



WATERS
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Ginninderry Development Project
Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment Report
Redacted Version for Public Release

Riverview Projects (ACT) • v.3 • May 2017



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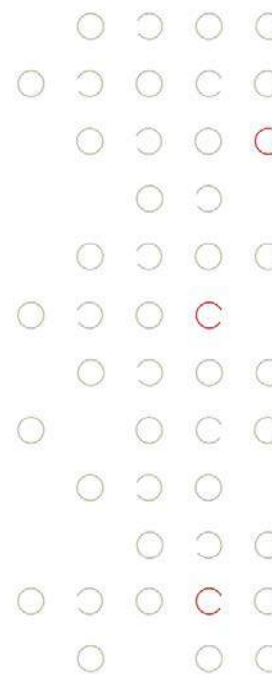


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1 Distribution of this report

This is a redacted version of the complete report for public release. The cultural mapping and locational data have been removed from this version.

2 Introduction

The Ginninderry Development Project is a staged residential development with associated infrastructure located in the West Belconnen area of the ACT and adjacent areas of NSW. The Project Area is shown on Figure 1. This report is the outcome of the Aboriginal cultural values assessment undertaken by Waters Consultancy. The focus of this assessment has been on identifying intangible cultural values through consultation with identified knowledge holders and associated historical research. This report is a component in the investigations undertaken by Riverview Projects (ACT) in relation to the Ginninderry Development Project.

3 The Project

The Ginninderry Development Project is a staged housing development being undertaken by Riverview Projects (ACT). The Project Area (see Figure 1) is bounded by Ginninderra Creek on the north, the Murrumbidgee River on the west, Stockdill Drive on the south, and the suburbs of Mcgregor and Holt on the east.

The project area covers approximately 598 hectares within New South Wales and 1,006 hectares within the Australian Capital Territory. The project area is broadly divided into the proposed Development Area and a proposed Conservation Corridor. The proposed Development Area is for residential purposes with associated infrastructure and is divided into 29 construction stages with construction having commenced within the ACT in 2016 and expected to commence in NSW in approximately 10 years. Construction is expected to continue for three to four decades. The proposed Conservation Corridor is intended to be developed in parallel stages with the development areas.

The proposed Conservation Corridor will comprise a total area of 577 hectares, 371 located in the ACT and 206 in NSW. The proposed Conservation Corridor is bounded by the eastern bank of the Murrumbidgee River on the west and the Ginninderra Creek on the north, while on the east it will abut the proposed residential development area.

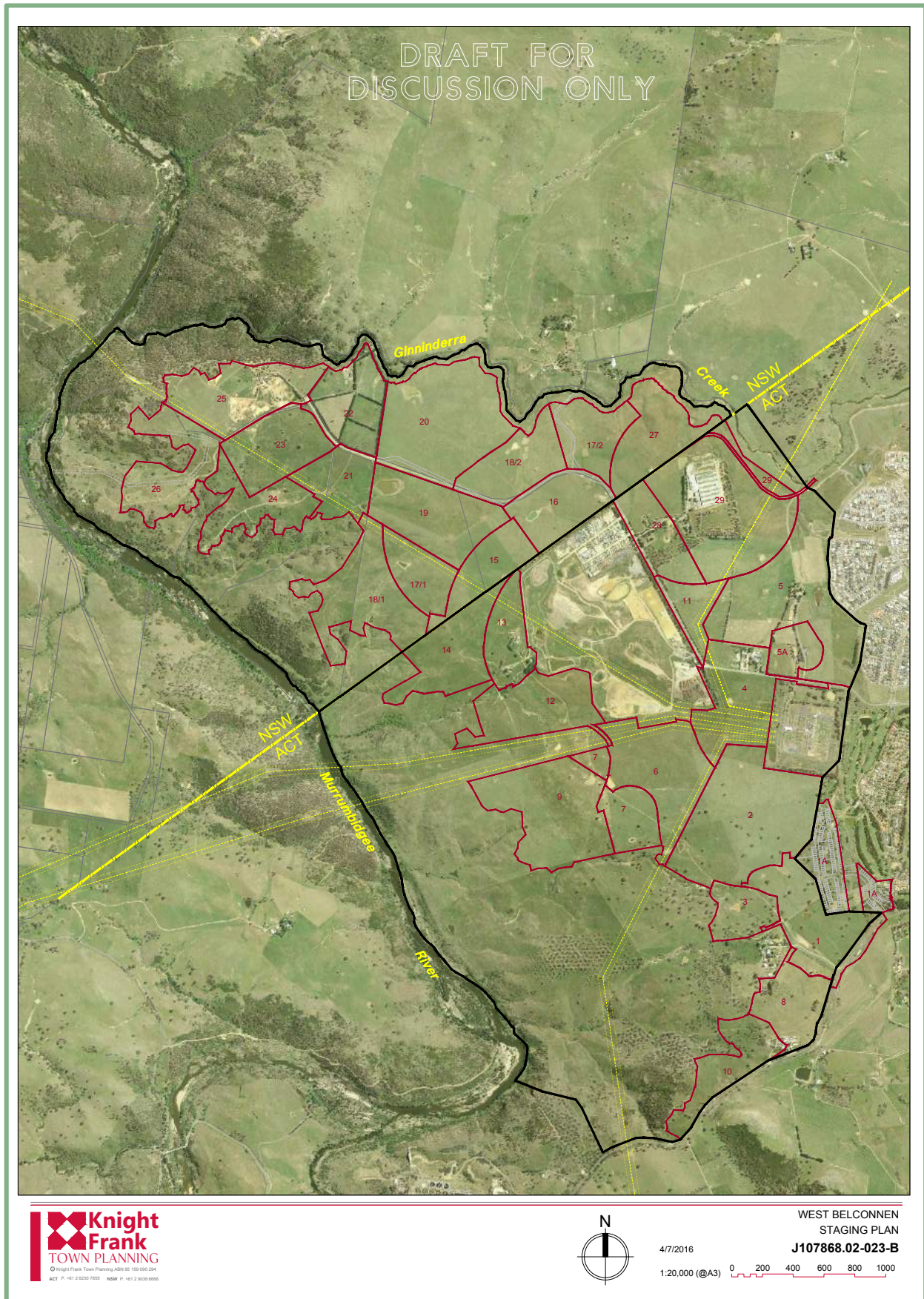


Figure 1: Ginninderry Project Area (black line delineates boundary of project area, red line delineates staged development areas).

4 Consultation Methodology

This Aboriginal cultural assessment has been undertaken through consultation with knowledge holders, as identified by the registered Aboriginal stakeholders, regarding historical and cultural values within the study area. Historical research has been undertaken to provide a contextual understanding to allow for the interpretation and assessment of the cultural information.

Consultation with Aboriginal knowledge holders is a key component to the assessment of Aboriginal cultural heritage values. As stated in the guidelines produced by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) on the application of the Burra Charter to Indigenous heritage,ⁱ

*Indigenous people are the relevant knowledge-holders for places of Indigenous cultural significance. Their traditional knowledge and experience must be appropriately used and valued in the assessment of places. Advice may need to be sought on who are the relevant knowledge holders.*ⁱⁱ

The assessment of Aboriginal cultural heritage values was undertaken collaboratively with the Aboriginal community and identified Aboriginal knowledge holders. This is consistent with the guidelines for the assessment of Aboriginal cultural heritage produced by the Office of Environment & Heritage (OEH).ⁱⁱⁱ

5 Consultation Process

The proposed cultural assessment methodology was provided to the Registered Aboriginal Parties (RAPs) and Registered Aboriginal Organisations (RAOs) for comment on 4 May 2016 (see Appendix A). In addition, the consultant provided a verbal explanation of the cultural assessment methodology to the RAPs and RAOs and identified knowledge holders during telephone conversations. No written comments were received in relation to the cultural assessment methodology. The verbal feedback provided by the RAPs and RAOs and knowledge holders endorsed the proposed methodology as appropriate.

For the purposes of this assessment the RAPs and RAOs were requested to nominate individuals who they considered held cultural heritage knowledge of the area. This request was made in a covering letter distributed to all RAPs and RAOs with the proposed cultural assessment methodology. In addition the consultant attempted to contact all RAPs and RAOs by telephone or email in regard to the nomination of knowledge holders.

Ten individuals were nominated as knowledge holders.^{iv} One nominated knowledge holder chose to have another of the nominated knowledge holders speak for them.^v One nominated knowledge holder chose not to participate and did not identify any other individual to speak on their behalf.^{vi} Interviews and/or field surveys were conducted with the remaining eight identified knowledge holders in relation to the cultural heritage values within, and adjacent to, the Project Area.

The eight identified knowledge holders spoken with also provided cultural and historical information on the broader cultural landscape of the region and their family connection to the area. This information has informed the assessment process in relation to the cultural heritage values and significance of the identified cultural heritage sites.

All of the knowledge holders identified the Project Area as being located within a culturally significant landscape with the lower Ginninderra Creek area in particular being regarded as holding a high degree of cultural significance. Two of the eight knowledge holders stated that while they were aware of the

Ginninderra Creek area, and of the Ginninderra Falls in particular, as a culturally significant area they did not have any specific site knowledge.^{vii} One of the eight knowledge holders was aware of the Ginninderra Creek area as a culturally significant area and of its association with a songline and pathway that runs into the Brindabella Mountains but not of any further site details.^{viii} Five of the eight knowledge holders had specific site knowledge of the Project Area and through detailed interviews, field surveys and consideration of aerial photography, have identified a total of five places of cultural value within the Project Area, a further three associated places of cultural value that lie in adjacent land holdings, and a network of culturally significant songlines and pathways that connect the Ginninderra Creek area to the wider landscape.^{ix}

A draft version of this report was provided to the knowledge holders, RAPs, RAOs, Office of Environment and Heritage NSW and ACT Heritage for review. Written and verbal feedback was received from one knowledge holder who is also an RAO, verbal feedback was received from the remaining seven knowledge holders (two of whom are also RAOs), one RAP, and the Office of Environment and Heritage NSW. All comments received were addressed in the finalization of this report (see Appendix B for summary of comments).

6 Previous Historical and Cultural Assessment

Comprehensive archaeological heritage assessments have been undertaken for the project area by Biosis with two reports produced in 2015.^x Subsequent to the 2015 reports, Lyn O'Brien, through Past Traces, has undertaken further archaeological investigations and Aboriginal community consultations. It was as a result of intangible cultural values identified by an Aboriginal party during archaeological investigations that Riverview Projects (ACT) commissioned the Aboriginal cultural values assessment that is the subject of this report. No detailed historical or cultural assessment in relation to Aboriginal cultural values has previously been undertaken for the Project Area.

7 What is Cultural Significance?

The concept of cultural significance encompasses all the cultural values and meanings that could potentially be recognised in a place. The cultural and natural values of a place are generally indivisible in the context of Aboriginal cultural heritage. The cultural values and meanings in a place can be both tangible and intangible.

Cultural significance is embodied in a place: in its tangible or physical form, in the wider cultural landscape that it is located in, in the ways in which the place is used or interacted with, and in the associations, stories, and meanings of the place to the people and community it holds significance for.

Aboriginal cultural heritage consists of any places and objects of significance to Aboriginal people because of their traditions, observances, lore, customs, beliefs and history. It provides evidence of the lives and existence of Aboriginal people before European settlement through to the present... For Aboriginal people, cultural heritage and cultural practices are part of both the past and the present and that cultural heritage is kept alive and strong by being part of everyday life.^{xi}

The concept of cultural significance is used in Australian heritage practice and legislation to encompass all of the cultural values and meanings that might be recognised in a place. Cultural significance is often defined as the sum of the qualities or values that a place has with particular reference to the five values – aesthetic, historic, scientific, social and spiritual – that are listed in the *Burra Charter*.

The three key values in relation to Aboriginal cultural heritage assessments are the social, spiritual and historic. Social or cultural value refers to the associations that a place has for a particular community or cultural group and the resulting social or cultural meanings that it holds for them. It can encompass traditional, historical or contemporary associations. Spiritual value is often subsumed within the category of social or cultural value. It refers more specifically to the intangible values and meanings embodied or evoked by a place to a specific cultural group and that relate to that group's spiritual identity or traditional practices. Historic values refer to the associations of a place with an individual person, event, phase or activity that has historical importance to a specific community or cultural group.

As stated previously consultation with Aboriginal knowledge holders is a key component to the assessment of Aboriginal cultural heritage values. The assessment of Aboriginal cultural heritage values must be undertaken collaboratively with the Aboriginal community and identified Aboriginal knowledge holders.

8 Overview of Findings and Recommendations

As a result of the detailed cultural assessment eight places of cultural value have been identified, five of which are located within the Project Area. Table 1 provides a summary description and significance assessment of each of the eight identified cultural places. Table 2 provides a summary of the site specific actions recommended in relation to the eight identified cultural places.

A detailed discussion of the cultural significance of the eight identified places is provided in **Section 12 Cultural Significance Assessment**.

Table 1: Summary of Significance of Identified Cultural Places

Site Name	Description	Cultural significance
Place 1: Ceremonial Area	Location of ritual activities traditionally undertaken as part of process of young men's initiation.	Place 1 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with ceremonial activity.
Place 2: Corroboree Ground	A general community corroboree ground for cultural activities including singing, dancing, teaching, and story telling	Place 2 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of the corroboree ground's use for shared community cultural activities.
Place 3: Women's Business Hill & Ancestral Figure	A female ancestral figure in the landscape and the site of women's ceremonial business.	Place 3 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with women's ceremonial business and the connection with aspects of the young men's initiation ceremony.
Place 4: Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure	An ancestral figure of the Eaglehawk lying in, or forming, the landscape.	Place 4 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with the cultural figure of the Eaglehawk.
Place 5: Resource Area	An area utilized for the collection of resources by both women and men.	Place 5 is considered to be of moderate cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its use as a resource area.
Place 6: Fish Trap Resource Area	Fish traps were understood to have been located in the bed of the Murrumbidgee River to the north of its junction with Ginninderra Creek.	Place 6 is considered to be of moderate cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with resource gathering activities.
Place 7: Ancestral Figure & Women's Story Site	A female ancestral figure in the landscape that is a story site associated with young women's initiation rituals.	Place 7 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of the presence of an ancestral figure in the landscape and its role as a women's story site associated with young women's initiation.
Place 8: Ginninderra Creek & Murrumbidgee	A pathway that runs from the headwaters of the Ginninderra Creek near Mulligans Flat to its junction with the	Place 8 is considered to be of moderate cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of the importance of pathways as the

Pathways	Murrumbidgee River where it intersects with a pathway that runs along the Murrumbidgee River in both directions.	physical and symbolic linkages between people, country and sites and between different communities across the wider region.
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8.1 Overarching Recommendations

In addition to the site specific actions recommendations the following general recommendations are made in relation to the management of the eight identified cultural places:

- That a Cultural Values Management Plan be developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, to provide detailed management guidelines for the identified cultural places located within the Project Area;
- That interpretative signage for display in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. Although Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1,2, 5 and 7 that are located within the Project Area. Addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the landscape;
- That it is recommended to Yass Valley Council that they list Places 1, 3,4 and 6 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as Aboriginal places of heritage significance; and,
- That a research project is undertaken to determine the suitability of Places 1, 3, 4 and 7 for nomination as Aboriginal Places under the NSW *National Parks & Wildlife Act (1974)*.

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8.2 Site Specific Recommendations

In addition to the overarching recommendations detailed above there are a number of site specific recommendations which are listed in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Recommended Site Specific Actions

Site Name	Description	Cultural Heritage Significance	Impact?	Site Specific Recommended Actions
Place 1: Ceremonial Area	Location of ritual activities traditionally undertaken as part of process of young men's initiation.	High	No known impact	<p>That a Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 1.</p> <p>That Yass Valley Council list that portion of Place 1 located within their boundaries on the Council's Local Environment Plan as an Aboriginal place of heritage significance.</p>
Place 2: Corroboree Ground	A general community corroboree ground for cultural activities including singing, dancing, teaching, and story telling.	Moderate	Yes	<p>That a focused research project be undertaken in relation to Place 2 to determine if it meets the significance criteria for listing on the ACT Heritage Register;</p> <p>That a Cultural Values Management Plan is produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 2.</p>
Place 3: Women's Business Hill & Ancestral Figure	A female ancestral figure in the landscape and the site of women's ceremonial business.	High	No known impact. Located outside Project Area	That Yass Valley Council list Place 3 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as an Aboriginal place of heritage significance.

Site Name	Description	Cultural Heritage Significance	Impact?	Site Specific Recommended Actions
Place 4: Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure	The place is an ancestral figure of the Eaglehawk lying in, or forming, the landscape.	High	No known impact. Located outside Project Area.	That Yass Valley Council list Place 4 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as an Aboriginal place of heritage significance.
Place 5: Resource Area	An area utilized for the collection of resources by both women and men.	Moderate	No known impact.	That a Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 5.
Place 6: Fish Trap Resource Area	Fish traps were understood to have been located in the bed of the Murrumbidgee River to the north of its junction with Ginninderra Creek.	Moderate	No known impact. Located outside the Project Area.	That Yass Valley Council list Place 6 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as a potential Aboriginal place of heritage significance; and
Place 7: Ancestral Figure & Women's Story Site	A female ancestral figure in the landscape that is a story site associated with young women's initiation rituals.	High	Yes. Note that Riverview P/L have agreed to modify the existing designs to remove all impacts to Place 7.	That a Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 7.
Place 8: Ginninderra Creek & Murrumbidgee Pathways	A pathway that runs from the headwaters of the Ginninderra Creek near Mulligans Flat to its junction with the Murrumbidgee River where it intersects with a pathway that runs along the Murrumbidgee River in both directions.	Moderate	No known impact.	That a Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within the proposed Conservation Corridor.

9 Historical Context

The Ginninderry Development Area lies within the area bounded on the west by the Murrumbidgee River, on the north by Ginninderra Creek and on the south by the Molonglo River with the project area straddling the ACT and NSW border. It lies within the broader Southern Tablelands region with the Limestone Plains to the south and east, the Yass Plains to the north, and the Brindabellas and Bogong Peaks to the west (see Figure 1).

In the early historical records use of the term Ginninderra District referred broadly to an area that,

... spread from the Murrumbidgee River on its western fringe eastwards beyond Mulligans Flat and from Upper Canberra on its southern boundary northwards to Bedellick on the Yass Road...^{xii}

At a more specific level the term Ginninderra referred to the area where in the 1820s George Thomas Palmer established a station referred to variously as *Palmerville* and *Gingininderra* or *Ginninderra*.^{xiii} It was here that the township of Ginninderra developed in the 1850s. Ginninderra was an important early European settlement with the first police station, post office, school and store in the area that now forms the ACT.^{xiv}

The Ginninderry Development Area falls within the broader area referred to in the early historical records as the Ginninderra District. However, the majority of the early references appear to be more specifically to the locality of Ginninderra, which lies to the north-east of the current Ginninderry Development Area around the modern suburbs of Palmerston, Nicholls and Crace (see Map 2).

The Southern Tablelands region was first explored by Europeans in the years from 1814-1820 with Hamilton Hume, Charles Throsby, James Meehan and John Oxley being key figures. Pastoral expansion followed rapidly with squatters and their stock occupying the whole of the Southern Tablelands, including the Yass Plains, the Limestone Plains and the adjoining Monaro Plains, in the period from the mid 1820s to the mid 1830s.^{xv}

The first area to be occupied was Sutton Forest, the second was the area from Eden Forest to Bungonia and Inverary, and the third was the area to the west and south of the Goulburn Plains including the Breadalbane and Molonglo Plains.^{xvixvii} By 1821 there were 4,462 cattle and over 6,000 sheep on the Breadalbane Plains.^{xviii} European pastoral settlement then extended onto the Limestone Plains around modern day Queanbeyan and Canberra and the Yass Plains around modern day Gundaroo.^{xix}

Charles Throsby was a key figure in the European expansion into the Southern Tablelands region. In 1820 he was informed by Aboriginal people in the region that beyond Lake Bathurst there was another larger lake and,

... a considerable river of salt water (excepting at very wet seasons) called by the natives, Mur:rum:bid:gie, two days journey from the lake (Wee:ree:waa)^{lxx} and described by them, to communicate with the sea, at a great distance, pointing southerly.^{xxi}

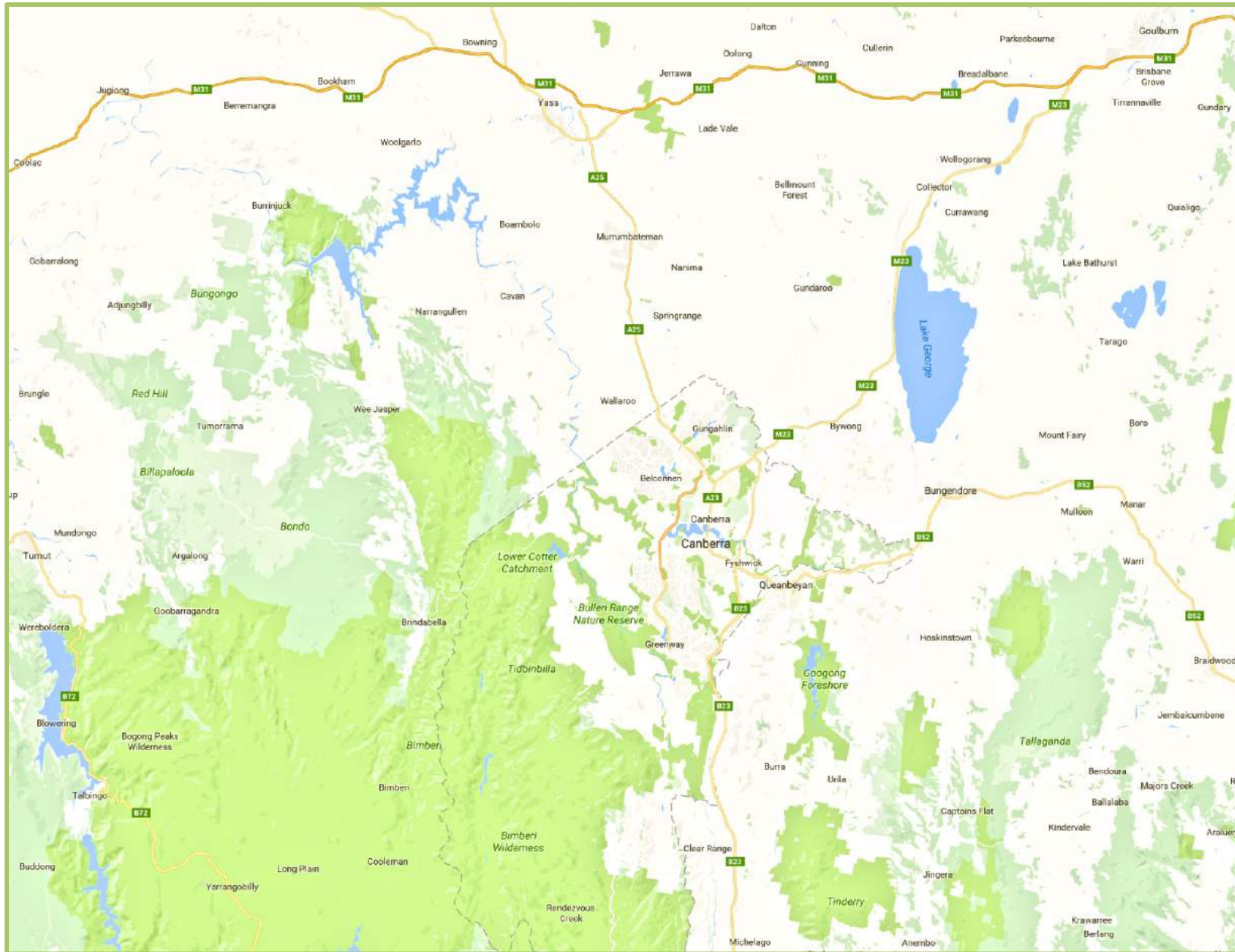
¹ Two of the knowledge holders have stated that they understand the Indigenous name for Lake George in their local language to be Ngarra or Ngungara. The name recorded by Throsby for Lake George, Wee:ree:waa, is now frequently rendered as Weerewa and is widely referred to as the 'local Indigenous name'. At the formation of the first federal electorate divisions in 1900 the area that included Lake George was named Werriwa, although this division name now refers to an area in the Sydney region. In the early 1830s the surveyor William Govett witnessed a corroboree at Lake George, which involved local and visiting



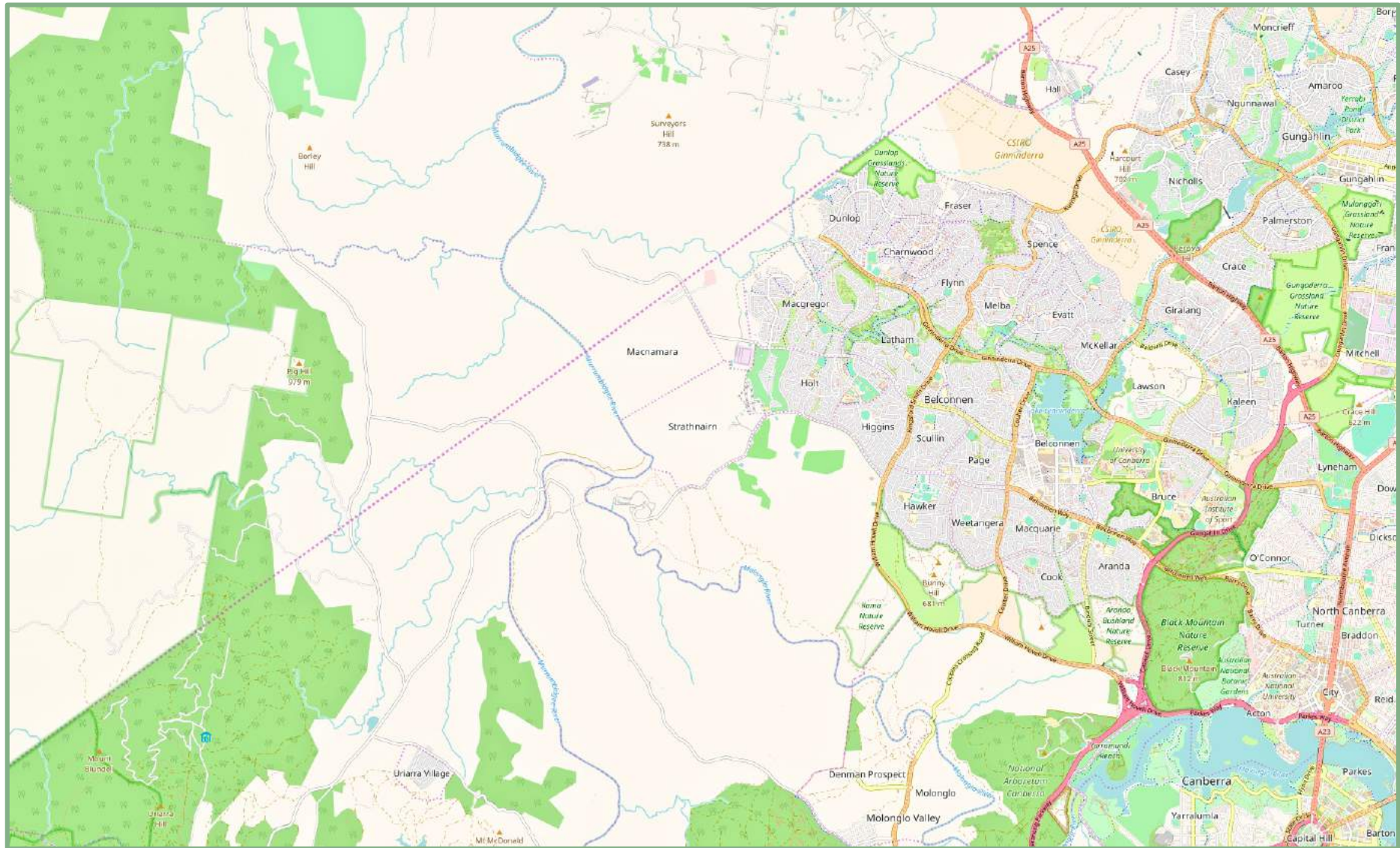
Image 1: South end of Lake George, 1830, Robert Hoddle.^{xxii}

In August of that year Throsby sent his employee Joseph Wild and two other men to locate what was subsequently named Lake George by Europeans.^{xxiii} Throsby himself located the Murrumbidgee River in the following year.^{xxiv} Throsby provided glowing reports of the grazing capacity of the country. The following year an expedition party led by Governor Lachlan Macquarie and including James Meehan, Charles Throsby, Throsby Smith and Joseph Wild travelled to Lake Bathurst, then to Lake George before returning to Sydney via Sutton Forest. The reports they brought back of the country were mixed. The full party had reached the great lake on 27 October 1821; Throsby, Wild, various others and two Aboriginal guides had arrived some days earlier.^{xxv} From this base a number of short exploratory trips were made to the west and south-west.^{xxvi}

groups, and recorded the name of the Lake as 'Weriwa' (see below). It would appear from the historical sources that the language name now rendered as Weerewa was a commonly understood name for the area in the early decades of European intrusion. However, these historical sources do not provide any indication of the specific Indigenous language from which the term comes and no linguistic discussion of the name's origin has been located. The existence of a number of names for a site or area is standard within Aboriginal societies across Australia. This results from a range of factors including: different groups, speaking different languages or dialects, having different names for the same location; different names being used over time; shifting locations for the same name; cultural proscriptions on the use of a name leading to a new name being formed; esoteric names which are known to only those with a certain level of initiatory standing. This potential multiplicity of names for a specific location was spoken of by two of the knowledge holders in relation to this issue. Please see the following endnote (xx) for source details.



Map 1: Regional Map



Map 2: North western Canberra including suburbs of Palmerston, Crace and Nicholls.

In 1823 Captain Mark Currie led another party, again with Joseph Wild as a member, onto the Limestone Plains and to,

... Tuggeranong Plain (Tuggranong), which they called Isabella's Plain... The party reached the Murrumbidgee River near Pine Island and, finding the river swollen by recent rains, were unable to cross and so proceeded to trace the river upstream... The glowing reports furnished by this expedition created much interest in the Colony in both government and pastoral circles. As a result, the area was visited the following year by Allan Cunningham, the 'King's Botanist'.^{xxvii}

Allan Cunningham travelled through the area in March 1824, his reports reinforcing the perception that the Limestone Plains provided rich grazing lands.^{xxviii}

Amongst the earliest recorded squatters on the Limestone Plains were Joshua Moore at 'Canberry' (later known as Acton) around 1823, soon followed by James Ainslie on behalf of Robert Campbell Snr at 'Pialligo' (later known as Duntroon), John Palmer at Jerrabomberra, and George Palmer at Ginninderra.^{xxix} John Palmer was the brother-in-law of Robert Campbell Snr whilst George was John's son.^{xxx}

In the 1828 census the following stations were listed for the region: Robert Campbell's Duntroon, G.T. Palmer's Ginninderra, John Palmer's Jerrabomberra, J.J. Moore's Canberry and Timothy Beard's Quinbean. There were also in the surrounding areas Robert Johnson at Jeir, Owen Bowen at Molonglo, Emanuel Elliot at Michelago and James Murdoch at Tuggeranong.^{xxxi}

A local history from the 1920s recorded that local Aboriginal people guided Ainslie to Pialligo,

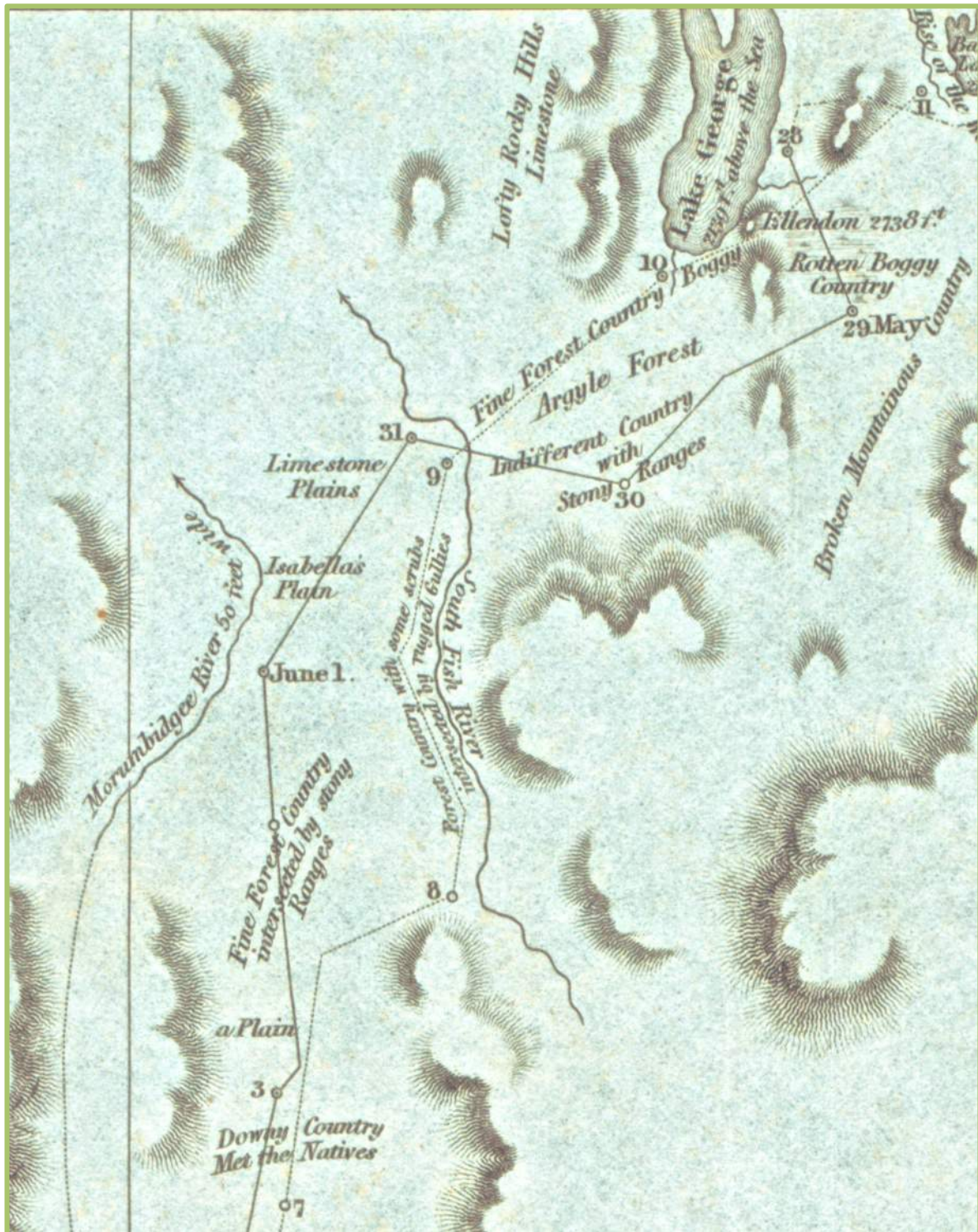
Ainslie carried out his instructions, but not finding what he wanted, drove his flock on towards Yass. Here he fell in with a tribe of aborigines from whom he ascertained that some thirty miles southerly there was a large extent of good open grazing country. Guided by one of the gins, he ultimately reached the Molonglo River, at a spot known by the natives as "Pialligo," where he established a sheep station in Mr. Campbell's interest.^{xxxii}

More recent local histories state that Ainslie initially took the flock to Ginninderra and from here searched for better grasslands, which he was eventually shown by a local Aboriginal woman who led him to Pialligo. The source for these accounts is unclear; they appear to be based on local European oral histories.^{xxxiii}

In a detailed history of the Campbell family it is stated that soon after Ainslie established the Campbell sheep on the Limestone Plains,

... Campbell sent his son, Robert II, to inspect the area. The young man returned within a month with glowing reports of the grass and water and of the condition of the stock... There was no road beyond Camden, and the mode of travel was a riding horse and a pack animal for luggage... The last permanent residence on the route was Charles Throsby's property at Bong Bong, and from that point it was still more than one hundred miles to the banks of the Molonglo. A few shepherds were grazing their flocks on land around Goulburn, but there was little sign of settlement beyond that.^{xxxiv}

Robert Campbell Snr visited his property on the Limestone Plains in 1830 and planned for the building of the substantial house he named Duntroon. At this time he had 10,000 sheep and close to 600 head of cattle.^{xxxv} In the ten years from 1824 to 1834 Duntroon Station increased its sheep from 700 to 25,000.^{xxxvi}



Map 3: Excerpt from Captain Currie's Map, c. 1823.^{xxxvii}

The expansion of European pastoral settlement was also occurring on the Yass Plains in the same period. Hamilton Hume held Woolloobidallah station, in the vicinity of modern day Gunning, from around 1821. He is generally credited with having first identified the Yass Plains as a potential area for pastoral exploitation. Some accounts state that his 'discovery' of the Yass Plains was as a result of bushfires on his Woolloobidallah station necessitating a search for grass.^{xxxviii} Accounts of Hume and Hovell's 1824 overland journey to Port Phillip, on which they set off from Woolloobidallah through the Yass Plains, referred to the good grazing country of the area.^{xxxix} Hume subsequently received a grant of 1280 acres on the Yass Plains for his services

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to exploration.^{xi} Hume and, following him, other early commentators referred to the area by a local language name, *Yarrh* or *Yar*, which was subsequently corrupted to Yass.^{xli}

At the time of Hume and Hovell's 1824 expedition through the Yass area there were no stations beyond Hume's at Gunning. The first applications for grazing permits on the Yass Plains were by Henry O'Brien and his brother Cornelius O'Brien. Within ten years it was stated that there were stations to the south and west of Hume's station at Gunning to a distance of 100 miles.^{xlii}

Hume and Hovell's 1824 expedition was the first recorded European intrusion into the Tumut River valley. Pastoral settlement rapidly followed and by the early 1830s there were a number of cattle stations established in the valley, including Darbalara, Bombowlee, Tumut Plains, Goobragandra, Mundongo, Blowering and Brungle.^{xliii}



Map 4: Excerpt from Hamilton Hume's sketch map c.1826.^{xliv}

By 1829 land had been granted by the colonial government to the east and south of Lake George, on the Limestone and Molonglo Plains and at Gundaroo and Murrumbateman on the Yass Plains.^{xlv} In the Ginninderra Creek area Henry Hall had established Charnwood Station in 1833.^{xlvi}



Image 2: 'Murrumbidgee River', c.1829, Robert Hoddle.^{xlvii}

Samuel Schumake, who grew up in the Ginninderra district from the 1860s onwards, in commenting on the treatment of Aboriginal people in the region by the intruding Europeans, singled out Henry Hall,

... they were vilely treated by the white despoilers, of whom only a few were exceptions. William Davis treated the natives very well indeed; Henry Hall treated them particularly vilely.^{xlviii}

In 1832 the naturalist George Bennett travelled to the Yass Plains where he reported that,

This part of the colony appears valuable; the country is for the most part open forest, with luxuriant pasturage, and well watered, (an object of much importance in this arid country,) combining capabilities of cultivation and grazing land with picturesque beauty. The "Plains," or more properly speaking, extensive downs, are destitute of trees, affording abundance of pasturage for sheep, &c., and the distance is terminated by open forest country, most part of which has already been granted or sold by government to settlers.^{xlix}

By the 1830s the river frontages along the Yass River had been occupied by pastoralists.¹

In 1844 George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines of Port Phillip, travelled from the south coast up onto the Monaro and then to the Limestone Plains travelling through what is now Canberra and on to Yass. He stayed briefly at Yarralumla, then held by Murray, where he noted that,

The creek past Murray runs down from Jin Jine in derring, Campbells have station and Hume is 23 miles from Hall's.^{li}

Hall's was eight miles from Yarralumla, the reference to Hume is to Hamilton Hume who held land at Yass,

Four miles from Hall's passed pretty country and stations where two tripods were fixed. Few miles further passed another pretty place, open country and station belonging to a Mr Johnson at Annendale near Sydney. Came to a station belonging to Hoskins called Mull en Bateman, eight miles from Hume's at Yass, pretty part of country and open, rivulet running through it. On leaving Mul.lun Bateman came to river and then immediately entered upon Yass Downs, several miles extant undulating grassy some sheep grazing and cattle. Yass River on east side... Five pm arrived at Mr Hamilton Hume's on Murrumbidgee side Yass River, good house and grounds and garden, pretty situation, made himself known, well received and hospitably entertained....^{lii}

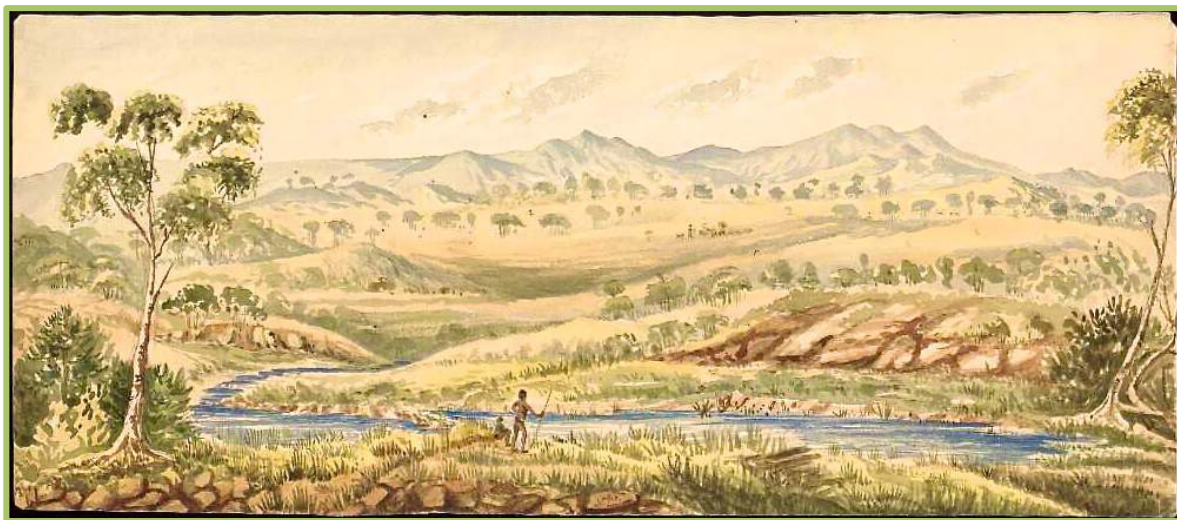


Image 3: 'Ginninginderry Plains', c.1832-35, Robert Hoddle^{liii}

Accounts of the settlement of the Southern Tablelands generally emphasize the lack of conflict that occurred between the Aboriginal people of the region and the intruding Europeans. However, there are a number of indications of conflict and resistance, in the form of the killing of stock, occurring on the Yass Plains. In a newspaper account of the pastoral settlement of the area in 1830 it was stated,

Great numbers of cattle are browsing in these luxuriant pastures [of the Yass Plains], amounting on a moderate calculation to form 12,000 to 15,000 head... Their greatest enemies are the Blacks, who drive them into the swamps and then spear them.^{liv}

The naturalist George Bennett in 1832 reported of the Tumut area to the west of Ginniderra that,

The aborigines, among the tribes in this part of the colony, having found out that by killing the cattle of the settlers, they can procure a larger supply of food with less trouble than by hunting, have commenced spearing cattle; it was this which formerly led to the sanguinary skirmishes with the Bathurst natives, the stockkeepers shooting the blacks, and they, in

return, murdering any Europeans who fell in their way, the lives lost on both sides were numerous.^{lv}

Robinson, the Victorian Protector of Aborigines, noted in 1844 that,

The Yass and Bathurst Blacks in the early settling of the Colony were said to have been troublesome, and that in consequence Commandoes had gone out against them.^{lvi}

These references to conflict focus on the attacks on stock, which from the Aboriginal perspective may have been a matter of addressing a resource imbalance caused by the impact of introduced stock on native resources or may have been an attack on the European presence itself or indeed may have been in response to both these facts.



Image 4: 'Gunninginderry Plains', c.1835, Robert Hoddle.^{lvii}

Within a very few years the levels of stocking and European land use practices had begun to alter the environment and negatively impact on the resources that Aboriginal people relied upon. Alexander Harris, who travelled through the Goulburn region in the 1830s during a dry year, recorded the comments of Aboriginal people on the impact of Europeans on resources,

... wherever I went I saw nothing but dried up waterholes and bare runs. In some places the grass was eaten off so short that whole tracts looked like the high road. There was not so much as the root of the grass visible.... Even the deep water-holes on the runs already taken up were very much reduced. The blacks say, "Plenty water before white man come, plenty pish (fish), plenty kangaroo, plenty 'possum, plenty everything: now all gone. Poor fellow now, black fellow! By and bye that got nothing at all to patter. Then that tumble down" (then he will die).^{lviii}

In 1832 the naturalist George Bennett commented that at the first European settlement of the Yass Plains,

... kangaroos were exceedingly abundant. It is now a rare occurrence to see one upon these plains.^{lix}

Subsequently, when on the Goulburn Plains, Bennett recorded an encounter with an unnamed Aboriginal person who expressed their views on the impact of Europeans on the resources relied upon by Aboriginal people,

One of them came to me the following morning, and said, "You ought give black feller Milliken, (milk,) bullock, and sheep, for white feller come up here, drive away opossum and kangaroo, and poor black feller get noting to patta (eat,) merry, merry, get hungry," – a very true tale, thought I.^{lx}

In addition to resource competition conflict throughout Australia also occurred as a result of the sexual behavior of the intruding Europeans. There is at least one documented occasion of this in the region. Charles Throsby wrote to the Colonial Secretary on 7 September 1824 regarding incidents in the vicinity of Lake George,

I regret very much to be obliged to report that the hitherto peaceable and very friendly disposition of the natives of Argyleshire, is likely to be provoked to hostility by the infamous conduct of some of the stockmen at the outstations, more especially some of those in the employ of Richard Brooks Esqr. It came to my knowledge about fourteen or fifteen days since, that a native girl about sixteen years of age, had been taken away from her friends in the neighbourhood of Lake George, and brought up with a cart, to the farm of that gentleman, near this place... it was discovered that another of the servants (a free man) had also forcibly taken a younger sister of the native girl...^{lxi}

Throsby stated that several Aboriginal men, relatives of the two girls, had left the neighbourhood of Inverary Park and left for Lake George, armed with an unusual number of spears.^{lxii} As a result of these, and other similar actions by European stockmen in the wider region, a large number of Aboriginal people gathered at Inverary Park, near Bungonia, and Lake George.^{lxiii} Governor Darling issued a Government Notice in May 1826 stating that,

Information having been received.... that Thomas Taylor, Stockkeeper to Mr. Sherwin at Lake Bathurst, had been recently murdered by some Natives, and that these people were assembling in unusual numbers about Lake George... [and] at Inverary Park, a Detachment of Troops was ordered to proceed into Argyle the following morning in two Divisions... The Governor is concerned to think, from the Reports he has received, that the proceedings of the Natives are the effect of resentment at the outrages committed upon them by Stock keepers, who interfere with their women, and by such and other acts of aggression provoke them to retaliate.^{lxiv}

On the 23rd of May 1826 Governor Darling reported that,

... the Natives, who had assembled in the County of Argyle, have dispersed without committing any depredation or act of violence. It is supposed that the prompt and unexpected appearance of the Troops in that distant part of the Country had some effect in producing this desirable end. If so, it may be hoped that it will be attended with still further beneficial consequences by checking any disposition they might feel to re-assemble... there can be no doubt of their friendly disposition, when unmolested...^{lxv}

In April 1838 Robert Wrede travelled from Sydney through to Booroowa, on the road between Goulburn to Yass he recorded a meeting with a large group of Aboriginal people,

Arrived in Yass by ½ past 5 P.M. 60 miles from Goulburn having passed a large Camp of natives, who left their fires and came to beg for tobacco; the majority of them were naked; the women, alone, had opossum skin cloaks which but partially answered the purposes for which they were intended; the children were also quite naked. A great many of the mixed breed were among them; if we noticed them to the women, their replies were always the same "Piccaninny belonging to white fellow["].^{lxvi}

Wrede's comment on the presence of considerable numbers of Aboriginal children who had European biological (though not social) fathers is reflected again in the number of Aboriginal children that George Augustus Robinson, in his travels through the region in 1844, identified as having some European heritage.

Of the 52 Aboriginal people that Robinson listed by name at Yarralumla he stated of five of them that they were,

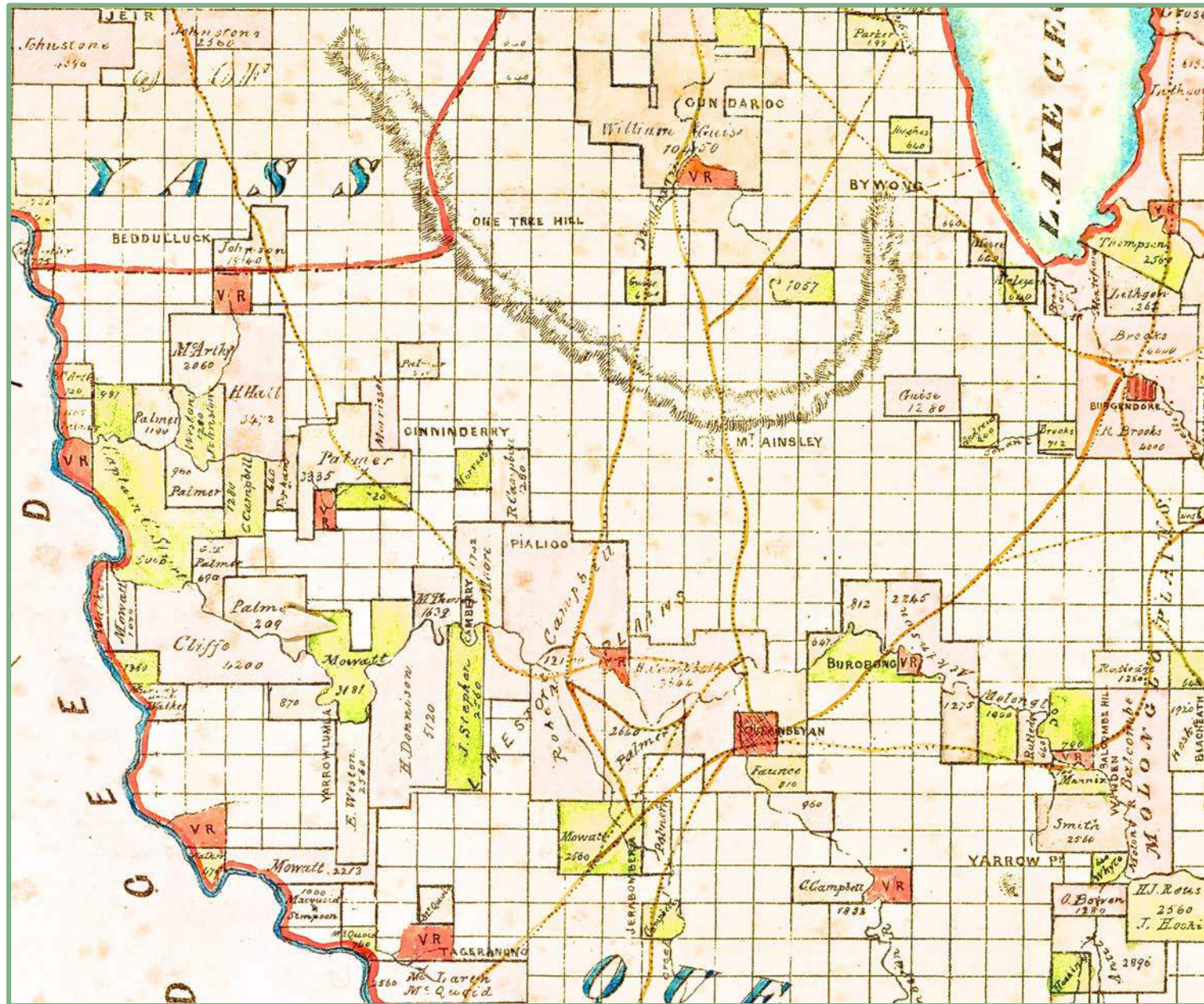
...half cast childn (sic) belonging to the Molongler tribe...^{lxvii}

While at Yass Robinson recorded that he,

Went to Native camp yesterday and today... Saw large number of half caste children. I am informed there are large numbers all parts Middle District. Some are grown up and have children... One woman grown up and married half cast. Several other half cast, should think 12 to 13 at least half cast at this camp.^{lxviii}

By the mid 1830s the best of the grazing country on the Limestone and Yass Plains had been taken up by European pastoralists. In the late 1830s pastoral occupation began to expand beyond the riverfronts and best of the grazing country.^{lxix} By 1839 when the Land Commissioner Henry Bingham visited the areas 'beyond the limits of location adjacent to the County of Murray' there were a number of stations established to the west of the Murrumbidgee River including Uriarra, Cuppacumbalong, Tindbinbilla, Orroral, Naas, and Bobeyan.^{lxx} In the late 1830s and '40s small settlements developed around pastoral stations including Duntroon, Majura and Ginninderra.^{lxxi}

Goulburn was the first of the major townships on the Southern Tablelands, it was first marked out as a town in 1828. In 1836 it was still only a small township with North Goulburn having a courthouse, police huts and lock-up while Goulburn to the south had a few brick buildings. By 1841 there were 655 non-Indigenous people in the town and by 1845 there were 1,200 non-Indigenous people.^{lxxii} The township of Yass developed in the early 1830s.^{lxxiii} By 1847 there were over 2,000 non-Indigenous people living in the town in a total of 315 houses. By 1867 there were four banks, seven insurance offices and four hotels.^{lxxiv} Queanbeyan developed as a town on the basis of its position on the road from the Southern Tablelands up onto the Monaro plains. In the period from 1827 to 1832 squatters took up runs throughout most of the Monaro tablelands, many passing through Queanbeyan.^{lxxv} In the 1830s and '40s it developed into the centre of business for the Limestone Plains.^{lxxvi} In 1839 the town of Queanbeyan consisted of only an inn, two stores and three or four houses. Two years later it had a population of 72 non-Indigenous people. By 1846 it had a non-Indigenous population of 208; five years later it had increased to a non-Indigenous population of 372 in town and 2,526 in the police district.^{lxxvii} Even at the turn of the twentieth century Canberra remained a small village of less importance than Gundaroo, Bungendore or Ginninderra townships.^{lxxviii}



Map 5: Excerpt from County of Murray map, 1843-46. ^{lxix}



Map 6: Excerpt from County of Murray map, 1888. ¹⁰⁰⁰⁰

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These small settlements marked an intensification of European land use and the increasing exclusion of Aboriginal people from the capacity to utilize the resources of their land. Duntroon, and for a period Ginninderra Station, were run by Campbell on an estate model,

He considered that families should be encouraged to settle in small village communities, about ten miles apart. The heads of the families should each be given two acres of land on which they could grow vegetables and fruit and also keep a cow. Each should be encouraged to help to build sheds and cultivate his plot, and he should be provided with the amenities of a church and a school to care for the development of his family. This scheme of things was developed both at Duntroon and Ginninderra... By 1839 there were about seventy Scottish shepherd families residing in huts on different parts of Duntroon.^{lxxxix}

The settlement at Palmerville on the Ginninderra Creek was a result of Campbell's policy.^{lxxxix} The bulk of the migrants, particularly at Duntroon, were Scottish,

A story circulated at the time was that no one could gain employment at Duntroon unless he could speak Gaelic! At all events, the mother language of the bulk of the employees of Duntroon was Gaelic, and even in the 1860s it was possible for children there to reach their teens without speaking any other language.^{lxxxix}

The rapid growth of the European population in the wider area can be seen in the figures for the County of Murray. In 1828 the County had a European population of 171 people, five years later in 1833 the European population had grown to 510 and three years later in 1836 it had increased to 1,728. The vast majority of the European population were male, with only 8 women included in the 1828 figures, 35 in the 1833 figures and 250 in the 1836 figures.^{lxxxix}

The local historian of the Canberra region, Lyall Gillespie, summarized the environmental impacts that had occurred by the 1850s as a result of the growing European occupation,

Areas which had been previously timbered had been cleared for cultivation, large trees had been felled for posts and slabs, and bark had been removed from others for roofing material. Heavy stocking of some areas, especially during the drought years, had led to changes in vegetation; and the tracks of bullock drays could be seen in many places, especially in boggy flats where many different routes were taken in wet weather. Tracks on sloping ground were eroded by running water during heavy rain and, in some cases, small creeks developed. Some species of animals and birds had been reduced in number, as the settlers had no qualms about killing them merely for sport... Kangaroos, wallaroos and wallabies were killed in large numbers because they grazed on the settlers' crops. Kangaroo rats suffered a similar fate because they dug up and ate seed potatoes as soon as they were sown. Some birds, such as bustards or wild turkeys, ducks, plovers and quail were shot because they were regarded as delicacies for the dinner table, others, like parrots, were shot because they raided the orchards. However, most were killed for no reason at all.^{lxxxix}

The shooting parties were a feature of European colonial culture. William Davis, who managed Ginninderra Station from the mid 1850s, led shooting parties every year into the mountains to the west of the Murrumbidgee River,

In July 1866, a small party recorded 184 wallabies shot in three days at Booroomba. In 1871 a total of 558 wallabies were shot over ten days, whilst in 1874 his party of six shooters accounted for 1,507 wallabies and 11 wallaroos. In the same month the Cotter brothers shot a further 300 wallabies. In 1875 Davis and his party were in the Naas hills where 1,723 wallabies, 16 wallaroos and 3 snakes were shot by seven shooters in ten days. Mandelson and Joseph had shot 1,400 wallabies in the same area only two months previously. Davis' last shooting trip was recorded in July 1876 when 1,806 wallabies and 23 wallaroos fell to their guns.^{lxxxvi}

The Black Mountain area, or Blacks Hill as it was then known, was also a favoured location for shooting parties due to the presence of large numbers of wallabies.^{lxxxvii}

Another common form of European recreation that was at times combined with small shooting parties, were day trips to localities considered picturesque. The Ginninderra Falls was one such locality in the region. Europeans have utilized the Ginninderra Falls area for recreational purposes, probably from the earliest decades of European settlement in the region. In 1835 the surveyor Robert Hoddle while surveying in the region painted the Falls.

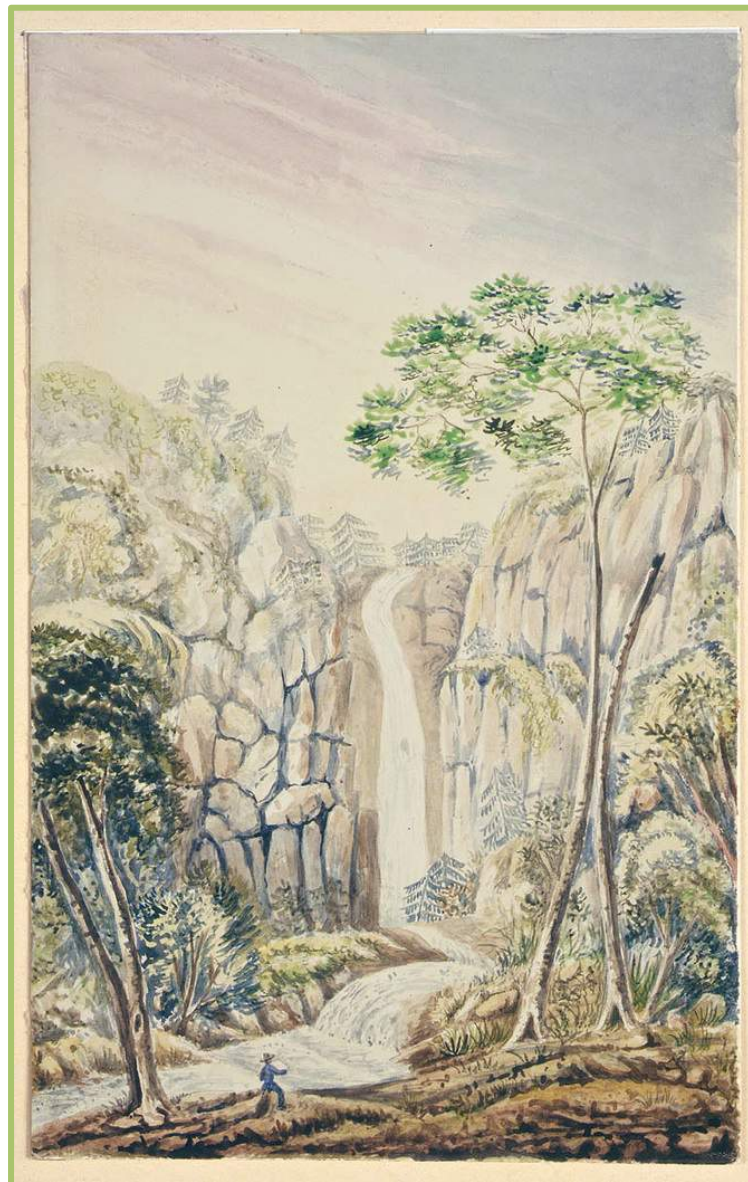


Image 5: 'Ginninginninderry Water Fall', 1835, Robert Hoddle.^{lxxxviii}

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In 1875 the painter and travel writer Constance Gordon-Cumming visited Duntroon Station, she described being taken to visit the Falls for a picnic as part of a large group,

Yesterday we had a great picnic to a waterfall eighteen miles off. I drove there, sketched, and rode back over fine grassy country. It was characteristic; for, as we went along, we picked up recruits till we numbered in all seventeen riders – the brake with four horses, a dogcart, a buggy, and a cart. As to roads, no one here things of them. Without the slightest hesitation about springs, the brake and four will turn off into the bush, drive in and out among the trees, grazing the old stumps which stick up in every direction, and the felled or half-burnt timbers with which the ground is everywhere strewn, dodging morasses, and choosing the easiest bits of creeks (where you think you must overturn), through fords, &c., &c., for mile after mile.... A good deal of the country here is open, rolling downs, which afford very pleasant riding – miles and miles without a fence... One great charm of the bush here lies in the multitude of lovely cockatoos of every conceivable colour, especially pure white ones with lemon-coloured crests, or pearly-grey, “trimmed” with delicate pink. Some are very dark and handsome; and the green parrots are legion. The gentlemen have shot several, and given us their plumes. They have also shot several small bears, - most harmless little beasts.^{lxxxix}



Image 6: 'The Ginindarra Creek, looking to Murrumbidgee hills', 1875, C.F. Gordon Cumming.^{xc}

In the nineteenth century the de Salis family were substantial landholders in the region, purchasing Cuppercumbalong Station from the Wright family in 1855 and then adding Naas and Naas Valley Stations and Coolemon Station in the Brindabellas. There are a number of photographs of members of the family visiting the Ginninderra Falls area including for a small shooting party.

In a 1927 history of Canberra the Falls are described as,

Near the confluence of the minor stream with the Murrumbidgee River, are the magnificent waterfalls... They must be seen to be appreciated. They are not difficult of access, and are the admiration of all who have visited the locality. I cannot give the measurement in feet of the water's descent. Even in its summer flow the volume of water running over its rugged rocks is considerable; but in flood-time it presents a thrilling spectacle, as may be gathered from photographic views that have been taken of the locality.^{xci}

While the European population of the region increased over the 1830s and '40s the Aboriginal population decreased as Aboriginal people died from the impacts of introduced diseases, alcohol and resource depletion. There are very limited sources that provide an estimation of the Aboriginal population of the Limestone and Yass Plains at the time of the European intrusion.

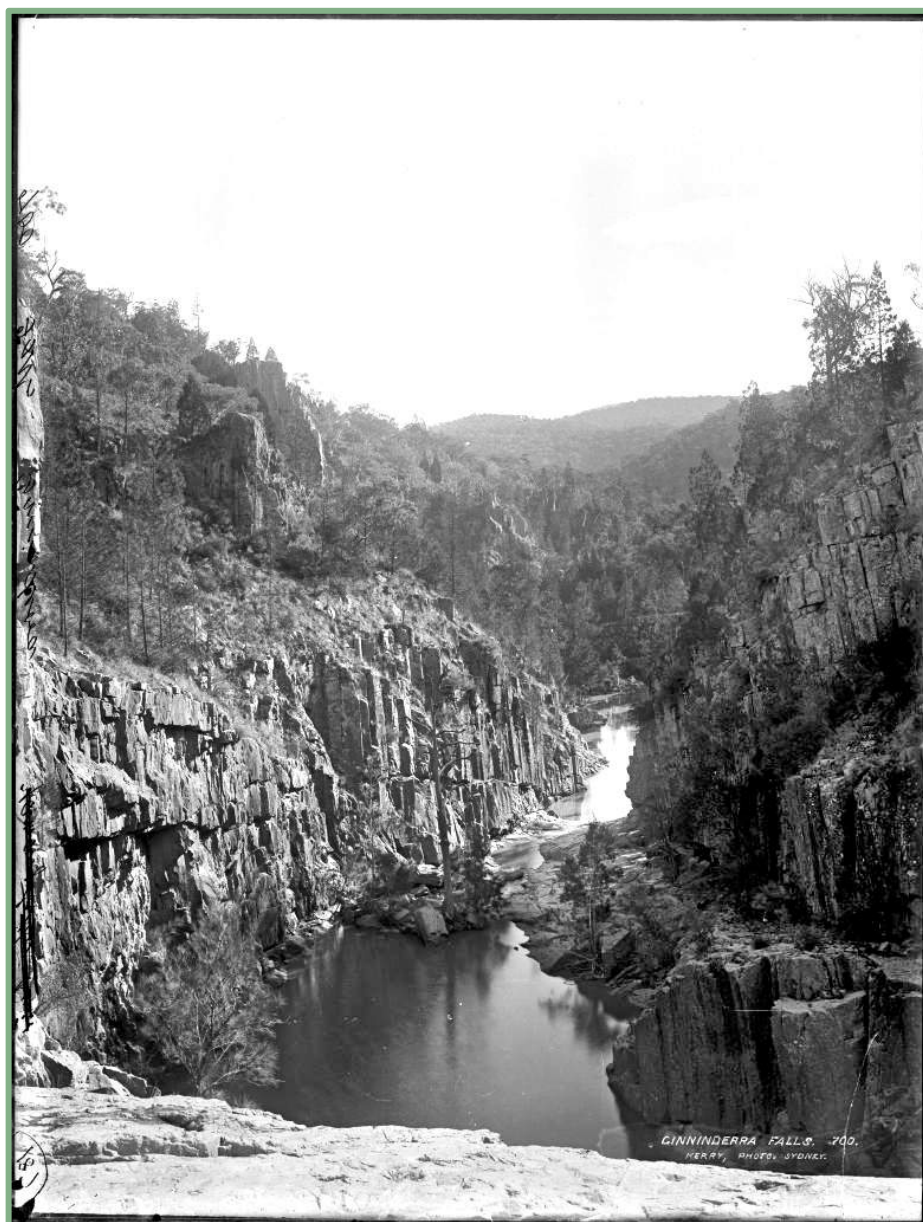


Image 7: Ginninderra Falls, c.1890s.^{xcii}

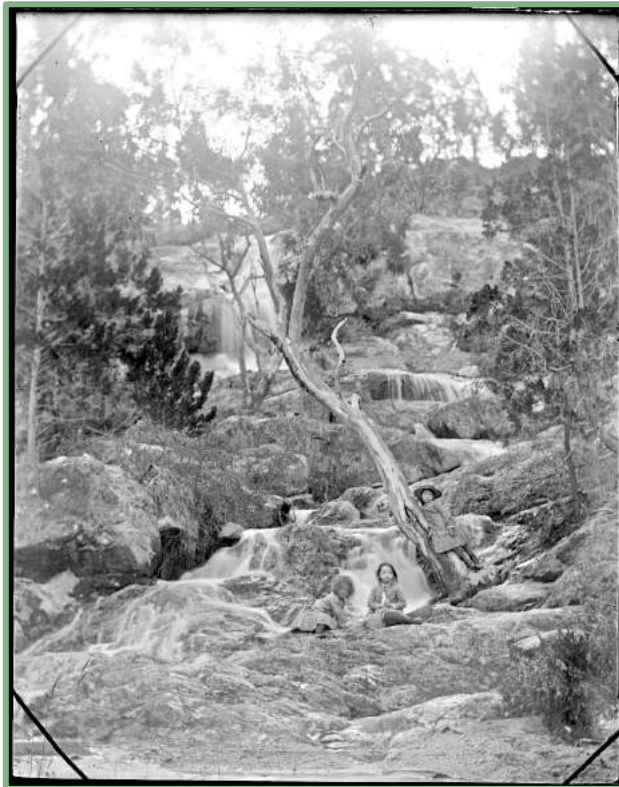


Image 8: De Salis children having a picnic at Ginninderry Falls', c.1893.^{xciii}



Image 9: De Salis family shooting party, Ginninderry Falls], c.1900.^{xciv}

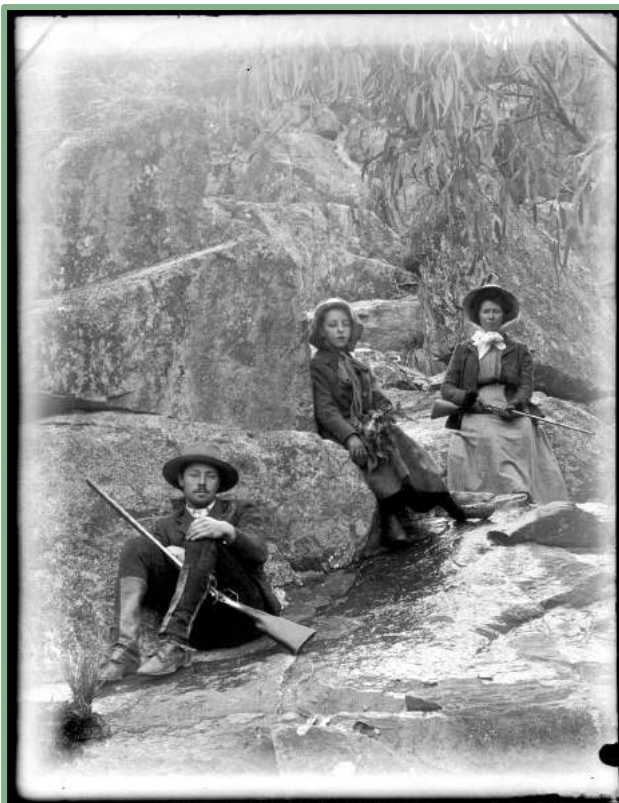


Image 10: De Salis family at Ginninderry Falls, c.1900.^{xcv}

William Wright was born on the Limestone Plains around 1840-42 and grew up on Lanyon and Cuppercumbalong Stations located on the south side of modern day Canberra. In his 1923 memoirs he stated of the Aboriginal people of the area that they were, "...an ordinary sized tribe, between 400 and 500 at the time of the first white settlement."^{xcvi} Various early sources refer to gatherings of 300-500 hundred Aboriginal people in the Limestone Plains region and at times these are put forward, as by Wright above, as representing a single group.^{xcvii} However, it is more probable that these high figures represent gatherings of Aboriginal people from a number of associated groups across a wider region.



Image 11: Children at Cuppacumbalong Station c.1893.^{xcviii}

The first documented blanket issue in the region took place at Janevale Station at Tuggeranong in June 1834.^{xcix} Two distinct groups of people were identified on the blanket return, one numbering forty-six, the other sixty to seventy, though only five were present at the distribution,

Both groups associated themselves with the Limestone Plains however the latter group was described as "wild blacks... [who] seldom go near the haunts of white man[.]"^{cc}

Queanbeyan, Braidwood and Yass subsequently became the location of blanket distributions in the region.^{ci}

On his 1844 journey through the region, whilst staying at Yarralumla (now a suburb of Canberra), Robinson recorded the names of 36 Aboriginal people that he understood to be "Limestone Blacks", and 16 Aboriginal people that he understood to be of the "Molongler tribe".^{cii}

Amongst those recorded by George Augustus Robinson as "Limestone Blacks" were two individuals frequently mentioned in later European accounts: one was "Ong gong, Jin doo mung, King". This is likely the

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man referred to in later accounts as Hong Gong or Hong Kong; another “Jemmy the Rover, Noo lup” who he identified as being from the, “Mountains opposite Broadribs, tribe Nam mit tong”.^{ciii}

The local historian Lyall Gillespie suggests that the first cattle grazed across the Murrumbidgee River were probably in the care of Garrett Cotter who was guided to the west of the river by Hong Gong.^{civ} Gillespie states of Hong Gong,

Hong Gong had a reputation for brutality which does not appear to have been undeserved; yet there apparently was a softer side to his make-up.... Another side of Hong Gong's character is revealed in information handed down in the Cotter family. Garrett Cotter and Hong Gong were firm friends who travelled and worked together. At evening when they made camp, Hong Gong would build a smoky fire and then move to another spot, obliterating all tracks as he went. Any evening attack would thereby be foiled.... While Garrett Cotter was assigned to Kenny at Lake George in the 1820s, he took stock to pasture and probably was led by Hong Gong to land on the west of the Murrumbidgee. After 1833 Cotter grazed cattle there with the assistance of Hong Gong. On one occasion, Hong Gong swam the flooded Murrumbidgee to bring news to Cotter. Another time, he restored a stolen plate to Cotter along with the hand of the thief.^{cv}

William Wright recalled Hong Gong's burial following his death at Cuppercumberlong Station, which occurred when Wright was a child,

Hongkong's burial had some gruesome features. After his death at Cuppercumberlong, the men of the tribe got together, tied him up in a complete ball, then cut him open between hip and rib, and through the orifice withdrew the old chap's kidney fat, distributing it in small pieces to every gin in the camp, who stowed the treasure away in the net bags they always carried around their shoulders. His grave was on the top of a rock hill – about a quarter of a mile from Thurwa Bridge – and about five or six feet in depth. A tunnel about six feet in length was excavated and the body inserted, with his spears (broken in half), his shield, nulla nulla, boomerang, tomahawk, opossum rug, and other effects. Then the hole was filled in with stones and earth. I was very young when I saw all this.^{cvi}

Wright then commented on the later desecration of Hong Gong's grave by a European settler,

Well, that was the end of that worthy, with the exception that a number of years later a man named Smithie dug up the skull, and with questionable taste had it made into a sugar bowl, which I actually saw in use on his table.^{cvi}

Samuel Shumack in 1927 described from his childhood memories the shift in leadership after Hong Kong's death. Shumack understood the process as having involved ritualized fighting,

When Hong Kong died Jimmy and another black, whose name I have forgotten, fought for the chieftainship. The fight took place on the site of the Queanbeyan showground, and when I left Canberra in 1915 there were two witnesses of this fight alive. Both are since dead. It would occupy too much of your space to describe the combat. Jimmy killed this man, and a few years later Bobby, of cricket renown, defeated the Rover at Gininderra.^{cvi}

In his memoirs, written in the 1970s, Shumack gave another account in which he appears to reverse the situation with Hong Kong taking over leadership from Jimmy the Rover when he travelled away for some

months. The story and timeframes are somewhat muddled, but what emerges is that Hong Gong and Jimmy (Jemmy) the Rover were both understood by the European observers as leaders of the Aboriginal people in the area and that ritualized fighting was understood to play a role in the designation of a new leader.^{cix} William Wright, who like Schumack grew up in the region, recounted a different story of a ritual fight between Jimmy (Jemmy) the Rover and another Aboriginal man,

Neddy and Long Jimmy were tribesmen, and our stockmen. And very good and careful stockmen aboriginals usually were. The two I mention were great cobbers. About 1850 a camp of blacks had settled where the Queanbeyan Police Station is now. There was trouble in the camp owing to a supply of liquor getting among them, and in the general squabbling the two chums fell out, and Long Jimmy killed Neddy. Jimmy speedily repented and gathered his gin, sick child and effects together, and got away to Tuggaronong, about nine miles from Queanbeyan. After the runaway came the indignant camp – Neddy having been buried – and when they arrived Long Jimmy was informed that he would have to submit to tribe discipline by single combat with a male relative of Neddy’s. And so it was arranged. The fight between Long Jimmy and Jimmy the Rover – the chief of his tribe – was scheduled to take place in the yard about eighty yards from Tuggaronong kitchen on a Sunday afternoon. Jimmy Taylor and another man were appointed referees, and believe me there was some excitement, over thirty Europeans, men and women, attending to admire and cheer the gladiators. The natives, of whom there were about fifty, were very determined to see that justice was done.... With each nulla nulla raining heavy blows on the sturdy hardwood shields, guarding the opponent’s body, there was plenty of din to prove the earnestness of their intentions, and then Jimmy Taylor called “Time.”.... they threw down their weapons and lay down side by side in an adjacent mud hole... [after seven rounds]... Long Jimmy threw down his arms, and to the derision of the audience, who had only seen one blow struck, he bolted for the homestead, where he hid himself so effectively that he could not be found. Next day Long Jimmy, his gin and sick baby were at Cuppercumbalong. Mrs. Wright did what she could for the sick child, and the three left that night for the Oldfield’s place, where Mrs. Oldfield tried her best to help the little thing. In spite of all the attention it died. After burying it Long Jimmy left for Monaro, and I did not hear of him again, until the time of the great Gundagai floods, when he turned up and helped to rescue a drowning Chinaman. He died at Booroomba a week later.^{cx}

Schumack gave the following account of the interactions of Jimmy (Jemmy) the Rover and the McKeachnie family at Gungenby,

One day Jimmy the Rover called at Mrs McKeachnie’s house at Gudgenby and said that he was very hungry. She gave him a good meal and a parcel of food to take away, and Jimmy became a regular caller. Some two years later Mrs McKeachnie’s young daughter Mary wandered away from home and all her efforts to find the child were in vain. It was all wild bush then, and as her husband was absent for some days her plight was desperate. After a long search she returned to the house, where her young baby was crying, and as she was consoling the child she heard a voice say, ‘Why you cry?’ She looked up and there stood the Rover. She told him about the little one being lost and he said, ‘Where you see her last?’ She told Jimmy all she could, and although the shades of evening were fast falling Jimmy set off in search of the missing one. About two hours later he returned with the child quite unharmed. She had strayed about three miles up the river, and as the native dogs were numerous in the locality the parents never forgot Jimmy’s actions.^{cx}

Schumack stated that Jimmy (Jemmy) the Rover's spouse was a young white woman called Ginnie who he had brought to the region from further north where he had travelled to in late 1840s,

...some two years passed before he again appeared in County Murray with a little white girl about four years of age. He looked after this child and she was his gin when I first met them. They often visited our home, but mother was unable to get any information from her because Jimmy guarded her jealously and she was uncommunicative in his presence. However, Mrs John Coppin learnt from some of the local lubras that when Jimmy left the locality he went to the north of the State and joined a tribe, but it was not long before they were hunted by the local squatters and many were shot. In retaliation the tribe made a raid on a station homestead and killed all except the little girl. Jimmy had to fight some of the tribe's stalwarts to save the child's life, so he fled back to County Murray, taking the child with him.^{cxii}

The last time I saw the Rover was in 1863 when the tribe camped near our home at Emu Bank and a native named Bobby called to see us. Mother asked him how Jimmy and Ginnie (the white girl) were and Bobby said, 'Ginnie is dead three months and Jimmy cry a lot for her.' Shortly after this the tribe moved out towards Yass, and here Jimmy killed another blackfellow during a fight. The police from Yass came out to arrest him, but he took to the bush and later called at Uriarra for rations, saying, 'Police want Jimmy – don't tell police where Jimmy is.' These people befriended Jimmy and after a short stay he went on to Booroomba homestead, where he saw the McKeachnie sisters. 'Jimmy bad – police want Jimmy – no tell police that Jimmy camp in such-and-such a cave', he said. When they agreed to keep quiet about his visit he said, 'You leave Jimmy some tucker at such-and-such a place and Jimmy get it there.' They faithfully looked after him for some months, and then one day he appeared at the homestead and his appearance shocked them. He was almost white in colour and said, 'Jimmy soon fall down and never jump up again – you bury Jimmy?' He then gave instructions about where he and his weapons were to be buried. A month later the girls took his rations to the usual spot and found the previous supply untouched. They told William and Joseph Webb, who made a search and found Jimmy dead in his cave. Archibald McKeachnie told me that his sisters attended the burial and Jimmy's wishes were carried out according to his instructions. This would be about 1864 and Jimmy's age was believed to be sixty.^{cxiii}

To return to 1844 and Robinson's journey, he travelled from Yarralumla on to the Yass River,

...a large and unusual number of Natives had assembled... the Yass Natives are in general a fine race intelligent, Athletic and well proportioned, I remained three days with these People; three hundred Natives at least were present...^{cxiv}

It is clear that the Aboriginal population declined in the decades from the 1820s through to at least the 1860s as a result of the impacts of the intrusion of Europeans. In addition to the marked negative impact of the Europeans and their stock on the traditional resources of the region Aboriginal people were also impacted by the introduction of new infectious diseases to which they had little resistance. These factors, along with the introduction of alcohol, led to a rapid population decline amongst the Aboriginal people of the region.



Image 12: Aboriginal woman domestic worker, c.1887, ACT. ^{cxv}

The smallpox epidemic that devastated the Sydney coastal peoples in 1789^{cxvi} may have had an impact further down the coast and inland. There is evidence that smallpox was seen amongst Aboriginal people in the Sydney region and Bathurst in the years 1830-1831.^{cxvii} Sir Thomas Mitchell identified active smallpox in Aboriginal people just outside Sydney in 1831.^{cxviii} As Campbell states, "When it was all over, pockmarked people were seen almost wherever the settlers went in the south-east."^{cxix} Recent analyses suggest that tuberculosis may have been of greater impact than smallpox.^{cx}

Robinson in 1844 on the Yass River commented that amongst the,

... large and unusual number of Natives [that] had assembled... the virulent effects of Variola or Small Pox was apparent...^{cxxi}

In the Gundagai area Robinson commented,

Many of the Natives are strongly marked by small pox and numbers are suffering from syphilis among whom were several bad cases. Ophthalmia of a virulent description was prevalent. Three Natives I accidentally met with had each lost an eye several others partially blind were observed.^{cxxii}

In 1845 the government established a Select Committee on the 'Condition of the Aborigines'. James Fitzgerald Murray replied to the circular from the Queanbeyan district. Francis Murphy, on behalf of the Bench of Magistrates at Bungonia, and Francis McArthur for the Goulburn Bench of Magistrates were among those who provided information to the Committee. All three respondents commented on the population decline that had occurred rapidly amongst the Aboriginal people of the region on the heels of European intrusion into the area. Murray's responses were extremely brief but he stated that there was a population of about sixty Aboriginal people in the district and that the population had decreased "Among both [adults and children], but chiefly among children."^{cxxiii} Murphy had little to say on the causes of the population decline,

No one particular cause can be assigned for the disappearance of the tribe of this place; several in our recollection have been killed by persons of their own, or of other tribes, and we can only generalize by saying, in reference to this portion of the enquiry, that the blacks have disappeared before the march of civilization, and we have no doubt will at no distant period be extinct.^{cxxiv}

Aboriginal populations throughout Australia suffered marked population decline as a result of diseases introduced by the intruding Europeans. McArthur identified the deaths in the region as occurring from the second half of the 1830s, corresponding with European permanent settlement in the area,

There are not exceeding twenty or thirty, of all ages and sexes, belonging to the Mulwarree, or Goulburn Plains tribe... Within the last ten years, they have diminished at least one-third – and very considerably within the last five years... The decrease has been in equal proportions among the children and adults... The causes may be attributed to violent deaths inflicted by Aborigines from other tribes; occasionally, from disputes among themselves; a great proportion have died from pulmonary affections, induced from exposure after intoxication; they have frequent severe rheumatic attacks, which depresses them; these attacks are aggravated by exposure after intoxication; their bodies gradually waste away, and death generally carries them off in about twelve month after such attacks...^{cxxv}

Consistent with McArthur's reference to pulmonary disease recent analyses have suggested that tuberculosis may have had the greatest impact amongst the introduced infectious diseases.^{cxxvi} Throsby also commented on the link between alcohol use and pulmonary disease in 1821, stating that Aboriginal people on the Shoalhaven were suffering from 'inflammations of the lung', and that the use of alcohol worsened this.^{cxxvii}

In 1846 a circular was distributed to clergy throughout the colony asking a series of questions regarding the Aboriginal people of their region. There was no response for the Queanbeyan area but at Braidwood the Rev. James Allan noted that, "*Their numbers have diminished very much in the last ten years.*" He identified disease as the major cause of death. "*Disease is continually festering among them, and though they cure it by the bark of the native hickory, yet they always die of consumption soon after.*"^{cxxviii}

Samuel Shumack lived on the Ginninderra Estate as a child and young adult from 1856 onwards.^{cxxix} In 1927 he stated,

In the year 1862 my father resided at Emu Bank, Gininderra... About the end of 1862, or early in 1863, over 300 blacks visited Gininderra... A few years later the measles carried the blacks off in hundreds...^{cxix}

At the 1841 census there were small European settlements or single houses in the Ginninderra district at Palmerville, Charnwood, Glenwood and on the original Sturt grant, located within the Ginninderry Development Area, which was then held by Campbell.^{cxxxi} By the 1850s, "*There were numerous dwellings along the Ginninderra Creek, mostly occupied by employees of George Thomas Palmer senior.*"^{cxxxii}

When George Thomas Palmer died in England in 1854 he left the Estate to his daughter Susan and her husband, William Davis Jnr, managed the Ginninderra Estate after that date.^{cxxxiii} Davis was a cricket enthusiast,

...keeping a pitch and grounds in splendid order at his place, on which the club – which he practically supported – played every Saturday. He was the soul of hospitality at matches and refreshments, and his team played frequently at Yass, Goulburn, Gundaroo, Queanbeyan, Braidwood, etc.^{cxxxiv}

A local cricketing history states that on the Ginninderra team,

The best players... were three of the aboriginal workers on the property – the brothers Jimmy and Johnny Taylor, and Bobby Deumonga.^{cxxxv}

Other sources indicate that Johnny was the son of Jemmy or Jimmy Taylor. The following account comes from an 1869 newspaper,

In a cricket report last week we briefly alluded to the astonishing play of Johnny Taylor, an aboriginal youth who formed one of the Ginninderra team. His abilities, however, deserve more than a passing notice. Johnny Taylor is the son of one of the aboriginals attached to the Gininderra estate. His father, Jemmy Taylor, was himself a fine cricketer, who will be remembered as dying suddenly at Gininderra a few years ago. Johnny was a lad then, and after his father's death left the neighbourhood for a time. He has since returned, and is now a member of the Gininderra Cricket Club. Mr. W. Davis, who himself may be regarded as the life and soul of cricketing in this district, and who is captain of the Gininderra club, thus

write of his protégé: - 'Johnny Taylor, whom our Braidwood and Yass friends will remember well as a boy of fourteen playing with the Gininderra team against them, has lately returned to Gininderra, and is now nineteen years of age. He has become what he then promised so well for – a first-rate all-round player, as his score in the late contest with the Queanbeyan players will show, he having scored thirty-five runs for four hits – a feat which, I think, has never been excelled in the colony. Altogether he scored 117 runs in his two innings.' From such a testimony as this, coupled with the proofs of his powers, it is not too much to expect that Johnny Taylor will win for himself a wider notoriety as an aboriginal cricketer.^{cxxxvi}



Image 13: 'Aboriginal Station Brungle', c.1898.^{cxxxvii}

Johnny Taylor died in the Tumut district in 1875, reportedly from measles.^{cxxxviii} His death was reported in the Queanbeyan newspaper,

In a drafting-yard, or in travelling with stock he was perfectly at home, and his services always valuable. Besides, he was thoroughly trustworthy – so much so, indeed, that Mr Brown has frequently given him charge of a mob of cattle, and even empowered him to sell. In all athletic exercises he excelled; few could beat him in a foot-race, and he was the best all-round cricketer in the district. His funeral, which took place on Monday, was attended by fifty or sixty respectable people, not ashamed to pay the last tribute of respect to a fellow-being, though his skin was black. Not the least affecting sight at the funeral was the solitary representative of the male aboriginals in the district following as chief mourner. There was no deception about his grief; he could not hide it, and lacked the policy to feign it.^{cxxxix}

The Sydney Mail also paid tribute to his skills,

Many of our cricketing friends will regret to hear of the demise of Johnny Taylor, the aboriginal cricketer... We assert without fear of contradiction that Taylor was the best all-

round cricketer in the Southern districts, being an excellent batsman and an admirable fielder, while his general play was the admiration of all who every beheld it...^{cxl}

Aboriginal people found a range of ways to engage with the emerging European economy, working with the intruding Europeans from the earliest days, as this account shows,

One night in early 1828 a notorious bandit named Tennant and his mate, Dublin Jack, robbed a hut in which Ainslie and an aboriginal were sleeping. Although they did not obtain much, Ainslie was stung by strong resentment, and so he set out after them in the morning with the aboriginal as tracker. They moved fast for some time and caught up with the two men, who were probably half-asleep. Ainslie got close enough to rush and grapple with Tennant and threw him to the ground. During the struggle some constables, who had followed the same leads as Ainslie, arrived on the scene and fired at the bushrangers, both of whom they wounded and captured.^{cxli}

It is not known if the Aboriginal person referred to was from the area or had come there with Ainslie from further east.

In 1832 at Yass the naturalist George Bennett commented,

The aborigines are very expert in stripping large and perfect sheets of bark from the trees, and as this material is used by the colonists for the covering of huts and other purposes, the natives are often employed by them to procure it. The bark of two species of the Eucalyptus called "stringy bark" and "box-tree" by the colonists, (more particularly the former,) is preferred, as from them it is more readily stripped in pieces of the large size usually required.^{cxlii}

Bennett stated that the stringy bark was known "according to its native name in this part of the colony, Dether)..."^{cxliii} At Darbylara Station, in the vicinity of Darbalara near Gundagai, in mid December of that year Bennett noted that,

There were a number of the aborigines about this farm, who made themselves occasionally useful by grinding wheat, and other occupations; but no dependence can be placed upon their industry for they work when they please, and remain idle when they like; the latter being of most frequent occurrence; but they are encouraged for their valuable assistance in finding strayed cattle, as they track the beasts with an accuracy seldom or never attained by a European.^{cxliv}

Bennett commented generally about Aboriginal people in the region that,

... they have a great antipathy to any thing like labour, (I do not mean to disparage the race by this observation, for all uncultivated tribes are similar in this respect,) and the only way to get rid of them whenever they became troublesome, was to set them to work.^{cxlv}

In 1841 Terence Aubrey Murray of Yarralumla also commented that,

... they in general shew (sic) a determined dislike to settled habits of any kind... their love of independence is too great and habits of wandering too strong to admit of it... they are so

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wedded to their own habits – supporting themselves with so much ease by the chase – that it can scarcely be expected they should adopt ours.^{cxlvi}

Murray's comments acknowledged that Aboriginal people's objection to fitting into European patterns of residence and labour is the result of their desire to retain their own cultural, social and economic patterns of life.

William Wright, who grew up on Lanyon and Cuppacumbalong Stations in the 1840s and '50s, recalled of Aboriginal people in his childhood that,

In their nomadic style of life, always on the move, they carried their weapons with them, up to at least the year 1850. Their usual battery was anything from two to six spears, some of them with fearsome barbs quite an inch in length, so that, once driven home in flesh of man or beast, extraction was only possible by driving the spear head through. As a rule, however, the spears were unbarbed, and with the "thrower," a contrivance for throwing the spear, with which considerable force and accuracy could be attained. Then the nulla nulla, a weapon made of solid wood with a knob at one end and a smooth handle. There were two kinds of shields used, one for defence against the nulla nulla, a very solid affair, and a broader one to guard against spears. These shields were usually well and carefully made, with a grip on the inside to hold and manipulate the working. Add to these the invariable boomerang or two, and a primitive tomahawk made of hard polished stone, and a warrior was fully equipped.^{cxlvii}



Image 14: Trees, Ginninderra Creek^{cxlvi}

Aboriginal people of the Limestone and Yass Plains utilized the resources of the waterways throughout the region including a wide range of fish, freshwater shellfish, crayfish, tortoise, platypus, and aquatic birds including ducks, swans, and brolgas. Aboriginal people utilised a wide range of land-based resources,

including animals such as kangaroos, wallabies, possums, wild turkeys, wallaroos, wombats, and emus. Lizards, snakes, echidnas, ants, grubs and bird eggs were also important resources. Other land based resources that were utilised by Aboriginal people in the region included plant foods such as the yam daisy, wattle-seeds, orchid tubers, tree-fern trunks, berries and grass seeds and plants for bush medicine. Wood was used to make boomerangs, spears, digging sticks, bark for canoes and shelters, fibre to produce string, and stone to make axes, grinding stones, and spear points.^{cxlix}

Wright recalled that,

Their bush food consisted mainly of opossum, wallaby, bandicot (sic), turtle, fish, eggs, and snakes – diamond or carpet – if killed by themselves. Sinews of kangaroo or wallabies' tails were used for many purposes, especially fishing lines and snares.^{cl}

George Bennett, the naturalist who travelled through the region in 1832 made a number of observations about the resources available in the region and the ways in which Aboriginal people utilized them,

After wet weather they track game with much facility, and from the late rains the hunting expeditions had been very successful; game was therefore abundant at the camp, which consisted of opossums, flying squirrels, bandicoots, snakes, &c. I purchased, for a small piece of tobacco, the skin (the fur of which is remarkably fine) of a very handsome light grey flying squirrel, called by the natives Min, ugo, (and also Bango and Berat.)... It was amusing to see with what rapidity and expertness the animals were skinned and emboweled by the blacks; the offal was thrown to the dogs, but as such a waste on the part of the natives does not often take place, we can only presume it is when game, as it was at present, is very abundant – the dogs are usually in poor condition, from getting a very precarious supply of provender: the liver being extracted, and gall-bladder removed, a stick was thrust through the animal, which was either thrown upon the ashes to broil, or placed upon a wooden spit before the fire to roast; whether the food was removed from the fire cooked, or only half-dressed, depended entirely on the state of their appetites: the flesh of the animals at this time preparing for dinner by our tawny friends appeared delicate, and was no doubt excellent eating, as the diet of the animals was in most instances vegetables.^{cli}

The fish and shellfish in the region impressed Bennett,

Large quantities of native perch are caught in the Yas and Murrumbidgee rivers; their flavor is delicious: their average length is nineteen inches, and the weight from three to six pounds.... They are named by the colonists, "river cod;" and by the aborigines, "Mewuruk."... Another fish of the family of perches is also caught in the Yas, Murrumbidgee, and other large rivers in the colony: it is called the "perch" by the colonists, and "Kupe" by the natives.^{clii}

Bennett stated that,

The aborigines are expert fishermen; and I have seen them capture a number of fish, when Europeans trying near them have not even had a nibble. About the Fish river, the aborigines have a novel manner of fishing – by placing a bait at the end of a spear, when the water is clear, and on the fish approaching, they transfix it with much expertness.^{cliii}

He also described the quick bark canoes that the people in the region produced,

If the aborigines wanted to pass a river, I observed them strip off sheets of bark with great expedition, upon which they crossed, paddling themselves with a piece of wood, sometimes placing piles of mud at each end of the rude bark to prevent the ingress of the water, if there was any thing in it they wished to keep dry: having all the services they require out of the rudely constructed vessels, they desert and leave them either to be carried down the stream or rot on the banks, being aware that another canoe of the same rude construction is always ready when it may be required.^{cliv}

The Molonglo and the Queanbeyan River were both referred to as the Fish River by early Europeans. Bennett also noted what he referred to as different species of 'lobster' that were utilized in the region,

In the river, besides the quantity of fish there is a small and new species of lobster, which is also procured in large quantities from the muddy ponds on the Yas Plains; they are delicious eating, and taken readily by placing a piece of raw meat on a bent pin: when one is felt at the bait, it is to be dragged gently to the margin of the pond, (which is very muddy, but not deep,) and taken the back by the hand: a number can thus be caught in a short time. The aborigines call them "Murugonan." They burrow deep into the mud, and the blacks capture them by thrusting the hand into the holes, and dragging them out, although they often extend to such a depth that the whole length of the arm is inserted before the animal is secured. The ponds in which the lobsters are taken are always full of water, being supplied by springs: one of them was about fifty yards in length by twenty in breadth, but of no great depth at any part. They form a chain along the plains during the dry season of the year; but during heavy rains they unite into a running stream, which empties itself into the Yas river. It is only at the season, when there is merely a chain of ponds or swamps, with but little water, that the lobsters can be caught with facility. In the Murrumbidgee, Yas, Tumat, and other large rivers, there is a different and larger species of lobster which is frequently found in the stomachs of the "river cod." This kind is called "Mungola" by the aborigines, and they are captured, measuring a foot and a foot and a half in length, and weighing three or four pounds... They are found under the large stones in the river, and are taken by the hand when the rivers are low. The natives usually seek for them in the evening, or at night by torchlight, and say it is difficult to get them during the daylight."^{clv}

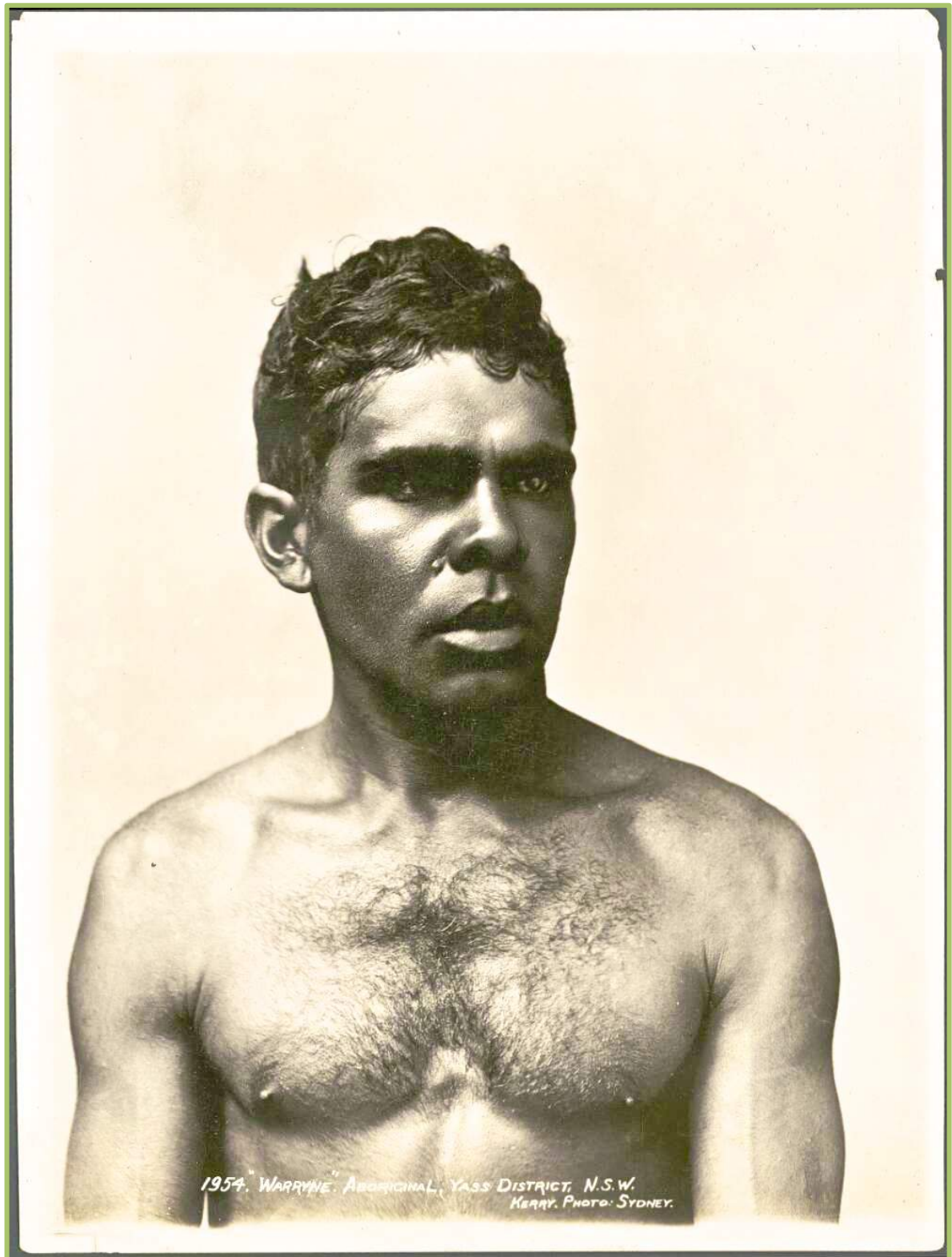


Image 15: 'Warryne, a young Aboriginal man from Yass District', c.1892^{clvi}



Image 16: 'Warryne holding a boomerang', c.1890. ^{clvii}

Bennett referred to the use of boomerangs for hunting,

The boomerangs vary in size and also in weight, and when thrown by one of the aborigines, seldom or never fail in striking the object aimed at. The Yas blacks are very expert in the use of this weapon. I have frequently seen them throw it so as to describe a circle in the air, and, after performing its curious gyrations for some 150 yards or more, fall near the feet of the thrower. It exhibits a peculiar quivering motion as it revolves in the air, with a deep, whizzing sound. I have seen one of the Yas blacks throw it at a cockatoo perched upon a tree at a considerable distance, and it struck the bird and killed it. In the hands of the aborigines it is formidable; and when any animal against which it is aimed is stationary, it rarely misses the mark.^{clviii}

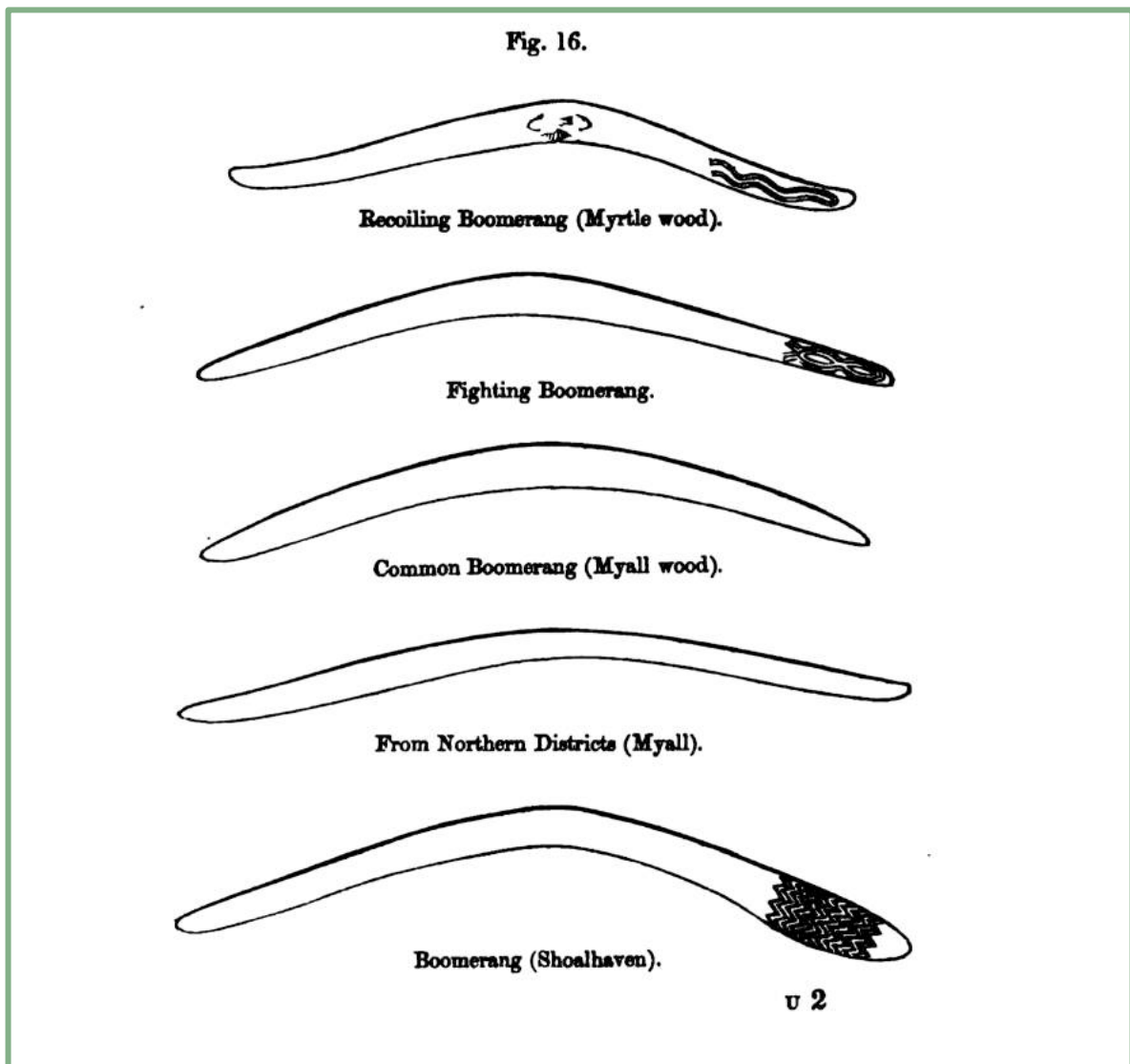


Image 17: Boomerangs, c.1832, George Bennett.^{clix}

Other techniques used by Aboriginal people in the region to kill kangaroos were also recorded by Bennett,

The methods employed by the natives to capture kangaroos, is either driving them into a river and killing them with spears; or on observing one approaching, by remaining perfectly

quiet, they are mistaken by the animals for the charred trunk of a tree and fearlessly advancing, are speared or killed by clubs.^{clx}

He commented that,

The usual mode of cooking among the native tribes, is by throwing the food upon the fire to broil, or rather to get half-roasted, in which state it is eaten; or a native oven is made in the ground, similar to those in use among the New Zealanders, and throughout the Polynesian Archipelago.^{clxi}

Bennett also discussed the manufacture of thread from the tendons of the kangaroo and emu,

The tendons of the muscles about the tail of the kangaroo, and those of the legs of the emu, are converted into thread by the natives, who manufacture from it a neat net ornament, called "Bollombine." One of these ornaments, made for me by a native female, of the tendons procured from the kangaroo, was executed in the following manner:- The longest tendons selected from the tail were laid in an extended position to dry in the sun; they were afterwards divided into threads; (when dry they are capable of producing threads of considerable fineness;) the cord intended for this ornament was made by two of these threads being rolled upon the thigh, additions being made until a sufficient length was obtained for the purpose required, usually extending to several yards. The netting process is executed in a manner somewhat similar to our own; the ornament, one inch and a-half in breadth, extends like a fillet around the front part of the head, being tied behind by strings of the same material: it is worn by males and females, and coloured with red ochre or pipe-clay, according to the taste of the wearer; the stock-keepers value the tendons for whiplashes, and say nothing can surpass them for durability.^{clxii}

In addition to the net headwear that he described above Bennett also mentioned the manufacture of skin cloaks in the region,

Both sexes wear cloaks made from several skins of the opossum, kangaroos, or other animals joined together. In cold weather the fur is worn turned inwards, making a warm and comfortable garment; neither males nor females appear to regard it as a covering required for decency, but merely as a protection against the inclemency of the weather, as it is frequently thrown aside. The skins of either the opossum or kangaroo are used for cloaks, and are prepared, when recently taken from the animal, by stretching them out upon the ground with small wooden pegs, the inner side being scraped with a shell, until they are rendered perfectly clean and pliable. The skins when dry are stitched neatly together, with thread made from the long tendons of the muscles about the tail of the kangaroo; (which when dried are capable of being divided into threads of almost any degree of fineness;) the needle is formed of a piece of bone; and a number of these skins sewn together form the cloaks in general use. Among both males and females many have a sort of tatauing, or ornamental marks scratched upon the inner part of the cloak, according to the taste of the owner.^{clxiii}

In noting the utilization of emu meat and oil Bennett referred to the decimation of native animal species with the spread of European settlement,

The Emu, or New Holland cassowary, (Casuarius Novae Hollandiae, Lath.) were abundant about this part of the colony, more particularly at a place not far distant, called "Naganbilly." It is, however, to be regretted, that the birds are becoming rarer as settlements advance, as they could be readily domesticated. The same remark applies also to the kangaroo and other animals, against whom a war of extermination seems to have been declared. The emu is principally valued for its oil. The natives in this part of the colony call them "Gorin," and "Berebine." The skin of a full-grown bird produces six or seven quarts of oil, clear, and of a beautiful bright yellow colour: the method of extracting or "trying" the oil, is to pluck the feathers, cut the skin into pieces, and boil it; but the aborigines prefer the flesh with the skin upon it, regarding it, as the Esquimaux do the flesh of whales and seals, as a highly luscious treat. The oil is excellent for burning; it produces no disagreeable smell: it is also considered a good liniment for sprains or bruises in horses and cattle, either alone, or when strong stimulating properties are required, mixed with turpentine.^{clxiv}

One of the few plant foods that Bennett was aware of Aboriginal people using in the region was the bulrush,

Among some of the few vegetable productions in use among the Australian blacks as food, is the root of a species of bulrush, which they name "Cormiork." It grows abundantly on the banks of the Yass, Murrumbidgee, Tumat, and other rivers: the roots are eaten only when young: they are prepared by being baked, and the epidermis removed. Europeans who have partaken of it, say it has an agreeable farinaceous taste. The roots are collected in spring, when the young plants have just commenced sprouting.^{clxv}

In a passing comment he also referred to a native berry that was eaten in the region,

The Rubus australis, or Australian raspberry, (char, mut'h, mut'h of the Yas natives,) was abundant. The fruit is small, devoid of flavor, but might, perhaps, be improved by cultivation.^{clxvi}

The cicada was also recorded by him as a foodstuff, though he understood to have already ceased to be used, perhaps suggesting that it was a food of late resort rather than a regular resource,

As the summer season was now fully set in, (December,) the previous silence of the woods was broken by the incipient, shrill, chirping noises which resounded over them, occasioned by the male Tettigoniae, or tree hoppers, emerging from the larva into the winged state; the cases the fly had let, being seen on almost every tree or post..... The aborigines call these insects "Galang, galang," and formerly used them as food; first stripping off the wings, they ate them in the raw state; that is, as the native blacks told me at Yas, "when no white feller here, and black feller no get bread or yam." My notice was particularly directed by the natives to drums in the male insects, as the means by which they produced their thrilling sounds; at the same time adding, in their peculiar English, "Old woman Galang, galang, no got, no make a noise;" implying that the females do not possess these musical instruments.^{clxvii}

Bennet noted the continuing focus of Aboriginal people on utilizing their traditional food resources, one element of maintaining their cultural and social practices. At Jugiong Station he noted,

On my arrival at this station, I found a number of the native blacks collected about, all, even the ladies, in a state of nudity, “naked, but not ashamed:” some were busily employed in making rude spears, by sharpening the point of a long stick, which was afterwards hardened in the fire: they were preparing to hunt their “evening prey.” “Give them,” the men at the stations observe, “ever so much bread or meat, still they will hunt opossum and other game.” The spears they used, were twelve or fourteen feet in length. On a sunny day, when there is little wind, the water clear, and comparatively tranquil, the aborigines go on the river in small bark canoes to spear fish, more particularly about the rocky parts of the river, and usually return with a large quantity: they also spear the “water-mole,” (Ornithorynchus,) if they observe any during the river excursion.”^{clxviii}

John Manning, who lived at Cumbamarro on Jugiong Creek, from the mid 1830s, recorded his understanding of the religious or spiritual belief system of Aboriginal people in the region. In 1882 he read a paper, based on his notes from 1844-45, before the Royal Society of NSW. He identified his main informant as an Aboriginal man by the name of Andy, associated with the Yass area,^{clxix}

... Black Andy was respected by all the few gentlemen who were in my neighbourhood; and that in my own solitude in those days I appreciated the interchanges of thought with this fine aboriginal, whom I used to regard in the light of a “nature’s gentleman,” of no mean reflecting and reasoning capacities, and who by his ready acquisition of the English language afforded me singular advantages in gaining the information I did.”^{clxx}

The descriptions of religious beliefs in the paper are heavily influenced by Christian concepts and representations. Manning may have imposed this Christian overlay or it may reflect the syncretic understanding of Andy and his other informants merging traditional beliefs with introduced Christian constructions, either as a cultural process resulting from European invasion or as a method of attempting to explain complex concepts to a European.

Despite the impact of European intrusion Aboriginal people of the wider region were continuing to engage in traditional economic activities, along with occasional engagement with the European economy as seasonal labourers. In 1845 the government established a Select Committee on the ‘condition of the Aborigines’. Francis Murphy, on behalf of the Bench of Magistrates at Bungonia was among those who provided information to the Committee. Murphy commented on the continuation of this pattern,

The aborigines when in this neighbourhood chiefly live by hunting and fishing, and have not the least difficulty in procuring plenty of opossums, small kangaroo, eels, and other animals with which the bushy ranges and ponds abound; they can also procure flour and other provision by asking for them at the houses of the settlers... The blacks in their occasional visits, are employed by the settlers very constantly – when they can be got to work – which is not often, in cutting bark chiefly, and at harvest time in reaping, when they are invariably the best reapers in the field; but it is very seldom they can be induced to work, and then but a few at a time, and for a very short period...”^{clxxi}

Though his language is derogatory nonetheless Murphy recognised that Aboriginal people in the area preferred to sustain their traditional patterns of life where possible,

Our observations of the black people in this quarter is very limited, from the paucity of numbers, and of opportunising for noting their manners, as they remain but a very short



Image 18: Andy of Yass, c.1865-68^{clxxdi}

period in our vicinity at one time. There are several amongst them who speak English remarkably well, have a full knowledge of the value of money, and are in every respect comparatively speaking, as intelligent as the working people around us; indeed, in several instances much more so; they, however, although quite competent to form notions of the value and comforts of civilized life, seem utterly indifferent about availing themselves of them, and evidently prefer the dirty, squalid, wild liberty of the bush, to the restraints which a residence amongst white people to a certain extent enjoins...^{clxxiii}

Wright set out his understanding of the way Aboriginal people formed camps and moved around their country,

It was the custom of the tribe to meet once a year for a big corroboree. Then they would split up into small camps of from twenty to thirty, and resume their uneasy flitting from one spot to another, living on the animal, grub, and plant life and moving on as they exhausted each place... The style of their camps varied. If they were in the vicinity of a settler's homestead, where they could obtain meat, tea, flour, tobacco, etc., they merely erected bough shelters, just enough to shield them from the rain, frost, etc.; but in the bush proper they could erect very good bark huts, quite warm and comfortable.^{clxxiv}

Bennett did not comment on camp sizes in his account of his 1832 journey in the region. However, on first arriving at a station on the Yass River he noted that,

The natives had just arrived in the paddock, and established their temporary village or encampment; their habitations were merely sheets of bark, stripped from the trees in the vicinity, and supported by props, the sheet of bark being placed to windward, and shifted as might be required, the fire for cooking purposes, &c., being made in front.^{clxxv}

Two years later, in 1834, the Polish naturalist John Lhotsky passed through the Goulburn and Limestone Plains area on his journey from Sydney to the Alps. In the vicinity of Gunning he encountered a camp of around 60 Aboriginal people,

We were about to descend a steep granite hill, when some persons passing informed me, that a tribe of about 60 Papuas was camping at the place, where I intended to stop for the night. I and my people were rather glad at this news, as the continual lonely camping of a few persons in the bush, although it might induce some gleams of imagination, and afford opportunity enough for reflections, produces after sometime, a sort of eremitic dullness and obstipation of the spirit... As we were about to pass over the last hill, three men well dressed and ornamented stopped us, and after the exchanges of mutual curiosity, asked or rather begged for some tobacco, of which they desired a large quantity; but how was I astonished, when I found that even powder and shot were among their diplomatic requisitions. These (seemingly videttes of the tribe) of course expected to have the cream of the travellers donations...^{clxxvi}

Lhotsky's party set up their tents near the camp,

I pitched my tent at a rather enclosed part of the bank, whence to the left on a fine grassy place the Gunjas of the tribe were seen, where was much uproar and confusion... I lighted my long pipe, and proceeded towards their camp. The whole represented in the delightful evening a tolerably good appearance. The men and women (some of the latter were out

hunting) were sitting under their Gunyas, either without any particular occupation, or preparing Opossum skins for cloaks, making nets of corrigiong, &c. Upon a fine round Plain the male youths were playing with a ball made of wool, which they threw to a great height, catching it with much dexterity. It was very interesting to see these fine, naked, athletic bodies in such a gymnastic exercise; they were almost all muscular, smart people. The quality of a gentleman was of course immediately ascribed to me, and they made inquiries respective several of the neighbouring farmers. A question which I could not at first well understand was “name you, name you,” which they kept addressing to me in an inquiring way. I at first conceived they alluded to Emus, but I soon found that they wished to know my name. I could not venture to submit to their unpracticed guttural organs, a rather barbaric name, but I entirely satisfied them with the general appellations of “Doctor.” I then asked in return their names, when the Chief (an elderly man) was introduced to me as Mr. Tommy, others called themselves Kegg, Wullumwudalla, &c. Asking them how far they extended their peregrinations, they said, they go as far as Goulbourn, and Yass Plains, but not so far as Limestone. None of them was ever in Sydney, and the use of our coins was unknown to them. An elderly man, however, had a small old fowling-piece [a gun] carefully wrapt up in some rags. Even amongst these savages, there were some rattling youths, which understood my questions better, and answered them very intelligibly...^{clxxvii}



Image 19: Murrumbidgee River, looking north from Shepherds Lookout.^{clxxviii}

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The group camped at Gunning appear to have been there for some form of ritual associated with wife acquisition and marriage,

We were by-and-bye informed, that this tribe (they called themselves the Pajong tribe) expected this night the attack of a wild tribe, with the intention of carrying off some of their women. They were all naked, excepting that the men wore a girdle with a small sort of apron formed of fringes before and behind. Some of them had curled, others plain hair, some very long beards, nostrils perforated, in which they wore the usual piece of reed. A few of the strong young men wore a sort of armlet upon their left arms, made (as were also the girdle above-mentioned) of the twisted hair of Kangaroos, and which was a sort of distinction for brave warriors. I tried to enter into conversation with them respecting their ideas of eternity or mythology; however I found I had not known them long enough to gain their confidence.... As it soon after became one of those supernatural Australian full moon nights, I confidently expected that a Corrobery (a dance and song) would be preformed. Without fear of the "not budgeri you" I proceeded (again with some tobacco in my pockets) to their camp, where they were painting themselves with white clay and red ochre. However the dance could not commence before the affair with the wild blacks was terminated. We were all in expectation of the tings to come. But as I am in no case fond of long waiting, I soon returned to my tent, leaving Walker behind to tell me the sequel of the story. He informed me, that a short time after, the wild blacks (few in number) were heard, and that he was hidden by the people in the camp under a large piece of bark, to prevent his being injured. Probably our tribe was too numerous for their enemies, and the only hostility committed was, that a few Bauerings (a sort of crooked wooden projectile) were thrown into the camp as the enemy passed by. After this the Corrobery began, to which I listened, pleasantly extended on my cloak. Their strain was in 2-4 time, which they marked by beating crotchets, and in moments of greater excitement, quavers.... [The next morning] the camp of the Blacks was entirely silent, when we left the bank of the Fish River at an early hour...^{clxxix}

Lhotsky referred to two individuals that he had met at the Gunning camp as having "king plates".

.... I now returned to my camp to get supper, which I had scarcely began, when three men of the tribe arrived, two of them with [king] plates (Chiefs), the other without... The object of their visit was of course to obtain their supper from me, the time of which was well known to them. I gave each of them a quart pot full of tea and some bread, however they found fault I believe both with the quality and quantity, and asked for some meat.^{clxxx}

A 'king plate' dating from the early 1830s was apparently presented to "Mickey, King of Gin and Gin and Derry" by John Langdon who briefly held land in the Ginninderra district. The 'king plate' was found in a paddock at Sutton in 1916,

While ploughing on his farm at Sutton a day or two ago, Mr. Matt Davis turned up a pectoral shield, chevron shaped, with drooping ends composed of copper, such as early Governors were accustomed to decorate aboriginal kings or tribal chiefs with. Immediately beneath the concave curve is the name "John Langdon." Then comes prominently a crown resemble the mural variety. This is the great feature of the general design and under it in large letter is the legend "Mickey, King of Gin and Gin and Derry." There is no date given, nor is there anything to indicate who John Langdon was, or whether he was the donor of the bauble. As there was no official, so far as known, in the early history of the colony of that name, it is

probable the patronymic is that of the engraver. If so, Mr. Langdon was no mean exponent of the art. A peculiar incident is that the shield was in the possession of Mr. Davis's father 65 years ago, when it was lost, diligent search failing to lead to its discovery.^{clxxxi}

John Langdon was a Sydney based merchant who received a grant of land in the County of Murray in 1831. The area of 1,280 acres had Ginninderra Creek frontage and lay just west of the junction of Ginninderra Creek and the Gooromon Ponds. Langdon died in 1835, having sold his lease to George Palmer the previous year.^{clxxxii}

'King plates', also known as 'breast plates', were presented to Aboriginal individuals, "who distinguished themselves in the eyes of the non-Aboriginal population",^{clxxxiii} in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Sometime earlier, in 1901, another 'king plate' was found in a ploughed paddock, this one in the Goulburn area,

A man named Brown found last Sunday, in a ploughed paddock at Tirranna, a brass plate, of half-moon shape, with the following inscription: - "King John Cry, Chief of Duedolgong Tribe, Argyle." The plate also bore the engraving of a figure of a man shooting at a kangaroo. The plate was evidently at one time the property of one of the aborigines chiefs of the district. An old resident states there was a chief of that name living about here some 60 years ago.^{clxxxiv}



Image 20: 'King plate' of John Cry^{clxxxv}

A man named Old Cry was listed on the blanket return taken at Janevale, on the Limestone Plains, in 1834,

Breastplate chief, Old Cry, probable age: 60, 1 wife, designation of tribe – Hagen Hope district of usual resort Limestone Plains, Condore, Mountain Murrumbidgee.^{clxxxvi}

Given the similarity of name, and that Old Cry is identified as having a 'king plate', it is possible that this is the same individual.

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As Lhotsky commented in 1834, 'king plates' did not equate to a leadership role within the Aboriginal community,

It is a custom in this Colony, to give to a good behaved or well deserving man, a sort of half-moon brass plate, with his name engraved upon it, which characterises him as the Chief or King of his tribe. However his comrades pay no particular attention to this our, imposed upon distinction. In their original state, the Papuas near Two-fold, and the Alps have no chief.^{clxxxvii}

Bennett also commented on the nature of leadership in the Aboriginal communities of the region on his 1832 journey,

Among the tribes a chieftain does not preserve an hereditary rank, chiefs being chosen for superior bravery, being the best hunter, or having a superior mind. Thus men in a state of nature choose their leaders...^{clxxxviii}

Aboriginal people in the region travelled through the landscape in set patterns determined by resource availability and ceremonial and ritual activities. The people from the Limestone and Yass Plains travelled up into the high country on a seasonal basis. In 1844 George Augustus Robinson on his travels through the region noted that,

The Natives of the Low Country and of the Mountains assemble in large numbers in the fine Season to collect the Boogong fly a species of Moth found in myriads in the higher Altitudes of the Mountains. They are extremely nutritious and the Natives subsist during the Season entirely upon them they are called Cori by the Omeo, and Boogong by the Yass Blacks.^{clxxxix}

Every year people travelled from the mountains, the tablelands and the coast to gathering places on the fringes of the high country and then further up into the high country to the Bogong moths. These annual gatherings combined feasting on the rich resource of the moths with the holding of important ceremonial events. These gatherings continued well into the nineteenth century until the impacts of the European invasion, through disease and settlement, brought them to an end.^{cx}

During his 1832 journey the naturalist Bennett travelled along the Tumut River and visited "Brungul" Station then held by Mr. Kieghern.^{cxci} He then travelled to "Been" Station on the Tumut River and from there up onto what he called the Bugong Mountain,^{cxcii}

It is named the "Bugong Mountain," from the circumstance of multitudes of small moths, called Bugong by the aborigines, congregating at certain months of the year about masses of granite on this and other parts of the range. The months of November, December, and January, are quite a season of festivity among the native blacks, who assemble from far and near to collect the Bugong; the bodies of these insects, contain a quantity of oil, and they are sought after as a luscious and fattening food... After riding over the lower ranges, we arrived a short distance above the base of the Bugong Mountain, tethered the horses, and ascended on foot, by a steep and rugged path, which led us to the first summit of the mountain; at this place, called Gunundery by the natives, enormous masses of granite rock, pile one upon another, and situated on the verge of a wooded precipice, excited our attention. An extensive and romantic view was here obtained of a distant, wooded, mountainous country. This was the first place where, upon the smooth sides or crevices of

the granite blocks, the Bugong moths congregated in such incredible multitudes; but from the blacks having recently been here, we found but few of the insects remaining... On proceeding, we found the rise more gradual, but unpleasant from the number of loose stones and branches of trees strewed about: several of the deserted bark huts of the natives (which they had temporarily erected when engaged in collecting and preparing the Bugong) were scattered around... At last we arrived at another peculiar group of granite rocks, in enormous masses and of various forms: this place, similar to the last, formed the locality where the Bugong moths congregate, and is called "Warrongong" by the natives: the remains of recent fires apprised us that the aborigines had only recently left the place for another of similar character a few miles further distant. Our native guides wished us to proceed and join the tribe; but the day had so far advanced, that it was thought more advisable to return, because it was doubtful, as the blacks removed from a place as soon as they had cleared it of the insects, whether we should find them at the next group, or removed to others still further distant. From the result of my observations, it appears that the insects are only found in such multitudes on these insulated and peculiar masses of granite; for about the other solitary granite rocks, so profusely scattered over the range, I did not observe a single moth, or even the remains of one... ^{cxciii}

Bennett continued with a description of how the Bogong moths were gathered and cooked,

The Bugong moths, as I have before observed, collect on the surfaces and also in the crevices of the masses of granite in incredible quantities: to procure them with greater facility, the natives make smothered fires underneath those rocks about which they are collected, and suffocate them with smoke, at the same time sweeping them off frequently in bushels-full at a time. After they collected a large quantity, they proceed to prepare them, which is done in the following manner. A circular space is cleared upon the ground, of a size proportioned to the number of insects to be prepared; on it a fire is lighted and kept burning until the ground is considered to be sufficiently heated, when, the fire being removed, and the ashes cleared away, the moths are placed upon the heated ground, and stirred about until the down and wings are removed from them; they are then placed on pieces of bark, and winnowed to separate the dust and wings mixed with the bodies: they are then eaten, or placed into a wooden vessel called a "Walbun, or Culibun," and pounded by a piece of wood into masses or cakes resembling lumps of fat, and may be compared in colour and consistence to dough made from smutty wheat mixed with fat. The bodies of the moth are large, and filled with a yellowish oil, resembling in taste a sweet nut. These masses (with which the "Netbuls" or "Talabats" of the native tribes are loaded, during the season of feasting upon the "Bugong,") will not keep above a week, and seldom even for that time; but by smoking they are able to preserve them for a much longer period. The first time this diet is used by the native tribes, violent vomiting and other debilitating effects are produced; but after a few days they become accustomed to its use, and then thrive and fatten exceedingly upon it. These insects are held in such estimation among the aborigines, that they assemble from all parts of the country to collect them from these mountains... The assemblage of so many different tribes of natives at this season about the same range, and for similar objects, causes frequent skirmishes to take place between them; and oftentimes this particular place and season is appointed to decide animosities by actual battles, and the conquered party lose their supply of Bugong for the season. ^{cxciv}

Uriarra Station, located across the Murrumbidgee River and slightly to the south from the Ginninderry Development Area, is said to be named for its association with the seasonal Bogong gatherings. In a 1917

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newspaper article an unnamed journalist, probably John Gale,^{cxcv} detailed a conversation with Mrs John McDonald, whose husband held Uriarra Station and who had herself grown up in the region,

... she once directed his attention to [a] large flat piece of rock level with the earth near the stables of the [Uriarra] homestead, and said that rock is Urayarra – not Uriarra as it is commonly spelt. It is a compound native word, meaning “running to the feast.” Ura, a feast; yarra, running. It is within my recollection, she explained, when at the season of the year when the larvae of the bogong moth could be gathered in the mountains hereabouts in immense numbers, that the tribes of blacks from far and near came to collect them. That flat rock was made almost red hot, the ashes swept from it, the grubs thrown onto its surface to roast, and then the feast began to which they had run, some of them, from far-distant districts, and continued for weeks till the larvae disappeared.^{cxcvi}

The reference to the larvae rather than the moth being eaten is incorrect. Adjacent to Uriarra Station was Jedbinbilla Station, Wright recalls that Jedbinbilla meant, “the place where all males are presumed to be made young men”.^{cxcvii}

The seasonal exploitation of the Bogong moths supported large-scale ceremonial gatherings that occurred in the high country; however, this was not the only time that such gatherings occurred. The communities from the coast through to the Limetone and Yass Plains and west to the Tumut River valley and beyond were linked. The early anthropologist R.H. Mathews wrote in 1896 in regard to initiation ceremonies that,

Among the tribes inhabiting this district and parts of the counties of Wallace, Cowley, and Murray the ceremony is called the bunan. The tribes occupying the territory to the westward gradually merge into the Wiradthuri community... The initiation ceremonies of the Wiradthuri tribes referred to are known as the burbung. The Wiradthuri and coast tribes attended one another’s meetings for the initiation ceremonies, as old men of Shoalhaven river have told me that they attended the burbung on Tumut river, and some of the Wiradthuri people about Yass have stated that they were present at the bunan at Queanbeyan or Braidwood. Along the zone or tract of country where the Wiradthuri and coast tribes join each other the ceremonial of the burbung and bunan respectively would probably be found to have some modifications of detail to meet the views of both communities.^{cxcviii}

The links between the inland people and the coastal peoples is evident in this newspaper account from 1859,

Our town [Queanbeyan] has this week been favoured with a visit from a tribe of aboriginals from Braidwood and the sea coast. According to ancient customs, a “corrobbera” was held, reels, waltzes, quadrilles, &c., were performed, “aboriginal fashion,” before a crowded audience. I can safely say two-thirds of the people of Queanbeyan were present, besides a few visitors from the country. The ceremony was conducted by “budgery Jemmy,” assisted by his loving spouse “cabawn Sal;” the leader of the orchestra was “his majesty” the king of Jemacumbene and Bendora; treasurer, Mr. Jemmy Taylor. The performance ended shortly before eleven o’clock, p.m., when the spectators retired to their respective homes, evidently well pleased with the evening’s entertainments, and satisfied with their sixpenny-worth.^{cxcix}

Two weeks later the newspaper reported,

The blacks are mustering round the town in very great numbers, and have been holding an innumerable number of corroborees. I hear that the Wagga Wagga and Yass blacks, to the number of 200 or 300, are expected daily, and a few old women in the town entertain fears of a fight and a descent on the township.^{cc}

The reference to the possible arrival of the Wagga Wagga people is an indication of the extent to which the ceremonial and social network of connection extended.

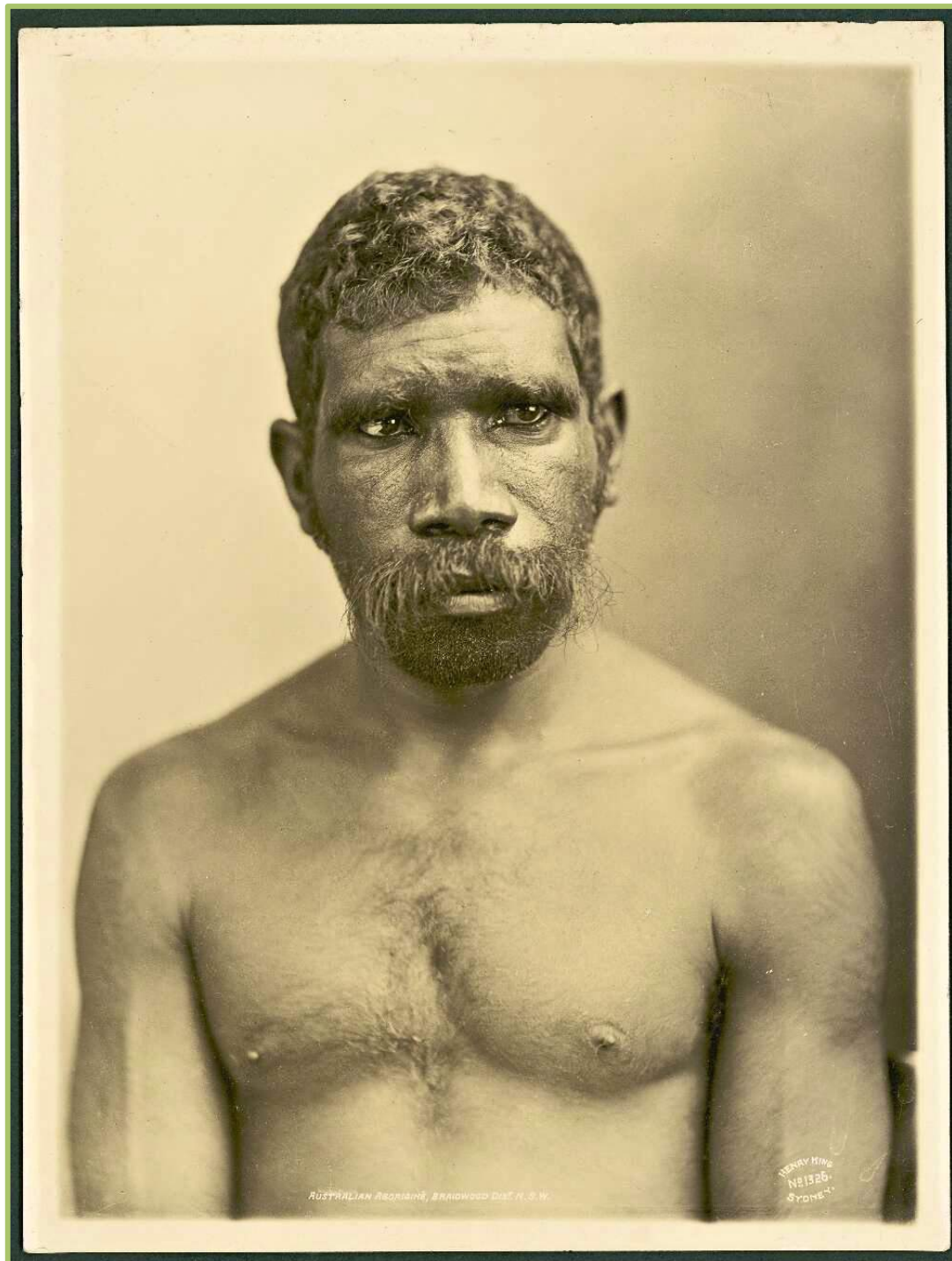


Image 21: Aboriginal man, Braidwood District, c.1885-1895.^{cci}

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In the 1880's and '90s the ethnographers R.H. Mathews and M.M. Everitt documented aspects of the ceremonial life of the people of the Southern Tablelands and South Coast,

The aboriginal tribes whose customs form the subject of this treatise, formerly inhabited the south-eastern coastal district of New South Wales, from the Hawkesbury River to Cape Howe, extending inland to the Blue Mountains, and thence southerly by a line passing approximately through the following places, viz., Hartley, Crookwell, Yass, and Kiandra.....The organization we obtained by personal inquiry from a large number of different natives, among whom the following old men may be mentioned: "Jerry Murphy," a native of Bega, and also a resident for many years at Cooma; "Steve," of Braidwood; "Budthong," of Shoalhaven' "Timbery," of Wollongong' "Ned Carroll," of Goulburn; and from many others, including some old women... The details of the initiation ceremonies were gathered from substantially the same men as the organization – our inquiries respecting these two branches of the subject having extended over some years.^{ccii}

Mathews and Everitt provided an account of one part of the rituals associated with the initiation of young men (the ritual details in the account have not been reproduced here) when no large scale ceremony was due to be held,

The Kud'sha, or Nar'ramang, is an abridged form of initiation ceremony practiced among the tribes dealt with in this article. If a tribe have one or more novices old enough to be initiated, and it will be a considerable time before a Bunan will be held, it is sometimes thought desirable or politic to inaugurate them into the privileges of manhood by means of the Kudsha. Although it is not necessary to muster the whole community, as is imperative in the fuller ceremonial referred to, yet it is generally considered safest to consult with the chief men of some of the neighbouring tribes, who may also have a few youths ready to pass through the ordeal. Messengers (jerra), who must be men who have been initiated, are despatched to arrange the preliminaries, and when the time arrives the people proceed to the appointed meeting place. There are no circles formed on the ground, nor are there any marked trees or figures cut in the turf, as at the Bunan ceremony, all these embellishments being omitted in the Narramang or Kudsah. There is, however, a level cleared space on the margin of the main camp, where all the chief men meet for private consultations – this is called the bahmbilly.

The people being thus assembled, festive and ceremonial dances are indulged in for a few evenings, which terminate in an apparent quarrel among the men of the different families present. At dawn on the following day all the initiated men meet at the bahmbillt, with a small leafy bough in each hand, and start in a sinuous course, in single file, and march through the entire camp, mustering up all the boys they intend to initiate. When the old women, and mothers of the lads, see all the men coming through the camp in this way, they know what is about to take place, and commence singing certain prescribed songs, called yah'anga, and beat time on their folded skin rugs. As soon as the novices are assembled, a guardian is appointed to each, and they are placed standing in a clear space, with their heads bent down, surrounded by a cordon of men who hide them from view.

The mothers of the novices, and all the other women in the camp, together with the little boys and girls, are also gathered up in a convenient place where they are made to lie down, and are covered over with bushes, grass, or rugs, a sufficient number of men being appointed to keep guard over them, so that they may see nothing of the subsequent

proceedings. The mooroonga, or bullroarer, is then sounded by a man assigned to that duty, and the novices are marched away by their sponsors. When this cortege gets out of sight of the women's camp, a stoppage is made for the purpose of painting the boys with red ochre and grease, and fastening a belt round the body of each. Strips of the skin of the ring-tail opossum are tied round the upper arms of the novices, and under this bandage, which is called nooroongal, is inserted the small bone of a rock wallaby's leg, sharpened at one end. If a boy wants to scratch any part of his body, he draws out this bone and uses it for the purpose, because he is not allowed to scratch himself with his finger nails. A rug is now adjusted over each novice's head in such a manner that he sees only the ground at his feet. The Koorringal, or band of strong active men who are responsible for the due administration of the several portions of the ceremonies, also avail themselves of this stoppage to paint their bodies with powdered charcoal, or burnt grass, mixed with emu fat.

On the completion of the painting of the boys and men, all hands proceed to a camp, called bun'numbeal, in a secluded part of their hunting grounds... [details of men's business]... We must now go back to the morning the boys were mustered, and marched away. Immediately after their departure, the men who had charge of the women set them at liberty, and the camp was shifted to another locality, perhaps some miles distant. The mothers of the novices, and the principal old women of the tribe, are collectively known as yan'niwa, and have a place to themselves called yanniwa-dhoogan, alongside the main camp.^{cciii}

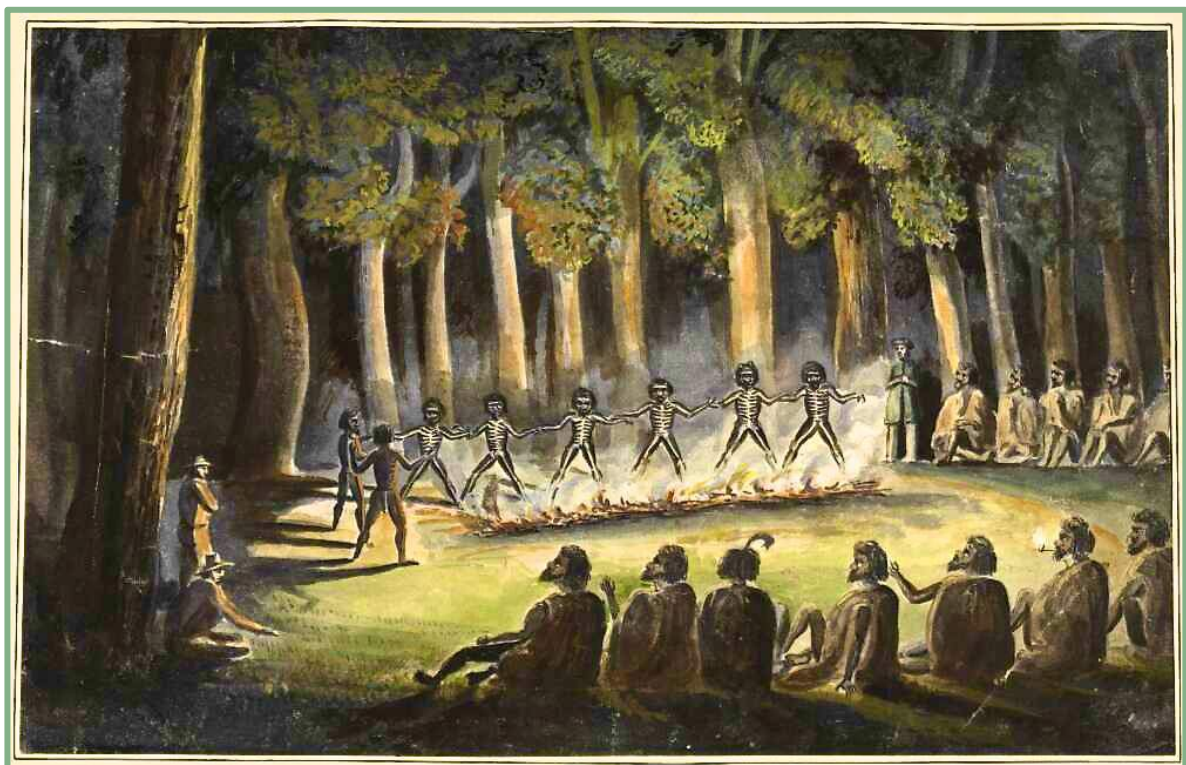


Image 22: 'The Corrobary...', 1836, W. Govett.^{cciv}

The surveyor William Govett travelled through the Lake George area in the early 1830s^{ccv} and recorded the following account of a corroboree,

Corrobory – or a particular dance of the natives. I was once present and witnessed this most extraordinary dance of the Blacks which took place near Lake George called by the natives "Weriwa"- I understand this ceremony only takes place upon the friendly meeting of two tribes after a fight or dispute, to celebrate the cessation of hostilities. On this occasion there were a hundred and eighty collected together, men, women and children, and the place chosen very suited to the purpose being a small open spot, clear of timber, but surrounded on all sides by the darkness of the forest. The Men only of the visiting tribe were the spectators, and they seated themselves wrapt in their opossum cloaks round in a semicircular form. The oldest of them being nearest each end of the semicircle – Immediately before them bright fires of dried bark were kept burning by boys who constantly supplied the fuel and again behind the fires was the stage or place of action. The whole ceremony indeed in the arrangement very much resembled a Theatre. The women however were altogether concealed from view, but so situated, that their yells, and horrid noises made by the clashing of sticks, and whirling in the air pieces of wood fastened to a string, could not only be distinctly heard, but added much to the wild effect and savage strangeness of this nocturnal revel.

The men or actors besmear themselves with white paint and appear like skeletons, and they caper in various forms and attitudes round the fire, grinning, roaring hissing hooting, and making the most hideous faces imaginable to describe particulars - as soon as they the men fall exhausted. they vanish on an instant – a different yell commences, and a dozen or more boys appear skipping, and capering in imitation of the old – So on for several hours. They vanished and reappeared exhibiting each time different manuevers, uttering different yells and during the whole ceremony the utmost silence and order prevailed among the spectators who looked on wh. apparent wonder and amazement and wh. as much anxiety and interest as I did myself. Upon the whole it appeared to me as a scene which one c.d imagine the Devil to preside over in the infernal region.^{ccvi}

Edward Eyre held land on the Molonglo Plains and he recorded the following about the corroborees that he witnessed there in the mid 1830s,

We often had a good many blacks encamped in the nieghbourhood and occasionally on the meeting of several tribes they indulged in their favorite 'corrobbery'. On such occasions the tribes not dancing would sit down in a semicircular form fronting the stage (any low green, smooth spot of ground), each tribe by itself and with a few bushes forming a sort of division between it and the adjoining ones. The male dancers were all highly ornamented with white and red paint in various patterns and designs, some of which were very hideous, and on their hands they wore cockatoo feathers. The women danced with their fur cloaks on and a kind of wreath round their heads of white feathers, with some longer ones sticking up in front like horns. There were 40 men and 16 women – the latter did not dance amongst or with the men but formed two parties of eight each, one party dancing at either extremity of the line of men and at proper times they crossed over behind the men and changed places with each other. Both men and women bang and beat time with sticks or with their hands – other musicians sat on the ground near the dancers beating skin cloaks folded tightly up and accompanying with their voices, so that there was no lack of spirit stirring sounds. When one party had exhibited another tribe would sometimes retire to paint and decorate, and thus they kept up their balls thro' the great part of the night. In different parts of the country the mode of dancing and the figures as well as the decoration of the person vary very much. Some are interesting and even graceful, as when they represent the chase of the kangaroo.

Others are wild and exciting, some lascivious, but all have an immense attraction for themselves.^{ccvii}

While there is little detail a number of commentators noted the continuance of ceremonial activities in the Limestone and Yass Plains region into the second half of the nineteenth century. Writing specifically of the Ginninderra district Shumack, who grew up in the area in the 1850s and '60s, referred to a gathering of over 300 people in the district,

In the year 1862 my father resided at Emu Bank, Gininderra... About the end of 1862, or early in 1863, over 300 blacks visited Gininderra. They came from the South Coast and were, I believe, a branch of the Canberra tribe. They camped about 400 yards from my father's home, and with the exception of the chief and the chief's wife and female companion, none of the numerous crowd came near the house.^{ccviii}

Occurring as it did towards the end of the calendar year this may well have been associated with the seasonal summer exploitation of the Bogong moth.

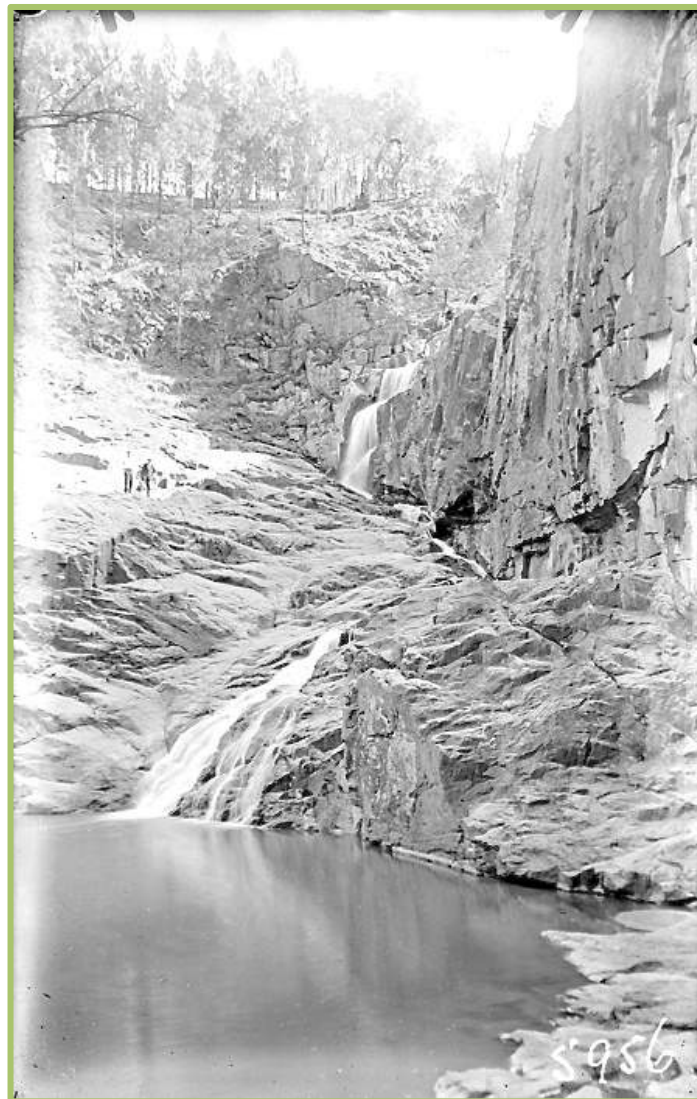


Image 23: 'Ginninderry Waterfall', c.1929^{ccix}

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In the Gundaroo area, on the western side of Lake George, European oral history records that,

... the Masters family after moving to Brooks Creek in 1850 saw tribes only on infrequent occasions while residents along Back Creek, a few miles westward, preserved no more than a memory of a few corroborees held there after their arrival. Corroborees were held frequently, however, on the river bank near Elizabeth Fields where the aboriginals used to plaster themselves with mud in preparation for their festival. Noisy and unselfconscious as they were at corroboree time, it was a hopeless task on other occasions to try to overcome the shyness which would keep a native motionless in a tree all day long until the white man watching him went away.^{ccx}

European oral history also records ceremony occurring near Black Mountain,

Sarah Rolfe, daughter of Anthony Rolfe, recalled that when her family first came to Springbank in 1849 the Aborigines were still holding corroborees in the area near Black Mountain.^{ccxi}

The memoirs of Frederick Campbell, who spent his early childhood at Duntroon in the late 1840s and early '50s, are reported to say that,^{2ccxii}

....the white pioneers and the aborigines fought very little in the Queanbeyan district, though the blacks were fairly numerous; as late as 1853 he had seen as many as 200 of them at a corroboree close to Ginninderra.^{ccxiii}

Wright, who grew up in the Canberra region in the 1840s and '50s stated that,

Their corroboree ground was at Kamberra, as far as I can gather the exact spot being near the Canberra Church, where the Administration Offices are now erected at Acton, Canberra, and by Canberra Church towards the old Duntroon dairy. It served also as their general and best known meeting place.^{ccxiv}

Wright described what he referred to as the "tribal man-making ceremony",

... when the boys were about seventeen to twenty years of age, and a sufficient number of them available, say five or six. Then all the men together left with the boys for Jedbenbilla Mountain, the sacred place, so to speak, sanctified for that purpose. It was a very solemn affair and great secrecy observed. I never heard where the actual rites were, but the boys returned fully made men, with one tooth knocked out, then all proceeded to Kamberra for the great feast.^{ccxv}

The local historian Bluett in the 1950s stated that Jedbenbilla, now known as Tidbinbilla, was where Aboriginal people gathered,

... in later years when the blacks had been pushed out of Canburry and Pialligo. Tidbinbilla must have remained a place of special significance, because aforetime it had been the scene of the annual gathering of the tribe's elders from all parts, for the initiation of the

² The notes on family history by Frederick Campbell are held in private hands, though the document is extensively quoted in Newman's history of the Campbell family this particular passage is paraphrased by Newman.

young braves into manhood. Secluded in the hills it became the last meeting ground for the scattered fragments of this former virile race. Tidbinbilla too, according to Davis Wright and others, was a favoured locality for their artificers to work, making stone axes, scalpels and flints for spear points. It had the quality of igneous rock.^{ccxvi}

Bluett also stated that,

On the Canbury Creek the big nearly whole-tribe pageants were staged, while Pialligo was the scene of their frequent local social gatherings... Little was known by the Whites of the initiation ceremonies, which took place at Black's Mountain and at Tidbinbilla.^{ccxvii}

In his account of his 1832 travels through the Yass Plains the naturalist Bennett gave the following brief account of young men's initiation and the change in their social role resulting from the ceremony,

I have before alluded to the loss of an incisor tooth of the upper jaw, observed among the adult male natives; this, on inquiry, I found proceeded from a custom existing among them, (which is attended at the time with much ceremony,) of a male, on attaining the age of manhood, having to undergo this operation, receiving at the same time the "cumeel," or opossum-skin belt, after which he is admitted into the society of men, permitted to attend the corroboras, or consultations when any marauding or war expedition is in contemplation, or when the tribe is about to remove from one part of the country to another: previous to this, they are considered only fit society for women, and associate principally with them. A son of a chief at Yas Plains, who had not yet undergone this ceremony, necessary for his admission, attended one of their meetings: on being discovered, he was obliged to leave the assembly.^{ccxviii}

Samuel Southwell, who was born in the Queanbeyan district in 1843, also referred to tooth evulsion as well as to the practice of tattooing of women which he understood to relate to social status,

A Custom amongst them was the young men had one tooth knocked out (not by a dentist of painless order) before he could be a Man. The girls (or Gin) was tattooed for Honors. The more tattoos she bore the more of honors conferred. Who sometimes wore a nicely carved stick or bone through the Centre of point of the nose to represent an ornament of beauty or grace.^{ccxix}

Southwell also commented on work they undertook in the pastoral economy,

...at Buck Jump riding they excelled, rough riding, Stock hunting, in the Scrubs & Hills none could touch in fact these things were like play to them. Their keenness of eye sight was wonderful.^{ccxx}

The explorer Edward Eyre took up land on the Molonglo Plain in the mid 1830s, he referred to the involvement of Aboriginal people in sheep washing during his first shearing season in 1835,

We soon put up shearing shed, wool press, sorting tables, washing yards, dressing pens and other essential works so that by the 23rd November we were able to commence washing. In this operation we found the blacks a very great assistance. They rather liked being in the water, if not kept in too long, and both men and women worked remarkably well.^{ccxxi}

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As the impacts of European settlement, stock and land use patterns increasingly alienated Aboriginal people from access to their country whilst also decimating many of their traditional resources they were left with little choice but to engage increasingly with the European economy.

The exodus of European labour from stations as a result of the gold rushes of the 1850s resulted in increased reliance on Aboriginal workers throughout most of New South Wales. While the exodus of labour certainly occurred in the Canberra district, as William Wright recalled, there is little evidence of increased reliance on Aboriginal labour,

In 1851 the great gold rush brought men and women flying to the diggings, while it was impossible to find men for the ordinary jobs, even the shepherds left their flocks to shift for themselves in the yards while they went to make their fortunes. I was only ten and my brother eight, but we had to turn to and help with the lambing.... When the lambing was over, each of us had to shepherd a flock of sheep, and my father had to do the same for many weeks, until he procured a man to take his place, and then he went to Sydney and brought back five Chinamen to act as shepherds.^{ccxxii}

The Wright family employed Aboriginal people on their stations but he makes no reference to an increased reliance on them as a result of the gold rushes. It is interesting to note that the early local historian Bluett, relying in part on European oral history and memoirs, stated that Aboriginal people also took to the goldfields in the region,

...at Braidwood, Araluen, Major's Creek, Kiandra and Adelong. According to Police Superintendent Brennan, who was officer in charge of the natives in these districts for over forty years, from the late 1850's, they became reasonably good citizens so long as they kept clear of the drink.^{ccxxiii}

Members of Wright's family appear to have developed some strong relationships with local Aboriginal people as indicated by this account of James Wright of Lanyon Station travelling to Sydney to meet the newly arrived Davis family in 1842,

In those early days there was absolutely nothing to fall back on outside their own efforts. There was not even a road, and precious little of a track, but all was new and adventurous, and glorious youth needed nothing more. The last station on the road was Campbell's cattle station at "Majura," and here a fresh thrill awaited the "new chums," for a camp of blacks had assembled to watch the newcomers, keenly inquisitive about the most trivial matters. One young gin, about sixteen years of age, perhaps, was much attracted by old Mrs. Davis, and kept pointing her finger at her and saying: "Ol'ooman, ol'ooman." Presently she gathered that the old lady was the mother of Mrs. Wright, of Lanyon, who was popular with the natives. Once having digested that information, she suddenly darted off alone, and, as we subsequently found out, ran the whole twelve miles to Lanyon merely to inform Mrs. Wright that her mother was coming, where she was sleeping, and at what time she would arrive on the morrow. It was a fine mark of friendship.^{ccxxiv}

Wright, who grew up on Lanyon and Cuppercumbalong Stations in the 1850s and '60s, recalled that,

Some of the natives were splendid stockmen, and among them were several very fine roughriders, equal to tackling any buckjumper. Once at shearing time at Lanyon, there was

known to be on the estate a very active plough-horse, known to be a bad buckjumper. Jacky, a native, was working with the shearers, and they chaffed him until it ended with him vowing he would ride the bucking plough-horse, and if he succeeded he would win a bottle of rum. Mr. Cunningham, fond of a bit of fun, agreed to the trial, and on Saturday the event came off. It was a bad horse and had to be blindfolded before it could be saddled. However, we had everything ready at last, the bandage pulled off the horse's eyes. Jack was sent sky high almost immediately, and, of course, came down hard, but he was after that bottle of rum, and had another try, and yet another. Then the fourth time, and he held on like a burr. The horse plunged some, and did all in his power to get rid of his burden, but Jacky hung on and won his bottle. His hands cut about by the reins, with blood splashed over him and the horse, showed what a stern fight it had been. Jacky had truly earned his rum and the 10/- collected for him....^{ccxxv}



Image 24: 'Elderly Aboriginal man and small child, Lanyon [Station]', 1922.^{ccxxvi}

The increasing use of the high country for seasonal grazing in the second half of the nineteenth century saw the development of well travelled stock routes from the Yass and Queanbeyan areas feeding up into the high country. An 1891 newspaper account of a journey through the Brindabellas commented that the township of,

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Brindabella boasts of a progress committee, as well as a road trust, and they have certainly performed some useful work. Indeed, were it not for the exertion of the road trust, the road from Uriarra to Brindabella would be absolutely impassable for vehicles. The road is part of the great travelling stock route from Yass and Queanbeyan to Kiandra, and hundreds of thousands of sheep and cattle traverse it every year.^{ccxxvii}

The earliest Europeans leading their stock up into the high country were guided there by Aboriginal people, in later decades Aboriginal people were involved in the movement of stock as drovers and stockmen.^{ccxxviii} Wright stated that,

The best rider of buckjumpers I ever knew was a native named Frank. He was a drover in my employ for many years, and both as drover and horse-breaker he was in a class by himself. One native named Duke was with me droving to Queensland on one occasion, and proved a trustworthy man, one of the cleverest assistants I ever had. He was usually employed by me at dairying or general work among stock and in the paddocks.^{ccxxix}

In addition to station work by the 1870s there were some Aboriginal families living as small holders,

... on small farm blocks which they leased or which were granted to them by the government. The households at Blakney Creek between Yass and Boorowa worked for local stations fencing or shearing and sent their children to the local school. They also kept a few sheep or grew crops and vegetables. They supplemented their income by collecting wool from dead sheep on the stations, fishing, skin trapping, hunting traditional game, or cleaning the houses of the white people. Most of their small plots were revoked during the 1920s.^{ccxxx}

The introduction of the Robertson Land Acts in the early 1860s, which were aimed at encouraging small-scale settlement, intensified the impacts of European settlement with an increased European population, intensification of land use, including agricultural land use, and a rapid rise in the fencing off of properties.^{ccxxxi} These factors all further limited the land that Aboriginal people were able to access and utilize for living, resource gathering, and cultural activities.

The Aborigines Protection Board (APB) emerged in the 1880s and soon developed into an agency of government control over the lives of Aboriginal people in New South Wales. The Board's role initially involved overseeing the distribution of blankets, rations and various other goods to 'destitute' Aboriginal people. In later years the formation and management of reserves became a major part of the Board's functions.^{ccxxxii} From its official formation in 1883 the Aborigines Protection Board increasingly intruded into the lives of the Aboriginal communities of New South Wales, dramatically increasing the regulations and limitations governing Aboriginal people's lives.^{ccxxxiii}

In the APB's first annual return they included a summary of information from police around the state including for the Yass area where they recorded that there were 84 Aboriginal people and that the, "Men generally employed at bush work or shepherding; women employed washing or scrubbing."^{ccxxxiv}

As discussed previously the early and mid nineteenth century saw a substantial decline in the Aboriginal population as a result of conflict, disease and resource depletion caused by the intrusion of Europeans and their stock. The 1891 census recorded 21 Aboriginal people living in the Queanbeyan and Canberra area,

All Aborigines in the census are recorded as living on European stations [at Uriarra, Queanbeyan, Gundaroo and Tharwa], with the exception of Nellie Hamilton who appears to have had her own house in Morriset Street, Queanbeyan.^{ccxxxv}



Image 25: Aboriginal family, c.1900, ACT.^{ccxxxvi}

In the 1891 census there were only 28 Aboriginal people recorded for the whole of the County of Murray and 78 for the County of King.^{ccxxxvii} However, this is clearly an underestimation of the population, possibly as a result of the census collector's bias as to what constituted an Aboriginal person or as a result of the failure to record Aboriginal people living in fringe or bush camps. In 1894 the Aborigines Protection Board undertook their own census and their figures are substantially higher; they list 77 Aboriginal people at Brungle near Tumut, 12 at Goulburn, 6 at Braidwood, 14 at Queanbeyan and 103 Aboriginal people in Yass.^{ccxxxviii}

Indeed, towards the end of the nineteenth century the Aboriginal population began to rebuild across New South Wales. There is little recognition of this in local newspapers or memoirs, reflecting the tendency of Europeans in this period to refer only to those individuals who were "full blood" as Aboriginal and ignore the existence of the broader Aboriginal community. Writing of the Limestone and Yass Plains regions Peter Kabalia summarized this invisibility of Aboriginal communities in the records,

By the turn of the 20th century there had been four generations of Aboriginal people who no longer fitted the stereotype and so were largely ignored by the white population. While the white town populations romanticized about the extinction of the last "tribal full-blood" in their area, whole Aboriginal communities were living in fringe camps on the edges of the Yass and Queanbeyan townships, and at Lanyon, or were being moved into reserves and

government managed “missions”. These local Aboriginal people of part-European descent were ignored because of their lighter skin. They had not only moved off the bush, but did station work, cleaned white people’s houses, were gold miners and horse breakers. These groups of related households generally lived in separatist settlements, often supplementing their income with fishing and trapping. Poverty combined with Aboriginal social organization to create new cultural patterns that were so far removed from the white stereotype built up during the 19th century, that these people were ignored.^{ccxxxix}

In the period from the 1880s through to the 1920s one of the few public sources that refer to Aboriginal people are the police reports in the local newspapers, reflecting the invisibility of Aboriginal people in the public record, other than when in conflict with the European authorities. The vast majority of these accounts are offensive in tone; however, at times they provide glimpses of Aboriginal people and their lives, such as in this account from 1910,

Frederick Williams, another coloured gentleman, was charged with using language at the Gininderra Farmers’ Union Hall on October 1. He also pleaded guilty. Constable Buxton of Gundaroo stated that on three occasions Williams had to be removed from the hall where a smoke concert was being held. He was acting drunk and made use of the filthy expressions he was charged with. Fined 20s and 7s costs or 14 days’ hard labour.

Williams: That’s right, your Worship, I’ll pay.

The P.M.: You don’t appear to be very sober now, Williams.

Williams: Thank you, Sir.

The P.M.: The best thing you can do is to get out of town as quick as you can, otherwise you will be locked up. People who come to court to answer summonses should appear sober, otherwise they are liable to get into serious trouble.

Williams: You won’t catch me any more.

The P.M.: We’ll catch you in a minute. Get away home. Needless to say Williams got.^{ccxl}

The 1920s and ‘30s saw an increase in public activism by Aboriginal people across eastern Australia. This included the formation in 1924 of the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association, who lobbied for changes including fighting the removal of children. The formation of the Australian Aboriginal League, who were key organizers of the 1938 Day of Mourning protest to mark the 150th anniversary of the European invasion of Australia, were formed in 1934. Public protest also occurred at a local and individual level. At a political event held in Yass in 1930 Jimmy Carroll took the opportunity to speak about the unjust distribution of the government’s work relief program and assert ownership of the country,

When some political speakers had finished addressing the Yass electors, Carroll jumped up on the lorry and was well received. The novelty of the situation, to say nothing of the humour of an aborigine following the Deputy-Leader of the New South Wales Labor Party, no doubt appealed to the crowd. In his pigeon-English Jimmy said he wanted justice, and when he was interrupted by an interjector, his quick retort, “One fool at a time,” drew forth roars of laughter.... Jimmy went on to criticize the Councillors (meaning the aldermen of the municipal council), whom he said only gave him – an aborigine, with five children and a wife to support – one week on the relief work programme, whilst single men with no responsibilities were getting a fortnight and white men were getting 1-2-3 weeks, said Jimmy, counting on his fingers. “I am only a mug – only an aboriginal – I’m down and out. I don’t know a “B” from a bull’s foot.” (Loud laughter). “I am speaking the truth. I want justice for my children. I am born and bred here and don’t forget we own the country. I don’t get

any endowment. I have tried but I don't get it. There is never an aborigine who has spoken the truth from a platform before." When a speaker told Carroll that the Government had no money to give them, Jimmy replied: "I have nothing I don't care. I don't need money to live, as I live on wild food."^{ccxli}

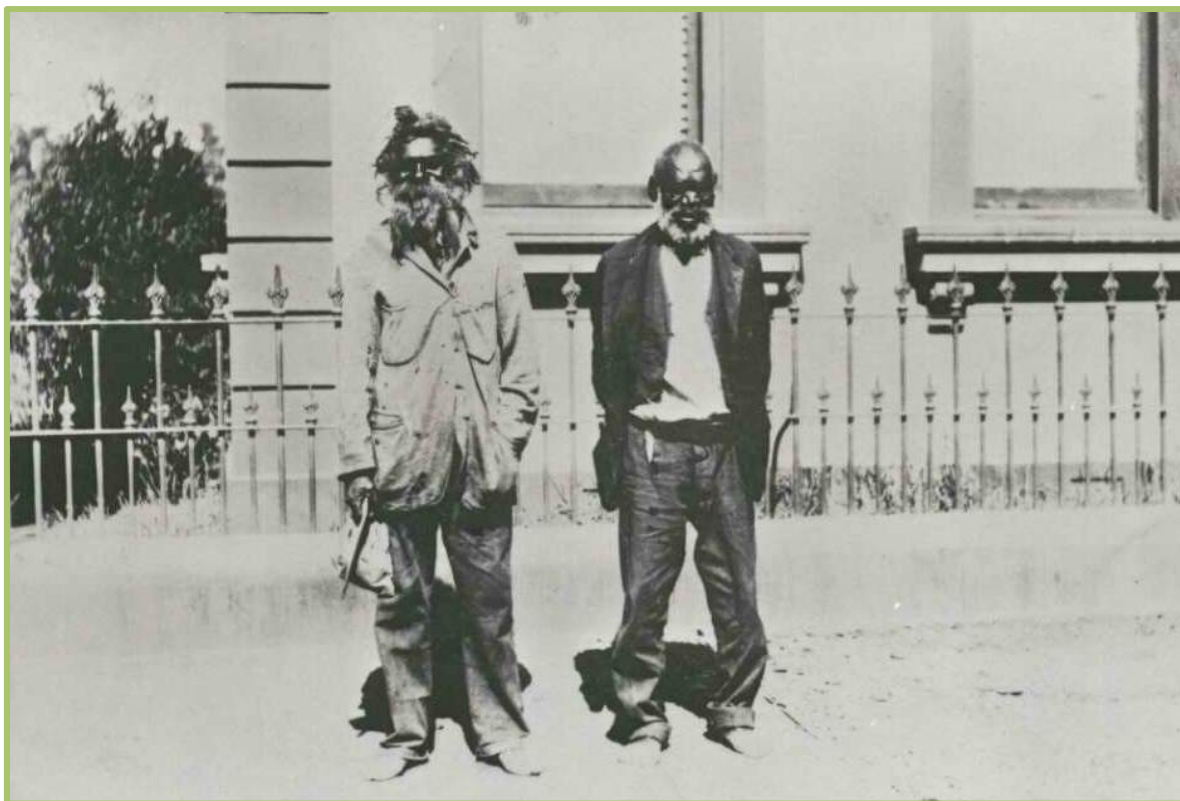


Image 26: Jimmy Clements and John Noble, Canberra 1927.^{ccxlii}

A few years earlier two senior Aboriginal men, John Noble and Jimmy Clements, were present at the opening ceremonies for the new Parliament House in Canberra in 1927. Their presence at what has been referred to as a celebration of 'white Australia' was a protest in and of itself,

Central to the press coverage of the event is the focus on the celebration of white Australia and the effective erasure of Indigenous Australia... [however] two Indigenous elders attended the ceremony and though the police attempted to lead them away (and this act is described frequently enough to suggest that they were both led away more than once) this was not the whole story... a number of press accounts at the time acknowledge the presence of one Indigenous person at the event. Who that one was varies according to the different written accounts. The two men who attended were John Noble and Nangar known as King Billy or Jimmy Clements. Noble, known as 'Marvellous', was photographed repeatedly on the day, including photographs with policemen... Clements was also photographed extensively at the event and his photo printed in newspapers and magazines, usually identified as 'Marvellous'. Clements was a well-known and well respected 'clever man'.... [he] had walked from Brungle Aboriginal station in the Tumut district, where he was then in residence, in order to be at the opening ceremony, a distance of around 150 kilometres. He was then over 80 years old. Noble was also known as a clever man and he travelled extensively throughout southeast New South Wales... He was also about 80 years old... So,

both Clements and Noble were elders and clever men, men of authority and status in their communities, both born somewhere in the 1840s observing and experiencing the processes and changes wrought by colonisation. They had both travelled long distances to be present at the event....^{ccxliii}

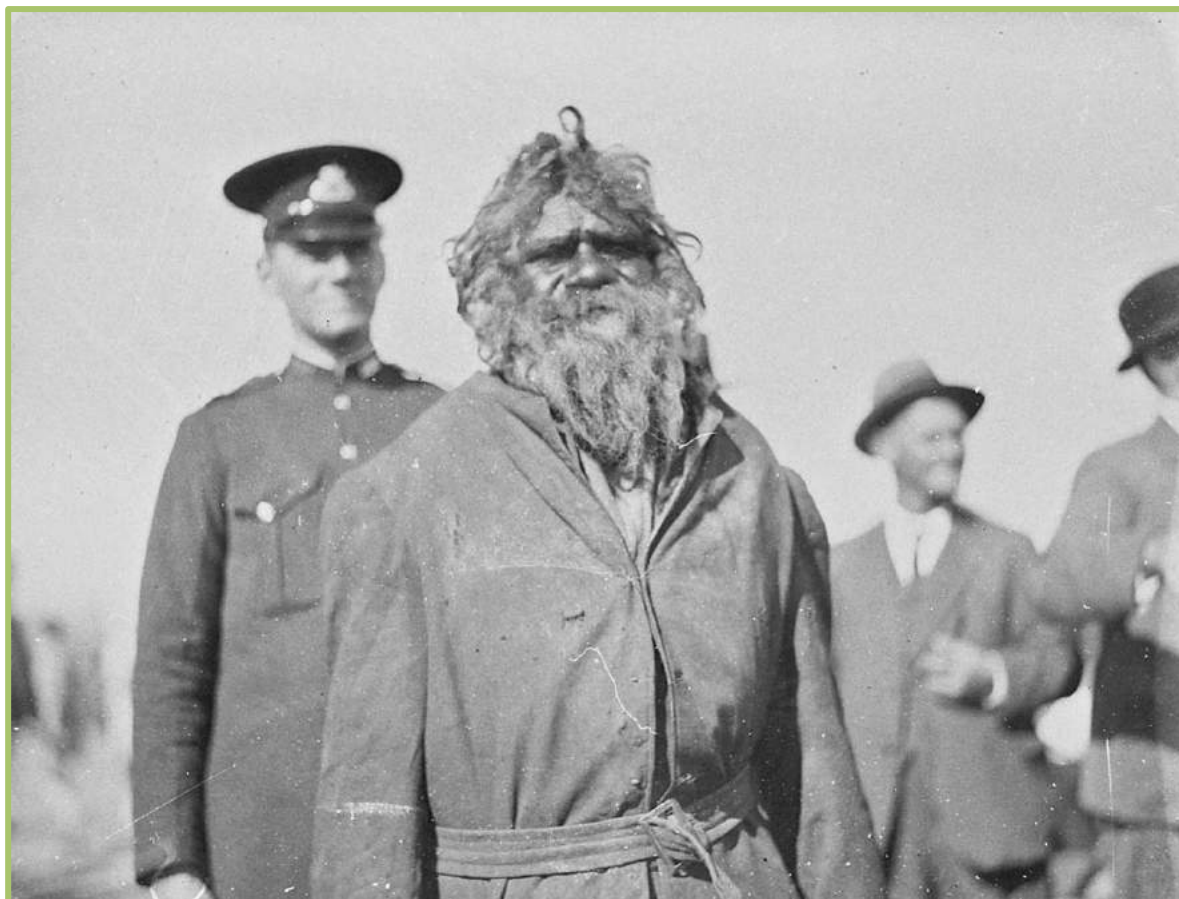


Image 27: Jimmy Clements, opening of Parliament, 1927.^{ccxliv}

The contemporary press and European oral history give a variety of accounts of the presence of these two Aboriginal men and of their removal or attempted removal by police. In some accounts an Aboriginal man is removed quietly by a single policeman, in others three policemen attempt to remove an Aboriginal man who vocally objects and who is then supported in his attempts to stay by the European audience in the grandstand.

It was no small thing for Clements or Noble to resist the police at an event where there were hundreds of police and military. It is only speculation, but I doubt that it was sheer chance that the crowd became embroiled in the argument between the Indigenous man and the police. Given the nature of the event and the fact that sections of the crowd were already vocally disgruntled, I think it reasonable to assume that the police would have wanted to remove the man quietly and quickly, hence in the account in the Argus, there were three policemen engaged in his removal.... both [these] Indigenous men worked public events and thoroughfares, in a context where the Indigenous racialised presence was marked and vulnerable. Therefore, reading the audience and knowing how to woo them through performance would be critical for survival as well as income.... Regardless of whether they were as unaware or indifferent to the meaning of the event as is often suggested, their

presence was a powerful act, contesting claims of the erasure of Indigenous people from the land and place.^{ccxlv}

As Aboriginal communities grew in size and became too visible to be ignored, local newspapers in the 1920s and '30s recorded the attempts of Europeans across New South Wales to exclude Aboriginal people from townships. These attempts at exclusion occurred most obviously through the forced removal from camps on the fringes of towns and often the associated physical destruction of people's homes. The exclusion of Aboriginal children from public schools was also a method that was used to force Aboriginal parents to move onto APB settlements where they would have access to segregated Aboriginal schools. Driving this move was the constant threat that Aboriginal families lived with of the 'welfare' authorities removing their children.

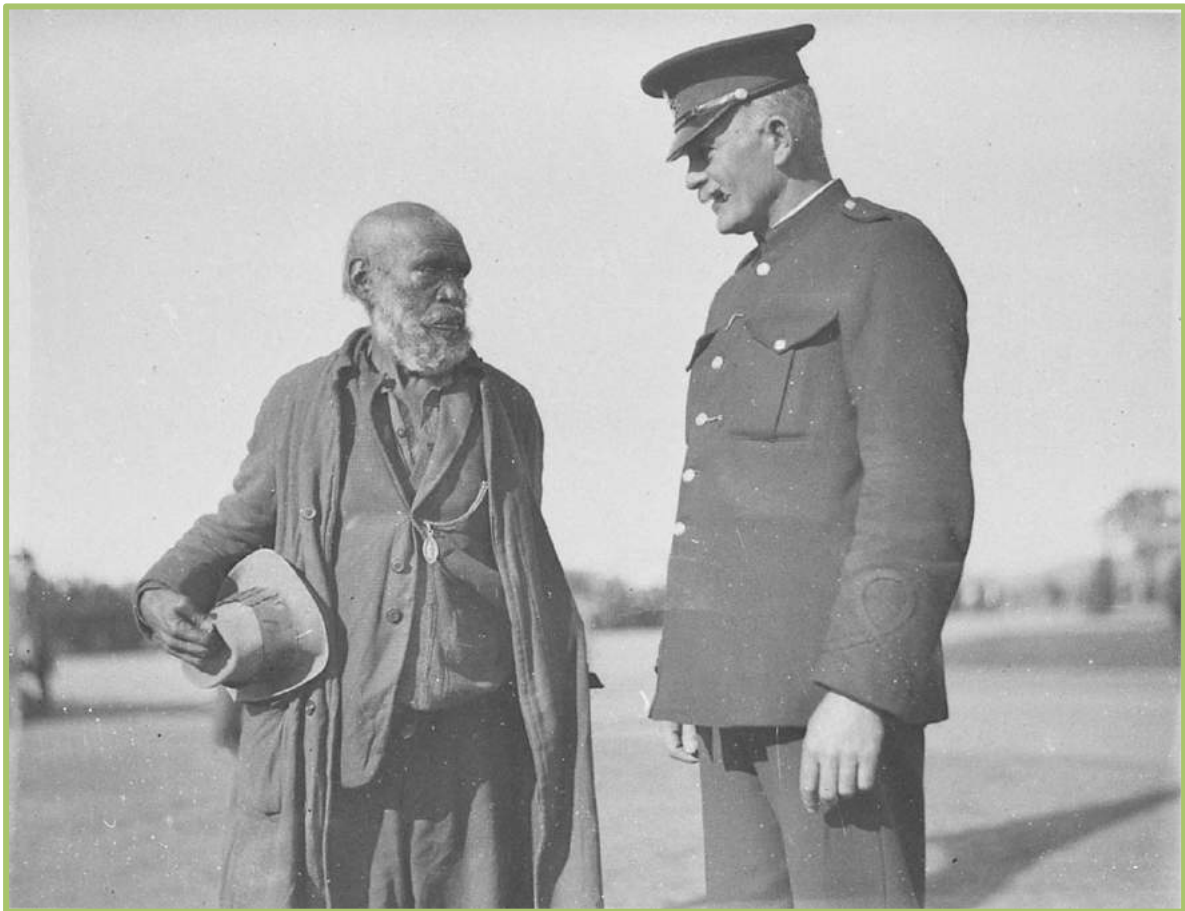


Image 28: John Noble, opening of Parliament, 1927.^{ccxlv}

The residential focus for Aboriginal communities in the region were at Yass, in fringe camps and reserves, and at Brungle where a managed APB station was formed around an existing camp. Brungle Station, located half way between Gundagai and Tumut and adjacent to the small township of Brungle became one of the largest APB reserve communities in the state.^{ccxlvii} An area of 77 acres within the resumed area of Brungle Station had been reserved for "the use of Aborigines" in 1889.^{ccxlviii} In 1890 the APB provided the following report on the Brungle settlement,

Number of aborigines at the settlement, 89... A superintendent has been placed in charge of the Brungle Camp... A number of the men work at various stations in the district for a portion

of the year; those at the settlement able to work are preparing the ground for cultivation, fencing, and otherwise improving the reserve.... A great improvement has been made in the condition of the aborigines' dwellings. With the roofing-iron supplied by the Board, the huts have been made more tenantable, and are now, for the most part, in good order. The fencing of the reserve, which has an area of 77 acres, has been interrupted by bad weather, sickness, and the absence of the able-bodied during the busy season on the stations. It is, however, now rapidly approaching completion.... Owing to the excessive rainfall during the last quarter of the year the health of the camp suffered severely, pneumonia, whooping cough, and kindred diseases having been prevalent... A cottage has been erected on a small reserve of 3 acres, as a residence for the superintendents.... The school building erected by the Board in 1888 has been painted.... Nineteen children are being educated....

ccxlix

As a result of the impact of European intrusion and government policies over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries many Aboriginal people from the local region, and from further afield, moved onto the Brungle reserve.

At Yass there was a camp known as the "Blacks Camp" or "Old Camps" located in North Yass near the Yass Weir. It appears to have been occupied around the 1880s or '90s. In 1888, again in the North Yass area, an Aboriginal reserve was gazetted at Oak Hill. Originally gazetted as an area of 29 ½ acres with Yass River frontage, the following year it was reduced to just 2 ½ acres. The APB provided timber and iron for the construction of thirteen houses on the reserve in 1888. In 1890 there were 78 Aboriginal people living on or adjacent to the reserve.^{cc1}

From the 1880s onwards the controlling policies of government, combined with the impact of decades of European intrusion, resulted in Aboriginal people's freedom of movement and access to country being increasingly restricted. People's freedom of movement, in particular freedom to move on and off reserve settlements, was severely restricted by the actions of the APB, later the Aborigines Welfare Board (AWB). Within the reserves and mission system the Board managers and the missionaries imposed severe restrictions on the continuation of cultural practices, including opposing the use of language.

From the 1890s increasing pressure was exerted by European townspeople, the local Council and the APB to remove Aboriginal people from the vicinity of Yass township. In response to this pressure a managed APB station was established in 1909 at Edgerton, some 16 kilometres out of town on the road to Gundaroo. The majority of the residents at Oak Hill were coerced or forced to relocate, primarily to the Edgerton station. In 1912-13 there were around 45 people living at Edgerton. By 1916 there were only 9. This appears to have been largely the result of the opening of the Yass Railway Duplication works in 1914 which provided employment for many Aboriginal men who were then able to leave with their families as they were no longer dependent on rations. People moved to camps at Yass Junction and back to Oak Hill and the Old Camps and other fringe camps near town. In 1934 the APB moved the majority of people to a new reserve known as Hollywood and located on the edge of town but out of sight near the town cemetery and slaughter yard.^{cc1i}

The AWB withdrew support from the Brungle settlement in the early 1950s. In 1955 the reserved areas were revoked with a much-reduced area of 31 acres being re-gazetted as a reserve.^{cc1ii} While the population substantially reduced at this time some people chose to remain and others returned in the 1970s and subsequent decades. At Yass in the mid 1950s people were compulsorily moved off Hollywood with some moving back into Yass township whilst others moved to Brungle and to other regional Aboriginal communities such as Cowra, Narrandera and Wallaga Lake.^{cc1iii}

The decades from the 1950s to the '70s saw a post war boom in employment which increased access for Aboriginal people, particular men, to work in areas such as the railways, council gangs, forestry, construction and the Snowy Mountains Scheme. In the twentieth century people from this area were also involved in the bean and other vegetable picking along the NSW south coast, western irrigation areas, and down into Victoria. Despite the decades of dispossession, exclusion and forced movement, Aboriginal people, as individuals, small families, and in extended kin groups, continue to live, work and travel across the Limestone and Yass Plains.

10 The Cultural Landscape

The cultural understanding of individual sites situates them within a complex interlinked series of pathways and places created by the patterns of movement of mythological beings and Aboriginal people. Pathways link together nodes in the landscape that are related to resource-rich areas, mythological movement patterns, and places of ceremonial and spiritual importance. Pathways extend through the country of neighbouring groups, linking people and places together in a complex network of social and ceremonial links. Songlines refer to the pathways formed by mythological beings in their travel through the landscape and carry ritual and ceremonial meaning. Songlines are themselves pathways that join key sites along a Dreaming Track. Those pathways that are not themselves songlines are still associated with songlines; they may be designed specifically to avoid key sites on the associated songline that are not appropriate for open visitation. As such, pathways and songlines are strongly interlinked and can at times be one and the same and at other times are culturally and physically interconnected. In contemporary usage in New South Wales there can be slippage between the terms pathways and songlines as a result of the loss of specificity in the knowledge of these complex networks resulting from the devastating impacts of European colonization on Aboriginal people, communities and on the landscape itself. While specificity of knowledge in regards to distinguishing the precise locations of songlines from the associated pathways may not always be extant the knowledge of such songlines and pathways, the locations and communities that they link, and the broad sweep of them across the landscape is knowledge that is retained within Aboriginal communities across New South Wales.

The understanding and perception of the landscape expressed by the knowledge holders, and by the community more broadly, is as an area traversed by an interconnecting network of physical, social and spiritual meanings. The term 'associative cultural landscape' has come to be used within the international heritage profession to refer to such complex understandings of landscape. The World Heritage Convention of UNESCO defines an associative cultural landscape as one that has, "powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent."^{ccliv}

The Aboriginal view of land in the various Aboriginal cultures in Australia was very holistic and is configured as pathways and nodes not as set bounded territories. Moreover this mapping of the land takes in land forms from a bird's eye view. As is notable in much of Aboriginal art the perspective is as if seen from above at an angle. This view is most nearly approximated by western topographical maps. Thus the land is seen as a place people moved through with the pathways they followed describing the territory. Furthermore the movement of rivers and mountains and rock fault lines are another kind of pathway most clearly expressed as tracks of dreamtime ancestors. But this is just one form of this view contextualized in stories, the seeing of the land as a weaving of people's movement and land form movements [is] evident in the informal descriptions people [give of an] area.^{cclv}

Mythological sites and beings are imprinted in the topography of the landscape and the energy or sentience of the mythological being is understood as remaining in the physical environment. In this sense the mythological beings, and their pathways, can be seen as animating the landscape. This belief system is common to all totemic Australian geographies.^{cclvi}

This inscription of meaning onto the landscape applies not only to the actions of mythological beings but also to the actions of the ancestors and events in historical time.^{cclvii} The inscription of meaning onto the landscape, a process captured in the term Dreaming, is not restricted to a distant and mythological past but

is a continuous cultural process, "... a way of 'pre-understanding' that 'signs and topographises' the land, provided a culturally conditioned conceptual framework within which people are empowered to create new meanings."^{cclviii}

10.1 The Ginninderra Cultural Landscape

All of the knowledge holders identified the Project Area as being located within a culturally significant landscape with the lower Ginninderra Creek area in particular being regarded as holding a high degree of cultural significance.^{cclix} The eight cultural places identified within, or adjacent to, the Project Area must be understood as elements or nodes in a wider cultural landscape that includes the pathways and songlines that themselves hold substantial cultural value.

The rituals that occurred at the Ginninderra Falls (Place 1) were only one stage in the first stage initiation of the young men with further initiation sites occurring along the songlines that connect this area to other places of ceremonial significance including the Brindabella Mountains, Tugeranong, Tindinbilla, the Bogong Peaks, and Black Mountain. The knowledge holders spoke of these areas in relation to their association with ceremony and with the large-scale regional gatherings that occurred when the Bogong moths were available as a resource. Early writings by Europeans also refer to ceremony occurring at Black Mountain^{cclx} and Tindinbilla.^{cclxi}



Image 29: Looking west from Ginninderra to the Brindabellas.^{cclxii}

The Brindabellas are one of the areas that the Bogong moths camp in during summer and where they can be collected. As Richie Allen stated,

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The Bogong moth is important. Tidbinbilla Mountains was a main meeting place and ceremony area for Ngunnawal, Yuin, Wiradjuri, Gundunngurra, Ngarigu. They all came up here at Bogong time.^{cclxiii}

The large regional gatherings that occurred around the Bogong feasts were recorded in the writings of early Europeans.^{cclxiv}

The knowledge holders spoke of how the lower Ginninderra Creek was connected to the surrounding cultural landscape through a network of pathways and songlines. The positioning of Ginninderra Creek at the centre of the descriptions reflects that the knowledge holders were speaking for that place and its connections rather than any actual centrality of Ginninderra Creek, at that time, in the regional cultural landscape. It can best be understood as one set of nodes on a vast network of interconnected nodes and the pathways that link them stretching from the coast up onto the plains and up into the mountains linking people, country and story.

Tyrone Bell spoke of how the Ginninderra Falls (Place 1) area was connected to Black Mountain, lying to the southeast, as part of the ceremonial process for young men's initiation,

One area Dad spoke about was Black Mountain, did business up there and then came down into Ginninderra, the preparation was at Black Mountain and then on to Ginninderra and that connection to the water. Values are to do with the water...^{cclxv}

Tyrone Bell also spoke of the pathways that link the area to the Brindabellas and beyond on the western side and to the Yass River on the north,

... [there's a] pathway going up to the Brindabellas... there's a major site down before Wee Jasper for ceremony that they travelled to from the Falls. There's a pathway from Black Mountain to the Falls... and people travelled down the Murrumbidgee to the Yass River as well. There were lots of different pathways and Dad and Aunties and Uncles all used to travel over here and the Falls was a stop on the way, this was before my time... [The pathways] are also about the spiritual journey and the songlines as well.^{cclxvi}

Alice Williams spoke of how Ginninderra Falls was linked to the west, referring to further initiation sites along the pathways and songlines leading along the Murrumbidgee River and up into the Bogong Peaks,

A pathway ran from the [Ginninderra] Falls to the Bogong Peaks for further ceremony... The Falls is a preparation area, there would be others along the Murrumbidgee River as they walked up into the higher peaks.^{cclxvii}

The knowledge holders all spoke of the Murrumbidgee River as an important and valued cultural waterway, one that provided abundant resources and was a major pathway connecting people across the landscape. This understanding is consistent with the archaeological evidence of intensive use of the river environs,

There are few, if any, sites left which could be claimed as vitally important in themselves yet they form an impressive complex of a range of sites and express the intensive and consistent use of the river and its environs in the prehistoric past.^{cclxviii}

Joe House also spoke of the Ginninderra Creek area as being linked to the west,

[Ginninderra Creek] connected up with Brindabella which is our songline, it's part of our Brindabella songline. The songline runs through the Brindabellas, connects up to Kosciuszko and Brungle and Tumut. There's a strong cultural feeling and value to that songline... For the Bogong feast tribes came from the coast, out west, Victoria. We would all meet up in the mountains.^{cclxix}



Image 30: Looking north along the Murrumbidgee River (Ginninderra on right, Uriarra on left).^{cclxx}

Richie Allen spoke of the songlines and pathways that connected the Ginninderra Falls area to Lake George in the northeast, to Black Mountain and Tuggeranong to the south, and across the Murrumbidgee River to Tidbinbilla to the south west,

The songlines and pathways go from the Falls area to Gungahlin and out to Lake George and Black Mountain. They did women's business and young men's business at the Falls and then they travelled to Black Mountain and then separated onto different paths for the men and the women elders to travel up to Tuggeranong. Tuggeranong was a ceremonial business place. Women's business and men's business... On the other side of the [Murrumbidgee] River Tidbinbilla Mountains was one of the main meeting places and ceremony areas – the Yuin, the Wiradjuri, the Gundungurra, the Ngarigu – they all came up at Bogong moth time.^{cclxxi}

Wally Bell spoke of the network of pathways that the Ginninderra Creek pathway was a part of; he referred specifically to the pathways along the Molonglo and Murrumbidgee Rivers and how they connect to pathways to Black Mountain and the Acton Peninsula,

HISTORY • CULTURE • HERITAGE

Two pathways met at Black Mountain, one of them running along the Molonglo River from the Murrumbidgee River. From Black Mountain and the Acton Peninsula pathways led to where Parliament is now which was the major meeting place.^{cclxxii}

Referring to the pathway along the Ginninderra Creek Wally Bell stressed that,

The waterways were our major pathways.^{cclxxiii}

The knowledge holders spoke specifically of a pathway that runs along Ginninderra Creek from its headwaters to the junction with the Murrumbidgee River (Place 8). The pathway was understood as having run generally along the southern side of the creek. Wally Bell stated,

The pathway follows Ginninderra Creek... the pathway was used all times of the year, different plants and fruits around at different times of the year. That's a frequently used pathway as well. And there's other significant places along the Ginninderra Creeklake, closer up to the headwaters you've got the ochre sites as well.^{cclxxiv}

People travelled along the pathway to the corroboree ground (Place 2) and from there down the creek to the Ginninderra Falls (Place 1), north to the Women's Hill (Place 3) and further down to the resource area (Place 4) and fish traps (Place 5).

All of the knowledge holders understood the Ginninderra Falls (Place 1) as being a highly significant cultural place due to its association with the initiation of young men. People travelled down the pathway and associated songline that ran from the headwaters of Ginninderra Creek to the Murrumbidgee River to participate in the first stage initiation of the young men.

Wally Bell spoke of the cultural significance of the Ginninderra Falls (Place 1) as the site of young men's initiations and described the symbolic importance of the place in the way in which,

The Falls represent the washing away of boyhood.^{cclxxv}

Further up Ginninderra Creek (Place 2) the knowledge holders state that there was a general corroboree ground, an area where corroboree dancing and story telling took place that was not restricted by gender or initiation status but was participated in by all community members. The community visited this place as they travelled down the creek to undertake the initiation ceremony,

Pathway from Mulligan's Flat Reserve at the headwaters of the Ginninderra Creek that comes down to the Falls and the Murrumbidgee River. There's a ceremonial area up the creek, behind Parkwood Eggs. It was used as a general ceremonial area and for the young men's initiation, then they travelled down to the young men's initiation site at the top of the Falls.^{cclxxvi}

Down the creek from the Falls (Place 1) is a small falls and water pool (Place 5). This area has been identified as a Resource area within which women and men undertook different resource activities at different times,

The women gathered the plants needed for the ceremonies, for medicinal uses, to stop infection and other things.^{cclxxvii}



Image 31: Ginninderra Falls. ^{cclxxviii}

HISTORY • CULTURE • HERITAGE

To the northeast of the Ginninderra Falls lies the Women's Hill (Place 3) where the senior women were based during the young men's initiation ritual. It was associated with the symbolic transfer of the young men from the care of the senior women to that of the senior men prior to their initiation. Alice Williams stated that it was,

...where the old women got the young men ready for initiation and then handed them over to the men. It had to be near the initiation area.^{cclxxix}

Tyrone referred more broadly to the way the young men prior to initiation are moved from the care of the women to that of the senior men,

... young men get to a certain age with women and then get taken by the men to train up.^{cclxxx}

His understanding is that this process of shifting the young men from the women's to the men's domain began at Black Mountain prior to travelling down the pathway to the Ginninderra Falls.

Violet Sheridan, the only other female knowledge holder, also spoke of the association of Place 3 with the senior women and their involvement in the rituals preceding the young men's initiation,

Women elders were involved... they were based back in the hills and the young men were at the rocks and the [Ginninderra] falls.^{cclxxxi}

The Women's Hill (Place 3) is understood as an ancestral female figure in the landscape. Located near Place 3 is the figure of Eaglehawk (Place 4) lying in the landscape,

The women's hill has the eaglehawk spread behind it, the two hills behind it.^{cclxxxii}

The ancestral figure of the Eaglehawk lying in the landscape holds substantial cultural significance as Eaglehawk is an important cultural figure in southeastern Australia. Eaglehawk is the common name given to the wedge-tailed eagle. The language terms for Eaglehawk in this region are variants of the term Maliyan or Malyan, also rendered as Mulian, Malian or Mulyun.^{cclxxxiii} It is interesting to note that on the western side of the Murrumbidgee River, to the northwest of Eaglehawk Hill, there is a Mullion Creek and Mullion Hill both located within what was the Mullion pastoral station.^{cclxxxiv} The name may have derived from the regional language terms for the Eaglehawk.^{cclxxxv}

As discussed above in the geographies of Aboriginal Australia ancestral beings, or mythical figures, are understood as being present in the landscape and giving meaning and value to that landscape. The two places in the project area that are specifically understood by knowledge holders as being such ancestral or mythical figures in the landscape were the Women's Hill (Place 3) and the Eaglehawk Hill (Place 4).

On the Murrumbidgee River, north of its junction with Ginninderra Creek, a number of knowledge holders understood there to have been a series of fish traps (Place 6) that acted as an important resource for the ceremonial gatherings along Ginninderra Creek and the Murrumbidgee River. This conjunction of areas that provide seasonal access to substantial resources, such as the bogong moths and fish trips, with key cultural sites, such as those on Ginninderra Creek that involve ritual activities and require the gathering of people into one location, is consistent with traditional patterns of landscape utilization.

Up the Murrumbidgee River from its junction with Ginninderra Creek is an ancestral figure lying in the landscape that is part of a women's story site that is associated with young women's initiation (Place 7). This site is linked to others that lie along the length of the Murrumbidgee River and are associated with women's business.

All the knowledge holders stressed the importance of preserving both the broader cultural landscape and the places of particular cultural value within the landscape. As stated by Richie Allen,

We need to preserve these places so that we can do our cultural business. We've been colonized so much. We can't keep and get back our knowledge if we don't keep our places like this one.^{cclxxxvi}



Image 32: Flora, Ginninderra^{cclxxxvii}

11 Management of the Cultural Landscape

During the consultation with knowledge holders regarding the cultural landscape of the Project Area preliminary discussions were held to ascertain their views on the future management of the cultural landscape, and the identified cultural places, located within the Project Area. There were a number of key views in relation to the management of the cultural landscape that are shared by all the knowledge holders.

As a matter of cultural respect, and to limit damaging impacts to the cultural values of the area, the knowledge holders propose the following constraints to activities within the Conservation Corridor:

- No rock climbing or abseiling within Ginninderra Creek environs;
- No camping on the Ginninderra Creek or Murrumbidgee River;
- No public vehicular access to the Ginninderra Creek or the Murrumbidgee River;
- A strong preference was expressed for preventing swimming within Ginninderra Creek whilst allowing it in the Murrumbidgee River.

In addition the knowledge holders propose the following actions to support and protect the cultural values of the area:

- Establishment of a network of walking tracks to limit impact and guide people towards designated recreation and viewing areas within the Conservation Corridor;
- Interpretative signage along the walking tracks and in designated recreation and viewing areas (to be produced by a cultural heritage specialist in consultation with the knowledge holders);
- Facilitating the provision of cultural tours run by local Aboriginal organizations within the Conservation Corridor.

It is noted that these are preliminary views and require further consideration and development. It is recommended that this occur through the production of a Cultural Values Management Plan by a cultural heritage specialist in consultation with the knowledge holders.

The Project Area lies partially in the ACT and partially in NSW and as such comes under two distinct legislative frameworks. However, from a cultural standpoint, as emphasized by all the knowledge holders, the Project Area sits within a single cultural landscape and needs to be understood and managed as such. The knowledge holders also expressed concern with the management and potential future impacts on the three identified cultural places (Places 3, 4 and 6) that fall outside the Project Area. They are consistent in expressing the understanding that these places are part of the same cultural landscape as the Project Area and need to be understood and managed as such.

The question of how the Trust positions should be filled requires further consideration as part of the proposed Cultural Values Management Plan. The knowledge holders are consistent in agreeing that the following representation of Aboriginal people is appropriate for the proposed Conservation Corridor Trust:

- That there be a minimum of two positions with one being a representative from NSW and one from the ACT;
- That there be a male and a female in these positions at all times to ensure cultural values can be considered appropriately in relation to gendered knowledge;
- That a combined group consisting of the RAPs, RAOs and the identified knowledge holders should nominate individuals for the positions;
- That a rotation through all nominated individuals at set time intervals should be considered.

12 Cultural Significance Assessment: Places 1 – 8

[Locational key map to Cultural Places removed for public release of report]

12.1 Ceremonial Area (Place 1)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 2: Ceremonial Area (Place 1) outlined in blue

DESCRIPTION:

The Ginninderra Falls including the rock platform above the Falls, the water pool below the Falls and the adjacent creek banks. Location of ritual activities traditionally undertaken as part of process of young men's initiation.

DISCUSSION:

The Ginninderra Falls area was identified by all eight knowledge holders as having substantial cultural significance as the traditional location of ceremonies associated with the first stage initiation of young men,^{cclxxxviii}

The Falls represent the washing away of boyhood.^{cclxxxix}

Within Place 1 three areas were identified as of particular importance due to their role in ceremonial activities.^{ccxc}

Above the falls there's a ceremony area... what I was told that everyone was to be reconnected. Coming to this cleansed the young male for their journey.^{ccxci}

The two female knowledge holders were both aware of this area as the site of the young men's initiation and identified it as such, however, they did not provide any further details stating that it was for the male knowledge holders to speak for it.^{ccxcii}

The quality and clarity of the water itself is a key component of the cultural significance of the site. As such the broader ecological care of the creek's water flow is of concern to the knowledge holders.

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 1 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with ceremonial activity.

IMPACT:

Those elements of Place 1 that are located within the project area are in the proposed Conservation Corridor and there is no planned construction impact.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- A research project is undertaken to determine the suitability of Places 1, 3, 4 and 7 for nomination as Aboriginal Places under the NSW *National Parks & Wildlife Act (1974)*;

- Yass Valley Council consider the listing of Place 1 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as an Aboriginal place of heritage significance;^{ccxciii}
- Interpretative signage is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. It is noted that while Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1, 2, 5 and 7. It is considered that addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the landscape. The signage to be displayed in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor;
- A cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, develop detailed management guidelines for Place 1 through the production of a Cultural Values Management Plan;
- That the Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 1.

12.2 Corroboree Ground (Place 2)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 3: Corroboree Ground (Place 2) indicative location outlined in blue

DESCRIPTION:

This was a general community corroboree ground for cultural activities including singing, dancing, teaching, and story telling.

DISCUSSION:

The corroboree ground has been identified by a number of knowledge holders.^{ccxciv} The area was utilized by people as they travelled down the Ginninderra Creek pathway (Place 8) for cultural business, including the young men's initiation rituals at the Ginninderra Falls (Place 1).

The knowledge holders identify this as a general community corroboree ground; that is one where women, men and children were involved in a range of cultural activities. The knowledge holders who spoke of this cultural place stated that people would have camped nearby during their movement along the pathway.

It is noted that the corroboree ground (Place 2) in the vicinity of PAD 16, identified in the 2015 Bosis report, which incorporates archaeological site CLWB30 and the associated sites of CLWB31 and 32.^{ccxcv} These three sites are all artefact scatters consisting primarily of flakes with some cores and indicative of high levels of usage. The archaeological site CLWB30 was identified in 2003 by Dearling and excavated in 2007 by Navin Officer,^{ccxcvi} the Bosis report states that,

This site is considered one of the densest in the ACT and signage has been erected at this area to commemorate this.^{ccxcvii}

The Bosis 2015 report classified PAD 16

...as holding high potential by all the previous researchers in this area due to its close proximity to Ginninderra Creek and, the level terrace that covers this area providing ideal camping locations.... a ranking of high potential is applied to this area.^{ccxcviii}

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 2 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of the corroboree grounds use for shared community cultural activities.

IMPACT:

Place 2 is located primarily within the Development Area and partially within the proposed Conservation Corridor. There is no planned construction impact on that portion lying within the proposed Conservation Corridor. The portion of Place 2 located within the Development Area will be impacted by construction activities under the current plans.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- A focused research project is undertaken in relation to Place 2 to determine if it meets the significance criteria for listing on the ACT Heritage Register;
- Interpretative signage is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. It is noted that while Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1, 2, 5 and 7. It is considered that addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the landscape. The signage to be displayed in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor;
- A cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, develop detailed management guidelines for Place 2 through the production of a Cultural Values Management Plan;
- That the Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 2.

12.3 Women's Business Hill & Ancestral Figure (Place 3)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 4: Women's Business Hill & Ancestral Figure (Place 3) indicative outline in blue

DESCRIPTION:

Two small hills that form an ancestral figure in the landscape. Place 3 sits in the vicinity of the Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure (Place 4). The place is located approximately 1.5 kilometres northwest from the Ginninderra Falls. A female ancestral figure in the landscape and the site of women's ceremonial business.

DISCUSSION:

This landscape feature was identified by the knowledge holders as a "women's hill" associated with women's ceremonial business.^{ccxcix} The female knowledge holders identified Place 3 as the location in which the senior women were based during the young men's initiation rituals at the Falls (Place 1).

Women elders were involved in the young men's initiation, they were based back in the hills and the young men were at the rocks and the [Ginninderra] falls.^{ccc}

This is where the old women got the young men ready for initiation and then they went over to the men. It had to be near the initiation area.^{ccci}

Knowledge holders identified an ancestral female figure as visible as a physical form (the two low hills and the valley between) in the landscape.^{cccii}

[Locational image removed for public release of report]

Image 33: The Women's Hill & Ancestral Figure with the Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure.^{ccciii}

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 3 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with women's ceremonial business and the connection with aspects of the young men's initiation ceremony.

IMPACT:

Place 3 is located outside the Project Area and there are no known impacts.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- Yass Valley Council consider listing of Place 3 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as an Aboriginal place of heritage significance;^{ccciv}
- Interpretative signage is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. It is noted that while Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1, 2, 5 and 7. It is considered that addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the

landscape. The signage to be displayed in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor;

- A research project is undertaken to determine the suitability of Places 1, 3, 4 and 7 for nomination as Aboriginal Places under the NSW *National Parks & Wildlife Act (1974)*.

12.4 Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure (Place 4)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 5: Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure (Place 4) indicative outline in blue.

DESCRIPTION:

The place is an ancestral figure of the Eaglehawk lying in, or forming, the landscape. Place 4 is in the vicinity of the Women's Hill & Ancestral Figure (Place 3).

DISCUSSION:

The ancestral figure of the Eaglehawk lies in the landscape at Place 4,

The women's hill has the eaglehawk spread behind it, the two hills behind it.^{cccv}

The Eaglehawk is an important culture hero and ancestral being in southeastern Australia.^{cccvi} In the contemporary context the knowledge holders spoke of Eaglehawk as a culture hero and ancestral being as well as being a 'totem figure' for the people of this region. The language terms for Eaglehawk in this region are variants of the term Maliyan or Malyan, also rendered as Mulian, Malian or Mulyun.^{cccvii}

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 4 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with the cultural figure of the Eaglehawk.

IMPACT:

Place 4 is located outside the Project Area and there are no known impacts.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- Yass Valley Council consider listing of Place 4 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as an Aboriginal place of heritage significance;^{cccviii}
- Interpretative signage is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. It is noted that while Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1, 2, 5 and 7. It is considered that addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the landscape. The signage to be displayed in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor;
- A research project is undertaken to determine the suitability of Places 1, 3, 4 and 7 for nomination as Aboriginal Places under the NSW *National Parks & Wildlife Act (1974)*.

[Locational image removed for public release of report]

Image 34: Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure with Women's Hill and Ancestral Figure.^{cccix}

[Locational image removed for public release of report]

Image 35: The Eaglehawk Ancestral Figure and the Falls.^{cccix}

12.5 Resource Area (Place 5)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 6: Resource Area (Place 5) outlined in blue.

DESCRIPTION:

An area utilized for the collection of resources by both women and men. A small fall and associated water pool within Ginninderra Creek.

DISCUSSION:

This area has been identified as a resource area associated with movement along the Ginninderra Creek and Murrumbidgee River pathways (Place 8 & 9) and with ceremonial activities in the area (Place 1, 3 and 7),

The women gathered the plants needed for the ceremonies, for medicinal uses, to stop infection and other things.^{cccxi}

Men are also stated to have utilized the area.^{cccxi}

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 5 is considered to be of moderate cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its use as a resource area.

IMPACT:

Place 5 is located within the proposed Conservation Corridor and there is no planned construction impact.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- Interpretative signage is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. It is noted that while Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1, 2, 5 and 7. It is considered that addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the landscape. The signage to be displayed in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor;
- A cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, develop detailed management guidelines for Place 2 through the production of a Cultural Values Management Plan;
- The Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 5.

12.6 Fish Trap Resource Area (Place 6)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 7: Fish Trap Resource Area (Place 6) indicative area outlined in blue.

DESCRIPTION:

It is understood that fish traps were located in the bed of the Murrumbidgee River. The location is indicative only; no field investigations were undertaken as it lies outside the Project Area. It is not known if there are any tangible elements.

DISCUSSION:

The area is understood to be the location of constructed fish traps utilized for resource gathering by people travelling along the Ginninderra Creek (Place 8) and associated pathways for ceremonial and other cultural business.

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 6 is considered to be of moderate cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of its association with resource gathering activities.

IMPACT:

Place 6 is located outside the Project Area and there are no known impacts.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- Yass Valley Council consider listing of Place 6 on the Council's Local Environment Plan as a potential Aboriginal place of heritage significance.^{cccxi}

12.7 Ancestral Figure & Women's Story Site (Place 7)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 8: Ancestral Figure & Women's Story Site (Place 7) outlined in blue.

DESCRIPTION:

A female ancestral figure in the landscape that is a story site associated with young women's initiation rituals.

DISCUSSION:

The two female knowledge holders have identified this location as an important women's story site centered on the ancestral figure that is visible as a physical form (low hill) in the landscape,

This area is for women's business.^{cccxiv}

This is a highly significant women's area, it's a story site and is related to young women's initiation business. Connects to other sites along the Murrumbidgee River... There are women's sites on the [Murrumbidgee] River all along to the Brindabellas and beyond.^{cccxv}



Image 36: Looking north along the Murrumbidgee River.^{cccxvi}

[Locational image removed for public release of report]

Image 37: Ancestral Figure & Women's Story Site area.^{cccxxvii}

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 7 is considered to be of high cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of the presence of an ancestral figure in the landscape and its role as a women's story site associated with young women's initiation.

IMPACT:

Place 7 is partially located within the proposed Conservation Corridor and partially within the Development Area. For the portion of Place 7 located within the proposed Conservation Corridor there is no planned construction impact. The portion of Place 7 located within the Development Area would be impacted by construction activities under the current design. Riverview Pty Ltd have agreed to modify the existing design to remove all impacts to Place 7.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- Interpretative signage is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. It is noted that while Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1, 2, 5 and 7. It is considered that addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the landscape. The signage to be displayed in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor;
- A research project is undertaken to determine the suitability of Places 1, 3, 4 and 7 for nomination as Aboriginal Places under the NSW *National Parks & Wildlife Act (1974)*;
- A cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, develop detailed management guidelines for Place 7 through the production of a Cultural Values Management Plan;
- That the Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within 100 metres of the boundary of Place 7.

12.8 Ginninderra Creek & Murrumbidgee Pathways (Place 8)

LOCATION:

[Locational data removed for public release of report]

[Locational map removed for public release of report]

Figure 9: Ginninderra Creek & Murrumbidgee River Pathways (Place 8) indicative location outlined in blue.

DESCRIPTION:

Place 8 consists of a pathway that runs from the headwaters of the Ginninderra Creek near Mulligans Flat to its junction with the Murrumbidgee River where it intersects with a pathway that runs along the Murrumbidgee River in both directions.

DISCUSSION:

The Ginninderra Creek pathway is one among a network of pathways that link people, country and sites. The Murrumbidgee River pathway is a major pathway through the region and many of the smaller pathways, such as the Ginninderra Creek pathway, intersect with it. As depicted on Figure 10 the Murrumbidgee River pathway is joined with the pathway along the Molonglo River running to the south east and with a pathway that runs to the west and up into the Brindabella Mountains joining a network of pathways linking up into the high country of the Bogong Mountains.

SIGNIFICANCE:

Place 8 is considered to be of moderate cultural significance to the Aboriginal community on the basis of the importance of pathways as the physical and symbolic linkages between people, country and sites and between different communities across the wider region.

IMPACT:

Place 8 extends beyond the boundaries of the Project Area. Within the Project Area Place 8 is located within the proposed Conservation Corridor. For the portion of Place 8 located within the Project Area, and thus within the proposed Conservation Corridor, there is no planned construction impact.

RECOMMENDED ACTIONS:

It is recommended that:

- Interpretative signage is developed by a cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, in relation to Places 1-8. It is noted that while Places 3, 4 and 6 (and part of Place 1) are not located within the Project Area they form part of the same cultural landscape as Places 1, 2, 5 and 7. It is considered that addressing all of the identified cultural places in the interpretative signage is culturally appropriate and will provide a better understanding of the cultural values of the landscape. The signage to be displayed in appropriate locations within the proposed Conservation Corridor;
- A cultural heritage specialist, in consultation with the knowledge holders, develop detailed management guidelines for Place 8 through the production of a Cultural Values Management Plan;
- That the Cultural Values Management Plan be produced, and its recommendations on site protection be implemented, prior to any construction activity occurring within the proposed Conservation Corridor.

13 Sources

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Images

Image 1: *South end of Lake George, NSW*, 1830, Robert Hoddle, ID: FL3270989, State Library of New South Wales.

Image 2: *Murrumbidgee River*, ca.1829, Robert Hoddle, ID: H9143, State Library of Victoria.

Image 3: *Ginninginderry Plains*, 1832-35, Robert Hoddle, ID:obj-137038759, National Library of Australia.

Image 4: *Ginninginderry Plains*, ca. 1835, Robert Hoddle, ID: obj-135214961, National Library of Australia.

Image 5: *Ginninginninderry Water Fall near the Murrumbidgee*, 1835, Robert Hoddle, ID: 2-823992, State Library of New South Wales.

Image 6: *The Ginindarra Creek, looking to Murrumbidgee hills, County Murray, N.S. Wales*, 30th August 1875, C.F. Gordon Cumming, ID: obj-135154499, National Library of Australia.

Image 7: '*Ginninderra Falls*', Kerry and Co, Sydney, Australia, c. 1890s, ID: 4903265169_cdgeeocd18_o, Tyrrell Photographic Collection, Powerhouse Museum.

Image 8: *The De Salis children having a picnic at Ginninderra Falls, New South Wales*, ca. 1893, ID: obj-151605876, National Library of Australia.

Image 9: *A shooting party of four De Salis family members [?], three women and one man, Australian Capital Territory*, c. 1900, ID: obj-151629776, National Library of Australia.

Image 10: *Three members of the De Salis family [?] resting on rocks, with two rifles, Ginninderra Falls, New South Wales*, ca. 1900, ID: obj-151628974, National Library of Australia.

Image 11: *Seven children in the garden with a snake, Cuppacumbalong*, Australian Capital Territory, ca. 1893, ID: obj-151600622, National Library of Australia.

Image 12: *Woman holding a small child in a garden*, Australian Capital Territory, ca. 1887, ID: obj- 151635005, National Library of Australia.

Image 13: *Black and white photographic print of group of Aboriginal people*, c.1898, E.77812, ID: M 3242_19_20, Australian Museum. Written in ink on back: 'Aboriginal Station Brungle 1898'.

Image 14: Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

Image 15: *Warryne, a young Aboriginal man from the Yass, district, NSW*, c. 1892, Charles Kerry, ID: obj-153479086, National Library of Australia.

Image 16: *Warryne, a young Aboriginal man holding a boomerang, Yass, New South Wales*, c.1890, Charles Kerry, ID: obj-153478987, National Library of Australia.

Image 17: extract from George Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore and China; being The Journal of a Naturalist in those countries, during 1832, 1833, and 1834*, Vol.1, Richard Bentley, London, 1834, p.291.

Image 18: *[Andy] King "Audy"(?) of Yass*, ca. 1865-68, ID: H32549-27, State Library of Victoria.

Image 19: Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

Image 20: *King plate of John Cry*, ID: 4917923-004-wm-vs1_03_1100, National Museum of Australia.

Image 21: *Australian Aborigine Braidwood Dist. N.S.W.*, Henry King. No.1326 Sydney. 1885-1894, ID: PIC Album 1204 #PIC-15897-29, National Library of Australia.

Image 22: *The corrobory or peculiar dance of the natives of New South Wales with paper No.2. Wm. Rom. Govette*, [title from inscription on reverse], William Romaine Govett, Rex Nan Kivell Collection, NK775/3, National Library of Australia.

Image 23: *Ginnenderra Waterfall*, Sep 1929, ID: 3174963, National Archives of Australia.

Image 24: *Elderly Aboriginal man and a small child standing at a gate, Lanyon, Canberra*, 1922, W. A. S. Dunlop, ID: obj-147968592, National Library of Australia.

Image 25: *Aboriginal Australian family and home, Australian Capital Territory [?]*, ca. 1900, ID: obj-151630283, National Library of Australia.

Image 26: *King Billy [Jimmy Clements] on left and Marvellous [John Noble]*, 1927, ID:obj-137325062, National Library of Australia.

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Image 27: *Nangar or Yangar of the Wiradjuri Tribe, an Aboriginal known as Jimmy Clements or "King Billy", at the opening of Federal Parliament, 1927*, Hood, Sam, ID: 05389h, State Library of New South Wales.

Image 28: *NSW police officer talking to Aboriginal John Noble, also known as "Marvellous", at the opening of Federal Parliament, 1927*, ID: 05388h, State Library of New South Wales.

Images 29-37: Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

Maps

Map 3: *Captain Currie's map of the Country to the south of Lake George, 1823, detail*, ID: obj-230670617, National Library of Australia.

Map 4: *'H.Hume's sketch 1826? (tour of 1824-25) detail*, ID: 1311887, State Library of Victoria.

Map 5: W. Baker, *Map of the County of Murray, 1843-1846*, MAP RaA 8 Plate 13, National Library of Australia.

Map 6: *Part Map of the County of Murray, 1888*, MAP G8971.G46, National Library of Australia.

Interviews with knowledge holders

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Interview with Carl Brown, 5 July 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

Interview with Tyrone Bell, 9 & 19 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

Interview with Wally Bell, 4 & 5 July 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

Interview with Joe House, 5 July 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

Interview with Violet Sheridan, 31 October 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

Interview with Alice Williams, 17 July 2016, Orange & 20 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

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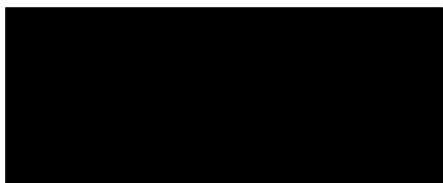
14 Appendix A: Start Up Letter to RAPs and RAOs



Riverview Projects (ACT)

PTY LTD ABN 30 165 870 539

4 May 2016



Dear [Redacted]

Riverview Projects (ACT) Pty Ltd has retained Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd to undertake a detailed Aboriginal cultural values assessment of the Ginninderra Falls area. This project aims to identify and document tangible and intangible Aboriginal cultural values within the Ginninderra Falls area to allow for their protection and appropriate future management.

Waters Consultancy is a specialist heritage and history consultancy firm based in Sydney. Its core staff consists of consultants Kate Waters and Korey Moon. They have worked with Aboriginal communities in the area of cultural heritage for the past eighteen years throughout eastern Australia.

A draft methodology for the cultural assessment is attached for your review and comment. Consultation with knowledge holders for the Ginninderra Falls area is the key element of the proposed approach. Consultation would be initially undertaken with all registered stakeholders to identify those individuals who are regarded as holding cultural knowledge for the country within which the study area is located.

The proposed approach involves consultation with the identified Aboriginal cultural knowledge holders within a context of historical and ethnographic research into the cultural values of the project area and the wider region within which it is located. Following the identification and assessment of the cultural values consideration will be given to the future management of the identified values. Guidelines will be developed in consultation with the knowledge holders and stakeholders to inform the management of the identified cultural values.

All comments on the attached draft methodology must be received by 16th May 2016. Comments can be provided in writing or by phone direct to:

Kate Waters
Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd
356 Darling Street, Balmain, NSW, 2041
Mob: 0417 438146
Email: waters.consult@bigpond.com

Following the comment period the draft methodology will be finalized and contact will be made directly with all registered stakeholders to identify cultural knowledge holders for the Ginninderra Falls area.

We look forward to your contribution to the future protection and management of the Ginninderra Falls area through participation in this Aboriginal cultural assessment process.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'D Maxwell', written in a cursive style.

David Maxwell
Director

Ginninderra Falls: Draft Methodology for Aboriginal Cultural Assessment Process

Produced by: Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd

Date: 28 April 2016

The proposed approach would involve consultation with the identified knowledge holders within a context of historical and ethnographic research into the cultural values of the project area and the wider region within which it is located. Following the identification and assessment of the cultural values of the project area consideration would be given to the future management of the identified values. Guidelines would be developed to inform the management of the identified cultural values.

The proposed approach to undertaking a detailed cultural assessment of the project area would be multi pronged:

- The identification of cultural knowledge holders for the project area through consultation with the registered stakeholders and other parties;
- Consultation with the identified knowledge holders regarding the cultural values of the project area;
- Historical research in documentary and audiovisual holdings of relevance to the cultural heritage of the project area;
- The development of draft guidelines to inform the management of the identified cultural values;
- Consultation with the identified knowledge holders and the registered stakeholders regarding the draft management guidelines.

Consultation would be initially undertaken with all registered stakeholders and other parties to identify those individuals who are regarded as holding cultural knowledge for the country within which the study area is located. Identified cultural knowledge holders may or may not be registered stakeholders.

All identified knowledge holders would be contacted and their participation in the assessment process would be requested. All identified knowledge holders who were willing to participate in the project would be interviewed in order to gather oral histories, and undertake detailed cultural mapping, relevant to the study area. It is recognized that in some instances information may be gender sensitive and a male and female consultant will be available to conduct consultations as appropriate. Interviews would be conducted with participants in their own homes or a location of their choice, and during field visits to the study area. If there are knowledge holders who are unable to undertake a field visit, cultural mapping would be facilitated through the use of detailed aerial images and maps. Cultural information

management would be undertaken in collaboration with the knowledge holders to ensure sensitive information is treated appropriately.

Consultation would be undertaken with the knowledge holders in relation to appropriate management of any identified cultural values and cultural items within the project area. Draft guidelines to inform the management of the cultural values and items would be built on the input of the knowledge holders within a framework of current best practice. These draft guidelines would be further developed in a collaborative workshop with stakeholders.

It is envisaged that potential sources of historical and ethnographic information would include: archival land records; historical manuscripts; ethnographic accounts; newspaper accounts; field recordings; site records; and photographic evidence. The documentary and audiovisual holdings of the following institutions would be investigated:

- Yass & District Historical Society local historical holdings;
- Mitchell Library manuscripts holdings;
- National Library of Australia manuscript holdings;
- AIATSIS holdings;
- OEH site and assessment records;
- SRNSW archival land records.

The research and heritage significance assessment would be undertaken in line with the ICOMOS guidelines (as provided for by the Heritage Council of NSW and the ACT Heritage Council)¹ and the Aboriginal cultural heritage assessment guidelines produced by the Office of Environment & Heritage (NSW).²

¹ See *The Burra Charter* (The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2013) and *Practice Note: The Burra Charter and Indigenous Cultural Heritage Management*.

² See *Guide to investigating, assessing and reporting on Aboriginal cultural heritage in NSW*, OEH (NSW).

15 Appendix B: Consultation on Draft Report

A copy of the draft version of this report was provided for review to the following individuals (listed alphabetically by surname) and organizations:

- Richie Allen - Identified Knowledge Holder;
- Carl Brown (King Brown Tribal Group) – RAO and Identified Knowledge Holder;
- Dean Bell (Yurwant Gundana Consultancy Cultural Heritage Services) – RAP;
- Tyrone Bell – Identified Knowledge Holder;
- Wally Bell (Buru Ngunawal Aboriginal Corporation – RAO and Identified Knowledge Holder;
- Dorothy Carroll (Ngunawal Heritage Aboriginal Corporation) – RAP;
- Cherie Carroll-Turris (Gunjeewong Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation) – RAP;
- Glen Freeman (Koomurri Ngunawal Aboriginal Corporation) – RAP;
- Joe House (Little Gudenby River Tribal Council) – RAO and Identified Knowledge Holder;
- Rebecca Ingram (email only) – RAP;
- James Mundy (Ngarigu Currawong Clan) – RAO;
- Violet Sheridan – Identified Knowledge Holder;
- Julie Shroder (email only) (Gunjeewong Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation) – RAP;
- Alice Williams – Identified Knowledge Holder;
- Arnold Williams – Identified Knowledge Holder;
- ACT Heritage;
- OEH (NSW);
- Onerwal Local Aboriginal Land Council (Richard Bell) – RAP.

Comments were received from ten of the above named and have been summarized on the following table as are the responses and variations made in the finalization of the report to address any concerns.

Table 3: Responses to Draft Report

Individual/Organization	Comments Made	Response Made
Office of Environment and Heritage (NSW)	Support the recommendations but expressed some concern that the knowledge holders, RAPs and RAOs be made aware that the recommendations relating to locations outside the development area and their potential listing as 'Aboriginal Places' under the National Parks and Wildlife Act (NSW) and/or as an 'Aboriginal place of heritage significance' under the Yass Valley Council Local Environment Plan are dependent on additional nomination and assessment processes that are beyond the scope of this report to ensure they occur.	Commitment that covering letter sent to knowledge holders, RAPs, and RAOs with copy of this final report will state this.
Richie Allen (Identified Knowledge Holder)	Supports report's recommendations. Requested removal of maps and locational data prior to public display.	Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.
Tyrone Bell (Identified Knowledge Holder)	Requested addition of language name of Lake George 'Ngarra' be added and stated his understanding is that the name 'Wirrawarra' (included in the report in a quote from Charles Throsby) is a Wiradjuri word. Supports report's recommendations. Requested removal of maps and locational data prior to public display.	Addition of language name Ngarra made to report in footnote to first appearance of name 'Weerawa (or variants)' in quote. Name 'Weerawa (and variants)' removed from text but not removed from report where it is cited in the context of a quote that forms part of the historical record. Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.
Wally Bell (Identified Knowledge Holder and contact for RAO Buru Ngunawal Aboriginal Corporation)	Supports report's recommendations. Requested removal of maps and locational data prior to public display. Letter provided in response (reproduced on page 119).	Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.
Carl Brown (Identified Knowledge Holder and contact for RAO King Brown Tribal Group)	No changes requested. Removal of maps and locational data prior to public display supported. Supports report's recommendations.	Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.

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Glen Freeman (contact for RAP Gulgunya Aboriginal Consultancy previously known as Koomurri Ngunawal Aboriginal Corporation)	Requested addition of language name of Lake George 'Ngarra' be added and stated his understanding that the name 'Wirrawarra' (variation included in the report in a quote from Charles Throsby) is a Wiradjuri word. Requested removal of 'Wirrawarra' name. Commented on absence of clan/group details and names. Commented that some of the historical section was emotionally confronting to read due to the reality of what occurred in the region. Supports report's recommendations.	Addition of language name Ngarra made to report in footnote to first appearance of name 'Weerawa' (or variants) in quote. Name 'Weerawa' (and variants) removed from text but not removed from report where it is cited in the context of a quote that forms part of the historical record. Explanation of decision to not discuss the area of clan/group affiliations to country within the report was provided and reasoning accepted though not endorsed.
Joe House (Identified Knowledge Holder and contact for RAO Little Gudgenby River Tribal Council)	Supports report's recommendations. Removal of maps and locational data prior to public display supported.	Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.
Violet Sheridan (Identified Knowledge Holder)	Supports report's recommendations. Requested removal of maps and locational data prior to public display.	Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.
Alice Williams (Identified Knowledge Holder)	Request removal of maps and detailed locational data prior to any public display. No changes requested. Supports report's recommendations.	Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.
Arnold Williams (Identified Knowledge Holder)	No changes requested. Supports report's recommendations. Removal of maps and locational data prior to public display supported.	Production of redacted version for public display that removes maps and detailed locational data.



9 May 2017

Waters Consultancy P/L
356 Darling Street,
Balmain NSW 2041

Attention: Kate Waters

**Ginninderry Development Project
Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment Draft Report**

Thank you for the copy of the Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment Draft Report documentation for the Ginninderry Development project that was received on 13 April 2017. Buru Ngunawal Aboriginal Corporation (BNAC) wish to state that we appreciate the informative consultation process as conducted by yourself.

As part of those consultations we were privy to a field consultation in which various aspects of the project and the proposed suggested cultural values were discussed. During these onsite discussions various aspects of the Ngunawal Aboriginal cultural values were indicated and expressed.

This report reflected our Ngunawal customary beliefs and cultural practice as told by myself and various other identified Aboriginal cultural knowledge holders. The results of this consultation does tell the story of the development area and the relationship that the area holds with the Ngunawal people. The number of clearly defined site areas within this development area must pay respect to us as Aboriginal people and recognise our continued connection with country. It was important that this discussion about our cultural values be included in a report to portray how we feel about the significance and importance of this area.

Accordingly, we wish to state that we consider all Aboriginal sites to be of significance to us as the Traditional Custodians for this area. We also consider all sites to be of value to us socially, culturally and spiritually due to the occupation and use of these areas by our ancestors for over 25,000 years.

BNAC are in full agreeance with the findings as made for the 8 places as defined in the report and as such fully support the recommendations as proposed regarding the development of a Cultural Values Management Plan and the listing of these sites on the Yass Valley Shire Councils Local Environment Plan as an Aboriginal place of significance. Although we would like to declare that we would rate the cultural heritage significance for all the noted site areas as being high.

Yours sincerely

Wally Bell
Director/Chair

16 Endnotes

ⁱ See *The Burra Charter (The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance, 2013)*, Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites.

ⁱⁱ *Practice Note: The Burra Charter and Indigenous Cultural Heritage Management*, Version 1: November 2013, Australia International Council on Monuments and Sites.

ⁱⁱⁱ See *Guide to investigating, assessing and reporting on Aboriginal cultural heritage in NSW*, 2011, Office of Environment and Heritage (NSW).

^{iv} The ten individuals identified as knowledge holders were: Richie Allen, Tyrone Bell, Wally Bell, Carl Brown, Joe House, Matilda House, Ellen Mundy, Violet Sheridan, Alice Williams, Arnold Williams.

^v Matilda House chose to have her son Joe House speak on her behalf.

^{vi} Ellen Mundy.

^{vii} Carl Brown and Arnold Williams.

^{viii} Joe House.

^{ix} Tyrone Bell, Wally Bell, Richie Allen, Violet Sheridan, Alice Williams.

^x Biosis (author Lyn O'Brien), *West Belconnen Development Project: ACT Land Cultural Heritage Assessment*, report to Riverview Projects (ACT), 12 June 2015 and Biosis (author Lyn O'Brien) *Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Assessment Report West Belconnen Development Project, Yass NSW*, report to Riverview Projects (ACT), 16 April 2015.

^{xi} See *Guide to investigating, assessing and reporting on Aboriginal cultural heritage in NSW*, 2011, Office of Environment and Heritage (NSW).

^{xii} Lyall Gillespie, *Ginninderra: Forerunner to Canberra*, Fyshwick ACT, National Capital Printing, 1992, p.xxi.

^{xiii} Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1992, p.8 ; Lyall Gillespie, *Canberra 1820-1913*, Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1991, pp.xix, 10-11.

^{xiv} Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1992, p.xxi.

^{xv} Roads & Maritime Services (NSW), *The Old Hume Highway: History begins with a road*, Acorn press, 2013, pp.3-4 ; Errol Lea-Scarlett, *Queanbeyan: District and People*, Queanbeyan Municipal Council, 1968, pp.3-4 ; Lyall L. Gillespie, *Aborigines of the Canberra Region*, Canberra Publishing & Printing Co., 1984, pp.1-4.

^{xvi} T.M. Perry, *Australia's First Frontier: The spread of settlement in New South Wales 1788-1829*, Melbourne University Press in association with the Australian National University, 1965 (originally published 1963), p.104.

^{xvii} Note 60 for page 253: 'The fertile Country some time since discovered by Mr. Throsby', *Historical Records of Australia*, Series 1: Governors' Despatches to and from England, Vol. X, 1819-1822, published by the Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, 1917, p.820.

^{xviii} *The Old Hume Highway*, *op.cit.*, p.109.

^{xix} Perry, *op.cit.*, p.104.

^{xx} Tyrone Bell gave the Lake's name as Ngarra, this spelling was also provided by Glen Freeman (a RAP). Wally Bell gave the Lake's name with the spelling of Ngungara. All three individuals identified the name Weerewa and its variants as probably of Wiradjuri origin. In discussions of the naming of Lake George Alice Williams and Richie Allen both referred to the potential multiplicity of names. For discussions on the complexity and

multiplicity of place names in Aboriginal societies across Australia see: Luise Hercus and Jane Simpson, 'Indigenous Placenames: An Introduction', In Luise Hercus, Flavia Hodges & Jane Simpson (eds.), *The Land is a Map: Placenames of Indigenous Origin in Australia*, Pandanus Books, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University in association with Pacific Linguistics, 2002, pp.1-23 ; Michael Walsh 'Transparency Versus Opacity in Aboriginal Placenames', , in Hercus, Hodges & Simpson, *op.cit.*, pp.43-49 ; Peter Sutton 'On the Translatability of Placenames in the Wik Region, Cape York Peninsula', , in Hercus, Hodges & Simpson, *op.cit.*, pp.75-86.

^{xxi} Throsby to Macquarie, 4 September 1820 quoted in Perry, *op.cit.*, p.99.

^{xxii} *South end of Lake George, NSW*, 1830, Robert Hoddle, ID: FL3270989, State Library of New South Wales.

^{xxiii} Bruce Moore, *Cotter Country: A history of the early settlers, pastoral holdings and events in and around the County of Cowley, NSW*, National Capital Printing, Canberra, 1999, p.1 ; Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1991, p.2.

^{xxiv} Perry, *op.cit.*, p.99.

^{xxv} Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1991, pp.2-4 ; Perry, *op.cit.*, pp.99-103.

^{xxvi} Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1991, p.6.

^{xxvii} Moore, *op.cit.*, 1999, pp.1-3.

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^{xxxi} Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1991, pp.15-16.

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^{xxxiii} W.P. Bluett, 'The Aborigines of the Canberra District at the Arrival of the White Man', Paper read to the Canberra & District Historical Society, 1954, PMS 116, AIATSIS, pp.2-3 ; Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1991, p.10.

^{xxxiv} Newman, *op.cit.*, 1961, p.142.

^{xxxv} Newman, *op.cit.*, 1961, p.147.

^{xxxvi} Moore, *op.cit.*, 1978, p.13.

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- ^{xlvi} Gillespie, *op.cit.*, 1991, p.18.
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- ^{xciii} *The De Salis children having a picnic at Ginninderra Falls, New South Wales*, ca. 1893, ID: obj-151605876, National Library of Australia.
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^{ccxciii} As defined in the *Standard Instrument-Principal Local Environmental Plan, New South Wales Consolidated Regulations* an “Aboriginal place of heritage significance” includes “... natural Aboriginal sacred site or other sacred feature. It includes natural features such as creeks or mountains of long-standing cultural significance, as well as initiation, ceremonial or story places...”.

^{ccxciv} Interview with Wally Bell, 4 & 5 July 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd ; Interview with Tyrone Bell, 9 & 19 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd ; Interview with Richie Allen, 26 August 2016, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd ; Interview with Alice Williams, 17 July 2016, Orange & 20 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

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^{ccci} Interview with Alice Williams, 17 July 2016, Orange & 20 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

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^{ccci} Photograph by Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

^{ccciv} As defined in the *Standard Instrument-Principal Local Environmental Plan, New South Wales Consolidated Regulations* an “Aboriginal place of heritage significance” includes “... natural Aboriginal sacred site or other sacred feature. It includes natural features such as creeks or mountains of long-standing cultural significance, as well as initiation, ceremonial or story places...”.

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^{cccvi} Variations of this name are given for Wiradhuri, Ngunawal, Ngarigo, Wolgal, Dharrawal, Yuwaalaraay, and Gamilaraay. See: Koch, *op.cit.*, p.149 ; Wafer & Lissarague, *op.cit.* 2008.

^{cccvi} As defined in the *Standard Instrument-Principal Local Environmental Plan, New South Wales Consolidated Regulations* an “Aboriginal place of heritage significance” includes “... natural Aboriginal sacred site or other sacred feature. It includes natural features such as creeks or mountains of long-standing cultural significance, as well as initiation, ceremonial or story places...”.

^{cccix} Photograph by Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

^{ccc} Photograph by Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

^{cccxi} Interview with Alice Williams, 17 July 2016, Orange & 20 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd

^{cccxi} Interview with Wally Bell, 4 & 5 July 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd ; Interview with Richie Allen, 26 August 2016, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd ; Interview with Tyrone Bell, 9 & 19 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

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^{cccxiv} Interview with Violet Sheridan, 31 October 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

^{cccxv} Interview with Alice Williams, 17 July 2016, Orange & 20 August 2016, Canberra, *Ginninderry Project Aboriginal Cultural Values Assessment*, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd.

^{cccxvi} Photograph by Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

^{cccxvii} Photograph by Korey Moon, Waters Consultancy Pty Ltd, 2016.

