

³¹ *Gazette* 4 June 1814.

Lewis farm on the Nepean a woman and convict worker were, according to the Gazette ‘cruelly murdered’. ‘Depredations’ were reported on farms as close to Sydney as Lane Cove. The Gazette urged travellers to go in company on the roads between settlements.

Macquarie’s response to the attacks was to station small detachments of soldiers around the southwest region at Bringelly, at present day Elderslie and Kirkham, (John Oxley’s farms) and a detachment of ‘a non-commissioned Officer and six soldiers’ were sent to the aid of the Macarthurs at Camden.

Attacks and raids continued through March of 1816. Across the region settlers and shepherds were ‘leaving their flocks behind to the mercy of the storm.’ Macquarie later noted that ‘many of the Settlers have entirely Abandoned their Farms in Consequence of the late Alarming Outrages’. For the traditional owners in the southwest of Sydney, this was a tactical victory in limiting colonial expansion into their homelands. The response from Governor Macquarie was to commence the largest military campaign the colony had yet seen and would ever witness.³²

On 18 March Governor Macquarie wrote to Lord Bathurst in London informing him that ‘the Native Blacks of this Country, Inhabiting the distant Interior parts, have lately broke out in Open Hostility against the British Settlers residing on the Banks of the River Nepean near the Cow Pastures, and have Committed most daring Acts of Violence on their Persons and Depredations on their Property’ and that ‘no less than five White Men have been lately Killed by the Natives’. The governor’s response was to send a military detachment ‘so as to Strike them with Terror against Committing Similar Acts of Violence in future.’ He wanted to ‘drive the Hostile Natives across the mountains’ and clear ‘the Country of them entirely’³³.

The situation grew tense for those Aboriginal people living in and around the settlements to the south of Sydney. Throsby said Gogy, Budbury, Young

Bundle, Nighgingull and their families were at his farm seeking safe haven and identified others from near Bringelly as the ‘troublemakers’.

A group of Aboriginal people at Throsby’s Glenfield farm, were surprised by a visit from the ‘bush constables’ John Warby and John Jackson. They were looking for Gogy, who wasn’t there at the time, and they spoke with Budbury and others. Whatever was discussed, the people at Throsby’s farm were put into a ‘state of fear’. There may well have been some threat made, as within a week Budbury and Bundle were enlisted as guides for Macquarie’s campaigns.³⁴

In what has been described as ‘one of the most elaborate operations ever carried out by the British Army on the Australian frontier’ on 9 April Macquarie issued Captain Schaw of the 46th Regiment a detailed set of instructions. While there was no formal declaration, Macquarie’s instructions had all the hallmarks of a campaign during wartime:

On any occasion of seeing or falling in with the Natives ... they are to be called on, by your friendly Native Guides, to surrender themselves to you as Prisoners of War.

If they refused to surrender, Schaw was ordered ‘to fire upon and compell them to surrender’. After destroying their weapons, any dead were to be ‘hanged up on trees in conspicuous situations, to strike the Survivors with the greater terror’.

Initially, the campaign was to be a sweep around the edges of the Cumberland Plain by a large force under Captain Schaw, moving from the north and west towards a smaller force under Lieutenant Dawe to the south, meeting at the Cow Pastures. But in a postscript to Macquarie’s orders another detachment was ordered as well. On 8 April reports had arrived of large groups of people in the Airds and Appin districts ‘committing all sorts of outrages and depredations’. A third detachment

³² Hassall Family Correspondence ML A1677/3, 619-22, 627-30

³³ Macquarie to Bathurst 18 March 1816 HRA I, IX, 53-54; 10 April 1816 LEMA; Gazette 30 March, 4 May 1814.

³⁴ D’arcy Wentworth correspondence ML A752, CY699, 183-6; Turbet The First Frontier, 212.

was formed under Captain Wallis and ordered to the district, 'where the Hostile Natives have recently assembled in considerable Force'.³⁵

Captain Wallis marched on the 10th of April to Liverpool, and then with the guides Warby, Budbury and Bundle, headed south to clear Airds and Appin of any hostile warriors, and then link up with Schaw at the Cowpastures.³⁶

While Schaw and Dawe covered terrain along the Nepean River to the north, Captain Wallis operated in the Appin district with the strongest force of thirty-three soldiers, Lieutenant George Adamson Parker and two sergeants. At Liverpool on the 10th of April they learned of a large group of people including Gogy on the farm of Andrew Cunningham, near modern day Bankstown Airport. John Warby said that apart from Gogy, the rest of the people were 'friendly', so Wallis decided against moving on them, afraid word of the soldiers' presence would spread to the 'more hostile tribes' and the element of surprise would be lost.³⁷

The Aboriginal guides with Wallis - Budbury and Bundle - were reluctant to go with the expedition and Wallis ordered a close eye kept on them. At the Woodhouse farm just north of Gilead however, they made off, and Wallis suggested Warby – whose long experience in the bush appears to have led to some sympathy toward the Sydney people – had 'winked at the escape of Bundle and Budbury'.

One of the Hume brothers, young sons of settler Andrew Hamilton Hume and familiar with the bush, had informed Wallis that 'all the worst characters' were at Lachlan Vale at Appin. On the 12th Wallis marched his men there. At Kennedy's farm, Wallis was informed by Kennedy that there was no one but 'some inoffensive natives on his farm'. On interviewing them, Wallis found two to be on Macquarie's list – 'Yallaman and Battagalie' – but

Kennedy assured Wallis 'they were harmless, innocent men' who 'protected his and Mr Broughton's farm' and that if Wallis took them, Kennedy 'must abandon the country'.

4.6 The Appin Massacre

The military expedition pressed on as two reports came in of 'large bands' of Aboriginal people, one near Minto and the other at 'Lachlan Vale', Appin. Wallis headed toward the Minto farm of William Redfern but there were no warriors to be seen. On the 16th of April, Wallis continued the search and that night received news that a band of Aboriginal people with 'seven murderers among them' were camped near Broughton's 'Lachlan Vale' farm. One of them was apparently the famed warrior Cannabaygal.³⁸

At 'a little after one o'clock' in the morning of the 17th of April, Thomas Noble, a convict servant of William Sykes, led Wallis and his soldiers through the darkness to the place he had seen an encampment. Wallis later reported that when they arrived there, 'the fires were burning but deserted'. In what was a common tactic to reduce the element of surprise, the group were in fact sleeping a short way away from their decoy campfires.

Wallis was about to leave when the soldiers heard a child crying nearby. He quickly 'formed line ranks, entered and pushed on through a thick brush towards the precipitous banks of a deep rocky creek'. Wallis provided only a short description of what occurred next;

³⁵ Macquarie quoted in *Historical Record of the Forty-Sixth*, 41, 49-50. Instructions for Capt. W. G. B. Schaw, 9 April 1816, SARNSW Reel 6045, 4/1734, 149-68; Instructions for Captain Wallis, 9 April 1816 SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 7-13; Instructions for Lt. Charles Dawe 9 April 1816 SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 1-6. Instructions for Lt. Charles Dawe 9 April 1816 SARNSW Reel 6045, 4/1735, 1-6; Macquarie to Bathurst 25 May 1816, HRA IX, 139 and note 36, 854

³⁶ Instructions for Lt. Charles Dawe 9 April 1816 SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 1-6; SARNSW 6004, 4/3494, 448; Connor, *Frontier Wars*, 49; Turbet, *The First Frontier*, 288

³⁷ *Gazette* 11 May 1816. Report of Captain Schaw to Governor Macquarie, 8 May 1816 SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 33-41; Report of Captain James Wallis of the 46th Regiment to Governor Macquarie, 9 May 1816, SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 50-59; Report of Lt. Parker of the 46th Regiment 8 May 1816, SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 60-62; Report of Lt. Dawe of the 46th Regiment to Governor Macquarie 8 May 1816, SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 29-32; SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 50-59.

³⁸ SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 1-13; 20-21; 29-41; 44-62; Turbet *The First Frontier*, 241; Connor *Frontier Wars*, 51

'...the dogs gave the alarm and the natives fled over the cliffs, a smart firing now ensued – it was moonlight the grey dawn of morn appearing so dark as to be able only to discern their figures bounding from rock to rock ...'

Wallis later reported that he had made it clear to his troops before they set out that they were to 'take as many prisoners as possible, and to be careful in sparing and saving the women and children'. Whether this is embellishment after the fact or not, when the firing began he said his 'principal efforts' were directed in sparing women and children, but he regretted 'some had been shot and others met their fate by rushing in despair over the precipice'.

Wallis's words have resonated ever since. Historians have suggested people 'threw themselves in terror over the cliffs'. Yet a careful reading of Wallis's report suggests they may have been trying to escape down through the rocks, some perhaps falling to their deaths as they did so under fire in a terrified haste in the breaking dawn, with others being shot by soldiers firing down at them. It is difficult to imagine the warrior and leader Cannabaygal not attempting to save his people by escaping, or perhaps even by attempting to defend them while they escaped. Apparently, he was found with five bullets in his dead body.³⁹

Wallis noted that his mission was partly successful in taking 'two women and three children' alive; 'they were all that remained, to whom death would not be a blessing'. Wallis suggested there were some terribly wounded people that he could or would not do anything for. He counted fourteen dead, among whom were 'Dunelle' (Durelle) and Cannabaygal, but there could well have been more.

³⁹ SARNSW, 6065, 4/1798, p. 45; SARNSW, 6045, 4/1735 p.51. For some of the most florid accounts of the Appin Massacre see Elder *Blood on the Wattle*, 16; Smith *King Bungaree*, 84 and for a more considered response, Harman *Aboriginal Convicts*, 22.. Macquarie letters 4,5 June 1816, LEMA; Proclamation against the Natives' 4 May 1816 SARNSW NRS 13696, 24-36; Gazette 4 May 1816. Macquarie to Bathurst 8 June 1816 HRA I, IX, 139-145.

⁴⁰ Karskens *The Colony*, 508. Report of Lt. Dawe of the 46th Regiment to Governor Macquarie 8 May 1816, SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 29-32; *Sydney Gazette*, 11 May 1816; Report of Sergeant Broadfoot SARNSW 6045, 4/1735, 72-3

Following Macquarie's orders, Wallis had the bodies of these two men who were the only known wanted 'hostile' warriors among the dead, hung on trees on a prominent hill nearby. Many years later William Byrne said the bodies were taken to 'McGee's Hill', just north of today's Wilton Road near Appin. Byrne recalled that after the bodies were strung up, 'they ... cut off the heads and brought them to Sydney.'⁴⁰

The Appin Massacre was the most significant massacre event in the history of the Sydney region and a turning point in the occupation of the Cumberland Plain and its surrounds. As it was conducted by the military as part of a broad campaign ordered by Governor Macquarie, rather than by armed colonists on the frontier, it was also the most documented massacre in Sydney's history, and one of the most documented in Australian history.⁴¹

4.7 Surviving in the southwest - 1820s-1880s

After the end of the Sydney Wars in 1816, many Aboriginal people in the southern Sydney region found work on farms or in guiding and tracking. Bundle, from the 'Cowpastures Tribe' was recommended to become a constable at Minto. Other families camped and worked on farms – some at the Macarthurs' 'Camden Park' and 'Denham', where the Macarthurs allotted an area of land for Aboriginal people to live on, and this became a meeting place for people travelling, with corroborees noted as being held with hundreds of people for many years at least through the 1820s. Others such as James Tegg worked on Charles Throbsy's 'Glenfield' estate. Some women such as Lucy Leane and Maria Lock married British men. A few children from the district who had been in the Orphan School near Liverpool were sent to the reopened Native Institute at Blacktown in 1826, and when

⁴¹ Macquarie to Bathurst 4 April 1817 HRA, I, IX, 358; 'Military Department Victualled' Enclosure No. 15 Macquarie to Bathurst HRA I, IX, 375. See Mark Dunn 'A Valley in a Valley', 188-234. Gapps, S. (2021) *Gudyarra – the First Wiradyuri War of Resistance. The Bathurst War 1822-1824*, 2021. Gapps S., 'Rifle slits and gun loops', www.thesydneywars.com; Byrne 'Old Memories', *Old Times*, 105.

this ultimately failed, several were sent to the care of Reverend Robert Cartwright at Liverpool and then on to the mission at Wellington in central west NSW.⁴²

What was called the ‘Liverpool Tribe’ was reported by missionary William Walker in 1821 to be ‘not more than 15 to 20 people’ under their ‘Chief’ named ‘Cogie’ (Kogi, Gogy). In 1826 the so-called ‘Liverpool Tribe’ were, along with the ‘Illawarra districts’ reported to be in ‘hostilities’ with the ‘Cowpastures Tribe’ – suggesting traditional disputes were still being settled. In 1827 a ‘Corroborree’ at ‘Denbeigh’ near Camden had ‘over 400 people’ in attendance. According to the Hoy family, ‘Hoy’s Hill’ on the Liverpool road (Hume Highway) was a ‘nightly stopping place inward and outward’ on the ‘Illawarra and Cowpastures tribes’ annual visits to the feast at Parramatta. Even in 1836, James Hassall reported a ‘large corroborree’ at the Cowpastures as well as a traditional fight.⁴³

During the 19th century Aboriginal people moved around and in and out of the southwest Sydney region. They regrouped under the pressures of colonisation and made new families and alliances. Sometimes their movement was based on traditional connections across long distances such as those recounted by William Russell or Werriberrie. Described in 1914 as ‘chief of the Gun-dun-gorra aboriginals of the Burragorang Valley’, Russell’s mother ‘Wonduck’ was from ‘near Richlands’ and his uncle ‘My-an-garlie’ from ‘Connor’s Plain, near Bathurst’. According to Russell, Myangarlie ‘became principal man of our tribe’ in the mid-nineteenth century and his ‘chief camping ground’ was the Burragorang Valley. Russell ended up with his family at Oaks Creek ‘nine miles from Camden’ and recalled ‘many convict men, as well as aboriginals, used to help reap the crop and do bush work’ for the Reilly family and on John Wild’s property ‘Vanderville’.

⁴² Gapps, Cabrogal to Fairfield, p. 148-149. Three boys ‘Billy, Johnny and Wallace’ were recorded being moved to the school.

⁴³ Gapps, S. (2010) Cabrogal to Fairfield, p. 150



Figure 13: William Govett, notes and sketches, 1830-1835 [Govett was at Berrima and in the southern region in 1832], (source: State Library of New South Wales, MS A330 (Safe 1 / 404), images 15-17)

Russell recalled ‘Mr. William Antill, of Abbotsford, Picton’ and that Aboriginal people ‘were never interfered with on any property of the Antill family, which included all the Picton Valley’. He described ‘the old aboriginals about Camden’ as from ‘a different tribe to those of Burragorang (Gandangara) and that ‘Old Bundle’ was their chief and ‘Gurgur’ their language.⁴⁴

By the 1860s most Aboriginal people in the expanding southern suburbs of Sydney had either moved, or were moved, to other areas. However, a

⁴⁴ ‘Bush Memories’, Kalgoorlie Western Argus, 11 August 1914, p. 44; Russell, ‘My Recollections’ pp. 9-13

handful continued to work and live within the growing non-Indigenous population. At Liverpool in the late 1800s, 'Black Tommy' was reported by local newspapers as 'the last full blood man of the Georges River'. In the 1888 celebrations for the centenary of the colony, Tommy rode a white horse at the head of the parade down the main street of Liverpool. Another woman who lived in Liverpool in the late 1800s, also described as 'the last Aborigine in the area' was known as 'Black Eliza'.⁴⁵

But Tommy and Eliza were not the last Aboriginal people in the district. During the 1890s, Aboriginal children were removed from the families and brought to the 'Children's Home' at Liverpool. And on the Georges River, an Aboriginal woman named Lucy Leane was struggling with the Aborigines Protection Board. Lucy had married 'an Englishman' and lived on an orchard farm by the river. In 1893 she petitioned the Board for a boat 'for the purpose of carrying on a trade on the George River'. Her petition was supported by respectable citizens who described her as 'a most deserving woman', as well as 'the only surviving Native woman of the Georges River and Liverpool district'. The petition failed and Lucy died in 1895 and her grave headstone is now in the 'Liverpool Pioneers Memorial Park'. Lucy had 13 children and her descendants are still in the area today – Cathy Leane remarked in 2011 that it was 'quite amusing' that a 'blackfella is buried in a pioneer park'.⁴⁶

Along the Georges River throughout the late 19th century Aboriginal families were attempting to hold on to portions of their own land, in different ways. They also kept up a broader community and wider family networks by moving around Country, in similar ways to how they had done pre-invasion. One of the most recorded was Biddy Giles, who in the 1860s and 70s with her non-Aboriginal husband Billy often took people on fishing and hunting excursions from Mill Creek down the Georges River and into Kamay-Botany Bay. In the 1910s, William Rowley and his family moved upriver from Towra Point on Kamay-Botany Bay to the community at Salt Pan Creek.⁴⁷

While this 'east-west' movement along the Georges River was important for Aboriginal people in southern Sydney, by the turn of the twentieth century there was another movement – of people from outside Sydney into these communities. Some came from as far as Brungle in southern NSW, the Castlereagh area and even Western Australia. Many were drawn by work opportunities and all could stay in the camps such as Salt Pan Creek, outside but still close to the city.

The impact of the Aborigines Protection Board from the 1880s cannot be overstated. While some people managed to in effect 'hide' along the reaches of the Georges River, others were moved to agreed places such as La Perouse where they could be under the surveillance of the Board. Some were removed far from Sydney to missions and reserves such as Cummeragunja on the Murray River.⁴⁸

4.8 Agitation and Activism – 1900 to today

In the early twentieth century, the riverbanks in the Fairfield, Liverpool and Georges River areas were being scoured by amateur historians and others for Aboriginal stone artefacts. Thomas Fowlie in his history of Granville and surrounding districts recalled in 1918 that he and several other people had 'found several of their [Aboriginal people] axes along the riverbanks, as well as recalling still noticeable stone 'axe-marks' in older trees. In 1931, a Fairfield resident dug several mogos or hand-axes from their garden in East Parade and donated them to the Australian Museum. So too in 1934, a Mr C. Giles 'while ploughing along the George's River near the Quarries [near Liverpool] ... unearthed a stone axe and part of a spear and boomerang'. A Mr. R. Tapping, 'an old resident of the town, recalled that the Georges River

⁴⁵ Gapps, S. (2010) Cabrogal to Fairfield, pp. 218-219

⁴⁶ Gapps, S. (2010) Cabrogal to Fairfield, pp. 227-228

⁴⁷ Goodall and Cadzow, (2009) *Rivers and Resilience*, pp. 71-72, 92-100

⁴⁸ Goodall and Cadzow, (2009) *Rivers and Resilience*, pp. 107-8, 113

tribe had a camp there, and that the aborigines made frequent hunting trips in the country between George's River and the Nepean'.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, further down the river, Aboriginal families had managed to purchase several blocks of land at Salt Pan Creek and continued to allow other families to camp there and in the bush nearby. They used the river to fish and sell their catch, but also had a supply of bush tucker at their doorstep. A growing interest in Aboriginal souvenirs from non-Indigenous people during the 20th century meant boomerang making and other cultural works were in demand and could be sold to growing numbers of day-tripping Sydney-siders and tourists who were visiting La Perouse.⁵⁰

During the 1920s the Australian Aborigines Progress Association (AAPA) had been formed and political activism found its way to Salt Pan Creek. A young boy Jacko Campbell had fled from the Burnt Bridge Aboriginal Station at Kempsey when the Protection Board threatened he would be taken from his parents, and he found refuge at Salt Pan Creek. Jacko recalled the discussions and 'unfolding activism' at the camp. By this time, Aboriginal people had increasing numbers of allies in trade unions and political movements.

In 1933, the Dharawal man Joe Anderson famously appeared in a Cinesound newsreel that screened in cinemas around the country. He was standing on the banks of Salt Pan Creek. In a profound speech arguing for Aboriginal rights, he said at one point;

There is plenty of fish in the river for us all, and land to grow all we want ... The black man owned Australia, and now he demands more than charity. He wants the right to live!

⁴⁹ Fowle, T., 'History of Granville', 1918, ML, SLNSW, p. 10; Gapps, *Cabrogal to Fairfield*, p. 29; 'Aboriginal Relics Liverpool', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 13 February 1934, p. 10

⁵⁰ Goodall and Cadzow, *Rivers and Resilience*, pp. 118-120

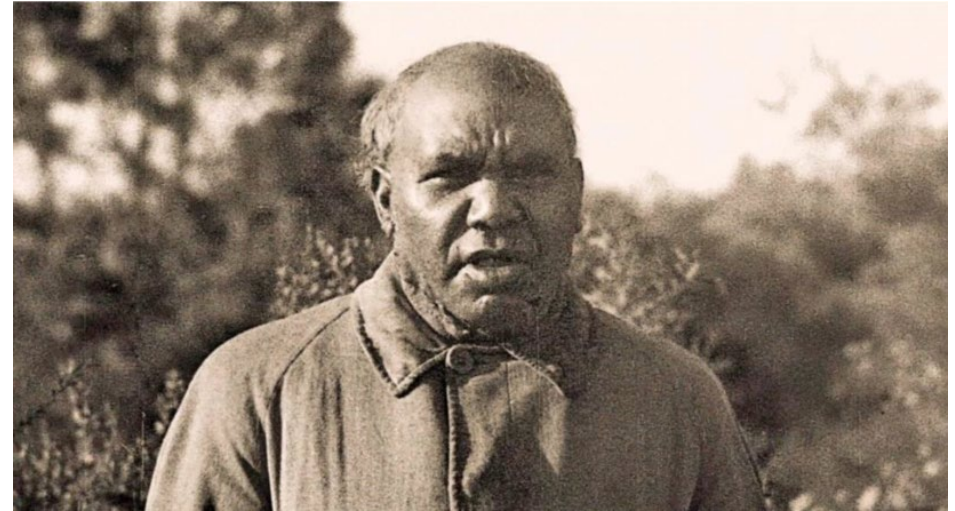


Figure 14: Still image from Joe Anderson's 1933 speech, *Australian Screen*, 1983. "Lousy Little Sixpence, 1933." (source: ANDB)

Anderson was also making a plea for the families that had been living along the Georges River and were now facing eviction from Salt Pan Creek due to the growing pressure of suburban Sydney. By the late 1930s, local white residents were complaining that the Salt Pan Creek camp was 'spoiling' the area. By 1939, the remaining people had been forcibly removed to La Perouse.⁵¹

In the 1950s and 1960s Aboriginal people lived in and around the Fairfield and Liverpool districts. Some seem to have been trying to avoid the Aboriginal Welfare Board and were 'camped' in the hills behind Cecil Park. Some were working and sending their children to school – where people recalled they won 'all the athletics races', but also that they were directed 'not to speak their language'. Some families ended up at the Hargraves Park ex-army camp awaiting public housing.⁵²

⁵¹ Goodall and Cadzow, (2009) *Rivers and Resilience*, pp. 154-160

⁵² Gapps, S. (2010) *Cabrogal to Fairfield*, pp. 336-339

From the 1960s, the Aboriginal population in the area and right across Sydney began to grow. With changing government policies on restricting Aboriginal families and movement, many chose to move to the city for work. While many went to the Aboriginal 'hub' at Redfern, some moved into assisted housing in south and western Sydney. New attachments to the rivers, creeks and remaining bushland in the Liverpool, Fairfield and Georges River areas were formed.⁵³

To the south of the lower Georges River a huge swathe of bushland had been occupied by the Holsworthy military reserve since 1912. The area had been largely undisturbed ever since and when an airport was proposed there, a thorough investigation of Aboriginal sites revealed an amazing array of rock engravings in particular. The Cubbitch Barta area was included in the Register of the National Estate in 1998.

4.9 Dharawal communities today

The Appin massacre continues to be remembered to this day at the annual Appin Massacre Memorial Ceremony, held on the Sunday nearest to the date of the massacre of April 17th. The ceremony takes place at the Cataract Dam Picnic Area. There have been calls for protection for the site of the massacre with a 2011 petition by Dharawal and Gandangara family groups to protect the site from development and prevent further trauma to the community. The ancestral remains of Cannabaygal and two other Dharawal people taken as skulls to the University of Edinburgh were returned to Australia in 1991 and 2000. There have been extensive calls from community for the remains to be repatriated and buried on Country, having been held in safekeeping at the National Museum of Australia since their return to Australia.⁵⁴

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people comprise approximately 5% of South Western Sydney's population. The suburb of Airds has an Aboriginal

and Torres Strait Islander population of approximately 13%. Tharawal Aboriginal Corporation is based in Airds and provides health, housing, and social programs. The area's Aboriginal community is represented by Tharawal LALC which was established in 1983 under the Aboriginal Lands Rights Act NSW 1983. Tharawal LALC provides cultural heritage site assessments as well as a number of cultural education programs. The logos for both Tharawal LALC and Tharawal Aboriginal Corporation include the lyrebird, one of the totems for the Tharawal People.



Figure 15: Appin Massacre Memorial Ceremony, picture: Robert Pozo (source: *The Daily Telegraph*)

⁵³ In the early 1990s, Jim Kohen estimated that there were 20,000 descendants of Sydney Aboriginal people in the wider Sydney region and beyond. Kohen, *Dharuganora*, p. 2

⁵⁴ Bertola, V. (no date) Ancestors to rest in peace in their homeland of appin, *The Daily Telegraph*. Available at: <https://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/newslocal/macarthur/ancestors-to-rest-in-peace-in-their-homeland-of-appin/news-story/70c8ce93fc1928d41d63312821a001d4> (Accessed: 26 June 2024).

4.10 Dharug communities today

During the twentieth century, Dharug people continued to live and work in the area. Today they are reclaiming and asserting their heritage. People such as Aunty Edna Watson are creating sculptures and other artwork that responds to the histories of the landscape and inform the community of the Country that they are on.

Dharug knowledge-holders, artists and educators such as Leanne Watson have helped to form organisations such as the Dharug Custodian Aboriginal Group, which provide assistance with educational programs that focus on culture, language and cultural sensitivity to help connect the wider community to Dharug Culture.⁵⁵

A key part of asserting and reclaiming their heritage has been the revival of Dharug language, which is now being taught by different groups and organisations. The Bayala website, for example, aims to foster a vibrant community of Dharug Dhalang (mother language) learners and speakers. The Bayala team includes: Corina Norman, Jasmine Seymour, Leanne Watson Redpath, Aunty Edna Watson, Leanne King, Vanessa Possum, Rhiannon Wright, Richard Torning, Lani Barnes, Debbie Smith, Elizabeth Coplin, Samantha Smith and Tammy Baart. They aim to teach Dharug to all ages and share Dharug language, culture and history with the broader community.

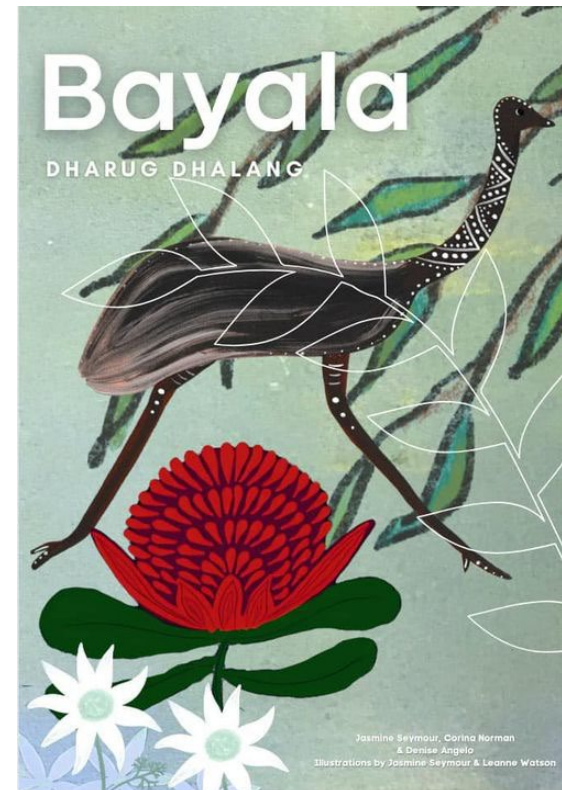


Figure 16: Bayala Dharug Dhalang publication by Jasmine Seymour, Corina Norman and Denise Angelo

⁵⁵ Dharug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation, n.d. *About Us*, accessed September 2024, <https://dharugcorporation.com.au/about/>

4.11 Gandangara communities today

Today the Gandangara people continue to live and work on Country, with Gandangara community organisations, such as the Gundungurra Aboriginal Heritage Association Incorporated, taking an active role in healing Country, educating the wider community about their culture and advocating for and conserving the environment of the Blue Mountains to the west of the site. For example, in 2019 the Gandangara people launched a campaign against the NSW Government against the raising of the Warragamba Dam wall, citing the immense impacts the project “on the hearts of our people and culture, [by] flooding hundreds of cultural sites including waterholes, cave paintings, scar trees and ceremonial sites”.⁵⁶ Gandangara individuals, such as David King, conducts accessible cultural tours throughout the Blue Mountains, and particularly focuses on educating younger generations about Gandangara culture and country.⁵⁷

In addition, work is being done by community, linguists and authors to revive the language of the Gandangara community, for example, Gunai writer Kirli Saunders has written a children’s book, *Bindi*, in both English and Gandangara verse, to introduce the Gandangara language to the younger generations whilst educating them about the climate, bush fires and healing Country.⁵⁸



Figure 17:: Gundungurra man, David King, conducting a smoking ceremony on Gundungurra Country.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Wilderness Australia, 30 July, 2019. *Gundungurra people reject Government Cultural Assessment on Warragamba Dam Raising*. https://www.wildernessaustralia.org.au/gundungurra_people_reject_government_cultural_assessment_on_warragamba_dam_raising

⁵⁷ Whaler, Jess. 4 September 2024. David King Shares a Brief History of the Gully – “Katoomba supported people, no matter who you were”. National Indigenous Times. <https://nit.com.au/04-09-2023/7364/david-king-shares-a-brief-history-of-the-gully-katoomba-supported-people-no-matter-who-you-were>

⁵⁸ Pitt, Helen. 26 November 2020. So you can say ‘bougour’ – but how about hello in a local Indigenous Language?, *The Sydney Morning Herald*. <https://www.smh.com.au/culture/books/welcome-back-the-recovery-of-australia-s-indigenous-languages-20201120-p56gfp.html>

⁵⁹ Miller, Julie. 10 March 2023. Welcome to Gundungurra Country. Blue Mountains. <https://www.visitbluemountains.com.au/travel/entry/welcome-to-gundungurra-country>

5. CONSULTATION AND ENGAGEMENT

5.1 Introduction

An understanding of the relevance and importance of the Aboriginal cultural landscape is fundamental to sensitive cultural design development aligning with the Connecting with Country principles. This understanding provides opportunities to explore Aboriginal peoples' unity with the natural environment and their traditional knowledge of spirit, places, land uses and ecology. These understandings are best developed through authentic and sustained consultation with Aboriginal knowledge holders and professionals.

5.2 Consultation planning

As the Traditional Custodians of the land, the local community maintains a dynamic connection to Country which informs their identity, culture, language, and ways of living.⁶⁰ The depth of this connection requires that appropriate, effective consultation with relevant community members must take place for any archaeological or heritage works occurring on their traditional land.

Under the Burra Charter:⁶¹

Article 12. Conservation, interpretation and management of a place should provide for the participation of people for whom the place has significant associations and meanings, or who have social, spiritual or other cultural responsibilities for the place.

The Connecting with Country Framework (GANSW, 2023) recommends the following strategy for building relationship with Aboriginal communities:

Building relationships with Aboriginal people requires appropriate allocation of time and resources to develop personal connections in ways Aboriginal people recommend and feel comfortable with.

⁶⁰ Australian Heritage Commission, 2002. Ask First: a guide to respecting Indigenous heritage places and values.

Because cultural connections with Country differ between Aboriginal peoples and communities, projects need to be guided by those who are acknowledged by their communities as knowledge-holders for Country, and often in combination with nominated Aboriginal organisations such as local Aboriginal land councils (LALCs).

The Connecting with Country Framework (GANSW, 2023) also highlights categories of stakeholders who could be involved:

Engagement should be undertaken in an inclusive way, and project teams should be open to diverse groups of people and points of view. In addition to LALCs, the groups that should be invited to join the engagement process include:

- 1. Traditional Custodians who have ancestral connections to a place*
 - 2. people from surrounding groups/tribes/ mobs/communities/nations*
 - 3. those who have moved to the area since colonisation and are integrated into the community*
 - 4. everyone else who wants a say.*
-

5.2.1 Stakeholder identification

Stakeholders were identified through consultation undertaken by Artefact for the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment report (ACHAR) for this project which includes a self-identification process for Aboriginal people who wish to register as Aboriginal parties on the project. Stakeholders were also identified through a review of the *Guide to the South West Growth Area* and through discussion and consultation with the Registered Aboriginal Parties and Stakeholders. It aimed to consult with Traditional Custodians and knowledge holders from Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara Countries.

⁶¹ Australia ICOMOS, 2013. Burra Charter – The Australian ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance. 3.

5.3 Previous consultation and reports

The GANSW Connecting with Country framework recommends the activity ‘research and prepare’, and specifically ‘locate previous Aboriginal cultural heritage and technical studies relevant to the project’ so as ‘to avoid consultation fatigue and prevent duplicating time and effort when information is already available.’

This section provides a summary of Aboriginal cultural heritage values discussed in existing resources and reports where Aboriginal stakeholders were consulted.

5.3.1 A Guide to the South West Growth Area and updated Structure plan, Department of Planning and Environment, 2022

The *Guide to the South West Growth Area and updated Structure Plan* (the Guide) provides information on how to deliver the strategic vision of the South West Growth Area in a more streamlined manner. The Guide was developed by the Department of Planning and Environment and includes Aboriginal cultural heritage values and results of consultation with Aboriginal stakeholders. The following information is relevant to this Connecting with Country:

- The Department of Planning and Environment acknowledges and pays respect to the Traditional Custodians and knowledge holders from Dharawal, Dharug and Gundungurra Countries. The Growth Area sits within Country that is an area of intersection of the Dharawal and Dharug peoples, and seasonally visited by the Gundungurra peoples.
- Aboriginal cultural values should be ‘easily recognised for generations to come’
- It is anticipated that ‘new communities will be able to connect and care for Country with Wianamatta (South Creek) and other revegetated waterways which will help reduce urban heat.’
- ‘Today Western Sydney is home to Aboriginal people from many Countries, and these contemporary communities have a strong attachment to the Country that they and their families have lived on for multiple generations.’
- The report highlights the importance of Wianamatta Creek (South Creek). ‘The floodplains of Wianamatta Creek were an important meeting place, recreation, and resource area for the First Peoples from across the region.’
- Food sources in the area included: fish, eels, shellfish, and waterbirds, and plants including reeds, ferns, wattles, cumbungi, and fruits such as geebung
- ‘Wianamatta Creek was also associated with white ochre (clay), an important cultural resource valued both as a body adornment for ceremony and as a dietary supplement.’
- The Cumberland Plain was rich Country with grassy woodlands, dry rainforests, and ironbark and turpentine forests. It was inhabited by diverse animal species including wallabies and kangaroos, many bird species including emus and water and swamp birds, bandicoots, koalas, possums, echidnas and quolls.
- The woodlands provided shade and shelter for people, and raw material for canoes, paddles, shields, baskets, and bowls. The canopy trees of Cumberland Plain Woodlands (including Moist Shale Woodlands) included Forest Red Gum (*Eucalyptus tereticornis*), Grey Box (*Eucalyptus moluccana*) and Ironbark (*Eucalyptus crebra*). These Eucalypt species had multiple uses: the leaves were used for medicinal purposes, the bark was used to construct shelters and utensils, while the sap provided a sweet treat.
- These fertile low-lying plains of Western Sydney were highly sought after by the British for pastoral and agricultural use. The imposition of British land management practices on this Country from the early 1800s involved extensive clearing and burning of vegetation, ploughing, drainage, road construction and urban development. As a result of these impacts on Country most of the varied ecological communities of the Cumberland Plain, which once provided abundantly for First Nations

people, are now classed as threatened. What remains of the original plant communities hold cultural value for both their inherent ecological value and for the insight they allow us into Country before the impacts of colonialism.

- British colonisation of the land along Wianamatta Creek was limited in the first decade of the 1800s. However, repeated flooding events on the Hawkesbury affected the colony's agricultural capacity. This led to the spread of British settlement to the south-west and into the Wianamatta (South) Creek catchment. From 1810, the colonial government 'granted' British citizens land to create a series of large estates along the Old Cowpastures Road (now Camden Valley Way). By 1821, almost all the land in the South West Growth Area had been granted to British colonists.
- 'The Department is encouraging everyone to re-think the site analysis as 'starting with Country'. This can be achieved by walking Country with the Aboriginal Community early in the process.'
- The Department commissioned a map of cultural values for The Guide. This map was developed by GHD, Zion Engagement and Planning, and Waters Consultancy in collaboration with local Traditional Custodians and knowledge holders for the South West Growth Area. 'Located at the headwaters of Wianamatta, this is wet swampy Country. Gathering occurred on this Country as it was a resource rich and located within the cross section of two important movement corridors'.

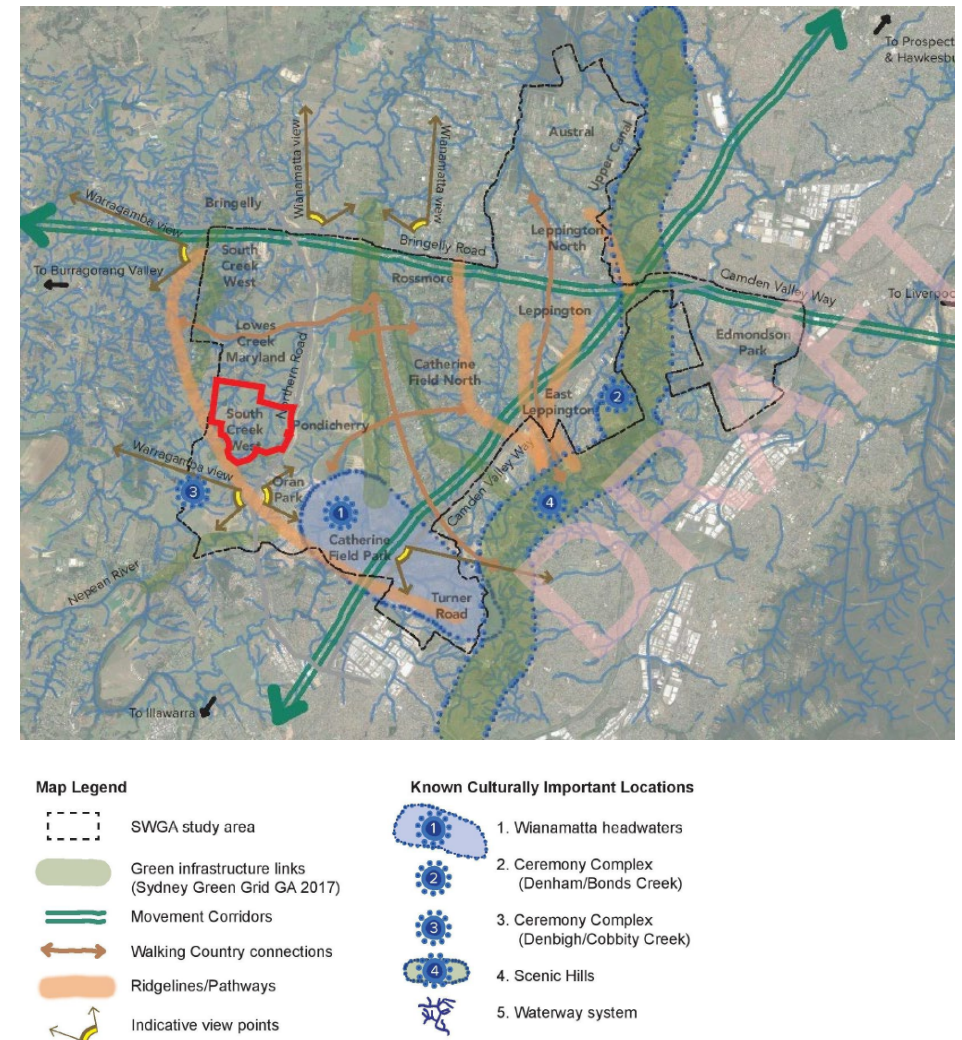


Figure 18: Starting with Country Map for the Growth Area (Markup of Precinct 5 by BHL, study area shown in red)

5.3.2 Our Voice, Our Place, Campbelltown Council, 2019

Though Precinct 5 is in Camden LGA, neighbouring Campbelltown Council have previously carried out community consultation with 150 Aboriginal people in the area for development of the report *Our Voice, Our Place – Aboriginal Interpretation Strategy* (2019) which outlines the expectations the Council has for developers seeking to upgrade public spaces and the requirements to incorporate Aboriginal heritage interpretation into the built form. The report includes Cultural Heritage Values from Dharawal People:



Figure 19. Representation of the Lyre Bird, from *Our Voice our Place*, Campbelltown Council

Key Aboriginal cultural heritage values from the report include:

- The land within and around the area has been home to the Dharawal people. It is a fertile place with abundant food sources, bushland and wildlife.
- The Dharawal were known as the 'peace makers'
- A central feature of Dharawal Country is Mount Annan (as it is now known), a significant place for gathering
- The lyrebird is a totem animal of the Dharawal, a symbol of peace and conciliation
- The first military ordered massacre of Aboriginal people in Australia occurred at nearby Appin. It is commemorated each year at a ceremony near the site.
- The Waratahs are significant to the Dharawal people
- The Georges River and the bushland along the riverbanks is a place where people go to connect to Country and each other.
- Campbelltown was a gathering place for Aboriginal people from around the region
- Educating one another and in particular the younger generation about the stories of the Dharawal people and land is important
- Important events include: the Appin Massacre Memorial, NAIDOC week, Sorry Day, Close the Gap Day, ANZAC Day
- The community require accessible and welcoming places and spaces to gather
- Design principles include:
 - Creating welcoming and accessible spaces
 - Including opportunities for weaving in education and interpretation
 - Engaging with community
- The results of that consultation and report have been incorporated into this report.

5.3.3 Consultation work with D’harawal Elders, 2023-2024

The following are cultural heritage values from recent Connecting with Country work carried out by Artefact with D’harawal Elders [redacted] which they approved for sharing with this project:

- It is important to conserve and communicate the Aboriginal history of an area.
- It is important to respect Country and follow customary law/lore. It is also important to follow protocols and speak to Elders who can speak for Country.
- It is important to recompense Aboriginal people for their knowledge and time.
- Look to the future and encourage more sustainable living, veggie gardens, solar panels and clean energy sources.
- Social housing is important for the Aboriginal community.
- Non-Aboriginal members of project teams should carry out cultural awareness training on Country.
- Aboriginal cultural heritage work on Country should involve both male and female sites officers to cover men and women’s business.
- Developments should focus on regeneration of native plants including plants used for medicines. This offers an opportunity for the next generation to learn how to grow, cultivate and use native plants.
- It would be positive to include spaces for ceremony in new developments. These could be spaces for smoking ceremonies or other ceremonies. It is also recommended to include spaces for education and teaching young people – like a yarning circle.
- Developments should consider how Aboriginal culture can be interpreted in new and innovative ways using the latest technologies.

5.4 Project specific consultation

5.4.1 Draft South Creek West Sub-Precinct 5 ACHAR (Artefact 2024)

JJ Cobbitty Development commissioned Artefact to prepare an Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment Report (ACHAR) to address Council’s requirements for a rezoning application of South Creek West Sub Precinct 5. Twenty-seven groups, individuals and organisations responded as Registered Aboriginal Parties (RAPs) including representatives from:

- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
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The following cultural heritage values were expressed by RAPs in their registrations:

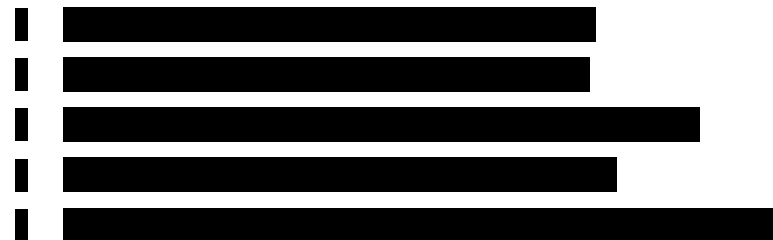
- It is necessary to consult with Tharawal LALC
- Some of the RAPs expressed that they had traditional knowledge of the area and/ or resided in the area. Many have also worked for decades on archaeological projects in the area.
- Aboriginal people have a connection to the land through their Ancestors and heritage
- The importance of providing work and employment to all Indigenous people
- How heritage and culture has been passed down from the Ancestors
- It is important to acknowledge the Traditional Owners of the lands
- It is important to acknowledge the Ancestors, Mother Earth and spirits
- The importance of paying respect to ‘the old the young and the new’
- The RAPs reiterated the importance of consultation
- The Dharawal have a connection to neighbouring nations and groups like the Dharug
- Noted local Aboriginal organisations like the Tharawal Aboriginal Corporation
- The area as “prime ground for hunting”, “gathering for all types of foods”, “ceremonies and other sacred business”.

5.4.2 Draft South Creek West Sub-Precinct 5 ACHAR Site survey, 2 and 3 February 2023

An archaeological survey of the study area was conducted over 2 and 3 February 2023 by Artefact personnel, with three RAP representatives present. Across these dates the following individuals were present.

5.4.2.1 Attendees

An archaeological survey of the study area was undertaken over two days on 2 February 2023 and 3 February 2023. In attendance were:



5.4.2.2 Cultural heritage values

The following cultural heritage values included:

- The importance of the watercourses on the site
- Lot 1 DP 1263487 has a level crest formation with good views looking north
- The area would have been covered in woodlands prior to consultation

5.4.3 Site visit, 28 August 2024

A site visit was carried out with Aboriginal stakeholders on 28 August 2024.

5.4.3.1 Attendees



- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- [REDACTED]
- Kelly Barton, Sabrina Roesner and Alex Gaffikin, Artefact
- Nicole Aiken, Leslie Kuisma, Namika Parajuli, and Murray Wilson, Camden Council
- Paul Hourigan and Xudai Sun from Always Consultancy
- Mark Santangelo, Distinctive
- Simon Wilkes, Urbis,

5.4.3.2 Agenda

- Acknowledgement of Country by Kelly Barton
- ICIP
- Introductions
- WHS briefing

- Visit to site 1
- Discussion of Aboriginal cultural heritage values of the area
- Visit to site 2



Figure 20: Site visit to Precinct 5, 28 August 2024

5.4.3.3 Cultural heritage values and ideas

The following cultural heritage values and ideas for development were shared during the site visit.

Connection to Country

The group talked about their connections to the area. [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] recounted how they lived in the Campbelltown

area since the 1970s, witnessing children growing up in the area. They related past experience to the continuity of their connection to the area.

Songlines

The area is along travel songlines and pathways that Aboriginal people would have taken to travel between the Blue Mountains and what is now Campbelltown. Kelly Barton spoke about the connection of Aboriginal people to Country with reference to the role of the Dreaming to their culture. She expressed how songlines are significant as a navigational aid.

Waterways

A seasonal creek runs through the site. North of the site, the creek runs through various dams before running into Lowes Creek, which itself runs into Wianamatta (South Creek). The project team noted that the creek had been impacted by farming but could be rejuvenated with native plantings. Rejuvenation of the creek would encourage native habitats, plants and animals, provide shade, and could be a relaxing area for residents of the suburb. [REDACTED] recommended the retention of waterways and watercourses where possible as dams would be nice places for walks and would be “popular with families.”

Native plants

The project team discussed the considerable amount of non-native weeds in the area and the importance of removing the invasive species and replanting native plantings in the area. The creek in particular needed rehabilitation following years of farming.

Native animals

The project team talked about the retention of habitats for local animals. [REDACTED] expressed her concern with the displacement of kangaroos from western Sydney around Penrith. She said the kangaroos are particularly affected because the developments are located on their paths of transit, and as a result, they run into traffic.

View lines

The project team discussed the importance of view lines across the site to the ridges. [REDACTED] noted the surrounding landscape and ridges and highlighted their strategic value as vantage points due to their elevation above the surrounding area.



Figure 21: View across to ridgeline, 28 August 2024

Local heritage and artefacts

[REDACTED] said that many artefacts have been found in a broad area all the way to Wollongong, and that the artefacts are significant to the Aboriginal people of this land. She mentioned that there are artefacts currently stored at Tharawal LALC, and hence are testament to the significance of this area and its material culture to Aboriginal people. She mentioned how some artefacts and scarred trees have been found at Wianamatta (South Creek).

Community training and development

This development is a good opportunity for training and development for emerging Aboriginal cultural heritage knowledge holders. The site visit was attended by early-career heritage officers and future opportunities would be beneficial to local Aboriginal communities.

Community facilities

The group talked about community facilities for residents of the new development and Aboriginal people in the area. [REDACTED] spoke about the contribution of the Aboriginal people to the local community: Tharawal Aboriginal medical centre, the Land Council. She said that her mother has been involved in some of these initiatives.

Language and naming

Naming areas and streets was discussed. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] both mentioned for example that some streets in some suburbs have botanical names. The streets in the new development could be named after native plant species.

Development

[REDACTED] talked about things to avoid when developing a new site. She mentioned a new development where pathways in particular had been poorly maintained and were overgrown which made walking around the area difficult – especially for people with mobility issues.



Figure 22: View across to ridgeline, 28 August 2024

5.4.3.4 Interpretation Opportunities

[REDACTED] spoke about possibilities for heritage interpretation at the site. They discussed the following interpretation opportunities:

- Weed removal, restoration and planting of native and endemic species that would have been present prior to colonisation throughout the precinct.
- Create a seating area in the proposed Ridgeline Park (Item 7 on the study area map) that offers views to both the south and north. This space could also serve as a sensory and tactile environment that reconnects visitors with nature. Users could immerse themselves in the

sounds of birds and wind, experience different textures through diverse plantings and landscape features like rock surfaces, grasses, and moss, and enjoy the natural scents of eucalyptus, tea tree, and lemon myrtle.

- Themes and key stories for interpretation could include: The land between the two waterways – the study area is located between the Nepean River, Bringelly Creek and Wianamatta (South Creek).
- Street naming and wayfinding signage incorporating local place names and language throughout the new precinct.
- Tell the story of the Bunya Pine, which grows all the way from the Blue Mountains to the ocean and was traditionally used as a landscape feature for navigation.
- Tell the story of Bull Cave: The legend of the Cowpastures describes how early European settlers discovered the fertile farmland of the region. In July 1788, just six months after the Europeans arrived, two bulls and four cows brought over on the First Fleet went missing. Nearly two years later, the cattle were spotted in the Menangle area. The local Aboriginal people, curious about the unfamiliar animals, depicted them on the walls of a sandstone shelter along the Georges River, in a cave now known as 'Bull Cave' in Kentlyn.⁶²
- Public art by locally connected Aboriginal artists should be integrated throughout the precinct and be incorporated into placemaking of public areas including functional elements such as seating, fencing, screens and wayfinding. The new water tank by Sydney Water was also pointed out as a possible canvas.
- Footprints of native animals could be incorporated into ground plane elements such as footpaths and cycleways.
- Create green corridors with native and endemic plantings between residential and commercial components of the new precinct.



Figure 23: Bull cave as photographed in the early 1980s (source: Campbelltown Library)

5.4.4 Project Brief Meeting, [REDACTED], 5 September 2024

An online meeting was held with [REDACTED] on 5 September 2024. The project team summarised work done to date and discussed the project and next steps. [REDACTED] is a Registered Aboriginal Party (RAP) on the project (through the ACHAR process) and [REDACTED] attended the site survey as part of the development of the ACHAR in February 2023.

5.4.4.1 Attendees

- [REDACTED]
- Xudai Sun and Paul Hourigan, Always Consultancy
- Nigel MacAndrew, Urbis
- Mark Santangelo, Distinctive
- Alex Gaffikin and Sabrina Roesner, Artefact

⁶² See: Campbelltown City Council – The Bull Cave. Available at [Bull Cave - Campbelltown City Council \(nsw.gov.au\)](https://www.campbelltown.nsw.gov.au/council/council-items/2024-09-05/council-item-10-the-bull-cave). Accessed 3 September 2024.

5.4.4.2 Project Overview

- The project area was identified as a development zone by the State Government approximately 10 years ago and is currently in the rezoning stage.
- The team presented the site plan, providing context on location, landscape, and geographical features.
- [REDACTED], who has worked in heritage since 1992, previously conducted an archaeological survey in the area.
- Artefact shared the outcomes of a recent archaeological test excavation, along with maps of found artefacts.
- It was confirmed that riparian corridors would be preserved, and plans include the removal of invasive species (e.g., olive trees) and replanting with native vegetation.

5.4.4.3 Discussion Outcomes

- Aboriginal Stakeholder Engagement: Discussion on how to involve Aboriginal stakeholders in the project's design and development process.
- Paul Hourigan noted the large amount of green space in the plan.
- Water Bodies and Biodiversity:
 - There are multiple dams on-site, and there is a plan to retain water on site. How is TBC.
 - [REDACTED] emphasised the importance of considering biodiversity and how removing water bodies could harm wildlife and aquatic ecosystems. She noted that creek lines have been modified over time, and existing water bodies are now critical water sources.
 - It is important to recognise the proposed development's impact on the water system, especially where waterbodies cross multiple properties.

- Riparian Corridor Enhancement: The team discussed ways to enhance these corridors and preserve the natural environment.
- Merryland Creek: [REDACTED] highlighted the presence of artefacts along the creek lines, underlining the cultural significance of these areas.

5.4.4.4 Next Steps

- Organize further meetings, including a site visit and discussions on cultural values and stories related to the area.
- Artefact will coordinate future meetings.

5.5 Ongoing consultation

It is recommended that consultation be carried out by current and future project teams throughout the lifetime of the development of the site, during the Planning Proposal stage and post-Planning Proposal stages. Consultation and engagement could include:

- Engagement of Aboriginal owned businesses and organisations.
- Training and internships for early career Aboriginal professionals and students.
- Commissioning of artistic works from locally connected Aboriginal artists and in collaboration with Aboriginal Artist Cooperatives such as Eora Centre & Boomalli Artists Cooperative.
- Ongoing approvals from Aboriginal traditional knowledge holders.
- Consult with local Elders.
- Cultural tours and walks on Country.
- Involvement of RAPs in potential archaeological and heritage work.

6. ABORIGINAL CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES

6.1 Introduction

A summary of the Aboriginal cultural heritage values from historical research, previous consultation and ongoing consultations is provided in this section. These values will be reviewed and updated during further consultation through project delivery.

6.2 Values

Aboriginal Country

This land always was and always will be Aboriginal Country. This land is at the intersection of Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara Countries. For tens of thousands of years, these communities cared for Country, and significant sites are present throughout the land including Mount Annan to the south and the Nepean River to the west. Despite more than two hundred years of dispossession, the Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara people continue to have a connection to Country.

Creeks and Waterways

The creek is part of an important network of rivers and tributaries in Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara Country. The creeks and waterways were a vital means of transport and provided essential resources to communities living in the area and have connections to the Ancestors who shaped this land. It is therefore important to consider how to care for the creek, including making sure it isn't polluted, and rehabilitating Country.

Education

Education and communication are important cultural heritage values for Aboriginal people. 'Educating one another and in particular the younger generation about the stories of Country is important'⁶³.

Caring for community

Providing support to all members of the community is of the utmost importance to ensure the longevity of the local Aboriginal community. New developments have the opportunity to empower younger members of the community and support Elders, by creating safe spaces that encourage the passing of knowledge from the one generation to the next.

Caring for Country

The Cumberland Plain would have originally been covered by woodland and forest. Tree types included grey box, forest red gums, cabbage gums, iron barks, and rough barked and narrow leafed apples. Additional shrubs and trees include blackthorn, swamp oaks and paperbarks. The rivers were managed by Aboriginal people who kept them clean and workable. Caring for Country and Healing Country continue to be important cultural heritage values for Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara people who encourage developments that improve habitats for animals, possums, sugar gliders, birds and insect life.

Language

Language is an important part of Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara culture, providing a link to their Ancestors and to Country. Despite two hundred years of colonial powers suppressing the use of Aboriginal languages, these communities are working to revive their languages and strengthen their culture and connection to Country.

Understanding the cultural landscape

Aboriginal history and culture is written across the landscape, in the songlines formed by the Ancestors, the artefacts deposited by thousands of years of occupation, and the significant view lines which helped Aboriginal communities to understand, protect and maintain their Country.

⁶³ *Our Voice, Our Place – Aboriginal Interpretation Strategy* (2019)

6.3 Registered Aboriginal sites

Note: The location of Aboriginal sites is considered culturally sensitive information. It is advised that this information, including the Aboriginal Heritage Information System (AHIMS) data appearing on Figure 24 be removed from this report if it is to enter the public domain.

An extensive AHIMS search was undertaken on 26 March 2024 which includes sites identified by Artefact during the ACHAR archaeological survey on 2 February 2024. The search identified 46 registered sites within the wide search area, which included the study area and the surrounding land. Most of the sites identified are isolated stone artefacts or low-density stone artefact scatters found in proximity to permanent watercourses and elevated areas.



Sites registered on the AHIMS database should not be considered a full record of sites that existed prior to colonisation or necessarily of what may survive on the land today. Some site types, such as scarred or carved trees, are less likely to have survived time and vegetation clearing than sites that consist of stone artefacts. Site registrations can also be more indicative of soil exposures (so stone artefacts can be more clearly seen) and of areas that have had more intensive investigation by archaeologists.

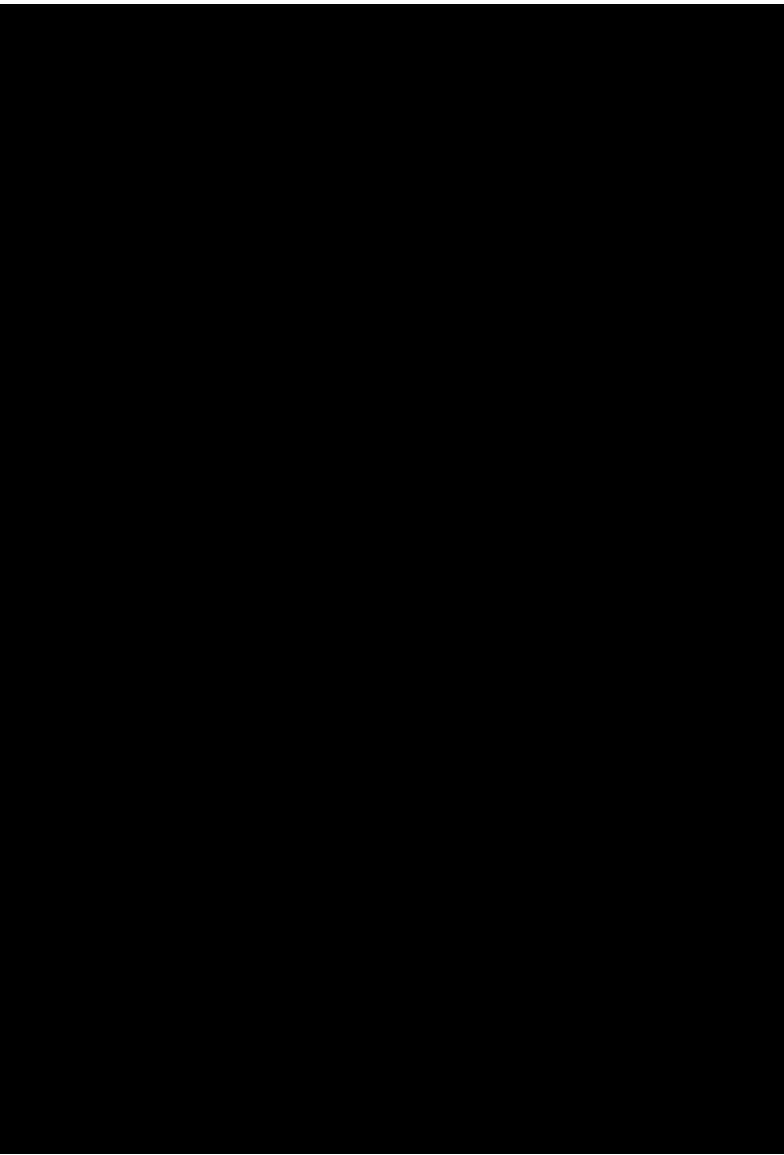
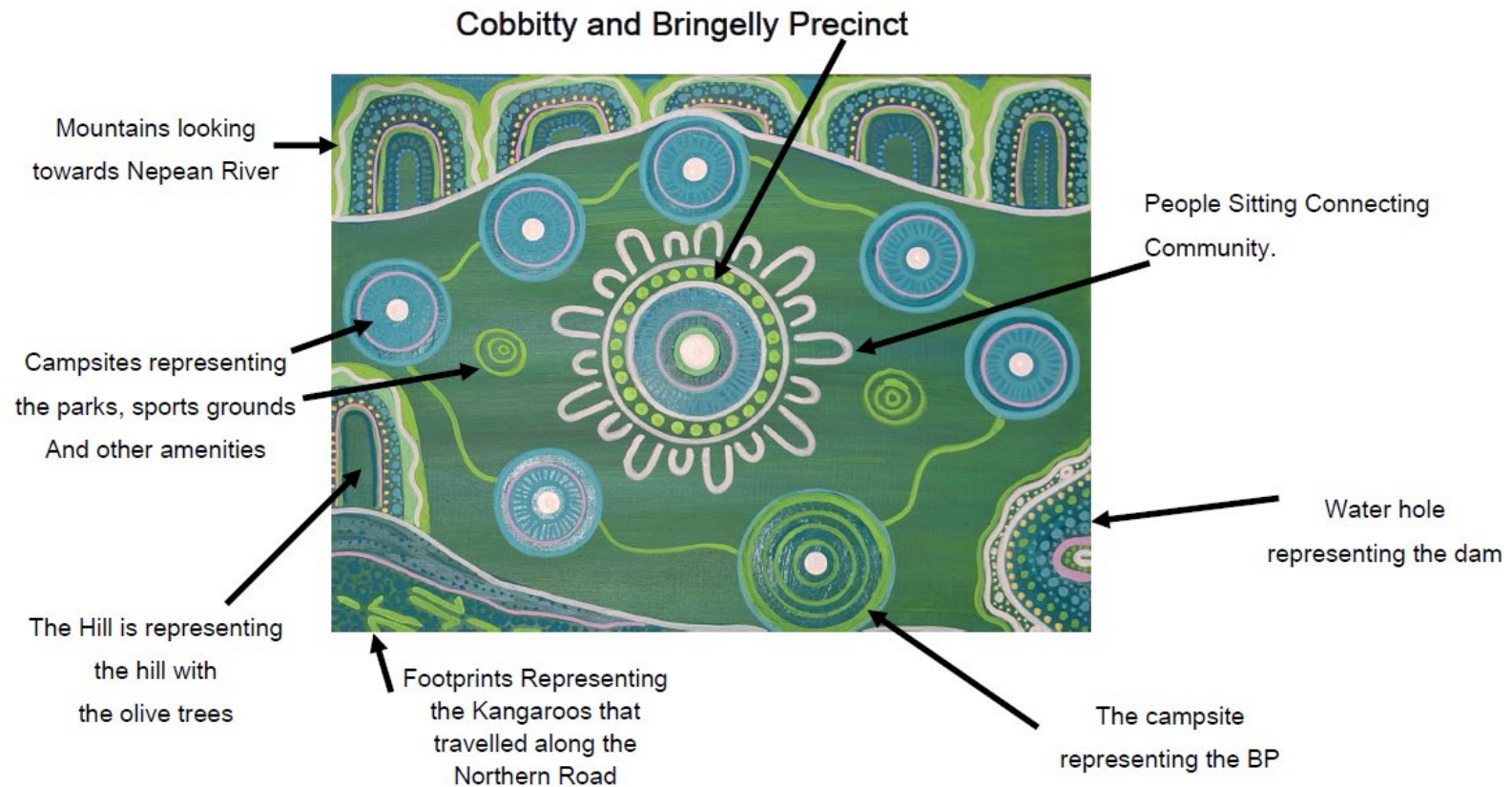


Figure 24: AHIMS extensive search results

6.4 Artwork ‘Walk on Country Cobbitty Bringelly’

The front cover of the CwC report is *Walk on Country Cobbitty Bringelly* by artist Kayelene Slater (2024).

My artwork represents a journey with connections to Country on the green pastures of land and waterways surrounding of Dharawal Nation with beautiful views of Country, and to continue to care for the land and waterways from now and beyond.



7. DESIGNING WITH COUNTRY



7.1 Introduction

The Connecting with Country framework provides direction on ways to explore opportunities for design process and practices to support connection to Country in built environment projects. Bringing an understanding of Country into these processes can help improve project outcomes.

7.2 Design Principles

These broadly applicable set of design principles are a useful tool for designers and developers to create places that reflect Aboriginal cultural heritage values. Icons were developed by Dharug artist Adam Laws.

Acknowledge Country



Provide acknowledgement, interpretation and resources about the Dharug, Dharawal and Gandangara people. Learning about and having access to cultural heritage is important. Meaningful interpretive elements can acknowledge the Dharawal, Dharug and Gandangara Country while Elders could be invited to give a Welcome to Country at events.

Heal the living landscape



Focus on healing the living landscape by incorporating landscaping projects that revitalise native ecosystems, encourage the return and flourishing of local wildlife and create a development that seeks to mitigate damage to the environment.

Connect with Country



Connecting with Country is an important cultural heritage value for Aboriginal people. Create spaces and opportunities which are calm, tranquil, and which offer contact with sky, land, water and fire. Offer spaces which benefit health and wellbeing for Indigenous and non-Indigenous people and consider outdoor play spaces for children.

Make Aboriginal cultural heritage visible



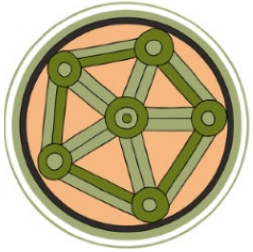
Ensure Aboriginal culture is visible within the project's design and construction, with the aim of generating a sense of pride and wellbeing. Celebrate cultural values through interpretation and artworks to make visible the intangible significance of the area. Use a range of interpretation techniques to engage audiences. When commissioning artworks, ensure that artists are connected with traditional knowledge holders.

Community focused



Ensure that the development includes opportunities to empower the local Aboriginal community, whether that includes opportunities to employ or train younger generations, particularly in activities which encourage practices associated with traditional knowledge and explore opportunities to develop places for the community to gather.

Continue consultation



Undertake ongoing and respectful consultation with traditional custodians to make sure that the development aligns with the cultural values of relevant Aboriginal communities.

Use Language



Using language is a key way of empowering communities and sharing Aboriginal culture with the wider community. Explore opportunities to use Aboriginal words in street or building naming, and interpretation and wayfinding.

Honour waterways



The creeks and rivers in the surrounding area are very important to Aboriginal culture. Ensure that the development helps to protect and revitalise the nearby waterways and consider the use of waterways in the development landscaping and as a motif in interpretive designs.

Cultural safety



Ensure spaces are culturally safe and accessible. Include rest spaces for intergenerational gatherings.

7.3 Examples of design realisations

7.3.1 Introduction

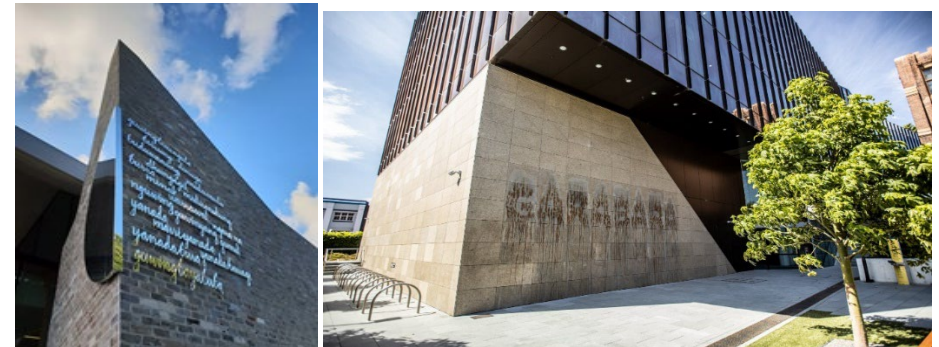
This section showcases some possible ways that the Design Principles could be realised in the architecture, landscaping and interpretation of the site. Please note that these examples are from a range of Aboriginal heritage interpretation from different Aboriginal Countries.



Design on perforated metal (Source: Kaye Slater)

7.3.2 Acknowledgement of/Welcome to Country

A key method of communicating the importance of Country to audiences at the site is by providing a Welcome to Country or Acknowledgement of Country message. A Welcome to Country is given by the traditional custodians/knowledge holders of the area welcoming people to their land, while an Acknowledgement of Country is a sign of respect to the traditional owners of the land stated by the asset holder. The examples below demonstrate a successful and eye-catching way to Acknowledge Country through graphics, language, light and sculpture.



Left: Marrickville Library Acknowledgement of Country; Right: University of Sydney Acknowledgement of Country



Left: Bendigo AoC sculpture; Right: Fiona Stanley Hospital Perth, AoC

7.3.3 Integration of Indigenous designs and forms into built environment

Creative practices relating to place-making and the built form are powerful devices to incorporate and reflect the heritage values and stories of a site in a new development. Heritage values embedded within the site can be expressed through innovative architectural design responses for new developments, providing a visual exploration of the history of each site. This can be realised through the form of new buildings, integrated applications within new developments and the shaping of the landscape's geometry.

This interpretive media option is an effective approach to integrating Aboriginal cultural values into the built form. Designs that echo traditional forms, spaces and narratives and their contemporary interpretations are increasingly being integrated within new developments worldwide, sending strong, respectful messages about the timeless links between Aboriginal people and the landscape, and allowing for reflection of contemporary connections to the land. The examples below demonstrate the way design and form can be used to represent Country.



Left: Burrinja Cultural Centre, In Melbourne's Dandenong Ranges. Right: Yutjuwala Djiwarr – Nhulunbuy Flexible Aged Care Facility (source: Kaunitz Yeung Architecture)

7.3.4 Landscape geometry

Interpretive landscaping is an effective approach to evoke past structures, gardens and landscapes within public and private developments. Landscaping devices, including use of turf and hardstand, geometry and shapes, use of water and planting certain species, can create an immersive space for site users that gives a feeling of being surrounded by heritage.

Plantings of species that were in the area prior to European arrival, and therefore part of the Indigenous landscape experienced by the local Aboriginal community, is a powerful interpretive approach for landscaping. Planting patterns, where trees and understory plants were clumped rather than planted in lines, and landscaping features with curved rather than straight lines are preferred to enhance the naturalistic feel and to echo Country.



Community building rooftop garden, South Eveleigh, (Yerrabingen and Jiwah)

7.3.5 Parks, gardens and plantings

Plantings of species that were in the area prior to European arrival, and therefore part of the Indigenous landscape experienced by the local Aboriginal community, is a powerful interpretive element, and supports the Connecting with Country principles. Planting patterns, where trees and understory plants are clumped rather than planted in lines, are preferred to enhance the naturalistic feel and to echo Country. The examples below were developed in consultation with Aboriginal landscapers and green teams.

Community gardens are an opportunity to engage local Aboriginal gardening businesses and encourage residents to learn about bush foods and medicines.



Barangaroo Reserve: planting involved 84 different species that were native to the Sydney region at the time of European settlement. (source: Janna Schreier Garden Design).

7.3.6 Ground plane elements

Ground plane elements embedded in public domain areas are a subtly effective heritage interpretation medium. Paving colours, metal inlays or sandblasted patterns may be installed into ground planes, forming artworks, tracing the footprints of former structures or containing small 'bites' of textual information, quotes or dates creating a narrative as paths are traversed.

Embedding Aboriginal design elements into the ground plane of a site can connect a new development directly to Country, providing a tangible aesthetic reference to significant physical, social, or spiritual features of the land. By installing such ground plane elements into outdoor spaces, a strong visual message about the Aboriginal heritage of the site can be created.



Wingarra-Murra, sandblasted paving design, University of Sydney

7.3.7 Naming/Use of language

For Aboriginal people, connection with Country is intrinsically connected to identity through language, cultural practices and long held relationships between people and the land. Using Aboriginal words or phrases as elements in the paving, to name key features in new developments or as dual naming for streets and public spaces is an interpretive option that recognises Aboriginal cultural heritage values. All language usage should be done in consultation with Aboriginal knowledge holders.



Left: Dharug language incorporated into building and seating, St Leonards Health Centre; Right: Darumbal language stairs, Yeppoon'

7.3.8 Interpretive panels

Well-designed and written interpretive panels are an excellent media for conveying key stories and rich narratives in an effective, accessible manner. If integrated into the design of a site, they can be strategically located to gain appropriate exposure. Interpretive panels, as text-based media, are ideally suited to tell more details of site-specific stories providing contextual information in a succinct and engaging manner.

Panel text can encourage visitors to look more closely at their surroundings or text can pose questions to stimulate conversations. They should be located in spaces which allow for a longer dwell time or in natural pause points such as public squares, parks or seating areas. Interpretive panels can also work as trail markers on walks or bush trails, highlighting different aspects of the site. When used across a site, panels should have a consistent 'look and feel' so audiences know they are encountering heritage information.



Left: Interpretive panels at V Heritage, (source: Freeman Ryan Design); right: Tidalik the Frog story panel. West Kotara (Terri-Lee Darcy, Auntie Phyllis Darcy, Donna Gayford McLaren)

7.3.9 Artwork

Public artwork is an effective and engaging method of interpreting Aboriginal heritage values in public places. Eye-catching public art is a powerful tool of cultural expression, with strong graphics able to tell stories and visually communicate cultural messages to a large audience. This type of interpretive media creates a visual statement about the significance of an area and is important in place-making.



Artwork Canopy by Djurandi Dreaming, WA⁶⁴

⁶⁴ <https://www.djurandi.com.au/#about>



Mural, by Elizabeth Close, Adelaide⁶⁵



The Way Home, artwork by Joe Hurst, Redfern

⁶⁵ <https://www.adelaideartwalls.com/portfolio/elizabeth-close/59>

7.3.10 Gathering spaces and seating

New developments provide an opportunity to integrate heritage interpretation into buildings and public spaces, with heritage details incorporated into functional elements such as stairways, seating, shelters, balustrades and screens. As well as being essential elements of public space, these items can be canvases for heritage content.

Embedding heritage interpretation elements within the seating, ground plane, and shade structures within gathering spaces provides a rich context and points of engagement and conversation. Patterning, text, or graphic image-based seating inserts are effective forms of interpretation, strategically positioned to engage people who have some time to pause, read and reflect absorbing messages and stories about the site. Yarning Circles are spaces for dialogue and sharing knowledge and should be developed in consultation with Aboriginal stakeholders.



Right: Yarning Circle, Curtin University (Noel Nannup and Simon Forrest).

7.3.11 Play spaces

Play spaces act as community focus points, drawing young families to a space of recreation, safety and relaxation, a key element in placemaking for a new development. A well-designed play space providing a rich and diverse play opportunities allows children and adults alike to engage with heritage in new ways. School playgrounds are also opportunities to embed Aboriginal narratives and children games within the play structures and ground planes. By incorporating heritage interpretation in play spaces in creative and subtle ways, both children and parents can encounter new ideas and integrate educational experiences into everyday play.

Play equipment and topography can be customised to the heritage experience, with local materials, and natural shapes creating a strong sense of connection to the land. Visual/tactile design features and simple text could be incorporated into the play space to support play-based learning.



Left: Wawai Ngurra inclusive adventure playspace by Leanne Mulgo Watson and Blacktown City Council (Dharug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation and Blacktown City Council); Right: Yirran muru (Many pathways) - Dharawal Interpretive Play Space, Shellharbour Civic Centre

7.3.12 Webpage

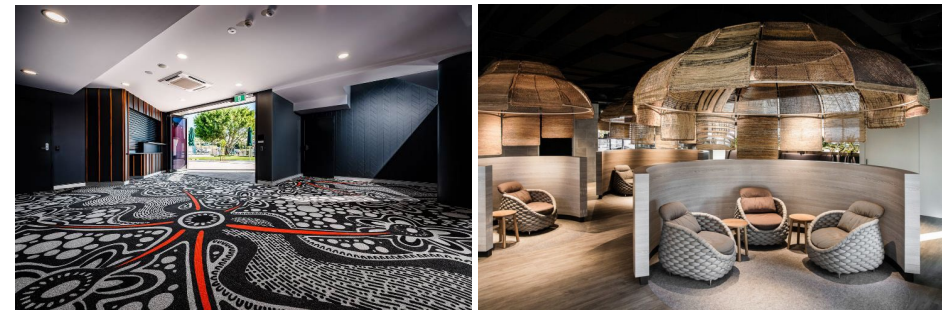
As a more traditional form of digital engagement, web pages have continued to be popular with a wide range of audience groups. Dedicated pages within a website can provide a vehicle for layering of information and easy access to a wide range of images, photographs and historical information. Websites can also host blogs, oral histories, presentations and news updates which can be frequently updated to present the most recent, relevant heritage stories and associated events. Web-based, native and hybrid apps can offer similar content but tailored to devices.



City of Sydney Barani website: <https://www.sydneybarani.com.au/>

7.3.13 Interior design

Incorporating furnishings from Aboriginal artists and designers into interior design is a way to support local Aboriginal businesses while creating a sense of place and expressing Aboriginal cultural heritage values. Statement pieces can help to create welcoming and culturally safe spaces.



Left: Water Yuludarla commercial carpet collection – a contemporary interpretation, based on the artwork of Gumbaynggirr Artist, Brentyn Lugnan; Right: Reflection Pods at Westpac Sydney by Lucy Simpson, Koskela and 21 Indigenous artists from the Northern Territory. Photo: Maree Homer (source: the design writer)

8. PRACTICES

8.1 Introduction

This section explores how key elements of Aboriginal knowledge systems can be aligned with cognitive concepts of thinking, feeling and behaving, which are fundamental in the Connecting with Country design process, and provides examples of actions that can be undertaken by project teams to reframe their design approach to be Country centred.

8.1.1 Thinking

‘Communing with Country’ describes a cultural practice used by Aboriginal people to connect with Country through their mind and spirit. The word ‘communing’ has been selected to convey a specific meaning: being in deep and intimate conversation with Country but not in a religious sense as some may understand it. Communing with Country is presented as an invitation to explore the deep connection Aboriginal people have with Country, demonstrated through various forms of cultural expression. Project teams can learn about cultural practice as a way to deepen cultural understanding, guided and mediated by Aboriginal people.

Activities

- Engage in cultural awareness training,

8.1.2 Feeling

Understanding how emotions and feelings shape our responses to experiences and knowledge is an important step towards changing our approach. Where guided by Aboriginal people, being immersed in Country can awaken our senses and feelings and inform a deeper understanding of Country.

Activities

- Walk on Country
- Participate in appropriate ceremony

8.1.3 Behaving

Being on Country refers to the experience of being connected to and living in harmony with Country. Being on Country requires an understanding and balancing of complex systems of knowledge sharing, interrelationships, protocols and behaviours.

For many Aboriginal people, being on Country is also an important part of their identity and sense of belonging. It provides a connection to their ancestors and other living entities, to their cultural heritage, and to the broader community of humans and living beings that inhabit Country. A vital part of being on Country is through knowledge-sharing practices to support the health and wellbeing of Country. Knowledge is contained and shared within the cultural expression of many Aboriginal peoples.

Activities

- Ensure Aboriginal people retain authorship and control of their cultural knowledge and intellectual property, and how it is shared with others.
- Invite Aboriginal people to co-design and co-manage projects rather than just being asked to provide their cultural knowledge, stories and insights to help develop projects.
- Respect Elders and family
- Listen and observe closely, and be modest
- Ensure the design process is collaborative and inclusive.

9. ACTIONS

9.1 Introduction

This section discusses actions which can be undertaken throughout the lifecycle of a project to facilitate the shift from Human-centric to Country-Centric development.

It is presented under the four categories: Form (Starting with Country), Design (Imagining with Country), Deliver (Shaping Country) and Maintain (Caring for Country).

9.2 Form – Starting with Country

The preparation of this Connecting with Country framework is fundamental to shifting to the Country-Centric design approach, as it identifies Aboriginal cultural values and provides practical means of ensuring these values are reflected in the development. The table below identifies actions that have been taken in the preparation of this report which demonstrate how the Country-centred approach has been achieved and provides recommendations for further actions required to start with Country.

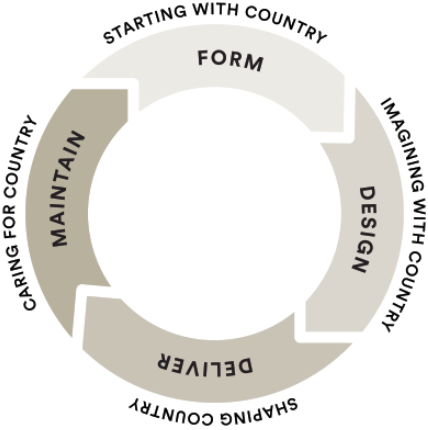


Figure 25: Project lifecycle from an Aboriginal perspective (GANSW Connecting with Country)

Activity	Action	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Research and prepare	Locate previous Aboriginal cultural heritage and technical studies relevant to the project.	Outcomes See previous consultation and reports in Section 5.3	During development of CwC report prior to rezoning
		Recommendations All project team members should review this Connecting with Country report	
	Considering undertaking cultural awareness training, including identifying the Aboriginal stakeholders you will be working with	Outcomes Project team members attended a site visit and walk on Country on 28 August 2024 and input from [REDACTED] on 5 September	Ongoing through project lifecycle
		Recommendations Cultural awareness training should be undertaken by all future project team members	

Activity	Action	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Allocate time and resources	Allocate sufficient time and resources for community to participate, ensuring there is flexibility with timing and location of meeting	Outcomes Artefact has organised consultation with key stakeholders at a suitable time and location for attendees	
		Recommendations Project teams should ensure that project timelines and budgets account for knowledge sharing workshops that are flexible	Ongoing through project lifecycle
Empower	Enable Aboriginal community to lead and guide the project from the outset and throughout the project lifecycle, including financial decision making	Outcomes Feedback and ideas have been incorporated into this Connecting with Country report	
		Recommendations Schedule in additional consultation opportunities	Ongoing through project lifecycle
Collaborate	Follow established community engagement protocols	Outcomes - This process has engaged with stakeholders who were identified through the ACHAR process and through self-identification as people with a connection to Country. - Stakeholders were asked how they would like to be addressed - ICIP and other protocols were discussed at the start of consultation activities	
		Recommendations The ICIP guidelines outlined in section 1.7 should be followed in future consultation – particularly in development of public art and Aboriginal heritage Interpretation.	Ongoing through project lifecycle
Share knowledge	Discuss with all involved how historic events and cultural narratives will be supported	Outcomes Through consultation and historical research this CwC has identified key historical and cultural narratives. Example of how these narratives can be interpreted are described in this CwC and also the Heritage Interpretation Strategy in development by Artefact (2024 draft)	
		Recommendations A Heritage Interpretation Strategy is being prepared for this project to assist in identifying key historic significance and cultural narratives	The HIS is already in development prior to rezoning

Activity	Action	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
	Listen to community concerns about building development and how it will affect Country	Outcomes - Concerns and opportunities were discussed at the site visits and online meeting Recommendations - The project team should review and respond to the discussion feedback outlined in section 5	During development of CwC report prior to rezoning
Respect ICIP	Establish ICIP protocols that will ensure knowledge and other intellectual property (e.g. Artwork) is protected and appropriately credited	Outcome - The ICIP guidelines are outlined in section 1.7 Recommendations - The ICIP guidelines outlined in section 1.7 should be followed in future consultation – particularly in development of public art and Aboriginal heritage Interpretation. - Renumerate key stakeholders for the sharing of cultural knowledge	Ongoing through project lifecycle
	Keep confidential records of all engagement sessions. Report back to community on how ICIP is being used and seek permission before sharing information	Outcomes - ICIP and other protocols were discussed at the start of the consultation activities Recommendations - Redact key information when reports are made publicly available. - Establish protocols to communication is maintained with community - This report and notes from the discussions in August will be shared with stakeholders to check they approve of their knowledges being shared	Ongoing through project lifecycle
Create Employment Opportunities	Consider engaging an Aboriginal cultural advisor who has spatial design skills	Outcomes This CwC process has engaged with Aboriginal stakeholders with a variety of skills and disciplines	
		Recommendations Collate a list of Aboriginal owned business and services in the area who can contribute to this project at all stages	During development of CwC report prior to rezoning

9.3 Design – Imagining with Country

Activity	Action	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Design basics	Use first place names	Outcomes - Consult with knowledge holders when developing naming. ██████████ is a knowledge holder for Dharawal Aboriginal placenames of the area. Recommendations: - Start incorporating Aboriginal place names into reports - Incorporate place names into design concepts - Use Dharug / Dharawal language in wayfinding and interpretive signage when appropriate	- At Detailed Design - At Development Application - During development of CwC and Heritage Interpretation Strategy reports prior to rezoning
	Connect to broader landscape settings	Outcomes - The project team discussed how the creeks, ridges and landscape features can be conserved, protected and be benefit to the health and wellbeing of the new residents of the suburb. - The project team discussed the difficulties of managing waterways across the site that then flow into other sites, under roads and into places which this project team can not control - The project team discussed the importance of maintaining view lines where possible Recommendations - Consult with Aboriginal knowledge holders when conducting and developing environmental management recommendations to encourage the maintenance of this knowledge and improve the health of ecosystems - Consult with neighbouring properties to see how the features of the broader landscape can be maintained across boundaries	Ongoing through project lifecycle
	Protect Aboriginal cultural heritage	Outcomes - The production of this report is a key step in identifying Aboriginal cultural values, and provides information for future developments about means of celebrating and protecting Aboriginal heritage - An ACHAR for the project has been produced (Artefact 2024)	

Activity	Action	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
		Recommendations - A Heritage Interpretation Strategy is being prepared for this project - The Heritage Implementation Strategy recommendations should be implemented	- Preparation of HIS prior to rezoning - Implementation at Detailed Design
	Acknowledge shared history	Outcomes This CwC has a section on the history of the area – see section 4	
		Recommendations - A Heritage Interpretation Strategy is being prepared for this project to assist in presenting the shared history of the site - The Heritage Implementation Strategy recommendations should be implemented	- Preparation of HIS prior to rezoning - Implementation at Detailed Design
	Design opportunities	Outcomes: Examples of good practice in incorporating Aboriginal design into development are given in section and section 7	
	Learning from traditional Aboriginal architecture	Recommendations Further consultation could be organized to ensure the Aboriginal community approves of design concepts	At Development Application
		Outcomes Consider recommendations by stakeholders included in section 5 with respect to landscaping, places of healing, access to the sky, and access to water and soil.	
	Supporting living systems: Earth, Water and sky	Recommendations Environmental assessment recommendations and design concepts should be prepared in light of knowledge shared by community that promote healthy Country	- Through development of CwC prior to rezoning - At Development Application
	Reawakening memory	Outcomes Consultation with Aboriginal stakeholders has also fed into the Heritage Interpretation Strategy	
		Recommendations Follow the recommendations of the Heritage Interpretation Strategy being prepared for this site	- Through development of HIS prior to rezoning - At Development Application

9.4 Delivery – Shaping Country

Activity	Action	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Construct with Country	Consider how the building of the place will become part of Country once completed. When significant items are discovered during subsoil investigations, collaborate with local Aboriginal community to determine culturally appropriate handling, repatriation and reburial of any ancestral remains or artefacts	Recommendations - Prior to construction commencing, an Unexpected Finds Protocol should be developed which should include a condition regarding consultation - Follow the recommendations outlined in the South West Creek – Sub-Precinct 5 ACHAR (Artefact 2023)	Prior construction commencement
	Undertake a skills audit of the community before construction	Recommendations Provide training and employment opportunities for community	Ongoing through project lifecycle
Celebrate	Plan for ceremony. Look for opportunities to involve the community throughout the development process, such as -Invitations to perform a Welcome to Country ceremony at important milestone events, noting that a Welcome to Country needs to be done by Traditional Custodians, - Invitations to attend official openings	Recommendations Commission a Welcome to Country ceremony at important milestone events	- Prior construction commencement - End of construction

9.5 Maintain – Caring for Country

Activity from framework	Action from framework	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Provide access to Country	Support the return of community to Country by providing access to sites where projects are being developed and delivered	Recommendations Ensure the design concept includes a space where community can gather/have access, particularly to the riparian corridor	At Detailed Design
Monitor and evaluate	Undertake post-occupancy evaluations to establish project success and areas for improvement	Recommendations: Undertake post-occupancy evaluations	Post-occupancy
	Maintain ongoing relationships with community	Recommendations: For developments that arise from the masterplan, ensure a condition of approval is Aboriginal engagement	
	Continue to develop and strengthen cultural awareness	Recommendations: Develop cultural awareness projects which can be implemented throughout the development to the non-Aboriginal community	Ongoing through project life cycle

10. OUTCOMES FOR COUNTRY

10.1 Introduction

The outcomes of a Country-centred approach to planning new developments are presented in this section as practical indicators of success. These outcomes will be reviewed and updated during further consultation through project delivery.

10.2 Healthy Country

Healthy Country describes healthy, interconnected natural ecosystems, supported by regenerative practices based on Aboriginal knowledge.

What it looks like	Indicators for success	Outcomes and Recommendations	Indicative timing
Healthy Ecology	High biodiversity includes a wide variety of plant and animal species, including those that are rare or endangered	- This project aims to rejuvenate some areas of Country, particularly the creek and the area which will become a riparian corridor. - Weeds and non-natives will be removed from the site	Construction commencement
	Ecological systems are resilient to impacts from drought, floods and fires, as well as human-induced disturbances such as habitat destruction and pollution	Designs will include considerations for water retention on the site	During development of CwC prior to rezoning
The physical form of Country remains recognisable and restored where possible	Interference with natural water systems is minimal	- The riparian corridor plan aims to rejuvenate Country following intensive farming practices along the creekline - The project team, neighbouring properties and Council should liaise to protect and restore the physical form of Country systems, such as creeklines, which cross boundaries	Ongoing through project life cycle

10.3 Healthy Community

Built environment projects can provide opportunities for employment and capacity building within the Aboriginal community, and support Aboriginal communities' connection to their cultural identity, which supports positive health and wellbeing.

What it looks like	Indicators for success	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Strong cultural identity, connected to place and community	Aboriginal community sees their cultural heritage appropriately reflected in the design of places where they live and work	A Heritage Interpretation Strategy is being developed for this site, and interpretation elements to be integrated within the project's design	- Development of strategy prior to rezoning - Implementation of strategy in Detailed Design phase
Cultural safety	Aboriginal people feel safe, respected, and supported in how they express their cultural identity	Continue to consult on this project, both for Connecting with Country and Heritage Interpretation	Ongoing through project life cycle
Relief for Aboriginal communities who are fatigued by the workload imposed on them by project teams seeking their advice on Country	A strategic plan or register is established to identify technical and cultural skills of Aboriginal community	Continue to identify skills through consultation	Ongoing through project life cycle
	Community is involved early in the decision-making about which projects they are best placed to work on	Stakeholders were invited to say how much involvement they wanted to have on the project	During development of CwC prior to rezoning
Training	Training is provided to develop communities' spatial design skills and understanding of planning and design processes	[REDACTED] attended the site visit on the 28 August. The four are young, early-career heritage officers wanting to develop their skills and experience in cultural heritage and planning and design processes. The site visit on the 28 August was a great opportunity for them to learn from their Elders as well as from the broader project team. - During the site visit on the 28 August, Paul H shared a lot of information about planning and design processes.	During development of CwC prior to rezoning
Employment opportunities	Jobs are created that allow people to stay connected to community and Country.	Artefact recruited a new Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Officer following the	Completed during development of CwC prior to rezoning

What it looks like	Indicators for success	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
	Employment opportunities are provided throughout all stages of project life cycles	site visit with the early career heritage officers.	During development of CwC prior to rezoning
	Aboriginal businesses are supported in the project procurement strategy		Ongoing through project life cycle

10.4 Protecting Aboriginal cultural heritage

It is critical that Aboriginal cultural heritage is protected in the built environment, both through the design and development of projects, and by acknowledging and respecting the rights of Aboriginal people and community over their cultural intellectual property.

What it looks like	Indicators for success	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Aboriginal cultural advisers guiding project teams and clients to better connect with Aboriginal community	Aboriginal cultural heritage is protected and celebrated within planning and design outcomes.	Follow the recommendations outlined in the South Creek West – Sub- Precinct 5 ACHAR (Artefact 2023)	- Prior construction commencement - Construction
	Aboriginal community actively participate in shared decision-making processes related to precinct/regional planning or program workstreams, particularly those that significantly impact Country they are responsible to care for.	Continue to consult throughout the lifetime of the project and through subsequent development phases	Ongoing through project lifecycle
Project teams and processes for project delivery respect ICIP	Aboriginal community endorses the project outcomes and behaviour of the project team.	This report will be sent to Stakeholders for their feedback and input	During development of CwC prior to rezoning
Aboriginal language placenames are used	Aboriginal placenames are used for parks and streets. Dual naming, or returning the original name, is used for natural features	Consider Aboriginal place naming if appropriate	- During development of CwC and Heritage Interpretation Strategy reports prior to rezoning - At Development Application
Access to Country is provided	Access to Country enables community to practice ceremony and undertake obligations to care for Country.	Consider access to Country, particularly the riparian corridor	- During development of CwC prior to rezoning - At Development Application

10.5 Cultural competency

Implementing the Connecting with Country Framework through built environment projects provides educational opportunities for project teams, clients, and the public, to develop a deeper cultural awareness and respect for Aboriginal people and culture.

What it looks like	Indicators for success	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Cultural competency ongoing cultural awareness training develops skills and competency in delivering Country centred design projects	Workplace culture supports training, immersion and learning for built environment professionals, including individuals, project teams and across agencies. Cultural awareness training is embedded into continuing professional development. Requirements (e.g. NSCA) Proof of cultural awareness training is required in procurement contracts	Cultural awareness training should be undertaken by all future project team members	Ongoing through project lifecycle

10.6 Better Places

Adopting a Country-centred approach creates better places, informs sustainable designs, integrates with the broader landscape to form place-based design responses, and promotes strong community engagement to create welcoming and accessible places.

What it looks like	Indicators for success	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
Planning and design projects create places that are connected with Country	Project sites are connected to broader landscapes beyond property or project boundaries Where possible, locally sourced, sustainable building materials are used; they have a relationship with and belong to the Country they come from. First placenames guide design and planning outcomes: placemaking, dual naming and wayfinding.	- Landscaping would incorporate native plants and views across to the creeks - Use sustainable local building materials for use throughout the development where possible - Consultation with Stakeholders on open space planning would continue at the DA stage - Consult with stakeholders over naming of sites	- During development of CwC prior to rezoning - At Development Application - During development of CwC and HIS reports prior to rezoning - At Development Application

What it looks like	Indicators for success	Outcomes and recommendations	Indicative timing
	The memory of significant cultural, historic and natural events can be read and traced within Country's landscape	Implement the recommendations in the Heritage Interpretation Strategy (Artefact, 2024)	- During development of HIS report prior to rezoning - Before Development Application
Planning and design outcomes Support Living cultural practices	Projects support ongoing opportunities for on-Country tours, ceremony, and sourcing Indigenous food and materials.	Consider ceremonies at key milestones through project development	Ongoing through project lifecycle
Original landscapes are repaired or restored	Landscapes are regenerated.	- This project aims to repair and restore the creek through the development of the riparian corridor - Council and neighbouring developers would be encouraged to continue the regeneration of landscapes across neighbouring properties	Ongoing through project lifecycle

11. CONCLUSION

11.1 Conclusion and recommendations

This Connecting with Country report for South West Sub-Precinct 5, Cobbitty has been prepared to align with the principles and guidelines of the GANSW Connecting with Country Framework (2023) and associated best practice documents.

This document has been prepared in consultation with key Aboriginal stakeholders from the area and provides a vision and design principles to embed Country into the future development of the site. These conclusions and recommendations will be reviewed and updated during further consultation through project delivery.

It is recommended that the project team consider key elements from this Connecting with Country report within the future planning for the site including:

- considering the Design Principles within the design stages for the current Planning Proposal and future development of the site – see section 7.2
- actioning appropriate recommendations from the Outcomes for Country – see section 10
- facilitating ongoing consultation and design workshops with the Aboriginal stakeholders during subsequent key development stages.
- integrating meaningful interpretation/artwork/landscape elements within the design development stages of this project, through the development of a Heritage Interpretation and Art Strategy that requires consultation with key stakeholders.
- arranging Cultural Awareness Training for current and future project team members.
- updating Aboriginal stakeholders on the progress of the future development of the site.

Artefact would like to thank all stakeholders for their generosity in sharing their expertise and cultural knowledge during this project.

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