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Darkiñung Recognition
An Analysis of the Historiography for the Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the Northwest of Sydney

[commonly written with English characters as ‘Darkinung’, Darkinyung or Darkinjung]

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[Ph.D., ANU]

2010

A thesis submitted to the
University of Sydney
School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry
Department of History

for the degree of
Master of Arts (Research)
This study for my M.A. is dedicated to my ‘Class of 1955’ at North Sydney Boys' High School. It was unusual for then pupils in Australia to do more than three years High School, i.e. beyond 14yo when they could get out and be paid for doing something. When we idealistic bunch matriculated to go on to Sydney University in 1956, there was at that time an implicit culture that one had to do Arts to be truly educated, but to demonstrate that one really was educated one had to be awarded a subsequent M.A. - ‘OxBridge’ style. It took fifty years for me to re-enroll at my first university alma mater.

Prefects who represented our school at sport went on from the then ubiquitous army cadets to the military college to become engineers - despite a companion selective boys' high school at North Sydney (now, long gone) for aspiring engineers. We were meant to be language merchants, studying foreign languages and Latin - which I enjoyed with a teaching ace, Lance Milne. Each week my friend Ian Bedford would come with another term learnt for his English lexicon, while I would wonder about connections of his next word within our language.

The love of language is significant for this thesis.

I admire the contribution to knowledge about languages of Australia by a very important old boy from our school who has influenced this thesis, the Father of Australian and other Oceanic native linguistic studies, Arthur Capell.
Foreword

Geoff Ford has accumulated a massive amount of original material. His knowledge of his subject is prodigious. His thesis has the capacity to challenge traditional interpretations about the Aboriginal groups who lived in the area north and west of Sydney.

R.W.¹

¹ Supervisor's Report, October 2009, to departmental assessment panel for annual faculty review. [The traditional interpretations to which he refers are those of modern times since circa 1930s.]
Acknowledgements

I am appreciative of the then head of the School of Philosophical and Historical Inquiry, Richard Waterhouse, Bicentennial Professor of Australian History, for encouraging me in 2006 to come back to Sydney University to do a M.A. research thesis. He has continued to exhibit that encouragement as my supervisor through the turbid years while I found my way through the opacity into which my topic had taken me. This study is of the bush beyond the confines of urban areas, and I was impressed with his ‘desire to understand the complex cultural context that shaped not only my life (with country origins) but also those of generations of rural Australians.’ [‘The Vision Splendid’, p.7.] Richard's desire to embrace somebody committed to local history in their research studies was paramount.

The welcome into the History Department for the postgraduate students the next year was invigorating, and I am grateful to Robert Aldrich for conveying the sense of belonging, even for part time students. Our Postgraduate Co-ordinator that year, Nick Eckstein, is deserving of our gratitude for not only leading us through the prerequisite readings of Michel Foucault's philosophical historical approach, but later through Newtown's narrow byways to the ‘Marlborough’ on King Street. It was easier in the 1950s when students gathered at the closer ‘White Horse’ watering hole, now the Moore College religious bookshop. The University Historian, Julia Horne, played a critical role with a non-subjective discussion about her speciality: using oral history sources, when I had meant stories as related for newspaper items. Her response which I recall is still ringing - verify by checking other sources. More people in the department also talked with me, in the way which I sought advice from as wide an array of persons as would aid my understanding. Sometimes my supervisor succeeded in recalling me as I headed over the horizon.

No-one then in the Department was more generous than Martin Thomas who guided me through the R.H. (Robert) Mathews document collection held in the National Library, Canberra, and provided access to his own neat research notebooks. This was crucial to my ability to study the enormous mass of Mathews's material which I examined. It forms the heart of the thesis.

The faculty Post Graduate Arts Research Centre (PG ARC) tucked in the roof of the now John Woolley Building became the physical centre of my study at the university. The courtesy of the 2006 Director Penny van Toorn in taking me through before I started is not forgotten. The role of the student committee conductor Sarah Penicka in keeping the players on the same sheet when I began was commendable.

The cerebral centre for research has been the university's magnificent Fisher Library. It had changed since I first arrived when it was at the end of Fisher Avenue, to expand at the top of the hill by building into the ground as well as stacks built towards the sky to extend access to the research collection. I am particularly privileged for the timing of this research because another radical change has begun to replace books with open space. I recognise that I had studied unique reference collections, in the Burkitt-Ford and Madsen Libraries, until they disappeared because the reference material had not been loaned before the libraries were closed. On the other hand, the Badham Library has survived so far, which I found rewarding. Present day management does not favour retaining books and manuscripts for research sources if they gather dust. Yet, it is original archaic material which is required for original studies.
I thank our department librarian at the Fisher Library, Rena McGrogan for her initial guidance. I thank Neil Boness and his staff with their willingness to climb in to and out of the bowels of the hill to let me look at items of the special collections, theses and rare books while they looked at me. Sara Hilder was always able to help when needed. The supreme service for readers provided there by Richard Ratajczak is commendable. I’m in his debt. The effervescent Julie Price made helping me seem like a pleasure, especially taking on difficult traces at the Badham Library. Jill Brown guided me through use of pesky microfilms she had cared for among the audio-visual collection. Hunting difficult-to-find references stored out of the library in a nearby warehouse was an art in itself, for which I thank Bill Paslow.

I acknowledge, with gratitude, the Fisher Library loans and documents staff who, with their extensive international scope, handled my requests for obscure Australian manuscripts with dignity. Could it be that they knew every student as well as me? I thank especially those who handled the bulk of my enquiries, in particular, Jim Nicholls, Bruce Isaacs, Tam Dao, and especially the indomitable Aleksandra Nikolic (who also recovered material otherwise lost in our library dungeons). Libraries interstate and at various universities have responded generously to their requests on my behalf. Staff at the AIATSIS Library in Canberra have sourced material with great courtesy, which I appreciated.

I would like to mention in particular the irrepressible Bob Gould who could find many of the publications which I sought among the mega-tons of books in his groaning Newtown warehouse store - which he optimistically calls an ‘Arcade’, as well as the patient Paul Feain whose collections in his Glebe ‘Cornstalk’ bookshop have yielded many useful books. They did not require books to be returned.

At the NSW State Library I appreciate the staff attention in the Mitchell Library reading room when I have haunted the desk for help to see unique holdings. I remain amazed by the efficacy of Fabian lo Schiavo at the NSW State Archives Office [now State Records] in Globe Street at The Rocks in Sydney who can anticipate what one is trying to find, while at the Western Sydney storage the archivists have been particularly courteous and effective. I also thank archivists at The Australian Museum Sydney and at Sydney University for their location of relevant material for me to look at. The archivist at the Australian National Library in Canberra, Beth Lonergan, has been of much personal assistance in locating unpublished manuscript material for me. I thank Gionni di Gravio for his interactions and for his Newcastle University Archives published online which are so beneficial. He is continuing to source unique material around the Wollombi of this thesis, where we met.

Several agencies have given permission for me to reproduce scanned material from photographs if I wish, including newspaper offices, Julie Baird at Newcastle Museum, Ellen Waugh at Randwick and District Historical Society, as well as private holders of pictures. Mrs Susan Upton, a daughter of the late Janet and ‘Frank’ Mathews (grandson of R.H. Mathews), agreed to let the National Library provide unpublished material for me to reproduce. Niel Gunson agreed to my reproduction from his Threlkeld treatise of maps - drawn at ANU, about the time I too was a beneficiary of ‘audio-visual’ support there.

Further, along with Martin Thomas as above, Jack Brook also has shared his own research notebooks and has shared quantities of his personal research collection for me to use, in particular concerning my earlier studies about the Hawkesbury History with special reference to the Aboriginal people.
And now, for the vast array of authorities and authors, of associates and acquaintances, the professionals whom I have asked for comment at Sydney University and at other institutions, for the Local Studies librarians, for the Aboriginal descendants who have provided information and for other friends and relations, thank you for the input which has influenced my thinking. It started in 1995, ‘in search of origins’, with my neighbour (at home), Garry Trompf of this university. It would take so many paragraphs to set out all your widespread inputs by name that I beg your tolerance in not having done so on this page.\(^1\) There are many acknowledgements in the thesis text, and some of your input belongs in the other material about Darkiñung Local History and Darkiñung Family History which should form separate books. Your responses are heartening - from scores of people, only one professional person (who had come from overseas) declined to communicate. The coffees and the luncheons with you have been most rewarding. I look forward to more of them.

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\(^1\) I indulge myself with exceptions for two of Nature’s natural teachers, gentle men with whom I had multiple meetings (as I did with many more advisors). Of the linguists, Michael Walsh used to call our chats at Manning House (Sydney University) his ‘lessons’ and of the anthropologists the practical Ray Wood would make his explanatory scenarios of Aboriginal landscapes come ‘alive’ in my mind.

Separately, Macquarie University, a third generation Australian university, had had a large part to play in the historiography studied for this thesis - consider reference to [alphabetically] Curson, Everett, Gilligan, Kohen, Maddock, Newton, Smith, Smith, Steele, Williams, Yallop. The university per se did not contribute.
Short Summary

The historiographic studies presented in this thesis are analyses of the historical sources from which the indigenous, traditional Aboriginal, people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges are recognised.

People
In 1789, a boat expedition led by Governor Arthur Phillip ‘inland’ into the ranges first encountered these Aborigines on the Branches of the Hawkesbury River northwest of Sydney, and on returning there by land in 1791 he confirmed that they were a different people to those Aborigines whom they knew on the coast. They were friendly to white explorers. After settlement there, ‘The Branch’ natives were pacified in 1805 by a massacre led by Andrew Thompson towards Springwood. Subsequently, surviving Aborigines with their kinsmen assisted some settlers' crossings of the ranges, without distinguishing territory between the interleaved Hawkesbury and Hunter River catchments. The term Wollombi with a variation in English spelling was given as a reference to their country, and appears to have included both Hawkesbury and Hunter drainage. Convicts and convicts' sons played a part in the Aborigines surviving the rapid changes wrought by settlement, by taking in Aboriginal women and becoming fathers for their Aboriginal children - who are the progenitors of present day Aboriginal descendants. They were known as ‘The Branch’ natives and ‘Wollombi tribe’ before any term was recorded to identify them from their language.

Language
A language for these Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges was recorded near Sackville by native-born Robert Mathews at the Hawkesbury River from Aborigines who spoke that language throughout the ranges. Mathews recorded this language as Darkiūn, which is the identification since applied to these people. A wordlist from the same people native to the Hawkesbury was also recorded by local native-born James Tuckerman at Sackville. This language has been identified as the language of Gomebeere and Yellomundy who were met by Governor Phillip a hundred years earlier at the same location on the Hawkesbury River.

The language mistakenly purported by the Blacktown and District Historical Society to have been spoken at the Hawkesbury (north of the floodplain) was only known to have been used by Aboriginal people from Georges River. Some people with convict fathers, and who were familiar with the language, moved from Liverpool to the Black Town on the south side of the Hawkesbury floodplain, and it is guessed that it also was the local language there among the Aborigines of South Creek and Eastern Creek (south of the floodplain). In 1984 James Kohen of the society confirmed this as the Georges River language recorded by native-born John Rowley. Although Robert Mathews found no identifying name when he recorded this language, people at Camden (apparently descended from the neighbouring Gundungurra tribe) identified the people as Dharrook, present day Dharug. Although this term could be applied to the Black Town, it was a mistake to have applied it to the Darkiūn of the Hawkesbury and Blue Mountains. (The new term ‘Darug’, from a vegetable root in Western Victoria, was applied by Kohen for Blacktown descendants.)
Country

Popular beliefs that the southern part of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges was occupied by Dharug Aborigines, the northern part by ‘Wonnarua’, the eastern part by ‘Awabakal’ and the western part by Wiradjuri, are all found to be wrong when the historical source records are examined.

From the analyses carried out for this thesis, the traditional country of the Darkiñung-language people occupied by them at the time of settlement may be defined with borders to meet modern requirements. Theirs was the country of the ranges bounded by the Hawkesbury River floodplain to the south and the Hunter River floodplain to the north.

To the southeast the Hawkesbury River catchment-based Darkiñung bordered the Georges River catchment-based Dharug. The Darkiñung country included the Hawkesbury catchment in the foothills of the ranges on the right hand side of the river downstream of the floodplain - the flow of the Hawkesbury River itself in those foothills did not impose a boundary.

To the southwest the Darkiñung of the Grose River Branch bordered the people in the Cox River valley of the Wollondilly River catchment-based Gundungurra (or Burra’gorang) people.

To the northwest the Darkiñung of the upper Colo River Branch bordered the Macquarie River catchment-based Wiradjuri across the Great Dividing Range of the Central Tablelands, south of Coolah Tops. To the north of Coolah Tops the Kamilaroi based in the Namoi River catchment had penetrated over the Liverpool Range down the upper Hunter River valley and bordered the Darkiñung on the mid Hunter River floodplain at the time of settlement.

To the northeast the Darkiñung bordered the coastal Aborigines along the watershed of the coastal range. The coastal people occupied the catchments between the Hawkesbury River estuarine Arms of Broken Bay and the estuarine areas of the lower Hunter River. (John Fraser, an immigrant teacher who thought they were extinct created the terms adopted in the present day for these coastal people, ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’.) These were the real Wannerawa people whose name had been misapplied (as ‘Wonnarua’) to the Kamilaroi in the upper Hunter Valley. The alternative name also recorded by Robert Mathews, now preferred, is Wannungine. It was this group, sharing the two rivers, who were closely allied with the Darkiñung.
More Insights from Historic Records

Watkin Tench, Lieutenant-Captain of the marines in the First Fleet, wrote a novel account of his memoirs on his voyage back to England in which he included some specific data copied from the official records. His story telling was written to entice an English public to buy his book. Analysis of the records has shown that it is not a reliable history source.

Many published reminiscences as have been used cannot be trusted as a historical record without verification from other sources. They should be subject to the same scrutiny as the historic novels attributed to ‘Barrington’ or by Tench (or even by Willmot or by Grenville).

The small pox, which devastated many Aborigines from an outbreak at Sydney in 1791, then spreading up the coast and into the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, was carried to the colony as Shingles, a latent form of Chicken Pox, a small pox other than Smallpox.

The ‘enmity’ and ‘battles’ which drew the settlers' comments were most often intra-tribal sporting challenges between acquaintances (usually members of the same language group), rather than inter-tribal ‘wars’ as white authors have imagined.

As the Aborigines' food resources and way of life were destroyed by settlement, women survived by becoming de facto ‘wives’ of convicts (so there are many cryptic Aboriginal descendants at present unknown). Enigmatically, men attempting to live traditional lives disappeared.

The Aborigines' terms recorded on Governor Phillip's 1791 expedition, bidji’gal and booroo-beron’gal, were used as descriptions of people, both given in the ‘Coastal’ language. They do not apply to Phillip's ‘Inland’ at the Hawkesbury River, where a different language applied. Neither indicates a specific locality and they are not Clan names.

The recently contrived ‘Clan’ called ‘Oryang-ora’ at Springwood in the Blue Mountains did not exist. The Springwood forest of the Grose River catchment was part of the home range occupied by people from the lower Nepean River. Other non-existent ‘Clans’ such as a new ‘Mara Mara’ [aka Marra Marra] for the lower Hawkesbury have also been manufactured recently.

A ‘chief’ or ‘king’ did not establish the presence of a ‘Clan’ or ‘Tribe’. Some settlers designated lone ‘domesticated’ Aboriginal men at their farm as ‘King’, i.e. a ‘king’ of nobody. The English term ‘chief’ tended to have been used in colonisation for indigenous men who conducted diplomatic relationships with the authorities. (Royal families with princes or princesses were concoctions of an English dreamworld.)

The name of an Aborigine ‘Yarramundi’ of Richmond Hill district is a Furphy, the term perhaps developed from Yaramandy printed in 1804. However, that person is now considered to have been Yellomundy, the ‘chief’ at Portland Head Rock district (present day Ebenezer / Sackville area). The ‘chief’ at Richmond Hill district then was Yaragowhy (of lower Nepean River area).
Although the term ‘Guringai’ from Fraser’s ‘kuringgai’ has been adopted by descendants of Bungaree’s Broken Bay people, John Fraser meant it to apply to all those who used the common noun ‘kuri’ for man. Fraser's term Awabakal [or Awaba'gal] applied specifically to the local Clan where the Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld was based on northern Lake Macquarie, and is taken to be a calm (flat surface) cove in the lake.

Threlkeld's Aboriginal language informant, Johnny (boy of [M’] military Captain John Mander Gill) who was reared in the Sydney barracks, was one of Bungaree's mob who had moved to Port Jackson. On reaching adulthood, when at Port Macquarie Johnny M’Gill took his adult name from Birrugan, the mythical young man who rose to the heavens, whom Threlkeld imagined as representing an eagle and introduced as ‘Biraban’ [a term which he may have taken from emu chick, which made the sound ‘bira’].

The yams along the banks of the Hawkesbury River Branches described from Governor Phillip's 1789 boat expedition were not a woodland species as proposed by modern authors, but a riverside sedge, the marsh club-rush Bolboschoenus fluvatilis. (Tubers of marsh club-rushes were food resources across Australia.)

The recent term ‘Darug’ for the Western Sydney Aborigines, as contrived by J.L. Kohen for Blacktown and District Historical Society to apply to local people and publicised in his untested 1993 book, does not represent either the Hawkesbury River Darkiñung or the Georges River Dharug people. It is derived from the meaning of a vegetable root (‘darook’) at Tandarook in Western Victoria.

Under NSW state legislation modern Local Aboriginal Land Councils are not based on traditional Aboriginal land and most are named after a local town. That on the Central Coast, Darkinjung LALC, took its name from the Wollombi Darkiñung people of the neighbouring Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.
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Provenance: Although copies of Dawes's notebooks are in the public domain, I am grateful to acknowledge staff at Newcastle University Library for providing me with this material which inexplicably was not held by Sydney University Library. They have since been published online.

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Provenance: As unpublished material, Mathews's notes remain in copyright which has been retained by the family. I am grateful for permission to use extracts given by Mrs Susan Upton, a daughter of ‘Frank’, son of Hamilton, Robert's eldest son. The reproductions I have used are by permission of the National Library of Australia whose staff I thank for providing me with high quality photographs.
Portland Head Rock showing the profile of the Duke of Portland
- facing downstream on the Hawkesbury River
from photograph by Lee Ford Wednesday 5 July 2006

Notes:
The location of present day Ebenezer (upstream side) and Sackville (downstream side), is where Governor Arthur Phillip communicated with Darkiñung-language Aborigines on his first expedition by the river branches, Sunday 5 July 1789 and again on his expedition by land Thursday 14 April 1791 when Gomebeere’s speech was noted. This location on the tidal south Branch was the home of Yellomundy, and where James Tuckerman and Robert Mathews recorded the language. The cliff is the LHS of the high choke (or, bottleneck) which results in the upstream floodplain becoming inundated.
Preface

Addressed to the Readers

Being a local history treatise, the writing for this thesis has had to accommodate some geographical and topographical knowledge about the subject areas of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges and their periphery. There is a basic general map from 1875 with Part III. Further, some basic background knowledge is taken as understood for the ‘traditional [previously accepted] interpretations’ referred to in the Foreword.

This thesis has been prepared for four audiences. To the primary readers: I seek your indulgence for having included the detail documented for the subsequent users.

In principle, primarily this writing is for my assessors and examiners who will determine for my university whether I have established Mastery of the Art. I am aiming at ‘Mastery’ in the understanding of the 1950s when I came to Sydney University, referred to in the Dedication. To you I wish pleasure, while you join a journey along my very personal perilous passage through the historiography forest. Travelling through Part I we will writhe in Chapter 2 while Hawkesbury settlers shoot the hero Yaragowhy to massacre ‘The Branch’ natives in the Blue Mountains, then walk in Chapter 3 together with Ben Singleton and his mate Mullaboy along the Wollemi ridges to meet members of the ‘Wollombi tribe’. Through Part II we shall ride our horses in Chapter 6 alongside Robert Mathews while he meets Madha, the Darkiñung-speaking Aboriginal mother of William Onus from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (and in Chapter 7 establish that Hawkesbury River was not where a language called Dharug was spoken). Peering over the borders for Part III we can accompany in Chapter 10/SE native-born lads Hamilton Hume and John Rowley exploring with Dharug Aborigine Duall and establish that Georges River was the Dharug-Language People's Country when the settlers arrived, plus shadow the youngster Annabella Innes in Chapter 11/SW as she watches a corroboree of the Hunter/Goulburn River Wollombi people hosted by the station Aborigines in the upper Colo River Capertee Valley. As we pass by, we note that close allies, of the Darkiñung-Language People of the Country in the Wallambine Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, were the Wannerawa / Wannungine-Language People of the Country on the coastal lakes between the Hawkesbury and Hunter River estuaries.

In particular, this is produced for my peers, the learnéd gatekeepers of knowledge who are collaborators, companions, correspondents, uncompromising critics, et cetera, contacts who have suggested that the answers to my questions were already known. The purpose of the detail from text examples which I have included and interpreted from source records is for you to share. It would be pleasing to see others of the historical records, which I have chosen not to include with my thesis, included in your reviews and rewriting. Since I commenced in the 1940s among these ranges in the footprints of my father, my pathfinding has advanced and the analytical expertise which I have practised has honed in the time after I was first trained in the early 1950s at North Sydney Boys' High School before then entering Sydney University.
Personally, I have in mind so many of my extended family, friends and acquaintances who wanted to be part of this amazing journey into Local History and Family History. Thank you for your enthusiasm and your sharing. Some of your contributions belong in the Darkiňung History to follow, and some in a third book for Darkiňung Families. The feedback with material we have exchanged is appreciated. This thesis is a new beginning to first establish Darkiňung Recognition.

And principally, my work is for the young students who are to follow me, with the expectation that this can be a firm launching pad to use for your own studies. There are plenty of puzzles left for you to solve and concepts for you to conceive. I trust that some of you will be descendants of the Aboriginal Families recognised here as Darkiňung - who occupied the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges and rivers at the time of arrival by my own First Fleet and Second Fleet ancestors whose families intermarried with them. This is your personal journey too. I encourage you to unite to form your own Association in the public domain, for all Darkiňung-descendants, to be a formidable guardian of your heritage and history.

The stage is set here for another Act in the theatre of History, as deduced in my Intermission soliloquy at the end.

The selection for my thesis is a portion from hundreds of thousands of words for my longer term project, and I hope to present other elements soon. If you are looking for more about the local history in the future, please check Local Studies References in the Hawkesbury Library.

Enjoy.
Geoff.
December 2010.
(geford@tpg.com.au)
Introduction to the Thesis

Just as I have benefited from access to material in theses written at the university from the 1950s, I trust that the material in this thesis will be of value for future studies.

This thesis is not composed to be a passport for further postgraduate degrees - I already have those. This treatise is intended to demonstrate an old fashioned purpose, i.e. mastery of the art - less of a beginning but more of an ending to be shared with others, perhaps a legacy.

The project chosen has several facets. One major influence has been my study since 1994 of cultural heritage for the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges aka northern Blue Mountains - or Governor Phillip's 'Carmarthan Hills'. In this aspect I became interested in traditional Aboriginal people as an undergraduate in the 1950s, when I worked in these mountains with F.D. 'Fred' McCarthy, then at The Australian Museum. More recently, ancestral Aboriginal-descent cousins from the Hawkesbury River districts, involved in the Everingham Family Association, whetted my appetite to look at their history with them.

A sticking point has been being drawn into the constricting web of the charismatic proponent who has become the de facto authority on Aborigines of western Sydney, J.L. ‘Jim’ Kohen. He has conducted mesmerising talks. I met him at a well regarded field excursion in the bushland at Mitchell Park on Cattai Creek, when he was instructing members of the Australian Association of Bush Regenerators in 1999. Since then he has monitored my studies, later suggesting Darkiñung history as a subject for my attention because nobody had ever looked at this topic. Although I did not take up his proposal to supervise me, I have been pleased to have been able to share material with him, while he has been instructing me in what he thought I should discover. I am not a very well restrained explorer.

I have responded to gentle nudges by my university supervisor - which have altered the presentation of this thesis in many ways. As a part time M.A., my research project began preparing the History of the Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges with subjects of natural Geography, native Indigenous Voices, and imposed Colonial Power each divided into chapter topics. Some of these chapters were written from historical records, with glorious allusions to classical literature and literature that became classic. I had delved deep into knowledge of Aboriginal cultural practices of various eras with Australia-wide comparative studies. But, I had merely placed the Darkiñung identification into an Appendix,
relying with other authors on the veracity of conclusions which Kohen had published from the Blacktown and District Historical Society. However, when my supervisor advised that the identification should be at the beginning of the thesis, my student life changed, because I needed to determine recognition of the Darkiṅung Aborigines myself.

A reading companion in the train to uni had been Butterfield's lectures on the History of History which had been broadcast by the BBC. When I set out to examine the history of how the Darkiṅung were recognised, I discovered that modern conclusions were based on inadequate historical sources, and so developed an investigation of the historiography with analysis of historical records. This development consumed the whole thesis and has become vastly bigger and more complicated than the original project.

Early in this development, on Friday 5 October 2007, I went to the Macquarie University and, instead of the usual instant coffee in a staff room, I took Jim Kohen to the Student Union for a couple of beers there where I offered him first use of my new findings of historical record sources that showed the Darkiṅung were present at the Hawkesbury River Branches as far upstream as the Grose River Valley and Springwood. This contradicted Kohen's widely quoted 1993 ‘yellow book’ from the historical society at Blacktown and corrected modern interpretations of the Aboriginal groups who lived in the area northwest of Sydney. On television I had watched book author Henry Reynolds languidly acknowledge that he had made historical errors, with a promise to revise his books with corrections people told him about, so I thought that this would be an acceptable way to advance, as Kohen had said Reynolds was the best in the field. In response Kohen insisted that my independent findings could not be correct because he had decided that the Hawkesbury Aborigines were Dharug from Blacktown - people whom he had renamed ‘Darug’. As two of my women anthropologist contacts put it to me, Kohen's rejection of historical records would influence my attitude which would be shown in this history thesis. They were right. This 2007 experience enthused me ‘to tell it like it was’ and to write up my study of historiographical aspects.

When my supervisor wrote the assessment in 2009 which appears here as the Foreword, I began to rewrite the findings in order to present sufficient detail so that the conclusions in this thesis will stand up to explicit scrutiny. I have included several biographical mentions from my studies about the people who themselves were the sources of the historical sources.

The findings in this thesis may be built upon by future history students. My graduate sons have referred to me and my home computers with the term ‘Legacy’ - that would be a legacy of which I would be proud.
Part I

Ephraim ‘Afie’ Everingham
son of Aborigine Budha (alias Mildred Saunders)
from Sackville

Notes:
Ephraim was known to Robert Mathews as a Darkinung Aborigine. He spent his life at Sackville, as did his mother born there, identified by Mathews as Budha (‘Butha’). Portrait extract from a posed family study taken by a photographer for the Hall family of ‘Lilburndale’ at Roberts Creek on the Hawkesbury River. The actual people in the full photograph were identified by me as guided by another of my Aboriginal cousins, the late Grace Sunderland (née James). She is the eldest daughter of the eldest daughter of the eldest daughter of Ephraim and his wife Madha (‘Martha’), known to Mathews as ‘Mrs Everingham’. Over cups of tea in her Kurrajong kitchen, Auntie Gracie recognised her grandparents, their nephews and nieces. The location, in front of ‘Lilburndale’ homestead, was identified by me on field trips together with local Dennis Mitchell. My copy of photograph is from the collection of Jack Brook, who obtained it from the late May Hall, Mrs Case. Jack used the photo for both the cover and inside his book about the Sackville Aborigines Reserve immediately downstream of Roberts Creek, ‘Shut Out From The World’ (1994 1st edn p.37, 1999 2nd edn p.41).

[Another portrait extract, of Madha, is inserted with the illustration at the start of Chapter 4.]
Part I

Recognition of the Darkiñung People

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Part I

Preamble

I am not the only person to consider that, in order to understand and interpret historical records, Family History and Local History must be taken into account, in order to discover the identity of who people really are. Paraphrasing historian Richard Waterhouse:

By checking local directories and lists a scholar could determine names of people who lived somewhere, ‘but only through family history utilising both written and oral sources can we discover’ the relationships by which people formed a community in which various families contributed.

attributed to Grace Karskens

In Part I, I assess observations and knowledge about the mountain and river Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges from the earliest historical records, and I identify those Aboriginal people from whom the knowledge was obtained which defines their language and country considered later in this thesis. Collaboration of many descendants in digging up the local history while seeking the roots of their family tree has been a great advantage. Shared Family History findings have contributed to my knowledge and understanding about these Aboriginal people.

In modern times the people of the northern Blue Mountains, the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges of this thesis, had been considered to be a secret Aboriginal Tribe known as the Darkiŋŋ [various spellings], taken

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1 Richard Waterhouse has embraced the local history genre so ably presented by his wife Grace Karskens. I had had earlier contact through local historian Lorraine Banks for her work on the ‘Convict Trail Project - Caring for the Great North Road’ in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges country central to this thesis. Both Grace Karskens and Martin Thomas (key for Part II) contributed to a 1998 forum ‘Exploring the Great North Road’ for the Convict Trail Project in which I participated as a member of the research group. Citation attributed to Grace Karskens, 2003, ‘Archaeology and Family History: unlocking the secrets of Sydney's historic Rocks area’, unpublished paper cited in Richard Waterhouse, 2009, ‘Locating the New Social History: Transnational Historiography and Australian Local History’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society 95 (1): 1-17.
as having been located hidden away beyond ‘The Forgotten Valley’ of the Macdonald River, or in the mysterious adjacent ranges, now Wollemi National Park ‘Wilderness’ draining into the Colo River.\(^2\)

Some authors merely place them ‘out of the way’ at the upper reaches of the Colo River deep in the mountains around Putty.\(^3\)

This concept of beyond the forgotten valley is a misunderstanding which has led to the research studies on neighbouring tribal groups ignoring the presence of these Darkiñung. It was the tribe of this wilderness location which was to be the subject of this thesis. But, my new research has found that many of those Darkiñung ancestors were in the periphery of the ranges, where their descendants have been designated erroneously - in recent times - as belonging to other nearby groups when they sought assistance for local history to identify their origins. In an ironic twist creating confusion, traditional country of the Darkiñung tribe appropriated for the neighbouring Dharug group by a local ‘researcher’, is now found to have been claimed as ancestral country by actual Darkiñung descendants who had been designated as members of the Dharug. A significant part of this study has had to address this unexpected confusion in order to correctly determine who and where were the ancestral people. I discovered that the history of ‘The Branch’ natives, as the Darkiñung were first known from the Grose River Branch near Richmond, is critical in relation to the settlers’ first two landmarks on the Hawkesbury River, Richmond Hill and Portland Head Rock, the locations of present day North Richmond and Ebenezer/Sackville respectively.

To the date of the work for this thesis there has been no published history which analytically reflects the accounts of source material accurately. Therefore, some descriptive narrative of earliest records is given in brief as the basis for this thesis. I have intensively reconstructed the initial expeditions by Governor Phillip into the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges for the project, including following his progress in the field, and I have discovered that the novel accounts of First Fleet marine Watkin Tench for a popular book are

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\(^2\) ‘The Forgotten Valley’ is the apt title of the 1978 ‘History of the Macdonald Valley’. In this, Neve created a frontier fantasy there in the 1820s by describing at a site which I have visited ‘objecting blacks who still roamed the district’ as ‘hostile and treacherous’. In actual Local History an Aboriginal woman, wife of a white settler, is buried in a family cemetery there. Reversing Neve’s stance, Grenville in 2005 used the identical lagoon site beside the Macdonald River to locate her dramatic massacre of peaceful Aborigines by white settlers. Her book title is a contraction of ‘The Secret River of Blood’ for this massacre of Darkiñung people (whom Grenville had misidentified as Dharug). The Wilderness is discussed in Chapter 11/SW. \(\spadesuit\) Marjorie Hutton Neve, 1978, ‘The Forgotten Valley - History of the Macdonald Valley and St Albans, N.S.W.’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), revised edn 1982 p.61; Kate Grenville, 2005, ‘The Secret River’, Text Publishing, Melbourne, p.302.

\(^3\) Putty is on an upper \(\textit{northern}\) waterway of the Colo Branch of the Hawkesbury River, very close to the upper \(\textit{northern}\) waterways of the Macdonald Branch of the Hawkesbury River, and aligned in the ranges with upper \(\textit{southern}\) waterways of the Wollombi Brook tributary of the Hunter River.
My finding, discussed in Chapter 1, of Tench's popular books being unreliable is not unique, although not as blatant as the 'histories' published over the name of George Barrington (George Waldron) which had been accepted by many as an honest resource. It is appropriate that some of the 'history' attributed to Barrington was in turn plagiarised from Tench's book. I found that the Barrington tales included aspects from Governor Phillip's 1791 expedition outlined here in Chapter 1. Further, the prominent local historian of the Hawkesbury settlement, Jan Barkley-Jack, has found cause to criticise the reliability even of the colony's diarist, David Collins. And, in current research, the eminent historian of Sydney settlement, Grace Karskens at the University of New South Wales, has delivered a 2009 public lecture exposing a well used primary source: 'The Sydney Gazette got it wrong!'  

For the historiography in Part I, Chapter 1 deals with the first contact of these Aborigines along the Hawkesbury River Branches by aliens from the First Fleet, followed in Chapter 2 by their repression and recognition as ‘The Branch’ natives by the settlers at the Hawkesbury River Branches, which sets the scene for identification of the people. By accompanying the original white explorers in Chapter 3, the core of the thesis, I discover the extent of the territory occupied by these Aborigines throughout the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Chapter 4 outlines how these Aborigines survived settlement, providing a perspective about the Aborigines who became informants for the language identification taken up in Part II.

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Chapter 1

The edible root tuber of a marsh club-rush, the sedge *Bolboschoenus* species
(from waterside verges in western Sydney)

Notes:
Governor Arthur Phillip's deputy, John Hunter, at their first contact with *Darkiñung* Aborigines on the bank of a Hawkesbury River Branch, Wednesday 1 July 1789, noted 'wild yams, about the size of a walnut', being roasted in camp fire. They investigated at a sheoak association four days later, where they found them in 'greatest plenty' on the marshy banks of the river. This specimen is from the National Herbarium at the Royal Botanical Gardens, Sydney, and I am grateful for Karen Wilson there providing the photograph to use. [Scale on LHS is mm.] The Hawkesbury species found by the First Fleet naval officers is consistent with *Bolboschoenus fluviatilis*. In her article about Root Use by the Aborigines, Beth Gott 1983 provides a similar photograph when the same plant species was known as *Scirpus medianus*. 
Part I (1)

Chapter 1

Arrival of the Aliens
at the River Branches in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges

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The wretched condition of the miserable natives who have taken up their residence, for a time, so far back from the sea coast, where no fish are to be had, is far beyond my description. They, no doubt, have methods of snaring or killing the different kinds of animals which are to be found here, otherwise I think it impossible they could exist at any distance from the sea: for the land, as far as we yet know, affords very little sustenance for the human race.¹

John Hunter, Captain, R.N.

Thus wrote Captain Hunter in the first reaction of the Europeans to finding there were people in the mountains, Friday 3 July 1789 as they travelled from Broken Bay into the ranges, by boat up newly discovered river Branches. There was no racial discrimination expressed. But Hunter's assessment was wrong.

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¹ John Hunter, Captain, R.N. Thus wrote Captain Hunter in the first reaction of the Europeans to finding there were people in the mountains, Friday 3 July 1789 as they travelled from Broken Bay into the ranges, by boat up newly discovered river Branches. There was no racial discrimination expressed. But Hunter's assessment was wrong.

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The Issue

The original historical records by the British settlers about the Aborigines in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges of this thesis, to the northwest of Sydney, were their observations when on expeditions to the rivers which flowed from the ranges.

In this chapter, with my first hand field knowledge of the sites, and with my new study for this thesis analysing original historic sources, I demonstrate in particular that the Aborigines found at the Hawkesbury River were a separate Language group (or ‘Tribe’), as foreign to the coastal Aborigines at Port Jackson as say the English were to the French. Additionally, I show that Clan names were not
recorded for them in the way that Clan names were recorded for places around Botany Bay / Port Jackson and up the harbour (Parramatta River). The terms bidjigal and boorooberongal incorrectly purported to be Clans are explained as descriptive terms, in the language of the coastal people, which were not limited to a place as a Clan name must be.

Further, I have included some of my examination of Watkin Tench's writings from which I have discovered that his published works have limited value as historical records. In passing, I have noted my conclusion from my personal study a few years ago that the epidemic of a small pox which had affected these mountain people when Governor Phillip arrived was not the Smallpox, but was Chicken Pox.

Finding the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury River and Its Branches

Captain John Hunter's analysis cited above was during the ultimate attempt by Governor Arthur Phillip to find a river along which the settlers could travel to explore the inland of the colony of New South Wales. Their knowledge from Europe prepared them to expect to be able to travel inland by boat to reach fertile land suitable for agriculture. If they could not sail, they rowed. After two earlier excursions to Broken Bay had failed to recognise that the Northwest Arm of the bay was the river which Phillip was seeking, this expedition had found and travelled up the river for two days, turning back Saturday 13 June 1789 because their provisions were running out. By Tuesday 30 June, having reprovisioned the boats at Sydney Cove, the expedition was once again travelling up the river into the mountains.²

The river arising in ‘the inland’ was to be named the ‘Hawkesbury’ by Phillip, and the next major river along the coast arising in ‘the inland’ to the north, first known by the settlers as the ‘coal river’, was to become ‘Hunter's' River. Rivers of the European Continent with which the British were familiar arose far into the interior, like the Danube flowing from the Black Forest to the Black Sea, so the First Fleeters thought that a river in New Holland, as the great southern continent was called, would do likewise. New South Wales was the name for the eastern portion of the mainland then claimed by the British. Although it is the west of the then unknown Great Dividing Range which is known in the present day as inland, for Governor Phillip the then inland was anything beyond the estuarine reaches of Port Jackson ‘harbour’, present day Parramatta River.³ Even the party crossing the Blue Mountains in 1813 (Chapter 3) only reached the present day Coxs River without appreciating it drains through the ranges back to from where

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³ Due to this ambiguity, in this thesis I use ‘Inland’ as for Governor Phillip, and ‘Interior’ for beyond the Blue Mountains [past Mount York] and over the Great Dividing Range (unless directly quoting).
The first settler known to have done this journey was Thomas Jones, in 1818 travelling downstream (Chapter 11/SW). While Aboriginal pathways were not worn tracks as later made by incessant wear by shod white people and their horses, it is probable that the cattle track had been formed where the expanding herds of wild cattle breeding from The Cowpastures had moved up the valleys, grazing on the flats by the river banks. This way became a stock route for the cattlemen who wished to avoid crossing over the mountains on the new Bathurst road where there was not suitable feed for livestock. The route was impassable for waggons and was replaced by the Camden-Oberon Stock Route (Chapter 11/SW).


I am not including as part of this thesis the history of that small pox epidemic, even although it markedly affected the Aborigines in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, as follows in this chapter. In a project applying a specialist understanding of disease and epidemiology from my own previous professional life as a pathobiologist, I had verified that the small pox was not Smallpox but was Chicken Pox brought to the colony in a latent form later known as Shingles. I have studied the long term medical history of such infections prior to the arrival of the First Fleet to gain an understanding of how and why it had been and has been misdiagnosed. In extensive research of historic records from the colony I have identified a likely convict carrier and the means by which the chicken pox infection spread through the population. I will not be the last person to come to the same conclusion:- in a presentation which provides precedence, with no collusion (unless he had observed me some years ago working in the university medical library or had found my notes there) John (‘Jack’) Carmody, medical physiologist from the University of New South Wales, has just broadcast the same finding on a radio program hosted by science journalist Robyn Williams. (When he retired, Carmody transferred to this university to teach music in medicine.) However, we are not the first either. In 1985 a teacher of ‘medical geography’, Peter Curson of

(continued...)
Broken Bay on Saturday 6 June 1789 many Aboriginal people there had died, and survivors were recovering. In 1788 on the earliest excursion there had been so many Aborigines present on the shores in the Arms of Broken Bay, that the apprehensive expeditioners had camped in their boats on Sunday 2 March 1788 when arriving at the North Arm (present day Brisbane Water). Even when they camped on an island the following Friday, 7 March, a horde of Aborigines arrived to welcome them next morning. Mistakenly believing that the settlers were merely travelling past, all these native groups had been friendly, helpful and courteous to their visitors on first contact in 1788.

It was not actually recorded whether the small pox may have likewise reached the inland people by July 1789 and reduced their numbers. Although not present, Watkin Tench of the marines makes such a claim in his historical stories, mistakenly basing his statement about the infected Aborigines on the coast observed at the South Arm of Broken Bay as above. Judging by the numbers observed upstream at the South Branch of the river on Sunday 5 July 1789, I think that the small pox epidemic had not yet run its course among the inland mountain people alongside the river.

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6(...continued)


Exploration Encounters with the ‘Inland’ Aborigines and the River Bank Sedges. On Wednesday 1 July 1789 Phillip’s expedition had reached a fork in the river and rowed up the northwestern Branch on their right (present day Macdonald River). They were somewhere upstream of present day St Albans where the river was then navigable to their big boats, although it eventuated that the navigator, John Hunter, recorded lesser distances than they actually travelled. As was the practice, some of the gentlemen, the officers, were taking an afternoon stroll along the bank while the men set up camp. It never occurred to these interlopers that they hardly looked human, with their bodies disguised by the corpulent dressings of rank, likely creating a frightening spectacle which distressed unclothed people unfamiliar with such trapestries. As they approached a small ‘hut’ - probably a bark gunyah, a young Aboriginal woman darted away into the trees beside the river, possibly in an attempt to draw away these strange apparitions. It was not normal for a woman to be left alone, suggesting that the small pox epidemic may have recently arrived. Her feint was not successful, instead the gentlemen examined the dwelling, finding two small children:

They appeared to be in great distress, apparently for want of food; they had a little fire by them, and in it was found a few wild yams, about the size of a walnut. Upon a supposition that the parents of these children would soon return after our leaving the place, a hatchet and some other trifles were left in the hut.

John Hunter, Captain, R.N.

Such was the initial contact of Europeans with the indigenous mountain people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. The world was to turn upside down for these two infants, then feeding on roasted yams from a sedge crop by the river side. The people of the rivers and ranges in these valleys were living inside a larder. They dwelt alongside a stream brimming with a variety of fish species near swampy lagoons holding edible plants, with the adjacent rainforest gullies yielding a range of fruit in season. Their habitat was amongst a forest of trees holding possums which provided meat, fur to weave twine and skins to make cloaks. When grown up they would be displaced from their bountiful land as the valley became settled by European interlopers. Their river would be fished out, their lagoons drained, their

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10 It is these encounters in the historic records which have led to the mis-identification of local Aborigines as ‘Yam People’, as discussed in this chapter and Chapter 7.

11 The distress may have been less if the aliens had been dis-dressed like them. Term ‘trapestries’: tapestry trappings - a word play on travesty.

12 The explorers imagined a family from the Judeo-Christian culture of one husband with one wife and children. \(\text{\textcopyright} \) Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.147, Bach 1968 edn p.102.

13 These yams are identified following in this chapter. [They are not the yams wrongly attributed to Western Sydney Aboriginal people which are a Western Victoria vegetable root (Chapter 7).]
possum-inhabiting trees destroyed when the land was cleared and their indigenous crops which they
harvested replaced with introduced cereal crops which settlers harvested. Perhaps one of these two
infants became the Aborigine known as Branch Jack, the terror of settlers' trading boats on the river
taking away the harvests of the new crops (Chapter 2).

Four days later when Phillip's expeditioners were rowing up the southern Branch (present day
Hawkesbury River) somewhere near present day Wilberforce, Hunter described trees on the river banks
with what looked like English pine tree needles, present day sheoaks. Regarding the yams dug up by the
Aborigines:

the low banks appear to have been ploughed up, as if a herd of swine had been living on them.
We put onshore, and examined the places which had been dug, and found the wild yam in
considerable quantities, but in general very small, not larger than a walnut; they appear to be in
greatest plenty on the banks of the river; a little way back they are scarce.\[14\]

John Hunter, Captain, R.N.

The First Fleeters did not identify the yam, although John Bach in his editorial notes on the expedition
incorrectly assumed it was the plant most commonly called ‘yam’ internationally, \textit{Dioscorea}. From
modern misinterpretation of these observations, a neighbouring group of Georges River Aboriginal people
has erroneously been placed at the Hawkesbury and misidentified as ‘yam people’ (Chapter 7). This is
compounded from an error of first moving Hunter's report of Phillip's expedition a few days travel further
south up the stream to ‘the open woodlands to the east of the Nepean River’ which was never reached by
either Phillip or Hunter.\[15\] The yam vine \textit{Dioscorea transversa} could be found at this woodlands site, part
of the Cumberland Plains. However, such woodlands are not the sheoak association actually described on
this expedition, nor the rushes and sedges vegetation of the low banks on the edge of the water described
in this same area on the later expedition, April 1791 as below.\[16\] Neither does Hunter's observation fit the
‘yam daisy’, \textit{Microseris}, which recently has been incorrectly popularised as that used at the river by the


\[15\] Bach had simply nominated genus \textit{Dioscorea}, then Kohen wildly misplaces Hunter's report. Kohen
had initially tabled lists of plants as used for his 1986 thesis (discussed in Chapter 7). \& John Bach (ed.),
Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical
Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney), p.25.

\[16\] I acknowledge the expertise of Doug Benson, with his continuing advice when discussing with me plant
associations and species with yam-like tubers which have occurred along the Hawkesbury River system.
Aborigines.\textsuperscript{17} The yam daisy does not even occur on the coastal side of the Blue Mountains, although used by Aboriginal people elsewhere in Australia.\textsuperscript{18} My investigation into the misidentification of the river Aborigines as ‘the yam people’ (Chapter 7) has examined many of the plant species with edible tubers. I have confirmed, as suggested by Philip Clarke, that the riverside yam actually as described by Hunter was a species of the marsh club-rush now known as \textit{Bolboschoenus fluviatilis} (previously included in genus \textit{Scirpus} by botany taxonomists). It grows in this vicinity on wet banks of waterways as Hunter described for 1789, can withstand floods, and has a walnut sized tuber at the base of the stems as Hunter described.\textsuperscript{19} 

\textsuperscript{17} In his book written for the descendants of Aborigines at Blacktown, ‘who [he wrote] have a right to regain a knowledge of their cultural traditions’ as discussed Chapter 7, Kohen 1993b gave the reference to a paper by Gott for: ‘It seems highly likely that the Dharug took their name from the tuberous plant foods which provided them with a food staple.’ Kohen was being misleading. The Gott reference which he listed, 1983, is titled ‘Murnong - \textit{Microseris scapigera} [Yam Daisy]’. I have walked and talked with people about bush tucker since the 1950s [when I did Botany at Sydney University. My academic interest was stimulated by a medical student, Ray Lowenthal who was fascinated by human use of native plants. As Sydney University undergraduates our courses included both Nutrition and Pharmacy. As fellow Rover Scouts we were bushwalking mates.] Some of the Aboriginal descendants instructed by Kohen are looking for the yam daisy from which ‘the Dharug took their name’. This reference of Gott may have set off the hunt. Kate Grenville sought the advice of such Aboriginal-descent people instructed by Kohen for her historical novel about an imagined massacre of Aborigines on the Macdonald River Branch of the Hawkesbury, publishing later that she had been told about the yam daisies along the Hawkesbury River by ‘Auntie Edna Watson, a Darug elder’. Edna Watson (née Upton) and her late brother Ken Upton were from the ‘Darug’ Tribal Link being instructed in Aboriginal culture by Kohen (as discussed Chapter 7). [Along with Edna, a non-Darug man, John Gallard, who was experienced as a national park ranger had described to Grenville the tubers of another plant, the common vanilla lilies, \textit{Arthropodium miniflorum}. John told me after his retirement how he’d traced his mother’s unknown ancestry to Aborigines of an area around the Monaro tableland.] \ Kate Grenville, 2006, ‘Aboriginal Voices’, chapter 16 in ‘Searching for The Secret River’, Text Publishing, Melbourne, pp.127-33, quote p.131.

\textsuperscript{18} I appreciate the personal comments and discussion by Doug Benson for my study about distribution of plants. \textbar Beth Gott, 1983, ‘Murnong - \textit{Microseris scapigera} [Yam Daisy]: A Study of a Staple Food of Victorian Aborigines’, Australian Aboriginal Studies, Journal of AIAS, No.2: 2-18; Roger C. Carolin & Mary D. Tindale, 1993 (4\textsuperscript{th} edn), ‘Flora of the Sydney Region’, Reed, Chatswood (Sydney) [previously known from 1963 as Beadle \textit{et alia} ‘Handbook of the Vascular Plants of the Sydney District and Blue Mountains’], p.559.

Trade with the Aborigines of The Branches

After returning to the Southern Branch on Thursday 2 July 1789, Governor Phillip's party found that the river branched again. After settlement was established along these Branches, the settlers who travelled the waterways identified the local Aboriginal Language group of People in this Country as ‘The Branch’ natives.20 Again, the expedition first followed the Branch on their right (present day Colo River), observing Aborigines in canoes who ‘fled into the woods’.21 Again they rowed between ‘high, steep, and rocky mountains’ before turning back to follow ‘the second Southern Branch’ next day.22

Not all of the mountain people met in the river valleys fled from the arrival of Phillip's first expedition in 1789. On Sunday 5 July, the travellers observed frequent fires and the sounds of people away from the river, eventually attracting two men to the river bank by repeating the Aboriginal call ‘Co-wee’.23 The men accepted the gift of a freshly shot duck and a steel hatchet in return providing a length of twine woven from animal hair and - quite significantly - a weapon. This spear was not taken by the boatmen.

Whereas a small axe, a hatchet, was a utilitarian tool, offering a spear may have had ceremonial friendship value, representing laying down one's arms as for trading. Not only were spears used in punishment rituals, but Aborigines of this identical location (led by Yellomundy whom Phillip met nearly in 1791) were observed by Rev. Lawry in 1818 as preparing spears for a ceremonial battle between

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19(...continued)


20 These are the people of Chapter 2. The Aborigines were later identified this way by the settlers from where Phillip's expedition turned back, Richmond Hill near the present day Grose River junction.

21 The historical records do not indicate to which bank the canoeists fled. In recent pronouncements as the self-appointed authority on these Aborigines, J.L. Kohen has allocated this narrow waterway, less than a stone's throw wide, to have been the boundary between people to the north who spoke the Darkiñung language, and people to the south who spoke the foreign Dharug language at Georges River. (That has been his testimony ca.2002 to the Federal Court, reproduced in a 2006 book, as discussed in Chapter 7). As I walk along the banks where Phillip visited, I cannot imagine what Kohen could mean, especially as the Aborigines whom Phillip met to the south in 1791, as follows, have been found to have spoken the Darkiñung language (Chapter 5).

22 The present day Hawkesbury River was (is) a Branch. Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.148, Bach 1968 edn p.103.

23 This spelling ‘Co-wee’ in English characters is attributed to Hunter (referenced in previous footnote). It is a translation of Barrallier's journal in French, using cooy, from which the universal version coo-ee has been derived. Barrallier was leading an expedition to the southern Blue Mountains, when he recorded the ‘shout’ on 9 November 1802. \ Francis Barrallier, 1802, ‘Journal of the Expedition, Undertaken by Order of His Excellency Governor King, into the Interior of New South Wales [in French]’, transcribed and translated [on facing pages], as Appendix A by F.M. Bladen (ed.), 1897, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales Vol.V: King, 1803, 1804, 1805’, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.748-825, quote p.756 [French] p.757 [English].
neighbouring teams of the same tribal group. 24 Recognition of Aboriginal culture before being tainted by colonial influences is a consideration constantly revisited throughout my study. Collins's 1793 observation about ceremonial fights is particularly pertinent to the interpretation followed throughout this thesis:

What rendered this sort of contest as unaccountable [to the English] as it was extraordinary was, that friendship and alliance were known to subsist between several that were opposed to each other, who fought with all the ardour of the bitterest enemies, and who, though wounded, pronounced the party by whom they had been hurt to be good and brave, and their friends. 25

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24 Such ‘ceremonial’ battles and ‘sporting’ fights are discussed here in Chapter 1 to enable cross reference throughout the thesis. This entry extracted from my cultural study provides background regarding references to fights such as the 1823 ‘Belmont’ battle at Richmond Hill (Chapter 3) and the 1843 contest at Maitland (Chapter 12/NW). Whereas the British were quite inhumane in penalising miscreants after a court judgement either by capital punishment or by flogging the skin off their back with whips, after their form of judgement the Aborigines threw spears which may be parried with a shield. As for the observation in 1818, the British mistook staged spear fights as war instead of sport. Frequently they were a prelude for a feast, just like modern Rugby League, to which Aboriginal people have adapted - where at the top level opponents try to maim each other and then retire for refreshments. Star players even move between teams in the present day just as they did then. From the earliest 1820s ‘folk football’, it is a natural development of the first ‘Clan-like’ Rugby Club being formed at Sydney University in 1864.


Hunter noted that these inland river people expected to trade, contrasting them with the coast Aborigines who did not reciprocate gifts.\(^26\) Phillip's expedition was now in the Portland Head Rock location (at present day Ebenezer and Sackville near Wilberforce), where Darkiñung language Aboriginal people and their descendants were to be recorded from then to the time of this study.\(^27\) This exchange was remembered when Phillip returned to this same area in April 1791, twenty one months later, when a senior Aborigine who had survived the intervening small pox infection generously presented Phillip with two stone axes. In 1789 Phillip had presented them with an axe, so I think this elder may have recognised Phillip on his return, as below.

The symbolism of the two Aboriginal men having accepted the axe at first contact is important. Four days earlier the woman had not taken the axe left at the hut. The white men thought it strange ‘that these people should set so little value upon such an useful article’.\(^28\) Yet, if she had taken it, that would have been a significant step in cultural dislocation. An axe was symbolic of manhood, taking a toolmaker much effort either to grind or to chip the edge of a stone blank to make the cutting blade. A woman or a child required a man's permission to handle an axe or to use it for their own purpose. For colonial men, providing objects to those whose cultural status did not permit it was a common mistake contributing to the breakdown of society among occupied peoples.\(^29\)

**Crossing the Floodplain by Boat**

Phillip's 1789 expedition did not observe any more Aboriginal people after they passed the present day Wilberforce and Pitt Town location to row up the river channel through a floodplain. However, on later explorations by others, Aboriginal people were encountered here where the floods washed along terraces at the foot of the ranges. Despite the absence of people, when camping above the floodplain up on the side of a spur from a mountain ridge, Phillip's party recorded signs of occupancy in the form of animal traps above the flood level, reported by Collins.\(^30\) The spur was named Richmond Hill as follows, where


\(^{27}\) The historic location of Portland Head on the Hawkesbury River, now at Ebenezer / Sackville, is hardly recognised in the present day, so that I am using the original term ‘Portland Head Rock’ to designate the original place which applies in this thesis.


\(^{29}\) This particular situation is discussed with analysis for Coleman River in Northern Queensland.

\(^{30}\) Subsequently, Tench was to access this observation for his historical stories in order to describe a trap he claimed to have seen down on the floodplain of a river upstream (later named Nepean River). When (continued...
The expedition turned back when they found they could not get their large seagoing boats up Phillip's Hawkesbury River, the present day Grose River Branch which on that occasion was the main flow. On Monday 6 July 1789 the explorers had reached the opening of a gap in the mountains, present day Grose Vale, which Phillip thought would lead them through the ranges. Where the then unknown Nepean River joins this river, there was little flow at that time - with an ankle deep ford across 'loose round stones', water-worn basalt stones used for axe head blanks as mentioned below for 1791. The river has changed course with a new bed since then, but the analogy is the place where the present day Hawkesbury-Springwood Road crosses. That ford was to become the objective for Phillip's later land expedition discussed following.

Meanwhile, when he heard that the governor had left the colony on his expedition, the marine officer Watkin Tench, sent to a position of no consequence at Rose Hill up the Parramatta River, went for a walk accompanied by a surgeon, Thomas Arndell, who was to become a prominent Hawkesbury settler and friend to the deposed Aborigines who are the subject of this thesis. In a small party of six men, they checked their route from the top of present day Prospect Hill, before crossing what Tench described (from the viewpoint which he related to standing 'on the brink of Hell') as 'the trackless immeasurable desert

31 Chapter 7 deals with mistaken identification (of this non specific mention of yams).

32 Hunter's journal switches dates for the days. By comparing with Lieutenant Bradley, R.N., who stayed on his ship and usually kept to Greenwich naval time dates for his log, it appears that Captain Hunter, R.N., sometimes used New South Wales colonial days and sometimes naval dates, at least, while he was still a ship's captain (before he returned as governor to replace Phillip).

33 This key location is easily identified in the present day with a simple Sydney Street Directory, e.g. UBD ref 83-H12, Universal Business Directories (UBD), Universal Publishers, Macquarie Park (Sydney).

34 Arndell also introduced these Aborigines to Rev. L.E. Threlkeld, who became his son-in-law (Chapter 9/NE).

35 Posting Tench to Parramatta was like a banishment for disobedience. Tench's commanding officer Major Robert Ross had disagreed with the governor by insisting that the marines were there for external affairs only, such as if another European naval power invaded Port Jackson. [As a consequence, Phillip set up his convict constable system to police the colony.] It is hard to imagine a naval invasion reaching Tench at Parramatta. [Phillip was to send Ross, who was Lieutenant Governor, to Norfolk Island, but Tench could not be commended for his insubordination.]
in awful silence’, the present day Cumberland Plain to the west of Sydney. Early on the second morning, Saturday 27 June 1789, they encountered a river but returned the next day without further investigation. When reported to the governor this river, named by him (Phillip) the Nepean, was thought until 1790 to run south, reaching the coast further south than Botany Bay. However, having found out by then that the ford Phillip had discovered as above was across this same river Branch, actually flowing north, Tench later overlooked his error when writing a brief flowery account for his second book, ‘A Complete Account’, on the voyage back to England.

From the water, the boatmen saw above them the spur where they camped as a ‘high mountain’, which Phillip designated Richmond Hill (near present day North Richmond). This Richmond Hill was the key named reference locality until 1810-11 when Governor Macquarie named sites to become the local towns above the flood level experienced to that time. Associated with a settlement crossing of the river, it was to become the most common early colonial reference for the Aborigines of this thesis, viz. ‘The

36 Tench’s own report of this venture was skimpy, so citing Milton added to the intrigue for the target audience to increase the appeal to buyers in England. ‘On the brink of Hell’ has been a most popular abbreviation for the quote ‘/Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend /Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while, /Pondering his voyage;’ Book 2, lines 917-919, whereby Tench as the adventurer [Satan] sets off to cross the great gulf between the Blue Mountain Ranges [Hell] ahead and the settlement [Heaven] behind. He relates the disobedience from which he [the ‘Fiend’] had faced the awful silence [‘horrid silence’ Book 1, line 83] of the trackless immeasurable desert [‘chaos’]. \ John Milton, 1667 (1st edn), ‘Paradise Lost - A Poem in Ten Books’, original printings for various booksellers, the copy I use now is 1985 reprint from ‘The Library of English and World Literature’, p.48, p.13.

37 The implications are discussed following, and I have made local investigations beyond this thesis. My solution is that when Tench had reached the tidal part of the river on the Saturday 27 June he could not tell which way it was flowing. It would hardly be politic for the governor to find out that this unauthorised journey had reached the river so quickly when it took his own expedition seven days to arrive at the same place on Monday 6 July 1789. Tench preferred to claim that he had discovered a different river. Dawes, responsible for the colony’s mapping, was left in ignorance until Tuesday 24 May 1791 when he arrived there with Tench - who was scared of crossing - as follows. If his over bearing manner had not already done so, this could have opened the rift between Tench and Dawes exhibited on the ship returning them to England (when Dawes would not hand over his notes).

38 Tench took a compass bearing from present day Prospect Hill, which should have taken the party to Governor Phillip's gap in the mountains, present day Grose Wold. But for Tench it was more like a ‘Boys’ Own’ adventure - he was not much of a navigator or explorer, and turned back on just the second day. Further, as discussed later in this chapter, it was probably on account of Tench's inadequacy that on Tuesday 12 April 1791 Governor Phillip's expedition turned the wrong way along the river bank. Tench had not determined where he met the river which way it was flowing. \ King in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.404, Bach 1968 edn p.268; Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ pp.27-29, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn pp.153-55; Fitzhardinge 1979 endnote 13 p.308 (re Tench citing “Paradise Lost”). Since writing this I have read that other authors also have considered Tench as writing a ‘Boys Own’ adventure for a spirited young Englishman as discussed in later footnote.

Richmond Hill tribe’. This location was to become Macquarie’s Richmond district.40 Another locality
downstream, Portland Head, was subsequently named from a waterside cliff (Portland Head Rock) as
above, with jutting rocks whose profile resembled the nose and bushy eyebrows of the Duke of Portland,
Secretary of State in London.41 That location (present day Ebenezer) was to become Governor
Macquarie’s Wilberforce district on the left hand side of the river with Pitt Town across from it on the
right hand side (facing downstream). The river port for the earliest settlers, to become Macquarie’s
Windsor, was placed at some green hills midway between Richmond Hill and Portland Head Rock when
neither Phillip or Hunter were in the colony.42

Modern scholars have had difficulty in placing this historic location where Phillip met the river people,
because the location use of term ‘Portland’ from Portland Head Rock moved as settlement progressed
downstream. With no more towns being developed, Lower Portland was used to refer to settlement lower
down (downstream) at the junction of the Hawkesbury and the second or upper Branch (Colo River).
More particularly, when a road north from Sydney and Parramatta was built to cross the Hawkesbury
River just downstream from the first or lower Branch (Macdonald River) discovered by Phillip’s
expedition on Wednesday 1 July 1789, the district term ‘Portland Head’ applied to the crossing location.
In the present day that place is better known as Wisemans Ferry for Solomon Wiseman who operated the
first ferry there. The real Portland Head, Portland Head Rock, was some way upstream, reached on
Sunday 5 July when Phillip explored in 1789 as above.43 A similar difficulty which arose with the

40 By 1822, the Richmond Hill area on the left hand, or mountain, side of the river across from Richmond
was designated as the Kurry-jong district. \ G.C. Stewart, 1822, ‘Map of the County of Cumberland’,
NSW Lands Department for NSW Heritage Council, Sydney, endpapers.

41 Biographical reference to Portland: F.M. Bladen (ed.), 1893, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales,
Bentinck, third Duke of Portland, Secretary of State.

42 Such ‘green hills’, also at the Hunter River, did not show the old growth forest or woodland which
occurred on the slopes above the floodplain higher than the then floods. John Hunter himself preferred a
port on the Hawkesbury River below the vast floodplain near Portland Head Rock, where a remnant of the
local Aborigines survived and were visited by Robert Mathews who recorded their language and culture
(Chapter 6). Had this port developed they could not have survived there. I observe that Phillip and
Hunter agreed on this lower site for a port - viz. below Portland Head Rock - where Phillip considered
ships would be ‘perfectly safe’ from the floods upstream of the waterside cliffs which formed a choke.
\ Arthur Phillip 1790 Despatch to Lord Sydney 13 February 1790, HRNSW p.305, also HRA p.155.

43 In their descriptive analysis of the Hawkesbury waterways, Drs J & J Powell correctly identified the
historic Portland Head at the upper end of present day Portland Reach, but wrote incorrectly that [they
thought] that the name was not used until 1805, associated [they thought] with a formation not visible
from the river. They were referring to the name as given to a much later trigonometrical station - a
common error. Their next paragraph describes Portland Head Rock itself as ‘The last prominent
sandstone feature is the jutting cliff on the starboard hand (travelling upstream)’ with a photograph - but
the simile with the head of the Duke of Portland is when travelling downstream. Facing downstream it is
(continued...)
location of ‘The Branch’, is discussed in Chapter 2.

Aboriginal ‘Clan’ Names v. Descriptions

An early perception has persisted whereby the First Fleet officers, with little knowledge of Aboriginal languages, confused terms describing people with terms depicting places which denoted what are commonly called Clan names. Considering use of the suffix *gal*, Lieutenant Philip King took it to be the word with the qualifier a prefix: ‘it is supposed that the word “Gal” signifies tribe, and the word preceding it is the word of distinction; probably it is the place where the tribe resides.’\(^{44}\) The term ‘tribe’ as used then represents what is commonly called ‘clan’ now, and King astutely observed that the place defines the Clan. That is, non-place descriptors do not define a Clan. This confusion between descriptions and place terms for Aboriginal recognition happened in the southern foothills of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges when Governor Phillip returned there with an overland expedition as below.

Twenty one months after the Hawkesbury River expedition, the next contact with the ‘inland’ Aborigines west of Sydney occurred on Phillip's follow-up land expedition, well after the small pox epidemic had passed the Sydney Cove settlement. This expedition has been largely disregarded by historians, since as described by Captain Collins, a participant, it: ‘reached no further than the Hawkesbury and returned to Rose Hill on the 6th [i.e. sixth day], without making any discovery of the least importance.’\(^{45}\) Collins's assessment may have applied to the expedition's purpose of going to Richmond Hill to walk through the mountains, but on understanding of the countryside and local inhabitants he was absolutely wrong.\(^{46}\)

Lieutenant William Dawes of the marines had been designated by the governor as the colony's engineer (and thus draftsman). In March 1791 Dawes completed a map based on Hunter's record of the boat

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\(^{43}\)(...continued)

the cliff on the left hand side forming the throttle of the bottleneck which restricts the river flow to create the floodplain upstream. \(\) John Powell & Jocelyn Powell, 2004 (3rd edn), ‘Cruising Guide to the Hawkesbury River, Cowan, Broken Bay and Pittwater’, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights (Sydney), pp.82-83.

\(^{44}\) Also, Governor Phillip had already reported that ‘The natives live in tribes [Clans] which are distinguished by the name - - (taken) from the district in which (they reside).’ Across the harbour ‘the men are distinguished as Cammerragal, and a woman is called a Cammerragalleon.’ \(\) King in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.411, Bach 1968 edn p.274; Arthur Phillip 1790 Despatch to Lord Sydney 13 February 1790, HRNSW p.309, also HRA p.160.

\(^{45}\) Ironically, on Friday 15 April 1791 the party had walked across the actual land taken up by the first Hawkesbury settlers after Governor Phillip had departed the colony (while Collins himself was still at Port Jackson).

expedition along the river Branches in July 1789.\textsuperscript{47} Phillip determined to follow his Hawkesbury River through the mountains on foot, from where the explorers had turned back in July 1789. Two coast Aborigines, Colebe and Ballederry, were enticed to come as interpreters by them thinking the party would shoot patagorang, grey kangaroos, for meat to provide a welcome variation to their fish diet. Three and a half years after the arrival of the First Fleet, coast Aborigines had a working understanding of English, although the settlers unnecessarily kept talking in inconsistent pidgin and mixed up the meanings of words in the coastal language.

Having left Rose Hill on the Parramatta River, ‘head of the harbour’ of Port Jackson, on Monday 11 April 1791, the expedition marched by compass bearing irrespective of the topography as if the naval officers were at sea. They were then crossing the present day Hills District where the drainage is to Toongabbie Creek and the Darling Mills gullies falling to the Parramatta River. The Aborigines of this area became known as ‘The Hunters or Woodmans tribe’, of whom Collins wrote two years later were ‘people who seldom come among us and who consequently are little known’.\textsuperscript{48} On this preliminary visit to the area in 1791 the coastal fisherman with the party used the term boorooberongal to describe the ‘hunters and woodsmen’ as below.

The party was scrambling across rocky gullies and valleys - ravines in the terminology of the time, when Phillip asked his Aboriginal companions what had happened to the people in the uninhabited landscape. Colebe explained the absence of people in these hills at the time by describing them as bidjigal and actually gave a translation: men ‘dead of the small pox’.\textsuperscript{49, 50} It was not meant to have been taken as a

\textsuperscript{47} Dawes dedicated his map, dated 1 March 1791, ‘to Capt Twiss of the Royal Engineers’. \textsuperscript{48} William Dawes, 1791, ‘A Map of Those Parts of the Territory of New South Wales Which Have Been Seen by Any Person Belonging to the Settlement at Port Jackson in the Said Territory’, published 22 September 1792 by John Stockdale, Piccadilly (London) and reproduced by the publisher in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’.


\textsuperscript{50} Despite the translation being given in the original historical record, J.L. Kohen with R. Lampert derived their own meaning for what Colebe was telling Governor Phillip: ‘Bidjigal (is) probably derived from the word bidja bidja (headman among the Wiradjuri).’ Although the origin was not attributed, this has been lifted from Howitt, who stated: ‘In the southern Wiradjuri a Headman is called Bidja-bidja - - - [who] was always a medicine-man’. Kohen & Lampet went further with their conclusions without giving a source: ‘The inland Dharug bands were renowned as koradjji, or “doctors”.’ This latter statement is a misrepresentation of the encounter with Yellomundy 14 April 1791 on the Hawkesbury River outlined later in this chapter - in addition to the statement misplacing the Dharug who were on the Georges River (Chapter 6). As well as being culturally and geographically inept, the statement is linguistically inept because when told about the bidji people Phillip’s party was still in the Parramatta River watershed before they reached the Hawkesbury catchment where the people they met spoke a different language, shown in (continued...)
‘Clan’ name as for locations terms at Port Jackson, which would have meant ‘bidji’ was the name of the place. Colebe had used the term in the coastal language as a description for ‘sick’ or ‘dying’.\(^{51}\) The settlers misunderstood. They had leaned that Colebe was of the Clan Cadigal, that is a man from the place Cadi, on the south shore of Port Jackson and that men from the north shore were clan Cammeraygal from the place Cammeray, on the north shore of Port Jackson. Thus, the erroneous assumption had arisen that the suffix ‘gal’ [the men of] always followed the name of a place.\(^{52}\)

The expedition was in the catchment of present day Darling Mills Creek, draining to the Parramatta River. From the simple error of confusing a descriptive term for a place, this hills district to this day represents bidjigal, a phantom Bidji ‘Clan’, and the local government Hills Council celebrates being the place of sick and dying people.\(^{53}\)

Some modern authors have undistinguished themselves by confounding two terms distinguished by the


\(^{51}\) Sydney language words recorded also include a rendition of sick or ill as ‘badjel’ where ‘j’ was used for an English soft ‘g’ (i.e. ‘ge’ as in ‘general’), but to express the ‘dj’ sound Collins also tried ‘di’ (which has led to some recent misinterpretations that he meant ‘dee’ as an extra vowel). A variation of sick, ‘bagel (or) ba-jel’ was noted for to hurt as bad-’dje. \(\text{\textcopyright}\) Arthur Phillip et alia (attributed to Phillip & others, Collins, King), ca.1790, ‘Vocabulary of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’, Manuscript 41645, 2nd part (c), William Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London, 17th page, 33rd page; Collins 1798 ‘An Account of the English Colony’ Vol.I p.611, Fletcher 1975 [vol.1] edn p.508.

\(^{52}\) The suffix for men was ‘gal’ with an additional suffix ‘-eon’ equivalent to the English prefix ‘wo-’: for wo-men ‘gal-eon’. [At times, ‘gal’ - like ‘man’ in English - was used as gender inclusive.] \(\text{\textcopyright}\) King in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’, p.411, Bach 1968 edn p.274.

First Fleet officers, *bidjigal* as above and *bediagal*. Neither were presented as an actual place name of a Clan.\footnote{At a stage in the development of English-speakers' understanding, Collins observed that ‘it was supposed that the word “Gal” signifies tribe, and the word preceding it is the word of distinction;’ while at the time it was not appreciated that an Aboriginal ‘word of distinction’ could be a description, but then considered: ‘probably it is the place where the tribe resides.’ This is now considered correct for the place where a Clan resided, but had not allowed for another common situation when the word of distinction was a term other than a place name. Reviewed in modern linguistic terms, ‘-*gal*’ (‘-*kal*’) equals an associative suffix, denoting closely associated with whatever is denoted by the root word to which it is suffixed. \textit{\textsuperscript{54}} \textit{\textsuperscript{55}}}

With reference to the later Hawkesbury settlement in 1795, Collins called people there a *Bediagal* or ‘wood tribe’. He distinguished the ‘wood tribes’ as using for spear tips ‘bits of stone, instead of broken oyster shells’ as used by the coastal people and descriptively listed his ‘wood tribes’ as *Bediagal, Tugagal, and Booroobirronggal* without reference to locality.\footnote{It appears that the term *Bedia, Bedia’gal*, from the coastal language, may have applied to ‘the woods’ on the flats draining into Botany Bay. Also, at the funeral of Aborigine *Ballederry* (*Balooderry*) from this narrative, *Bedia Bedia* was used to name his young brother. *Tuga’gal* was recorded for the language of the Georges River Aborigines, which was identified by Jim Kohen in 1984 as *Dharug*. Although Kohen disagreed with himself, misapplying it to the Hawkesbury River people (discussed in Chapter 7), he made yet another contradiction in his 1993b text stating that *Tugagal* represented a Toongabbie Clan on this Parramatta River tributary. \textit{\textsuperscript{55}}}

The latter term has been misapplied to the people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Its background is as follows.

### On the Shore or In the Woods (Fish or Possum for Dinner)

Other misunderstandings survive to the present day due to poor language interpretations from this 1791 expedition. Specifically, before meeting any people, *Colebe* had described in his own coastal language the local Aborigines as animal hunters living by eating possums, which was the alternative to fishers - the difference between people in the woods and those of the shores.\footnote{In establishing himself as the authority on Western Sydney Aboriginal life from a Macquarie University thesis, J.L. Kohen presents an opposing view to the historic sources about scale fish and possums. He proposes instead that ‘Undoubtedly the shellfish on the coast provided a regular staple (diet), a role which may have been fulfilled by tuberous plants across the plain.’ To propose that ‘undoubtedly’ a high animal protein food source could be replaced by a fibrous starchy vegetable food may be taken as biologically incompetent. Yet in a section titled ‘Ecological setting’, Kohen assures the reader that ‘In the river fish are plentiful’. \textit{\textsuperscript{56}}}

Phillip and his party did not know then that *Colebe’s* coastal language term, *boorooberongal*, was applied to Aborigines from ‘the woods’ around

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\textit{\textsuperscript{56}}
Port Jackson. That knowledge came to the white Europeans later.\textsuperscript{57} To demonstrate that the woods people hunted possums in the trees, \textit{Colebe} had shown possum scratches on the bark of the tree trunks. Thus, \textit{booroo} meant possum (as recorded by Collins with an unexplained descriptive suffix, \textit{-min}).\textsuperscript{58}

Other authors translate \textit{booroo} or \textit{buro} as grey kangaroo, from the languages of Georges River or Wollondilly River (Burragorang Valley), but in \textit{Colebe's} language at Port Jackson \textit{patagorang} was used for grey kangaroo.\textsuperscript{59} The suffix \textit{-berong} gives the context of belonging.\textsuperscript{60}

However, Phillip and his party did not know the meaning then, with the outcome that the term \textit{Boorooberongal} was incorrectly designated by them as a Clan name for people at the place which the expedition reached later that day in the catchment of present day Cattai Creek. It cannot be emphasised enough that the term \textit{boorooberongal} had come from the coastal Aborigines rather than from the inland Hawkesbury Aborigines. Thus \textit{booroo-berong} had been incorrectly applied as a place in the Portland Head Rock district within the southern foothills of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges - the area visited on the 1791 expedition, and it has been misused ever since. In a curious twist of history nearly two hundred

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\textsuperscript{58} Just as \textit{-berong} and \textit{-gal} are qualifying suffixes, so would be \textit{-min}. As the circumstances were not given by Collins in obtaining words which he ‘offered only as a specimen, not as a perfect vocabulary of [the coastal] language’ it cannot be explained whether he was perhaps naming, say a female possum with young in pouch, some other class of possum, or a possum doing something. He gives \textit{boo-roo-min} as grey vulpine possum, where ‘vulpine’ represents ‘brush-tail’ [fox-like]. \Collins 1798 ‘An Account of the English Colony’ Vol.I p.609, p.614, Fletcher 1975 [vol.1] edn p.506, p.511.


\textsuperscript{60} I am grateful for David Wilkins providing to and discussing with me (2007) some ms material of his early 1990s notes and drafts from when he had been working with the Sydney languages. \David P. Wilkins, ca.1992 draft, ‘A one in a Million Chance?: Dharug \textit{-birang} and English \textit{belong}’, unpublished.
years after Phillip, the term has been mysteriously relocated upstream to the Rickabys Creek location of the Richmond Hill district, commonly being used incorrectly by modern authors to designate the ‘Richmond Hill Tribe’ or ‘Richmond Clan’. Yet the term *Boorooberongal* from the 1791 expedition had already been replaced locally by settlers who commonly applied the name of their own property to name local Aborigines. In this situation settlers called the people *Cattai* natives, from the name given by Thomas Arndell to his farm there which he called *Caddie* - apparently in recognition of the Sydney Cove location, because *Caddie* was not known to have been used in the language of the Hawkesbury people.\(^61\)

Several generations on, a hundred years later, it was found that these people on the river referred to themselves as *Buttagal*. They did not mean the Clan of a place *Butta*, but a description of water people, where *buta* is water.\(^62\)

The ‘Stranger’

The events of that first day, Monday 11 April 1791, before the explorers went to sleep, have been the basis of yet more anomalies with modern misinterpretations uncovered as part of my studies. With a lifetime of bushwalking and navigation expertise, I have intently followed the route of the expedition through the landscape, into the southern foothills of the ranges rising to the north. Phillip's expedition travelling northwest had crossed beyond the watershed of the Parramatta River catchment when the first opportunity presented itself for the coast Aborigines to speak with living people, who were from the inland Hawkesbury River catchment. Governor Phillip's party, including their Aboriginal companions, had not at first appreciated that having crossed a water catchment divide they were in country of a different language and culture.

Sadly to relate, a published description of this night defies minimum standards for accuracy but defines the standard for reporting local history which has been set by the Blacktown and District Historical Society historian and archaeological consultant J.L. ('Jim') Kohen when writing to inform descendants of

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\(^61\) In a partial analysis published 1970 Arthur Capell did not realise that the term *boorooberongal* was used at Port Jackson. Although Capell retained the integrity of Phillip's location around Cattai Creek, others even when citing him have not done so, following Kohen without checking source material. In relation to his own published misplacement of the site as follows, Jim Kohen (pers. comm., 2008) has expressed his opinion that ‘it doesn’t matter’ where were locations of people or events. In my discussions with local historians and with descendants of Aborigines from there which have influenced this thesis, it does matter. \(\backslash\) Arthur Capell, 1970, ‘Aboriginal Languages in the South Central Coast, New South Wales: Fresh Discoveries’, *Oceania*, 41 (1): 20-27. Jim Kohen, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney).

\(^62\) Robert Mathews in 1890s when visiting local Aborigines here wrote *buta* in a notebook, and also *bardo* for water. For ‘water blacks’ he wrote *Buttagal* (Chapter 6).
local Aboriginal people whose ‘history [he wrote] has been neglected’. In his book published by the society for these people he wrote [direct quote]: ‘When they reached the banks of the Hawkesbury River, somewhere near Richmond, they set up camp for the night. They soon heard the voice of an Aborigine - -’ [sic]. Although Governor Phillip had wanted to go to Richmond Hill [Richmond was not thought of for another twenty years], they did not reach a place ‘somewhere near [present day] Richmond’, but rather, the banks of the river at Kohen's location were twenty kilometres walk away.63 It is unfathomable how or why anyone with access to historical records could or would present such a misrepresentation to alter local history - the equivalent of asserting that the University in Sydney was established at Parramatta.

There was no sign of a river on that first day, and on that first afternoon a camp was established in the upper basin of a gully now known as present day Long Neck Creek.64 The expedition was a large party of twenty one men.65 Having packed up after dinner, the party was lolling about setting their campfires at dusk when they heard an Aborigine calling to his companion, such that they imagined it sounded like he was ‘hunting his dog’. Perhaps the companion had been getting too far away. There was no evidence of a dog recorded and this may be an invention by the English, with the settlers relating the earlier information about booroobongal hunting game to their own chasing kangaroos and emus with greyhounds.66 The local Aborigines hunted by trapping, by stealth, or using fire with ambushing. The coastal Aborigines Colebe and Ballederry went to meet the people in the woods to bring them to the camp, but it was some

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63 If I was to make such basic errors as Kohen does, I would like someone to advise me of mistakes and I would be pleased to be able to correct them. Kohen has been advised. His unique book became the text on which everybody since has become dependant. It was sold at university bookshops and its effects have been pervasive. His text may be compared with the historical sources given following. The book was my starting point of the research for this thesis. \ James Leslie (‘Jim’) Kohen, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney), p.v, p.56.

64 Or Long Neck Lagoon Creek. For geographic purposes, I am including this with the contiguous catchment lands of present day Cattai Creek. It would be appropriate to commemorate this camp at present day Scheyville, where the postwar migrant camp was - now a National Park office. From Pitt Town Common, it had been a Village Settlement to accommodate the unemployed on small farms. \ Personal on-site research walking the ground; Rex Stubbs & Linda Stubbs, 1983, ‘A History of Scheyville’, Ladan, Windsor.

65 Phillip lists eighteen people with another given later, and two Aborigines, total twenty one. Capt. Collins, Surgeon White and Lt Dawes were required on the expedition as part of their responsibility to the governor - Tench probably volunteered in order to get away from the boredom of living in the settlement where he had nothing to do. Captain Tench, already known for insubordination, is regarded merely as a Lieutenant by Phillip. \ Phillip in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.512, Bach 1968 edn p.340.

66 Tench stated that he had once found the carcass of a kangaroo mauled by a mob of wild native dogs. He did not see them kill it, merely the carcass pulled apart to be eaten. But in his description: ‘The Indians sometimes kill the kangaroo’, he did not include dogs. \ Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ p.173, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn p.269.
Phillip had assumed that the two strangers and Colebe spoke the same language, but found he was wrong. A man shielded himself from attack behind the trees, while a boy carrying a torch of flaming tea tree bark was sent ahead. From his time among the British white people since August 1790, Colebe had learnt something of their ways, so he knew of their need for a proper ‘Introduction’, which was the protocol of the time. To the few officers who left the camp and went to meet them, Colebe related he had identified himself as Colebe of the Cadigal and provided the stranger with the officers’ names. Even this is probably a reconstruction, because the more common reference at Sydney Cove was identifying place first, i.e. Cadi Colebe. Saying ‘of the’ is not an Aboriginal grammatical construction. It was Colebe on returning from the initial meeting in the trees who related to the officers that the man was a stranger, a possum hunting man, burowan (aka bereewan) boorooberongal in the coastal language. As quickly as he could extricate himself, the stranger fled after the boy who had already run away, so that only his appearance was observed.


68 It is possible to reconcile a choice between the report from Phillip and an account written about two years later by Tench, allowing for only slight exaggeration by the latter, as in next footnote. See also following footnote re Tench's publications. \ Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ p.116, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn p.226; Phillip in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.514, Bach 1968 edn p.341.

69 Colebe had been captured to be trained in the white men’s ways to act as a go-between. He had learnt to exploit the settlement life style. A point of contention is whether Colebe introduced the stranger to the white men, using the coastal language, or whether the stranger introduced himself to the white men, using the inland language. Given the language difficulties, the latter proposal which is by Tench is not tenable. Further, the long interaction with the stranger when Colebe had been trying to entice him into the camp had been at a distance from the white men. Thus Tench must be exaggerating within his impossible context ‘words, which we could distinctly understand’ when he wrote ‘The stranger replied, [in English?] “I am Ber-ee-wan, of the tribe of Boorooberringal”.’ Rather, these unlikely words were the way the officers recorded that Colebe presented the stranger in the coastal language. Colebe may have called him ‘boorooberongal burowan’, i.e. possum-hunting stranger. The white men thought they were being given his personal name and his Clan, but in this they were wrong.

70 A term meaning stranger was noted as berewal, signifying from a distance such as an island, Booroowan, so the alien Europeans were known as Be-re-wal ‘gal, and a foreign stranger Booroowumne (Boo-ruwun-ne), hence the record in the Sydney language for the stranger: burowan (aka bereewan). \ Phillip et alia ca.1790 Manuscript 41645 (c) 9th p., 12th p., 41st p.


72 A modern conception about cultural differences based on the stranger's appearance is taken up in Chapter 5.
The Stranger Did Not Speak with the White Aliens

In the English language of the times, the term ‘converse’ as used by First Fleet writers for these encounters meant to communicate, such as by making hand signals. It is only in more modern times that ‘converse’ had been used in a more limited sense to mean talk with someone in a mutually understandable language. Too many modern readers attribute modern meanings to historical text, thus altering the interpretation.

Modern interpretation of this encounter with the stranger has led to some historical fallacies. For example, having no idea of the presence nearby of a big river with canoes and fish, Colebe had misrepresented the stranger by saying he did not fish or use a canoe. It should be self evident that the Aborigines would not have carried a canoe around through the woodlands, but left it near the waterside.73

A second misrepresentation relates to language, and hence identification. Governor Phillip, and Captain Collins the colony's diarist, were both recorders of Aboriginal words and were keeping diaries, but made no records of any words spoken by the stranger. Their identification of him was that given by Colebe. It is fallacious to imagine that Lieutenant Dawes, the most junior officer, would have recorded some words instead of the most senior officers, yet recent scholars have imagined this to account for a short list in his notebook headed by the Port Jackson word Burubiringal discussed in Chapter 5.74 Two days later when a whole night was spent with local Aborigines, Dawes did not make any notes although Phillip and Collins did record words (which Tench was to copy later). There are better explanations for Dawes's notebook list, such as the encounter with Deedora in the following month without the senior officers as follows.

Tench, on the voyage home when writing his second book titled ‘A Complete Account’ for a popular audience, dramatised the encounter with the stranger on 11 April 1791 so much one could wonder if he even was with Phillip. I have been preparing a more detailed assessment of Tench's approach to writing

73 Carelessly, in the 1979 reprint of Tench's second book edited by Fitzhardinge, the stranger is listed in the index as ‘Aboriginal on Hawkesbury’- by which ‘on’ cannot mean the encounter was by the Hawkesbury riverside as some readers might assume, but can mean in the Hawkesbury district.

74 No basis can be found in historical records for deducing that the entries in Dawes's notebook arose from the meeting of Phillip's expedition with the stranger, thus there is no basis for linguistic interpretations which have been attempted by various authors. The mistake appears to have arisen from a speculative skeleton in a 1991 draft by David Wilkins recycled by other writers, and fleshed out by David Nash under ‘The linguistic significance of the meeting with Bariwan’. These authors noted cultural differences from the coastal natives. In my personal discussions with them, it appears that they were unaware how close this meeting was to the Hawkesbury River and the nearby meeting with people whom they identify as speaking Darkinyung - the language of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Neither David showed awareness of the history that Dawes met more ‘inland’ Aborigines only six weeks later, as follows.

of First Fleet publications, it is Tench's very readable but unreliable book on which modern history has been relying more than on Stockdale's publication of Phillip's and Hunter's dry reports.

When the expedition reached the Hawkesbury River early the following morning Tuesday 12 April 1791, it appeared that the two coast Aborigines Colebe and Ballederry had no clue about their surroundings or how the locals lived. Phillip was more concerned about the soil, while the event was dramatised by Tench - whose writing after the event was spiteful about the Aborigines' apparent lack of knowledge.
when it can be deduced that Tench was showing his own ignorance of the circumstances.\textsuperscript{76} Their own country was in the catchment of the Parramatta River and their stories the day before had been what they thought would satisfy the white men. Now they appreciated they were in foreign country - and had no clue whatsoever about local directions. The explorers did not dare leave the water's edge to walk on the dry land further back, but kept as close as they could to where they would have been as boatmen. They were naval officers, after all. The party progressed along the marshy edges through the reeds, although they passed Aboriginal camp sites on the banks.\textsuperscript{77}

During the Tuesday morning the party came upon a man with a boy having a meal beside the river - the stranger of the night before, perhaps. In a direct line across country from the previous night's camp they were quite close to that encounter only four kilometres away. Again the inland Aborigines fled, this time escaping by jumping into a canoe and paddling off.\textsuperscript{78} The coastal Aborigines had given the impression that the locals had no canoes, and this error has been perpetrated by those modern writers who mention the Monday evening encounter with the stranger.

The plotting of the river by Hunter in July 1789 had shown the river shortened - they had actually travelled upstream further south than he had calculated, so that Dawes's April 1791 navigation from his map based on Hunter's plots had brought them to the river a couple of day's travel along the river bank north of their objective. They were closer to Portland Head Rock than they were to Richmond Hill which marked their objective of the cleft in the mountains from which the river flowed. The expedition turned in the wrong direction in order to follow the current down, surmising they were upstream of that

\textsuperscript{76} Tench was laying the ground to place blame on their Aboriginal comparisons for the expedition going the wrong way at this place, as discussed below. (An incident of Colebe pointing down a gully to show the direction of Parramatta River would have occurred before they found the new river.) I acknowledge a personal bias, in that one of the convicts about whom Tench likewise was incorrectly spiteful about his accomplishments was my great(nth) grandfather, Matthew Everingham. Everingham was to become a significant player with his family in the Aboriginal history of the Hawkesbury, as mentioned in places later in this thesis. \textsuperscript{\textwidth} Phillip in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.515, Bach 1968 edn p.342; Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ p.117, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn pp.226-27.

\textsuperscript{77} The campsites would be connected by across country tracks above the river banks as to be demonstrated on Thursday afternoon. As someone who walks the local land, it is difficult for me to comprehend why they had been exhaustively following the marshy edges of the water instead of walking on the dry land nearby and following the topography of the river valley.

\textsuperscript{78} Phillip was more interested in the edible teredo worms. It was Collins who recounted that a boy was with this man, from which the possibility arises that it was the stranger who had escaped the previous night. \textsuperscript{\textwidth} Collins 1798 ‘An Account of the English Colony’ Vol.1 p.558, Fletcher 1975 [vol.1] edn p.462; Phillip in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.516, Bach 1968 edn p.343.
While they were scrub bashing through the jungle around the side of a tributary too wide to cross (present day Cattai Creek), the expedition observed more Aborigines on the water in canoes. They also observed from a vantage point smoke from the Aborigines' fires. Despite the local Aborigines being in the area, when they came across a hut, in present day Mitchell Park, Ballederry wanted to destroy it as belonging to their enemies, but was prevented from doing so by Phillip. Tench, in contrast, enlivening his stories, wrote that Ballederry wantonly destroyed the hut while proclaiming the local Aborigines were bad.

Communicating with the ‘Inland’ Aborigines: Gomebeere and Yellomundy

It is puzzling as to how modern authors have taken an encounter by Governor Phillip which was adequately recorded by First Fleet officers, altered the place of that encounter, reworked the name of one of the inland Aborigines although he was later prominent in the area after settlement, and allocated a different language group, that is a different identity to these Aborigines and their descendants. The actual encounter is discussed following, the implications for the language in Part II and for the location in Part III.

It was not until Thursday 14 April 1791 that the expedition actually met any more local people, after they had corrected their direction and commenced heading upstream along the river bank. There was a group of Aborigines across the river, similar to the nearby encounter Sunday 5 July 1789. As for that occasion, they were in the Portland Head Rock locality. By now their presence would be well known to the Aborigines in the area, not least from the canoeist they had startled on Tuesday morning as above.

At a small stream, now known as Bardenarang (locally, Bardo Narrang) Creek, the expedition had stopped for the men to fell a tree so the gentlemen did not have to wade across, when an Aborigine in a

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79 The only way to make sense of this error is that the smooth-tongued Tench convinced the governor that he recognised this as the river which he (Tench) had discovered 1789 to the south (upstream) of where Phillip had been at Richmond Hill, and therefore they must turn downstream to the right. Since Phillip and Collins had been there before, Tench had had to convince them that it was his new river. A costly mistake which prevented Phillip reaching his objective - but the kind hearted Governor merely acknowledged the folly with Tench's name for a quite insignificant small rocky outcrop (which I have visited) on the ridge (‘hill’) which Surgeon John White climbed and discovered the error in direction on Wednesday 13 April 1791. Phillip was physically unwell, and this was his final chance for exploration to penetrate to the interior. I have been preparing a more detailed assessment for publication about Governor Phillip's expeditions, with the part played by Watkin Tench (and his saviour, John White).

80 This incident, reporting a hut, became a feature of the other historical ‘source’, which was attributed to George Barrington. \Phillip in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.516, Bach 1968 edn pp.342-43; Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ pp.117-18, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn p.227.
canoe responded to their calls and paddled over to meet them. The local man identified himself as *Gomebeere*. I think he could have been one of the two who had met Phillip in 1789 as above and may have recognised the governor, because he showed no apprehension and presented Phillip with two stone hatchets, two spears and a throwing stick. Phillip traded back with two more steel hatchets, fish hooks and some baked bread.  

A present day road bridge which has replaced Phillip's felled tree has been named the Friendship Bridge and a monument erected to this meeting with *Gomebeere*, but the plaque placed there confused him with another person, *Yellomundy*, now renamed ‘Yarramundi’ as follows. It was *Gomebeere* alone who guided the expedition that afternoon along a riverside path which the coastal Aborigines had not comprehended.

Later that afternoon, Thursday 14 April 1791, when they made camp further upstream, another man from the group across the river canoed over with a small boy to keep *Gomebeere* company for the night. He called himself *Yellomundy* [Phillip: *Yal-lah-mien-di*], although in modern times he has been given the more recent term ‘Yarramundi’ as a name, perhaps in order to relate him to an Aborigine who was recorded at Richmond Hill locality in 1804 as *Yaramandy*. The small boy, referred to by an infant term *Jimbah* (*Djimba*), may later have been given a personal name *Colebee* from this encounter (Chapter 4).

In a recent rewriting of popular history by J.L. Kohen, the location of the camp has been transferred from downstream near present day Pitt Town to upstream of present day Richmond where a lagoon in the river flood channel is now known as Yarramundi Lagoon. This latter site is not where Governor Phillip camped in 1791 as erroneously claimed by Kohen, but is where Governor Macquarie camped in 1810 when it was known as ‘Yellow Mundie’ Lagoon. It is closer to where Tench and Dawes were to meet

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83 The commemoration at Windsor with a memorial to Yarramundi, 27 March 1999, incorrectly presented the camp late in the afternoon as having happened at the morning’s meeting place, Bardenarang Creek. \ Phillip in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.520, Bach 1968 edn p.345.
84 The person *Yaramandy* was recorded once only - all other records for a person are for *Yellomundy*. \ Sydney Gazette no.70, Vol.2, Sunday 1 July 1804, p.2, col.3.
85 In notebook it is written ‘*Djimba*’. \ Phillip *et alia* ca.1790 Manuscript 41645 (c) 40th p.
86 In the context of my defining these people from the rivers and ranges, Kohen (pers. comm., 2008) has expressed the opinion that ‘it doesn’t matter’ where locations were (as mentioned above). From my expertise as a bush traveller, I have a different conclusion. \ Lachlan Macquarie, 1810, ‘Journal of a (continued...)
more of the mountain Aborigines on the river when they returned in an attempt to complete the expedition the following month.

Although the languages spoken by Colebe and Gomebeere were different, they managed to convey some understanding, like a person speaking French communicating with someone who spoke English. Phillip was like a Chinese speaker in this analogy. Until this encounter, the English had thought that there was one Aboriginal Language spoken by all people on the continent, as understood from Captain Cook’s 1770 voyage. On this 1791 expedition Phillip discovered that this was not so, the inland (Hawkesbury) language being different to the Aboriginal Language which they had found on the coast.  

During the evening, Thursday night 14 April 1791, Gomebeere described the healing of a spear wound in his side, prompting Colebe to recognise that Yellomundy was a practising koradji, recorded with various spellings by the diarists who used this coastal language term to mean doctor, wizard [witch doctor], wise man or clever man. Yellomundy sucked two spear barbs from Colebe’s chest in a marvellous sleight of hand performance of faith healing. The offending items were thrown conclusively into the river with a resounding plop from the stone he had already palmed. Gomebeere assisted Yellomundy with Colebe’s recovery from the intense operation, but did not demonstrate any doctor skills.  

The governor wanted Colebe to find out where was the expedition’s first objective, the ford where they had turned back in July 1789, and described the ‘loose round stones’ used as axe head blanks (mentioned above for 1789). When he interpreted the response from Gomebeere that it was ‘a great way off’, and difficult to reach, Colebe became upset, now thinking that Phillip’s purpose was to procure axe heads.
instead of kangaroos to eat as promised. Other writers have misread this report, mistakenly imagining that it was Gomebeere rather than Phillip who was on his way to this ford. However, the original source text is quite clear: ‘Colebe and Ballederry concluded they had come on this journey to procure stone hatchets’ - it was not Gomebeere who was going there as claimed in modern histories.

Crossing the River with the ‘Inland’ Aborigines: Deedora and Morunga

Phillip himself was never to reach Richmond Hill again in order to attempt the crossing of the mountains through the cleft he had recognised. But the swaggering Lieutenant-Captain Tench, with inadequate duties to keep him occupied, again attempted to upstage his senior officers. Feeling more secure being accompanied by the more competent Lieutenant Dawes to navigate plus two other marines, they set out directly from Rose Hill to Richmond Hill the following month on Tuesday 24 May 1791, reaching the river the same day. From Dawes's reports, firstly that the Hawkesbury River coming from the cleft in the mountains was no longer flowing with as much volume as had been observed by Phillip in 1789, secondly that the river branch already named Nepean flowed into the Hawkesbury after all, Phillip decided this latter would be the main Branch, and withdrew the name Hawkesbury from the former.

Although they proceeded up the valley now known as Grose Vale the next day, Tench was terrified of the

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90 May be, on this one occasion, Tench tried to make amends for a mistake on Tuesday 12 April 1791 for which a frustrated Governor Phillip had been generous as above. Tench had already been in trouble with the unpopular Commandant of the marines Major Robert Ross, before he was sent to Rose Hill, at the time an isolated settlement outpost. It was under these circumstances that he had set out in June 1789 on his first attempt to upstage Governor Phillip who was away exploring the river flowing into Broken Bay. A detachment of a junior officer and marine privates was stationed at Rose Hill to guard the stores. (Since the governor's dispatches showed that even the marines thieved from the stores, it would have been incumbent on their officer to remain in place, yet Tench avoided that duty.) Tench was only ranked as a Lieutenant-Captain, not even considered for responsibility as Captain when his senior officer died unexpectedly. However, Tench's great sense of his own importance was eventually to take him to the rank of Lieutenant-General in the marines based on shore in England. Robert Ross, 1788, Letter to Secretary Stephens, 1 October 1788, in Alexander Britton (ed.), 1892, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.I, Part 2: Phillip, 1783-1792’, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.194-201, desire to court-martial Tench pp.197-98; Phillip, Arthur, 1789, Letter to Under-Secretary Nepean, 20 February 1789, in Britton 1892 ‘Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.I, Part 2 pp.228-29; Gavin Edwards (ed.), 2001 edn, ‘Letters from Revolutionary France - [being] Letters Written in France to a Friend in London, between the Month of November 1794 and the Month of May 1795 by Watkin Tench’, University of Wales Press, Cardiff - Introduction to Tench p.xx.

91 Tench had expected an easy walk to complete Phillip's aborted April 1791 mission and become a hero. Describing the later Grose Vale, from the 1789 boat excursion the governor's objective was 'a flat of six or seven miles between Richmond Hill and a break in the mountains, which separates Lansdown [sic] and Carmarthen Hills, and in this flat (it is supposed) the Hawkesbury continues its course.' Arthur Phillip 1790 Despatch to Lord Sydney 13 February 1790, HRNSW p.305, also HRA p.156.

mountains beyond so, led by a Sergeant, Isaac Knight, they went no further than a near hill.\textsuperscript{93} In contrast, the irrepressible Dawes had already explored much further across the river on a compass bearing, walking into the ranges without Tench in December 1789, but contact with Aborigines then is not known.\textsuperscript{94}

As for the expedition of twenty one men with the governor the previous month, when they reached the river in May 1791 the party of four had encountered friendly Aborigines with canoes from the mountain side of the river. The behaviour of this later small group of Englishmen was not at all threatening. When they were on the river bank, they were able to communicate with an Aborigine across the river, whom Tench recorded as \textit{Deedora}. They called out, and after some time he canoed across. \textit{Deedora} then paddled up the river as they followed the bank two miles to opposite Richmond Hill, where the explorers wanted to cross. Here, the explorers crossed too soon, downstream of the ford (over the Nepean Branch), showing Tench’s excursion had not been discussed with either Governor Phillip or Captain Collins. The more shallow ford for which Phillip had been aiming in April 1791 was further upstream than Richmond Hill, above the Grose River junction.\textsuperscript{95}

\textit{Deedora} and his companion \textit{Morunga} subsequently helped ferry their belongings to cross the river, while several other Aborigines remained on the other side. Although Isaac Knight who could not swim was well able to paddle himself across dry in \textit{Morunga’s} canoe, the younger Tench said he was too fearful of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{93} Isaac Knight is my nominee for the real adventurer. On the way out he had been suspended for a misdemeanour at Cape Town - but only suspended while they crossed the Indian Ocean. After completing his service, Knight returned to the colony and became a settler. Watkin Tench was probably ashamed of his horror of hills but wanted to appear courageous, because for this exploration, his own entries are: ‘we were stopped by a mountainous country’, and two pages later: ‘On the top of Richmond Hill we shot a hawk’. Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ p.127, p.129, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn p.234, p.236; Mollie Gillen, 1989, ‘Founders of Australia - A Biographical Dictionary of the First Fleet’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), pp.209-10.
\item \textsuperscript{94} Fatefully, Dawes had followed a direct compass bearing, which contrasts with Matthew Everingham a few years later (Chapter 3), who followed Isaac Knight who had followed the ridgeline like a native bushwalker instead of following a compass. Arthur Phillip 1790 Despatch to Lord Sydney 13 February 1790, HRNSW Dawes’s expedition p.306, also HRA p.157; Collins 1798 ‘An Account of the English Colony’ Vol.I p.89, Fletcher 1975 [vol.1] edn p.72-73; Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ p.33, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn p.158.
\item \textsuperscript{95} The improbable Watkin Tench did not loose an opportunity to impress his book readers in London. It must be noticed that he wrote his book on the return voyage, and his companions were unlikely to have seen a manuscript or verified it. In claiming superiority as an explorer, he wrote that he ‘had passed Richmond Hill without knowing it almost a year before and from there walked on the bank of the river to the spot where my discovery of the Nepean happened’. That was actually June 1789, almost two years before May 1791. Clearly, Tench did not expect his readers to take his adventures as fact, because in so writing he indicated that he should have walked past the then noisy high-volume Grose River Branch and alongside the shallow, ankle deep, ford described by Phillip at the same time in 1789 as given earlier in this chapter. His ‘adventures’ are so suspect that even his ‘discovery’ of the Nepean is subject to re-analysis. Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ p.127, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn p.235; Phillip in Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.530, Bach 1968 edn p.351.
\end{itemize}
falling out of a canoe and had to cross in the water. Knight seems to have been the first explorer able to
adjust to the mountain topography, whereas Dawes’s navigation was dependent on following a compass
bearing as if he was all at sea. Knight led the way up the ridge to a hill which was named at the time to
recognise his competence, but the officers were too apprehensive to continue following the topography.

This is the likely encounter, beside the river, when and where Dawes took the opportunity to note the
pronunciation of words from people on the Hawkesbury River whom, at that time, were mistakenly
thought to be Burubiringal [aka Boorooberongal], the term he put in the back of a notebook he was using
at Sydney Cove. It is apparent Dawes would have been trying to make himself understood in the coastal
Sydney language which he had been studying with his live-in girlfriend, Patyegarang (phonetically
‘Badyegarang’, Dawes’s pet name ‘Patye’) and others. Based on the notebook, Deedora would have
responded to Dawes’s advances by courteously repeating the same words from coastal language, but with
his own accent as a foreign language speaker. The words and the implications are discussed in Chapter 5.

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97 The hill I consider Knights Hill, now at the top of Westbury Road, has been given multiple names. The
local name was Blackfella’s Lookout [aka Lookout Hill] with views to the coast at Sydney and the Hunter
Valley, as well as the Grose Valley and Springwood. (The site is Box Hill trigonometrical station.)
‘Westbury’ was built by Arthur Dunstan in 1897 - there were five Dunstan houses on the estate granted to Stephen Dunstan. [The
Dunstans intermarried with my father’s Ford family.]
A house there (‘La Tosca’) was occupied by a Dunstan who
married a granddaughter of the eldest daughter of the Aborigines Martha and Ephraim [of my mother’s
Everingham family] as given in Chapter 4. I thank these cousins for sharing Family History. Isaac Knight’s
achievement for these Kurrajong hills was to be followed in 1795 by three settlers including Matthew
Everingham (Chapter 3).

98 The notebook entry is reproduced for this thesis in Chapter 5. Dawes, William, ca.1790, ‘Vocabulary
of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’, Manuscript 41645 (b), William
Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of

99 The girls name, for grey kangaroo pategorang suggests she was known by her personal totem, rather
than a particular name peculiar to her. For subjects of this thesis, R.H. Mathews gave examples of
identification as kinship + personal animal totem. She had likely given her kinship name as well, because
together these would have shown she was able to co-habit with Dawes. This is the earliest documented
example of co-habituation. Liaisons with convicts were more common, as discussed in Chapter 4. Name
Patyegarang is taken from Dawes’s notebooks. Keith Smith is coy about the relationship: ‘a kind of diary
of the flirtation and increasing intimacy between Dawes and Patyegarang, who was his - - - very close
companion’, with extract ‘she had desired me to take away - - the candle’. The situation is part of the
introduction to Chapter 4. By way of contrast to the way white men treated the Aboriginal women, in his
own early journalist days Smith had prophetically pre-empted the relationship he would discover in his
later anthropologist days between an Aboriginal man and his lover: ‘Blows, once given, bruised only
fragile skin, but blow by blow - - ’. [He confided in me that his girlfriend came back after he presented that poem on stage
- pers. comm.] Dawes ca.1790 Manuscript 41645 (b) 29th page; Keith Vincent Smith 2001 ‘Bennelong’
Sydney, John Lloyd, Canberra, p.3.
Further Exploration Encounters

A subsequent attempt in September 1793 to penetrate the mountains from Richmond Hill was made by the soldier Captain William Paterson after the departure of Governor Arthur Phillip (dep.1792) and the marines, but before the return of John Hunter as the second governor (arr.1795). The acting governor was the Lieutenant Governor, Major Francis Grose of the new New South Wales Corps soldiers (arr.1792). The navy marines had been replaced by the army military. Paterson's expedition took small boats into the mountains, travelling along the river coming through the cleft as far upstream as they could drag them until they were too damaged to continue. Paterson renamed Phillip's initial Hawkesbury River coming through the cleft in the mountains as the Grose River, after his commanding officer.100

Just as for Phillip's 1791 expedition, Paterson's 1793 expedition found the mountain Aborigines along the river ‘almost unintelligible’ to the coastal Aborigines.101 Thus, from the earliest historical records, the mountain Aborigines at the Grose River Branch were not the same language group as the coastal Aborigines, so that more modern claims that they were the same people must be wrong.

In August 1800, with nearly seven years experience after the colonists had settled at the Hawkesbury, Collins was adamant that these Hawkesbury people of the interior were not the same as the coastal people: ‘Their language was unknown to each other, and there was not any doubt of their living in a state of mutual distrust and enmity.’102

Despite the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges being known to be different people in the eighteenth century at the time of first colonial contact, there has been an increasingly outspoken movement during the twentieth century to have them as part of the distinctly different Sydney and Cumberland Plain people, despite separate terms which had been published by Robert Mathews to identify the separate Languages, and thus identify the separate People and their separate Country. In context, this movement which re-wrote history culminated with the unveiling of the ‘Yarramundi Memorial’ in Macquarie Park, Windsor, on 27 March 1999. The speech by the mayor (a local historian), the well beloved late Rex Stubbs, included an introductory statement: ‘The Hawkesbury region of course

100 The Hawkesbury settlement which was to colonise these mountain and river Aborigines followed soon after that trip (Chapter 2).


102 Collins's second book was commenting on the life of an ex-convict, Wilson aka Bunboe, who had lived among the inland ‘woods’ Aborigines as one of them. (However, the book may have been confounding Aborigines to the southwest of Sydney with those to the northwest.) \ Collins 1802 ‘An Account of the English Colony’ Vol.II p.301, Fletcher 1975 [vol.2] edn p.215.
Although he had them misplaced, Stubbs meant *Dharug* people - the word ‘Darug’ is a recent concoction from a Western Victorian term, as detailed in Chapter 7. Rex Stubbs, 1999, Mayor’s Speech at The Unveiling of the Yarramundi Memorial in Macquarie Park on 27 March 1999, online at www.hawkesburyhistory.org.au/stubbs.

is the home of the Darug people’, which is incompatible with the history at the arrival of the colonists described in this chapter.\(^{103}\) The mayor had been misinformed.

When the First Fleet aliens arrived, The Aborigines of the Hawkesbury River Branches and Ranges were recognised with their own identity, i.e. separate to those from Port Jackson / Botany Bay (and their estuaries: respectively Parramatta River and Georges River with the Cook River flats). To provide and to explain the definition of the ancestral Hawkesbury people for the twentyfirst century from historical sources has become the task for this thesis.

### Chapter 1 Findings

In a sincere analysis of the historiography and the narrators behind the history recognising Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (and their rivers of northern Blue Mountains), I have found that the stories - which a Lieutenant-Captain of the marines, Watkin Tench, composed for a book on the ship *Gorgon* during his voyage returning to England - are an unreliable source as a historical record. Therefore, more credence must be given to alternative sources.

Travelling inland from Broken Bay up the newly discovered Hawkesbury River by boat in July 1789, Governor Arthur Phillip's first expedition to the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges encountered Aborigines there. Although they could not understand each other's language, the settlers communicated with these people beside the South Branch [the main Branch] of the river in the vicinity of present day Sackville in the Wilberforce area [which remained during nineteenth century history as a centre for these *Darkiñung*-language speaking Aborigines identified throughout this thesis].

Governor Phillip returned with another expedition on foot, accompanied by two men from the coastal Aborigines, in April 1791 after the front of an epidemic of a small pox, the chicken pox, had passed, and found that the inland people near the Hawkesbury River were of a different culture and language to those

\(^{103}\) Although he had them misplaced, Stubbs meant *Dharug* people - the word ‘Darug’ is a recent concoction from a Western Victorian term, as detailed in Chapter 7. Rex Stubbs, 1999, Mayor's Speech at The Unveiling of the Yarramundi Memorial in Macquarie Park on 27 March 1999, online at www.hawkesburyhistory.org.au/stubbs.
on the coast. Further expeditions, such as Captain William Paterson's in 1793, verified that these Aborigines encountered in the Blue Mountains at the Grose River were a different people. On the April 1791 overland expedition, Governor Phillip's party met a man who had recovered from the small pox, Gomebeere, at Bardo Narrang Creek near present day Pitt Town, and further upstream were joined by another Aborigine, the original Yellomundy. This encounter was not located at present day ‘Yarramundi’ Lagoon as claimed by some authors, a place which was never visited by Phillip.

Analysis of the historic reports shows that in 1791 Phillip learnt that in the upper Parramatta River catchment now known as The Hills people were sick and dying of the small pox - bidjigal. The coastal Aborigines, who were fishermen of marine waters, referred to others away from the shores as possum hunters from the woods, boorooberongal. Both terms were from the coastal language, and neither term applied to define a Clan as has been erroneously claimed. The following month on a different excursion, it seems that Lieutenant William Dawes discovered that the inland Aborigines repeated coastal words with a variation in pronunciation. On their expeditions when they met inland Aborigines about the Hawkesbury, the settlers did not discover any place names (as they had along the Parramatta River) and therefore did not discover any clan names for these Hawkesbury River people.

On the first expedition, winter 1789, naval Captain John Hunter noted yams had been dug up on the marshy edges of the river branches, and I have identified these as the sedge Bolboschoenus fluviatilis, a marsh club-rush. (The yams at the Hawkesbury River have no relationship with the Dharug Aboriginal people who were from the Georges River, as investigated throughout this thesis.)
Chapter 2

Axe making workshop of ‘The Branch’ natives on the bank of the lower Nepean River
from photograph by Geoff Ford Wednesday 29 April 2009

Notes:
Aborigines of the Hawkesbury River Branches were first identified as ‘The Branch’ natives from those Darkiňung Aborigines camped on the side of the lower Nepean River near the junction with the Grose River, who fled into the Blue Mountains towards Springwood when being pursued by Chief Constable Andrew Thompson’s massacre party in 1805. At this workshop there the river bed is full of stones used as axe head ‘blanks’, which when rubbed on the rock to sharpen made the grooves shown in photograph. I visited this tool sharpening site with one of my Aboriginal Everingham Darkiňung cousins - who is listed also as a descendant of Darkiňung woman Betty Cox from Cattai on the Hawkesbury River and Dharug man Woorrerwuda (alias ‘Johnny’) from Eastern Creek.
Part I (2)

Chapter 2

‘The Branch’ Natives
of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges

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**The Issue**

This chapter plays an important role in preparing the historical scene for the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges People (Part I) identified by their Language (Part II) as *Darkiňung* Aborigines, who occupied the Country of the northern Blue Mountains (Part III). Until identified by their language, they were known in the colony as ‘The Branch’ natives along the Branches of the Hawkesbury River, or as the ‘Wollombi tribe’ along southern tributaries of the Hunter River.\(^1\) Chapter 1 has established that, at the time of arrival of the settlers, the ‘inland’ Aboriginal people of the Grose River and country along the Hawkesbury River were of a different language and culture to the ‘coastal’ Aborigines already known to the settlers at Port Jackson / Botany Bay.\(^2\)

In this chapter, I illustrate that these Hawkesbury river and ranges Aboriginal people were known to the early settlers to have occupied the catchments from the ranges, i.e. for the Branches of the present day Hawkesbury River arising downstream from the junction of the Warragamba and upper Nepean Rivers (that is, for tributaries other than the Cumberland Plains ‘South Creek’). ‘The Branch’ natives at a tributary of present day Wollemi Brook, *Putty* (aka ‘Boottee’) - part of the Colo River Branch of the Hawkesbury - were associated through the ranges with those from the southern tributaries of the Hunter. These ranges represent the northern Blue Mountains. The potential limits to the Country occupied by these People are the subject of Part III.

These Aborigines referred to by the early settlers as ‘The Branch’ natives encompassed identities of several locality groups along the branches, such as the Richmond Hill ‘tribe’ for the people around Richmond Hill and Portland Head ‘tribe’ for people around Portland Head Rock area. These historic localities are discussed in Chapter 1. Whereas a locality group was then called ‘tribe’, the present day concept of a locality group is to designate it as a ‘Clan’, using ‘Tribe’ to distinguish contiguous groups with a common language.

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\(^1\) Historically, from the start of the expeditions and then settlements, Branches referred to the Hawkesbury River tributaries of which the South (or Southern) Branch had become the main river over geological time (since the Wollondilly / Warragamba flowed into it). Although ‘Wollombi’ became the term for a Hunter River tributary and was appropriated subsequently by Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell for a village located there, it appears to have been an indigenous term for the valleys of the high ranges, recorded in English characters with various spellings, including ‘Wallambine’ and ‘Wollemi’, as discussed later in this chapter. Further discussion of the original naming is given under The Issue of Chapter 12/NW.

\(^2\) Because Aboriginal groups are recognised by their language identification (Part II), the coastal people of Port Jackson - Parramatta River / Botany Bay - Georges River were quite distinct to the inland people of the Hawkesbury River and its Branches.
I have used the term ‘“The Branch” natives’ following its application by the settlers to identify the Hawkesbury Aborigines at Richmond Hill and across the Nepean River into the Grose Valley towards Springwood. The massacre of these people led by Andrew Thompson from the green hills port as below was referred to as ‘The successful assault made upon the Branch natives [emphasis in original] by a party of Richmond Hill and adjacent settlers [Sunday 28 April 1805]’.

Colonisation of ‘The Branch’ Natives

The major tributaries of the Hawkesbury River discovered by Governor Arthur Phillip (Chapter 1) were designated as Branches: Lower, Upper, and South Branch, respectively the present day Macdonald, Colo, and Hawkesbury Rivers. The smaller more easterly branch from the north, present day Mangrove Creek, did not distinguish itself with the same width or flow of fresh water when it was initially passed. Watkin Tench claimed to have found the present day lower Nepean River on 27 June 1789 without observing Aboriginal people in occupation there. It was not then appreciated as a tributary of the Hawkesbury, because the incompetent Tench had reported that it flowed in the opposite direction, so it was thought to reach the coast further south. However, it too was a ‘Branch’: about a week later, 6 July 1789, Governor Phillip's expedition had discovered this stream as one of ‘two narrow branches’, the water mainly coming ‘with considerable velocity’ out of the other ‘Branch’ from the mountains, Phillip's Hawkesbury River Branch - present day Grose River Branch.

Just as modern scholars have had difficulty in placing the historic location of Portland / Portland Head (Portland Head Rock) where Phillip met the river people as dealt with in Chapter 1, so too in discussions for this thesis research I have found disarray in placing ‘The Branch’ as a historic location. Although it

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4 It is questionable as to where Tench reached the river, discussed briefly in Chapter 1. (His companions had no chance to comment on his book because it was not written until after Tench left the colony.) \& Philip Gidley King 1793 in John Hunter, 1793, ‘An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island [etc]’, John Stockdale, Piccadilly (London), Facsimile edition 1968, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, p.404, Bach 1968 edn p.268.

was used indiscriminately for all the Branches of the Hawkesbury River in the earliest records, it has come to mean a specific location in the valley of the higher Macdonald River.\(^6\)

Even after the initial settlement along the Hawkesbury and its tributaries as follows, the area was still accessed by travelling upstream from Broken Bay by boat, where the most persuasive feature was the way the river ‘branched’. Thus the Aborigines along the river who occupied these mountain catchments became known as ‘The Branch’ natives, whose presence was recorded from the Grose River to Mangrove Creek tributaries. These river and mountain Aborigines were colonised soon after Paterson’s expedition in 1793 (Chapter 1), when settlers led by two soldiers began to occupy river flats and flood plains on the eastern right hand side of the Hawkesbury River.\(^7\) A small river port township for the then Richmond Hill district developed at the upstream end of the first settlement. Like its later counterpart on the Hunter River, this small port was referred to as ‘the green hills’, present day Windsor.

As further settlement progressed, some Aboriginal people retaliated at having their crops destroyed along the river banks and verges, such as yams and rushes. The settlers cleared the trees and removed the indigenous vegetables, replacing them with new crops which they prevented the indigenous people from sharing. Beginning under Acting Governor Grose, as the banks were cleared from 1793/94 the traditional Hawkesbury people were denied access to the river for fishing, in startling contrast to the situation at Port Jackson under Governor Phillip where they not only retained the opportunity to fish but were able to trade with the settlers. When farming also started on the western left hand side of the Hawkesbury River as well (i.e. across the river on the mountain side), a free settler, Thomas Webb, was speared so badly in

\(^6\) One of my Hunter Valley contacts, an Aboriginal descendant of this place, now owns property at the present day ‘The Branch’. Morgan identified “The Branch” as a valley (upstream) of the Macdonald River westerly of Howe’s Valley: that is, at the Stony Creek Branch, not far above Burrowell (Morgan’s Bhoorowell, Howe’s Boorohwall - Chapter 3). \(^\text{\textbackslash} H.A.McL. Morgan, 1958, ‘The Bulga or Coal River [Road] - Australia’s First North Road, Its History and Its Pioneers’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 44 (4): 185-221, p.209.

\(^7\) The Hawkesbury settlement was not led by the spendthrift convicts, shipmates James Ruse and Charles Williams, as it is fashionable for other historians to suppose, but led by two of Paterson’s soldiers with a head for business enterprises: Giles Mower on a hill (present day McGraths Hill) at the upstream end and James Webb on a hill (present day Halls Point - ‘Percy Place’) at the downstream end, with twenty convicts offered land to work along the river flat in between the soldiers (present day Pitt Town Bottoms). I have made a comparison of their characters which shows that Paterson rather than Grose was the force behind settling the Hawkesbury, although there is not space here to include my assessment. Mower and Webb had probably been there on Paterson’s expedition, volunteering from then to lead a new settlement there in 1793. After clearing the trees on their hills with the pretence of clearing the land as required for farming, the two of them later sought more timber with grants downstream at what became known as Webbs Creek, the first tributary with an English name, whose English name was known by the Aborigines high in the ranges (Chapter 3). James Webb was a shipbuilder, and later Giles Mower became a publican. \(^\text{\textbackslash} G.E. Ford, personal research beyond this thesis, ms in preparation for publication; Brian Fletcher, 1965, ‘Grose, Paterson and the Settlement of the Hawkesbury, 1794-1795’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 51(4): 341-49.
March 1795 that he died. The Aborigines retained a hold on the slopes of the ranges alongside the river for a few years until repeated floods drove the settlers to occupy this higher ground. Remaining Aborigines came in as mendicants to the new river port township as above, surviving as fringe dwellers exploiting the settlers following the precedent at Sydney and Parramatta. After Governor Macquarie established the township of Richmond, from where people crossed the river to travel north through the Kurrajong Hills (i.e. via North Richmond at crossing), Aborigines from the ranges came in from the north to Richmond (Chapter 3).

At the townships, the settlers noted some of the more prominent Aboriginal identities, such as those who became apparent supplicants. If they appeared to appease the white people they were titled ‘chiefs’, although there was no such rank in Aboriginal society. I envisage them to have been more like multilingual diplomats acting as negotiators. In later times successful settlers bestowed a gorget to back up the honorific title in an apparent attempt to gain the loyalty of those Aborigines for themselves, and the Aborigines were willing to go along with the demeaning pretense while it benefited them to satisfy the white men whom they were exploiting for provisions.

The Hawkesbury Natives: Yaragowhy and Yaramandy

Some members of ‘The Branch’ natives were regarded by the settlers as miscreants because they attempted to recover for the Aboriginal people part of the harvests directly from their land, before they had learned how to exploit the settlers by accepting offered handouts from the settlers’ labours to keep the peace between the races. In present times, this co-existence by co-operation would be referred to as corruption, i.e. blackmail by the Aborigines, bribery by the settlers.

Among early known members of ‘The Branch’ natives around the green hills, two were named in 1804 as Yaragowhy and Yaramandy (seemingly corrupted posthumously to Yarramundi later in 1900s) who were then referred to by the settlers as ‘chiefs’ of the Richmond Hill ‘tribe’ local group. At this time the Macquarie towns had not been thought of, the Hawkesbury areas were known as Portland Head (Portland Head Rock) near Currency Creek junction downstream and Richmond Hill near Grose River junction

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9 Chapter 4. I acknowledge Jim Kohen for use of the term ‘corrupted’ in this situation.
upstream. The events started with the consequences of an attack on new Hawkesbury settler Matthew Everingham with his family at Portland Head Rock. Soon, Yaragowhy and Yaramandy were summoned by the local Magistrate, Surgeon Thomas Arndell, to stop the attacks along the Hawkesbury, and given gifts to ‘recall these unfortunate creatures to a state of amity’.

This Yaramandy of Richmond Hill location, who does not appear in history again under that name, is taken in modern times to probably be Yellomundy who camped with Governor Phillip on Thursday 14 April 1791 at Portland Head Rock location (Chapter 1) not far from where Everingham was attacked. And Yaragowhy was shot by the settlers during a massacre led by Andrew Thompson in 1805 as follows.

The Aborigines of the central Blue Mountains in the Grose Valley catchment were described in the story of Yaragowhy, an Aboriginal resistance hero, which was documented in the Sydney Gazette newspaper. Natives from these northern mountains who were attacking settlers were identified as far away as the second ridge inside the Grose River catchment (viz. towards Springwood]. These were the Aborigines whom William Paterson in 1793 had distinguished from the coastal people (Chapter 1). As well, there was more unrest further south where different natives attacked settlers at The Cowpastures.

On Saturday April 27, 1805, Andrew Thompson from the small port township at the green hills led an assault by a large body of settlers against the natives of the west side of the Nepean, whom they came across on the second day after climbing into the mountains ‘with much fatigue’, towards present day Springwood. Yaragowhy died in the attack. He had gone ahead of the settlers to warn his people, which

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10 Everingham's eldest daughter, my great(nth) grandmother, was present at the attack, yet a son born subsequently ‘married’ a local Aboriginal girl..... I acknowledge that I and many Aboriginal cousins are Everingham descendants and members of the Everingham Family Association. It was Everingham's youngest son who took an Aboriginal woman for a partner. And a grandson of Everingham's eldest daughter had a child by an Aboriginal girl Madha (alias Martha): the child became William Onus 1st. The circumstances are discussed in Chapter 4. \ Sydney Gazette, No.66, Vol.2, 3 June 1804, p.3 col.1.

11 By following reports of settlers who recognised these men, it is seen that Yaragowhy was a spokesperson (i.e. settlers’ ‘Chief’) for the Richmond Hill / Grose Valley area, while Yaramandy, as Yellomundy, was a spokesperson for the Portland Head Rock area downstream. \ Sydney Gazette, No.70, Vol.2, 1 July 1804, p.2 col.3.

12 As Thompson's biographer, Byrnes pays little heed to Aborigines, merely stating for his duties as Chief Constable: ‘the necessity for either discussion or direct action where the natives were concerned’. \ J.V. Byrnes, 1962, ‘Andrew Thompson, 1773-1810’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 48 (2): 105-41, (3): 161-207, quote p.111.
act of courage the settlers described as ‘treachery’. From this 1805 record, the settlers knew these people to be ‘The Branch’ natives as given at the start of chapter. Thus the Blue Mountains people of the Grose River catchment were positively identified as that group which occupied the Hawkesbury and its other Branches (present day Colo and Macdonald Rivers), that is, The Branch Tribe.

In support of Yaramandy [aka ‘Yarramundi’?] really being Yellomundy, a lagoon at Richmond Hill location which was mentioned in passing as Yaramandy's Lagoon in 1805 had become ‘Yellow Mundie’s’ Lagoon when Governor Macquarie arrived in 1810. However, late in the nineteenth century it became known as Yarramundi Lagoon, appearing as such on maps. As a locally spoken term, the Aboriginal name of Yellomundy the person had been forgotten, having become corrupted whereby an awful Anglicisation as ‘Yellow Monday’ became replaced with ‘Yarrow Monday’, then ‘Yarra Monday’, resulting in ‘Yarra Mundi’. Somehow ‘Yarramundi’ became interpreted as ‘water deep’. That interpretation by white people may have been taken from a language elsewhere where yarra meant water because the local Aboriginal term for water was butta or bardo. Authors of popular books for a general audience usually did not attempt to distinguish between Aboriginal word sources.

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13 At the time of Thompson’s massacre, there was only one settler across the Nepean River, Sergeant Obadiah Ikin who was alone other than for the Aborigines there. He was given in the news as ‘Serjeant Ai(c)ken’. All Hawkesbury land grants then were for ‘the district of Mulgrave Place’. Ikin had been deeded 160 acres 16 July 1804 at the junction of the Grose River, which became ‘Kearn's Retreat’ farm after the massacre when he sold it to Matthew ‘Murty’ Kearns. Ikin had been living peacefully away from his wife, with the local Aborigines of this thesis, and the brief siege of the hut after the massacre may have been a consequence of Thompson’s attack. \ Ford 2007 ‘The Yaragowhy Story’ as given above: Sydney Gazette No.115, Vol.3, Sunday May 12 1805 p.3, col.1; R.J. Ryan (ed.), 1981 edn, ‘Land Grants 1788-1809’, Australian Documents Library, Five Dock (Sydney), p.169, transcribed from K.A. Johnson & M.R. Sainty (eds), 1974 edn, Genealogical Publications of Australia, later Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney); R. E. Mitchell, 1940, ‘The Grose River Valley’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 26 (3): 234-62, p.258; Michael Flynn, 1993, ‘The Second Fleet - Britain's Grim Convict Armada of 1791’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney, p.354.

14 ‘Yarrow’ is from an Old English term for a herb with aromatic flowers used in herbal medicine, Achillea millefolium. It has finely divided, feathery leaves, and water weeds with similar leaves - as in a lagoon - were called ‘water yarrow’ by the English. The colloquial transition is documented by a local resident. \ Refer, e.g. O.E.D. p.2464; James T. (‘Toby’) Ryan, 1894, ‘Reminiscences of Australia’, George Robertson, Sydney, Facsimile edn 1982, Nepean Family History Society, e.g. p.117, p.85.

15 However, an alternative interpretation for Aboriginal term yarra is flowing, including an application to ‘flowing beard’. The real explanation for the use here, in the flood channel at the Nepean River, is not known. Thorpe mixed both Aboriginal place names not in use (without a meaning) with their English name location, and Aboriginal words with a meaning without their location - as for Yarramundi meaning ‘water deep’. William Thorpe of The Australian Museum Sydney added this term Yarramundi to the second edition of his book. It was not in the first edition. \ William Walford Thorpe, 1927 (2nd edn), ‘List of New South Wales Aboriginal Place Names and Their Meanings’, The Australian Museum, Sydney, p.16; W.W. Thorpe, 1921 (1st edn), ‘List of New South Wales Aboriginal Words and Their Meanings with Some Well-Known Place Names’, The Australian Museum, Sydney.
The assumption that *Yaramandy* of Richmond Hill location was really *Yellomundy* of Portland Head Rock location has had an enormous impact on the history of the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, i.e. ‘The Branch’ natives, affecting how it is viewed in the present day (as for *Yellomundy*’s putative family *Colebee* and Maria Lock, Chapters 4 and 6). **Other than the lagoon name as above, he could not have been considered as the same person.** In preparation of this thesis, I widely consulted professional and academic linguists, to discuss whether the expressions *Yello-mundy* or *Yarra-mundi* could be the same term in Aboriginal speech. Not a single one of the experts would accept that these words are the same, i.e. that they are the same name of one person. The closest was a lecturer specialising in rhotics to whom I was referred from Sydney University, and she referred me back to undergraduate texts.\(^ {16} \) Summarising their discussions, it is unlikely that English speakers would have written ‘l’ and ‘r’ to represent the same sound.\(^ {17} \) Hence, the correct name is the name used for him with *Gomebeere*, i.e. *Yellomundy* (Chapter 1). The passing misrepresentation of him [if it was him] in the newspaper as *Yaramandy* was probably made by a single person who misheard or misspoke the Aboriginal word. As for calling him ‘Yarramundi’ - that is a Furphy which as a person’s name only exists in people’s imagination, evidently developed from ‘Yarrow Monday’ as above.

*Yellomundy*, a member of ‘The Branch’ natives met by Governor Phillip at Portland Head Rock location in 1791, was still at the same location in 1818 when he had been ‘upgraded’ to old ‘king’.\(^ {18} \) As a


\(^{17}\) The term was (terms were) being written by English-speakers using English characters to reproduce sounds. Dealing with English speech of the time (1700s), in his edited version of Johnson, Lynch presented [extracted here], the letter ‘R’: ‘one constant sound in English, as rose, more’, and the letter ‘L’: ‘always the same sound in English, as lady, feel’. Clark & Yallop in 1990 pointed out that in English ‘l’ and ‘r’ are distinctive, and contrastive as in *led* and *red*, *click* and *crick*, to achieve acceptable pronunciation. (They demonstrated that ‘r’ was used to represent more than one sound in an Aboriginal language.) Mathew [sic] in 1887 also had pointed out that ‘r’ represents two sounds in an Aboriginal language, but that ‘l’ is distinctive: a ‘characteristic sound’. Combining modern concepts of spoken Aboriginal dialects from Northern Australia, Yallop had tabulated the ‘Spelling convention for the most common sounds of Aboriginal languages’. \( \backslash \) Jack Lynch (ed.), 2002, ‘Samuel Johnson’s Dictionary - Selections from the 1755 Work that Defined the English Language’, Levenger Press, Florida, p.285, p.421; John Clark & Colin Yallop, 1995 (2\textsuperscript{nd} edn), ‘The Phoneme’ in ‘An Introduction to Phonetics and Phonology’, Blackwell, Oxford, pp.91-94; John Mathew, 1887, ‘[The language of] Mary River and Bunya Bunya Country’, No.166 in Edward M. Curr, 1887, ‘The Australian Race - Its Origin, Languages, Customs [etc]’, Vol. III, Victoria Government Printer, Melbourne, also Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill (London), pp.152-209, quote p.180; Colin Yallop, 1982, ‘Australian Aboriginal Languages’, André Deutsch, London, Table 1 pp.22-24.

\(^{18}\) Governor Macquarie used a protocol of service to the colony to upgrade Aboriginal men from a ‘chief’ to a ‘king’- which reflected English, but not Aboriginal, culture, especially as these were predominately men living around a settlement separated from traditional ‘tribal’ life. \( \backslash \) Walter Lawry, 1818,
dominant man, there should have been many of Yellomundy's family known to have survived, but only one from the social family group attributed to ‘Yaramandy’ is recognised with descendants. Under the drastic changes suddenly introduced with British colonial settlement, those Aboriginal families in this area which survived to procreate did so after an infusion of European blood. The Aboriginal offspring were accepted as members of the settlers' society which they inhabited or became members of the Aboriginal social family as fringe dwellers (Chapter 4).

An Aboriginal girl to become known as Maria, from ‘The Branch’ natives at the Richmond Hill locality, was placed in Governor Macquarie's Native Institution in 1814 aged six years old and educated there. The story is retold that as a pubescent girl, she was married to an Aboriginal boy called ‘Dicky’ who was named ‘Thomas Coke’, becoming known as Maria ‘Cook’ transliterated sometimes as Maria the cook leading to a legend that she worked in Governor Macquarie's kitchen. When told by the Rev. William Walker that he would go to heaven when he died, Dicky was baptised and died soon after. Heaven must have been described as most desirable. After his death, it seems that another experiment with Maria was not tried with one of the other ‘suitable’ Aboriginal boys being reared to become husbands, so early in 1824 the Institution married Maria ‘Cook’, just fifteen years old, to twenty four years old convict Robert Lock. She made it a most successful marriage, and there are thousands of descendants of this Hawkesbury Aborigine of ‘The Branch’ natives. This example is considered in Chapter 4, continuing in

19(continued)

19 The version of the legend passed down in the family was that ‘Maria the cook’ worked in Governor King's kitchen (Chapter 7) - which would have been before she was born. The connection appears to be that she was named after Governor King's daughter Anna Maria, who married Hannibal Macarthur (Chapter 4). The name of Methodist Bishop Thomas Coke was pronounced ‘cook’.

20 Mention about the story retold of Maria's marriage and Dicky's death is footnoted Chapter 4.

21 J.L. Kohen published in his 1993b popular book, quite blatantly: ‘Robert and Maria Lock had ten children, and it is through these children that many of the Darug descendants who are members of the organisation “Darug Link” trace their ancestry.’ With reference to ‘ancestry’, his alleged Dharug descendancy is quite impossible if Maria had come from ‘The Branch’ natives of Yellomundy - from where her ancestry, as established and explained in this thesis, is Darkiñung, not Dharug. The new term ‘Darug’ is Kohen's own contrived word for Dharug - whom he had shown in 1984 to be from the Georges River. On the other hand, because Maria and Robert lived at Liverpool on the Georges River, it could be considered that she became a ‘nationalised’ Dharug person by migration, giving her children a choice either of old ancestral identity or of new national identity from change of country. I do not know his motive in changing her identity, unless it is tied up with the land claim for which he states in 2006 ‘The Darug people claim traditional ownership of the Sydney region’, despite the Federal Court judgement published in 2004 (sitting as the NNTT) not accepting a claim at the Hawkesbury River - Maria's ancestral country, as discussed in Chapter 7. The claim had been made on behalf of the Dharug people (who came from the Georges River), instead of on behalf of the Darkiñung people (who came from the (continued...
Chapter 6 with regard to changing her Aboriginal identity from a member of ‘The Branch’ natives of the Hawkesbury River to a member of the Georges River Aborigines.22

Loss of Knowledge of Aboriginal Names for People

As for the example with Maria and Dicky, the settlers stopped recognising Aboriginal names and were using English names as nicknames for Aboriginal children of the colony, making it difficult to be certain of historical characters from source records.

Common nicknames, with variations, such as Charley [Charles], Jacky [John] or Jemmy [James], Billy [William] or Bobby [Robert], and Tommy, Dicky or Harry [Thomas, Richard or Henry] were applied to several Aborigines as personal names and so the names had to be qualified to distinguish individuals. Men from outside the settlement would be called ‘Myles’ (aka ‘Miles’) for a myall or ‘wild’ (unknown) man. Pet names were used for Aboriginal girls and women too, such as Kitty [Catherine], Biddy [Bridget], Tilly [Matilda], Fanny [Frances], Molly [Mary] and Peggy [Margaret], and the same name was also applied to several people (Chapter 4). English terms were used to re-express Aboriginal kinship names, e.g. ‘Martha’ or ‘Maddy’ (Madha) and ‘Bertha’ (Budha or Butha). Even with qualifications, names popular with the white people were recycled. A new name for a new identity to reflect a passage in life for a single individual was normal practice for an Aboriginal person just as in European culture. For example, at the time a white woman, for her passage in life, took on marriage she would take on the sur-name identity of her Master (Mr., her husband) to become Mistress of their home and property (Mrs., or ‘missus’).

However, recycling names as the Europeans did was a practice alien to those traditional people who did not use a deceased Aborigine’s personalised name after death while they waited for reincarnation of the spirit as another person.

A useful introduction to the ‘Naming of Aborigines’ by the English was presented by Edgar Beale for the Royal Australian Historical Society. An English personal name or family name could be used. Using the personal name of Surveyor General Mitchell: ‘Take the common name of Tommy, for instance. Sir Thomas Mitchell in 1836 had two guides named Tommy, - - distinguished as Tommy Came-first and Tommy Came-last. A stockman employed on Mr. Icely’s run might well become known as Tommy

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21(...continued)


22 The impact of the Blacktown and District Historical Society in the historiography is detailed in Chapter 7.
Icely.23 This principal was applied when William Hibbs, son of Madha, became known as William Onus, after the employer Joseph Onus (Chapter 4).

Prominent among the miscreants as referred to above was Branch Jack, that is, Jack of ‘The Branch’ natives. A friend to settlers on the Hawkesbury, it is not known whether it was for retaliation that he led a group of Aborigines in 1805 to fatally assault one of the ‘Military settlers’ there.24 He was recognised from that attack in the time of Governor King when, with a group downstream at Mangrove Creek, he was shot, apparently fatally, while boarding a river trader.25 It is not clear whether he recovered to become a subsequent Branch Jack who nearly twelve years later in the time of Governor Macquarie was recognised with a gorget.26

The term for ‘The Branch’ natives on the main Southern Branch of the Hawkesbury River persisted at Richmond at least until 1819, when Jack (an Aborigine known as ‘Jack Richmond’) was listed, under the heading ‘from the Branch’ in the Colonial Secretary's Ships' Musters, as crew on Jonathan [Jack?] Griffith's ship Glory launched from his property at Richmond Hill.27 ‘The Branch’ natives were not just those from the Southern Branch (Governor Phillip's Hawkesbury and Paterson's Grose River) as above, but those from the more northerly Colo, Macdonald and Mangrove Branches. And the Aborigines at present day Putty (Putty aka Bootee) of the Colo Branch were part of the Wollombi group (Chapter 12/NW). Although one was the watershed of the Hawkesbury River [Colo] and the other the watershed of the Hunter River [Wollombi], there was no differentiation of the Aborigines within these Hawkesbury-Hunter rivers and ranges.

26 My colleague K.V. Smith, who has been preparing a biographical encyclopaedia of the Aborigines from early contact, has argued while working under J.L. Kohen that when the same, or similar, name appears in the records it indicates the same person, meaning that there could only be one Aborigine called Jack from ‘The Branch’ natives. In December 1816 Macquarie instructed his engineer, Captain J.M. Gill, to have made ‘gorgets or breast plates with chains for native chiefs’. One was to be inscribed: ‘“Branch Jack” Chief of the Hawkesbury Upper Branch Native Tribe’. The earlier Branch Jack had been known for a much greater distance along the Hawkesbury River Branches than just in the ‘Upper Branch’ (present day Colo River). Under Governor Macquarie the more senior Aborigines [in settlers' terms] became designated with the sobriquet of ‘king’ rather than merely a ‘chief’- as seen later, e.g., for Kurba and Kootee following, who lived without other members of their tribe.
‘The Wollombi’ Natives South of the Hunter: Jetto and Potembo (alias ‘Boni’ / ‘Boney’)  
There was contiguity of ‘The Branch’ natives to become known generally as The Hawkesbury Tribe to the south and those of that group to the north to become known generally as The Wollombi Tribe. Together they composed a spread out population with a common language (Part II) occupying the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, whose members freely moved between the Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers across their Tribal country (Chapter 3). Despite different current meanings ascribed in English, it is likely that terms Wallambine, Wollombi (aka Wolombi or Wallumbi), Wollemi and more are variations of the same Aboriginal expression, and could even have been the original tribal term for the people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Even the colonial recognition of the first districts, ‘Police Districts’, applied the term Wollombi for a large part of these ranges from the Great Dividing Range in the west (at Nullo) to the range delineating the coastal drainage in the east (at Congewai). This was the Country of ‘The Branch’ natives, as for the historic records discussed in Part III.

The early explorations into the ranges by Ben Singleton and his companions showed by 1817 that the Aborigines there were the one people from the Hawkesbury to the Hunter (Chapter 3), i.e. those known in 1805 as ‘The Branch’ natives. Again, in 1826 the Putty aka Booty people to the west of Wollombi Brook and the ‘Wallumbi’ (Wollombi) people were travelling in concert, noted near Jerry’s Plains at the Hunter River as far as Greigs Creek to the north (present day Martindale Creek). For this tribe the mountains were as one territory, moving through the Hawkesbury and Hunter rivers' catchments.

The colonial settlement of the Wollombi valleys was a generation later than that of the land taken up for farming at the Hawkesbury valley, so the Aboriginal people already had prior warning of what to expect. Early settlers from Mangrove Creek travelled north up the valley, where there was easy access over the range dividing the Hawkesbury catchment at Mangrove Creek and the Hunter catchment at Wollombi Brook. The small holdings of these farmers spilled north down Wollombi Brook to the edge of the

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28 Parish Nullo County Hunter; Parish Congewai County Northumberland.
30 Among these pioneer settlers were my mother's family, the Woodbury branch of the Everingham Family. At Mangrove Creek, Woodbury girls married Hibbs and Bridge men, whose families were to have a friendly impact on the Aborigines of the Wollombi. A Bridge daughter married into John Medhurst's family (my great grandparents) who became informants for Aboriginal contact (Chapter 6).
ranges on the south of the broad valley of the Hunter, where they met the larger holdings of graziers who had already brought their livestock along the Bulga road from Richmond to Singleton (Chapter 3).

In the Wollombi Brook upper catchment itself, it was the Aborigine Boni (aka Boney or Bonney) who was identified like Yaragowhy and Yellowmundy as a leader, a local ‘chief’ recognised as a contact for the settlers around the village of Wollombi. Just as Yaragowhy and Yellowmundy had dealt with the early Hawkesbury magistrate Surgeon Thomas Arndell, so Boni as a local ‘chief’ - representing the eaglehawk - would have dealt with the later Wollombi magistrate David Dunlop and his wife Eliza as the spokesman for the local Aborigines.\footnote[31]{David Dunlop reported in 1840: ‘I have nominated one chief of the Wollombi...'}

\footnote[31]{Within a reference to the published poem ‘The Eagle Chief’ by Eliza Dunlop, is an excerpt about her attempts to see a secret piece of quartz hidden in a possum-hair belt: ‘I have prayed for a peep at one worn by the Wollombi Chief’. In her handwritten original ms she names Boni: ‘I have prayed for a peep at one, worn by the Old Wollombi King Boni, - - -’. This ms was for a book, apparently not published as intended. Webby, a professor at this university, showed no empathy, considering Dunlop's writing fairly ordinary and her recognition of Boni to be ‘a fairly conventional glorification of the noble savage’. Dunlop’s ‘Eagle Chief’ is nothing to do with Biraban (Chapter 9/NE) a Central Coast Aborigine, as incorrectly deduced by some authors who have not studied the Wollombi Aborigines. Boni apparently represented the ‘eagle hawk’ described specifically by Eliza Dunlop which in my extended studies about the Wollombi people I have identified as Acesteter novaehollandiae, the white goshawk (the ‘rare white hawk’ of George Rusden, who was reared nearby in the Hunter Valley - Chapter 12/NW). In other places ‘The Eagle Hawk’ was referred to with an Aboriginal term ‘maliyan’ aka ‘mullian’, as known to Dunlop. The reverence for an Eaglehawk, versus a Crow, was widespread as applied to two principal classes which determined Aboriginal Kinship laws. Later, Rev. John Mathew popularised it by using it as the title for his classic book, in which he took a creation story told by Robert Smyth.}
and given him a [breast] plate - - . However, before Boni, Dunlop may have chosen a compliant Jetto - too supplicant and too young to have been accepted as a spokesman by the Aborigines, as follows.

There are records about the Wollombi ‘tribe’ from the mountains of the Hunter River catchment visiting (therefore not occupying) the coastal catchment as friends of the sea-side and lakes ‘tribe’ there.³² Edward (‘Ned’) Hargraves, who built ‘Norahville’ at Norah Head, was friendly to the visiting Aborigines from the ranges, as well as to the local Aboriginal people on the coast. Historian of the coast, Charles Swancott, found:

King Bonney, an immense black, the chieftain of the tribe from the Hunter River, attended all tribal gatherings and called at the Noraville homestead. He had an almost insuperable distaste for clothes and his appearances caused some embarrassment to the residents.

He was invited to attend a gathering in the Noraville drawing room for the christening of a son born to Molly and Margaret. He promised faithfully to wear a discarded suit of clothes given him by E.H. Hargraves but arrived wearing only the waistcoat.³³ The occasion was the christening of a Central Coast Aborigine as described by Reverend Glennie for 2 January 1860:

Had service at 3 o’clock PM and baptised a little aboriginal infant . Son of ‘Ned’ & Margaret. It was a fine little boy of about 7 months old. - - Some 2 or 3 blacks attended to witness the ceremony, & seemed very much interested in it.³⁴

In Swancott's data, E.H. (‘Ned’) Hargraves had dubbed the mother ‘Queen’ Margaret and the father ‘King’ Molly - to whom he had given a breastplate. It could be assumed that the term Molly represented an Aboriginal name in an Anglicised form, and when the family moved to the mouth of Lake Macquarie, they were known by the aliases of ‘Ned’ [from Hargraves] and Margaret as described by Glennie.

³¹(...continued)

³² For example, John Mann in 1842 was invited by a Broken Bay / Central Coast Aborigine to attend a grand corroboree on Wyong Creek at Tuggerah Lake in honour of the visiting Wollombi ‘tribe’ (Chapter 9/NE). \J.F.Mann, , [reprint of ‘an ancient document of 1842’, from 1906 files] 1936, ‘Brisbane Water 95 Years Ago: (I) Quaint Story of Olden Times; (II) Wollombi Tribe and Gosford Blacks’, The Gosford Times No.2765 29 October 1936 p.9, No.2766 5 November 1936 p.16.


³⁴ Reverend Alfred Glennie Journals, Part [Volume] II, May 1858-March 1861, page 84, transcribed by volunteers, republished: Philipe Ed. Tabiteau (ed.) 1987 as ‘Historical Records of the Central Coast of New South Wales, Rev. Alfred Glennie Journals, book 1 1855-60’, Gosford District Local History Study Group, Gosford. On the death of Tabiteau, while I was consulting his historical records for this thesis (then located next to Gosford council library at Niagara Park), source material was passed to the Wyong District Museum and Historical Society, Wyong.
Earlier, while it was popular for settlers to hand out breastplate gorgets to local Aborigines, one had been bestowed on an Aborigine ‘Jetto’, ‘king of the Wallumbi’.\(^{35}\) The breastplate turned up in the collection of The Australian Museum Sydney. I do not know the history of ‘Jetto’ yet - he may have been magistrate Dunlop’s nominee, or had an individual relationship with another settler as for King Molly (alias ‘Ned’) on the coast as above and as for Kurba as below, or as for Kootee in the ranges following. However, Jetto is shown in the ‘blanket lists’ for the Wollombi or Wollumbi ‘tribe’ in 1838 (estimated age 23yo) and 1841 (25yo) when he was designated ‘King’. Finally, he appears again (as Jatto) in 1843, when ‘Boney’ is listed too. On this listing, it is shown that ‘Boney’ is the English nickname (alias) for an Aborigine named Potembo.\(^{36}\) It appears that the white man’s young King Jetto had been a pretender for the ‘crown’ of Potembo - who by 1860 had become the notable ‘immense’ King ‘Boney’ who had impressed the magistrate’s wife Eliza Dunlop so much.

**Other Historic People - Southeast of the Hunter River: Kurba (alias ‘Constable’)\(^{37}\)**

Another breastplate was bestowed by T.W.M. (Tom White Melville) Winder at Gosforth on the southern side of the Hunter River upstream of Maitland.\(^{37}\) He gave an Aborigine, who was living with his family on Winder’s property, a nickname as the ‘Constable’, an endearment which a visitor took to be a general term for Aborigines who remained about the homestead ground, keeping away ‘strange blacks’ and checking on the convict servants for the proprietor. As described by the visitor, in order to ‘tickle his vanity’ and to ‘give him importance’ Winder had made a brass crescent for the Aboriginal man to wear, inscribed ‘King Cobra - Maitland’\(^{38}\).

The so-called ‘King Cobra’, appears on the blanket lists as old ‘Constable’ in 1833 and again in 1836 (50yo) as Kurba, who by then had moved to join members of the ‘Sugarloaf’ or Kuringbong aka

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\(^{36}\) Jim Kohen (compiler). 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’ (& misc. lists to 1851), Macquarie University. Aboriginal censuses are also known as ‘Blanket Lists’.

\(^{37}\) The location at Gosforth is to the northwest of Maitland on the south side of Hunter River at present day Winder’s Hill.

\(^{38}\) Although Kurba was living on the farm without his tribe, he was able to assemble sufficient Aborigines [from Maitland town fringe dwellers, perhaps] to perform a dance for the visitors. ‘A Settler in New Holland’, 1836, [untitled], The Saturday Magazine, 25 June 1836, No.255: 242-43. This follows as an accessory for an item [by W.R. Govett] sub-titled ‘The Corroboree, or National Dance’, 241-42. [It is not part of Govett’s article as has been claimed recently.]
Kurungbong [Cooranbong] tribe at Dora Creek. He was not a king or the chief of a ‘tribe’: evidently ‘king’ was a meaningless term with regard to the people on whom it was bestowed. Kurba (aka ‘Cobra’, alias ‘Constable’) is another example of a close relationship - like Boni - between the Aborigines of this thesis from the country draining to the Hunter River from its south, and the Aborigines of the coastal drainage.

Other Historic People - Northwest of the Hawkesbury River: Kootee (alias ‘Billy’)

Many other Aborigines of the northern Blue Mountains have been identified by name as playing a part in local history of settlement, such as companions of explorers and guides through the ranges who affected the course of history (Chapter 3). Others are known because of entries in a diary, personal journal, or reminiscences of a European settler or traveller. Several of the stories of these men have been told. They would make a thesis in their own right.

An example of an Aborigine of ‘The Branch’ natives who assisted a new land holder was ‘Billy Kootee’ the ‘King of Mount Tomah’. He stayed at George Bowen’s place near Tomah when his ‘tribe’ passed through the vicinity above the Kurrajong Hills. Kootee was king of nobody, but was an Aborigine courted by the local landholder who sought to retain his loyalty. Bowen wrote about ‘The Branch’ natives in his autobiography:

How it was that I had a king under my dominion may require some explanation. The aboriginal natives never lived [stayed permanently] in the mountains, but there was a tribe who wandered over the neighbouring lowlands and occasionally paid me a visit. One fine young man attached himself to me, and, as there was no king in the Australian Israel or in this portion of it in those days, I had him crowned according to the approved custom. This required me to get a polished brass plate shaped like a crescent to the ends of which was attached a brass chain to hang around the neck. On the plate were engraved the following words “Billy Kootee, King of Mount Tomah.” This mountain was the highest and central elevation of the group which adjoined my land.

Geographically, the ‘Sugarloaf’ here refers to the Newcastle Sugarloaf. The Kuringbong [Kuri'ng-bong?] is likely to be a local group, Clan, within what Threlkeld 1820s-40s data showed as the ‘Sugarloaf Tribe’ which merged with the ‘Broken Bay Tribe’, given on Gunson 1974 map. In 1892 Fraser re-allocated Threlkeld’s Sugarloaf group to become the ‘Awabakal’ people, as discussed in Chapter 9/NE. Kohen 1986a ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives’, Area: North p.14, p.18.

There are other recorded examples of Aborigines from the ranges ‘retiring’ [my word] to the coast, e.g. Chapter 9/NE.

At this time, Kootee was an estimated 26yo, so appears to have missed out on having his own family to support, as was a common situation for Aboriginal men at that time. George Meares Countess Bowen, ca.1876, ‘Autobiography, Modern Parables and Predictions’, privately published, copy held by descendant [Miss L. Lowe], p.131, transcribed in 1972 and extracts cited by: Meredyth Hungerford, 1995, ‘Bilpin the Apple Country’, self published, Bilpin, [Bowen given in her bibliography p.403], quote p.35.
The modern misinterpretation of Bowen's Aboriginal connection has had unfortunate consequences for Darkiñung recognition, from the mistaken concept that the Georges River Dharug Aborigines occupied the mountains (Part II). After the formation of the ‘Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation’, J.L. Kohen's new term ‘Darug’ was used when they initiated a project about the Aboriginal Connections to Mount Tomah. Suzanne Kenney, the consultant from ‘Beyond Consulting’ who compiled a beautiful booklet began: ‘Mount Tomah Botanic Garden is the cool-climate garden of the Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney. Given the significance of plants in Aboriginal culture, Australian botanic gardens have an important role to play in the process of reconciliation.’ She continued, mistakenly: ‘The Mount Tomah area is significant to the Darug people, whose traditional homelands extend from the mountains across the plains to metropolitan Sydney’, yet for Mount Tomah the historical basis is Bowen's autobiography as cited here. Some of the people named who contributed to the botanic gardens project are actually descendants of Maria Lock or of Betty Cox (Chapter 4), and thus do have ancestry from ‘The Branch’ natives of the actual Darkiñung people who were the traditional Aborigines from the area.43

After arable land was reported by Alexander Bell junior along the top of the range above Kurrajong in 1823 (Chapter 3), army veterans were given grants there in December 1829. George Bowen, who had served in India and in Arabia, had arrived in 1827 as an army Lieutenant. As reported by Morgan, Bowen was appointed as a land commissioner for allocating counties in the colony, and is credited with laying out boundaries in the northern Blue Mountains for the County of Cook. After serving the then Surveyor General, John Oxley, Bowen was awarded four square miles (2,560 acres) at Bulgamatta towards the mountain, Tomah. He cleared the land with a team of assigned convicts, and set up a mill on a creek, present day Bowens Creek, arising from the slopes of Tomah.44 There was no Tomah, Mount Tomah, ‘tribe’ or ‘clan’ of Aborigines anymore than there was a distinct Clan in the Kurrajong (the currajong

42 The lowlands as given by Bowen relate to the lower Richmond Hill [present day North Richmond / Kurrajong] area rising to the west from the Hawkesbury River before the steep ascent onto the high Bilpin plateau. The Kootee reference has been cited to me by J.L. Kohen and J.L. Smith (pers. commns.) as their evidence that Dharug people of the Cumberland Plains lowlands to the east beyond the lower Nepean River had occupied the northern Blue Mountains of Darkiñung people. Their contention is not supported either by historical records or by local geography. \ Bowen 1876 ‘Autobiography’ p.130.
44 It was in Bowens Creek valley that Everingham's 1795 exploration party had been diverted by thick scrub (Chapter 3). \ Morgan, 1956, ‘George Meares Countess Bowen’, The Australian Genealogist, 8 (5): 103-19.
Throughout the Hawkesbury Sandstone of the mountains beyond the Bilpin plateau which was being farmed, Bowen also observed, as the earlier white explorers had learnt to their detriment (Chapter 3):

- - - being composed entirely of ridges and ravines, it is mostly neither fit for dwellings nor for farms. Even the native blacks, when there were any, avoided it as a place in the possession of *debbil debbil*

For the botanist George Caley exploring in 1804 it truly was the ‘Devil’s Wilderness’ (Chapter 3). However, as surviving Aboriginal art work and relics are re-discovered in modern times, it is recognised that the Aboriginal mountain people did inhabit the ‘ridges and ravines’, even if temporarily according to the season (Chapter 7).

Although Bowen thought there were restricted Aboriginal sites in the vicinity, *Kookeee* did not show inhibition and lived at the location after Bowen moved in, receiving rations from Bowen for which he traded game. I suggest it is likely that *Kookeee* had acted as a guide, just as *Duall* went with Hamilton Hume and John Rowley (Chapter 10/SE), taking twenty six years old Bowen around the location and providing Aboriginal terms, and perhaps also in relation to the mapping boundaries Bowen used to define the county of Cook while working as a Land Commissioner.\(^{46}\) Bowen's warm relationship with Surveyor General John Oxley made him unpopular with Oxley's successor, Thomas Mitchell.\(^{47}\) When defining the

\(^{45}\) Geographically the *Kurrajong* to *Bulgamatta* people were the Richmond Hill Aborigines, sometimes known from Archibald Bell's farm there as the ‘Belmont’ blacks - and as given for blanket lists as follows. Settlers nearby in this ‘Currajong’ [Kurrajong] District are mentioned in Chapter 3 (with district identification given in Chapter 1). Such non-existent Aboriginal ‘Clans’ appear to derive from an unchecked compulsion in providing an ‘Ethnography’ Introduction when an archaeology thesis was being written for the geology department at Macquarie University (Chapter 7). \(\text{\cite{Kohen1986a}}\)

\(^{46}\) From his work for Oxley, it is quite apparent that Bowen would have followed Bells Line of Road over Mount Tomah across the mountains (Chapter 3), which may have been his agenda in befriending *Kookeee*. But the ‘claim’ repeated by Heydon in ADB that Bowen went prior to Bell is not possible because he (Bowen) was not in the colony. The ADB entry by Barrett contributes more to understanding Bowen's theological interests. \(\text{\cite{Heydon1966}}\), ‘Bell, Archibald (1773-1837)’ and ‘Bell, Archibald (1804-1883)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.78-80; \(\text{\cite{Barrett1966}}\), ‘Bowen, George Meares Countess (1803-1889)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.135-36.

\(^{47}\) From my study of Mitchell prior to this thesis, it became apparent that he resented Governor Ralph Darling requiring him to construct a new road, the Great North Road, right across the ranges of this thesis topic, through Wollombi, for the convenience of the governor's wife to visit her Dumaresq family in the Hunter Valley. Army General Darling had prevented army Major Mitchell following navy Lieutenant Oxley as an explorer in the interior, instead encouraging army Captain Charles Sturt who was successful because he explored with native-born Hamilton Hume who was a friend of Aborigines as discussed in this thesis (e.g. Chapter 10/SE). Bowen arrived in the colony at the same time, having served as army (continued...)
country for Kootee’s local language group of Aborigines, surveyor Robert Mathews stated that they ‘occupied a considerable range of country in the counties of Hunter, Northumberland and Cook’.  

Bowen only stayed at Bulgamatta until the end of 1835 before selling the land grant, although returning to the district in 1848 to occupy land around what is now Bowen Mountain. An Aborigine, noted under Winderboy alias ‘Billy Kootee’ was recorded on the ‘blanket list’ as a member of the Richmond and Kurrajong ‘tribe’ at Richmond for 1833 (29yo), 1834 (30yo), 1837 (33yo), 1838 (34yo), 1839 (34yo). Kohen states, without references or sources, that Billy Kootee lived ‘on the Sackville Reserve’ until the early 1900s, and was buried with Bowen's breastplate near Cattai, which is across the river. It would be reasonable to accept all of these locations as part of his country, the country of ‘The Branch’ natives for which Bowen's County of Cook was a considerable part.

Another Phantom ‘Clan’ in the Northern Blue Mountains

Observed as early as 1793 from William Paterson's expedition (Chapter 1), and confirmed in 1805 from Andrew Thompson's chase of these people for ‘direct action’ (earlier this chapter), there were Aborigines of ‘The Branch’ natives in the ranges across the lower Nepean who occupied the lands of the Grose River Branch towards present day Springwood. The settlers knew there was no permanent occupancy at Springwood from the times of the earliest white explorers, such as the ‘bush ranger’ James Burns reported by Governor King in 1805 (Chapter 3). However, a phantom tribe has been created to have occupied Springwood - presumably permanently, being listed as an ‘Inland Clan’ in J.L. Kohen's popular book on which so many readers rely to be their historical source. Using his own newly contrived word ‘Darug’,

47(...continued)

Lieutenant under Sturt. This must have both influenced Mitchell's resentment of Bowen, and encouraged Bowen to take up with Kootee, affecting the history described for this thesis. (In two chapters of his 1992 book on ‘Major Mitchell's Map 1834’, more of the interactions with Bowen are detailed by Alan Andrews, as indexed. See Bibliography.)


49 Although Bowen lived and worked on the grant from 1830/31, the deeds of grant were not issued until 1836 for his 2,560 acres at Bulgamatta and his mother Susannah's adjacent 1,280 acres there. Bowen ca.1876 ‘Autobiography’, cited by Morgan 1956 ‘George Meares Countess Bowen’; Jean McNaught, 1998, ‘Index and Registers of Land Grants, Leases and Purchases 1792-1865’, Richmond-Tweed Regional Library, p.22.

50 Kohen 1986a ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’.

51 By 1904 Kootee would have been about one hundred years old. Jack Brook did not find him in his comprehensive search of the records for Aborigines at the Sackville Reserve. Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’ p.79; Jack Brook, 1994 (1st edn), ‘Shut Out From The World - The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Self published, Seven Hills (Sydney), 2nd edn 1999.
he lists them as *Dharug* under the name ‘Oryang-ora (Aurang)’.\(^{52}\) This is such a strange fiction that I am including it here as an example of how modern publications have re-written the Aboriginal history of the northern Blue Mountains. The historical source is Freycinet's ‘Voyage autour du Monde’, as follows.

In November 1819 while Louis de Freycinet's first ship *Uranie* was in Port Jackson, three members of his expedition travelled over the Blue Mountains to Bathurst, Jean Quoy, naturalist Charles Gaudichaud and artist Alphonse Pellion.\(^{53}\) William Lawson, then appointed as Commandant at Bathurst, escorted them with the utmost graciousness when instructed to do so by Governor Macquarie. Lawson was diffident about making the journey because he was just commencing harvest on his five hundred acre farm at ‘Veterans Hall’ which was his permanent residence at Prospect near Parramatta. They travelled to the first military post, Penrith, on the lower Nepean River. While at the Nepean, they stayed at ‘Regentville’, the property of John Jamison, with whom Gaudichaud went by boat upstream to the junction with the Warragamba River which Jamison had recently explored in November 1818 (Chapter 11/SW), when Aborigines from the plains at ‘Regentville’ were ‘alarmed’ even at signs of mountain Aborigines in the wild (Chapter 10/SE). But Aborigines foreign to the mountains had been able to use the constructed Bathurst road with impunity.

Apparently while waiting at the Nepean, Pellion sketched some Aborigines, whom when redrawn for publication were said to have been from the river banks, labelled ‘1.2. *Sauvages des bords de la

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\(^{52}\) For his source, Kohen used his regularly repeated rhetoric: ‘based on ethnographic accounts’ which avoids letting his readers have a reference. However, in the 1986b thesis, for ‘ethnographic accounts’ (which may not exist in the ‘Oryang-ora’ instance) he gives Tench 1793 and Collins 1802. ∵ Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’ p.21; Kohen 1986b ‘Prehistoric Settlement’ p.39.

Nepean’. Pellion sketched the head and chest of five Aborigines wearing clothes, with their portraits published on the same plate and labelled: ‘3. Aurang-Jack, *chef de Spring-Wood*, 4.5. *des deux femmes*’. An encounter with these five Aborigines is not reported in Quoy’s text, and given the detail which he provided for Springwood it seems unlikely that they met any Aborigines while travelling through there. As published in the ‘Atlas’, the drawing of *Aurang* is before that of *Karadra* as follows. The Aborigines *Aurang* and two women must have been seen in the time the French were at the Nepean, with the Frenchman forming a view that *Aurang* had come down from Springwood, perhaps meaning had come along the Bathurst road. It is not satisfactory to interpret just Pellion’s portrait label as evidence that there was a location at Springwood with the newly contrived Aboriginal place name of ‘Oryang-ora’ at which there dwelt an ‘Aurang’ Clan of Aboriginal people in 1819. In any case, the man called *Aurang* had competition to be regarded by the white people as a local Aboriginal ‘chief’.

On the way from the lower Nepean River into the mountain foothills the next day following a ‘well maintained’ road, the French visitors noticed at ‘winding curves’ along the road ‘differences in the soil’ with ‘beautiful lowland growth’. This describes an area near present day Valley Heights. Quoy wrote [as translated]: ‘It was in one of these pleasant haunts that we saw for the first time some of the wretched inhabitants of these high places. There were only two of them; one was a sick old man, lying on kangaroo skins close to a fire, receiving the attentions of a younger man.’ Pellion sketched them both in full, naked, and the subsequent plate for publication was labelled: ‘1. Hara-o; 2. Karadra’. The French party with Lawson continued on to spend that night at the second military post, Springwood.

According to Quoy, at the meeting before they reached Springwood, Lawson had told the Frenchmen that

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55 The question about *Aurang* may have been: ‘Where did *Aurang* come from?’. Without any guidance from Quoy’s text, the term ‘chef’ could mean any ‘leader’ or ‘principal’, and I read *de* as ‘of’ (belonging to, coming from) and *des* (of the) was literally plural ‘of the’ although it may now be used for ‘some’ or ‘any’. The two women could have been with the men at the river bank, likely seen by Pellion as their wives. To be wives of *Aurang* as suggested by some modern authors, one could expect to have seen ‘*les femmes de Aurang*’, rather than (*Aurang*) ‘*des femmes*’. The possibility is open that he had belonged to the Grose Valley / lower Nepean group whose ‘huts’ had been seen at Springwood in 1813 as follows.

56 Kohen uses ‘*ora*’ in the *Dharug* language as a suffix added to mean ‘a place or country’. He takes his example from ‘Woron-ora’ (despite incorrectly denying that Woronora is in *Dharug* Country, Chapter 10/SE). \ Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’, p.16.
he ‘recognized this old man as Karadra, the supreme chief or king of this part of the mountain.’ It is hard to tell nearly two hundred years later how careless Lawson was with what he told the visitors. Lawson, of Scottish origin, was born and educated in London, but his colloquial French was not very good, because after they passed the third military post at the Cox River, Quoy stated that when an unnamed man went to relieve himself: ‘The temporary absence of the interpreter gave rise to some difficulty - - -’. Qualified as a surveyor, Lawson had been the navigator for Blaxland's exploration along this route only a few years earlier in 1813 (Chapter 3), he travelled the new road regularly and he knew that the empty Aboriginal ‘hutts’ which had been at Springwood when he first arrived in May 1813 were not a permanent Aboriginal presence - as would have been necessary for a ‘Clan’ specific to that location.\footnote{In his travelling journal with the route information, William Lawson had written for Thursday 13 May 1813: ‘came into Forest Land - - - found several Camps of Native Hutts’. Gregory Blaxland had noted the European blazed trail which came up to these empty huts from the Grose River junction with the lower Nepean River. These must have been the same people who occupied the rock shelters at the foot of McCann’s Ridge (Chapter 3), and hence were river people. \ William Lawson, 1813, ‘W Lawsons Narrative Across [sic] Blue Mountains 1813’, handwritten ms held in Mitchell Library, digital scan available online, with links via www.atmitchell.com/journeys/history/exploration/, accessed 2007, p.3; also Lawson transcript pp.99-105 in Joanna Armour Richards, 1979, ‘Blaxland-Lawson-Wentworth 1813’, Blubber Head Press, Sandy Bay (Hobart), quote p.99; Blaxland transcript pp.63-76 in Richards 1979, quote p.68.}

Lawson's translated comments about Karadra as repeated by Quoy are inconsistent with historical records, but imply that he (Karadra) had been known to the settlers down on the plains as a fighter, and had later acted as a guide about a time which seems to be when Macquarie had ordered retribution which resulted in the 1816 Appin Massacre on the Georges River (Chapter 10/SE). A peculiar aspect about which our Australian history is quite deficient, is what happened to the Aborigines, particularly the men who just vanished from sight.\footnote{The devastating effects from an alien civilization being rapidly introduced - overwhelming people of an ancient culture - have been documented in the homelands of the Yolngu people in Arnhem Land. It resonates with me for what happened when settlement first impacted in New South Wales. Trudgen wrote: ‘In a nutshell, I discovered that Yolŋu had lost control of their own lives.’ [author's emphasis] \ Richard Trudgen, 2000, ‘Why Warriors Lie Down and Die’, Aboriginal Resource and Development Services, Darwin, quote p.7. Coping with the clash of cultures has been illustrated in “Yolngu Boy”, 2000, Australian Film Corporation.}

Perhaps after the old man disappeared the younger man caring for him returned to the plains, and put on clothes like the others. It is an enigma.\footnote{‘Where had they come from? Where were they going? Where was anyone going?’ The end page of the final chapter of Joan Lindsay's classic novel. In a commentary published with the Taylor edn, Yvonne Rousseau suggests the story invokes ‘the Australian Aboriginal model of the supernatural - which is translated in English as “the Dreaming”’. \ Joan Lindsay, 1987, ‘Chapter Eighteen of “Picnic at Hanging Rock”’ [1967] in John Taylor (ed.), 1987, ‘The Secret of Hanging Rock’, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde (Sydney), pp.21-34, Lindsay quote p.33, Rousseau quote p.48.}
Chapter 2 Findings

The Hawkesbury River was identified by its Branches from the time of Governor Phillip's 1789 expedition, of which the south Branch was the main river. Thus the identification given to the Hawkesbury Aborigines was ‘The Branch’ natives, first applied to those of the Grose River Branch. Although some Aborigines were already living as fringe dwellers around the green hills river port (present day Windsor), the massacre led by Andrew Thompson in 1805 in which the hero Yaragowhy was killed was a turning point in race relations for the district. A second Aborigine named at the time as Yaramandy was never heard of again either, but was possibly the same man met by Governor Phillip in 1791 as Yellomundy, for which ‘Yarramundi’ is taken as a later corruption.

Within a few years of Andrew Thompson's fatal encounter, Aborigines were being referred to by English Christian names, which were repetitive making it difficult to distinguish individuals. Such a person was one of those called Maria, a girl from ‘The Branch’ natives born ca.1808 reared and educated by the white people [who was to call herself Mary as the wife of a white man].

These two men, Yaragowhy and Yaramandy were termed ‘chiefs’ - which signalled that the local settlement authorities communicated with them at that time. Another fifteen years on, Aborigines of the ‘The Branch’ natives such as old Yellomundy and later young Kootee were designated ‘king’ at the whim of settlers - which signified that local settlers communicated with them.

Further north into the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, the so-called ‘Kings’ at Wollombi Brook for whom there are historical records included Jetto and Potembo known as ‘Boni’ (‘Boney’) who used to visit the neighbouring coastal people. At a settler's property on the south side of the Hunter River, another Aborigine from these people who had a historical identity as a settler's ‘king’ was Kurba (‘King Cobra’) alias Constable.

This chapter sets the scene for this thesis about identifying Aboriginal people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges who had survived the settlers’ occupation, at least for the first generation (after which the men vanished). The next generation is considered in Chapter 4.
Chapter 3

Eric Taggart
grandson of Aborigine ‘Harry’ Taggart
from Putty / Boorohwall
in the midst of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges

Notes:
The Aboriginal people of ‘The Branch’ natives from the Hawkesbury River catchment merged - as the same Darkiñung people in the midst of the ranges - with the ‘Wollombi tribe’ from the Hunter River catchment. These were Eric’s grandfather’s people who were helping (or hindering) the white explorers trying to cross the ranges. The late Eric Taggart was a well known figure around Broke on Wollombi Brook, where he could be relied upon by locals to tell a good yarn to strangers. The journalist Percy Haslam used to visit to collect Eric’s stories, and this photograph is an extract from one apparently by Haslam’s newspaper driver and photographer, George Steele. The published picture is online from Newcastle University archives.
Part I (3)
Chapter 3

Colonial Exploration with ‘The Branch’ Natives

through the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges

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The Issue

In this chapter, I outline some of the interactions of early white explorers with members of ‘The Branch’ natives from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges described in Chapter 2. The Aborigines, who gathered around the developing Hawkesbury River townships where they became known as the Richmond ‘tribe’, originated from as far away as the Hunter River before settlement occurred there.¹ These are the People later to be identified by their Language as Darkiñung (Part II, Chapter 6) who occupied their Country of the northern Blue Mountains from the floodplain of the Hunter River in the north to the floodplain of the Hawkesbury River in the south (Part III). This chapter has a significant role in setting the scene for Part III. It is the core of the thesis in recognising the place of the Darkiñung, ‘The Branch’ Tribe.

The chapter deals with first white contact away from the navigable river Branches, particularly covering the period up to when Surveyor General Oxley sent out explorers or land commissioners such as George Bowen (Chapter 2), before Surveyor General Mitchell sent out his Assistant Surveyors to prepare for his 1834 map.²

Aliens Wandering Over the Rugged Landscape

While at the present time competent bushwalkers show how the Aborigines could walk around these mountain ranges with ease, local knowledge as held by ‘The Branch’ natives was of prime importance for the early settlers when dealing with ways across the rugged landscape of the Blue Mountains which had formed a barrier to the colony. The following descriptions deal with the benefits of Aboriginal knowledge to European explorers, and with some interactions of ‘The Branch’ natives with their land.

¹ The Aborigines known as the Richmond (or ‘Belmont’, Richmond Hill / Kurrajong) tribe were the people from the ranges and Branches of the Hawkesbury River. They were a different language group to those who were survivors from the Cumberland Plain of South Creek (including its tributary Eastern Creek). A source of the confusion which has arisen in modern times is because the term Richmond Road (from Parramatta) had taken in these latter people.

² After I had started going through surveyors’ records in the New South Wales state archives without finding material describing Aborigines, Alan Andrews told me he had not noticed it either. Mitchell would not tolerate reports with extraneous material such as he wrote himself, while requiring his surveyors to use terms from local Aborigines to name geographical features. Alan E.J. Andrews, 1992, ‘Major Mitchell’s Map 1834 - The Saga of the Nineteen Counties’, Blubber Head Press, Sandy Bay (Hobart), p.26.
In the time of Governor Phillip, First Fleeters who had set a direct course across oceans attempted to do the same across country if they could not find a way by water (Chapter 1). Severe cliffs impeded the way across the mountains hemming in Sydney on the west. Even in the time of Governor Hunter, surgeon George Bass had had a blacksmith make iron appendages to grapple with cliffs when he set off in June 1796 from The Cowpastures to the southwest of Sydney.

I admire the audacity and perspicacity of Isaac Knight, marine sergeant, who if allowed to progress without being inhibited by officer gentlemen in 1791, likely would have become the first white man to penetrate the mountains of ‘The Branch’ natives (Chapter 1). His stories would have been well known to those who subsequently travelled beyond Knight's Hill in 1795 as follows. Valerie Ross identified them as First Fleeters sailor/settler William Reid who accompanied transportee settlers John Ramsay and Matthew Everingham after their sentences had expired.

Everingham's casual party of three, in October-November 1795 when he was about twenty six years old, were the first of those who became permanent settlers known to try and cross the mountains of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the northwest of Sydney. They behaved more naturally like the Aborigines, in determining that they would not follow ‘one direct course - - without variation’ as had others before them. In bushwalking to present day Kurrajong Heights, Everingham reported that they chose to follow a ridge ‘formed by nature as a road [which] I firmly believe the only passage’. In contrast

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3 It did not occur to these world travellers that they could not conquer the mountains by themselves. Yet they knew these ranges were inhabited, as Governor Phillip reported that ‘The native fires are frequently seen on the tops of the mountains’. Arthur Phillip, 1790, Despatch to Lord Sydney 13 February 1790, transcribed in Britton, Alexander (ed.), 1892, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.I, Part 2: Phillip, 1783-1792’, pp.304-310, also transcribed in Watson, Frederick (ed.), 1914, ‘Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol.I, 1788-1796’, pp.155-161.


5 The exception had been the indomitable Marine Sergeant Isaac Knight, born ca.1753, who had already conducted younger Marine officers Dawes and Tench with surgeon Worgan on a walk to the southwest of Sydney in 1790. In 1791 Knight led the way after paddling across the river in Morunga's canoe but had to turn back when the fearful Watkin Tench thought they were getting too far from civilisation (Chapter 1). Knight had an independent spirit - even being suspended from duty, when at Cape of Good Hope. Of the Englishmen, it seems to have been Knight who first behaved like a real bushwalker, following topography to approach the mountains. Mollie Gillen, 1989, ‘Founders of Australia - A Biographical Dictionary of the First Fleet’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), Isaac Knight entry pp.209-10.

6 Like Knight, Everingham's companions may have had age against them to begin bushwalking across a difficult part of the Blue Mountains in an alien land - youngsters fared better, as seen following. Reid was born ca.1765 (Everingham ca.1769), but Ramsay ca.1751. Valerie Ross, 1985, Appendix 4 ‘William Reid and John Ramsay’ in ‘The Everingham Letterbook - Letters of a First Fleet Convict’, Anvil Press for the Royal Australian Historical Society, Wamberal, pp.95-111.
They had set out to cross the mountains to the west. On the fifth day out, Tuesday 3 November 1795, Everingham's friends' resolve deserted them, with the fate of previous white men, when they chose to steer directly to a northerly mountain chain the next day. Luckily for them they got stuck in scrub so thick that they only managed 'no more than two miles in two hours', so on the seventh day they took a course to reach 'the Top of one of the western mountains' instead.7

Everingham's party which had set out from Parramatta did not have the advantage of local Aboriginal intelligence, thus only reaching present day Mount Wilson-Mount Irvine highland looking over the Wollangambe River and returning safely by finding their way around obstacles.8 Much later in nine years' time, November 1804, George Caley's formal European party straggled and struggled to find their way about Mount Tomah - their Fern Tree Hill - without Aboriginal guidance, and only reached Mount Banks to Caley later, it seems that they bypassed Mount Tomah by heading to the north of it when proceeding to the next mountain which they saw from Kurrajong Heights. There, on the fifth day out, Tuesday 3 November 1795, Everingham's friends' resolve deserted them, with the fate of previous white men, when they chose to steer directly to a northerly mountain chain the next day. Luckily for them they got stuck in scrub so thick that they only managed 'no more than two miles in two hours', so on the seventh day they took a course to reach ‘the Top of one of the western mountains’ instead.7

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7 They had set out to cross the mountains to the west. On the fifth day they crossed over the Bilpin plateau between Kurrajong Heights and the next mountain by compass bearing. Walking westerly for 8 hours [at an easy 2km/hr] to cover the 16km (10 miles) they reached present day Mt Tootie (as discussed by Ross pp.134-35). Others have proposed that they walked northerly instead, spending 8 hours idly walking along a level ridge [at 375 metres/hr] to cover the 3km to Wheeny Gap - which is inconsistent with Everingham's report. ((If they did not reach Mt Tootie on that day, the only alternative is Mt Tomah where Alexander Bell jnr was to get caught up on Tuesday 5 August 1823, as follows in this chapter.)) There, at the summit on the fifth day out, they ‘had got quite to the outside of this Chain of Mountains and further to the Nthwd, about 30 miles apparently, was another chain more lofty and dreadful than those we were on’. On the side of the mountain that night they were subject to a thunderstorm reverberating off rocky cliffs: It was best that the mountains spoke to them - as for Ben Singleton's party on the mountain Monundilla given later this chapter. They would not have been able to progress directly north because they would have been stopped by the deep narrow gorges of the southernmost Colo River tributaries as discussed in Chapter 11/SW. They had magnetic compasses, and allowing for magnetic variation since, their view north would hardly have been more than 15 miles in a direct line beyond the majestic Mount Cameron above Nayook Creek - with several devastating gorges below the ridgelines in between. The thick scrub [in the valley of present day Bowens Creek] which fortunately hindered them on day 6 is not uncommon, reported [by me] for Christys Creek when in the Kowmung Country in 1960 [as mentioned Chapter 11/SW]. \√ Ross 1985 ‘Letterbook’ transcription pp.53-56; G.E. (Geoff) Ford, 1996, ‘The Whys of The Kowmung Country and Gundungura - A Tale of Maps’, article pp.30-33 in Noble, David (ed.), ‘Press On Regardless: Fifty Years of Bushwalking - Sydney University Bushwalkers 1946-1996’, p.31.

8 Everingham in 1795 was living near Parramatta from where the party set out. He did not move to the Hawkesbury until 1802/3. While it appears he had the support of ‘the Commanding Officer of Parramatta’, his report - including naming a summit Mount Collins - has not appeared in the official documents of the colony, so may not have been passed on to government house. This may not be surprising if the officer to whom the report was given was John Macarthur, who may have seen no personal benefit for himself in informing Governor Hunter - a navy man who was not respected by the army men. Possibly it was not kept because when Hunter had returned to replace Phillip as Governor after a period of military rule there were many emancipist ex-convicts roaming the country side and the achievement was not taken seriously. √ Valerie Ross, 1980 (reprinted 1988 with Corrigenda), ‘Matthew Everingham - A First Fleeter and His Times’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), p.78; Ross 1985 ‘Letterbook’ transcription pp.50-51, Macarthur as commandant at Parramatta p.85.
looking over Grose River. They passed to the south of Mt Tomah, where for Caley it truly was the ‘Devil's Wilderness’. In contrast to Matthew Everingham's lack of record at the north side, Macqueen noted that George Caley recorded activity from Aborigines in the Grose Valley when they reached Mount Banks on the twelfth day out, Thursday 15 November 1804. A generation after Everingham, young Archie Bell was also to fail to find a way to the north of Mt Tomah, until accepting Aboriginal advice to follow the ridge continuing to the west off this highland further south and passing Mount Banks as follows.

There will always be persons who make improbable claims, the veracity of which cannot be checked, and one such who claimed to have explored into the mountains with Aborigines appears to have been ex-convict David Mann, at the time when he was looking for employment just before Governor Macquarie arrived. Although he had been working for the then governor as a clerk after his pardon, he had fallen out with Governor Bligh in 1807. Mann's story reminds me of copies of reports by earlier explorers (without Aboriginal knowledge):

> Beyond those tremendous barriers, the country yet remains unexplored and unknown. I myself made an excursion to these mountains, in the year 1807, accompanied by an European and three natives [my emphasis]; but after mounting the steep acclivities for four days - - - I thought it most prudent to re-trace my way to the habitable part of the settlement - -. No sooner had I attained to the summit of one of these cliffs, flattering myself that I should there find the termination of my toil, than my eye was appalled with the sight of another - -. On my return, in sliding down the steep declivities, I so completely lacerated my clothes, that they scarcely contained sufficient power to cover me.

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9 Everingham’s 1795 party was fortunate in only going into the upper valley of present day Bowens Creek. Cayley's 1804 party was unfortunate in having to navigate across the canyons draining into present day Carmarthan Brook.


attached to the axle to prevent their gig rolling on the horse, while the passengers walked. They were Hawkesbury residents and friends of the Bell family at ‘Belmont’ on Richmond Hill. Sarah - in 1834 - commemorated the history of this roadway: ‘This track was shown by a native to Mr Archie Bell [my emphasis], and he explored it as a route to Bathurst - ’. 13 But there is more story telling about the Aboriginal involvement, as follows.

When old Samuel ‘Boughton’ [Bouton] - in 1903 - reminisced under the pen name of ‘Cooramill’ in a local newspaper about events eighty years earlier, he described ‘the last battle’ between the ‘Belmont’ [Richmond Hill] and ‘Piper’s Flat blacks’ in 1823. The settlers overdramatised such affrays between Aborigines. Boughton seems to have been writing about a typical traditional sports battle performance with no casualties noted, not unlike modern rugby teams battling it out. These performances had been described happening among the Aborigines as early as when the first settlers at Port Jackson would attend as an audience. 14 In Boughton’s account, six of the local Aboriginal women left Richmond Hill with the visiting team, which was normal because strict kinship laws required women to leave their own family group to take a partner. They travelled up the range along which the new road to Bathurst was constructed, having followed the ridge across from Springwood where they knew the way, as discussed following.

Boughton wrote that when one of the women returned she said she had come back a different way, from beyond Kurrajong Heights, the direction of Everingham’s and Caley’s excursions. 15 The woman may have returned because she preferred the easier life on the fringes of the settlement rather than working in the

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14 The background for these encounters was set out for the thesis, with a discussion about the values of axes and spears, under line subheading ‘Trade with - - -’ in Chapter 1.

15 ‘Cooramill’ - *nom-de-plume* alias of Boughton, Samuel, ‘Reminiscences of Richmond, from the Forties Down’, a long series of articles published in The Hawkesbury Herald from Friday 20 March 1903. A number of his historical ‘facts’ were challenged (‘corrected’) by responses in the newspaper from contemporaries who also wrote reminiscences, such as ‘Cooyal’ - *nom-de-plume* alias for George C. Johnson and ‘Chris’ - *nom-de-plume* alias for John T. Christie. While this thesis is being written, a book on Boughton with his articles is being prepared for the series on Hawkesbury reminiscences by Cathy McHardy [such as J.C.L. Fitzpatrick, ‘When We were Boys Together’]. A reference copy of Family Scrapbook of the newspaper cuttings is accessible in Hawkesbury Council Library at Windsor, items on ‘Belmont’ No.41, No.42, scrapbook pages 95-98, mountain crossings p.97.
bush to sustain a family. There was no suggestion of an attempt to prevent her return by supposed captors, from which she could hardly have escaped. Boughton enhanced his 1903 description, imagining the mountains to be impassable to ‘the blacks’ in 1823 other than on the new Bathurst road, via Springwood. This does not help Boughton's credibility in describing events in 1823.\textsuperscript{16} He was born in 1841 at Richmond - his parents convict Samuel Boughton who arrived 1832 and Mary Urey.\textsuperscript{17}

It is unknown how much the story-telling of an encounter between Aborigines varied from 1823 to 1903. That is like telling a tale about 1930 in 2010. However, the Blue Mountains tracks historian Jim Smith enthusiastically adopted Boughton's yarn without examination, and repeats that Bell took this woman with him and blazed a track to what became Lithgow.\textsuperscript{18} It is apparent that neither Boughton nor Jim Smith were aware of Bell's own description as follows below, because according to Bell that did not happen.

On the other hand, in the same item about ‘Belmont’, for the first European crossing that way Boughton gives the credit to George Bowen, who actually had arrived four years later [1827] and took up land near Mt Tomah as well as establishing a friendship with a local Aboriginal man named \textit{Kootee}, as discussed in Chapter 2.

A few years after Boughton, more reminiscences of Richmond from old Alfred Smith reported by Robert Farlow 1910 in another local newspaper took up his embellished version of the story, saying ‘blacks belonging to Piper's Flat came over and took away about nine or ten gins while the Belmont blacks were away.’ And one of the women returned via Kurrajong Heights ‘on a Sunday’, which led to young

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{16}] I have mentioned (Chapter 2) how ‘The Branch’ natives of Billy \textit{Kootee}'s ‘tribe’ from Richmond Hill, ‘Belmont’, went through this area above Kurrajong. There are many Aboriginal camp and art sites located in the area which Boughton thought was not visited by ‘the blacks’. Archaeologist Bronwyn Conyers listed some in ‘The Mount Tomah Book’, [where she mistakenly thought the people were ‘Dharug (or Daruk) tribe’]. \ Bronwyn Conyers, 1987, ‘The Aborigines of the Mount Tomah District’, chapter 2 in N.W. Rodd (ed.), 1987, (2\textsuperscript{nd} edn), ‘The Mount Tomah Book’, jointly published The Mount Tomah Society and The Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney, pp.12-14.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}] Samuel Boughton's birth is not in registration index, his parents married in 1840 and he wrote he arrived in 1841, their next son Michael born 1843. \ Lesley Uebel, 2001 (reissued 2004), ‘The Port Jackson Convicts Anthology’, self published as CD-ROM, Pymble (Sydney); Samuel Boughton (snr) Marriage registration BDM Index Vol.517, 123 / 1840.
\item[\textsuperscript{18}] Bell did not go to Lithgow, it appears J.L. Smith has confused him with Hamilton Hume who named Lithgow, as in text following. Smith describes Boughton's account as ‘Evidence’ in the same paragraph as he mistakenly describes the natives at Richmond Hill to be: ‘the Richmond band of the Dharug tribe’ as discussed in Chapter 7. \ Jim Smith, 1990, ‘Wwyandy and Therabulat - The Aborigines of the Upper Cox River and Their Association with Hartley and Lithgow [long title]’ aka ‘The Aborigines of The Upper Cox River [short title]’, Gundungurra Series Volume 1, Occasional papers No.49, Lithgow District Historical Society, Lithgow, woman as guide: p.4; Dharug tribe: p.3.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
nineteen years old Archibald Bell investigating. Alfred Smith was born at Richmond 1831, these events were 1823. He identified ‘two blackfellows, Cocky and Emery accompanying Bell.’ On the ‘blanket list’ this historic Aborigine appears: Emery alias ‘Lawyer’ was recorded as a member of the Richmond ‘tribe’ at Richmond, with estimated ages, for 1833 (36yo), 1834 (37yo), 1837 (40yo), 1838 (41yo), 1839 (41yo), 1841 (43yo).

From these now old documents of Samuel Boughton's and Alfred Smith's stories as above, it has come to be modern folklore that Bell was accompanied either by these two Aborigines or by an Aboriginal woman from Richmond, thus local members of ‘The Branch’ natives. Hesba Brimsmead (née Hungerford) in her family history story along Bell's way, dramatises the event with Bell following a woman who is travelling up rather than down. An alternative view was published in 1966 by biographer J.D. Heydon, who has Bell making his attempt without guides from directions by an Aboriginal woman who remained at Belmont. In the context of material reported in this section, ‘Belmont’, at Richmond Hill, may have been used interchangeably with the term Richmond.

Yarns (by ‘Toby’ from Castlereagh)

The first of the old men known to stir the pot with his published reminiscences had been James ‘Toby’


20 It is possible that 87 years after the event, Smith had confused an Aborigine known as Cocky with George Bowen's friend named Kootee. Meredyth Hungerford reported (without source) that Cocky was hanged. Alfred Smith also ‘remembered’ that William McAlpin was one of Archie Bell's companions, when McAlpin was 13 years old as referred to later in this chapter (although, Sam Boughton instead ‘remembered’ him as one of Archie’s elder brother's companions attempting to improve the track for drays - when about 30 years old). \ Meredyth Hungerford, 1995, ‘Bilpin’, self published, Bilpin, p.19.

21 Kohlen, Jim (compiler), 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’ (& misc. lists to 1851), Macquarie University.


24 Bell's father Archibald Bell senior in the late 1790s had built his homestead, ‘Belmont’, on the original landmark named by Governor Phillip in 1789 as Richmond Hill on the mountain, west, side of the river. It is the present day ‘St John of God’ hospital. Richmond Town site named by Governor Macquarie in 1810 is on the east side of the river, across from North Richmond, the present day town closest to Richmond Hill. Richmond is commonly used as a district term instead of Richmond Hill. North Richmond / Kurrajong was the start of the route to the north from the Hawkesbury, including from Windsor in those colonial times. [The later road via Wisemans Ferry was the route from Sydney.]
Ryan in 1894, who came from Castlereagh, the next Macquarie town not far upstream of Richmond.

He was born in 1818, being thus around at the time of Bell's 1823 journey, but fuelled the fire by his conflagration of several stories together, destroying the integrity of each. Maureen Breckell has carefully poured cold water on his conflagration. Although she was able to dismiss the historic accuracy, like many good yarns there are seeds of meaning in the germination of Ryan's ideas, too many for me to cover here. Ryan wrote of the time when he was born: ‘It was about this period [1818] that the last trouble with the blacks in the County of Cumberland took place.’ His stories describe happenings - actually not in this County but to its west - in the mountains:

A ferocious tribe occupied a very advantageous retreating ground from the Grose River via Bell's Line, and in the South via the Cox's River, and could reach any place beyond Bathurst at will.

In the vivid tale which follows, Ryan used elements of the massacre by settlers of ‘The Branch’ natives in 1805 (Chapter 2), as well as including the story of Bell's line, which was later embellished by Boughton. Boughton's way across from Springwood seems to relate to the same yarn as Ryan told. Such developing folklore doubtless held currency in the colony, at least among the settlers of the district. Again, in a leap of faith J.L. Smith uncritically adopted Ryan's tale, citing it as the only evidence that his (Smith's) 'the Wywandy', Aborigines from Piper's Flat at Wallerawang, 'made long journeys into other tribal

25 The Macquarie town of Castlereagh was not at a river crossing and became superceded by Penrith where settlers crossed to access the ‘Emu Plains’ (thus becoming a place on the new Bathurst road).

\James T. ("Toby") Ryan, 1894, 'Reminiscences of Australia', 'Containing 70 years of his own knowledge, and 35 years of his ancestors', George Robertson, Sydney, Facsimile edn 1982, Nepean Family History Society.


27 As well as the Bell's Line story of 1823 and the massacre by Chief Constable Thompson Sunday 28 April 1805 who attacked the Blacks' camp near the Grose River (Chapter 2), Ryan's 1894 vivid dreaming includes aspects associated with the Appin Massacre by Captain James Wallis, 17 April 1816 near William Broughton's farm on the Georges River (Chapter 10/SE), the travel of Windradyne over the mountains December 1824 and the massacre at Bogee in the Capertee Valley over the divide from Rylstone (Chapter 11/SW). Ryan embellished his explosive story with accounts of ‘three well known men - - who were always foremost in the slaughter of the blacks’ which Brecknell 1993 could not verify. However, tall tales as told by Ryan 1894 did have currency in the colony, and the stories of these same three named men - ‘three ruffians’, were retold by Brennan 1907, who included: ‘On one occasion they attacked the blacks’ camp on the Grose River, and shot the whole party.’ \Martin Brennan, 1907, ‘Reminiscences of the Gold Fields and Elsewhere in New South Wales, Covering a Period of Forty-eight Years' Service as an Officer of Police’, William Brooks, Sydney, p.203.

28 In retrospect, from the studies for this thesis, it may be concluded that there were two ‘ferocious tribes’ from the mountains, one inland from the upper Nepean above Warragamba River junction, viz. Wollondilly River (southern Blue Mountains) - aka the Burra-gorang natives, the other inland from the lower Nepean (northern Blue Mountains) - aka ‘The Branch’ natives of this thesis. \Ryan 1894 ‘Reminiscences of Australia’ pp.3-4.
Journeying into other tribal territories is discussed further in Chapter 11/SW. There appear to be elements of another story retold by Mark Feld of Picton, about Aboriginal travellers having a fight with foreign enemies [creatures of the devil] outside their own country at Tambaroora. [Tambaroora is located on 1875 map at start of Part III, adjacent to present day Hill End on north side of Turon River.] Feld does not give his source. Kohen (pers. comm.) has advised that Smith (his postgraduate student) in his 2008 thesis has placed the Wollondilly River Gundungurra Aborigines here north of the Turon River, based on the myth retold by Feld. (See Chapter 11/SW for mention of Smith’s 2008 thesis, unavailable in the public domain at the time of writing this thesis.) \\ Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ p.2; Mark Feld, 1900, ‘Myths of Burra-gorang Tribe’, Science of Man, 3 (6): 99.

‘Archie’ Bell, Alexander junior

Archie Bell - Alexander Bell junior - of ‘Belmont’ farm, Richmond Hill, set out on Friday 1 August 1823 to mark another route to Bathurst across the mountains west of Singletons’ Kurrajong Mills (‘Currajong Mills’), along the range between the Grose River and the Colo River (‘Cooro River’). From the top of present day Mount Tootie on Tuesday 3 November 1795, Everingham had noted two main rivers coming out of mountain ‘chasms’ to be the Hawkesbury [Grose Branch, on the south] and the Colo [on the north], which was ‘named Macarthur – –, supposed to empty itself in Port Stephens.’ John Howe believed until 1820 that the northern Blue Mountains drained to Port Stephens, although Ben Singleton had found by 1817 that this did not happen, as discussed below.

Bell's journal does not identify the Aborigines with him. At this date the scrub was so thick there was no clear way recognised by the Aborigines who were leading him along the range, once they had passed the places they called Coolematta and Bullamatta. For the following expedition a few weeks later, this latter place in Bell's diary is transcribed Balcamatta. Bowen later used the name ‘Bulgamatta’ (Chapter 2). This is present day Berambing. The way (termed ‘road’ in Bell's diary using the application of the term as at the time) was obscured in sections where the brush had not been recently burnt. Thus, by 1823 it seems that, while ‘The Branch’ natives knew the ridges, their occupation there had already become intermittent. Twenty eight years earlier, Everingham's party in November 1795 had passed the same way without him noting such dense scrub on the Bilpin plateau until they had crossed over the range to the

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29 Journeying into other tribal territories is discussed further in Chapter 11/SW. There appear to be elements of another story retold by Mark Feld of Picton, about Aboriginal travellers having a fight with foreign enemies [creatures of the devil] outside their own country at Tambaroora. [Tambaroora is located on 1875 map at start of Part III, adjacent to present day Hill End on north side of Turon River.] Feld does not give his source. Kohen (pers. comm.) has advised that Smith (his postgraduate student) in his 2008 thesis has placed the Wollondilly River Gundungurra Aborigines here north of the Turon River, based on the myth retold by Feld. (See Chapter 11/SW for mention of Smith’s 2008 thesis, unavailable in the public domain at the time of writing this thesis.) \\ Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ p.2; Mark Feld, 1900, ‘Myths of Burra-gorang Tribe’, Science of Man, 3 (6): 99.

30 Personal project on The Life and Times of John Duncan (‘J.D.’) Tipper and the development of his Muogamarra Sanctuary at the Hawkesbury River. Tipper had adopted the 1816 Appin Massacre for the lower Hawkesbury River at Muogamarra. In a further exhibition of unreliability, Tipper claimed his name ‘Muogamarra’ had come from ‘Awabakal’ language when it actually was a Wiradjuri term.

side. On Bell's first attempt, his party turned back on Tuesday 5 August 1823 when they could not find a way for the laden packhorses to get down off the end of a high peak these Aborigines called Tomah. Bell had wanted to go in the perceived direction of Bathurst to the northwest, and impatient of his guides' advice had 'begun compass [bearing] at the back of the mountain'. With his family trying to climb into the upper class, as shown by his father to Commissioner Bigge (later this chapter), Archie had not been bushwalking with Aborigines and learnt navigation skills like Ben Singleton had as follows. Without his Aboriginal companions, the skeletons of the impetuous teenager and his horses may still be out there.

Starting again on Monday 1 September 1823, young Bell and six companions corrected the mistake of trying to descend off the north end of Tomah, instead allowing the Aborigines to show them the main range, cryptically leading off more to the south between summits on the long mountain mass, thence across a narrow saddle between gullies of what are tributaries for present day Carmarthan Brook and Bowens Creek. They proceeded along this range between the catchments of the Grose and Colo River Branches. This was the country of these Aborigines from 'The Branch' natives. Despite having to clear the way for the horses in some places, it took only four days to meet the Bathurst road, descending off the range two ridges to the north of its descent (at Mount York) down to River Lett (Hartley Valley).

Not only had white explorers failed to take advantage of Aborigines' knowledge of their home topography to replace compasses, they were becoming dependent on more luxuries which had to be carried by pack animals, at this stage leading packhorses which restricted their progress. A contrast is seen by which the botanist George Caley in November 1804 had been able to cross the canyons below Mounts Tomah and Banks where horses would be an impediment while the botanist Allan Cunningham on his way to Bathurst in November 1823 could not even get past Mount Tomah with horses after Bell's line had been

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34 Bell's four days with Aboriginal help is in contrast to Caley's 1804 exploration (earlier this chapter) when he got caught in the canyons on the south of the range and only reached Mount Banks in twelve days. There have been changes in the route off Mt Tomah as constructed roads have been repositioned. Meredyth Hungerford details records about 'Bell's Line' as well, for a significant part of her 1995 Local History of Bilpin as above. Also Meredyth Hungerford, 1987, ‘History of Mount Tomah’, Chapter 3 in N.W. Rodd, (ed.), 1987, (2nd edn), 'The Mount Tomah Book', jointly published The Mount Tomah Society and The Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney, pp.15-39.
suggested by Robert Hoddle (Chapter 12/NW).

The Bush ‘Rangers’ and Gregory Blaxland

In early winter conditions ten years earlier than Bell’s exploration, it had taken Gregory Blaxland’s party, also with packhorses, from Wednesday 12 May at the eastern foot of the ranges to Friday 28 May 1813, seventeen days rather than four, to follow the range on the opposite side to Bell’s range across the catchment of the Grose River. They had lost time clearing the way for the horses through thick scrub. Whereas Alexander Bell in 1823 had the benefit of the company of Aborigines from ‘The Branch’ natives at Richmond Hill who knew the mountains, Blaxland on his property at South Creek had had no such contact - remaining Cumberland Plains natives from there who survived the extermination following settlement did not have knowledge of the mountains, and Blaxland had found they ‘proved of but little use’ and stated: ‘Very little information can be obtained from any tribe out of their own district’. In a historical observation critical to this thesis, Blaxland knew that the plains Aborigines [later identified with term Dharug] were distinct to the ‘The Branch’ natives of the mountains where he wanted to go [later identified as Darkiňung].

Instead of a guide from Aborigines familiar with the mountains [i.e. from ‘The Branch’ natives at

35 I further contrast these migrant visitors to Australia with competent native born stockmen, such as my Medhurst cousins (Chapter 12/NW) who were capable of riding horses through the ranges to navigate across country unknown to them. Keeping migrant arrivals in perspective, explorer Alfred Howitt carried the British Union Jack dyed onto handkerchiefs when he went into the Interior in 1861 (Chapter 6).


37 Blaxland had thought he should try following the ridges, and in a previous attempt to ‘penetrate to the westward’ had started on the south side of the Warragamba River where it joins with the upper Nepean River - when he was accompanied by Aborigines. He did not need an idea of George Caley’s as the Caley-philes would have us believe. This time, 1813, he tried the north side of that junction, but started by crossing over the ford to the ‘good pasture’ at Emu Plains, rather than ascending the range [present day Erskine Range, Chapter 11/SW] from the river junction. The ideal route, used by ‘The Branch’ natives, mountain Aborigines, started at the junction of the Grose River with the lower Nepean River (and followed McCanns Ridge to the Springwood forest - where Blaxland recorded ‘native huts’ to which Burn’s blazed trail led). \ Gregory Blaxland, 1823, Letter to John Oxley Parker in England, 10 February 1823, to dedicate the journal of ‘passage over the Blue Mountains’, transcribed by Joanna Armour Richards, 1979, ‘Blaxland-Lawson-Wentworth 1813’, Blubber Head Press, Sandy Bay (Hobart), pp.64-66, part of transcription of journal pp.63-94, ‘huts’ p.68.

38 The local Aborigines on the plains around Blaxland’s farm were a different language group to those of the mountains, and unfamiliar with the country on the west side across the river (Chapters 10/SE and 11/SW).
Referring to Johnson dictionaries, in the eighteenth century a ranger was one who ranges, the keeper of a park or forest. A robber was a bandit, member of a band: banditti, and identified as such (including 'the natives') by Hunter. The banditti in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (including a frightened Aborigine) have been discussed by Hanna. John Hunter, 1796, Despatch from Governor Hunter to The Duke of Portland with report at 3 March 1796, pp. 553-56 - transcribed in Frederick Watson (ed.), 1914, 'Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Governors' Despatches to and from England, Vol.I, 1788-1796', The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Government Printer, Sydney, quote p.554; Cliff Hanna, 1993, ‘Bandits on The Great North Road - The Bushranger as a Social Force’, Nimrod Publications, University of Newcastle, Newcastle.

Joanna Richards has discussed the involvement of Burns with Blaxland, with Evans, and with Cox. I am using Burns because the name is given, as James Burns for a man who accompanied Blaxland, by George Evans on his follow up journey which completed the task of crossing the mountains beyond where Blaxland's party turned back. William Cox called him Burne - he may even have been Bourne. Burns seemed to be impatient of the official explorers and he suits the description of a man familiar with the bush. For initial Evans records see Mackaness where records have been transcribed from 'Historical Records of Australia' and edited. George William Evans, ‘Journal of Tour of Discovery, 1813-1814’, Number Two in George Mackaness (ed.), 1965, ‘Fourteen Journeys Over The Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841’, Horwitz Publications and Grahame Book Company, Sydney, pp.17-32, Burns p.32; Richards 1979 ‘Blaxland-Lawson-Wentworth 1813’ p.82, p.93.

The 1805-06 Muster places as working for Mrs Matcham Pitt a James Burne from Ireland who arrived 1802 ship Atlas. However, he is not under this name on Atlas convict lists, but a 25 years old James Bourne from England is listed as arriving 1801 on Canada the same ship as the Matcham Pitt family. Carol Baxter (ed.), 1989, ‘Musters of New South Wales and Norfolk Island 1805-1806’, Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record for Society of Australian Genealogists, North Sydney (Sydney); Carol J. Baxter, 2002, ‘Convicts to NSW 1788-1812’, published as CD-ROM, Society of Australian Genealogists, Sydney; Lesley Uebel, 2001 (reissued 2004), ‘The Port Jackson Convicts Anthology’, self published as CD-ROM, Pymble (Sydney).

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41 Thomas Matcham Pitt, who arrived as a nineteen year old in 1801 on ship Canada with his widowed mother and sisters, may well have been party to bush exploring and taken their convict servant with him. Although Thomas died in 1821, his son George Matcham Pitt born 1814 was to become known for his close contact with local Aborigines, even learning a song apparently from ‘The Branch’ natives.

42 George Matcham Pitt appears frequently in Local History records. ‘Hassel’ [sic] attributed to him a ‘song of the blacks, as heard 70 years ago by Mr. G.M. Pitt, at Richmond, on the Hawkesbury. Hassel (compiled by), 1897, ‘Songs by Australian Blacks, collected by Messrs. W.M. Doherty and G.M. Pitt’, The Australasian Anthropological Journal, February 27, 1897, 1: 8.
James Burns is my candidate for someone described by Governor King in a 1805 despatch, as ‘some men who had been in the practice of frequenting that part of the mountains lying west of the settlements at Hawkesbury’ who were of ‘this class of what is locally termed bushrangers’. During Governor King’s period several servants were living as outcasts in the bush, first described as ‘bush-rangers - - - observed lurking about’ when, on Tuesday 12 February 1805 three of them stopped a cart without taking anything or offering violence. The sermon preached in the columns of the Sydney Gazette, exhorting them to ‘return to obedience’ from ‘this most horrible fate of exile’ was unlikely to have been read by these exiles to whom it was aimed. Aborigines in the settlement were under protection of the governor, as shown by a white man being sentenced to work in the goal gang ‘for wantonly striking a native.’ Given the strong Aboriginal presence at that time, then those in Governor King’s despatch as follows are men who would have shared the mountains with ‘The Branch’ natives and gained local knowledge.

Contrary to the evolvement of popular concepts from recent writings, the traditional Aborigines of this period did not guide exploration parties through the bushland, especially not beyond their own territory. Glen McLaren & William Cooper from their study conclude that modern authors wrongly: ‘consider them to have been consumate [sic] bushmen and guides, who selected the route, found water, procured game and edible plants, and maintained harmonious relations with the differing Aboriginal groups encountered - - however, the reality of Aboriginal involvement in the exploration of Australia is otherwise - although local tribal people were frequently of value to explorers, supplying them with food and with valuable [local] advice - -’.

These men cited by Governor King who learnt from the Aborigines I consider to have contributed to Blaxland’s success. Their report despatched in 1805 by Governor King started: ‘from the junction of - -

43 This story was drawn to my attention by Alan Andrews, to whom I am indebted. He observes that King’s report could have been of visits to the mountains as early as 1800, although I suggest closer to King’s report at the end of 1805. My characters, Matcham Pitt and Burns, did not arrive until 1801. Ross also mentions King’s report with further ms in ML. \ Andrews 1984 ‘The Devil’s Wilderness’ pp.16-17; Philip King, 1805, ‘Exploration of the Mountains’, Enclosure No.7 with Despatch to Earl Camden 1 November 1805 - transcribed in Frederick Watson (ed.), 1915, ‘Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Governors’ Despatches to and from England, Vol.V, July 1804-August 1806’, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, pp.576-95, encl. no.7 pp.592-93; Ross 1985 ‘Everingham Letterbook’ endnote 32 p.170 (pp.155-56); Philip Gidley King, 1805, ‘Exploration of the Mountains’, placed among George Caley’s explorations report 2 November 1805 - transcribed in F.M. Bladen (ed.), 1897, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.V: King, 1803, 1804, 1805’, New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, pp.718-27, placement pp.724-25.

44 The white man was Thomas Brown. \ Sydney Gazette, Sunday 17 February 1805 p.2 col.2.

45 A route had been blazed to the Springwood forest from near the Matcham Pitt property, as follows.

the Grose with the Hawkesbury River they took a due west course... When on the first range of mountains the soil... appeared good.\footnote{The Wianamatta Shale soil occurs on the Winmalee ridge. J.M. Curran, C.L. Ball & H.G. Rienits, 1997, ‘Geological Map’ in J.W. Pickett & J.D. Alder, 1997, ‘Layers of Time: The Blue Mountains and Their Geology’, New South Wales Department of Mineral Resources, Sydney, pp.16-17.}

This describes travel in a westerly direction, along the ridge from the south side of the river junction, up to Springwood on the main range. It does not describe travel in a northerly direction, from the north side of the river junction, up to Bilpin on the Bell's Line range as incorrectly proposed by Chris Cunningham.\footnote{Chris Cunningham, 1996, ‘Scientific Enlightenment - Exploration in King's Governorship 1800-1806’, Chapter 5 pp.86-125 in ‘Blue Mountains Rediscovered - Beyond the Myths of Early Australian Exploration’, Kangaroo Press, Kenthurst / Dural (Sydney), pp.122-25.}

When Burns accompanied George Evans as his guide later in 1813, Evans became very terse with him: ‘in consequence of James Burns having several times mistaken his former track’.\footnote{Mackaness 1965 ‘Fourteen Journeys’ Evans, Number Two, ‘Burns’ p.19.} Evans was in error, referring to the section not blazed by Blaxland who went uphill directly from the Emu Plains settlement. This section was not familiar to Burns who knew the better Aboriginal walking route from the Grose River junction to the Springwood forest. The next year, while appointed with superintendent status under the pompous and presumptuous William Cox J.P. etc etc, who was living in a purpose made caravan while directing the clearing for a new road to Bathurst along Evans's survey from Emu Plains, Burns (‘Burne’) left before they reached his known route at Springwood.\footnote{William Cox, ‘Journal in Making a Road Across the Blue Mountains from Emu Plains to a New Country Discovered by Mr Evans to the Westward, 1814’, Number Three pp.33-63 in George Mackaness (ed.), 1965 ‘Fourteen Journeys’, ‘Burne’ p.36.}

### A Road Across the Ranges

When Blaxland arrived at Springwood, he had noted blazed trees from earlier visits which would have shown the way used by Burns along the Aboriginal route from Grose River junction near the Matcham Pitt property. From Springwood, the route described for King's bush rangers closely follows Blaxland's journal ten years later. The clearness of walking through the bush can vary as determined by the frequency of burning the undergrowth, and Blaxland's party was further impeded by having to lead packhorses. My putative Burns (the bush ranger) as well as Blaxland both described passing what King wrote as ‘the heap of stones said to have been placed there by Mr Bass’. (This is a cairn wrongly attributed by the improbable William Cox, 4 September 1814, to Caley and later known as ‘Caley's Repulse’. It would have been more likely a cairn built by Henry Hacking in 1794 than by George Bass in 1796 but could, of course, alternatively have been built by an early bush ranger. In his review,
Cunningham favours Hacking. However, other similar rock piles have been found in the vicinity, and attributed, including ‘Caley's Repulse’, to local Aborigines. The route along the ridge between the Matcham Pitt's farm and Springwood is within the country of ‘The Branch’ natives as described for the massacre in 1805 (Chapter 2), and would likely have been a regular pathway for them, i.e. from the river as far as Springwood forest where the new Bathurst road met it.

Once past the forest of present day Springwood travelling up the centre of the range, Blaxland in 1813 had found that there was not a native path there, having to cut a route through the thick brush [scrub] most of the way, although the party observed sounds of the Aborigines off to the side and saw their camps in the valleys. The modern imagination that Blaxland followed a native track is just that - imagination. The native tracks proposal was made a long time after the Bathurst road had been constructed, attributed in 1896 to ‘the late James Neale’ describing when the western tribes crossed the mountains - the story of Windradyne coming from Bathurst following the new road along the range. Author Jim Smith points out that the Aborigines seen by Blaxland in the low river valleys used a route along the Cox River Valley (Chapter 11/SW).

During the year after the exploration when William Cox was building a new road over Blaxland's route, about a month after they had started two of the Richmond Aborigines came along (8 August 1814) and did a bit of hunting for them, followed (27 August 1814) by ‘Coley’ (Colebee) from Richmond and ‘Joe’

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52 I have come across old stone arrangements in other parts of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges not associated with settlers. Throughout history, stone cairns may have had Land Rights significance - a concept seen from Jacob's crossing of the Ephraim mountains (Chapter 6). These rock piles had been placed in the vicinity of present day Linden. This concept of the Aboriginal stone cairns in the locality was put to me by others who had been bushwalking there. It is also mentioned by Breckell. Breckell 1993 ‘Shades of Grey’ p.120.

53 After moving from Wilberforce, my father's family resided at Springwood (as did I as a little fellow); bushwalking between the range and the valleys was done along the side ridges. This Aboriginal route to Springwood was known to the locals of Castlereagh as McCann's Ridge, from settler Patrick McCann, who had Portion 30, directly across the river from Castlereagh. Later, as Shaw's Farm, McCann's block became Eugene Stockton's site for his archaeological investigation of Aboriginal habitation shelters (Chapter 7). Ryan had used it as the location for one of his improbable stories (likely based on 1805 massacre by Thompson, Chapter 2). Ryan 1894 ‘Reminiscences’ p.4.

54 Blaxland 1823a ‘A Journal of a Tour of Discovery’.

from Mulgoa. From this brief encounter, J.L. Kohen imaginatively reported that Colebee was: ‘Guide when Cox built the road over the Blue Mountains’ [direct quote], although Cox was following Evans's survey.

To put this history into perspective, it is important to grasp that it became a through route for Aborigines after the road to Bathurst was created. The experience of Blaxland's expedition suggests the possibility of a different group of Aborigines on either side of this watershed once they got up to Kings Tableland, whose access would be from the valleys within their respective catchments (Chapter 11/SW).

The Richmond Hill Aborigines had ‘offered’ the more direct route followed by Bell ten years later in 1823, yet it did not find favour with the colony's establishment, having merely joined the existing Bathurst road in the Hartley Valley at the bottom of the descent from Mount York and still having to cross the boggy ground of the River Lett, a tributary of the upper Cox River. Bell's more direct 1823 route over the mountains via Mount Tomah with its steep passes could not compete with the new Bathurst road along Blaxland's 1813 route via Springwood, which serviced settlements at which wayside inns developed. The requirement was to go further north above the swampy land at the origins of the Cox River beyond Mount York. Although Bell’s Line was used as a stock route, a better way to Bathurst for

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56 The Aborigines were not labourers working on the road gangs as presented by other authors from historical mistranscriptions. There were about thirty convict labourers and a detachment of soldiers. The Aboriginal men went shooting and said they would stay - probably just for a day. These men showing curiosity are likely to have all been from ‘The Branch’ natives. In this thesis I have not studied the Mulgoa situation where the Cox family took up four thousand acres, which would require further investigation as to the floodplain geography there (Chapter 10/SE). After the Macarthur family had settled Camden, George and Henry, sons of William Cox, went across from ‘Clarendon’ at Richmond to explore this difficult location where they were attacked by the Aborigines. [In Chapter 11/SW I found the Cox Family, with fostered William Lee, still able to incite Aboriginal attack when they took up land north of Bathurst.] The origin of ‘Joe’ after the Cox family had also settled ‘Littlefields’ at Mulgoa is uncertain, and I have not been able to relate him to the Joe (Millott) nearby with John Jamison in 1818 at ‘Regentville’ (Chapter 10/SE). William Cox may have seen accepting the known Aborigines as some sort of insurance against being attacked by unknowns when road building, because ten weeks later (5 November 1814) he entered in his diary: ‘blacksmith made eight pikes for self-defence against the natives’ even though they had only seen unknown people away in the low river valleys. \ Cox 1814 ‘Making a Road’ in Mackaness 1965 ‘Fourteen Journeys’, p.37, p.39, p.45; re Mulgoa: George Henry Cox [son of George] attrib., 1901, ‘Memoirs of William Cox, J.P. late of Clarendon, Windsor’, William Brooks, Sydney, pp.43-44.


58 The failure of Bell's line to become popular may be more due to reports in the colony from those who went exploring in an official capacity, but without topographical understanding that the local Aborigines were prepared to share. The botanist George Caley had got onto the main ridge past Tomah as above, but his route had been inappropriate. Bell’s Aboriginal route was appropriate, but even when freshly marked by surveyor Robert Hoddle the botanist Allan Cunningham turned back in November 1823 when he wanted to go to the other side of the mountains (Chapter 12/NW).
In his youth, Hamilton Hume born 1797 would explore with younger companions, and with local Aborigines (Chapter 10/SE). Earlier his middle brother John Kennedy Hume born ca.1800 went with him, now youngest brother Francis Rawdon Hume born 1803. The Hume brothers were native-born. The ‘riposte’ is cited by Curry. \* Currey 1966 ‘Reflections on the Colony’, p.110.

However, before James Blackman (at Bathurst) went north to Mudgee, the previous governor, Governor Brisbane, had already adopted a new line of road marked by Blackman about 1820 on the west side of Mount York which crossed the Cox River itself higher up at Manangaroo, where the Aboriginal name for the river was Walerawang. (Walker at Wallerawang is discussed in Chapter 11/SW). The new line of road was surveyed by J. McBrien in 1823, as follows. \* Frank Winchester, 1972, ‘James Walker of Wallerowang’, Occasional Papers No.11, Lithgow District Historical Society, Lithgow.

At a most appropriate age for him to learn to become a self sufficient bushwalker, 8yo - 15yo, Hamilton Hume's family occupied a property at the Hawkesbury granted by Gov. King to Mrs Hume (a member of the Kennedy Family). This home was in the floodplain at a flood channel lagoon on Cranebrook Creek (in the present day quarried area for Penrith Lakes Scheme). Because of such terrible flooded sites, Gov. Macquarie set up a local town, Castlereagh, upstream of Richmond Hill and the Grose River junction. [The Hume farm was about ½ mile north of Castlereagh Cemetery at McCarthy's Lane - and 1½ miles west of Mt Pleasant on the low ridge between the lower Nepean River and South Creek which could have provided a nominal border between ‘The Branch’ natives surviving in the ranges and their southeast neighbours eliminated by settlement on the plains (Chapter 10/SE).]\* So, it is likely that Hamilton learnt bush exploration skills from ‘The Branch’ natives just as Ben Singleton did in the same period (later this chapter). Located in the same area, the Hume lads would have learnt from the same Aborigines as the other ‘bush rangers’ like James Burns who assisted Blaxland as above. Like the others, they would have learnt to follow routes along the ridge lines of the ranges. The Kennedy / Humes' story is taken up in Chapter 10/SE. The family left the lower Nepean not long before Blaxland was looking for someone as a guide to go across the mountains from there, but Blaxland's crossing inevitably influenced young Hamilton.

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Native-born like the Hume boys, young John Rowley also born 1797 had previously joined young Hamilton Hume and his younger brothers with Duall in his explorations (Chapter 10/SE). In an extremely significant observation, Rowley was the historical source for the language of the Georges River Aborigines which was identified as Dharug by J.L. Kohen in 1984 (Chapter 7).


In October 1827 Hume's party left the Bathurst road to travel north along the then unknown range from Mount Victoria, crossing Bell's line at the location where Bell's line descended to the River Lett after joining the range from Mount Victoria along a branch range on the east, present day Bells Range. For the first time, white men continued northwest to follow along the divide now named The Blue Mountains Range which goes around the southwest of the watershed of the Colo River and its tributaries. It was this range which was named Darling's Causeway for Governor Ralph Darling by Hume, and the valley to its west named by him Lithgow's Valley, present day Farmers Creek. However, just as for Bell, the Aborigines turned back when Hume wanted to descend to the valley. It is only speculation as to whether they were the same Aborigines who had been with Bell four years previously. They may have been old friends from Hume's boyhood at the lower Nepean (as footnoted here).

Sam Boughton's ‘Piper's Flat’ and Foreign People

If the topographical concept of catchments is the basis for tribal territory (Part III), then the valley of the Cox River and its tributaries, on the southwestern side below the range named by Hume as Darling's Causeway, would have been foreign country of a different tribe. So, it is possible that the Hawkesbury Aborigines were not competent to take either Bell or Hume any further in that direction, while the catchment watershed of the Colo Branch on the eastern side was known territory for ‘The Branch’ natives from the Hawkesbury and its Branches. A similar circumstance had happened in 1791 when the Parramatta River catchment Aborigines were not competent to take Governor Phillip's party into the Hawkesbury catchment (Chapter 1). This raises a conundrum about Sam Boughton's and Alfred Smith's ‘Piper's Flat blacks’ reported 1903 and 1910 respectively, mentioned above, since ‘Piper's Flat’ has not been identified for the time up to 1823 as a locality in this context. Thus there could not have been people known, in 1823, as from ‘Piper's Flat’. Even in his own history Jim Smith pointed out that it was not until 1824 that James Walker and Andrew Brown took up land near present day Piper's Flat.  

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64 Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ p.4.
Land around Wallerawang was not taken up until after the survey by McBrien in 1823 of Blackman's new line of road, as footnoted above, which took the Bathurst traffic. I do not know yet how present day Piper's Flat at Wallerawang was named, but the location is that of the railway siding when the Capertee branch railway was opened in 1882. Captain John Piper's property settled in 1827, ‘Alloway Bank’, was further west, five miles from Bathurst township on the Macquarie Plains (Macquarie River). An option is that Boughton's story of Aborigines coming across the mountains was based on Aborigines from somewhere else not defined, and at some stage after 1823 these Aborigines were attributed to be those who became known at present day ‘Piper's Flat’. The story recounted by Boughton about so-called battles is a generalised story which seems to be based on common sporting events mentioned earlier in this chapter, such as that known at the Nepean where the contesting teams forwent their sports display, referred to as a combat by the Europeans, when Jamison's overseer at ‘Regentville’ proposed a feast first.

If there is a basis for the story about an Aboriginal woman coming across Tomah to return to ‘Belmont’, then she might have been travelling the most expeditious way from the upper Colo catchment, say coming from the Wolgan River branch. However, whereas Wolgan River is a name which identifies a particular Colo River tributary, Blue Mountains tracks historian Jim Smith curiously links the Wolgan with the Cox River instead of the Colo (Chapter 11/SW). Smith describes, without sources, how James Walker ‘settled at the Marrangaroo loop of the Cox’ [near Wallerawang] where local Aborigines ‘had camps about 500 metres - - from their homes’, apparently his (Smith's) Piper's Flat people. The basis for Smith's Piper's Flat natives (as Wywandy) occupying the Colo river catchment instead of ‘The Branch’ natives is given thus: ‘Walker established an early outstation in the Wolgan Valley and I [Smith] believe he would have

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65 I have examined McBrien's 1823 re-survey for the Bathurst road. On the map sheet west from Mount York, with details of the new section past McBrien's ‘Walerawang’, neither Piper's Creek, nor Piper's Flat, is identified - suggesting the name was only applied after Piper's 1827 arrival as follows. James McBrien, 1823, Survey of Road from Emu Plains Nepean River to Bathurst, Surveyor General Maps B.5-7.147, NSW State Records Items 1282-84, ‘Walerawang’ on map B.5.147.


67 Marjorie Barnard Eldershaw, 1939, reprinted 1973, ‘The Life and Times of Captain John Piper’, Ure Smith, for The National Trust of Australia (N.S.W.), Dee Why West (Sydney).

68 As given earlier this chapter, with background set out in Chapter 1. Jamison's overseer was mentioned by Fitzpatrick. John Charles Lucas Fitzpatrick, 1900, ‘ ‘The Good Old Days” being a Record of Facts and Reminiscences Concerning the Hawkesbury District’ - compiled from the columns of the “Windsor and Richmond Gazette”, William Dymock, Sydney, p.63.
been shown the way, along an ancient Aboriginal pathway, by one of the Aborigines from his camp.\textsuperscript{69} 
This is a repeat of the fallacy that Blaxland's route over the mountains must have been along an Aboriginal pathway as discussed above.

If Aborigines indeed moved between the Cox and Colo in this way from side to side across Hume's Darling's Causeway range (present day Blue Mountains main Range), then no evidence has been given to establish from which way they were coming, so that it could have just as easily been Colo catchment \textit{Wywandy} Aborigines at Piper's Flat (Walker's property) on the upper Cox as vice versa.\textsuperscript{70} That is supported by Smith from his own translation of \textit{Wywandy} as people at the west, because they were at the west of the Colo valleys (but north of the Cox valleys).\textsuperscript{71} However, settlers' properties were not limited to the country of one Aboriginal ‘tribe’.

Should Smith's 1990 view taken from Boughton 1903 be correct - as popularly accepted - that in 1823 it had been foreigners of a \textit{Wallerawang} tribe coming to the Hawkesbury from present day Piper's Flat Creek, a tributary of the upper Cox River at Wallerawang, then they might well have travelled down seasonal routes along the Cox River Valley (through \textit{Gundungurra} tribal country) to approach the Hawkesbury via the Burragorang Valley as suggested by Ryan cited above, but that was not the case. The whole issue of Aboriginal people in their tribal country had been brought into disarray when Governor Macquarie had begun to bring in various tribes to Parramatta for a feast at the end of 1814, without respect for their territorial integrity and customs associated with visiting country of another tribe. It had culminated for the 1824 feast at Parramatta with the arrival of a contingent of Aborigines with their resistance leader \textit{Windradyne}, known as ‘Saturday’ by the whites.\textsuperscript{72} This group was referred to as the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[69] The impossible history, with regard to dates and personnel, of Smith’s assertion is discussed in Chapter 11/SW. \textit{Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ p.4.}
\item[70] Repeatedly, through his study of \textit{Gundungurra} language Aborigines from the southern Blue Mountains, Smith adopts a premise that the land was \textit{terra nullius} outside their core country of the Warragamba River catchment (viz. Wollondilly River which flowed into Burragorang Valley plus tributaries such as Cox River) - see Chapter 11/SW.
\item[71] From the historical records reviewed for this thesis, the people from the Colo, a Branch of the Hawkesbury River, were \textit{Darkiflung} - ‘The Branch’ natives, while the people from the Wollondilly of which the Cox was a tributary, were \textit{Gundungurra} - the \textit{Burra-gorang} ‘tribe’ (Chapter 11/SW). The local people were commonly known as the Wallerawang tribe [not Piper's Flat tribe], including on the first breastplate Walker had made for ‘King Myles’. Another breastplate for a son was inscribed ‘Jemmy Myles - Prince of Wywandy’. This does not endow the Wallerawang Aborigines with any Tribal identity. I observe that ‘\textit{wan(g)}’ is common to both identifying terms. As discussed in Chapter 11/SW, from Smith's findings this group may have been people from the west, the \textit{Wiradjuri}. \textit{Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ Wywandy p.6, ‘wan’ for west p.2.}
\end{footnotes}
Bathurst tribe, *Windradyne* being associated with the Suttor family’s ‘Brucedale’, at present day Peel location on Winburndale Rivulet. They had travelled through the country for which the settlers were exploring for better wagon routes to Bathurst in 1823 and 1827 as above. With the protection of the colonists Aborigines had begun to travel with impunity along the settlers’ new roads across foreign country where earlier they had been adversaries.

‘Piper's Flat’ on William Lawson's Travels North

When William Lawson had been exploring the interior western country from Bathurst north to Mudgee along James Blackman's route in 1821-22, he was accompanied by a local Aborigine, subsequently identified as *Ering*, later corrupted to ‘Aaron’. The implication of *Ering’s* knowledge, discussed in Chapter 12/NW, is that the Aboriginal people of those watersheds in the interior draining to the west of the great divide were different to those on the eastern watershed, which concurs with the view of Percy Gresser actually supported by Jim Smith for present day Piper's Flat: ‘Being on the eastern watershed, the tribe or local group whose headquarters were here [on upper Cox River] was probably an offshoot of, or allied to, the coastal tribes and not to the tribes west of the Divide’. During his travels throughout New South Wales as a shearer, Gresser had accumulated a great deal of wisdom, and artefacts, about the Aborigines.

Further seeking in historical records shows that part of present day Piper's Flat Creek flowing into the upper Cox River at Wallerawang used to be known as Gow's Creek, and so may not have been that place in the early 1800s with a savage Aboriginal tribe as referred to in the early 1900s reminiscences above. There is a historic place called Piper's Flat - which was occupied by a reputedly savage Aboriginal tribe - on the historic Bell's Creek, which drops over Bell's Falls into Bell's Gorge before continuing on to flow

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73 *Windradyne* of the Bathurst Aborigines, associated with the Suttor and Innes properties on Winburndale Rivulet there is discussed in Chapter 11/SW. References (for here) cited in Salisbury & Gresser 1971 ‘*Windradyne*’, e.g. pp.40-43.


75 Cited by Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of the Upper Cox River’ p.2; Percy J. Gresser, 1964, ‘The Aborigines of the Bathurst District (Historical Sketch)’, unpublished typescript, Bathurst Historical Society. The typescript is revision of serial articles published from 15 August 1962 in the then Bathurst ‘Western Times’ newspaper (later, ‘Western Advocate’).

into the Turon River downstream of Sofala.\footnote{77} An alternate name for the nearby locality is Tanwarra, and the historic Bell's Creek is present day Tanwarra Creek. I say reputedly in the rhetorical sense that this Piper's Flat group must have been perceived to have been those boldly attacking the settlers in order to have become the subject of the legendary Bell's Falls massacre in retaliation. In a fine paper with Local History content, David Roberts has carefully analysed the historiography of the ‘tradition’ behind this myth. He points out that the rugged topography at Bell's Falls ‘is the type of place that inspires mythology’.\footnote{78, 79} This particular myth, like so many others where Aborigines are driven over cliffs, has a lot of characteristics taken from the story of the Appin Massacre at Georges River 17 April 1816 (Chapter 10/SE).

The question of how far ‘The Branch’ natives from the Hawkesbury River could travel with the explorers before they wanted to turn back, having reached the country of foreign Aborigines, is considered more specifically in Part III. This part, Part I, is dealing with historic records of the original Aboriginal People.

\footnote{77} The location of Piper's Flat mapped above Bell's Falls is to the west of the settlement of Wattle Creek (which was maintained as a township after the gold rush). Blackman's blazed route went this way, through Peel from Bathurst, initially followed by Lawson on his earliest forays (Chapter 11/SW).


\footnote{79} Peter Read draws the curtain to open on a stage showing a different view of the happenings. The historic Country of the Aborigine Windradyne, alias ‘Saturday’, was around Winburndale Rivulet and Clear Creek where the Suttor family settled (present day Peel) just north of Bathurst. Having placed him, ‘whose country enclosed the Sofala district’ to the south of the Turon River - around Bell's Falls:- in ‘the chasms of Mount Wiagdon’ [Wiagdon is between Peel and Sofala], Read saw Windradyne theatrically transport himself downstream to the far side of the Turon River at ‘the Hill End Plateau’, where he was to ‘lead the whites in a mocking and exhausting dance through the recesses’ of the plateau. This is the place at Tambaroora where the legend for fights with creatures of the devil was located (as earlier in this chapter, and Chapter 11/SW). In Read's version Windradyne mocks the soldiers for an extra year before he comes across the Blue Mountains to the governor’s feast [1825 instead of 1824]. Read's scene has become part of the formal heritage and history produced for the state government, and Alan Mayne related it to the period of martial law which Governor Brisbane imposed with travelling detachments of soldiers to be a ‘system of keeping these unfortunate people in a constant state of alarm’, causing ‘Saturday their great and most warlike chieftain’ to seek pardon. From different historic records, I have examined another misleading report that seemed to place Windradyne also in the Colo River catchment of ‘The Branch’ natives where the Innes family settled (Chapter 11/SW). \textit{Peter Read, 1988, ‘A Hundred Years War - The Wiradjuri People and The State’}, Australian National University Press of Pergamon Press, Rushcutters Bay (Sydney), pp.9-11; \textit{Alan Mayne, 2003, ‘Hill End - An Historic Australian Goldfields Landscape’}, Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Melbourne) for New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, citation of Read p.64; \textit{Thomas Brisbane, 1824, re Proclamation 14 August 1824 and repeal of that proclamation, Despatch from Governor Brisbane to Earl Bathurst 31 December 1824 - transcribed in Frederick Watson (ed.), 1917, ‘Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Governors' Despatches to and from England, Vol.XI, January 1823-November 1825’}, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, pp.430-32, (Despatch 3 November 1824 with Proclamation, pp.409-11).
Both Archie Bell in 1823 and the Hume brothers in 1827, setting out with their Aboriginal guides from ‘The Branch’ natives at Richmond, had local knowledge, that to reach Bathurst they had to remain on the watershed to the south of the catchment of the Colo River and its tributaries, because of what had previously happened to a convict's son, Ben Singleton in 1817-18.

Despite good records of Singleton as follows, J.D. Heydon in immortalising Archie Bell propagated a fanciful notion of young Bell running his own expedition going north through the ranges to the Hunter River following his 1823 success going west, when he rescued Singleton who was dying of starvation. However, N. Gray notes that by then Singleton was already district constable for the Hunter River settlement at Patrick's Plains. Before the arrival of a member of the Bell family, the route through the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges country of ‘The Branch’ natives was well travelled for livestock from Richmond to Patrick's Plains on the Hunter River. Heydon's myth has arisen because it was young Archie’s elder brother, William Simms Bell, who had been recognised - rightly or wrongly - for taking the first herd of cattle along the blazed route to the north. Commissioner Bigge was not able to see through the grandiosity of their father's ‘evidence’ to his enquiry, with his report projecting ‘a son’ of Bell as an explorer to ‘a place that is called by the natives Boottee [Singleton's Putty]’, and ‘as far as Comorri [Howe's “Coomery Roy”], upon the banks of a branch of Hunter's River’. In the enquiry, Bigge asked Bell snr about natives ‘in the district your son has discovered’ with the response ‘several of them have expressed a wish that my son would come to reside at Boottee’. Although Bell snr was suffering from pretentiousness, even inaccurate reports to the Bigge Enquiry have become part of the historical records.

Earlier than Bell and Hume, Ben Singleton was accompanied by local Aborigines when he investigated the mountains. He had wanted to improve the route from Richmond to Bathurst to avoid boggy ground crossing the Hartley Valley at the River Lett of the upper Cox Valley beyond Mount York. We do not

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80 Singleton's importance cannot be overemphasised as the Australian exemplar for learning bush skills of local Aborigines - preceding the freeman's son, hero Hamilton Hume, by ten years in age.

81 This arose from a claim by their father, Archibald Bell snr, reproduced from evidence in the report given to the Bigge enquiry. The elder brother William Bell may have been preceded by others, such as John Blaxland jnr, as follows, or Joseph Onus (Chapter 12/NW). While it was the Aborigines who had been dispossessed, the settlers squabbled over rights to their land \ See also Morgan 1958 ‘Bulga [Road]’ p.197; Heydon 1966 ‘Bell, Archibald’ ADB; Nancy Gray, 1967, ‘Singleton, Benjamin (1788 - 1853)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.2, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.448-49; John Ritchie (ed.), 1971, ‘The Evidence to the Bigge Reports’, Chapter 8 ‘Native Peoples’ pp.162-74 of Vol.1 ‘The Oral Evidence’, William Heinemann, Melbourne, quote p.174; John Thomas Bigge, 1823, Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry, on the State of Agriculture and Trade in the Colony of New South Wales [Volume 3 of ‘The Bigge Reports’], The House of Commons, London, Facsimile 1966, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, p.9.
know how much as a young man he had been exploring the bushland from the family water-driven flour-mills on the upper reaches of Little Wheeney Creek at Kurrajong.\textsuperscript{82} It is safe to say that he was comfortable in the ranges. Like Hamilton Hume born in the colony and young Archibald Bell, Ben Singleton had grown up in the company of local Aborigines.\textsuperscript{83} Prior to September 1817 he had been on unrecorded bushwalks traversing the ranges, which had taken him across the Colo River from the Singleton family's home at their Kurrajong mills, then around the upper reaches of the Wollemi Creek branch of the Colo River and the upper reaches of the Macdonald River near Mount \textit{Yango}.\textsuperscript{84} The area covered by Singleton was sketched by William Parr over his map of an 1817 expedition to the west of Bathurst led by Surveyor General John Oxley.\textsuperscript{85} The then unnamed Macdonald and Colo River Branches are plotted by Parr as arising more to the west - that is, in the direction of Bathurst to the northwest.\textsuperscript{86} A simple error which was to cause much disappointment in finding a better route to Bathurst, as follows.

It seems certain that Singleton, who used to go with some friends and a convict companion, went walking and camping with a member or members of ‘The Branch’ natives from Richmond / Kurrajong from whom he learnt some of the place names as well as navigation skills for the ranges. Some of what he was taught know how much as a young man he had been exploring the bushland from the family water-driven flour-mills on the upper reaches of Little Wheeney Creek at Kurrajong.\textsuperscript{82} It is safe to say that he was comfortable in the ranges. Like Hamilton Hume born in the colony and young Archibald Bell, Ben Singleton had grown up in the company of local Aborigines.\textsuperscript{83} Prior to September 1817 he had been on unrecorded bushwalks traversing the ranges, which had taken him across the Colo River from the Singleton family's home at their Kurrajong mills, then around the upper reaches of the Wollemi Creek branch of the Colo River and the upper reaches of the Macdonald River near Mount \textit{Yango}.\textsuperscript{84} The area covered by Singleton was sketched by William Parr over his map of an 1817 expedition to the west of Bathurst led by Surveyor General John Oxley.\textsuperscript{85} The then unnamed Macdonald and Colo River Branches are plotted by Parr as arising more to the west - that is, in the direction of Bathurst to the northwest.\textsuperscript{86} A simple error which was to cause much disappointment in finding a better route to Bathurst, as follows.

\textsuperscript{82} I have investigated the mill sites and water race channel now in the bush, with the Kurrajong and Comleroy [Road] Historical Society led by Les Dollin, whom I acknowledge with appreciation.


\textsuperscript{84} There is an admirable account researched by Andy Macqueen, as follows. However, his book title which relates an attitude to the Aborigines - still commonly accepted, I find to have been incorrect regarding ‘The Branch’ natives involved who had become rather friendly to those aliens usurping their territory. Macqueen could agree because his source is an extract, of an unsourced ms (written ten years after the event), relating to an 1821 journey by John Blaxland jnr (nephew of Gregory) following Singleton and Howe through the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, where the anonymous ms stated: ‘journey was somewhat perilous the Blacks being numerous’. On a second 1824 journey pioneering a shorter way across the then unnamed Macdonald River Branch - ‘through \textit{Wallumbi} [\textit{Wallambine} (now \textit{Wollombi})], a level grazing country’ - young Blaxland was accompanied by Rev. George Middleton who was a friend of the Aborigines. The parson Middleton is another ancestor of Macqueen, and I look forward with anticipation to his book on him, as he did for the surveyor D’Arcy. In the meantime, Macqueen suggests using Roach’s 2003 thesis, which I had studied. (Middleton appears in Chapter 9/NE of this 2010 thesis.)

\textsuperscript{85} The then unnamed Macdonald and Colo River Branches are plotted by Parr as arising more to the west - that is, in the direction of Bathurst to the northwest.

\textsuperscript{86} A simple error which was to cause much disappointment in finding a better route to Bathurst, as follows.


\textsuperscript{85} In the convention of the day showing the unknown furthest away, the known east coast is drawn along the bottom of the sheet. So the 1817 map is oriented with the west at the top. \textsuperscript{\textendash} Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ maps: Parr p.25, p.191; Johnson 2001 ‘Search for the Inland Sea’ map: p.48.
by the Aborigines may have been confidential. Of course, considering behaviour of my mates and me exploring the bush under such circumstances, he would have been competent by the time he became a teenager. Singleton's first bushwalk would have been many years before September 1817 at 29 years of age, and he appeared reluctant about sharing his knowledge of the ranges with white men strangers. We do not know who were his Aboriginal companions to whom he was indebted for his experiences or the white boys who shared those experiences.

The sketch on Parr's map may well have been a composite of where Singleton had told him he had been. Given the way that on Parr's map the country familiar to Singleton appeared to lean towards Bathurst, Parr's sketch of Singleton's walks indicates his own planning for an expedition to discover an alternative way to Bathurst which would avoid the cliffs off Mount York and the boggy crossing in the upper Cox River valley. Although they were searching for a route to the Macquarie River for horses and wagons, the series of historical explorations with Singleton found a route to the Hunter River instead, through the country of Singleton's Aboriginal associates, ‘The Branch’ natives.

William Parr
The first known recorded attempt for a new, second, route to Bathurst through the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges was in October-November 1817 for William Parr's own expedition which went via Singleton's home to collect a diffident Ben Singleton as a guide. Convict William Parr, forty three years old in 1817 who arrived in the colony only four years earlier, had been chosen in the field as a companion for exploring by the experienced George Evans - the real leader of the first expedition under the command of naval officer John Oxley. Parr's distant observations of Aborigines along the Lachlan River had not provided useful insights for travel in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

Departing on Friday 31 October 1817 from the Singleton family's mills at Kurrajong, recording local Aboriginal names provided by Ben Singleton which had to have been from his earlier visits, Parr's party passed through the ‘swamp called Colo’ at the bottom of ‘Weni or Wine Creek’ [present day Wheeny Creek] from which the Second Branch of the Hawkesbury River was named. Then, after climbing the

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87 Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’, Chapter 3, pp.31-61. This is a masterly account, from meticulous research, although there may be alternative discussions for some of the data. I prefer Macqueen to earlier accounts.

88 I consider the under-rated Evans as the doyen of the immigrant explorers. (Others went with native-born companions such as Hume.) Johnson 2001 ‘Search for the Inland Sea’, p.40, p.77.
When Everingham had made his journey into these ranges in 1795, the Colo had been named as the Macarthur River (see earlier in this chapter). The Aboriginal terms which became used as places were not necessarily names, and it is likely that some may have been descriptions. For example the term 'weni' or 'wine' was also used as a description to describe a broad valley with a creek north of the Colo River, present day Long Weeney Creek. Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.27, p.29 box.

Singleton returned taking one of the two packhorses with supplies, which could also have impeded Parr. He was accompanied by convict Robert Francis, perhaps to look after the horse. Although he transcribes ‘Frances’, Macqueen (p.36) suggests Robert ‘Francis’, 15yo in 1817 who received a TOL in 1837. [Morgan 1958 transcribes ‘Francis’, p.191.] The ploy of telling Parr ‘the way was impassable’ was re-used in this area 29 October 1819 to deter John Howe (later this chapter). Parr’s journal Sunday 16 November 1817, transcription H.A.Mcl. Morgan, 1958, ‘The Bulga or Coal River [Road] - Australia’s First North Road, Its History and Its Pioneers’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 44 (4): 185-221 p.148.

Morgan 1958 ‘Bulga [Road]’ p.191.

This conclusion is from my study for a Local History research project about the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges with which I have been involved before re-enrolling at university to prepare this thesis.

bushwalking companions. My selection for this important convict loyal to Singleton is John Dolley who had arrived in 1814 and was a few years younger than Singleton, twenty five years old in 1817. Without Dolley’s local experience Parr could not have identified Old Beeany, the Aborigine whom he called chief of Mellon, when they were camped Wednesday 26 November 1817 (day 27) at present day Colo Heights near the head of Wheelbarrow Ridge, down which Parr was guided to the new farms on the Colo River. On four occasions, Parr was guided ‘through’ the fires burning on this ridge above the Colo River. Parr blamed the fires on what he called the Mellon natives behind and the Hawkesbury natives ahead. Critical to this thesis, they had observed several Aborigines who used to come in to Richmond, and they seem to have been groups of the same Aborigines, then known as ‘The Branch’ natives.

With Singleton vanished into the bush, Parr was unable to maintain his course, and was fortunate to be faced with the October-November seasonal bushfire burns for that time of year when dry thunder storms with lightening strikes were normal after the local dry season of August-September. Parr was able to blame the fires for his own inept navigation, writing in his journal for Wednesday 19 November 1817:

I clearly discovered an extremely rich valley, with a River running through it, but the flames raged to such a height both in the valley and on the hills on each side of it, that I could not venture any further. The flames were often seen above the trees, which were very tall. At intervals I caught a slight view up the valley which appeared to run nearly NW. Could I have proceeded up this valley I have no doubt I could have made Bathurst easily . . .

With particularly good local knowledge, bush expertise and personal research reconnaissance, Macqueen has determined that Parr was in the valley of Wollemi Creek. Parr was looking to go northwest to Bathurst, but Macqueen points out that the direction he ‘wanted to go’ (should have been going) from there was southwest to reach Bathurst. Parr would have been trapped by broken cliffs if he had gone northwest up the valley rather than around the watershed range as did Singleton later. They were looking for a way to become a road for waggons. Apprentice explorer Parr had not learned as much from George Evans in 1817 as he thought he had! Under stress, Parr was then suffering from the same English illusion

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96 [On the 1875 map at start of Part III, present day Wollemi Ck is labelled as ‘Wollen’ C., with Putty Ck tributary as Major Mitchell’s ‘Tupa’ C.] \ Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ pp.151-52.
as Governor Phillip twenty eight years before him who had thought then that the valley of the Grose River would lead him through the mountains to rich farming land beyond (Chapter 1).

Historians have subjectively resolved that the Aborigines had lit fires throughout the ranges as a hostile act to frighten Parr away to prevent him finding a way to Bathurst. 97 A more objective view is to note that Singleton set off independently on Sunday morning 16 November 1817 in the midst off all the fires, and that although Parr could not proceed on his chosen course, he was not deterred. 98 Most importantly, Parr records on the Monday: ‘We saw a number of Natives this day generally about the skirts of the flames. I sent one of my men to them in the hopes of getting some information from them, but on hailing about twelve of them, all the notice they took of him was coo,ee.’ 99 These Aborigines, in the Putty vicinity, may not have spoken English, yet they were friendly. They were too busy exploiting the fire, probably harvesting game, to be helpful.

A good example of how history is represented and re-presented by locals is told in the yarn written by William McAlpin who lived locally with his father: 100

97 For example, Morgan 1958 ‘Bulga [Road]’ p.188, p.192.

98 This burn pattern probably lasting tens of thousands of years has only been changed in that part of the world in the last few years under white government management attempts to suppress fires, until then having been exploited by both Aborigines and cattlemen to provide feed for grazing animals such as kangaroos and other macropods. Bushwalkers had been able to avoid being burnt as shown even by the inexperienced Parr. (The pressure for suppression came with the 1961 NSW ‘Clean Air Act’ to protect the then suburban weekly washing from neighbours' smoky backyard incinerators and companion fires. With our own fires at home, we had learnt how to handle fire to be our friend, until they were regulated.) Without frequent smaller fires which maintained regular burn paths through the scrub, it is difficult for modern people to appreciate that there were ways through the mountains navigable with horses. With loss of their habitat, those native fauna have become rare which relied on clear grassy patches between the trees for their own movement. This includes much of the Aboriginal food obtained by hunting in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. (Comments taken from findings of work in an earlier life of mine.)

99 Parr 1817 Journal, Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.149; The use of the contact call ‘cooee’ [various spellings] is discussed in Chapter 1.

100 Alfred Smith - whose ‘Ups and Downs’ reminiscences about young Archie Bell are discussed earlier in this chapter - had thought that McAlpin had gone with Bell on the 1823 expedition past Mount Tomah. At that time when Bell was 19yo, McAlpin was 13yo, a good age for bush exploring. William Glas McAlpin, second son, arr.1812 as a 2yo with his family as free settlers. After their mother died, their father Peter snr, a blacksmith, settled at Richmond. The family became intricately entwined with the local Eather/ Onus Family, William marrying Susannah Onus in 1833. Later, they moved to the Hunter Valley where Joseph Onus the elder and his son Joseph had estates and grazed cattle. (The Eather/ Onus Family employed members of ‘The Branch’ natives as stockmen, with example for Joseph Onus jnr discussed Chapter 4.) At his Bulga property ‘Glen Alpin’, William McAlpin became a contact for Robert Mathews who was then a surveyor at Singleton (Chapter 6). For example, Mathews was at McAlpin's place 11,12 April 1881. They shared a common interest about these Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. It was McAlpin who provided Robert Mathews with the information that the Milbrodale cave ‘figures were there when he first came to (that) district’ (Chapter 6). Malcolm R. Sainty & Keith

(continued...)
When Parr reached near Hunter Valley Singleton learned from his blackfellow that they would reach the river in a day, and Singleton returned to Windsor to deny Parr the finding. After beating about hopelessly among the mountains Parr was compelled to return.\(^{101}\)

Despite there being obvious historical anomalies of detail, such as fusing Parr's trip as above with Singleton's follow up as below, I consider William McAlpin's observations a more reliable source than the reminiscences of Toby Ryan, Sam Boughton and Alfred Smith, about matters before they were born as discussed earlier in this chapter.

**Ben Singleton Again**

Having learnt of the value of finding a new way to Bathurst, Singleton set off (after the fire season) as soon as he could be excused from the peak of seasonal work grinding wheat to flour at the family's mills, Saturday 25 April 1818. On this occasion he claimed recognition, reporting his explorations to Governor Macquarie with notes on the value of the route for cattle and wagons. His party went bushwalking without horses, again carrying their own supplies and obtaining sustenance from the bush. He was accompanied by a local Aborigine. Singleton did not include the names of his white friends in his report, just ‘being 5 in number’, so similarly their Aboriginal companion was only referred to as ‘the Native we had with us’. It is possible he was *Mullaboy* as follows. They reached *Putty* [Singleton's term] on Wednesday 29 April 1818.

Researchers other than I have calculated that they travelled as far as the mountain *Monundilla* on the watershed between the Hunter and Hawkesbury River systems, at the head of present day Martindale and Wollemi Creeks respectively. The watershed is the present day Hunter Range. They were not far from the Great Dividing Range at *Coricudgy*.\(^{102}\) Thus the trip was successful as far as it went, in that the party

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\(^{100}\) (continued)


\(^{102}\) There is now a bush road along the range following Singleton's planned route. Where the *Mellong* Range from the south joins the Hunter Range from the east to continue west, is termed ‘Three Ways’. \(\backslash\) Morgan 1958 ‘Bulga [Road]’ p.192; Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.84 (Macqueen attributes (continued...)}
reached and was following the range which would take them around the headwaters of the whole Colo watershed, reaching Bathurst if Parr's map had have had the perspectives accurate. The map had not, so it was fortunate that Singleton turned back on meeting local Aborigines.

It is important to observe that when Singleton's party met a crowd of Aborigines at Monundilla, they were speaking the same language as the member of ‘The Branch’ natives from Richmond who was their companion. The crowd may have approached as many as fifty to sixty which, in my own experience with large excursions, on a scrub covered ridge is more people than can be reliably estimated.\(^{103}\)

On the night of Tuesday 5 May 1818 Singleton's party wrongly thought they were under attack when they heard sounds of voices and what they thought were stones rolling down the hill. I have been in such a situation many times, with sounds in the sandstone landscape becoming exaggerated, reverberating off rock faces and carrying through the rain - if they had been attacked it would have been a flurry of spears. Their Aboriginal companion being now described as ‘timid’ either realised there was some event for which he had not followed protocol, or thought of the supernatural element in the mountains (or both).\(^{104}\)

Next morning it was a few hours, ‘about 10 o’clock’, before they saw any people. Singleton describes, on Monundilla, ‘upwards of two hundred Natives who Had Never seen a White Man Before except one the name of Mawby who could speak a little English’. This man's name was Maicoe (as shown from blanket lists following).\(^{105}\) It was ‘the Native we had with us’ who talked with ‘Mawby and four More’. The locals were friendly and helpful. The party unfortunately turned back from here because their interpreter, apparently anxious to leave, said to the white men that he was told it was rocky with no water the way they were going. He meant along the ridge top where Aborigines walked. If, as suggested following, Singleton's Aboriginal companion was young Mullaboy aka Wolloboy who had not then been initiated, he might justifiably be scared if he imagined the men thought he had observed forbidden ceremonies of a mystical nature going on the night before.

\(^{102}\) (...continued)

the names as having been collected by later surveyor Peter Ogilvie, 1831).

\(^{103}\) Singleton's report, as follows, has been exaggerated by other authors. Rounded off terms, such as ‘scores’, or ‘hundreds’, or ‘thousands’ do not mean to record that actual number.

\(^{104}\) It is a different part of the project, not included in ‘Recognition’, which studied the legends and mythical stories of ‘The Branch’ natives and the ‘Wollombi tribe’ - i.e. the Darkiïnng people. I observe that Everingham's party (earlier this chapter) had experienced similar reverberations during a thunder storm when they spent the night off Mt Tootie on Tuesday 3 November 1795.

\(^{105}\) Maicoe alias ‘Mawby’ / ‘Morby’ was of the same estimated age as Emery alias ‘Lawyer’, born est.1797, thus 21yo in 1818. Blanket list: 1833 - 36yo; 1834 37yo. \K\ Kohen, Jim (compiler), 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’ (& misc. lists to 1851), Macquarie University.
When told the party was seeking land along river flats, the local Aborigines were not familiar with the foreign Macquarie River Plains to the west, instead they pointed the way east to the Goulburn-Hunter River system of their own country where the valley widened two days walk away. Their description was of a river with large flats beside it, which got so large they could not swim over it, could not drink it, and on questioning agreed it could run both ways. It is critical for Part III to note that it got so large that it would form a barrier (Chapter 12/NW). This was interpreted by Singleton's party as a salt tidal river flowing into Port Stephens, and remained the view for two more years until Singleton, with Howe, followed this river down to Wallis Plains (Maitland) on Wednesday 15 March 1820.\textsuperscript{106} However, taking into account later knowledge of the topography, it seems that the Aborigines were talking about the floodplain of the Hunter River system, which was described by Howe when first there Friday 5 to Sunday 7 November 1819.\textsuperscript{107}\ And below Monundilla the Goulburn River branch does flow backward to the west when a larger flood comes down the Hunter from Barrington Tops on the north. I propose that this language group, that is of ‘The Branch’ natives, occupied the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges north to the floodplain (Chapter 12/NW) which was known to them. However, as was to transpire later, this northern group of ‘The Branch’ natives knew also about the tidal flow below Maitland, towards the eastern side of their country. I suspect it was Maicoe alias Mawby who became part of the plan to lead John Howe astray when he arrived at Puttee [Howe’s term] on Friday 29 October 1819.

**John Howe**

The experience with local Aborigines was quite different for the bumptious John Howe from England, who was nearly thirty years old when he settled at the Hawkesbury River, approaching forty years old on acquiring a large grant near the Singletons’ at Kurrajong, and who became Chief Constable at Windsor the next year. He had never been an equal as playmates with Aboriginal boys, as children growing up in the bush can be. A domineering nature may have put people offside, especially Aborigines - even his daughter’s husband George Loder walked out on him in the bush on Thursday 11 November 1819 at the upper Macdonald River and came home without him through rugged country which Parr’s map showed was familiar to Singleton. Loder had married Mary Howe in 1816. Probably George was Singleton’s friend who may have inadvertently described to the Howe family some trips into the mountain ranges which he had done previously with Ben and ‘The Branch’ natives.


Howe determined to find the large river flats reported by Singleton, presumably to expand his own property as well as his ego - he even described where he would build his house when he got there. He was not an appropriate person to go exploring, in his own words ‘being very poorly in health’. He wrote that on the ninth night after leaving the settlement Tuesday 26 October 1819, he had ‘4 fits of the Ague’. With such a concept - associated with malaria infection - he could be identified with military heroes who had served in the tropics. Howe had been a grocer in England until becoming a settler in the colony.

Howe had set off Sunday 24 October 1819 from Windsor with packhorses taking young George Loder, four other settlers, and some of ‘The Branch’ natives. But at Kurrajong he wasted two days, being stood up by Ben Singleton who had probably been forewarned by George, and one of the Aborigines also disappeared. This provides a situation whereby Singleton and his Aboriginal friend could have set off more quickly without packhorses which had to be led, allowing for a claim attributed to Singleton that he reached the target river before Howe. The Aborigines who stayed with him Howe referred to as ‘the Natives’, calling one ‘Miles’ or ‘Myles’, which was applied as an English derivation for term *myall*, used for an undomesticated, or ‘wild’, Aborigine. This man's name was *Mioram* (as shown from blanket lists following).

From the end of the previously marked route at *Putty*, Howe did not want to head westerly towards Bathurst, but to go more easterly. These Aborigines did not cooperate, Howe's journal giving - note first

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109 I sympathise with Howe - having had ‘fits of the ague’ myself after retuning from time in New Guinea. Waterson & Parsons stated: ‘We know that John Howe - - gained navigational skills which were to prove most valuable during his explorations.’ If so, he didn’t show them when crossing the bushland ranges. \ Nancy Gray, 1966, ‘Howe, John (1774-1852)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p.560; Waterson & Parsons 1989 ‘Hunter Journey’ p.iii.

110 In a later squabble over credit for this exploration between the families who had settled in the Hunter Valley, the son of Howe's daughter Mary (viz. George Loder junior) took his grandfather's part against that of his father's friend Ben Singleton whose daughter Elizabeth (wife of George Yeomans), aided by William Collins, was championing him. Mary would not have forgotten that they were of a different class to the Singletons. The squabble was publicised in the correspondence columns of the *Maitland Mercury*, initiated with the speech by local member of parliament, A.J. Gould, within ‘The Demonstration at Singleton [Tuesday 21 June 1887]’ published Thursday 23 June 1997, p.7, col.2 re Singleton v. Howe. Gould said he was reading from Howe's diary - which had been held by the family. For this thesis, I read the historical records that Singleton adopted Aboriginal expertise, Howe attempted to exploit it.

person singular - ‘the direction I wanted to go - - (was) impassable’.\textsuperscript{112} So, facing such difficulties, on Saturday 29 October 1819 ‘The Branch’ natives from Richmond were sent out by Howe to find other Aborigines. Of this incident, William McAlpin wrote I have been travelling this (way) many times since 1826, including with George Loder who did not state they had such difficulties’.\textsuperscript{113} Of course the Aborigines with Howe were capable of finding their way, and they repeatedly showed they knew the direction by the fall of the creeks - it was like moving through the streets for people brought up in a city. They disappeared for two days, then on Sunday night at 7.30pm, having waited until just after sunset, they reappeared accompanied, not with the guide Howe demanded, but with two boys.\textsuperscript{114}

After the delays, it was the middle of Monday 1 November 1819 before Howe's party reached the local camp of about sixty people, where some had not yet seen a white man or a horse. The Aborigines from Richmond had held off Howe, perhaps waiting for an arrangement with a man there who became Howe's guide. These tactics by the Aborigines would certainly have allowed Ben Singleton to have reached the river first, and the ‘guide’ may have been absent with Singleton when Howe arrived at Putty. In moving the short distance from Putty to the camp, bushwalker historian Andy Macqueen has identified they had crossed what is now called Mellong Range from the Colo catchment to the Macdonald River catchment.\textsuperscript{115} At that time the Macdonald River was without an English name, just known as the lower ‘Branch’, but the local Aborigines were aware of the settlements down on the Hawkesbury, because when asked for its name on reaching the upper Macdonald River on Monday night, they told Howe the name of the only stream flowing into the Hawkesbury which had an English name, Webbs Creek.\textsuperscript{116} Probably they had given him the local Aboriginal name first which he could not comprehend.

The Aborigines had willingly exploited Howe on the Monday, accepting a couple of biscuits each condescendingly handed out, but when asked about going to Webbs Creek, said they wanted to be given

\textsuperscript{112} This is the same ploy used by Singleton to deter William Parr on 16 November 1817 (earlier this chapter).


\textsuperscript{114} Howe's journal Saturday 30 October 1819 transcript by Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.168; Bureau of Meteorology - In order to determine sunset, I have referred to technical data supplied by NSW Government Manly Hydraulics Laboratory which provides tide and weather data.

\textsuperscript{115} Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.168.

\textsuperscript{116} As footnoted in Chapter 2, Webbs Creek was the first Hawkesbury River tributary with an English name below the Branches near Richmond Hill. Giles Mower and James Webb, the two ex-soldiers leading the first Hawkesbury settlers, had been granted more land there.
more to eat: ‘never get there, starve half way’. I imagine young (23yo) George Loder having a
coughing fit to stifle his laughter - it seems apparent that he and Ben Singleton had already been to and
from home that way, following along the Macdonald River. Loder apparently returned that way (‘Mr
Loder - - to go home by the way of Yango’) when he left his bumptious father-in-law on Thursday 11
November 1819.

The new ‘guide’ seemingly attempted to thwart progress by taking Howe directly north which was further
west than desirable, through rough terrain unsuitable for horses, yet the objective had been only two days
walk east from Monundilla which was much further west than Howe reached. The sick and incompetent
John Howe knew no better than to grumble along, although young George probably enjoyed the joke.
Howe was innocent of the ways of the Aborigines, world stars at play acting with pretend sincerity,
whereas Loder and Singleton had been boys with them, sharing their play. Howe still thought it was
the river flowing into Port Stephens which they eventually reached west of the location subsequently
named Jerry's Plains. The defining incident with the foreign Aborigines along the river on Friday night,
5 November 1819 is dealt with in Chapter 12/NW.

Howe chose to name the new guide as ‘Murphy’, hence I suggest it could have been Maicoe who was
already Anglicised as ‘Mawby’, whom Singleton's party had met Wednesday 6 May 1818 and recorded
had had contact with the English. The pretence of Howe being misled was uncovered when they were to
re-meet the people at the local camp on the return journey. An old man not party to the conspiracy was
angry with ‘Murphy’ taking them the wrong way and offered with his son to take them more directly to
the river. In a letter Wednesday 17 November 1819 reporting to Governor Macquarie, Howe notes he had
an (English speaking) interpreter to speak with these people - again they were part of the language group
of ‘The Branch’ natives. He was insecure with the offer by them of a new return route, probably an
easier way along Mellong Range, and resolved to use the blazed route via Putty from where he felt safe
to return.

118 There is a need for care with pronunciation of Aboriginal terms, since mountain surveyor Peter Ogilvie
in 1829 recorded the local Aborigines' sound as Eu‘engo, while surveyor Heneage Finch heard Yu‘ngo
(Chapter 11/SW). \ Howe's journal Wednesday 10 November 1819, transcribed by Macqueen 2004
‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.173.
119 A direct descendant of these Aborigines, the brilliant Eric Taggart, demonstrated similar qualities as a
star performer to beholden journalist Percy Haslam in the twentieth century as his ancestors had to
obligated grocer John Howe in the nineteenth (Chapter 8).
120 Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ pp.103,4
121 Similarly, John Dolley as above had proposed an easier Aboriginal route to William Parr.
Howe's largess with a processed food handout on Monday 1 November 1819, and the news that he could shoot game for food may have provided a stimulus for more Aborigines to come out of the bush to become fringe dwellers at the farms and in the townships. The Aboriginal group stayed with the party until Melong [Howe: Melang], from where nine of the young men with their Richmond brethren of ‘The Branch’ natives continued to Windsor which was reached late Monday morning 15 November 1819. In his entry for Friday 12 November 1819, Howe wrote of the Natives, ‘from 50 to 60 has continued to follow us from Boorohwall’, and the place of the Aboriginal camp has been named ‘Burrowell’ Creek, at present day ‘Wickety Wees’. So much for historians dealing with Parr having thought these people were antagonistic.

Enticement or Entrapment

Howe showed himself as the epitome of what was wrong which led to the destruction of Aboriginal culture. He had no interest in this rugged landscape, he yearned for the imagined pastoral paradise beside the new river of which he had heard. Yet with his largess of providing biscuits, he led these self-sufficient people into the trap of becoming township fringe dwellers. Their physiology had evolved without adaptation to processed foods, so this was to contribute to the demise of the fullblood members of ‘The Branch’ natives, who became dependant on an infusion of European genes to survive the introduced diet (Chapter 4). It had become normal practice to feed the Aborigines baked bread, from the time of Governor Phillip's encounter with these people at the river in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges on

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122 European travellers when hunting would shoot kangaroos and birds to eat - much lazier with gun powder and ammunition than using a bushman's self-sufficient techniques. At Putty [Howe: Puttee], Howe's party had shot kangaroos and swans while waiting for a compliant guide, and again on return journey had shot kangaroos 'which we give the natives'. \ Howe's journal Sunday 30 October and Friday 12 November 1819, transcribed by Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.168, p.173.

123 ‘Wickety wees’ was used as the name for Joseph Smith's property when he had settled there (without any formality). Regarding ‘Bhoorowell’, Morgan cites an 1829 letter: ‘the place - - - , alias Wickadywee, called by the Blacks Ilwary [Ilwary], otherwise the Burying Ground.’ It was just beyond Mrs Hannah Laycock's formal land grant at ‘Bootty’ (Putty) as in Chapter 12/NW. The location and Aboriginal names are discussed by Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’ p.95 box; For Bhoorowell and Joseph Smith see Morgan 1958 ‘Bulga [Road]’ pp.206-08. More study is indicated to investigate significance of so-called place names, as shown for Surveyor General Mitchell using Wallambine as ‘Wollombi’ to rename Illulughn (Chapter 12/NW).

124 I observe that ‘wicky’ [various spellings] in English literature of the period was a common [crude] name, a nick name or slang, for bread. Refer following footnote regarding impact of bread. In 1834, Rev. Threlkeld considered ‘wikky’, for bread, as a ‘barbarism’ introduced to the Aboriginal language from speech somewhere else, while Aborigine M’Gill of the Central Coast north of Sydney (Chapter 9/NE) taught him that kunto, ‘vegetable provisions’ was a local term for bread. \ Lancelot Edward Threlkeld 1834, ‘An Australian Grammar, Comprehending the Principles and Natural Rules of the Language, as Spoken by the Aborigines, in the Vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie &c. New South Wales’, Stephens and Stokes “Herald Office”, Sydney, pp.xi-xii.
Thursday 14 April 1791 (Chapter 1).

In another letter to the governor 27 December 1819, Howe explains how a small number of Natives with ‘Myles’ (Mioram) had gone back on Thursday 9 December from Windsor and with the old man to whom they had spoken on Thursday 11 November, followed a more congenial route northeast to the mysterious river. Howe named the old man from Boorohwall as ‘Whirley’, Whirle, which was probably Howe’s description in English. Later, he identified other Aborigines who went with them as Bandagran and a brother of ‘Myles’ (Mioram), probably Mullaboy. Bandagran was apparently the Aborigine from Boorohwall interpreted as ‘Whirley’s’ son. Mullaboy is my candidate for Ben’s companion going ahead of Howe. He was possibly the Aborigine known as Wolloboy alias ‘Jack’, because on blanket lists as below he appeared with Mioram alias ‘Miles’ as if a family grouping, or was included with ‘Young Miles’, ostensibly a son of ‘Miles’. Especially as he did not know Mioram’s name, it is unlikely that Howe had such a personal relationship with local Aborigines at Richmond or Windsor for one of them from ‘The Branch’ natives to first inform him of the mysterious river to the northeast, and so his statement 27 December 1819, inter alia ‘another called Bandagran (who first informed me of the River)’, would apply to meeting the Aborigines at Boorohwall.

However, activist Jack Horner presented another take, for the magazine ‘Aboriginal News’ published by the Australian Government for the information of individuals and communities, schools, colleges, universities, libraries and so on. Horner’s story is hard to accommodate with the history. He places Bandagran (his ‘Bantagran’) as a young English-speaking Aboriginal at Windsor who in 1818 guided Singleton’s party he supposes riding horses instead of walking. Horner has them travelling as far as

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125 Bread and biscuits were simple weapons in the chronic destruction of the Aborigines who were unused to such a diet. Extra salt was added to preserve the food for longer periods of storage as on expeditions and biscuits, as used by Howe, are higher in sugar. While Howe was adding salt and sugar to the Aborigine’s gastronomic temptations in the early nineteenth century, in the late twentieth century it became necessary to reduce the intake of these items for European-descent people. And as more modern upbringing gets more sterile more people also show adverse effects of gluten in the wheaten flour dough. From 1800s kitchen recipes, I calculate that a normal household use of salt then, even when storage was not an issue, was 3 grams per kilogram of various flours. During my younger lifetime making damper for the bush, we would use much more. \Mrs. Isabella Beeton, 1861, ‘The Book of Household Management, Comprising Information for the Mistress, Housekeeper, Cook, - - - etc. etc.’, S.O. Beeton, London, Facsimile edn 1968, Jonathan Cape, London; Warren Fahey, 2005, ‘Tucker Track - The Curious History of Food in Australia’, ABC Books, Sydney.


Coricudgy (his ‘Koorie Koodji’) on the Great Dividing Range where he places the episode of Tuesday night 5 May 1818 (instead of at Monundilla). The next morning another mountain, Coriaday (?), Horner’s ‘Koorie Att-ai’) which is to the northeast was blocking their path west. Here they met ‘more than 200 intensely curious Aboriginal people’ about whom Bantagran from Windsor said ‘I know these people - - They are Wonj-arua - - I speak the language.’ Singleton was introduced to ‘Mawby’ (Horner’s ‘Mu:pi’). Acting on their information about better land on a river to the northeast, Singleton abandoned their exploration to find a way to Bathurst. Horner credits that Bandagran ‘not only saved their lives (from the Wonj-arua) but opened up an invaluable dialogue between Singleton and elders of Hunter Valley tribesmen. Such amazing popular articles provide a deplorable source for the continuing corruption of history.

John Howe and Ben Singleton Co-operate

Departing 6 March 1820, Howe went back with a large party sponsored by Governor Macquarie, in which both Ben Singleton and George Loder were present. It was appropriate for Governor Macquarie to have Singleton included in the final expedition, especially if he had already been informed about Singleton's quick trip in advance of Howe. It suited Howe to identify ‘Myles’ (Mioram) as the guide rather than have to acknowledge the bush skills of young Singleton and Loder who had each walked out on him. Better educated and in a more privileged position, it is the more powerful Howe to whom is credited the crossing of the ranges rather than the younger men who could bushwalk in the ranges alone and were friends with ‘The Branch’ natives.

In direct contrast to those who had grown up among Aborigines, Howe behaved as if ‘The Branch’ natives were his inferiors, just as had his predecessor as Chief Constable at Windsor, Andrew Thompson, when it was merely the green hills river port. Thompson had led the massacre party in 1805 when Yaragowhy was killed (Chapter 2). It was that massacre, before Governor Macquarie's 1816 intervention, which had established white supremacy over ‘The Branch’ natives.

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128 This is a powerful example of how even involved people in the twentieth century failed completely to recognise the Darkiñung, even in their own country. Jack Horner was active in the campaign for removal of legal discrimination against Aborigines, working with his wife Jean alongside such as Faith Bandler (née Mussingkon, daughter of Wacvie [and wife of Hans Bandler, Chapter 11/SW]), from an Ambrym Island [Vannatu (New Hebrides)] family. Horner had provided in 1974 a very useful history of politics in the early twentieth century which includes interviews with the Darkiñung man ‘Bill’ Onus of this thesis (Chapter 4). He contributed several items for the history section, ‘Other Times’, in the news magazine. \ Jack Horner, 1978, ‘Bantagran and the Hunter River’, Aboriginal News, vol.3, no.5: 18; Jack Horner, 1974, ‘Vote Ferguson for Aboriginal Freedom - The Biography of William Ferguson’, Australian and New Zealand Book Company, Sydney; Faith Bandler, 1989, ‘Turning the Tide, [etc]’, Aboriginal Studies Press (AIAS), Canberra; Faith Bandler & Len Fox (eds), 1983, ‘The Time Was Ripe - A History of the Aboriginal Australian Fellowship (1956-69)’, Alternative Publishing Co-operative Ltd, Chippendale (Sydney).
No record either of the final expedition or of Singleton's advance trip has been found, but Macqueen reconstructed the final party to include only two Aborigines, ‘Myles’ (Mioram) and Mullaboy. However, William McAlpin, a close friend of George Loder, wrote that, when Howe in 1818 [he meant Howe's own final attempt, 1820] reached Hunter's River near Mt Thorley and followed it down to Maitland, the party included ‘four blackfellows, “Miles” [Mioram], Woolaboy, Jelmarey and “Lazy Jack”’. 129

On the ‘blanket lists’ up to 1837, these historic Aborigines were recorded as members of the Richmond ‘tribe’ at Richmond (which had been identified in 1805 as ‘The Branch’ natives, Chapter 2):

*Moran* alias ‘Miles’ 1833 (41yo); *Mioram* alias ‘Miles’ 1834 (42yo)

*Wolloboy* alias ‘Jack’ 1833 (31yo); 1834 (32yo); 1837 (31yo)

who may have been Mullaboy as discussed above

*Gilmeroy [Jelmarey?] 1837 (31yo)*

plus for the Macdonald River, another *Gilmeroy [Jelmarey?] alias ‘Jack’ 1837 (32yo)*

*Gilmeroy* alias ‘Lazy Jack’ 1833 (33yo); 1834 (33yo); 1837 (36yo)

and later entries. 130 However, except for older *Mioram* alias ‘Miles’ their estimated ages suggest that if they had been out in the bush with Ben Singleton and George Loder before 1817, it would have been about the time they should have been being initiated, as discussed above for the encounter at Monundilla in May 1818. In my own experience of the 1950s, teenagers can be very competent bush navigators, especially so if they had been on visits to their relatives while growing up in the bush.

*Mioram*, alias ‘Myles’ or ‘Miles’, was to be rewarded by Governor Macquarie with a breast plate and, more temptingly, Howe had promised that he could keep a musket, a sufficient bribe to overcome any further ‘loyalty’ to Singleton and Loder in misleading the more powerful Howe. 131 *Mioram* had been loaned muskets to take when he went without Howe, but did not complete the journey because he had used all his ammunition before getting in range of the foreign Aborigines along the river whom they had observed on Friday night, 5 November 1819 as dealt with in Chapter 12/NW. His tribesmen in the ranges would have appreciated the feasting on shot duck and kangaroo.

**Aboriginal Companions or Outlaws**

In a somewhat startling view of ‘Myles’ (*Mioram*) who was trusted with muskets unsupervised as above,

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129 McAlpin 1887a correspondence 5 July 1887 published 9 July 1887 (and Goold 1941 p.435).

130 Kohen 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’.

the ingenious Blue Mountains tracks historian Jim Smith identifies him (‘probably’) as the Aborigine called ‘Myles’, ‘who could be shot on sight’ when outlawed by Governor Macquarie in 1816. Smith reported that the breast plate made for ‘Myles’ was to recognise an Aborigine from Wallerawang in the interior beyond (west of) Mount York who played a role in the capture of a bushranger in 1839.\(^{132}\) To deal with inland hostility around the Hawkesbury, Governor Macquarie had issued a Proclamation of 4 May 1816 prescribing rules for ‘the Ab-origines, or Black Natives’, followed by another Proclamation of 20 July 1816, which listed ten natives being outlawed who ‘are well known to be the principal and most violent instigators of the late murders’. Then, in a dispatch of 4 April 1817, Governor Macquarie reported that the military measures he had taken had the required effect, ‘the black Natives living now peaceably and quietly in every part of the colony, unmolested by the white inhabitants.’\(^{133}\) It is possible as Smith proposed that ‘Myles’ the outlaw could have become ‘Myles’ the guide from the Hawkesbury River people when the influential Howe wanted him, similarly to what is taken to have happened to Hume's friend Duall from the Georges River people who was outlawed, transported, then pardoned to be a guide when the influential Throsby wanted him (Chapter 10/SE). On the other hand Myles was a commonly used term so that the outlaw called ‘Myles’ in 1816 need not have been the same man as ‘Myles’ in 1819 who was the guide from the Hawkesbury River people. The advantage of Smith's suggestion is that if this is the Myles who had been outlawed, it would have provided leverage for the unconscionable Chief Constable Howe to insist on his co-operation.

With his show of military might in the settled areas, Governor Macquarie had induced peace with the surviving Aborigines, although creating a void which was soon occupied by Australian highwaymen, bandits (later ‘bushrangers’), from the settlements. The law-abiding settlers and Aborigines then had a common foe to co-operate against and Aborigines became trackers for government authorities and stockmen or casual labourers for the settlers. For the co-operation of ‘The Branch’ natives to cross the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, in my choosing a motive between either fear of force shown by Chief Constables of Windsor like Thompson and by Macquarie's troops, or friendship shown by those who were

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\(^{132}\) The Wallerawang Aborigine Miles (‘Myles’) is considered in Chapter 11/SW. \(\&\) Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ p.6.

reared with Aborigines like Bell, Hume, Loder and Singleton, then I have a clear commitment to the latter: friendship prevails over force.

All of this exploration was just setting the scene for the eventual knighthood of the most egotistical of them all, an army officer Major Thomas Livingstone Mitchell, who was to take over the role of Surveyor General from the ailing navy officer Lieutenant John Joseph William Molesworth Oxley who retired to his farm. With his teams of Assistant Surveyors and their men, the ranges were surveyed for Major Mitchell's map of 1834. After Singleton no-one tried to get a road way to Bathurst over the northern Blue Mountains across the Colo River again. ‘The Branch’ natives in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges became ignored, even when one of Mitchell’s draftsmen-surveyors Frederick D’Arcy was to look for a new line of road in 1853 and when there was an alternative route explored that way for a railway up the Colo River valley (Chapter 11/SW). The Aborigines were still living out in the ranges when Mitchell's surveyors came through over the next few years after Singleton and Howe because Aboriginal words were used for place locations, but the surveyors hardly mentioned them in their reports. Major Mitchell's insistence, not just on preciseness, but also on conciseness from his underlings, has meant that a great library of Australian History has been lost forever.

Chapter 3 Findings

This chapter provides the core of the thesis for recognising the place of the Darkining, ‘The Branch’ natives, at the time of settlement.

134 Although he ‘retired’ to his farm, Oxley remained the Surveyor General while the frustrated apoplectic deputy waited for him to die. (From studies outside this thesis, I found that Mitchell was to treat his own deputy Samuel Perry more harshly so that he eventually resigned before Mitchell died.)


136 Mitchell wanted the survey stories written his way (or not at all). However, one of the surveyors, William Govett, wrote a series of memoirs, but only after losing his surveying position under Mitchell at the end of 1833 and after leaving the colony. The articles were presented by ‘W.R.G.’ in ‘The Saturday Magazine’ published 1836-37 by ‘The Committee of General Knowledge and Education, Appointed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge’ [Church of England]. When he returned to England, it was a necessity to write so as to earn something. Although more than a third was about Aborigines, Govett based examples in his memoirs on the Argyle district around Goulburn township. The series was reprinted in 1977 by bibliophile Gaston Renard as a collection under Govett’s lead title ‘Sketches of New South Wales’.
An examination of the historiography for interaction with Aborigines by settlers' expeditions to the rivers and ranges of the northern Blue Mountains has demonstrated that reminiscences which have been relied upon by modern authors are not reliable. Even journals based on the trips were subject to the whims of their writers, so in this chapter I have attempted some analyses of the motives for the writing.

Until settlers learnt to understand the topography from local Aboriginal knowledge, their attempts to cross the mountains were thwarted. The way they wanted to go was not the way of Aboriginal paths. In 1813 the successful Gregory Blaxland, with his navigator the surveyor William Lawson, seem to have taken advantage of James Burns's experience ranging along the ridges apparently having learned from local Aborigines.

Other younger brothers reared in the colony among the Aborigines at Richmond Hill / Kurrajong, both a convict's son Ben Singleton in 1818 and a soldier's son Archie Bell in 1823, demonstrated that friendship and trust of ‘The Branch’ natives were the most successful criteria which enabled settlers to cross the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, Ben heading north and Archie heading west. In comparison, the glory grabbing grocer John Howe found the going more difficult without voluntary Aboriginal cooperation, so to save his ‘fits of the ague’ he induced the Aborigine Mioram (alias Myles) to travel without him through the ranges between the Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers in 1819. In 1820 the astute Governor Macquarie sent the Aborigines' friend Ben Singleton with Howe for the ultimate exploratory expedition through the ranges.

The interactions of the early white explorers with members of ‘The Branch’ natives from around Richmond Hill / North Richmond and Richmond demonstrated that the same tribal people occupied the country of the northern Blue Mountains from the Grose River catchment in the south to the southern side of the Hunter River in the north: The Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.
Chapter 4

‘Bill Onus’, William Onus 2nd
at his Beecroft home near Hornsby (Sydney) in 1930s
when he was throwing boomerangs at the old ‘Koala Park’ paddocks, Pennant Hills

Insert: Bill’s grandmother Madha
(Mrs Everingham at the time of the photograph)

Notes:
The late ‘Bill’ Onus was elder son of William Onus 1st, a Darkinung Aborigine born as William Hibbs at Laguna (Wollombi). William’s mother, Madha, later married Ephraim Everingham at Sackville. The putative father of William 1st was William Hibbs (b.1833) when living at Watagan Creek, Laguna, an Everingham descendant through the convict Woodbury line (which is my ancestry) - hence the mother was called ‘[Mrs] Hibbs’. It appears that Aborigine son William became an independent adult droving cattle for Joseph Onus, along the Bulga road through the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Thus, as was the custom, he took Joseph to be his ‘social’ father with the name Onus for his adult name. Although he married in Victoria, William’s children’s early years were spent at Cummeragunja in NSW. After a childhood based at Echuca in Victoria where his Aboriginal Everingham uncles and aunts from the Hawkesbury used to visit, son ‘Bill’ returned to the Sydney area when separated from his first wife. During some of this period he lived in a house at Beecroft where he set up a boomerang workshop at the time the photograph was taken. Their two little daughters were then cared for at Beecroft by Gracie James, his young niece from the Hawkesbury, who shared with me the history at his home there where Bill taught Gracie’s fiancé (Reg Sunderland) to make boomerangs. The provenance of this photo is from the collection of J.D. Tipper, who knew ‘Bill’ when he was working at Koala Park while living at Beecroft (acquired from Tipper’s widow by Bruce Footh from whom I got my copy when at Gibberagong Field Studies Centre in Ku-ring-gai Chase). The provenance for picture of Madha is the family photograph as given for illustration at start of Part I.
Part I (4)
Chapter 4

The Convicts' Aboriginal Sons and Daughters

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It once was my ambition
To better my position
By nuptial addition
Of a queen Marri.¹

**The Issue**

In this chapter I discuss some selected examples from Families of the Hawkesbury-Hunter ranges to illustrate the importance for survival by the Aborigines of liaisons between a white man and a traditional Aboriginal woman - usually un-identified (thus un-named) in the history. For the subjects of this thesis, the last man known born to traditional parents who left surviving offspring, named as Joe Goobra [various spellings], died in hospital in 1897, an apparent victim of change from his traditional cultural lifestyle. It may be significant that of all his thirteen children, only one had survived him.² She married an Aboriginal man believed to be the grandson of Lampet Saunders, a convict at the Hawkesbury River as below. Their descendants are part of this study. Goobra had been the last known person, as a fullblood from the Hawkesbury-Hunter ranges, to undergo traditional male initiation.³

This chapter with identification of some People of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (Part I) provides a perspective for reference to the specific informants for the identification of the Language known as Darkiñung (Part II) in the Country of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (Part III).

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¹ An Aboriginal (‘Marri’) wife could be seen as desirable to a lone male English newcomer. Within a long poetic story about a social gathering of colonial settlers (referred to by them as a ‘Corroboree’), in this extract from the ditty of the dainty chap who ‘sang the truth in fun’, John Mathew had versified the harmless folly of an ‘ornamental toff’ ‘shipped off’ from England to work in the Australian bush. Had Rev. Mathew read about Tench's infatuation with Gooreedeena (as follows) one may wonder. \* John Mathew, 1902, ‘The Corroboree’ pp.60-106 in ‘Australian Echoes’, Melville and Mullen, London and Melbourne, ditty pp.100-01.

² The Aborigines could not maintain their traditional life style, because the settlers depleted their means of sustenance. Clearing land for farms removed the habitat of possums, part of the staple diet and source of winter cloaks. Ceremonial culture lost its meaning with the loss of natural resources. Joe’s putative younger brother John survived until 1906, unmarried (but, from his description in local history, possibly suffering from syphilis). \* Joseph Goobra, NSW Death Certificate, registration 3058/1897. John Goobra, NSW Death Certificate, registration 13880/1906.

The Anonymous Aboriginal Mothers

As the resilient Aborigines reconstructed themselves by exploiting the settlers’ ways in order to survive, many of these mountain and river people were referred to using English personal (‘Christian’) names, just as a girl from Richmond was called Maria as below, with no Aboriginal name for her ever being recorded in the settlement. Along with this Maria, other Hawkesbury Aboriginal children were enrolled at Governor Macquarie's Native Institution in Parramatta, some of them children of convicts. Of twelve children from given localities in the first couple of years of admissions to the institution, Brook & Kohen list six from the Hawkesbury: Maria (Richmond); Fanny (Caddie); Friday (Portland Head); Betty, i.e. Betty Cox (Hawkesbury); Tommy (Hawkesbury); John (Caddie). It must be noted that these children were born before the Macquarie towns such as Richmond existed, and the Hawkesbury River districts were Richmond Hill area upstream and Portland Head Rock area [including Caddie aka Cattai] downstream - taking in both sides of the river.

Eventually when it was accepted that the colonists had arrived to stay, what became unremarkable was a permanent relationship of an Aboriginal woman with a convict or with a son of a convict, and their offspring were known by the name of the white father. Even in the earlier settlements - at Port Jackson / Botany Bay along the waterways draining into them - it is likely this liaison was a significant social feature, from which descendants are only now beginning to trace an Aboriginal ancestry from their cryptic history. Clever Aboriginal women learnt to exploit the availability of permanent weatherproof accommodation and food just as well as the English peoples had done in past millennia when they had commenced forming villages.

In the colony the Reverend Samuel Marsden must have disapproved, becoming incensed at what he

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5 I am using the full term ‘Portland Head Rock’ to distinguish the original location at the time of this thesis, because the locality reference to Portland and Portland Head has moved downstream in modern times. Caddie (later Cattai) is across the river in the same district.

6 A comment on brutal times of settlement with ‘sexual exploitation’ is footnoted at start of Chapter 10.

7 The mentions in historic records of Aboriginal women sharing shelter are from literate officers, who kept private notes and journals or wrote books for publication, rather than from illiterate convicts who were more likely to have shared with the local women. For example, thirty years old Lieutenant-Captain Watkin Tench with Gooreedeena as below, and twenty six years old Lieutenant William Dawes who would play (‘tienmile’) with Patyegaräng and dress her in a petticoat (also, Chapter 1). \ William Dawes, ca.1790, ‘Vocabulary of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’, Manuscript 41645 (b), William Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London, 7th page, 18th page.
intolerantly exaggerated as lack of marriage among immigrant white women, claiming even married women as concubines. The white people, after all, were meant to be observing the ways, as he preached them, of the Christian Bible. However, tolerant paternalism was shown to the non-settler black population, at least to those who were supposed to be following their own ways. They were permitted to camp in their Country on land which became Marsden family property.\footnote{Discussing the period when Maria was born, Carol Baxter concludes: ‘Marsden's Female Muster was recorded to document the immorality of the population, through the numbers of concubines and illegitimate children’. She listed 1407 entries of which Marsden classified 1016 as concubines, not married or wed by his standards. Moving the Native Institution to the Richmond Road and having Aborigines camped nearby to provide cheap labour for him at Marsden Park is taken up in Chapter 6. Carol Baxter (ed.), 1989, ‘Marsden's Female Muster 1906’, pp.145-82 in ‘Musters of New South Wales and Norfolk Island 1805-1806’, Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record for Society of Australian Genealogists, North Sydney (Sydney), p.146; Jack Brook, 1994 (1st edn), ‘Shut Out from The World - The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Self published, Seven Hills (Sydney), 1999 (2nd edn), ‘Shut Out from The World - The Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights (Sydney), p.12 (1st edn), p.15 (2nd edn).}

The rapid depletion of women available as partners according to Aboriginal kinship laws was strikingly exemplified by Aboriginal men dwelling on the fringes of settlement at the nascent port on the Hawkesbury River in 1805. The indolent men offered to betray those still in the bush if they could be allowed to take the women when Andrew Thompson's punitive force killed their brethren (Chapter 2).

**Tom and Maria of Botany Bay**

Of the children fathered by a convict who was to settle at the Hawkesbury the eldest son was the Aborigine Thomas Chaseland, child of convict Thomas Chaseland born 1773 subsequently known as Chaseling, who arrived October 1792, nineteen years old. The Aborigine Thomas became an international traveller, settling in New Zealand where many landmarks are named for him.\footnote{Source references are given by Ross, by Smith and by Goesch. I am indebted to my associate Keith Smith for advising me of the Goesch book after it was put on display at the NSW State Library. Chaseling's Aboriginal partner was among the Port Jackson / Botany Bay people, rather than the Darkinjung Aborigines of ‘The Branch’ natives of the Hawkesbury or Macdonald River as wrongly thought by Goesch 2009 p.2 and Smith 2010a p.169 - perhaps he was trying to help this chapter of my thesis. Valerie Ross, 1989 (reprint edn with corrigenda), ‘A Hawkesbury Story’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), [Aboriginal] daughter Maria (aka Mary) p.130, [Aboriginal] son Thomas p.132 + p.256; Keith Smith, 2008, ‘Tom Chaseland: Whaling in New Zealand’, Chapter 6 in ‘Mari Nawi (‘Big Canoes’) - Aboriginal Voyagers in Australia's Maritime History, 1788-1885’, thesis Macquarie University, pp.145-168; Keith Smith, 2010a, ‘Mari Nawi - Aboriginal Odysseys’, Rosenberg Publishing, Dural (Sydney), p.165, pp.168-81; Pamela Goesch, 2009, ‘Thomas Chaseland and The Next Generation’, Brynwood House, Sydney.} However, despite the claims by other authors, I can report that this elder son Thomas Chaseling was not an Aborigine from the Hawkesbury because he was born ca.1797 - conceived seven years before the Chaseling family actually moved to the Hawkesbury, although four or five years after his father arrived in the penal colony where...
he lived at Port Jackson.\textsuperscript{10} He appears to be convict Chaseling's second known Aboriginal child, as follows. The ascribed mother called \textit{Goomeereewah} may well have been \textit{Gooreedeena} with whom as a teenager Watkin Tench was infatuated.\textsuperscript{11} Tench found she excelled in beauty and could not keep his hands off, stating for those who noticed her in his home that he had been measuring her as his excuse.\textsuperscript{12}

Having fathered two or more Aboriginal children while still in Sydney before moving to the Hawkesbury at the Portland Head Rock location, convict Thomas took a white woman, Margaret McMahon, as his ‘housekeeper’ (later wife) and among their family was a younger son given the same name, Thomas

\textsuperscript{10} Convict Thomas Chaseland was one of three emancipated convicts employed as an overseer at Port Jackson. There is no possible way in earthly biology that as proposed by other authors while he was a resident of Port Jackson that he could have somehow found his way to the Hawkesbury River and liaised with an Aboriginal woman, or women, there - who spoke a different language to those at Port Jackson (Chapter 5) - with whom he copulated so frequently that by whom he had at least two Aboriginal children who knew who their father was. After the Chaselings moved to the Hawkesbury, they were closely associated with my Everingham family, for which the history has been well documented by Val Ross in her ‘Hawkesbury Story’ as above. There may have been another Aboriginal sailor called ‘Tom’ who was from ‘The Branch’ natives of this thesis, identified with two other Aborigines from the Hawkesbury who went sailing in 1819 accompanying settler Jonathan Griffiths in the ship \textit{Glory} from Richmond Hill. In Smith's 'Master Muster', of 97 entries, 12 are for Thomas Chaseland and another 3 for Tom/Tommy. \hfill \cite{Baxter:1988a,b}

\textsuperscript{11} Unless a diary or ledger of the period is uncovered, discovered and recovered which provides identifications for the various Aboriginal women who became ‘wives’, an actual name for convict Thomas Chasling's first partner will not be known. The name here is taken from records as follows.

\textsuperscript{12} This infatuation became a feature of the other historical story book, which was attributed to Barrington, where the improbable ‘Yeariana’ is described ‘with a form that might serve as a perfect model for the most scrupulous statuary’. The ghost writer of ‘Barrington’s’ mis-named history adapted many scenes from Tench's stories. The real ‘Yeariana’ ['Yea-ree-a-na'], i.e. \textit{Gooreedeena} (‘Goo-ree-dee-à-na’), is likely to have been a sister of \textit{Barangaroo} (a wife of Bennelong), from the north shore of Port Jackson. She appears to have also been the model for Thomas Dowse, who called her \textit{Goomeereewah} and made her the mother of Aborigine Thomas Chaseland in his ‘tale of old times’ - a manuscript found by Keith Smith in the John Oxley Library. In his story, Dowse provides a romance among people of different races who respect each other not apparent to Tench. However, as convict Dowse only arr. \textit{Florentia} 1828, he may have not have known the Aboriginal Thomas b.ca.1797 who became a resident of New Zealand, but constructed his ‘tale’ about this halfcaste son who had become a legendary hero figure. In his book, Tench devoted over a page to this young woman whom he seemed to have felt that he had to comfort: ‘One day she entered my house’ with ‘I had never before seen this elegant timid female’ and more, written with feeling. \hfill \cite{Tench:1793b}

\textit{A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales, including an Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and of Its Natural Productions}, G.Nicol, Pall-Mall (London), pp.180-82, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn pp.275-77; Thomas Dowse, ca.1842, ‘ Tom Chaseland; or The Adventures of a Colonial Half Caste - A Tale of Old Times’, unpublished handwritten ms in John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland, Thomas Dowse Papers, Box 9059, Memoir Series OM79-68/20, ms available online with link from library catalogue.
Chaseling, from which it can be surmised that the elder son was not with his father at the Hawkesbury, but stayed at Port Jackson / Botany Bay, presumably with his Aboriginal mother. From the elder son there are now New Zealanders both of Maori and of Sydney Aboriginal descent. Apparently not long after he arrived convict Chaseland also had had an Aboriginal daughter, a few years older than first son Thomas, who was identified in 1850 as Maria Chaseling when she married Job Leach at Alexandria (near Botany in Sydney), and in 1853 her death notice gave her maiden name as Maria Chasland.\textsuperscript{13} Convict Thomas seems to have left his Aboriginal family in the Sydney area when he departed with the white woman by whom he had a second family, since Pamela Goesch reported that the Aboriginal daughter Maria (aka Mary) had offspring to convict Charles Wilson at Botany (as had been mentioned before by Val Ross), and Keith Smith reported that the son took to sea on his first voyage in 1811. Aborigine Thomas Chaseling could have been ‘Tommy’ at Botany.\textsuperscript{14} I find the convict Thomas Chaseling to have been rather important to Australian History, because he represents a documented example of a white man taking as his partner - leaving Aboriginal descendants - a woman from the Port Jackson / Botany Bay Aboriginal people who are commonly considered to not have survived. They are not extinct: Convict Thomas and Gooreedeena (?) saw to that. This was the historical precedent for the liaisons which contributed to my thesis project.

A development for such liaisons with Aboriginal women - amongst the settlers along waterways of the Hawkesbury River Branches - was that many of such offspring were accepted as being Aboriginal, as indicated in this study. This was particularly exposed later on when the number of white women increased so that some of the convicts and convicts' sons who had Aboriginal children were to change liaisons, taking on another partner from the white community - as had Chaseling. Mixed blood children remained among the Aboriginal community. Casual coitus with men from outside the immediate family group was desirable, with a form of polygamy as we know it being part of ancient cultures where sexual intercourse with more than one person countered the risk of infertility. The Aboriginal person to whom reference was made as ‘wife’ or ‘husband’ in English Christian terms was that individual responsible for the other's well being, without necessarily carrying rights for sole opportunities of copulation. In family relations Aboriginal grandparents were important, such as the English term ‘mother’ would refer to the

\textsuperscript{13} Maria Chaseling Marriage registration, NSW BDM Index Vol.74, 36B /1850: Death notice Sydney Morning Herald No.5124, vol.34, Sat 22 Oct 1853 p.10 col.4.

\textsuperscript{14} Keith Smith in his three ‘Mari Nawi’ treatises has provided an informative biography, although assuming without basis that Thomas Chaseling's Aboriginal mother came from the Hawkesbury and its other Branches because his father left Sydney when the boy was six or so years old and went there with another (white) ‘wife’ as discussed above. I cannot follow the logic in that, and I do not accept that every Aborigine called Tom was the same person: there was, after all, a younger boy called Tommy admitted to the Native Institution as above.
sisters of the birth mother (i.e. all daughters of the grandmother) and the English term ‘father’ would refer to the brothers of the birth mother's partner responsible for her protection.\textsuperscript{15} There are no specific terms in words of the clunky English language to describe the particular \textit{social} relationships in Aboriginal terms.\textsuperscript{16}

These interracial relationships are a major source for the success and survival shown by ‘The Branch’ natives in a changing world, which I attribute to the benefits of the physiological phenomenon hybrid vigour.\textsuperscript{17} The physiology of pure-blood Aborigines as had evolved in their indigenous state did not cope with the suddenly changed environment, such as different diets embracing processed, sweetened and salted foods (Chapter 3).

\textbf{Maria from Richmond}

Maria, as Mrs Robert Lock, became the matriarch of the largest known dynasty of descendants of ‘The Branch’ natives, the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.\textsuperscript{18} It was not possible as land became

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\item Such a stable situation was to change for indigenous societies with the introduction by the settlers of venereal, sexually transmitted, diseases (along with tuberculosis), which all but wiped out vulnerable Aboriginal communities. For control of the introduced diseases, the changed situation created a need for stable monogamous partnerships (as might be expected by living with a convict). My study of traditional Aboriginal family planning is more extensive than can be summarised here - it belongs as part of kinship in another book of this research. Much of the material is now taken as ‘general knowledge’ available from such texts as the Berndts'. While Bashford has dealt with introduced infections, I sense in studying the morbidity and mortality described by Briscoe that demise in Aboriginal health status was associated with settling into fixed camps, in an unsuccessful attempt to parallel European village life. Trudgen's study also deals with some of the issues. [For polygamy, also see polygyny.] \textbackslash Refer, e.g. R.M. Berndt & C.H. Berndt, 1964 (1\textsuperscript{st} edn), ‘The World of The First Australians - An Introduction to the Traditional Life of the Australian Aborigines’, Ure Smith, Sydney; Alison Bashford, 2004, ‘Imperial Hygiene: A Critical History of Colonisation, Nationalism and Public Health’, Palgrave Macmillan Division of St. Martin's Press, Basingstoke; Gordon Briscoe, 2003, ‘Counting, Health and Identity: A History of Aboriginal Health and Demography [etc]’, Aboriginal Studies Press (AIATSIS), Canberra; Richard Trudgen, 2000, ‘Why Warriors Lie Down and Die’, Aboriginal Resource and Development Services, Darwin.
\item The example of clunky English which appealed to me was the need to translate a more simple Aboriginal term into English as the phrase ‘the dog who barks all night at a possum up a gum tree’.
\item When the research for this thesis began, Maria's ancestry was not considered part of the study. But she was found to be from ‘The Branch’ natives (Chapter 2) of the Hawkesbury, among whom her putative
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settled to continue traditional Aboriginal ways, and after her education in English at the Parramatta Native Institution Maria took on the white man's use of land in order to survive and flourish. It may be relevant to the knowledge of Maria's children that their grandfather, John Lock, for his time in the colony after arriving as a convict with his son Robert, could have provided a source of family support teaching his grandchildren white man's culture and use of tools.

There is some basis for Aborigine Maria who became Mrs Lock being regarded as the offspring of a settler's son herself. While she has the ancestral heritage of ‘The Branch’ natives and is widely accepted as the social daughter of an Aborigine once called ‘Yaramandy’, presumptively Yellomundy, she appears to have had a white genetic father descended from English nobility - a young son of a free settler who did not maintain a relationship with her mother in the ways described for convicts in this chapter. A person of her identity has been referred to as a halfcaste, terminology of the time for a lighter skin colour which supports that argument, and she was recorded with the white settler statistics as given below. Although

18(...continued)

social father Yellomundy spoke the Darkiñung language (Chapter 5), thus becoming an integral part of the project - more than doubling its size and tripling the work I had to do to include Aborigines from Richmond Hill and the Grose River drainage. The identification of Dharug ancestry turned out to relate to the descendants of Aborigine Sarah Castle from the Georges River where the Dharug language was spoken. Sarah married Maria's son William Lock, so that their descendants are of mixed Aboriginal ancestry, both Darkiñung (viz. William Lock) and Dharug (viz. Sarah Castle). However, as the eldest of Maria's children were born and reared at the Georges River where the Dharug language was spoken, it is reasonable to recognise Maria's family as Dharug by migration.

19 When Maria's daughter Mary Ann died suddenly in April 1888 at the Lock family estate at Richmond Road, Black Town, the coroner James B. Johnston carried out an inquest. In a formal statement from his coronial inquiry it was recorded that before her marriage to convict Robert Lock, Maria had been ‘Maria Lutteral’. This thesis is not the place to repeat the well documented history of Surgeon Edward Luttrell [aka Lutteral, Lutherel in some transcriptions], other than a perspective for the potential input of his sons on the Aboriginal history. He seems to have lived a life of resentment that his noble status (from his father's mother's family) was not recognised. The Luttrell family arr.1804 with expectations, following an instruction from Lord Hobart to Governor King to grant Luttrell 'not less than four hundred acres' because he had the means to cultivate the land. Instead of becoming independent, after being given prime land near the Hawkesbury River, the Luttrells remained on government stores and he took whatever position as a surgeon paid the most. [This prime location was the site which Governor Macquarie wanted later on in order to establish Richmond town.] Luttrell eventually left New South Wales to go to Van Diemans Land with the remains of his family for a paid position at Hobart Town after Governor Macquarie complained to Earl Bathurst about Luttrell's callousness to the lower classes. He could not practice for the government at the Hawkesbury because Thomas Arndell was the surgeon there. Surgeon Luttrell never resided on the property which he had named after Lord Hobart ('Hobartville') on the Sydney side of the river at Richmond Hill, but his elder sons spent time there where they are recorded for personal fatal interactions with the Hawkesbury Aborigines. It appears from the reports that the older teenage boys had sexual intercourse with local Aboriginal girls. They should be compared with the indolent Aboriginal men after the breakdown of their culture, who about the same time encouraged the settlers to kill their brethren for the same purpose, as given above (for the massacre in April 1805 led by Andrew Thompson). Mary Ann Ward [née Lock], NSW Death Certificate, registration 10131/1888; As well as reports on legal cases for the boys, documents on Surgeon Luttrell's progress are in both HR NSW and HR A; Also, A.G.L. Shaw, 1967, ‘Luttrell, Edward (1756-1824)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol.2, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 139-40.
forced contacts between sexes occur irrespective of race, between races in the circumstances for her history they are often referred to as misogyny. The ensuing story of Maria and her Family is one celebrating success, no matter how maculate her conception.

Despite her paternal ancestry, there is acceptance now that Maria was a social daughter of Yellomundy (who is identified in Chapter 1). I propose that it could have been her mother who was Yellomundy’s daughter in Aboriginal terms as follows. In March 1831 Maria Lock claimed a land grant, which she said had been promised for her marriage into a white family (January 1824), for which she and her convict husband were given land at the Georges River in Liverpool. In her claim, Maria referred to herself as daughter of ‘the Chief of the Richmond Tribes,’ for whom there was no identification. There was no such person, named only in recent times to be her father, as Yarramundi - he is a Furphy: A person identified in historical records was Yaramandy, named once only, in 1804, as a ‘chief’ (from Richmond Hill vicinity), who is now taken to apparently have been Yellomundy (from Portland Head Rock vicinity).

In support of ‘Yaramandy’ having been Yellomundy: an infant (‘Djimba’) whom Yellomundy brought into Governor Phillip's camp in 1791 near Portland Head Rock met coastal Colebe, the man from Cadi - the

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20 In a decision of the Federal Court of Australia (FCA), when determining how to proceed with a case in terms of parliamentary law, Madgwick J stated, based on the court exhibits: ‘Maria Lock is claimed to be (and on balance, appears to have been) Yarramundi’s daughter whether biological (or) only informal but effective adoption.’ \ Rodney Neville Madgwick, Justice, 2004, ‘Gale versus Minister for Land (etc) for New South Wales [2004] FCA 374 (31 March 2004)’, para.26, online at www.austlii.edu.au.

21 The statement from Maria reads: ‘That on the first establishment of the Native Institution by His Excellency Governor Macquarie, your Petitioner, then a Child, was placed there by her father the Chief of the Richmond Tribes.’ This is the first of five statements in the letter. Putting any historical accuracy aside, it is a compelling, erudite business statement about a girl when six years old under Governor Macquarie's administration. It was presented to Governor Darling's administration, cleverly writing about people who were no longer around. It was a popular ploy for settlers to submit to a new governor that land had been approved for them by a predecessor. By twenty three years of age, Maria had become a formidable political woman, and achieved her objectives. \ Correspondence from Maria Lock to Governor Darling dated 3 March 1831, received 14 March 1831, Colonial Secretary item 31/1.853. Copy of original sighted from research collection of Jack Brook (3 sheets with endorsements): Transcription Allan & Marie Jackson, 1981, “The Wedding Portion”, unpublished collection of papers for private distribution, from Jack Brook collection, pp.13-14.

22 Years before Maria was born a large lagoon in the low level flood channel across the river from Richmond Hill was referred to, once, as ‘Yaramandy’s’ lagoon, but became known colloquially as ‘Yellomundy’s’ [range of Anglicised spellings]. Nearly a century later when thoughts of the real Aborigine Yellomundy were long dispersed, it was renamed ‘Yarramundi’ Lagoon, apparently to signify ‘water deep’ in another language. There are alternatives (Chapter 2). In his recent rewriting of history, J.L. Kohen unnecessarily made the inaccurate statement that Governor Phillip met Yellomundy there as ‘Yarramundi’, in order to endorse his contention allocating ‘Yarramundi’ to have been the name of Maria’s father. The meeting was actually in a different area downstream (Chapter 1). \ Jim Kohen, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney), p.56.
Most authors now seem to accept that historical records of Colebee aka ‘Coley’ or ‘Coalbee’ from the Hawkesbury River are probably the same person (although further investigation is needed to verify this). If he was the son of Yellomundy then as a member of ‘The Branch’ natives he was Darkinjung as detailed in this thesis. He went to sea in 1819, with another Aboriginal sailor called ‘Tom’, accompanying settler Jonathan Griffiths in the ship Glory from Richmond Hill, noted above. As an infant I was ‘Barrie’ [from my elder brother], as a schoolboy ‘Egghead’ [from mother’s hard boiled egg lunches], as a young adult jackaroo in the interior ‘Taakoori’ [the bunyip bird], and so on. William Dawes noted four terms as ‘The names of Patyegarang’. Governor Phillip reported that the Aborigine ‘now living with us, who had recovered from (the small pox) before he was (captured)’, ‘calls himself Wogultrowey, Wolarrabarrey, Bannellan [Bennelong], Boinba, Bundeundra’. Keith Smith collected four distinct names recorded for Bennelong as an adult in the short period the colonists knew him, each with a multitude of spelling variations. Dawes ca.1790 Manuscript 41645 (b) 3rd page; Arthur Phillip, 1790, Despatch to Lord Sydney 13 February 1790, transcribed in Britton, Alexander (ed.), 1892, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.I, Part 2: Phillip, 1783-1792’, pp.304-310, quotes p.308, p.310, also transcribed in Watson, Frederick (ed.), 1914, ‘Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol.I, 1788-1796’, pp.155-161, quotes p.159, p.161; Smith 2001 ‘Bennelong’ Appendix pp.159-60.

I favour Maria born 1808 (as in the 1828 census) meaning she was six years old when lodged into the Native Institution, in which case eight years old (p.68) was an overestimation suiting her enhanced intellectual development with Mrs Hassall as discussed. Jack Brook & Jim Kohen, 1991, ‘The Parramatta Native Institution and The Black Town - A History’, New South Wales University Press, Kensington (Sydney), p.50, p.68, p.250.

I am pointing out that Yellomundy would have been the father of Maria’s mother, in this culturally more likely circumstance I have proposed. At that period in history, Maria’s mother would have been committed by kinship rules to go to a partner in another Aboriginal clan of ‘The Branch’ natives in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. If she had been impregnated outside Aboriginal culture by the Luttrell (continued...)
research. It is not appropriate to impose European social customs from the biblical Old Testament on the Aboriginal customs operating when the settlers arrived. I propose a more probable scenario in that Colebee was a social brother: i.e. he and Maria's mother were members of a family group where the English terms ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ do not necessarily match the Aboriginal sense and may not denote identical genetic parents.  

It appears that before the Native Institution school, Maria had been living at Parramatta ‘some considerable time previous’ cared for by Elizabeth Hassall, wife of Rowland [aka ‘Roland’] Hassall, so became well accustomed to the ways of the white power brokers of whom Rev. Samuel Marsden was the superlative. Hassall had settled in Parramatta in 1796 as Marsden's protégé, and son Rev. Thomas Hassall married the eldest daughter of Marsden. The Aboriginal waif was named for Anna Maria King - the daughter of Governor King. Known as ‘Maria’, the governor's daughter who married Hannibal Macarthur had a close association with Aboriginal children, related by their son Rev. George Macarthur.
Educating Children to Become Settlers

The story of Maria, the Richmond Hill district Aboriginal girl, is reminiscent of stories of other girls in the colony who were separated from their parents and became treated as if orphans whether they were or not. Some were placed with families (present day fostering system). Commencing when on Norfolk Island, Anna King, wife of the Governor, had taken such an interest in education of these waifs that in 1801 a Sydney school house had been set up for them. By the time it was established at Parramatta, colloquially called ‘Mrs King's Orphanage’ it was admitting girls whose living parents were known. So well was it accepted, that in 1808 - the putative year of Maria's birth - Governor Bligh received instructions to educate and settle the girls ‘and holding out encouragement by grants of land to those who marry them, but not suffering such grants of land to be alienated during the life of the female grantee’.

Following King and Bligh, Governor Macquarie was to set up the Native Institution at Parramatta to take some of the pupils from the girls' institution already there, the so-called ‘Female Orphan School’. The histories of the Native Institution, the Female ‘Orphan’ Institution, and the Male ‘Orphan’ Institution are

32 There is not space for this thesis to include the study of this situation with which the lives of ‘The Branch’ tribe Hawkesbury Aborigines became entangled, vastly affecting the identification of who these Aboriginal People were - the topic of Part I. For this paragraph I have drawn on John Ramsland from Newcastle University. Ramsland researched the white children, it is not suggested that Aboriginal children were destitute or neglected. Indeed, having a live-in Aboriginal child was favoured and became fashionable among middle class settlers who either wanted to show ‘how much they cared’ or wanted ‘to be one up on the Jones’. While the Aborigines were exploiting the settlers’ comforts, the settlers probably enjoyed having a house-girl or yard-boy who did not have to be paid wages. In the early colonial days, as well as an English nickname, their benefactors bestowed on them the most astounding English names - like naming a ship the ‘Queen Mary’. Later in the colonial period, Aboriginal halfcaste children - without discrimination - gained employment in circuses as an alternative to becoming labourers, such as noted for Combo Combo. \ John Ramsland, 1986, ‘Children of the Back Lanes - Destitute and Neglected Children in Colonial New South Wales’, New South Wales University Press, Kensington (Sydney); John Ramsland & Mark St Leon, 1993, ‘Circus Children in the Colonial Period’, Chapter 2 in ‘Children of the Circus - The Australian Experience’, Butterfly Books, Springwood, pp.24-47.

33 When Maria capitalised on this as the wife of Robert Lock she was classed with the white settlers as mentioned below regarding the 1828 census. This was in contrast to other halfcaste Aboriginal girls who were classed as Black. The encouragement for grants of land was extended during Macquarie’s administration when land grants were offered to Aboriginal persons who were prepared to ‘reform’ and become farmers - on the same basis as grants to convicts prepared to reform to become farmers. They were even to be fed from the government stores as well as being issued tools. \ Viscount Castlereagh, Instructions to Governor Bligh dated 31 December 1807 in London - transcribed in F.M Bladen (ed.), 1898, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.6 - King and Bligh’, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.399-402, quote p.401; Lachlan Macquarie, 1816, Proclamation to the Aborigines 4 May 1816, Enclosure to despatch from Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst, 8 June 1816 reporting punitive military expedition against the Aborigines - transcribed in Frederick Watson (ed.), 1917, ‘Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Governors’ Despatches to and from England, Vol.IX, January 1816-December 1818’, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.139-45, Proclamation 4 May 1816 pp.141-45 which followed the punitive expedition, land grant offer p.143.
so intertwined with the religious politics of the colony fought by Marsden as to need some effort to unravel in history. The likelihood is that it was children from ‘The Branch’ natives fostered with families of the white society and attending the orphan schools who were those transferred to lodgings at the new Parramatta Native Institution in early December 1814, about two months before it opened for business.  

These histories are not compatible with a modern view, espoused by Peter Read, that the Reverend William Shelley had had Governor Macquarie set up for him a new Native Institution, which ‘was the starting point for scores of such institutions in the following 150 years.’ Read reports that Shelley ‘went to the people [his emphasis]’, by building his school ‘at Parramatta where the Dharuk people had already gathered in the waterways and floodplains’. This seems an odd contrivance, since Parramatta had been settled at Rose Hill for twenty six years, from November 1788, did not match the description, and as discussed in this chapter the native children had come from somewhere else. Read extrapolated between the 1820s and 1880s as if the situation had remained the same, proposing this as the beginning of what he and his wife had labelled ‘The Stolen Generations’ for his 1981 report about ‘Removal of Aboriginal Children in NSW from 1883’. Read’s 1981 study of Removal had followed the 1977 experiences of  

34 In terms of language identification (Chapter 6), it was Hawkesbury Darkiñung children who were the foundation of the Parramatta Native Institution. Three of the children, as given at the start of this chapter, were from ‘The Branch’ natives, so direct subjects of this thesis. Later the fourth, ‘Kitty’ born ca.1807 (at fifteen years old) is taken to have been made the wife of Hawkesbury Colebee born ca.1787 (at thirty five years old) in 1822. \ Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘Parramatta Native Institution’ p.86.  

35 If history was to include early colonial times as the beginning of the Reads’ ‘Stolen Generations’ for children then we should commence with surgeon White keeping little Nanbaree who was recovering from chicken pox (Chapter 1). His story was told beautifully by ‘Isobel’ who attempted to ‘look at events from a little Aboriginal boy’s point of view’. Closer to the Native Institution situation is the teenager taken in by Rev. Richard Johnson whom he called Abaroo, and instructed her in reading and in ‘Xtianity’. Instead, Peter Read incisively described the situation as ‘A Hundred Years War’ against the State, with its starting point 1883 when the Aborigines Protection Board was established, not for Governors’ Phillip or King or Macquarie early colonial periods. He was greatly affected by reading ‘twenty two thousand’ files (Chapter 7) for the Children’s Research Project. Discussing education at a later period, Carol Liston pointed out that the APB practice of taking Aboriginal children from their families became a policy in 1909 attributed to the evangelist George Ardill snr, who had already established a ‘Home for Friendless and Fallen Women’ in 1884. Children were placed in work positions until the action was ‘condemned as reintroduction of slavery’. Peter Read, 2006, ‘Shelley’s mistake: The Parramatta Native Institution and the Stolen Generations’, Chapter 2 in Martin Crotty & David Andrew Roberts (eds), 2006, ‘The Great Mistakes of Australian History’, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, pp.32-47, 222-23; Read, Peter, 1981, ‘The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969’, New South Wales Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs Occasional Paper No.1, Aboriginal Children’s Research Project of the New South Wales Family and Children’s Services Agency; Peter Read, 1988, ‘A Hundred Years War - The Wiradjuri People and The State’, Australian National University Press of Pergamon Press, Rushcutters Bay (Sydney), p.xiii; ‘Isobel’, 1994, ‘Nanbaree’, with the historical illustrations by Thomas Watling, self published, produced by JAZ Design and Marketing, Perth, author’s note p.165; Richard Johnson, 1790, personal correspondence to Henry Fricker, 9 April 1790, transcribed by George Mackaness, 1954, ‘Some Letters of Rev. Richard Johnson, First Chaplain of New South Wales’, Volume 30 in original series, self published, Sydney, republished as Volume 20 in (continued...)
he and his wife talking to Aboriginal people in Central Australia. This 1814 government institution, which became home for some of the Darkīnung [not Dharuk / Dharug] Aboriginal children from the Hawkesbury, had followed goodwill from Governor King's wife and had less students than similar institutions for white children on which it had been based.

From Jack Brook's research, only one other Aboriginal child who stayed was taken in over the next eighteen months, although three more did not remain. When two boys and two girls were picked up during the military expeditions at the time of the Appin Massacre (Chapter 10/SE), they were placed in

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36 This was prior to his research thesis dated 1983. Although Peter & Jay Read's interview sound recordings were commissioned by the Northern Territory government for public use in schools, it declined to use the results they presented for living people. Eventually edited transcripts were published nearly fifteen years later. Life has circled, and while I have been preparing this thesis, Read is out interviewing Aboriginal descendants around Sydney whose ancestral history is part of my studies. This local situation is an extreme contrast to that in Central Australia. Some of the older people here are embarrassed either because they could not admit their family ancestry when they were younger or because their families had kept it from them, just as convict heritage which I share with them used to be hidden. In the 1990s after a bushland excursion I had led, in which I had commended Aboriginal heritage, a Central Coast woman brought her schoolboy son to talk with me - to her astonishment he was not surprised at her saying she had never told him before that his grandfather was Aboriginal. This is a sensitive personal field, and over lunch among my cousins I have privately discussed with siblings, their mother, aunt and other relatives what it was like for them to have been taken as children in the 1950s. For some of those Hawkesbury people, their Aboriginality had been recognised without local discrimination, such as at school when they sat alongside other children with no Aboriginal ancestry. My associates who are members of the historical society of Kurrajong and Comleroy (Road) have similar recollections to my cousins of the Aboriginal-descent families nearby. I am not involved in Read's anthropology project exposing private people to public scrutiny, and thus have been avoiding queries of the history put by my Aboriginal-descent friends and relatives who have shown trust in me. It appears that his new edited visual recordings of living people are to be placed online for public use. It is disappointing to see posters prepared for publication (involving one of my earlier research projects about which Peter Read had enquired of me) which have taken the well known 1830 portrait by Rodius of the Aborigine Biddy Salamander in Sydney and erroneously depicted her relabelled as another Aborigine Sarah Wallace [Wallis] aka ‘Granny Lewis’, who at the time was living with a small community of white people hidden away in the depths of Marra Marra Creek off the Hawkesbury River.

36 The origin of the Reads’ ‘Stolen Generations’ is seen in the publication of their 1970s recording transcripts, Part Two (‘Living with Whites’) Chapter 2 of their book titled ‘Learning the alien culture’ states that ‘Some children were curious, others were removed from their parents and placed in dormitories.’ [my emphasis] Peter John Read & Jay Read (eds), 1991 [recordings 1976/77], ‘Long Time, Olden Time - Aboriginal Accounts of Northern Territory History’, Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD), Alice Springs, Preface p.vi, quote p.94. Published illustrations of Rodius's Biddy are readily accessible, e.g. being reproduced in K.V. Smith 2010a, ‘Mari Nawi - Aboriginal Odysseys’, Rosenberg Publishing, Dural (Sydney), p.151.....it seems Read does not accept Smith's reports.
the native school in June 1816 until the boys disappeared ten weeks later. Maria remained until fourteen years old when the story is retold that she was married at the end of 1822 to Dicky, one of the young Aboriginal boys also fostered in the white community by Rev. William Walker who had named him after ‘Thomas Coke’ (Chapter 6). A year later after Dicky’s death, in January 1824 Maria was married to convict Robert Lock, born 1800, who had arrived in 1821. Fourteen years old was a normal age to end education for white working class girls to take on domestic responsibilities. The remarkable story that: ‘Following a conversation with Governor Macquarie, the chief [Yarramundi] placed his daughter [Maria] into the care of [Rev.] William Shelley - for tuition at the Native Institution’ is quite fictitious and an example of bastardisation of historical representation.

38 The original Thomas Coke [pronounced ‘cook’] was ordained in the Church of England but as a friend of John Wesley became the first Bishop of the Wesleyan Methodists’ church. The Aboriginal boy named ‘Thomas Coke’ died, after he had been baptised so that he would ascend to heaven. Heaven. As pointed out by Woolmington, accounts of conversion of young Aboriginal boys to Christianity ‘invariably conclude with the story of the child’s pious death.’ A cultural sense of fatality with a power of suggestion may go some of the way to account for the enigma of Aboriginal men - who just vanished (Chapter 2). A study of this marriage is not part of this thesis.[*] It was reported in the newspaper at Hobart VDL, where the missionaries were in regular correspondence with those in Sydney NSW. For balance, I note that in his account from the Wesleyan Mission House at Parramatta sent to London about the death of the Aboriginal youth ‘Thomas Walter Coke’ - ‘son of the renowned Bennillong’, Walker’s point was that by the death he had ‘sustained a very serious loss since I last wrote’, which (in the BT sequence) was two days earlier. Walker makes no mention of the youth being married, instead drawing attention that ‘he always slept in the same room with me, wrapped in a blanket on the floor’. Walker wrote that he (Walker) was briefly absent when he (‘Coke’) died, and on his return ‘Bundle, an old black, met me - - to say, “Coke is dead! He died in my arms”’. [*] [It was not the end of 1822, but early 1822 when Walker wrote on 29 April that he had died.*] It would be remiss of me not to point out that in late 1821 there were a significant number of fatalities among the Aboriginal children in the Native Institution, which Rev. Hill suggested ‘prevented our obtaining any addition at the last annual conference with the Native Tribes.’ Jean Woolmington, 1985, ‘Missionary Attitudes to the Baptism of Australian Aborigines Before 1850’, Journal of Religious History, 13 (3): 283-93, p.290; William Walker, 1822, ‘Report to the Secretaries of the W.M.M.S., 29 April 1822’, in James Bonwick (ed.), 1887-1902, Transcripts Series 1, Missionary Documents, Box 52 document 243 [previously 185], pp.1110-11; Richard Hill, 1822, ‘Correspondence to The Lord Bishop of London, 6 March 1822’, in James Bonwick (ed.), 1887-1902, Transcripts Series 1, Missionary Documents, Box 52 document 240a, pp.1097-100, quote pp.1099-100.

[* More investigation is required about Coke’s death and his purported marriage to Maria. The quotes about Walker in Colwell’s ‘History of Methodism’ p.176 used in Brook & Kohen’s ‘Parramatta Native Institution’ are inconsistent with transcripts of Walker’s letters in the BT - where document 243 is dated 1822, but given as 1823 in ‘Parramatta Native Institution’ p.164: refs 14,15 p.278.]

40 The fiction may have arisen from the first statement in Maria’s 1831 letter described above to Governor Darling’s administration, writing about the time of Governor Macquarie's administration. She did not mean that she had been literally placed in the Institution ‘by her father the Chief’, because Brook & Kohen had established that she was already there before Governor Macquarie met the Aboriginal people in 1814. (In any case, Yellomundy does not appear to have been included in that gathering.) Kohen has explained, for my study, that rather than writing for a literary audience, he was writing as he put it) for ‘Darug people - - - who want to know more about their heritage’, as discussed Chapter 7. The implication is that historical accuracy may have been a casualty. As a Hawkesbury Aborigine, Maria herself was a Darkiñung person rather than a Dharug (Chapters 6, 7). This remarkable fairy story imagines Maria (continued...)
After receiving land grants as above, at Liverpool where she reared her children, the astute Maria also claimed legal deeds for an 1816 colonial grant of South Creek land [1819 deeds] at Black Town to which she moved with her family about 1843. The residency by this Darkhiung-born woman in Dharug territory which has so confounded history with misrepresentation of the ancestral Hawkesbury River Aborigines, is taken up in Chapter 6. Recognition of Maria's family would not be complete without mention of the Aboriginal mother and convict father Ben Castle, the putative parents of Dharug girl Sarah Castle who married Maria's son William (Chapter 6) after the death of his first partner Mary Cox, daughter of Betty.

### Two of the Hawkesbury Children: Maria and Betty

Although her marriage had been arranged through her residence in the Native Institution while other liaisons by Aboriginal women with white men in the countryside were spontaneous, Maria from the Hawkesbury has become the prime example for a white man having an Aboriginal girl for his wife. Unusually for such as situation, where the man typically was isolated, as well as a convict husband Maria may have had the family support of his father with whom he had been transported to New South Wales.\(^\text{41}\)

At that time in colonial history, the status of a wife and her family was determined by the recognition of the husband. In contrast to Betty Cox as follows, Maria with her family was accepted as part of white society, appearing in both the 1825 muster (as Mary) and the 1828 census amongst the settlers without the notation ‘Aborigine’ given to others such as Betty.\(^\text{42}\) Other than status being allocated according to a

\(^{40}\)(...continued)

coming from Richmond, ‘doubtless’ with her mother, when she was ‘officially admitted on 28 December 1814’ - except that Brook had found that ‘Maria, Kitty, Fanny and Friday’ had been ‘pupils from early December’. However, this may be part of the story generated at the Blacktown and District Historical Society to establish Maria literally as a Black ‘Princess’ as presented by Kohen (Chapter 7). ‘Kings’ and ‘Princesses’ was a concept alien to the Aborigines but which was part of the dream world of the white working class. \(\backslash\) Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘Parramatta Native Institution’ pp.67, p.250.

\(^{41}\) Two men convicted together who arrived in 1821 with seven year sentences were Jonathan Lock, aged 56yo, and his son Robert, aged 21yo. \(\backslash\) Lesley Uebel, 2001 (reissued 2004), ‘The Port Jackson Convicts Anthology’, self published as CD-ROM, Pymble (Sydney).

\(^{42}\) At Liverpool after her marriage Maria had taken on the persona of ‘Mary’, with the family home called ‘Maryvale’ (although a later 1833 grant at Liverpool to her husband Robert Lock was named ‘Glenburn’). It is an irony, perhaps a personal tragedy, that Maria may not have fitted with her Aboriginal mother's family because she was too light-skinned, while Betty a couple of years older may not have fitted with her convict father's family because she was too dark-skinned. After living as ‘Mary’ among the white settlers with a white husband, it can be surmised that she reverted to her Aboriginal identity as Maria when her first son born in 1829 was dark-skinned (viz. Robert Lock 2\(^{nd}\)). He was to learn the local Georges River Aboriginal language (and live to meet R.H. Mathews in 1890s: Chapter 6). \(\backslash\) Carol Baxter (ed.), 1999, ‘General Muster List of New South Wales 1823, 1824,1825’, Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record for Society of Australian Genealogists, North Sydney (Sydney), pp.344-45; Malcolm R. Sainty & Keith A. Johnson, 1980, ‘Census of New South Wales November 1828’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), p.238; Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘Parramatta Native Institution’, ‘Maryvale’ p.227, (continued...)
male partner, a husband or a father, it seems throughout history that whether an individual person was recorded as an Aborigine depended on the colour of their skin rather than on their parents.

At the 1819 schools examination on Tuesday 13 April for which prizes were awarded, in which ‘nearly a hundred’ white and ‘not exceeding twenty’ black children participated, an unidentified Aboriginal girl at the Native Institution ‘bore away the chief prize’. Despite there being twenty Aboriginal children, Brook & Kohen wrote that ‘Maria took out the major award’. Yet she does not fit the profile of the winner who was older than her and had been at the school for less time. Betty is a closer match to the profile, and perhaps it is her descendants, also part of this thesis, who should be celebrating the scholarly worthiness of their ancestor.

Betty Cox, two years older than Maria, was another halfcaste Aboriginal girl in the Parramatta Native Institution from ‘The Branch’ natives. Betty came from the property of William Stubbs at Sackville.

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42(...continued)
‘Glenburn’ p.256.

43 The newspaper article went on to editorialise, finishing: ‘The doubt of their capacity and fairness of intellect must now wear off; - - - -’. \ Sydney Gazette, Saturday 17 April 1819, p.2. p.3: further references are given in Anon., Board of Studies (BOS) New South Wales, ‘Incidents between Aboriginal People in NSW and the British Colonisers 1810-1822’, p.12, portable document format (pdf) file available online at boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au.

44 This statement made without analysis of the historic record is commonly accepted, so has itself become the source of ‘history’. That is, despite the fact that the ‘black girl of fourteen years of age, between three and four years in the school’ cannot have been Maria. \ Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘Parramatta Native Institution’ p.79 ref. ng.

45 Two tables about ‘the Children of the Aborigines’ at the ‘Native Institution’ up to 31 December 1820, have been placed in the Bonwick Transcripts with a report of 12 August 1819 to Governor Macquarie headed ‘Mission to the Aborigines’ [Document 136a, Box 50]. Against the names of 37 listed children, the ‘supposed ages’ are questionable. Under 1820 ‘State of learning’ it showed 10 were gone, 10 could repeat the alphabet, 8 were in the process of spelling and reading, and 9 of reading and writing. Of the latter, 8 were given as ‘reads and writes well’, including Betty Cox, and for the first child listed, Maria, ‘spells four syllables & reads’. \ Rev. Richard Hill, (1820), ‘Names of the Children of the Aborigines received into the Native Institution Parramatta, since its foundation, 10 Jan 1814’, in James Bonwick (ed.), 1887-1902, Transcripts Series 1, Missionary Documents, Box 50 document 136a [addendum], p.480.

46 From Jack Brook’s research, 6yo Tommy and 10yo Betty Cox from the Hawkesbury, along with 10yo Milbah and 11yo Betty Fulton from The Cowpastures (plus 2 others who absconded) were listed in the register on 12 August 1816 as having been admitted to the Parramatta Native Institution. Betty Fulton and Milbah appear to be the trophy children (captured at the time of the Appin Massacre in April and placed in the institution in June as above) from when Governor Macquarie put in an order for 6 girls and 12 boys, 4 to 6yo, to stock his Native Institution from the punitive expedition. Both these Bettys, one a Darkiŋŋu one a Dharug, re-appear at the Black Town married to local Dharug Aborigines in the historiography of this thesis. Kohen appears not to believe Brook’s research to be credible, despite co-authoring its publication, because in his corrected 2006 genealogy he states unequivocally that ‘Betty Cox b.cir 1803 (Cattai Clan)’ was ‘Captured during the Punitive Expedition in 1816’. Kohen’s contention is impossible (and irresponsible in being aimed at misinforming descendants), because the expedition to the
Hawkesbury led by Captain Schaw was reported to have returned without killing or capturing any Aborigines. Schaw's so-called 'guides' were Bidgee Bidgee and Harry, Nurragingy and Colebee - who all appear in this thesis, the latter two becoming grantees as their 'reward' of land on the Richmond Road which was the beginning of the Black Town. It was Captain Wallis's detachment which made the killings and the captures at The Cowpastures. Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘Parramatta Native Institution’, August 1816 p.69, Punitive Expedition pp.22-31, Betty Fulton p.31; Kohen 2006 ‘Daruganora’ p.169.

Convict George Cox, aged 38yo [b.ca.1762], arrived in 1800 with a life sentence, and received a Ticket of Leave in 1810. It is not confirmed from the present study that his partner Ann was the Aboriginal mother, which was probable (I have not traced her, yet). They baptised a son named George born 1 May 1805, a year or so older than Betty. Their daughter Betty b.ca.1806 might have been seen as a bright girl who would be better off at school in Parramatta. Of course, there was the possibility that Betty was dark-skinned and any sibling who stayed with their parents was lighter skinned. It is noted that convict George Cox snr was a close contact there of ex-convict Matthew Everingham snr, whose youngest son later took an Aboriginal girl for a partner. (Betty may even have had some preschool instruction with the other settlers's children in the neighbourhood.) Uebel 2001 ‘Convicts Anthology’; St John's Parish Leger of Baptisms 1787-1831 (for birth of son George 1805 - located by searching the leger); Valerie Ross, 1980 (reprinted 1988 with Corrigenda), ‘Matthew Everingham - A First Fleeter and His Times’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), p.135.

Aboriginal names taken from transcripts of Blanket Lists at Parramatta (Chapter 6). However, in his revised 2006 genealogy, Kohen gives Johnny as ‘Wawarrawarri’ instead, [quote] ‘Listed in Windsor blanket distribution lists under “Eastern Creek Tribe”’. This is a misquote, in his own lists as provided to me, it is a small group with ‘Creek Jemmy, of South Creek’ [Chapter 6] listed in Windsor (with a larger group from South Creek listed in Penrith). On these lists, I could not find any ‘Wawarrawarri’ for Woorrerwuda, so it seems that Kohen does not distinguish between Parramatta and Windsor or between Johnny and Jemmy. Jim Kohen (compiler), 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’ (& misc. lists to 1851), Macquarie University; J.L. Kohen, 2006, ‘Daruganora: Darug Country - The Place and the People’, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), Blacktown, p.169.
from the white settlers in the 1825 muster. Many of these Cox children married others belonging to their mother’s ‘The Branch’ natives, either children of Maria Lock or children from families who had remained at the Hawkesbury.

After being placed in the Native Institution away from their own Families at a young age, Maria Lock and Betty Cox appear to have remained away from their own traditional country, although some of their children returned to the Hawkesbury. Aboriginal women did not stay in the vicinity of their parents anyway, kinship laws preventing inbreeding meant they normally had to move to another family’s home location when they took up a partner, although culturally they remained within their Language group before the disruption of colonisation. Maria and Betty, having been reared in the colony at Parramatta, were already out of their own People’s Language group Country. That meant nothing to the settlers, who taught the girls English language and English ways.

Two Mrs Everinghams: Mildred Saunders - *Butha* and ‘Martha Hibbs’ - *Madha*

Two other Aboriginal women of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges feature in the historic records with their cultural kinship names, *Butha* (*Budha*) and *Madha*. The Aborigines who are the most important to this thesis for the identification of the mountain and river people were those (a generation later than Maria and Betty) who never left the Country of their People. They provided principal families which also have survived and been fruitful. Descendants of these families have contributed to my project and have encouraged the research study of their history. Their ancestry can be attributed to the convicts identified in this study as the putative fathers.

Convict Lampet Saunders arr.1836 was assigned to Cyrus Doyle at Sackville, where his eldest daughter Mildred conceived soon after retained both her Aboriginal kinship name and her personal totem, respectively *Butha* emu. Convicts Matthew Everingham and his wife Elizabeth Rymes moved from near

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51 Aboriginal kinship names have been noted with a variety of English spellings. *Butha* (the women's equivalent of *Kumbo / Wombi*) has even been represented as *Booza for a Darkiňung* woman from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, even although Aboriginal languages did not sound an ‘s’ or ‘z’. It was sometimes given as ‘Bertha’. *Madha* (the women's equivalent of *Murri / Bya*) has been used for Aboriginal *Darkiňung* subjects of this study to be given their name as ‘Martha’ or ‘Maddy’ for both Saunders and Everingham wives.

52 Convict Lampet Saunders arrived 1836 aged 27yo with a 7 year sentence (being tried in 1835). His Aboriginal daughter Mildred was present when Robert Mathews used to visit this ‘remnant’ of the *Darkiňung* tribe (Chapter 6). Convict Saunders's putative children are identified from historical circumstances. Mildred's Aboriginal Saunders brothers appear to have included Albert (aka ‘Prince Albert’ Saunders after Queen Victoria's consort) who moved to Burragorang and joined *Gundungurra* (continued...)
Parramatta to settle at Sackville where their youngest son John, born 1814, had a relationship with teenage Mildred Saunders, whose offspring was Aborigine Ephraim ‘Afie’ Everingham born circa 1855, who was to marry Aborigine Martha from Wollombi as follows. Saunders descendants, the Family of the Aborigines ‘Afie’ and Martha, my Everingham blood cousins who contribute to my studies, are still a strong community which has never relinquished contact with the land around the Hawkesbury River and Kurrajong - their ancestral country of ‘The Branch’ natives (Chapters 2 and 3).

The pastors and clerics who had been roaming the countryside, to check the faith of the British and to convert heathen Aboriginal people, had some influence on the naming of the Aborigines born in the settled areas, even without a baptism record entered in the parish leger. Lampet Saunders became a waggoner after his sentence expired in 1842. Father J.T. Lynch, a Roman Catholic priest from Maitland discovered one of his young Aboriginal daughters on a trip with her father, baptising her as Mary for another entry in his leger. At Sackville/Ebenezer in the Portland Head Rock district, the religious

53 Family History, unpublished personal research in collaboration with descendants, with some of data referred to in other sections of this thesis.

54 While protestant Christian pastors such as Rev. William Walker, Walter Lawry and others of the extended Hassall Family (Chapter 6) sought to convert Aborigines to baptise them, Roman Catholic priests were carrying out baptisms with ‘holy water’ just as is done by the blessing of new born infants. Walker was astonished at a ‘Corrobbaraa’ festivity, where ‘before the commencement of the dance, a Roman Catholic Priest made his appearance. He sought out all the infants, and baptised them!’ William Walker, 1821, ‘Report addressed to Rev. Richard Watson, 26 November 1821’, in James Bonwick (ed.), 1887-1902, Transcripts Series 1, Missionary Documents, Box 52 document 226 [previously 166], pp.1040-42, quote p.1041.

55 I looked at the church leger record. ‘Mary’ was about five years old when Father Lynch noticed her on 5 March 1848, and their then abode was not the place where she had been born as some historians have imagined. If they’d lived nearby, Lynch would have gone and baptised the whole family. The RC priest had found the child with Lampet Saunders while travelling and done the deed for her ‘salvation’, although Lampet had not had any of his Aboriginal children baptised. When he abruptly told the priest she had been ‘a Christmas present’ did her father really mean it as her day of birth or was it his means of getting this ‘Friar Tuck’ to set them on their road by mentioning a gift for Christ? The way of history has many potholes. Some modern authors have imagined that all children of the time would have been baptised, and even tried to ascribe Lampet's Aboriginal descendants to this one girl, Mary (as had St Leon in 1993). One genealogical line, dealing with a son who could not be Mary, presumed the name of the son to be another identity for Lampet himself. A most accomplished Aboriginal descendant has been the performer to become ‘Con Colleano’, grandson of another daughter, Mildred’s younger sister Julia. From this St Leon has imagined that Lampet's Aboriginal partner was also called Julia, writing: ‘the same name by which I believe her Aboriginal mother was known’. Mary Saunders, Birth registration, NSW BDM (continued...)
phenomenon is seen with Old Testament biblical names: Tilly's brother (Chapter 6) was called Hiram - after the king of Tyre (an associate of King David of Israel); and Mildred Saunders's son (as above) was aptly named Ephraim - from the dominant tribe of the mountains.\textsuperscript{56} The tributes for these men of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges I find a more meaningful practice than the demeaning practice of having an Aborigine around a farm homestead declared the settler's personal 'king' by labelling him with a lump of metal from the back shed around his neck.\textsuperscript{57}

In what I think was a lesser occurrence, white men already married with a family to their white wives had Aboriginal children as well who were recognised with the name of their father. At Laguna on a branch of Wollombi Brook, it appears that William Hibbs (another Everingham / Woodbury convicts' descendant) fathered a son to an Aboriginal girl referred to as 'Martha' [\textit{Madha}], but abandoned his Aboriginal son when he and his white wife left the district with their children a few years later. The mother took the young son, Aborigine William Hibbs, to the community of her people at Sackville, where she married Aborigine Ephraim Everingham as above. Aboriginal law required women to take partners away from their immediate family group. When he reached manhood and became a cattle drover, the son took a new name (as had Maria's putative brother, a \textit{djimba} who became \textit{Colebee} discussed above) to become William Onus apparently in recognition of the employer from Richmond, Joseph Onus, who trained him as a stockman and was regarded therefore as a 'social father'.\textsuperscript{58} While droving in western New South

\begin{footnotes}
\item[55](...)continued)
\item In those days of blacksmiths, some breast plates are beautifully sculptured brass, and the pieces of metal have become museum pieces. They are a far cry from the original purpose of protecting one's throat from a sword slice. The neck chains used to hang these gorgets remind me (symbolically) of the chains locked around people's necks to lead a line of Aboriginal prisoners like a line of burdened camels in northern Australia. \textbackslash Tania Cleary, 1993, ‘Poignant Regalia - 19\textsuperscript{th} Century Aboriginal Breastplates & Images, a Catalogue [etc]’, Historic Houses Trust of New South Wales, Sydney; Jakelin Troy, 1993, ‘King Plates: A History of Aboriginal Gorgets’, Aboriginal Studies Press (AIATSIS), Canberra, for the National Museum of Australia.
\item It was common, normal, practice for Aboriginal young men to use for their adult name the name of their first white employer, which employment I have discovered as a replacement for initiation. I have examined thoroughly the proposal, from the white Eather Family (of which the white Onus Family is a branch - mentioned Chapter 3) that the Aboriginal Onus family are their descendants. However, Joseph Onus travelled through the ranges a different way, via the Bulga road where he had another homestead so cannot be placed with the Aboriginal girl, for a quick copulation as he rode past on the Great North Road, in order to conceive William as proposed. Neither can a Hibbs parent be placed where Martha was born which their proposal requires, so Martha remains in the historical record as a fullblood, with William Hibbs her first ‘partner’ after he came to reside at her birthplace, Laguna (Wollombi), when she was a teenager. [Baby William's son ‘Bill’ and the Aboriginal mother are illustrated at the start of this chapter.]
\end{footnotes}
Wales and Victoria, William took a wife from among the Victorian Aborigines. For a few years, the family with three young children stayed at Cummeragunja on the Murray River in New South Wales. They soon returned to Echuca on the Murray River in Victoria from where the Aboriginal Onus dynasty was established in Victoria. However, William and his first son Bill Onus retained contact with his family at the Hawkesbury, and he is buried there alongside his mother Martha, Mrs Everingham.59

Sons of Frontiers-men 60
Other Aboriginal stockmen from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges included Tom Dillon, whose ancestors are not yet certain but despite him being very dark, his father may have been a Tom Dillon also. He appears in history both at Sackville in the Hawkesbury Valley and at Broke in the Hunter Valley, but died (at Newcastle hospital) while in residence at Karuah, Port Stephens.61 Harry Taggart, another Aboriginal stockman who worked at Broke came from Howes Valley at the top of the Macdonald River where his father was John, son of convict Charles Taggart.62 Harry's grandson, Eric, developed a thespian

58(...continued)
There is much, much, more consideration to this Local History, not part of this thesis.

59 This example uses a brief extract from Family History with unpublished personal research in collaboration with descendants. The Family History study itself is not part of this thesis. It has been verified that William's siblings (Martha's children) visited them at Echuca. Although Bill Onus (William 2nd) knew personally and kept contact with his Hawkesbury Darkinjung family even when wrongly being designated in biographies as Wiradjuri, his son the late ‘Lin’ Onus (William 3rd) has been designated Yorta Yorta as if William 1st born at Wollombi in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges was from Cummeragunja instead. Bill's grandson Tiriki Onus in the Dandenong Ranges east of Melbourne now mistakenly refers to Bill with a Yorta Yorta identity. The mistake is recent, but already has been repeated in current biographies. For the latest consideration, as well as my consulting family members in Victoria, I acknowledge help from research by their close cousin Lorna Darwen (whose mother was born when her parents were visiting her father's brother William in Victoria) with support from Mark St Leon, who were able to trace family movements because these Aborigines kept their electoral enrolments up-to-date.

\ Martha Everingham [aka Hibbs], NSW Death Certificate registration 18977/1926; William Onus [aka Hibbs], NSW Death Certificate registration 21256/1937.

60 It can be argued whether egalitarian frontiersman existed in either the sense of Russell Ward's legendary pioneers, in the sense of those who adjusted as bushmen, or both. In the context here and Chapter 3 - when workers fraternised with Aborigines in a cultural transition, I favour the latter rather than those who left as their legacy the history of violence. \ Richard Waterhouse, 2003, ‘Cultural Transmissions’, Chapter 8 pp.113-26 + 252-53, in Hsu-Ming Teo & Richard White (eds), 2003, ‘Cultural History in Australia’, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.

61 I have a copy of a photograph of the Aborigine Tom Dillon at the time of his death courtesy Newcastle Museum, and have visited Sandgate Cemetery where he was buried. I have been taken to the location on private property near Broke where Aborigine Tom Dillon lived before he ‘retired’. Some years ago in this Family History study, J.L. Kohen informed me that the Aborigine Tom Dillon had gone to the South Coast, but Kohen's genealogy is faulty. I was able to show that it was the white settler Tom Dillon who lived next to my ancestors on the Hawkesbury who went to the South Coast with his white son Tom Dillon. \ Aborigine Thomas Dillon, NSW Death Certificate registration 5503/1923.

62 Convict Charles Taggart, 27yo, arrived in 1818 with a seven year sentence. \ Uebel 2001 ‘Convicts Anthology’; Henry Frederick (‘Harry’) Taggart, NSW Death Certificate, registration 8765/1941.
association with a descendant of Aborigine Sophie Newman (Sophia), also from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, and they became informants for the gullible industrial affairs journalist Percy Haslam (Chapter 8). The Haslam papers are archived at Newcastle University.

The Aboriginal Clark(e) family who are part of this history were also from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, travelling backwards and forwards from valley to valley. It is not established yet what was the relationship between this Aboriginal Clark family and George Clarke, Benjamin Singleton's assigned convict at the Hunter River who later became a notorious bushranger accompanied by an Aboriginal ‘wife’. Convict Clark, born 1806, arrived in the colony in 1825. A relationship for the Clark Aboriginal children with convict Clark is most likely, with more research on this topic yet to be reported. Singleton had shown an empathy with Aborigines and with convicts (Chapter 3), and his Hunter Valley neighbour James Mudie sarcastically noted: ‘Singleton is on a perfect footing of equality with - convict servants’. After all, Ben's father was a convict. Arriving as a nineteen year old, Clark became a product of this ‘equality’, being encouraged by Singleton to roam, to investigate and take advantage of new country without being reported as absent. As Singleton ran others' cattle (on agistment) at his Hunter River property, it is expected that Singleton's servant convict Clark could have been away mustering others' cattle with only Aborigines for companions. After Clark arrived, from 1826 Singleton used an out of the way steep difficult route over the Liverpool Range to the remote cattle runs - before the easier public crossing was opened up in 1861 by William Nowland.

In the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, the Aborigine Tilly Clark, sister of Hiram from a Sackville family, was a source of the local Hawkesbury language, Darkiñung, recorded by Robert Mathews. Tilly may have partnered a Clark Aborigine in the same way that Mildred did. Mildred as above, who also was

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63 Percy A. Haslam, nd, ‘A Living Symbol of an Ancient Past’, Newspaper article for Eric Taggart, cutting among Various Newspaperclippings relating to Aboriginal People and Rock Art c1975’, in Percy Haslam collection, University of Newcastle Cultural Collection Archives Box A7771(vii), available online, e.g. with link from Library Catalogue.

64 Names were mainly spoken and thus spelling varied, so I will use the simple spelling Clark. Dean Boyce, 1970, ‘Clarke of the Kindur - Convict, Bushranger, Explorer’, Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Melbourne).


67 At the time of writing this thesis, Jim Kohen has contacted me to advise he is reworking the genealogy of Darkiñung Aborigines at the Hawkesbury River. By that time, he had allocated Tilly, a native of Sackville, to become someone else called Tilly (or Matilda) at Wollombi. This appears to be part of his (continued...)
from an Aboriginal Sackville family, ‘married’ Aborigine Joe Clark at the Hawkesbury after her first partner John Everingham died in 1875. By the time Singleton lost control of convict George Clark when Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell took an interest in his explorations, Clark children had been born to an Aboriginal mother or mothers of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges on the south side of the Hunter River floodplain. Along with fullblood Joe Goobra as above, Robert Mathews's friend the halfcaste Charlie Clark had been one of the last to undergo traditional male initiation.

Another notable Aborigine was John Barber who like ‘Harry’ Taggart had also come from the Macdonald River, putative son of blacksmith convict John Barber, assigned to Archibald Bell jnr who travelled by the Bulga road through Howes Valley (top of Macdonald River Branch) to settle near Patricks Plains (present day Singleton). The Aboriginal child was known as ‘Johnny’. I have nineteen children listed (so far) for the Aborigine John Barber. The descendants of his third wife, white woman Elizabeth Ann Morley are part of the extant strong and extensive community of the mountain and river people at the Hawkesbury River. Johnny Barber was first married to the Aboriginal girl kidnapped by Thomas Mitchell from the Murrumbidgee for a personal experiment. Ballandella consorted with white men, another notable Aborigine was John Barber who like ‘Harry’ Taggart had also come from the Macdonald River, putative son of blacksmith convict John Barber, assigned to Archibald Bell jnr who travelled by the Bulga road through Howes Valley (top of Macdonald River Branch) to settle near Patricks Plains (present day Singleton). The Aboriginal child was known as ‘Johnny’. I have nineteen children listed (so far) for the Aborigine John Barber. The descendants of his third wife, white woman Elizabeth Ann Morley are part of the extant strong and extensive community of the mountain and river people at the Hawkesbury River. Johnny Barber was first married to the Aboriginal girl kidnapped by Thomas Mitchell from the Murrumbidgee for a personal experiment. Ballandella consorted with white men.

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67(...continued)

public campaign to use his authority to remove ‘The Branch’ natives from the history of the Hawkesbury River Branches in order to ‘re-identify’ the Darkiïng-speaking people there as the Dharug-speaking people from the Georges River instead. (In this hoax he would thus ‘establish’ that the Federal Court had been wrong in embarrassing him by not accepting his submission as given in Chapter 7.)

68 Family History, unpublished personal research in collaboration with descendants, with some of data referred to in other sections of this thesis.

69 Mathews 1897 ‘Burbung of the Darkiïng’.

70 Details of Family History research are not part of this thesis. Convict John Barber, as listed in the 1828 census, is not listed for the ship on which he was supposed to have arrived in 1821, so he may have been using an alias - which I have been examining. To distinguish the son of John Barber, the Aboriginal boy was named John Luke Barber, these New Testament biblical names suggesting the influence of and perhaps a bush baptism by an evangelical Christian priest. A distinguishing second Christian name was not uncommon, as also seen for Aboriginal boy as above whose father was William Hibbs: William Thomas Hibbs [at Wollombi] aka Thomas Onus [at Hawkesbury River] aka William Onus first [at Murray River].

having been reared by the Mitchells and the Ascoughs.\footnote{Although claiming to rear Ballandella with his own children, Thomas Mitchell abandoned her, and she was placed in the care of Dr, Sir Charles Nicholson (later Chancellor of Sydney University) who passed her on as a servant to the wife of his cousin James Ascough (a remittance man). Everybody loved her in the family. In a personal communication, the grandson of a daughter of Ascough, to whom Ballendella was nursemaid, gave me the family legend that James was Ballendella’s suitor, a servant being nominated as the father to register a baby girl, Mary ‘Howard’, born to her in 1846. Unpublished Family History; Kathleen Stella Dansay, 1952, letters to Elene Grainger cited by Brook 1988 p.73; Jack Brook, 1988, ‘The Widow and the Child’, Aboriginal History, 12 (1): 63-78.} When she left him for another white man, Johnny Barber’s next partner was Eliza, a daughter of Betty Cox as above. The second son of John and Ballendella, Harry, married the sister of Tom Dillon from Wollombi, Annie Dillon, who like Martha and Mildred retained her Aboriginal kinship name, Batha from Wallambine, even when she and Harry Barber moved to La Perouse (Chapter 6).\footnote{Janet Mathews, the wife of a grandson, acquired Mathews’s collection from Sydney University, much of which was later to be placed in The National Library of Australia in Canberra, although in 1976 she had written that the family had intended it for the Mitchell Library in Sydney to accompany material from Peter Elkin and Arthur Capell from Sydney University. The family retained some. Material from Robert Mathews’s collection disposed of which she did not deposit in Canberra, Janet Mathews sold to the bookseller Berkelouws, rather than leaving it at Sydney University where it previously had been accessible for research. She was to apologise to Professor Elkin for that ‘oversight’. More detail is footnoted in the discussion about Robert Mathews in Chapter 6. Janet Mathews to Peter Elkin, letter 24 March 1968, University of Sydney archives; A.P. Elkin, 1975,76, ‘R.H. Mathews: His Contribution to Aboriginal Studies’, Oceania, 46 (1): 1-24, 46 (2): 126-52, 46 (3): 206-34.} As in this example, the terms Wollombi and Wallambine were used interchangeably in the historical records.

\section*{People of the Ranges Who are the Source of Their Customs and Language}

Surveyor Robert Mathews who knew these Darkiñung people personally, recorded their Language (Part II), their Country (Part III), their kinship and ceremonies in notebooks of which some had been held at the University of Sydney by A.P. (Peter) Elkin who was researching Mathew’s work.\footnote{This 2009 article perpetuates erroneous statements which are investigated and exposed in Chapter 7. Jim Kohen & Jeremy Steele, 2009, ‘An Introduction to the Dharug Language’, Chapter 9 in Eugene Stockton & John Merriman (continued...)} Aboriginal people identified above are found in Mathews’s records (Chapter 6). It is critical for their history to recognise people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges who were the informants for their language and country, kinship and ceremonies, because until their identities had been confirmed in the study for this thesis, both land and language have been misplaced by prior authors. As late as 2009, a new publication about these mountain Aborigines erroneously insists [direct quote]: ‘By the time Mathews gathered this information, there were only a handful of people fluent in the Dharug language, most of whom were living on a reserve north of Windsor on the Hawkesbury River.’\footnote{Jim Kohen & Jeremy Steele, 2009, ‘An Introduction to the Dharug Language’, Chapter 9 in Eugene Stockton & John Merriman (continued...)} This is the unnecessary perpetuation of...
Mathews recorded in his notebooks that the language which he termed *Dharruk* was provided to him by people who had come from Liverpool (Georges River) and Camden (upper Nepean - above Warragamba), with a word list apparently sourced in the Black Town community where Mathews visited to record *Gundungurra* language from a wife who had come from the southern Blue Mountains.\(^{76}\) This Black Town community had no identifying name for the local Georges River ‘Language’, their identification translating as ‘Our talk’. The Aboriginal people who actually occupied the country at the Hawkesbury River reserve ‘north of Windsor’ - in contrast to the incorrect claim above that they were *Dharug* - were some of Mathews's informants for the *Darkiñung* culture and language (Chapter 6).

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**Chapter 4 Findings**

This chapter provides a perspective about the people who became informants for the language identification.

It illustrates the part played by convicts for the protection of Aboriginal women and perpetuation of their race on the outskirts of Sydney in the early colonial period with its sudden impact. (The inherent physiology of the indigenous people had not had time to adapt without the convicts' genetic input which ensured survival in the suddenly changed environment of European occupation and settlement.) Identification of convicts' Aboriginal sons and daughters provides the background for those aspects of which knowledge has survived for cultural heritage of the Aboriginal People from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

While the principal model, for the perpetuation of ‘The Branch’ natives from the Hawkesbury - i.e. those later identified as *Darkiñung*, was named ‘Maria’, born circa 1808, examples of others are included.

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\(^{75}\)...continued


\(^{76}\) Fanny Lynch became Mrs Lock. It appears that the original term for *Dharug* came from a *Gundungurra* word (Chapter 6).
As I have followed in Part I, there is an unbroken succession of Aboriginal people belonging to the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges from the first white contact of Governor Phillip in 1789. This has continued to the present day, where the Families remain in a strong community of the Hawkesbury area, and another in the Hunter area.
Part I

Brief Conclusion for Part I

Recognition of the Darkiñung People

From the start of contact by the original settlers in 1789, it was discovered that the Aborigines inland at the Hawkesbury River Branches in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the northwest of Sydney were distinct from those at Sydney on the coast at Port Jackson / Botany Bay.

There was no local Aboriginal term recorded to identify these inland people. Just like describing people who had been sick and dying using the term bidjigal in the coast language, the term boorooberongal was used in the coast language to describe people in the woods who caught possums instead of fish. Neither description identified a local Clan. The only local name recorded at the Hawkesbury was another description, buttagal: ‘water people’. The yams at the water edges, identified here as a marsh club-rush, had no bearing on the identity of local Aborigines.

The earliest settlers distinguished the Aboriginal people of the Hawkesbury River Branches as ‘The Branch’ natives, applied in 1805 to those occupying the Grose River Branch towards Springwood from Richmond Hill. These people of the Branches were to be the source of local knowledge for the settlers exploring to the west and to the north across the ranges which led to the respective discoveries both of the westerly flowing rivers beyond their country at what was called the interior Bathurst district and of the easterly flowing Hunter River in their territory at Patricks Plains. ‘The Branch’ natives in the ranges south of the Hunter River became known as the ‘Wollombi tribe’.

Aborigines named in historical records were individuals who communicated with the settlers - who then referred to these men at local farms as ‘king’. Traditional people known to have left descendants were those who adapted quickly to the overwhelming changes brought by colonial settlement, exploiting the settlers to their advantage. Under the circumstances, having families with convicts and convicts' sons was the key to Aboriginal survival.
However, some of the Aboriginal children from the Hawkesbury River, after being reared at the Parramatta Native Institution, remained in the foreign country of the coastal people, in particular at the Georges River and South Creek drainage south of the Hawkesbury floodplain. Thus, while their ancestry was from the Hawkesbury River, their changed nationality was from the Georges River - a different country of different Aboriginal people with a different language.
Part II

‘Budha from Wallambine’ - Annie Barber
born as Annie Dillon, sister of Tom Dillon, native to Wollombi
as wife of Harry Barber lived at Sackville
known as Grannie Barber after they moved to La Perouse

Notes:
Annie Barber, sister of Tom Dillon, was not just known to Robert Mathews as a Darkiňung woman at Sackville, she was one of the principal sources for the identification of the language and hence of the people. Another was Tilly Clark (Clarke), sister of Hiram, who were native to Sackville at the Tuckermans’ farm on Addy Creek (present day Currency Creek). Whereas in his notebook ‘7’, Mathews entered ‘Darkiñoong’ for Tilly, he heard ‘Darkin-nyoong’ for Annie. (At La Perouse it seems white people heard ‘Boozah’ when she said ‘Budha’, although Aborigines did not pronounce ‘s’ or ‘z’. The Aboriginal ‘dh’ was pronounced like the English ‘th’ with the tongue on the teeth, as in English ‘mother’.) Annie was one of the subjects for the portraits drawn by artist Herbert Beecroft at what he called ‘The Aborigines camp at La Perouse’. From his correspondence [which he signed ‘Jimmie’], Beecroft was sometimes kept waiting by ‘Grannie Barber’ when she was not prepared for a sitting. The photograph here [by me] is from one of the original portraits held in the research collection of Randwick and District Historical Society. The Beecroft material there was collected by Ellen Waugh, whom I thank for help with my research and permission to use the material.
Part II

Recognition of the *Darkiñung* Language

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Part II
Preamble

Speech is a marvellous human quality. Our spoken Language permits us to be characterised when we meet other members of our species.¹

In the preliminary phase of British occupation in New South Wales Aboriginal people were merely characterised by the location where the settlers and explorers observed them, consistent with their own practice of local identification with the place of a Clan, as recorded around the harbours at Port Jackson / Botany Bay. But even there, such little attention was paid to the identification of their wider community, that when language records were eventually addressed they had to be given a name from the original English settlement: ‘The Sydney Language’. As settlement began to roll out over the land to provide the colony with European food, the surviving Aborigines there were those who gave way to this new use for their traditional locations while beyond the Cumberland Plain perimeter the rugged sandstone country provided sanctuary for foreign mountain Aborigines.

Aboriginal People of the northern Blue Mountains to the northwest of Sydney survived the worst of the roll out at the rivers of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, where they soon became known around the Hawkesbury River Branches as ‘The Branch’ natives, while later towards the Hunter River the same people in the ranges became recognised as the ‘Wollombi tribe’ (Part I). If they had had an overall name for themselves or their country it was most likely that first identified by a Hawkesbury Aboriginal companion to John Blaxland jnr in 1824 as ‘Wallumbi’ (footnoted Chapter 3) from the valley country they occupied in the ranges between Richmond on the Hawkesbury River and Maitland on the Hunter River, but later written with English spellings varying from ‘Wollemi’ to ‘Wallambine’.² However, the name as Wollombi was co-opted by later Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell instructing his assistants to locate a township in the ranges at the junction of two streams - present day Wollombi village (Chapter 12/NW).

¹ Yet, when we determine what we think other persons' different speech means in our own topical language, the expression may be subject to different meanings - a trap in the circumstances of Part II - which had been experienced by Eliza Dunlop (Chapter 2). For instance, even amongst Europeans with overlapping speech, the line “Ich hab’ein kleines Hüttchen nur”, translated for rhyming poetry as ‘I have a Cottage in a nook’ became in the colonial context: ‘I have a Bark Hut in the bush’. \ Anon. authors, placed by editor, 1844, ‘Original Poetry’, in The Colonial Literary Journal and Weekly Miscellany of Useful Information, Vol.1 No.4, Thursday 18 July 1844, Sydney, p.56.

² For Joe Goobra, the last Darkiïng fullblood initiated man, in the records at the hospital where he died (Chapter 4) his pronunciation was spelt ‘Wallendbine’ with English characters. \ Joseph Goobra, NSW Death Certificate, registration 3058/1897.
The Aborigines of these rivers and ranges remained un-named until seventy years later when the native-born bushman-scholar, surveyor Robert Mathews, sat down with remnant members of these people, and identified their language in his notebooks as ‘Darkiñoong’, ‘Darkinyûng’, eventually settling on *Darkiñung* for publication as used in this thesis. Since then the People have been recognised by this Language name, with a range of spellings using English characters.

For the historiography in Part II, Chapters 5 and 6 deal with two phases of the English identification of the People in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges from Language records. Chapter 7 discusses how a neighbouring, misnamed, language identification has been misapplied to these *Darkiñung* people from circa 1990 by the member of a local history society (who wanted his own Irish ancestry identified), while Chapter 8 outlines how their own identification was misapplied to the neighbouring people on the coast north of Broken Bay, from a family with Aboriginal ancestry who moved there from the ranges.
Chapter 5

Joan Cooper, youngest daughter of Alfred Everingham from Sackville performing the Opening for the inaugural gathering of Darkiňung Families at Wilberforce near where Governor Phillip first saw groups of these Aborigines from photograph by Geoff Ford Sunday 6 November 2005

Notes:
The Darkiňung Aborigine Alfred Everingham was second son of Madha (‘Martha’, who married Ephraim Everingham), so that her first son, William Onus 1st (born William Hibbs) was his elder brother. After his wife Edith Lock b.1881 died, Eva Lock b.1885 (at that time Mrs ‘Darcy’ Webb) became his partner, and the late Aunty Joan (born Alathea Joan Webb), was the youngest child born to that second relationship. After marrying Gundungurra Aborigine ‘Digger’ Cooper, Joan became a prominent person among his Katoomba community, but retained strong links with her ancestry among the Everingham family of close Hawkesbury Darkiňung relatives. It was an honour for the Darkiňung descendants to have such a person as one of them to open their first specific gathering, held at the Hawkesbury River at Wilberforce, Sunday 6 November 2005.
PART II (1)

Chapter 5

Original Encounters with Officers from the British Royal Navy:

The First Fleet's ‘Inland’ Dialect

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The Issue

This chapter provides the history for the initial recognition, by British officers of the sailors and marines from the Royal Navy in the infant colony of New South Wales, that Aborigines were not a uniform group across the continent of New Holland. The discovery of a separate language occurred when they made contact with the ‘inland’ Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. In this chapter I also analyse recent publications where authors perversely contradict Governor Phillip's on the spot first hand observations separating languages.

The First Fleeters were rather slow to understand a local language - perhaps because they imagined they would soon be going ‘home’ to Great Britain - as most of them did. More importantly, the Aborigines exhibited greater intellect than those who came to occupy their country, being quick to understand the English speech which the whites spoke among themselves as well as to learn how to communicate in the infantile English language the whites spoke to them. However, some literate members of the First Fleet made short lists of Aboriginal words as souvenir curiosities to take or to send ‘home’. It is the recognition of such historic wordlists which form the basis of this chapter. On the earliest expeditions beyond Botany Bay and Port Jackson when they met Aborigines at Broken Bay, it made no impact on the English-speakers that they could not understand the local language there, so they did not appreciate its difference to Sydney Cove (Chapter 9/NE). Acknowledgement of different languages had to wait until Governor Phillip walked inland to the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges in 1791 with coastal Aborigines from the settlement and witnessed them trying to communicate with foreign people there.

Living with the Language

Attempting to learn the local language and customs from Aboriginal captives kidnapped around Port Jackson was not as fruitful as having individual Aborigines come to live as if they were family members in what under the pervading conditions was a ‘household’. These individuals maximised their exploitation of the settlers. Aborigines around the settlement who did not gain such a sheltered position would attempt a lower level of exploitation of the settlers, seeking handouts of food or warm materials by performing outside the houses of the elite. It is a sad reflection on the British that they encouraged gory
displays with the usual handout of grog and plonk. The colony diarist and judge advocate, David Collins, noted in his August 1800 record how those natives who frequented the settlement preferred ‘the shelter which they found in the houses of the inhabitants.’ The most common circumstance recorded for an Aborigine to gain household access was being fostered as a child. The most successful circumstance was for an Aboriginal girl to accept for her partner a British man who was without recourse to a British spouse. In most cases these women became a de facto spouse, merging with their mixed blood children into the settlement community where their native language was not spoken. Mixed marriages (blessed or de facto) were practised without public record for at least thirty six years - when Robert Lock was taken by an Aboriginal girl, Maria, for her husband - but by this time, the ethnicity of the wife was not hidden (Chapter 4).

For the First Fleet officers, from whom most of the historic records have come, the option of taking an Aboriginal lover was less practised, probably because there were convict women who chose cohabitation with an officer as a paramour rather than marriage with a convict. The exception, not accepting these conventions, was the twenty six years old popular junior officer, Marine Lieutenant William Dawes, who kept notebooks of the coastal language as he conversed in his hut with his Aboriginal partner, Patyegarang. No identification was given to a language at the time - providing a ‘name’ for a language to distinguish ‘tribal’ groups had to wait until the promotion of such names by William Ridley (Chapter 6), for example with records of languages from the interior, Kamilaroi and Wiradjuri which covered confluent tribal groups (Chapter 12/NW). The Port Jackson / Botany Bay language has become known as

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3 Convicts were not porcelain white, and in the Sydney sun their complexions darkened. The topic of convict liaisons with Aboriginal women is discussed in Chapter 4. If skin colour became an issue for later generations, I have found Family History instances where claiming West Indies (from West African origin) or Pacific Islander (incl. New Zealand) ancestry was successful. Others would tell curious inquirers that they had Spanish blood (i.e. from North African Berber/Arab ['Moor'] occupation of the Iberian Peninsula in the eighth century) or that they were North American Indian, and I have found such ‘explanations’ to apply for descendants within my history study.

4 Dawes departed on the ship Gorgon December 1791 [as did Tench] with the first batch of marines to leave the colony. He was a lowly 2nd Lieutenant, not being promoted to 1st Lieutenant until 1793. Although he had wanted to stay in Sydney, Dawes, born 1762, was sent home before there was an offspring born, effectively breaking up his public love affair. While William Dawes's affair with Patyegarang was blatant, when he went back to England Watkin Tench, born 1758, wrote about his infatuation with Gooreedeena as if it was a scientific observation (Chapter 4).
‘The Sydney’ Language.\(^5\) Recently two postgraduate scholars at Macquarie University have proposed adopting Meston’s term *Biyal-Biyal* to identify it.\(^6\) It is Dawes’s notebooks which provide an introduction to grammar, although some ‘journalists’ [journal keepers] including early governors and the colony’s diarist David Collins did make word lists which survived. The difference between Dawes’s studies and the observations of his most senior officers is an issue for this chapter.

Other than William Dawes with his domestic situation advantage, the officers did not display much understanding of what the Aborigines had tried to explain. Watkin Tench, in an aside, wrote that it took three years living with the coastal Aborigines to discover that *becal / becal* was the word for ‘no’.\(^7\) The English speakers thought it meant ‘good’, using it for the opposite of *weere / weere*, ‘bad’.\(^8\) Five and a half years later, September 1796, Collins was to record that the English still could not understand even the Aborigines of Port Jackson, although the Aborigines could comprehend the settlers better. The English spoke a barbarous, a ‘pidgin’, version of English to communicate, which the linguistically competent

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\(^7\) He meant three years for himself to discover. Unfortunately Watkin Tench, who thought he was accepting the offers of voluptuous *Gooreedeena* (Chapter 4) when she came into his home by replying ‘bée-al’. (He wrote: ‘natives had resided with us’.) Tench departed on the ship *Gorgon*, December 1791 [as did Dawes] with the first batch of marines to leave the colony. It appears that the crib copies Tench was using for words - when writing his second book as they tacked across the Indian Ocean on the voyage home - made the third letter look like a ‘c’ but it should have been an ‘e’. \(\&\) Watkin Tench, 1793, ‘A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson, in New South Wales [etc]’, G.Nicol, Pall-Mall (London), footnote aside p.122, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn footnote p.231.

\(^8\) In Dawes’s notebooks I have found ‘no’ written as ‘Bial’ or ‘Bial’ (and ‘Béal’ once in a back cover). Tench was unable to prevail on Dawes to help him when constructing his historical story book on the ship on the way back ‘home’, and wrote petulantly that he expected Dawes to have co-operated in his [Tench’s] language book. \(\&\) William Dawes, ca.1790a, ‘Grammatical Forms of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’, Manuscript 41645 (a), William Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London, 11th, 21st pp. and back cover; William Dawes, ca.1790b, ‘Vocabulary of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’, Manuscript 41645 (b), William Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London, 6th p.
Aborigines had had to accept as a form of the English language. There have been implications for the foreign language of the inland Hawkesbury Aborigines communicated to Collins and Phillip by coastal Aborigines from Port Jackson in 1791 as follows.

When Governor Phillip's water expedition first penetrated via the rivers into the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges in 1789, rowing up the Branches of what became the Hawkesbury River, the three 'journalists', Arthur Phillip, his deputy John Hunter and his offsider David Collins, did not attempt to note anything about local language when they conversed with Aborigines around Portland Head Rock vicinity on Sunday 5 July 1789 (Chapter 1). It was still thought that the language used across the continent had been recorded in 1770 on the voyage of James Cook accompanied by Joseph Banks. The very first time that it was realised that Aborigines were not homogenous was on the night of Monday 11 April 1791 when Phillip's overland expedition had crossed over from the Port Jackson (Parramatta River) catchment into that of the Hawkesbury River at the catchment lands of present day Cattai Creek. It had quickly become apparent that the 'stranger', buroowan (Tench's 'Bèr-ee-wan'), whom they encountered was of a different group with a different language to that of the Botany Bay / Port Jackson Aborigines who were accompanying the party, as discussed in Chapter 1. In summary, Cadi Colebe [Colebe from Cadi;

9 In the first published record of an Australian Aboriginal Grammar, Threlkeld took care to point out that the English not only introduced their words, 'barbarisms', into local discourse with Aborigines, but transmitted words from other Aboriginal languages as well, also 'barbarisms'. It got worse, thanks to input from the American colonies: By the 1840s after the minstrel show 'Jim Crow' was run in Australian theatres, the English in Australia were applying the pidgin English which had been popularised by the 'nigger' shows from America. The Aborigines had become caught up in the international spread of the British commercial empire when English-speakers would mock those who spoke other languages. The term 'pidgin' itself was a barbarism from the English-speak spelling of the way that Chinese traders pronounced 'business', with 'pidj' for 'biz' (and we wrote 'Peking' to spell Beijing). I note that, like the Chinese, the Aborigines also did not use the 's'/'z' sound but had other sounds not reproducible with the English alphabet - which have affected the historiography told in this thesis. 'The natives never use the letter S and find some difficulty in pronouncing it' reported Governor Phillip. "David Collins, 1798, 'An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales [etc]', Vol.I, T.Cadell Jun. and W.Davies, The Strand (London), Facsimile edition 1971 [vol.1], Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, p.544, Fletcher 1975 [vol.1] edn, p.451; Lancelot Threlkeld, 1834, 'An Australian Grammar, - - - as spoken by the Aborigines - -', Stephens and Stokes “Herald Office”, Sydney, pp.xi-xii; Richard Waterhouse, 1990, Chapter 7 'The Minstrel Show and Australian Culture', pp.98-115, in 'From Minstrel Show to Vaudeville - The Australian Popular Stage 1788-1914', New South Wales University Press, Kensington (Sydney); Edward E. Morris, 1898, 'Austral English - A Dictionary of Australasian Words, Phrases and Usages', Macmillan, London, republished 1971 S.R. Publishers, East Ardsley, 'barbarisms' p.xiv, 'Pigeon English' (from 'pidjin') pp.xv-xvi; Bill Brohaugh, 2006, 'Unfortunate English - The Gloomy Truth Behind the Words You Use', Writer's Digest Books, FW Publications, Cincinnati, 'pidgin' pp.80-81; Arthur Phillip, 1790, Despatch to Lord Sydney 13 February 1790, transcribed in Britton, Alexander (ed.), 1892, 'Historical Records of New South Wales, Vol.I, Part 2: Phillip, 1783-1792', pp.304-310, quote p.309, also transcribed in Watson, Frederick (ed.), 1914, 'Historical Records of Australia, Series I, Vol.I, 1788-1796', pp.155-161, quote p.160.

10 When writing his book on the voyage 'home', Tench tended to change the spelling (i.e. from the crib copies of David Collins's records as given following) in order to make his reports seem more 'original'.

(continued...
Although buroowan (from booruwane) was recorded for a stranger, bereewan (from berewal) signified from a distance (Chapter 1). When comparing use of Aboriginal language, it is apparent that Tench did not have access to Dawes's notes. (The relationship of stem buru/booru and humans identified by Curr is mentioned in Chapter 7 in ‘burra’ discussion.)

11 Although Phillip acknowledged that Colebe had translated ‘Bu-ru-be-rong-al’ to be ‘climbers of trees’ who lived by hunting [viz. possum eaters], he misunderstood, taking the term to designate a local Clan (Phillip: tribe) when they were in the Cattai - Pitt Town vicinity. The history is dealt with in Chapter 1. \ Arthur Phillip in John Hunter, 1793, ‘An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island [etc]’, John Stockdale, Piccadilly (London), Facsimile edition 1968, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, p.520, Bach 1968 edn p.345.

12 Eventually the idea was included in Wilkins & Nash 2008, presented later in this chapter. Dixon & Blake 1979 proposed that their Handbook volumes provide a ‘convenient outlet for the authors of salvage grammars, and - - - facilitate reference for the reader.’ However, for ‘salvage’ languages of this thesis, the Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre at Nambucca Heads provided an alternative which has been more convenient [in this thesis see authors Lissarrague, Jones]. The 1990s Wilkins manuscripts referred to in this chapter were preliminary, as put by Dixon & Blake 1991: ‘Volume 5 - - planned to include accounts of the original languages of Sydney (by David Wilkins) and of Adelaide (by Jane Simpson)’. \ R.M.W. Dixon & Barry J. Blake (eds), 1979, ‘Handbook of Australian Languages’, Vol.1, John Benjamins, Amsterdam, republished Australian National University Press, Canberra, p.5: R.M.W. Dixon & Barry J. Blake (eds), 1991, ‘Handbook of Australian Languages’, Vol.4, Oxford University Press, Melbourne, p.xiii.
Dawes tabulated five words which he noted as the same for Burubirangál as for 'Coasters'. This selective table was used by Smith, citing a working draft manuscript by Wilkins 1991, to support a claim that the stranger spoke a common language with Colebe. However, that is not so - Dawes's selection has coastal terms for 'Burubirangál' words, which are different to the Inland terms collected by Collins and Phillip on this expedition: for example, English 'navel'... Coast: muneero / moonurro (munuru by Dawes) versus Inland: boombong / boomboong (munduru by Dawes). Therefore, it would not actually have been the word terms, but rather the pronunciation of sounds which Dawes tabulated. William Dawes, ca.1790, ‘Vocabulary of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’ Manuscript 41645 (b), William Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London, 40th page; Smith 2004 ‘Eora Clans’ Thesis Macquarie University, p.25.

The most likely explanation of the inconsistency is provided by more history. The pronunciations of the five words tabulated by Dawes would not be from Phillip's April 1791 expedition but could be from six weeks later when Dawes with Tench, and just two soldiers without more senior officers, returned to the Hawkesbury River when Tench had taken it upon himself to complete Governor Phillip's unfinished expedition (Chapter 1). The historical record shows that this small expeditionary party on Tuesday 24 May 1791 spent quite some time with the Aborigine Deedora and others of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges at the river while they mistakenly crossed at deep water, downstream of the shallow place Phillip had intended as his ford. This provided the opportunity for Dawes, when attempting to communicate, to try out some of the Port Jackson Aboriginal words which he had learnt from Patyegarang. In this

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13 Dawes tabulated five words which he noted as the same for Burubirangál as for ‘Coasters’. This selective table was used by Smith, citing a working draft manuscript by Wilkins 1991, to support a claim that the stranger spoke a common language with Colebe. However, that is not so - Dawes's selection has coastal terms for ‘Burubirangál’ words, which are different to the Inland terms collected by Collins and Phillip on this expedition: for example, English ‘navel’... Coast: muneero / moonurro (munuru by Dawes) versus Inland: boombong / boomboong (munduru by Dawes). Therefore, it would not actually have been the word terms, but rather the pronunciation of sounds which Dawes tabulated. William Dawes, ca.1790, ‘Vocabulary of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’, Manuscript 41645 (b), William Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, London, 40th page; Smith 2004 ‘Eora Clans’ Thesis Macquarie University, p.25.

14 These five Coastal words Steele surmised had a more nasal pronunciation Inland (‘nd’ replacing ‘n’). In a ms for publication qualifying Steele's assumption, Nash reviews phonological patterns in the linguistic literature demonstrating that Coastal Aborigines typically used a nasal sound (written in English characters as ‘n’) while speech of Inland Aborigines was distinguished with a nasal+stop pronunciation (written as nd, nb). Steele 2005 ‘The Aboriginal Language of Sydney’ Thesis Macquarie University, pp.155-56; David Nash (2010, pers. comm.), ‘Dawes' Law Generalised: Cluster Simplification in the Coastal Dialect of the Sydney Language’, ms ‘in press’.


scenario *Deedora* merely repeated the foreign coastal words, having a variation in pronunciation which Dawes reproduced in his notes, using ‘nd’ for ‘n’. To the courteous *Deedora* it must have appeared that Dawes was trying to teach him (*Deedora*) his (Dawes’s) language. This is supported by Dawes first noting the coastal *ngyini*, ‘you’. Was *Deedora* having trouble understanding, or was he having fun with the hapless white man? *Deedora*’s people did not know the coastal language, as testified by Paterson who in September 1793 led another party to this same place (Chapter 1) and reported the Aborigines of the river ‘almost unintelligible’ to the coastal Aborigines who accompanied him.\(^{17}\)

_Gomebeere’s Speech_

It has become conventional - rightly or wrongly - to identify Aboriginal People (as a ‘Tribal’ group) on the basis of a Language application, and to identify their Country on the basis of the place where that Language had been spoken when the Europeans arrived to occupy the land.\(^{18}\) Thus, the historic evidence of the Aboriginal Language spoken at the Hawkesbury when Governor Phillip arrived is of the utmost importance to the definition for this thesis of the ancestral Aborigines in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

The historical records of the speech spoken pertain to the downstream Portland Head Rock district (present day Sackville - Wilberforce area; Cattai - Pitt Town area) outlined in Chapter 1. Although there are no language records from the upstream Richmond Hill district (present day North Richmond / Kurrajong area; Richmond area), it is generally assumed that that location also was occupied by one of the Aborigines, *Yellomundy*, from whom Phillip in 1791 recorded language downstream at the Portland Head Rock location as follows.\(^{19}\) Nearly thirty years later, 1818, a man known as *Yellomundy* (termed ‘*Yellowmonday*’) was still in occupation amongst the white settlers at the Portland Head Rock district (Chapter 2).

When Governor Phillip’s overland expedition to the Hawkesbury was trying to cross *Bardenarang*, aka *Bardo Narrang*, Creek (near present day Pitt Town) on Thursday 14 April 1791, an Aborigine canoeing on the river joined them. He was named as *Gomebeere* (Chapter 1). The river was not a barrier for the local Aborigines. After walking further upstream, at the camp that evening another canoeist with a small boy joined the expedition from their families on the opposite bank across the river (present day

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\(^{18}\)*As illustrated by inaugural quote for Chapter 6.

\(^{19}\)*I am using the full term Portland Head Rock for the original location because the place known as Portland Head has migrated along the river with common use. These two original districts referred to by Governors Phillip and Hunter were separated by where South Creek joins the river at the green hills port (present day Windsor).
Wilberforce). He was named as *Yellomundy*, although Governor Phillip, himself multilingual (reared by a language teacher father), recorded *Yallahmiendi* i.e. *Yallah-miyendi*.\(^{20}\) The boy was a woman's infant, ‘*Djimba*’ (Chapter 1). At that camp, Phillip's party communicated with these river people, from which Phillip and Collins listed some of their words which they compared to the different words used by the coastal Aborigines present, *Colebe* and *Ballederry*. Collins's list had thirteen comparisons reproduced for his book, but ‘penis’, ‘scrotum’ and ‘testicles’ omitted from the published list were neatly transcribed into a third notebook (like the two used by Dawes - from the Sydney Cove store), making sixteen words.\(^{21}\)

Phillip used ‘penis’ in his personal correspondence.\(^{22}\)

Tench later used a transcribed copy of Collins's list for his second book which he wrote in 1792 on the voyage home, for which I suggest Tench had a copy clerk at government house crib for him.\(^{23}\)

Somewhere in the process, Tench’s plagiarism was exposed by an entry being misread along a row so that the coast term *yennadah* for moon was misaligned with the Hawkesbury term *condoin* for sun (instead of *dilluck* which *Gomebeere* had given for the appearance of the moon on that particular night). Once he’d acquired Collins/Phillip's list, Tench just changed a letter here and there when writing on the ship during the voyage home to pretend his to be original - e.g. *benna* for *benne* (ear) and *baylee* for *bayley* (buttocks).\(^{24}\)

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\(^{20}\) Although it has been put to me by Jim Barrett that the ‘*ie*’ in Phillip’s ‘*miendi*’ merely represented the letter ‘*u*’, I have checked samples of Phillip's handwritten communications: in common for scribes of that period, care and particular attention was given to inking in a definite dot above the letter ‘*i*’. It is not conclusive.


\(^{22}\) Arthur Phillip, 1791, letter with information on the colony to Joseph Banks 3 December 1791, Sydney, my transcription, 10th page.

\(^{23}\) A misalignment may have happened when a neat copy was being transcribed into the notebook. Marine Captain David Collins himself may even have willingly provided Marine Lieutenant-Captain Watkin Tench with copies. Tench had been a prisoner-of-war in the American War of Independence, after which he had a shore position in England where David Collins's father had promoted him to Lieutenant-Captain. Tench was accomplished at getting copies of official data to insert in his books, such as lists of convict data, as discussed in Chapter 1. \& Extract of biography from L.F. Fitzhardinge, 1964, ‘The Origin of Watkin Tench; A Note’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 50 (1): 74-77; also Fitzhardinge 1979 edn ‘First Four Years’ p.xvi.

Of the Collins/Phillip lists, only one term almost corresponds between the coastal language and the inland Hawkesbury language: *deewara* and *kewarra* respectively (hair). Phillip explained that even *mi* and *me* respectively (eye) were not the same, being pronounced differently. He continued:

‘And in many other instances their pronunciation varied, so that there is good reason to believe that several different languages are spoken by the natives of this country, and this accounts for only one or two of those words given in Captain Cook's vocabulary having ever been heard amongst the natives (at Port Jackson) who visited the settlement.’

I have compared *Gomebeere* and *Yellomundy's* vocabulary with other early wordlists from the languages of different Aborigines in neighbouring areas of the greater Sydney region and found a higher proportion of similarities with these than there were with the language of the coastal Aborigines - suggesting cognates (derived from common ancestral words). For example, from Thomas Mitchell’s original list extracted from the Wollondilly River language and John Rowley’s original list from the Georges River language respectively: *tyeluck* and *jilluk* for Hawkesbury *dilluck* (moon); *kanga* and *kayga* for Hawkesbury *ganga* (neck); *bendi* and *bindi* for Hawkesbury *bende* (belly). I imagine that these word collections I have selected are as pure as any lists available with only normal interaction between groups. That is, having been taken before Aboriginal people displaced by settlement were interacting differently with their neighbours resulting in artificial contamination of languages recorded - as could have happened by the time these languages were given an identifying name a hundred years later (Chapter 6).

Several generations - approximately a hundred years - after *Gomebeere’s* vocabulary extract was collected, more wordlists were collected from the Aborigines remaining as occupants (R.H. Mathews’s remnant) in this same area where *Gomebeere* and *Yellomundy’s* families were gathered on Phillip’s expeditions in 1789 and 1791, or to be locality specific, residing just a few miles downstream.

25 Phillip was writing about differences between the coastal and inland Aborigines. Citing the Fitzhardinge 1961 edn for Tench p.231, John Bach 1968 innocently thought that Tench's written list with a changed letter here and there showed 'different pronunciation' for Hawkesbury words given by Phillip, which of course is completely impossible if Tench had really been making his list while hearing the same words at the same time during the same camp as Collins/Phillip. \ Phillip in Hunter, Bach 1968 edition p.347, Bach's note 10 p.435.


27 As well as Collins/Phillip's list, wordlists were collected from the Aborigines of this location by native-born James Tuckerman (published by Curr) and Robert Mathews - the subject of Chapter 6.
There were intermarriages between Georges River (Liverpool etc) people and Hawkesbury River (Richmond etc) people displaced by settlement, leading to modern identity confusion. The historical record seems to have been ignored by the Blacktown and District Historical Society where Kohen was President, because he chose to give Hawkesbury Darkinung-language people the identity of Georges River Dharug-language people - as dealt with in Chapters 7 and 10/SE. Inconsistently or incidentally, it was Kohen who in this 1984 booklet had identified the Dharug-language as that spoken at the Georges River (recorded by Rowley as above). \[J.L. Kohen, 1984b, ‘A Dictionary of the Dharug Language’, Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown (2nd edn 1990).\]

Two recent analyses of Gomebeere's ‘inland dialect’ from the First Fleet wordlist have been undertaken by modern linguists, published 2008. One in which the personal history of the collection was taken into account by Wilkins & Nash provided an identification. The other provided a quandary for my thesis when an impersonal cybernetic analysis comparing twenty eight wordlists grouped Gomebeere's language - as in David Collins's published Hawkesbury River wordlist - most closely with John Rowley's Georges River list as above. Despite language loan words or cognates, these two Aboriginal groups were historically distinct (Chapters 6 and 10/SE). Therefore, I have reviewed the historiography of this flawed analysis as follows.

An ‘Endemic’ of Word Clusters

When a linguist and a biology statistician got together at the University of New South Wales, they produced a chimera of ‘Lexical Similarity’ and ‘Endemism’ respectively for Aboriginal wordlists chosen from around Sydney.\[Caroline Jones & Shawn Laffan, 2008, ‘Lexical Similarity and Endemism in Historical Wordlists of Australian Aboriginal Languages of the Greater Sydney Region’, Transactions of the Philological Society [of Great Britain], 106 (3): 456-86.\] Even if a characteristic of an animal or plant (say colour of hair or of leaf) was assumed for each word in order to mathematically compare Aboriginal languages as if they were various biological species, to call a word comparison ‘endemism’ is not a new use, but a misuse, of language. Vocal characteristics other than speech are used already in animals to differentiate between species. A new term could have been coined to demonstrate a new concept for language unique within the human species.\[The endemic nature of organisms is part of the life experience of a biological research scientist which I experienced in a previous incarnation. Further, statistical analyses and computer programming have been my friends - I qualified in both at the postgraduate level while on the teaching staff at Melbourne (continued...)\]

\[28\] There were intermarriages between Georges River (Liverpool etc) people and Hawkesbury River (Richmond etc) people displaced by settlement, leading to modern identity confusion. The historical record seems to have been ignored by the Blacktown and District Historical Society where Kohen was President, because he chose to give Hawkesbury Darkinung-language people the identity of Georges River Dharug-language people - as dealt with in Chapters 7 and 10/SE. Inconsistently or incidentally, it was Kohen who in this 1984 booklet had identified the Dharug-language as that spoken at the Georges River (recorded by Rowley as above). \[J.L. Kohen, 1984b, ‘A Dictionary of the Dharug Language’, Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown (2nd edn 1990).\]


\[30\] The endemic nature of organisms is part of the life experience of a biological research scientist which I experienced in a previous incarnation. Further, statistical analyses and computer programming have been my friends - I qualified in both at the postgraduate level while on the teaching staff at Melbourne (continued...)
For these researchers to have analysed wordlists collected from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth century, a number of simplifications had to be made, not least to assume that during that long period the Aboriginal languages would remain static - something which is unlikely to have happened at any other time or place in human history. I have compared English dictionaries over that period, and the changes are a source of wonderment. Secondly, all the word meanings for the analysis were squeezed into an English vocabulary of just 168 selected items (from an index of only 321 words) produced by the Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD) at Alice Springs, which had been compiled from recorded words of Central Australian Tribes of Aboriginal people in order to compare common terms used in contemporary language. Using different expressions for full moon and new moon would be analysed as if talking a foreign language.

Next, the Aboriginal words which had been recorded with those English alphabetical characters that best produced what the observer had heard, were reduced to just six alphabetical characters then re-expressed.

30(...continued)
University.


32 I acknowledge David Nash with appreciation, for explaining the Sourcebook (which I had examined). There had been a longstanding research technique whereby every target group of people to be compared contributes their appropriate word to the preset list of items being compared. It was first practised for Aboriginal Languages in the study by Curr, from which examples have been used in this thesis. Kathy Menning (edited by David G. Nash), 1981, ‘Sourcebook for Central Australian Languages’ [2 volumes], Part 2 [Vol.2]: ‘Word Lists’, Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD) Press, Alice Springs, Wordlist Introduction pp.vii-xx; Edward M. Curr, 1886, ‘Remarks on the Aboriginal Languages of Australia’ pp.3-26 and ‘Remarks on Some of the Words in the Vocabulary’ pp.27-35 in ‘The Australian Race - Its Origin, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia [etc]’, Book The First, in Vol. I, Victoria Government Printer, Melbourne, also Trübner and Co., Ludwig Hill (London).

33 In the early records of English - Aboriginal wordlists, Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld pointed out in 1834 how ‘mistaken names are written, the natural result of partial knowledge; for instance Ki-wung is put down for the Moon, whereas it means the New Moon, Yel-len-na being the Moon.’ Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, 1834, ‘An Australian Grammar, Comprehending the Principles and Natural Rules of the Language, as Spoken by the Aborigines, in the Vicinity of Hunter’s River, Lake Macquarie &c. New South Wales’, Stephens and Stokes “Herald Office”, Sydney, p.x.
as number digits. Viz: 1=p (for labial stop b/p, v/f); 2=k (for velar stop g/k, c/q, x); 3=t (for other stops d/t, ch/j); 4= l (for laterals including rl); 5=n (for nasals m/n including rn); and 6=r (for rhotic). The sounds z and s do not occur, and sounds distinguished by all eight other letters in English were discarded (a,e,i,o,u,w,y,h). The original ‘Soundex’ used to locate similar sounding names of people in large directories was modified with a reduction to just two of these six digit character choices to represent each word, which has the implication that a cypher of merely thirty six terms remained to differentiate every Aboriginal term recorded: ‘Lexical Similarity’ indeed. The correspondence of these merely thirty six Aboriginal terms to match the 168 chosen items in English provided the opportunity for a statistical analysis with 6048 options of the two languages interacting if all the 168 items had been listed.

While the statistics may or may not have been appropriate for this application, it is, of course, incorrect to define this analysis as endemism which in this context has the implication that the geographic spatial

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34 I hope I could be forgiven for yelling ‘Stop right there!’ when I read this article, with all lingual stops reduced to three. For stops in the Port Jackson / Botany Bay (aka ‘Sydney’) language alone, Jaky Troy showed the necessity of distinguishing alveolar, palatal and dental sounds to separate words, but here they are all reduced to one lone value, t=3. In the same way, these sounds of ‘d’, ‘dy’ and ‘dh’ respectively had been separated in the historical records because they separated words when Robert Mathews scribed languages used in this analysis, as described in Chapter 6. The effect in English would be analysing ‘thug’ and ‘tug’ as having the same meaning. Troy 1993 (publ. 1994) ‘The Sydney Language’ p.23.


36 It seems from published literature that such an ‘objective’ analysis of such a ‘subjective’ field has its language difficulties. In a very thoughtful analysis, with the problems of comparisons, David Wilkins demonstrated a mechanism for semantic variation which ‘is a socially driven historical process’ that would make the mathematical approach inapplicable. \ David P. Wilkins, 1996, ‘Natural Tendencies of Semantic Change and the Search for Cognates’, Chapter 10 pp.264-304 in Mark Durie & Malcolm Ross (eds), 1996, ‘The Comparative Method Reviewed - Regularity and Irregularity in Language Change’, Oxford University Press, New York.
distribution has been tested. The spatial distribution of these Aboriginal languages would have been a particularly useful objective, and is not unknown in the study of indigenous human history elsewhere. I have contributed to the spacial distribution of these Aboriginal people with historical descriptions and their historiography in Part III of this thesis, and it is not appropriate to follow further in this chapter.

Given that words, say like English putt and butt, have different uses even if cognates, it is difficult to have confidence in results from such a language simplification as outlined above. Of Gomebeere's speech, thirty one percent (four of thirteen) words on Collins's wordlist do not even appear in the 168 selected items in English tested, and the authors have not explained how comparisons were made using their two character ‘Soundex’ for the chosen twenty eight wordlists under those circumstances. That taken, some of results from a cluster analysis and a similarity analysis do match known history. On the other hand, other results are ethnologically inexplicable. For example Boydell's Allyn River Aborigines were part of the Kattung-speaking people whose language Threlkeld reported was similar to his Hunter River language (Chapter 9/NE), and yet the authors show the former completely isolated from the others. This could be a reflection of the word samples used, and therefore reduces the value of such work.

In the analysis, the language lists group collected from Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges in this thesis formed a cluster, as did the language lists group collected from their northeast on the Central Coast, which is encouraging by confirming what the historiography had already shown. However, the ‘endemism’ analysis failed to recognise that the language clusters of these two Aboriginal groups overlapped (Chapters 2 and 9/NE), instead relating the former from the Hawkesbury to a cluster of the language lists collected to their southeast which were a different language historically (Chapter 10/SE). This difference is the situation whereby the coastal Aborigine Colebe (from this southeast cluster) who met Gomebeere with Governor Phillip as above spoke a foreign language.

The authors refrained from discussing why their impersonal cybernetic analysis comparing twenty eight wordlists grouped Gomebeere's language (as in David Collins's Hawkesbury River wordlist) most closely with that foreign language outside its own cluster, i.e. with John Rowley's Georges River list to the


southeast. I had made that comparison just by looking at the wordlists, as reported above being due to cognates. Avoiding the issue, these authors, Jones & Laffan 2008, wrote that the ‘similarity’ with the other Hawkesbury River lists ‘has previously been noted by Nash and Wilkins 2008’ [they meant Wilkins and Nash]. I suggest that they did not establish that their attempt at a new research application can stand alone, and indeed, this was verified by the principal author reverting to an exemplary historical investigation to publish her book on the subject of this thesis, as discussed in Chapter 8.39

**Identifying Gomebeere's Language**

Although other sources for Gomebeere’s speech have entered historic records, they are probably all derived from Collins's notes taken at the time. As the colony recorder he acted for the governor as the colony's diarist, who had a servant accompanying him (Chapter 1). Since the governor himself did not, Collins's servant was unlikely to be a personal batman and I suggest had a role in Collins's duties, assisting him take the official journal which probably was used also by Phillip when writing up his own experiences. As discussed in Chapter 1 and above, I reject the suggestion which has slipped into current literature without adequate analysis that Dawes recorded five words from the stranger on the Monday night 11 April 1791. Wilkins had considered in his 1991 working draft ms as above that this may have shown that the stranger was of the same group as the coastal Aborigines, which was developed in the final publication, Wilkins & Nash 2008. Superficially it appeared that the stranger was one of the river people whose culture of male initiation did not include tooth avulsion as had been noted in a ceremony by the coastal people. If significant, this difference in appearance picked up by modern authors would be of such importance to be sufficient to indicate that the explorers had reached the country of a different tribal group.40 Yet, the First Fleeters had already noted for the coastal people that ‘many men have been seen

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40 My more extensive study on cultural topics such as initiation rites like tooth avulsion is not part of the present thesis. Initiation ceremonies for post puberty young men universally require some exhibition of one's mettle, even in our society when I was a lad. I think I prefer my 1950s spluttering in a bucket of water or having one's scrotum boot-blacked to a present day rite of passage by well off white people becoming sickenly inebriated with pathological doses of alcoholic beverages, or other atrocities. Records for Aboriginal societies show variations, sometimes as choices, between tooth avulsion, swallowing human faecal excrement, even having one's hair taken off. Although rites become peculiar to particular groups, Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (who included both these Hawkesbury River people and more Hunter River people) may have had some differences to coastal people by taking on some cultural practices of their Kamilaroi neighbours who had been moving into their country from the northwest which is discussed in Chapter 12/NW. In my studies of such ‘ceremonies’, I found that even within one group fashions changed over time for the horrors to which boys were put to test their mettle, so that historical records just give a ‘snapshot’ of that time and place.
who had not lost the tooth’ [my emphasis]. However, Arthur Phillip appreciated that the local Aborigines were different, but not understanding any better, wrongly assumed all the Hawkesbury people would be Buruberongal like the settlers had learnt Aborigines on the south shore of Port Jackson were Cadi'gal.

The historically important document for this chapter is Gomebeere's language recorded in David Collins's Hawkesbury River 'Inland' wordlist. Words of the published version with the notebook version were intensively examined by the linguists David Wilkins & David Nash in order to present the article based on Wilkins's 1991 draft as above. In a section headed ‘What language did Gumbiri [Gomebeere] (and) Yalamundi [Yellomundy] speak?’, they analysed the opportunities for this language to belong to one of those later recorded with an identifying name. Their finding is of ‘a high rate of correspondence’ with the language they identified as Darkinyung [Darkiñung]. Indeed, the only form which they found that is not consistent is the term in Collins & Phillip's notebook for testicles, for which a word related to scrotum had been used in later Darkiñung wordlists. I do not find surprising that it could be ticklish in getting strangers to tell someone what was in their scrotum. I have sat by the river near where Phillip's expedition camped with Gomebeere and Yellomundy, imagined the historic scene and pondered how these proper English gentlemen achieved this task when they had zero language in common. Perhaps they instructed their servant to use the younger, more demonstrative, Ballederry from the coastal Aborigines as their model.

Wilkins & Nash provide for a relationship with adjacent languages' wordlists by pointing out that cognate forms would occur from borrowing of terms between adjacent languages. This quite adequately explains the results of my comparisons of Gomebeere's vocabulary with other wordlists as discussed above. Perhaps unfortunately, Wilkins & Nash's subjective analysis of real words may also discredit, or maybe invalidate, Jones & Laffan's objective analyses of word cyphers as above and therefore it may only be coincidental when the latter's analyses appear to distinguish between adjacent languages. Jones & Laffan's misplacing of Gomebeere's language in an adjacent cluster would happen with cognates and from the sharing ['borrowing'] of terms between adjacent languages which were otherwise different. In their report identifying the Hawkesbury language as Darkiñung, Wilkins & Nash explain how it is ‘extremely

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42 The mistake of attributing descriptive terms as ‘Clan’ names is discussed in Chapter 1. Phillip in Hunter 1793 p.520, Bach 1968 edn p.345.
unlikely’ that the adjacent Dharruk [Dharug] or Iyura [for Eora, i.e. ‘Sydney’] languages could have been spoken at the Hawkesbury River.

**Taken For Granted**

In the most comprehensive encyclopaedic work covering Aboriginal pre-history and history around Sydney, archaeologist Val Attenbrow had included the subject of this chapter. In a second edition revision of her tome, both 2008 linguistic articles as above were newly mentioned with comments discussed about Phillip's two 1791 meetings, but without acknowledgement of the relationship of their locations.\(^{44}\) Although one was Monday night 11 April and the other Thursday 14 April 1791, they were not actually three days travel away from each other, but quite close because the expedition had doubled back. Walking across country, the two camps were not more than three miles (less than 5km) apart, both on the east side of the river. I have wandered around the locality of both sites. Given the flat lay of the merely undulating land there (near present day Pitt Town), it is incomprehensible how any researcher could imagine there was a natural feature which may have separated two ‘tribes’ or language groups. The common argument given is that the stranger could not have been a member of the river people because he was not carrying a canoe in the woodlands and Colebe told the officers he caught (hunted - the ‘chace’) possums in trees.

Attenbrow’s scholarly effort presents the latest status in the public domain prior to completion of this thesis, but reflects the difficulties of attention to detail in such an encyclopaedic work. She erroneously reports: that the first group of people (viz. the stranger, burrowan, and the young boy concealing themselves among the trees) were ‘speaking a Darug dialect’; and she ignores the implications of cognates and loan words to report that of the second group of people (Gomebeere and Yellomundee) the ‘word-list had greater similarities with other Darug word-lists than with Darginung’. Although Attenbrow had compromised in 2002 by mapping the Darkiňung of the Blue Mountains and Hawkesbury River as ‘Mountain Darug’ she omitted this in 2010 and reconciled their true status as Darkiňung people: ‘The boundary between Darug and Darginung on the west of the Hawkesbury River may not have been a clearly defined line, but it would appear that the meeting with the second group were within Darginung country’ [my emphasis]. That is, the meeting on the eastern (Pitt Town) right hand side of the river - with their families camped across the river on the western (Wilberforce) left hand side. The ‘Country’ of these groups is reviewed in Part III of this thesis. My interpretations provided in Chapter 10/SE, introducing geographical knowledge, have taken such issues to a practical conclusion showing

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from historical records that the *Dharug* (J.L. Kohen’s ‘Darug’\(^ {45} \)) did not have traditional country at the Hawkesbury (below Warragamba) at all.\(^ {46} \)

Although Attenbrow may have been wondering about a compromise, the postgraduate students of J.L. Kohen were uncompromising in following his lead despite historic evidence. As published 2009, J.L. Smith wrote: ‘Dee-rab-bun may have been a Dharug word for part of the Hawkesbury River, alternatively [attributed to K.V. Smith] it may have been their word for rivers in general.’ However, the term Deerubbin [whatever spelling] was never identified as a *Dharug* word in the historical records. The actual historic report, which is Collins's August 1795 entry is discussing a lad born on the Hawkesbury to a woman who had come from the north and could speak ‘more dialects [languages] than one’, teaching her son the dialect of Port Stephens. The river name is the language of ‘The Branch’ natives, for Collins wrote about: ‘her tribe (on) the banks of the Dee-rab-bun (for so the Hawkesbury was named)’\(^ {47,48} \)

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\(^ {45} \) I do take issue with such a valuable publication taking for granted that a word from a ‘vegetable root’ in western Victoria, viz. Kohen’s contrived term ‘Darug’, can replace a different word, *Dharug*, which is the historical identification actually recorded for Aboriginal people to the west and southwest of Sydney (Chapter 6). At the beginning of her tome, Attenbrow tabulates Sydney Region Language Groups giving four of the spellings correctly showing the ‘Dh’ sound for *Dharug* as recorded by Robert Mathews who listened to the Aborigines, but she uses none of them. She uses spellings ‘based on Troy’s 1994 reference orthography except for *Darug* [my emphasis], which is the spelling preferred by many members of present-day Darug communities.’ It is not surprising that people who use Kohen's term ‘Darug’ use this new term ‘Darug’ which Kohen contrived for them ca.1990 (Chapter 6) in a circular argument (Chapter 7). A detailed description and analysis is discussed of the origin in Chapter 6 and misuse in Chapter 7. The linguist Troy does not give any language groups, but tables ‘a practical reference orthography’ which distinguishes the laminal dental stop ‘dh’ from the apical alveolar stop ‘d’ which the archaeologist Attenbrow ignores. \( \text{\textcopyright} \) Attenbrow 2002 & 2010 ‘Sydney's Aboriginal Past’ p.32; Troy 1993 (publ. 1994) ‘The Sydney Language’ p.23.

\(^ {46} \) J.L. Kohen’s mistaken deductions, about *Dharug* people from Georges River at Richmond Road / South Creek being the Hawkesbury Aborigines (rather than *Darkiŋung* being the Hawkesbury Aborigines) because they were part of the south Hawkesbury circuit based at Windsor from where their local parson and police operated, are dealt with in Chapter 6.

\(^ {47} \) It was normal for a partner to come from another family group, and for it to be the woman who left her childhood home. Taken from his own Australia-wide surveys, in a review of people around the world, Birdsell was able to state: ‘The men remain in residence in their band [Clan] territory, where their new wives join them. Daughters - - - go to live in the territories of their new husbands’; ‘(This) is characteristic of all Australian groups, and is found in most other generalized hunters’. \( \text{\textcopyright} \) J.B. Birdsell, 1972, ‘The Structure of Simple Human Populations’, Chapter 9 pp.337-66 in ‘Human Evolution - An Introduction to the New Physical Anthropology’, Rand McNally, Chicago, p.350.

\(^ {48} \) Collins referred to the Hawkesbury River father with one of his terms for ‘woods’ native, using ‘*Bè-dia-gal*’ as an alternative to the term *boorooberringal* which had been used there in 1791 to describe ‘hunters and woodsmen’ (Chapter 1). In his Appendix VI on Customs and Manners Collins lists ‘wood tribes, Be-dia-gal, Tu-ga-gal, and Boo-roo-bir-rong-gal’ who did not access oyster shells for spears. The father would have been a *Darkiŋung*-language man at the Hawkesbury. The mother, apparently from the ‘Wollombi tribe’ of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, as a *Darkiŋ ug* speaker had an affinity with the *Katt ung* language speakers as discussed in Chapter 9/NE. J.L. Smith contrarily proposed that the *Darkiŋung* term ‘Dee-rab-bun’ for the Hawkesbury River was a separate *Gundungurra* term which he (continued...
How the term Darkiñung became the identifying name for the ‘inland’ language at this place (and its comparison with Dharug to its southeast) is the subject of Chapter 6. Once aware of the earliest recorded history as discussed in this chapter, it becomes a source of amazement why professional people in the present day would be telling the descendants of these Hawkesbury Aborigines that their ancestral people located there when the settlers arrived were the same as the people from Botany Bay / Port Jackson at the coast and their watershed rivers, principally Georges River and Parramatta River. The Hawkesbury River was the place of the Darkiñung-language Aborigines as recorded by Robert Mathews, while the Georges River was the place of the Dharug-speaking Aborigines recorded by John Rowley as established by Jim Kohen in 1984 (Chapter 7).

On the Spot Reporting

The conclusion for the circumstances of this chapter is best outlined by Governor Arthur Phillip, who when writing in 1791 to Sir Joseph Banks about growing ‘Norfolk Pine’ trees, reported on his experiences with the Aborigines:

It was a matter of great surprise to me when I first arrived in this Country, to find that the words used by the natives when you were here [in 1770], were not understood by the present inhabitants, but in my last little journey [in 1791], I found on the banks of the Hawkesbury, people who made use of several words we could not understand, & it soon appeared that they had a language different from that used by those natives we have hitherto been acquainted with. - - - - they called the penis Bud-da, which our natives call Ga-diay. Two of those natives who have lived amongst us for some time were with us, which was from them that we understood, our new friends had a language different from theirs, but which they appeared to have some knowledge of, had they known it well, I think they would have conversed in it, which they never attempted, but only explained to us, the two or three words we had taken notice of. I now think it very probable that several languages may be common on different parts of the Coast, or inland, & that some tribe may have driven away the people you found on this part of the Coast. Of the language of those natives who live amongst us, we know very little, but if we are not mistaken in what one of them told us the other day, there is a tribe to the southward, who eat the flesh of their of their enemies, but I repeat it, those who know more know very little of the language. 49

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49(continued)


49 [For Aborigines' false rumours of cannibalism which excited the white settlers, see reference to Robert Dawson in relation to surgeon Cunningham, Chapter 12/NW.] \ Arthur Phillip, 1791, letter to Joseph (continued...)
Arthur Phillip's summary was reinforced by David Collins. In August 1800, nearly seven years after the colonists had settled at the Hawkesbury, Collins was adamant that the coastal people were not the same as the Hawkesbury people of the interior: ‘The natives of the coast, whenever speaking of those in the interior, constantly expressed themselves with contempt and marks of disapprobation. Their language was unknown to each other, and there was not any doubt of their living in a state of mutual distrust and enmity.’

Chapter 5 Findings

At an April 1791 camp near the Hawkesbury River - before it was realised they were near the river - a land expedition led by Governor Phillip accosted a stranger about whom the only information came from the coastal Aborigines with the party. Junior officer Dawes could not have collected any words from the Aboriginal stranger as suggested by some writers, although he may have recorded the sounds of some coastal language words when repeated by other Aborigines at the Hawkesbury River the following month. A few days later when the expedition had returned to the river near the first camp, Phillip's party camped with local Aborigines Gomebeere and Yellomundy when the colony's diarist David Collins recorded some of their speech, with Governor Phillip concluding that their ‘inland’ language was different to the ‘coastal’ language of the Aborigines from Port Jackson / Botany Bay.

A published mathematical ‘Soundex’ analysis aligned this ‘inland’ speech more closely with that allied with the ‘coastal’ language. An interpretation of that analysis demonstrated that it is inadequate to stand alone, requiring a knowledge of ‘loan’ words and a more subjective historical approach.

49(...continued) Banks 3 December 1791, Sydney, extract from pages 9 to 11 of letter.
Aborigines at that early colonial period did not give identification names for their Language, their Country, or their People, yet when this speech of the Hawkesbury River Aborigines was examined by modern linguists it has been found to be *Darkiňung* (the language identified from Aborigines at the same place). This was the speech of *Yellomundy* [latterly renamed ‘Yarramundi’ - Chapter 4].
Chapter 6

Andrew Barber [on right], eldest son of John Luke (Johnny) Barber of Sackville Aboriginal Reserve (with a visitor at the neighbouring farm)

Notes:
The late Andy (Andrew) Barber, elder brother of Harry (Henry) who ‘retired’ to La Perouse with his wife Annie, was the last Darkiŋung Aborigine to live on the Sackville Reserve as a lone widower. Andy did not move from the Hawkesbury. His final dwelling was in the reserve where the 1952 obelisk was placed as a memorial to the Aborigines. (The main community was further upstream closer to Hall’s ‘Liburndale’.) Andy informed Robert Mathews about activities of Hiram, who may have been the last known fullblood Darkiŋung man born at Sackville. This photograph was taken on the farm adjacent to Andy’s place (then Mitchell’s farm, previously an Everingham property). The photo includes a visitor who frequently came to the Mitchells’ place to hunt rabbits. He was police sergeant Cecil Joseph Chuck known as ‘The Bogeyman’ from working undercover in East Sydney - whose biography was written by Vince Kelly: 2 vols, 1956, 1963. [It was members of Wilberforce police who had responsibility for the reserve on behalf of the APB.] The location and visitor were identified by Dennis Mitchell who was reared on the property. My copy of photograph is from the collection of Jack Brook, obtained from Mrs Sarah Younger (née Kemp), who at the time was a tenant on another Mitchell farm downstream. Jack used a companion photo in his book about the Sackville Aborigines Reserve, ‘Shut Out From The World’ (1994 1st edn p.46, 1999 2nd edn p.53).
PART II (2)

Chapter 6

Sharing Speech with Native-born Settlers:
Identification of the Darkiñung Language
with The Place of the Dharug [The Dhar-rook] Language

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As explained by Alan Rumsey for latter day native Aborigines, People were recognised by the Country from which they came, and that Country was identified by the Language spoken there. Thus:

Language and Country are directly linked, and that mediated link is between Language and People: Darkiñung People are not Darkiñung because they speak Darkiñung but because they are linked to country to which the Darkiñung language was linked.¹

The Issue

This chapter is the heart of the thesis, in which I look at the history of how the speech of the Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the northwest of Sydney became identified as the Darkiñung [various spellings], which has been accepted as a ‘Tribal’ name to recognise the People of that Country. This Hawkesbury River language is compared with the Aborigines to the southwest of Sydney whose language was - rightly or wrongly - identified as Dhar-rook [various spellings], for whom the Darkiñung Aborigines have been mistaken (Chapter 7). This latter group now called ‘Dharug’ (mistakenly alias ‘Darug’) were those who had lost their ‘Tribal’ identity as the early settlers colonised their country, moving across the landscape like voracious amoebae absorbing anything in their way until frustrated by the rugged Hawkesbury Sandstone geology of the Blue Mountains. These Aboriginal people on the Cumberland Plain had had their language noted as Gur-gur by a neighbour, but it had not been recorded as such (Chapter 10/SE), and may have been used as a derogatory expression by the neighbouring group who felt superior. (Their neighbours also called them Dhar-roock / Dhar-ruck, like their word for hen, the apparent origin of present day ‘Dharug’ as shown below.) By way of comparison, those neighbours beyond the Dharug who were the Burra’gorang Tribal people of the Wollondilly River, had their language identified as Gundungurra [various spellings].²


² The halfcaste Billy Russell was supposedly illiterate (despite local missions and schools). His Language terms were reported by Bennett as ‘Gur-gur’ and ‘Gun-dun-gorra’, p.20, although for the ‘tribe’ Bennett wrote ‘Gun-dung-gorra’ p.9. \ Billy Russell (Werriberrie), as transcribed from notes by Alfred Leonard Bennett, 1914, ‘My Recollections by William Russell’, printed at the Camden News Office, Camden, another edition with additional material published 1991, Oaks Historical Society at the Wollondilly (continued...)
In order to examine the veracity of the historical records, this chapter concentrates on the credibility of the principal historical source, Robert Hamilton Mathews, and examines some of his detractors. The historiography analyses history of the South Creek Aboriginal people ['Dharug'] to the west of Sydney, located in part of the Hawkesbury colonial administration area, because they had become confused with the Hawkesbury River and ranges people ['Darkinjung'].

Jim Kohen of the Blacktown and District Historical Society reported that the Dharug language from Blacktown did not extend to the east past Toongabbie (which is west of Parramatta), yet he reported that the language to the east of Parramatta was Dharug. Kohen recognised in 1984 that the language of the Georges River was Dharug but later he proposed that the same language was ‘Darug’ at the Colo River in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. That’s one very confused argument, and I attempt here to assist in understanding these misrepresentations.

2(...continued)
Heritage Centre, The Oaks.

3 In 1983 Kohen published, with a map, that ‘the Kuringgai, Dharawal and Dharug adjoined the territory of the Darkinjung around the Colo and Macdonald Rivers.’ (Instead, the first two were on the coast. Although geographically inept, it has to be assumed that he meant his target audience of Blacktown residents and associated Aboriginal-descendants to take this seriously.) According to him in 1980, the ‘Daruk’ tribe occupied from the west to Toongabbie, but by 1984 the language used at Port Jackson was Dharug, as well as the language of Georges River being identified as Dharug. By the time of submitting exhibits to the Federal Court ca.2002 Kohen had moved his ‘Darug’ to the Colo River in a flagrant misunderstanding of Mathews, while in his 1993 book the Colo River (north of Wilberforce) had been Darkinjung country. When the Tribal Link was formed with descendants of Maria Lock and Sarah Castle (as follows), Kohen's new term ‘Darug’ had been manufactured, separating it from Tindale's term ‘Daruk’ to distinguish them from the Local Aboriginal Land Council [without local ancestors*] who had been using Tindale's term. Later on when they incorporated, James Kohen became their responsible Public Officer, registered 28 June 1996. (An annual gathering has been held from 1990, the first of the Darug Tribal Link at Nurragingy reserve, and later the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation has met at Muru Mittigar.) \Jim Kohen, 1980a, ‘Prehistoric Aboriginal Occupation of the Blacktown Area’, Journal of the Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1 (1), reprinted in Learmouth, 2001, ‘The First Five Years’, Blacktown City Council for Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown, pp.2-3; Jim Kohen, 1983, ‘The Aborigines of Western Sydney’, Blacktown and District Historical Society; Jim Kohen, 1984b (1st edn), ‘A Dictionary of the Dharug Language - The Inland Dialect’, Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown, 1990 2nd edn; Jim Kohen, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney); Jim Kohen, 2006, ‘Daruganora: Darug Country - The Place and the People’, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), Blacktown.

[*Under ‘white-man’s’ law in the state of New South Wales, Aboriginal people have land rights at the location where they reside, as well as retaining traditional land rights at the location of their ancestors if it is somewhere else.]

4 Throughout this thesis I am using the term Dharug as standardised for AIATSIS other than when citing historical spellings. As discussed later, ‘Dh’ represents the Aboriginal sound closest to ‘Th’ used in English ‘this’ or ‘that’, just as for the overlapping Aboriginal group, Dharawal. In 1940 N.B. Tindale published his new word, ‘Daruk’ fabricated with a different sound, followed fifty years later by J.L. Kohen’s invention ‘Darug’ for the people who had sought advice from Blacktown and District Historical Society (Chapter 7). Neither change can correctly represent the Aboriginal people because it is like calling a thicket a ticket, saying a thug is the same as a tug, etc. [I acknowledge that I have been (continued...)
resolving that confusion by examining the historiography to determine if the Hawkesbury River area had been *Dharug* [Kohen's 'Darug'] rather than the *Darkiïŋung* of this thesis. The credibility of Robert Mathews who recorded the language terms in the 1890s is dealt with in this chapter with Kohen's misrepresentation of Mathew's work a hundred years later examined further in Chapter 7.

**Identifying Aboriginal Languages**

Some Aboriginal identifications of languages were recorded by Rev. William Ridley when he wrote back to London from his home in Balmain on returning from his first missionary tour in 1853. Ridley reported he had identified five language groups in northwest New South Wales, including ‘Kamil’aro’i and ‘Wira’there’ [Wira’djuri], two groups which are considered in Chapter 12/NW for their impact on the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Later, in a second edition, 1875 expansion, of his book he introduced a language he referred to as ‘Turuwul: The Language spoken by the now extinct Tribe of Port Jackson’ which included Botany Bay, immediately followed by that language spoken up the Georges River from Botany Bay (discussed here as *Dharug*), thereby seemingly contradicting himself.

Ridley was already too late, since for what he called the *Turuwul* he was reflecting Aboriginal people along the coast who had been drawn in to the Sydney settlement from the Illawarra as referred to for *Timbery’s Family* (Chapter 10/SE). This was part of the word collection by Andrew Mackenzie supplementing a former report he had made in 1871. As well as that Georges River language, Mackenzie

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4(...)continued

advised by established linguists, who preferred not to be named while still in academia.] In his own writing, Brook chose to retain *Dharug*, while using ‘Darug’ in the context of Kohen's re-naming of the people. However, mesmerised in the beams of Kohen's spotlight, when writing spoken history collected at Katoomba from some whose families had moved to The Gully at Katoomba, Blue Mountains authors Thomas and Johnson provided sanctuary for Kohen's contrived new word. This is normal human behaviour for the printed word: In the 1990s a group with which I was working adopted a new acronym after it had been used in newsletters, within only three years saying they’d *always* used it. \ Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’; Jack Brook, 1994 (1st edn), ‘Shut Out From The World - The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Self published, Seven Hills (Sydney); Martin Edward Thomas, 2003a, ‘The Artificial Horizon - Imagining the Blue Mountains’, Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Melbourne); Dianne Dorothy Johnson, 2007, ‘Sacred Waters - The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners’, Halstead Press, Broadway (Sydney).

5 Compared to Rumsey's statement cited above, these two widespread Language names are anomalies in the sense that they each are a family of local languages identified by a word for ‘no’ plus a suffix, thus covering multiple tribal territories - which are based on the catchment basin of the Murrumbidgee and Darling River tributaries of the Murray River. \ William Ridley, 1856, ‘Kamilaroi Tribe of the Australians and Their Dialect, in a Letter to Dr Hodgkin [Nov.3, 1853]’, Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, 4: 285-93.


(continued...)
collected two languages, of which the first, given as The Language of Sydney, he called ‘Turawal’ [i.e. Dharawal aka Thurrrawal] publishing it as ‘The language formerly spoken from Port Jackson to Wollongong’. The second, given as The Language of Illawarra, he called ‘Wodiwodi’, publishing it as ‘spoken from Wollongong to the Shoalhaven River’. The source was two halfcaste Aborigines, John Malone and his wife Lizzie, whose mothers, respectively, came from those areas. Languages around Sydney were already fused, their identifications confused. Further studies presented Dharawal to have been the coastal Illawarra language, and Wodi Wodi a coastal language further south.\(^7\) The accuracy of the latter does not impinge on this thesis, although the former is implicated in understanding the Dharug in order to separate it from the Darkiñung (Chapter 10/SE). I cite this to illustrate that even these 1870s records were too late to link, as noted by Rumsey above, Language to Country because of dis-location and re-location of Aborigines around greater Sydney after settlement. Intermarriages between language groups had a subtle effect which was seen here with this Sydney talk and also seen with Blacktown talk later in this chapter.

From Andrew Mackenzie's philological endeavours the historiography takes us to Robert Mathews as below, the most important expert in ethnology to have included Aboriginal languages amongst his field research encounters.

**Billy Russell's Identification of Aboriginal Languages**

Arguably the most useful application of the original term for Dharug was by Aborigine Billy Russell born ca.1830 who was reared as a Burra’gorang member of the Gundungurra-language people and also knew the Camden area well (Chapter 11/SW). In his ‘Recollections’ produced by Alfred Bennett, it was written that the coast tribe against whom the ‘Gun-dun-gorra’ fought were the ‘Dharruck’ [Bennett’s spelling], which

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\(^6\)(...continued)


\(^7\) Refer, e.g. Diana Kelloway Eades, 1976, ‘The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast’, Australian Aboriginal Studies, Research and Regional Studies No.8, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
from Russell's location places the *Dharug* in the coastal catchment along to Bate Bay (Port Hacking).\(^8\)

The adjacent Bate Bay is a common topographical unit with Botany Bay.

However, it is not part of this thesis to come to a conclusion as to whether the coastal people east of Parramatta at Port Jackson / Botany Bay - Bate Bay had spoken a form of *Dharug*, because some of their coastal language was different to that inland, e.g. ‘*pata-gorang*’ / ‘*padygarang*’ for grey kangaroo on the coast versus *buri* / ‘*bura*’ [various spellings] in the Georges River *Dharug* language.\(^9\)

It may be that *bura* had been a ‘borrowed’ word adopted from their close neighbours of the Wollondilly River catchment, the ‘*Bura-gorang*’ or ‘*Bura-bura*’ people. The relationship of these groups with the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges is discussed in Chapters 10/SE (*Dharug*) and 11/SW (*Gundungurra*). The term *Dharruck* [various spellings] in Billy's *Gundungurra* Language was associated with ‘female’, in the sense of a hen bird or doe animal, so it may be taken as an indication of a friendly derision with which the *Burragorang* people held their neighbours towards the coast who spoke what Billy called the *Gur-gur* Language.\(^10\) The term had not been published by Bennett before Robert Mathews applied *Dharrook*/

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\(^8\) Alfred Bennett was from a Sydney Eastern Suburbs family (Chapter 11/SW) who was living on a farm near the border between traditional *Gundungurra* and *Dharug* lands at the time of talking with Russell. There may be some confusion in his notes as to what he thought Russell was telling him - such as with regard to ‘fights’. Aboriginal sub-tribes (locality Clans) did have sporting fights against each other (Chapter 1), but having been under a missionary influence at Burragorang Valley Russell seemed keen to deny that, giving *Gundungurra* neighbours for their prearranged battles instead. In the proposed study of Bennett's notes from Russell's recollections which he is to make, J.L. Smith may find further data on what Bennett thought Russell meant about *Dharruck* people and their language *Gur-gur*, as discussed Chapter 10/SE. Until then it has become conventional to accept *Dharug* [from *Dharruck* / *Dharrook* etc.] given in this chapter as the term both for the People and for their Language. \(\&\) Alfred Leonard Bennett, 1914, ‘My Recollections by William Russell’, [transcribed from notes, as related by Russell], printed at the Camden News Office, Camden. Another edition with additional material by J.L. Smith published 1991, Oaks Historical Society at the Wollondilly Heritage Centre, The Oaks, p.21. J.L. Smith commented 2006 that Bennett wrote from ca.1908-1914 unpublished notes in a private collection from which he (Smith) has a pending publication (with J.M. Steele).


\(^10\) Billy Russell may have provided a sporting-type nickname to Mathews and to Bennett for *Gundungurra* rivals. Were the cheeky *Gundungurra* calling competitors ‘sooks’ in psychological parlance by saying *Dhoorook* / *Dharruck*? Even in the present day combatant teams are called terms such as Eagles and Magpies, or Roosters and Crows (or Rabbits!). Russell was known to travel to play cricket (Chapter 11/SW).
Historical records do give the mountain Gundungurra as a fiercer fighting group than the plains Dharug (Chapter 10/SE). Further, the same association by Gundungurra people for the term pronounced ‘Dhoorook’ (for Dharug people) reappeared at Katoomba, as given later in this chapter.  

From his studies Martin Thomas pointed out that by Mathews submitting a book manuscript to publisher Macmillan in London, the same company which published books by Spencer (as follows), Spencer effectively was able to exercise a power of veto over Mathews while Macmillan published a book by a Spencer crony Alfred Howitt. While these ex-patriot British colonisers and their acolytes throttled Mathews's voice until the 1930s when American Joseph Benjamin Birdsell broke their grip (Chapter 7, re Birdsell partnership with Norman Barnett Tindale), the spoilers were ignored in continental Europe, where the influential P.W. (Wilhelm) Schmidt in Vienna comprehensively included Robert Mathews with a large part to play in his 1912-18 Australian Aboriginal languages study. Birdsell (with Tindale as his ‘Dr Watson’) took over the field previously occupied by Spencer (with Gillen), but without Spencer's bias against independent native-born Australian authors. Birdsell was more anthropogenic than Spencer in considering human evolution. He studied race formation in man and evolutionary patterns in Aboriginal Australia. Spencer and his imperialist cronies were appalled at the thought that the self-contained native colonial-born Mathews, from his adopting Aboriginal ways, may learn something of value which they had not discovered with their more formal class-consciousness interrogations. Or in the appalling Spencer's case (as follows), perhaps species-consciousness. They chattered by mail to each other and to James Frazer that Mathews had to be wrong if he knew something about Aboriginal culture which they didn’t.* No doubt Mathews's education by an Irish father who was a better classicist than they would fuel their ire. If they had discovered that he also had investigated Celtic language when he travelled overseas there would have been no end to their disdain. Separately, the Scotsman John Fraser (discussed in Chapter 9/NE), a private school teacher in Maitland, retired to Randwick (Sydney), tried to ingratiate himself with Howitt and Spencer (example in Chapter 12/NW). Further impact by Spencer et alia on Mathews's credibility is footnoted in Chapter 12/NW with regard to the kinship classes and Northcote Thomas. \ P.W. (Wilhelm) Schmidt, 1919, ‘Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen - Geographische, Bibliographische, Linguistische Grundzüge der Erforschung der Australischen Sprachen’, Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei, Wien: This book is a reprint compiled from the parts published 1912 (vol.7) -1918 (vol.13) in Anthropos, Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachenkunde. I used the original texts in German at the Fisher Library, although according to R.M.W. Dixon the AIATSIS had Schmidt's work translated into English. Bob Dixon, 1984, ‘Searching for Aboriginal Languages’, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia (Brisbane), p.13.  

* Macmillan was publisher for James George Frazer. Frazer wrote much - much which is useful to someone studying a history or a mythology of ethnology. In his obituary of Frazer, A.P. Elkin pointed out that Sir James ‘revised the proofs’ for Spencer's two books on tribes of Central Australia with Francis Gillen. The subheading in my abridged version of Frazer's ‘The Golden Bough’ says it all: ‘A study in magic and religion’. And that is the section of my library where I pile copies from various series of his interesting books (near shelves holding Elminster of ‘Forgotten Realms’, Gandalf of ‘Middle Earth’, Merlin and other mages). \ A.P. Elkin, 1941, ‘Obituary - Sir James George Frazer’, Oceania, 11 (4): 402.

Native-born Robert Mathews and the English Migrants

I have found that Robert (R.H.) Mathews has had no parallels in his successful endeavours, and his lack of the definitive book publication by which he would have been better known has been adequately explained by the jealous hatred of a self important influential Englishman. Mathews's nemesis was the immature Walter Baldwin Spencer, born 1860, who had come out to the colony to be inaugural professor

\[Dharruk\] to identify the language associated with three women at Camden as follows.\[11\]
of biology at Melbourne University in 1887.\textsuperscript{13} He felt so insecure and threatened that he pejorated Mathews to other authors. As an evolutionary biologist of the new Darwinian discipline, Spencer treated Aborigines as if his zoological subjects and could not have been further apart from Mathews. Spencer appears to have corrupted the affable postmaster at Alice Springs, Francis James Gillen (amongst others), from whose encounters with Aborigines he developed a reputation. In distinct contrast to Mathews, Spencer created a bias against Aborigines by presenting to his audience an extreme discriminatory attitude, even for those times: ‘they are eminently crude and savage - - - naked howling savages, who have no permanent abodes, no clothing, no knowledge of any implements save those fashioned out of wood bone or stone, - - - and no words for any numbers beyond three or four.’\textsuperscript{14,15}

Two authors while in the Blue Mountains have taken up Mathews’s case, a personal interest of each having been stimulated by Mathews’s description of the Blue Mountains Aboriginal legend about


\textsuperscript{14} That is not the way Darwin himself had depicted them. Darwin travelled across the country of the Darkiñung (mentioned glancingly in Chapter 11/SW, although his visit is not a topic for this thesis) but he did not hold the views that Spencer attributed to his new science. Elkin 1959 chose the example, for Aborigines whom Darwin saw when he crossed the Blue Mountains, ‘they “were good-humoured and pleasant, and appeared far from being such utterly degraded beings as they have usually been represented”’. Spencer himself wrote that he had made contact with Gillen when he (Spencer) was a zoologist member of the 1894 Horn Expedition. E.C. Stirling was the anthropologist of the expedition, but that was of no consequence to Spencer’s humongous ego in dealing with Aborigines while he was dissecting other animal species. Although employed in the colony as a biologist, (according to Elkin 1958) Spencer had also studied anthropology at Oxford, with W.E. Roth - also envious of colonial-born expertise. \textsuperscript{\textcopyright} Walter Baldwin Spencer & Francis James Gillen, 1899, ‘The Native Tribes of Central Australia’, Macmillan and Co., London, I have a print on demand facsimile, 2005, Elibron Classics, Adamant Media Corporation, USA; Walter Baldwin Spencer & Francis James Gillen, 1904, ‘The Northern Tribes of Central Australia’ Macmillan and Co., London, I have a print on demand facsimile [new printing], Elibron Classics, Adamant Media Corporation, USA; Walter Baldwin Spencer & Francis James Gillen, 1912, ‘Across Australia’ in two volumes, Macmillan and Co., London, quote p.6; A.P. Elkin, 1958, ‘Anthropology in Australia: One Chapter’, Mankind, 5 (6): 225-42, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, 25 March 1958, p.227; A.P. Elkin, 1959, ‘A Darwin Centenary and Highlights of Field-Work in Australia’, Mankind, 5 (8): 321-33, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, 7 April 1959, Darwin quote p.325.

\textsuperscript{15} Spencer was later to become more tolerant, at least of ‘halfcastes’ as servants. The very first thing he did when arriving at Darwin on 15 January 1912 was to give a halfcaste boy whom he already knew his bag to carry to the hotel. Spencer was on leave from Melbourne University, ironically to become the Commonwealth’s first ‘Chief Protector of Aboriginals’ when the Northern Territory of South Australia was transferred in 1911 to the Commonwealth Government. \textsuperscript{\textcopyright} David M. Welch (ed.), 2008, ‘Kakadu People, by Sir Baldwin Spencer, K.C.M.G., F.R.S.’, ‘Spencer’s 1912 Diary Notes and Photographs of Aboriginal Life in the Kakadu Region, Northern Territory of Australia’, Australian Aboriginal Culture Series, published by the compiler (editor), Virginia (Darwin), pp.9-11.


As background, I have followed Thomas's radio production broadcasts with delight - and when recalling the enthralling ‘In to the Music’ at Notre Dame in Paris it is as if I was back there again. \Martin Edward Thomas, 1999, ‘Homage to Catalina’, program broadcast in Radio National ‘Hindsight’ 18 April 1999, Australian Broadcasting Corporation. [Program includes Aboriginal people from The Gully, Katoomba.] Rebroadcast 19 May 2002.

which Spencer went, in order to be regarded as the ultimate expert about Aborigines, are found in their articles. Although his father gave him a classical education, Robert Mathews had no background of a posh British school, which would influence Spencer's acolytes, including John Fraser who had been a teacher at a private school in Maitland when Mathews was nearby at Singleton (Chapter 9/NE). The narrative of this thesis is influenced by the fierce independence of the Irish Hume and also Mathews Families' sons not to subordinate themselves to the English (or Scottish) educated men dominating the colony. 20

Robert Mathews (‘R.H. Mathews’) Robert Hamilton Mathews, born in New South Wales in 1841 - of Protestant Irish stock, had been reared as a boy of the outdoors southwest of Sydney as had Hamilton Hume before him, at a time when there were still Aboriginal people present in the countryside. 21 In contrasting himself with Spencer and his ilk, Mathews wrote: ‘I was born in the Australian bush and black children were among my earliest playmates.’ 22 For the most formative early years of his life he was playing with Aboriginal boys wherever the family lived starting with a home at Elderslie near Narellan. 23 Narellan Creek, which flows into the

19(...continued)


20 Robert Mathews was a youngster at The Cowpastures. The influence of Hamilton Hume who was a youth nearby at Appin is taken up in Chapter 10/SE. Both fathers were Protestants from Ireland.


22 Just as the native-born Hume sons are known to have grown up with the local Aborigines, the native-born Robert may have been dependent on them for local knowledge too. In the situations both at Appin and at Narellan, they were the people for whom Mathews was to ascribe the name Dharruk (Dharug). \ Robert Hamilton Mathews, 1905, ‘Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria’, self published, F.W. White Printer, Sydney, quote p.1. This book is a republication of the article of the same title, 1904, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 38: 203-381. I have a print on demand facsimile of the book, 2005, Elibron Classics, Adamant Media Corporation, USA.

23 Robert Mathews's life is like the blood pumping through the heart of this thesis. Although I have not researched his Family History, a family situation at the beginning of a person's life influences later attitudes. After his parents migrated from Northern Ireland, Robert was not the only child born here. It appears from the children's baptisms that father William may have started in the colony as a tenant (or share) farmer on other people's farms around The Cowpastures. Prior to 1856, there were no registrations of births, records depending on baptismal entries in church legers. There are six entries for parents William x Jane ‘Mathews’ in the records (continued...)
Nepean River immediately below Camden, has its origins on the south side of Curran's Hill, barely separated from the origins of South Creek on the north side, so this location at The Cowpastures is in what is now known to have been traditional country of the *Dharug* who took the brunt of settlement. However, well before the Mathews family arrived, it appears likely that the *Gundungurra* people coming from the adjacent mountains may have already become the predominant Aboriginal people there.\(^{24}\)

It is incredibly ironic that when he came back after forty years to record the Aboriginal heritage of his infancy, all that Robert Mathews found left of their culture from his earliest boyhood was related to three old women: ‘At Camden Park - Peggy, eldest, Nelly & Janey - two of these three are blind’.\(^{25,26}\)

\(^{23}\) (continued)

for St Peter’s (Campbelltown), with place of ‘Abode’ (and father's ‘Quality or Profession’ [sic]): Sarah b.02 Mar 1840, bap.30 May 1840, Elderslie (Farmer); Robert b.21 Apr 1841, bap.07 Aug 1841, Elderslie (Labourer); George b.01 Apr 1842, bap.27 Mar 1843, near Campbelltown (Farmer); Isabella b.30 Apr 1844, bap.29 May 1844, Campbell Town (Farmer); Annie [birth date not entered] bap.05 Nov 1847, Menangle (Farmer); Jane b.19 Oct 1848, bap.20 Oct 1848, Menangle (Tenant [Farmer]). Babes Sarah and Robert were baptised by the same church minister, Rev. Robert Forrest. However, care must be taken in case there was more than one William ‘Matthews’ with a family. As well as free settler(s), there were fourteen convicts of the same name, and one of them could have been in the same district, although I found no record of any of them with a wife Jane in this period.

\(^{24}\) ‘The Place of the *Dharug*’ is considered in a section later this chapter and the *Gundungurra* incursion from the Wollondilly catchment whereby they crossed over the upper Nepean River to the *Dharug* Georges River catchment after settlement is discussed in Chapter 10/SE.

\(^{25}\) This entry is inserted at the top of a page which contains language entries later used by Mathews (1901b) for his ‘Dharruk Language’ publication discussed below. This page (p.32) is one of three (pp.31-3) attributed to ‘Mrs Wm Lock, nee “Sally” [sic] Annie Castle’, ‘Born at Liverpool in 1836’, perhaps indicating he had been told about these three who knew the language. No word suggesting an identification name for the language appears in the entries, despite Kohen’s claim as in following footnote. \(\backslash\) Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook book ‘7’, unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: ‘Darkinoong and Wiradjuri’, MS 8006/ Series 3/ Folder 7, p.32.

\(^{26}\) This actual entry about ‘Peggy, eldest, Nelly & Janey’ of whom two are blind is misappropriated and misquoted by Jim Kohen in the 2nd edn (2006) of his Genealogy, in relation to ‘Nanny (Annie) b.1816 Camden’ and her children by convict Richard Barrett arr.1830. Kohen’s link is tenuous, appearing to assume that the use of the name ‘Peggy’ for Aborigines could apply to only one person called Margaret at that time in history. In his genealogy he gives five children as: Susan Sophaline Barrett b.1831 Camden; Richard (Dickey) Barrett b.1839 Camden; Margaret (Peggy) Barrett b.1840 Camden; Mary Matilda Barrett b.1845 Camden; James Barrett b.1856 Camden. Kohen states for Nanny: \(\text{[begin quote]}\) ‘Listed at Liverpool in 1842 and 1843 with one male and two female children. - - - Her children are listed as Darug language informants by R.H. Mathews at Camden in his notebook \([\text{singular, sic}]\). Mathews comments that one is blind. \(\text{[end quote]}\) This is an incredible, inexplicable, irresponsible misrepresentation of Mathews’s actual entry as above, affecting descendants who trust Kohen’s publications. It is discussed below for ‘three old women’. Further, in his text on this topic it is written about Mathews: ‘In his notebooks \([\text{now plural, sic}\] which are held in the AIATSIS library - -’. Although I did look at material from AIATSIS, the collection which I accessed is held in the National Library as discussed following, with 36 notebooks and 3 diaries catalogued plus much more correspondence and working notes. Kohen’s remarkable lack of knowledge about Mathews’s collection suggests that he has never seen any of the material which I have been studying, showing how much he has been relying on transcripts provided by his students taken out of context. Even in his ‘2009 Revised Edition’ of the book ‘Daruganora’ (p.58), he incorrectly dates Mathews’s notebooks as 1900-1903, numbers them I-VIII and insists that they are in AIATSIS library. Instead of the Mathews’s material which I have studied for this thesis, this is a reference to the copies of the manuscript books for published articles held by Capell as footnoted later in this chapter under line (continued...)
could have been a residue of the cohorts with whom he had played before he was ten years old. Mathews did not locate any Dharug community among this residue as he did for the Darkinung of the northern Blue Mountains (Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges) as below, which may help explain why the Blacktown and District Historical Society claimed Mathew's remnant Darkinung community when society members were looking for a historical community to label as Dharug (Chapter 7). By the time Mathews came back, the Dharug area was re-populated both with Dharawal people who had come up through the mountains along the coast and with Gundungurra people who had survived European occupation better in ranges along the Wollondilly River and the adjacent southern Blue Mountains. However, there was cultural heritage available for Mathews's enquiries from the community in the Burragorang Valley of the Wollondilly River - especially from the Gundungurra people remaining there. As well, there were people who were part of the Aboriginal community collage at La Perouse on Botany Bay - particularly Dharawal people who had come from the Illawarra coast. By then, some of the Darkinung people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges were living at La Perouse too (and some in the Burragorang Valley).

It was as an adolescent that Mathews became comfortable with the Aboriginal People of the interior, who had not been displaced from their own Country, whose culture he learnt to appreciate. When his family followed the footsteps of Hamilton Hume in 1850, moving south to a property in the NSW southern highlands on the Breadalbane Plains, the young boy Robert Mathews continued to wander the landscape,

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26 (...continued) sub-heading ‘Accessing Mathews's Notebooks’: Kohen’s ‘1900-1903’ are the articles to which Eades refers with these ‘manuscript books’ in her book published by AIATSIS (then AIAS). By checking on AIATSIS Library catalogue, their holdings are noted as being ‘Holograph (photocopy)’, consistent with Capell’s working copies of drafts for language publications. [On the same catalogue, it is entered that in 2008 Peter F.J. Newton made a donation of Capell's papers to AIATSIS. Newton did postgraduate work at Macquarie University.] \ J.L. Kohen, 2006, ‘Daruganora: Darug Country - The Place and the People’, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), Blacktown, 2006 p.59, text pp.52-53: Diana Kelloway Eades, 1976, ‘The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast’, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, p.viii, p.8.

27 The possibility cannot be overlooked or dismissed that the three women at Camden, the location from where Mathews seems to have derived the term Dharug, were themselves of Gundungurra or mixed Aboriginal heritage. By this time, Jimmy Lownds [Lowndes], known as a Dharrook man born at Camden, had informed Mary Everitt that the Gundungurra and Dharrook could converse together without difficulty: Mathews & Everitt reported that Dhar'-rook language very closely resembled Gundungurra. Lowndes is discussed later this chapter. \ R.H. Mathews & Mary Everitt, 1900, ‘The Organisation, Language and Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of the South-east Coast of N S Wales’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 34: errata p.iii, and 262-81, p.265.

28 Mathews obtained information on ‘Thurrawal’ (as below) from ‘Mrs Timbery’ at La Perouse, as told by a witness whom he took with him, his third son William, who wrote a detailed account of his father's life. Emma Timbery had married into a Dharawal family, although she was of Dharug origin as mentioned later in this chapter in relation to her step-father Jimmy Lowndes who reared her. \ Frank Mathews, 1971, tape interview, audio archive, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), Canberra, cited by Thomas 2007 ‘“Birrarak is the name”’, pp.3-4 (+35).
in contact with local Aborigines again when he had time off work and study supervised by his father.\textsuperscript{29}

As an adolescent he came under the influence of surveyor John Mann, a friend of Aborigines as discussed in Chapter 9/NE. Professionally Mathews is known for his career as a paid government and commercial surveyor from 1870 and later as an honorary magistrate. But, until after his father died Mathews had a career as a stockman on the home property and droving in the interior, continuing in constant contact with Aborigines.\textsuperscript{30} Learning about country from them would be a great asset for his later profession as a surveyor. From his surveying and investments, Mathews became a wealthy business man able to nominally retire by fifty years of age. To knock the chip off his shoulder he had placed his sons in The King's School at Parramatta, thereby defying Spencer's cronies who ignored or derided him.

It is likely that Mathews's other honorary career, of recording Aboriginal culture, began in 1872 with the first language notes in one of his surveying field notebooks - fifteen years prior to the upstart Spencer even arriving in Australia. Mathews had already been collecting Aboriginal artefacts well before his marriage. Thus Thomas's 2004 comment that Mathews's ethnological conversion had its seed in early 1892 (at) Milbrodale cannot be correct.\textsuperscript{31} In a contrast with the superior attitude towards Aborigines

\textsuperscript{29} They would have been Wiradjuri-language people because the Mathews's family location was Mutbilly (aka Mutmutbilly), then the name for the upper Lachlan River. The present day Mutmuthilly Creek was then the Bohara Branch [also Mutmutbilli used on some maps]. Thomas's proposal that the Lachlan River Aborigines were 'possibly of Gundungurra descent' cannot be substantiated (Chapter 10/SW). The Gundungurra were people of the Wollondilly River catchment. Similarly, I cannot see how Thomas concluded that Robert Mathews's 'earliest playmates' were those on the Lachlan, at an age when he would have been working around the property - expected to help his father there. Rather, Robert Mathews's 'earliest playmates' were during his earliest childhood years with people at the upper Nepean - where he was later to identify the Aborigines as 'Dharruk'. It is to be wondered how 'earliest playmates' will appear in Thomas's new book in press. \textbackslash Thomas 2004b ' "Self-contained man" ', p.5.

\textsuperscript{30} I learnt a lot about Mathews's horse work while reading his diaries. I also had been a stockman, a horse rider working as a jackaroo in western NSW at the same age as Mathews set out from home. Perhaps this had been the initiation away from our parents for both of us - just as happened for Aboriginal men who no longer experienced their traditional ceremonies as discussed in this thesis. It was a time when I took a new personal name - as they did, overcoming the terror of hearing the bunyip bird in the dark when I was camped alone. Aboriginal stockmen taught me to read their country there - especially useful when I was sent into the sandhills a day's ride from a faraway outstation when employed in the outback. When Mathews went to the interior ca.1860 there were both remnant tribal Aborigines and Aboriginal stockmen (perhaps halfcaste). My image of Mathews the horseman is the image with which I accompany him for my thesis. It contrasts markedly with the final image [to which I might aspire now], given by his grandson 'Frank' (to Luise Hercus, a friend of Frank's wife Janet): 'an elderly man sleeping in a comfortable armchair with a handkerchief over his face rising and falling with each breath' (Hercus pers. comm.). Even in a later time in western New South Wales and northern South Australia / Central Australia, a hundred years after Robert Mathews, I found a reliance on Aboriginal stockmen. For cattle work I was with them overnight, working in the stock camps. Out west as a stockman, Robert Mathews had met their ancestors from whom he learnt tribal languages and lore.

\textsuperscript{31} Discussing Mathews's professional life, Thomas wrote again in the same vein (2006) that ‘The familiar pattern of Mathews' life was broken in 1892’ at this Milbrodale ‘site in the territory of the Wonnaruha people’. ‘Milbrodale’ was the adjacent property purchased 1834 by a parson on the Wollombi, Rev. (continued...)
Richard Hill b.1782 [and Chapter 4, in contrast politician b.1810, Chapter 10/SE] (Mathews 1893 Pl.XVIII). Mathews already knew Aborigines from there whom he recognised as Darkiňung before he’d left Singleton in 1889. [Mathews located the Wannerawa - Thomas's ‘Wonnaruha’ - on the coast, Chapter 9/NE.] A long time before 1892 Mathews had been responsible for official land surveys in Counties Northumberland and Hunter, as district surveyor at Singleton, so was already well acquainted with the property holders in the Broke / Bulga area where Milbrodale is and I have followed visits there in his diaries, imagining riding with him - on my shadow horse. He surveyed from Bulga through the ranges south to the Macdonald River [Howes Valley] area. The old Bulga road (which I have explored) passes near this Milbrodale cave. Robert Mathews was a good friend with William McAlpin, one of the first settlers to come north along the Bulga road (Chapter 3), who told him about the figures in this cave (1893 p.356, p.358). The cave is illustrated at the start of Chapter 9. ●When he was courting, Mathews had been keeping Mary Sylvester Bartlett of Wallah (near Tamworth) up to date with his ethnological activities more than twenty years earlier. Thomas's 1892 reference is to a later time when their 19yo son Hamilton, trainee surveyor to his father, remembered being impressed when shown the Milbrodale cave art work which became the subject of his father's first publication on the topic as follows. Mathews wrote (1893 p.353) that about April 1892 ‘my attention was drawn to the existence of some caves - - - containing aboriginal drawings.’ Later, son Hamilton shared his memories with younger brother William who was compiling a family history which became Thomas's source. Probably apprentice Hamilton had to continue with survey work while his father sketched the art work. Perhaps the original rough drawing was Hamilton's sketch, because his father went back and did it again - separate sketches were published (1893, 1896) as below. Janet Mathews wrote (publ.1994, p.159) reporting the family history that Robert had recorded information from Aborigines in western NSW prior to his marriage in 1872. Peter Elkin personally knew son Hamilton who gave his father's ms material for Sydney University, as footnoted later this chapter. He (Elkin) wrote (1959, p.327) that Mathews spent forty years, i.e. from 1870s, on his ethnology. ●A relationship of the Milbrodale art with the Aboriginal deity Baiame has arisen in modern times because Mathews thought that the figure on the wall ‘seems to represent a man lying on the ground - - - at the ceremonies of the bora’ (1893 p.355), despite his statement he had not ‘speculated on the - - - meanings’ (p.358). He was already familiar (ref. cited in 1894 article) with the report of such a ground figure as close as the upper Hunter Valley - from a visit to a Mr McDonald at the Pages River near present day Gundy. [There was such a large clan of McDonalds settled throughout the upper Hunter Valley that I cannot determine which one to locate the site.] (The Kamlaroi, for whom Baiame was their principal deity, had occupied the upper Hunter before settlement - possibly displacing ancient Darkiňung as discussed Chapter 12/NW.) If there had been a bora ground near the Milbrodale cave, as Mathews knew it (1894, p.104), then he would have noted the earth circle and the trees with various patterns carved on them. The trees - which he did remark on (1893, p.355) - had no carvings. It was not a bora location. ●Although William Ridley included the visit to McDonald in his 1875 2nd edn book (long after his travels as dealt with in 1866 1st edn of his book), the same report about McDonald by Andrew Mackenzie had been submitted to the colonial government. It had been the NSW government practice to send Mackenzie's reports to Ridley before later forwarding them to London, where two of them were subsequently published in the Anthropological Journal. (Mackenzie dated his first report at 1871. When published 1874 it included Ridley correspondence. The NSW government published Ridley's second book before Mackenzie's second report was sent to London. Ridley repeated reports from others within the compilation of his books without acknowledging who had written the reports.) References in Bibliography:

Mackenzie 1874, 1877/8 [McDonald pp.255], Ridley 1873, 1875 [McDonald p.156]). It is in these latter publications that we first find John Rowley's Aboriginal language of Georges River (mentioned for Part II previously), later identified [by J.L. Kohen] to be Dharug as named by Mathews. While much about William Ridley is in the public domain, the contributions by Andrew Mackenzie have yet to be celebrated. He appears to have come from Scotland as a teenager, being the eldest son of Lieutenant Colonel John Kenneth Mackenzie and Charlotte (née Solomon) who are known as 1834 Monaro Pioneers. Andrew died on the South Coast in 1878, 60yo. \ Robert Hamilton Mathews, 1871, ‘Letter about his personal news to Mary Bartlett 10 December 1871’, cited by Elkin 1975,76 ‘R.H. Mathews’ p.129; Robert Hamilton Mathews, 1872, ‘Letter about his personal news to Mary Bartlett 17 March 1872’, cited by Thomas 2007 ‘ “Birrarak is the name” ’, p.3 (p.35); Thomas 2004b ‘ “Self-contained Man” ’ p.15; Thomas 2006 ‘A Very Human Survey’ p.22; K.J. Cable, 1966, ‘Hill, Richard (1782-1836)’, Australian (continued...)
exhibited by conceited British-educated men, I am most impressed by the etiquette of Robert Mathew's behaviour reported to Peter Elkin by Walter Enright: ‘that when he got near a camp, he usually lit a small fire and sat at it until invited to join the group.’ Enright also noted that at the Karuah River north of Newcastle Mathews was received as one of the initiated, and a grandson’s wife Janet referred to an initiation on the coast south of Sydney. 

32 Alfred Howitt noted similar behaviour for an Aboriginal messenger at Coopers Creek, but in the same section of his book wrote that ‘to be on friendly terms’ his approach was more forceful: to go into their camp where he ‘cautioned them against in any way molesting us’. Howitt, born 1830, arrived in Victoria among the gold rushes in 1852, but although he came to say he identified with the Australian bush, never recovered from his English literary upbringing. After his gold-digging days and other explorations he entered history on the infamy of Burke, from a particular expeditionary trip by Howitt arriving at Coopers Creek 12 September 1861, from which Howitt sought fame. And yes, I’ve been there around this Innamincka area often and been at the historic site - in my old 4WD vehicle, when conditions were somewhat different - but then, it was over a hundred years later. As the ultimate reward for John King’s survival (although he was starving on their healthy diet), Alfred Howitt gave each of the Aborigines there ‘a pound of sugar wrapped in a Union Jack pocket handkerchief.’ Howitt yearned to be among the British elite of the time to be able to assume the accolade ‘Dr’ (some of which Elkin was to find difficult to verify) - which Spencer was to ask to be bestowed on his older acolyte by far away Oxford University (rather than Melbourne, where he could be judged). While in Victoria, to ingratiate himself with Englishman Walter Spencer, Howitt made an issue of not recognising native-born Australian Robert Mathews. However, Howitt's published paper production was meagre compared with Mathew's massive output. Although Howitt, who had settled in Gippsland Victoria, reputedly had been accepted as an initiated man on the New South Wales South Coast, when Janet Mathews (wife of grandson ‘Frank’) recorded Aboriginal songs from the South Coast Dharawal people in the 1960s she was ‘assured that only two non-Aboriginal men had “been through the rules” on the South Coast’, identified as R.H. Mathews and Cullender (a German). In his analysis Mulvaney demonstrated that Howitt had manufactured a sacred turndun bull-roarer to fake his claim. Alfred William Howitt, 1904, ‘The Native Tribes of South-east Australia’, Macmillan and Co., London, Facsimile 1996, Aboriginal Studies Press, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, pp.683-84; Mary Howitt Walker, 1971, ‘Come Wind, Come Weather - a Biography of Alfred Howitt’, Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Melbourne); William Joy, 1964, ‘The Explorers’, Shakespeare Head Press, Sydney, re Robert O’Hara Burke’s ‘Race to the north’, quote p.89; Janet Mathews, 1994, ‘The Opal That Turned into Fire’, Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, Broome, Foreword pp.vii-viii; D.J. Mulvaney, 1970, ‘The Anthropologist as Tribal Elder’ [A.W. Howitt, (1830-1908)], Mankind, 7 (3): 205-07.

Mathews and Cultural heritage of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges

Robert Mathews presented it to be a privilege to have contact with Aboriginal people, as he put it for an North American audience: ‘Among the Darkinung tribe of aborigines, who occupied the country from the Hunter river to the Hawkesbury, I had the good fortune to meet a few natives, - - ’ [my emphasis].  

This thesis is examining the erroneous claim perpetrated and perpetuated from the Blacktown and District Historical Society for the Darug Tribal Link, now Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), that the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges who occupied the Hawkesbury River were Dharug rather than Darkinung, so it is appropriate to include for the reader some of the specific detail from the actual historic record identification source - Robert Mathew's notebooks.

Attaining membership of the practical Royal Geographical Society of Australasia in 1883 was probably the most relevant to Mathew's achievements. He had become a member of the intellectual Royal Society of New South Wales in 1875, but his own first presentation for publication was not until after a record of a Wollombi Aboriginal rock shelter had been published by a field assistant for the Geological Survey.  


35 This first presentation in 1893 was not his first publication. In 1888 while at Singleton Mathews had produced a practical guide for justices of the peace carrying out magisterial inquiries into deaths. I have a rare copy, reventely stored in an archival bag on my bookshelves, although it is merely the 1902 fourth edition produced while at ‘Carcuron’, Parramatta. This I obtained some years ago from Berkelouw Booksellers, who had acquired it from Janet Mathews in 1968 as in footnote later in this chapter discussing the storage of Mathews's collection by his eldest son Hamilton. Robert was a successful writer: the 1888 edition was sold out, a second produced in 1890, and a third in 1896 all became 'out of print'. My copy is rather useful for this thesis in the way it demonstrates the meticulous nature of the author: Robert Mathews. He described eleven ways of administering an oath for a witness, two for Christians [the second to allow for a variation of the Bible], and including one where a witness would break a china saucer with the oath 'the saucer is cracked and if you do not tell the truth your soul will be cracked like the saucer' as binding on the conscience. Mathews held an appointment as a Coroner. 


36 Hammond had been looking at the ‘East Maitland Coal Measures’. Robert Etheridge of The Australian Museum referred to him as ‘my colleague’, an accolade museum staff never gave Mathews - they and the university appear to have followed Spencer by not recognising him. A friend of Professor Walter Baldwin Spencer also from Oxford, Professor Tannatt William Edgeworth David of Sydney University (Edgeworth was the Christian name he used) often worked with Etheridge (including around the Hunter River) and uncovered Aboriginal archaeology, a liaison not available to Mathews brought up as a free-ranging Northern Irish-heritage youth who never became a tamed institutional man, despite his erudite classical education by a strict father. In notebooks, David had already ‘recorded Aboriginal drawings in caves near Wollombi in 1891’ . But by publishing, Hammond set a challenge to someone like Robert Mathews (who had been looking at caves for more than ten years: ‘I heard of many other caves said to be ornamented - - ’). P.T. Hammond, 1892, ‘The Cave Shelters near Wollombi in the Hunter River District’, Records of the Geological survey of New South Wales, 2 (4): 174-76 +pl.XIII-XV; T.W.E. David notebooks in (continued...)
Until the twentieth century it was the government Geological Survey which provided an official medium for such Aboriginal records. Mathews soon published on a cave further downstream along Wollombi Brook than where the geological survey had been. Although he had previously observed ‘Aboriginal drawings’ and stencils in caves when land surveying at the time he lived in Singleton, he said that local residents had acted as guides at the time he visited two sites (when he was back there in 1892 with his eldest son working as his apprentice). This remarkable cave at ‘Milbrodale’ location has an unenviable high public profile in the present day, and has been claimed by Aboriginal ‘tribal’ groups from the coast to the interior. It is, actually, in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges well within the Country of the Darkiñung-Language People south of the Hunter River floodplain (Chapter 12/NW).

Mathews was given a real incentive to start to place his ethnological findings on the public record. Following Hammond, Robert Etheridge himself reported Aboriginal drawings in what Mathews knew as Darkiñung country. Etheridge went with a Licenced Surveyor (C.T. Musson), ‘under the guidance of J.P. Collins, Head-master of the Superior Public School at Richmond, Hawkesbury River’. Until then, local emphasis had been on rock engravings around coastal Sydney from times of the First Fleet. Robert Mathews was encouraged for his rock ‘surveys’ by Surveyor W.D. Campbell, author of the first book on the subject, but this aspect of my research cannot be pursued in the limits of this thesis. R. Etheridge, 1892, ‘Idiographic Drawings of the Aborigines in a Rockshelter at Weeny Creek, Colo River, near Richmond’, Records of the Geological Survey of New South Wales, 3 (1): 33-37; W.D. Campbell, 1899 [prepared 1897], ‘Aboriginal Carvings of Port Jackson and Broken Bay’, Ethnological Series No.1, Memoirs of the Geological Survey of New South Wales, Government Printer, Sydney.

I have had much involvement in reviewing the history and visiting this cave, which is on private property where David Moore from The Australian Museum worked. I acknowledge that he has discussed it with me. There is not sufficient space in the present thesis for my study on art work and artefacts (and chapters written earlier not in this thesis). Mathews's correspondence with my mother's ancestral Medhurst Family did cover Aborigines doing hand stencils in caves near Wollombi further upstream than Hammond (Chapter 2) when he was trying to learn about art techniques. After his initial 1893 publication, Mathews presented a more detailed report which was eventually published in 1896 in Queensland. However, Enright wrote that Mathews had already presented it in 1895 in Sydney when it had not been published. Enright's article included illustrations of art work in Darkiñung country. It appears that extracts of Mathews's material presented at meetings in NSW, Victoria and Queensland meant there was some overlapping. They were, after all, different audiences. However, from his historical research, Martin Thomas proposed this as the reason why the full compilation was not published in NSW where it had won the Royal Society's prize. However, there was a perversive hidden agenda to blocking Mathews's full publication, since John Fraser's essay about perceptions of Aborigines which won the first of these NSW prizes was published elsewhere as well (Chapter 9/NE). The ostracisation of Mathews’s publication was led by Professor David from Sydney University, likely at the behest of Professor Spencer from Melbourne University as in previous footnote. Within the Mathews papers collection now at the National Library, Thomas identified both the unpublished prize-winning 1894 presentation as ‘Aboriginal Rock Carvings and Paintings’ - an 18pp. ms, and the full 1895 compilation ‘The Aboriginal Rock Pictures of Australia’ - at least 89pp. ms: Mathews papers MS 8006/5/11, ref. Thomas 2004b ‘ “Self-contained man” ’, p.17, fn.64, fn.65 respectively. Robert Mathews, 1893, ‘Rock Paintings by the Aborigines in Caves on Bulgar Creek, near Singleton’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 27: 353-58; R.H. Mathews, 1896, ‘Rock Pictures of the Australian Aborigines’, Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia Queensland Branch, 11: 86-105 +pl.I & II; W.J. Enright, 1939, ‘Aboriginal Cave Paintings’, Oceania, 10 (continued...)
Mathews had become involved with the Aboriginal people and their cultural heritage of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges after being appointed as Surveyor for the Counties of Durham and Northumberland. The town of Singleton on the Hunter River became his family residence, for about ten years from 1879 (until he nominally ‘retired’ to Parramatta then on the outskirts of Sydney), from where he got to know some of the Aboriginal people in the Hunter Valley, identifying members of the Clark and Goobra families at Broke and members of the Dillon family from Wollombi (Chapter 4). Some of Mathew's Aborigine contacts there moved between the Hunter Valley and the Hawkesbury Valley occupied by their kinsfolk. In an 1897 presentation to the Royal Society of New South Wales, Mathews reported: ‘On the south of the Hunter River, extending thence to the Hawkesbury, we find scattered remnants of the Darkininung tribe, whose territory embraces the country watered by the Colo, Macdonald and Wollombi Rivers, with their numerous tributaries.’

Local Aboriginal families were recognised on the Hawkesbury River around Sackville, near caves on Tuckerman's Farm at Addy Creek (present day Currency Creek) and Hall's farm ‘Lilburndale’ over the hill on Roberts Creek. Aborigine Tom Dillon had occupied a site around a river bend just downstream, and that became the place where Mathews met more of the Aboriginal people. This is the Portland Head Rock district of the earliest colonial settlement. When he took up abode at Parramatta, Mathews jotted in his diary about continuing his contact by riding out to visit this community, and in an early one of his publications wrote: ‘Whilst recently on an expedition amongst the Darkiñung Tribe on the Hawkesbury River for the purpose of studying their customs - -.’

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38(continued)


40 This involves Local History with current residents and Family History projects on which I have been involved with descendants. Some of them are my relatives with common convict ancestors (Chapter 4). Jack Brook of the Blacktown and District Historical Society has included these people in his book [when he mistakenly referred to them as Dharug].... However, I disagree with the implication of his title, because I have found that the Hawkesbury River is one of the places where these Aboriginal people were able to make their own way in the colonial world where farm labour was valued. There was never a manager for the reserve, rather, the Wilberforce police were the government contact. \ Jack Brook, 1994 (1st edn), ‘Shut Out From The World - The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Self published, Seven Hills (Sydney); Jack Brook, 1999 (2nd edn), ‘Shut Out From The World - The Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights (Sydney).

Native-born James Tuckerman and the Hawkesbury Community

Overlapping with this time, the first Australian Aboriginal language survey was being conducted by E.M. Curr. By then having settled in Melbourne, the traveller Edward Curr had also lived in contact with Aborigines from when managing his father's pastoral properties north of Melbourne in the 1840s and had had three years from 1858 on the Lachlan River. Curr pioneered a technique of collecting comparative word lists later taken up by the Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD) at Alice Springs discussed in Chapter 5. At Central Australia in the twentieth century, Kathy Menning could have expected the Aborigines providing their language words to be involved in the survey in order to produce a comparable result for her 168 terms. Curr had had pre-existing lists and asked correspondents around Australia to provide words for his 264 terms. Mathews was to exceed such expectations when gathering language information for himself. After taking up residence at Singleton, he made contact with the Darkiñung people on the south side of the Hunter River in the country of the Wollombi Brook which flows from the ranges into the river.


Edward Curr corresponded with local town magistrates seeking correspondents for his Aborigines' vocabulary collection, and some are published under authorship of 'Bench of Magistrates'. Although Robert Mathews became a NSW JP, and hence magistrate, after settling in to a residence for his family at Singleton in the early 1880s, he was not a source for Curr. Aboriginal history would have been more accurate if he had been. Instead, Curr's correspondent for the Hunter Valley, Robert Miller, erroneously sent to Curr the language of the coastal people (as Wonnarua - whom Mathews was to identify as Wannerawa) for the inland location of the upper Hunter Valley (which had been occupied by Kamilaroi intruding over the GDR before the settlers arrived - Chapter 12/NW). The language Miller provided may have been cribbed from Lancelot Threlkeld's publications about Lake Macquarie Aborigines. The Wonnarua Quandary is dealt with in Chapter 9/SE. Between the Kamilaroi (Book 14: Language 181) and the Wiradjuri (Book 16: Language 190), Curr placed (Book 15) Language 188 of the Hunter River by Robert Miller and Language 189 of the Hawkesbury River by James Tuckerman as follows. Edward M. Curr, 1887, 'The Australian Race - Its Origin, Languages, Customs [etc]', Vol. III, Victoria Government Printer, Melbourne, also Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill (London), No.181 pp.304-324, No.190 pp.363-402, No.188 pp.352-358, No.189 pp.359-360.

For example, Mathews noted about his friend 'Charley Clark, native of Broke speaks Dharkinung language', as discussed later this chapter. This Darkiñung Wollombi area includes the Broke / Bulga location of the Milbrodale cave mentioned above, which recently has become treated as if it were a Kamilaroi bora initiation site. Charley was a source of the local bora initiation ceremony, published as (continued...)
The inland Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges were conflated with the coast by Curr who took information from a Hawkesbury River settler, mistakenly to represent the river length until it empties into Broken Bay, thus causing the confusion of later writers who overlooked that Mathew's's Wannerawa / Wannungine language named at Broken Bay on the coast was not Mathew's's Darkiñung language he recorded from upstream in the Wallambine ranges. The wordlist published in 1887 by Curr as List 189 was submitted by James Tuckerman at Addy Creek (aka Currency Creek) as above, in the Portland Head Rock area identified in Chapter 1. This means that Tuckerman's local language would have been that spoken by Gomebeere and Yellomundy - from which language words were collected in 1791 by David Collins as discussed in Chapter 5. Since Curr's correspondent was the Windsor magistrate, the selection of Tuckerman shows there was still a publicly known viable community of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges Aborigines living there, at Sackville, at the time ca.1887. However, just as native-born John Rowley had not provided a Language name when he recorded the Dharug language of the Georges River (discussed Chapter 7), nor did native-born James Tuckerman provide a name for his record of the Darkiñung language of the Hawkesbury River. That identification task for both these languages fell to Robert Mathews.

Mathews and the Hawkesbury Community

Robert Mathews had to ride past Tuckerman's farm at the Sackville ferry to meet his Aboriginal...
informants after 1889 when he moved to Parramatta. Mathews did not attribute an Aborigine contact as some dependant of a white person, instead he directly recorded their names - other than for a way of contacting Aborigine Ephraim Everingham c/o Miss Margaret Hall who was at ‘Lilburn Cottage’ beside ‘Lilburndale’. However, he talked to settlers' families when visiting, using their names to record properties as locations. In a phase of looking at Aboriginal art work, he recorded a visit to the Tuckermans' place.

Principally, an Aborigine called Hiram, who had died 1879, was apparently the last fullblood to have practised Aboriginal traditional culture there in relation to what has been called art work. Mathews wrote: ‘Hiram, brother of Tilly, painted hands in the cave near the punt at Sackville reach. The mother of Tilly & Hiram was Lucy, daughter of Peggy.’ This entry is in a notebook with heading ‘Darkiñung’ which was sourced from ‘Annie Dillon, now A. Barber’. There is a lot of Aboriginal art work nearby.

49 Mathews sold ‘Ness House’ at Singleton in September 1889, a month after buying ‘Surbiton’, his next home, at Parramatta. He then stayed at a hotel when back in Singleton, and at Parramatta rented paddocks in which to put his horses. It is fate or it is irony that the family address became Hassall Street, where the saga began circa 1811-14 starring the waif from the Hawkesbury Darkiñung Aborigines who became ‘the princess’ Maria Lock - when she was taken in by Elizabeth, wife of Rowland Hassall as mentioned later this chapter. Cross refer Chapter 4. Robert Hamilton Mathews, 1890, ‘Diary 1879-90’, unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: ‘Diary, 1879-90’, MS 8006/ Series 1/ Folder 1, entries for 1889 August 28 and Sep 28, 127th page.

50 Not all of Mathews's Aboriginal contacts of the Darkiñung community were resident at what he called their ‘camp’ which was in the bush beside the river below ‘Lilburndale’ on Cumberland Reach downstream of the Sackville ferry. Under the influence of the ‘Aborigines Protection Association’ from 1880 small reserves were declared where Aborigines might camp if they chose and police were responsible for the government contact. [This preceded the Aborigines Protection Board and the appointment of politician George Thornton as Protector - Chapter 10/SE.] The number of these reserves in NSW increased, from 18 in 1883 when the APB started, to about 170 in 1910. It was not until September 1889, about when Mathews became a visitor, that the Hawkesbury camp became the Sackville Reserve under that earlier model. Jack Brook has researched its progress (although, as above, I disagree with his title because here they were not shut away as happened in other places where the reserves were meant to be farmed). J.P.M. Long, 1970, Chapter 3 ‘New South Wales’ pp.24-90, in ‘Aboriginal Settlements - A Survey of Institutional Communities in Eastern Australia’, Australian National University Press, Canberra, p.26, p.28; Jack Brook 1994, 1999 ‘Shut Out’.

51 Ephraim provided some cultural information. Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Darkinoong and Wiradjuri’ p.120.


53 Hiram, Death registration, NSW BDM Index 9620/1879.

54 Annie Dillon from Wollombi had married ‘Harry’ (Henry) Barber of Sackville (Family History study). She was sister of Tom Dillon as above. Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook book ‘7’, unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: ‘Darkinoong and Wiradjuri’, MS 8006/ Series 3/ Folder 7, p.99 at end of section which commences p.95.
and I have plotted several caves there, in cooperation with locals who have assisted in this study. This location is next to where my ancestral Everingham Family settled on the Hawkesbury, intermarrying with other Aborigines there whom Mathews established as Darkiñung.\[^{55}\] Mathews gave examples of popular English names from the lower, working, classes of that period which were applied to Aborigines: There was a multitude of women called Peggy (from upper class Margaret) and Tilly (from Matilda), which leads to the need for great care when seeking to recognise historical identities.\[^{56,57}\]

The Sackville Aborigine Hiram had also been observed circa 1855 making one of the very last rock engravings created by an Aborigine: ‘Andy Barker Barber, half caste, saw rock carving done by blackfellow named Hiram - - - when he was 15 yrs old’.\[^{58,59}\] I have visited the site of this engraving at the


\[^{57}\] Annie Dillon [Mrs ‘Harry’ Barber] came from Wollombi. At the time of writing this thesis, Jim Kohen contacted me with the information that he was placing another of Mathews's language informants, Tilly Clark [Hiram's sister from Sackville], as a Wollombi person. He was probably referring to a different person called Tilly.* This is presumably part of his campaign to deny that any of Mathews's Darkiñung people had come from the Sackville area, to be replaced by his (Kohen's) ‘Darug’, based on the presence of Charlie Smith from Georges River as discussed later in this chapter. This has already been rejected by a Federal Court hearing by Madgwick J (Chapter 7). A genealogy data base has been privately maintained by Kohen, used by the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC) to provide an Aboriginal identity for those people who provide a family tree to enter in (add to) that data base. Kohen (pers. comm.) has been making available this honorary personal service which provides an Aboriginal genealogy, often using historical Hawkesbury ancestors whom he relabels ‘Darug’. The study for this thesis shows those Hawkesbury ancestors to have been Darkiñung.

At the time of writing this thesis there is no Aboriginal Corporation for Darkiñung descent people, so to register as ‘Darug’ under Kohen's terms has been seen to be their best way under present requirements to be legally recognised as Aboriginal. These Darkiñung-descent people from the Hawkesbury River are then presented as ‘Darug’, promoting a circular argument. It seems that because of this, in parallel Dharrug-descent people from the Georges River are being presented as Dharawal.

* In the first published edition of his Aboriginal genealogy, Kohen had included a white family from Kiama on NSW South Coast as members of his Hawkesbury River Barber family without checking (viz. John b.1878, Eliza b.1881). It seems to be his practice to take people (or families) who share a name to have been a single person. It was exemplified with his example of Daniel Matthews (1837-1902), missionary at Maloga being published as Daniel Mathew (1788-1856), sawmiller at Rosedale (St Ives) in Ku-ring-gai Municipality (Chapter 7). This was done to appeal to a target audience of Ku-ring-gai residents, just as he had misinformed Blacktown residents shown earlier in this chapter. Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’ App.3 p.196.

\[^{58}\] Mathews had also met the father of ‘Andy’ (Andrew), recording him as ‘John Barber, 68 [yo], native of Hawkesbury - Darkinung’. Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook (red torn cover), (continued...)
Sackville location specifically detailed by Mathews in 1896b. Hiram used a steel hatchet on the sandstone, a technique I have seen elsewhere in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges but it is not a part of this thesis to include the analysis. Mathews's Hawkesbury River informants also gave him the location of rock engraving sites on the far side of the Colo River on a route between the Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers.

It appears that Mathews's favourite friend as a cultural informant for the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges may have been Charley Clark, aka Charlie Clark with a possible alias ‘Charlie Comfitt or Clark’ also in Mathews's notes. Although a halfcaste, he was the last Aborigine known to practice traditional culture: ‘Charley Clark, native of Broke speaks Dharkinung language, painted hands in cave near where Dick Wiseman lives [at Laguna].’ In relation to Charley, Robert Mathews also made a note to himself (as was his wont): ‘see Joe Goobrah [Goobra, Gooburra, Gooburrah] who lives at the Hawkesbury camp’. These two were named as his informants in another of Mathews's early publications, about the initiation ceremony of the Darkiñung people: ‘Two initiated men surviving - Joe Gooburra, a pure black, and Charley Clark, a half caste - - - with whom I have been acquainted for some years.’

59 (...continued)

59 Andrew and Henry's father was John Luke Barber, son of a convict (Chapter 4). Ephraim's mother was Mildred Saunders daughter of a convict at the Hawkesbury (Chapter 4). ‘The mother of Tilly and Hiram was Lucy, the daughter of Peggy.’ These people show the evangelical influence on their parents, which was observed with the preachers arriving in the district earlier, even while Yellomundy was still alive as mentioned later in this chapter for the extended Hassall family. Ephraim and Hiram are both names of biblical related characters, and Lucy was a Christian saint. This is part of the study beyond what can be included in this thesis.

60 J.L. Kohen seems to have a confused sense of location, in his writings for his ‘Darug’ people giving Hiram's engraving at Sackville [south of the Colo River] as being ‘north of the Colo River’ in his attempt to remove Mathews's Darkiñung from Sackville.

61 Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Initiation Ceremonies - General’ pp.16-17.


63 Both these Aborigines had known kinship and personal totem names, Charlie as Ippai, grey kangaroo; Joe as Kubbi, bandicoot. Mathews seems to have known them from Broke on the Wollombi Brook, where he had worked as a surveyor at the Hunter Valley before retiring to Parramatta. Robert Hamilton Mathews, 1897a, ‘The Burbung of the Darkiñung Tribes’, Proceedings of the Royal Society of Victoria, 10(ns): 1-12, p.1; Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Initiation Ceremonies - General’ p.1.

64 This is a reference which J.L. Kohen has misrepresented, apparently without any of his readers noticing. It is this statement (published by Mathews 1897) that Kohen convoluted to read [direct quote]: ‘According to R.H. Mathews, by the 1890s there were only two initiated Darug men alive, one living on the Aboriginal Reserve at Sackville on the Hawkesbury River and the other living at Dolls Point on Botany Bay - Jimmy Lowndes’ [end quote]. As well as confusing Jimmy Lowndes with Charley Clark (as seen here), Kohen also confused Lowndes with Billy Russell (as seen later in this chapter). The others actually were informants for Mathews. In writing directly for the Blacktown Aboriginal descendants, he

(continued...)
When Mathews eventually produced his endeavours on the Darkinung Language, submitted to arguably the most important Anthropological Journal of the English-speaking world, he included it in a paper with three tribal dialects of the Kamilaroi Language plus The ‘Yauan’ - the mystic male initiation language of Kamilaroi people. Published in 1903, it contained Mathews's final published words on the distribution of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges people:

The Darkinung speaking people adjoined the Kamilaroi on the south-east [of the Kamilaroi] and occupied a considerable range of country in the counties of Hunter, Northumberland and Cook, extending from Wilberforce and Wisemans Ferry on the Hawkesbury river, to Jerrys Plains and Singleton on the Hunter, and including the basins of the Colo and Macdonald rivers Wollombi Brook and other streams. On the south they were met by the Gundungurra and Dharruk tribes.

By the time Mathews arrived at the Hawkesbury River, known Aboriginal occupants of the Cattai Creek catchment area were down near the river where Governor Phillip’s expeditions also had found them in the 1700s (Chapter 1). Younger Walter Enright, Mathews's associate in the Hunter Valley, had qualified the information from Mathews about the Hawkesbury River: ‘up the watershed of the Nepean, to a point about the same latitude of Campbelltown, was occupied by the Darkinung’. I have taken this to indicate to the junction of the Warragamba River as analysed for Chapters 10/SE and 11/SW. For his informants of ‘The Darkinung Language’, Mathews published: ‘The information was obtained by me by personal inquiries among the few old natives who still speak their own dialect’, plus, for ‘Vocabulary of Darkinung Words’, ‘Every word has been written down by myself in the camps of the aborigines, and much time and care has been bestowed upon the work.’

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64(...continued)
does not have the excuse used in 1980 by Kevin Moore of the Blacktown and District Historical Society of blaming a journalist (Chapter 7). Such appalling treatment of Mathews's careful records is repeated over and over again. It is hardly surprising that the Federal Court found Kohen’s evidence questionable (Chapter 7). \ Kohen 2006 ‘Daruganora’ p.31.

65 As mentioned earlier in this chapter, before becoming a surveyor, young Robert Mathews worked as a stockman in western NSW - where he became familiar with Kamilaroi people.


Accessing Mathews's Notebooks

My new research findings about the Aboriginal identity come from the incomplete collection left of Mathews's notebooks which had survived in an old trunk when the family had no use for them. While the correspondence was being researched for Peter Elkin's Biography of Mathews the papers were cared for at Sydney University, but taken back by a family in-law and subsequently placed in the Australian National Library.  Following his 1956 recognition of Mathews, in a 1959 Presidential address

68 I have considered when and where Mathews's notebooks may have been accessed with regard to inserts and marginalia being added by other people, although I have not specifically researched the history of Mathews's collection. The timeline outlined following suggests that it would have been after Janet Mathews gave up the collection to the NLA that someone used Kohen's recent term 'Darug' to add to writing in the notebooks. (Tindale used 'Daruk' as adopted by the LALC, but AIATSIS adopted 'Dharug' as chosen from there for this thesis.) Peter Elkin used Robert Mathews's term 'Dharruk'. Dixon published it as ‘Dharuk’. Diana Eades and Bob Dixon each referred to using Mathews's collection (although they may have meant the copied ms notes from Capell). Janet Mathews referred to Luise Hercus. ● Mathews's eldest son Hamilton Bartlett Mathews born 1873 had retained his father's collection of papers, article reprints and books in a musty old trunk for thirty five years after his father's death, seemingly without any interest being shown by the family. There had been seven children, six surviving: Hamilton (1873-1959); Georgiana (? -1960); Gregory (1876-1949); Mary (1880- ? ); William (1883-1967); Robert (1886- ? ). Janet published there had been four. Hamilton had retained his father's interest in the outdoors too, not only in surveying but also he had acquired land at Mt Irvine in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges of this thesis. Hamilton's son Francis Mackenzie ('Frank') born 1903 was an engineer at Wollongong steelworks who in 1936 had married the socialite musician Janet Russell born 1914, who delighted in the company of London and Paris aristocrats like the Rothschilds. For want of somewhere to store his father's stuff nobody wanted, Hamilton had left the old trunk out of the way under his son's house. Janet's relationship with Frank's father Hamilton appears cool, for as a widow in June 1983 after retiring to Pittwater she wrote to Hamilton's ADB biographer that when Hamilton had remarried the same year as she had, 1936 (two and a half years after the death of Frank's mother), the family was “not too pleased”. ●Hamilton, a graduate who had had a professional association with Sydney University, needed a better home for his father's articles when he turned 80yo (a few years before he died). The professor of Anthropology, Peter Elkin, explained (1975, p.127) how he had been prepared to take on the task at the university, later writing to the university librarian that the collection which he obtained in 1953: 'came to me without conditions, I regard them as a trust and therefore should go to a library for safe-keeping and use.' There had been a strong connection: Peter Elkin and Robert Mathews were linked through lawyer Walter Enright who associated with both during his ethnology studies. Elkin gave access to other researchers while the material was at the university, and shared with Arthur Capell. I strongly disagree with the insinuations in Martin Thomas's writings that Hamilton - then dead - had expected Elkin to return his father's items: [e.g. 2007 p.19, quote] 'lent - - items from his father's library to Elkin who never returned them.' Hamilton's son Frank was supporting Elkin's use and providing even more material, as follows. ●Amongst his busy working retirement activities, Elkin began preparing a thorough comparative biography - even carefully seeking around the world to verify supposed doctorate qualifications claimed by some who’d derided Mathews. Thus, it appears to have been Elkin who’d rescued the material from turning into mouldy paper powder [as implied in a 2005 essay by an allergic Martin Thomas on a Harold White Fellowship at the National Library]. Elkin did not get closure on his task while any of the Mathews's collection was in his stewardship. Thomas 2004b pointed out that it was Elkin 1956 in his journal Oceania who took up the banner of defending Mathews from his detractors. Unaware of the family balance with her in-laws ['not too pleased'], when Janet the musician was 50yo the Eastern Suburbs parliamentarian William ('Billy') Wentworth recruited her in 1964 to make recordings of Aboriginal songs for his fledgling Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS, later AIATSIS). On the NSW South Coast she met Aborigine Howard Timbery at Wreck Bay from whom she found it to be advantageous to have knowledge of her husband's grandfather who was popular with the Aborigines. Janet, in a 1971 oral history recording said: 'when I started recording [Aboriginal songs] I just felt he was grandfather-in-law and had written books - - but he didn’t seem to be (continued...)
a real person to me - '-. In the context of a relationship with Wentworth's Sydney society, a relationship with the Mathews family then assumed some advantage, although Frank remained diffident to keeping his grandfather's papers which his father had donated to the university in 1953. Janet was an invitee at the university Chancellor's functions. Although it had been left to moulder while under the house at Wollongong, which she wrote of as 'the original dirty mess', Janet's new interest resulted in her repossessing - as a family member - the original Robert Mathews material from the university. Although Elkin died before he published the full biography, we are indebted to him for his essential 1975-76 review of Mathews, which also provides a perspective with the others of Elkin's Ten Founders of Social Anthropology in Australia. Although Janet wrote to Elkin in 1968 that ‘you have been able to study (Mathew's) correspondence’ [past tense], it is not clear yet what she left at the university and what she already had reclaimed by 1967. For her five page biography of Robert Mathews Janet wrote of his material: ‘all now in my possession’, but the date that was written is not given: she died in 1992 and it was published in 1994. Janet wrote in 1968: ‘the present idea is that our collection should’ go to the Mitchell Library archives in Sydney ‘the same as’ then intended for Elkin's & Capell's. She wrote of what she was distributing: of the three thousand [she wrote 3000] booklets [offprints], the Institute [AIAS] and Janet's ally 'Luise Hercus, a linguist’ each got a copy of everything, and Janet's local Wollongong ‘reference library’ took their choice - leaving [Janet wrote]: 2,400 copies and some hundreds of rather weird books. Perhaps a result of his father’s classical teaching, Robert Mathews had an eclectic collection of books, and it appears his priceless antiquarian treasures were dispersed by Berkelouw Booksellers at Janet's insistence. Evidently Fred McCarthy [who had been Elkin's student], the Principal at the Institute [where Janet was employed], did not appreciate that the university had been left out of the loop for Janet's disposal, for he advised that the material was of great value. Janet wrote she wanted the money because they were building a new house [for a move to Pittwater]. Mr Berkelouw came and helped himself for $100 [Janet wrote], from which 'Mr. McCarthy was upset’. Janet primly suggested to Elkin that he ‘induce Mr. Berkelouw to sell them to you’, and also requested Elkin to provide copies of Mathews's published articles for her collection. (I induced Berkelouws to sell me an expensive copy from the collection of his handbook for magistrates as mentioned in footnote earlier in this chapter.) I acknowledge having chatted about it with, and being advised by, Luise Hercus (who helped Janet with field studies and visited her homes at Wollongong and Bayview) and my sense now is that Janet held the material between 1967 and 1987. [Elkin wrote, 1975 Pt.II, that - after the material ‘was given to me (Elkin’s) study of his (Frank’s) grandfather and their family from Ulster - so much so, it will be interesting to learn how much of Frank’s material for Elkin is used for Thomas’s coming book. After Frank died in 1982 (3½ years after Elkin), Janet kept Robert Mathews's material inaccessible for a further 5 years until
she was 73yo, with both Elkin and Capell dead too, but none of the Mathews family took on the duty of caring for it. Hamilton's younger brother Gregory had married a wealthy widow socialite and developed his own library on ornithology which was bequeathed to the emerging National Library in Canberra. As a consequence, in 1987 Janet deposited the Robert Mathews anthropology material there to be with the ornithology material. Janet wrote [published posthumously 1994]: ‘- - the contents of his (Gregory's) large collection are on display at the National Library [so] The collection of his (Gregory's) father - - will have their permanent home in the same place’[future tense]. Of particular relevance to historical research is that papers of Peter Elkin and Arthur Capell from Sydney University were deposited with the National Library archives, and that would be a place to look for unseparated records. After Elkin asked Capell to examine linguistic material, it is possible that copies of some notebooks were separated and taken by Capell to ANU after 1967 when he retired from Sydney University, in order to explain references to Mathews's ‘n.d. manuscript books I-VII’ - ‘which appear to be the notebooks for his published articles’ according to Diana Eades to whom they were made available by Capell. I-VII may be Capell's numbers and do not apply to the field notebooks examined for this thesis. It is not part of my study to resolve this situation, but this reference by Eades is that wrongly claimed by Kohen to be the source for the notebooks which provide the information that I have cited in this thesis, as footnoted earlier in this chapter under line sub-heading ‘Robert Mathews’. ●The modern marginalia and annotations marked on the original papers I have examined appear to date from when Janet bequeathed access for the general public at the National Library. This is the period when someone has entered Kohen's recent term ‘Darug’ critical to this thesis. The papers appear sought after - I have noticed some pages missing between repeated examinations in recent years. A response to my queries was that until there is a specific grant for the purpose, the Mathews material will not be preserved with digitised copies available for study. I am delighted to acknowledge the generous permission of Susan Upton, the elder of Janet's daughters, for me to use excerpts from Mathews's unpublished material if I wish to buy them from the National Library. The family kept some of the material. Although Luise advised to consult Susan's younger sister Jane who cared about the material their mother Janet had had, Susan (as at 2010) was unable to provide a contact - so there may yet be other sources of Mathews's historic records. \ Data taken from: Janet Mathews, 1994 ‘Miranen’ in ‘The Opal’ pp.158-62; Thomas 2004a ‘Independent Gentleman’; Thomas 2004b ‘Self-contained Man’; Thomas 2005 ‘Looking for Mr Mathews’; Thomas 2006 ‘A Very Human Survey’; Thomas 2007 ‘Birrarak is the name’; Martin Edward Thomas, 2003b, ‘To you Mrs Mathews’: The Cross-cultural Recording of Janet Mathews 1914-1992’, Australasian Sound Archive, No.29 (Winter 2003): 45-59, transcript of ‘Dr Alice Moyle Lecture’, online as ASRA paper linked to program broadcast on Radio National ‘Big Ideas’ Sunday 6 July 2003, Australian Broadcasting Corporation; Janet Mathews, 1968, correspondence to Peter Elkin about the collection of R.H. Mathews, letter 24 March 1968, held in Elkin Papers, University of Sydney Archives; other notes from these Elkin Papers; Adolphus Peter (‘Peter’) Elkin, 1956, ‘A.R. Radcliffe-Brown 1880-1955’, Oceania, 26(4): 239-251, p.250; A.P. Elkin, 1958, ‘Anthropology in Australia: One Chapter’, Mankind, 5 (6): 225-242, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, 25 March 1958; A.P. Elkin, 1975,76, ‘R.H. Mathews: His Contribution to Aboriginal Studies’, Part I of the review is a compilation titled ‘The [Ten] Founders of Social Anthropology in Australia’ - Mathews placed chronologically at no.7 is dealt with [at length] in parts II & III, Oceania, Pt.I 46 (1): 1-24, Pt.II 46 (2): 126-52, Pt.III 46 (3): 206-34; Diana Kelloway Eades, 1976, ‘The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast’, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, p.viii, p.8: National Library of Australia online catalogues to manuscripts and finding aids - MS1465 [Gregory], MS8006 [Robert], MS9275 [Capell], MS9834 [Elkin]; NSW BDM online registration Index records; Terry Kass, 2008, ‘Mathews, Hamilton Bartlett (1873-1959), Biography’ in ‘Sails to Satellites - Surveyors General of NSW (1786-2007)’, NSW Department of Lands, Bathurst; John Atchison, 1986, ‘Mathews, Hamilton Bartlett (1873-1959)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol.10, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.442-43; Tess Kloot, 1986, ‘Mathews, Gregory Macalister (1876-1949)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography Vol.10, Melbourne University Press, pp.441-42; Isabel McBryde, 1974, ‘Mathews, Robert Hamilton (1841-1918)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.5, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.225-26; Tigger Wise, 1985, ‘The Self-made Anthropologist - A Life of A.P. Elkin’, George Allen & Unwin, North Sydney (Sydney).
The Marginalia of Mathew's Notebooks

Many of these exercise books appear to have been those used by Mathews to compile material for publication, with notes and marginalia added, which therefore may not be original entries. I am a great supporter of the value added by studying marginalia, as researched by Heather Jackson at Toronto.\footnote{In 1956, amongst other mentions, Elkin wrote: ‘Those familiar with Radcliffe-Brown's writings - - since 1913 will realise the extent to which he used Mathew's concepts - -’. In 1959: ‘R.H. Mathews devoted his spare time for forty years to just this type of work, bringing to it acute powers of analysis and generalization. Radcliffe-Brown could do no more amongst the tribal remnants on sheep stations - - -’. [As the first anthropology professor, Brown had been Elkin's predecessor.] The Chair of Anthropology had been lobbied for by the friends from Oxford University, Professors W.B. Spencer and T.W.E. David - pre-eminent scientists who had ostracised R.H. Mathews. These professors professed that the Aboriginal race was on the verge of extinction, using this to justify the need for a professional anthropologist.} However, some recent marginalia have changed the context of Mathew's historical record, as below when a person has added terminology unknown to Mathews.

Others accessed copies of Mathew's notebooks apparently while in the care of Elkin and Capell - such as Diana Eades as above, who had been temporarily a research assistant for Bob Dixon (at Australian National University). Like Spencer before him, Dixon had come out from Britain, in 1960s, and became the most eminent in his field.\footnote{Dixon is a man of my age, who had come from overseas. (He shares an alma mater with John Fraser, Chapter 9/NE.) An Englishman who went to Scotland for training in linguistics at Edinburgh University, he does not have a good word for the efforts by the new Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) which saw the value in appointing a linguist, giving him work in the early 1960s. He avoids accepting contributions of anthropologists Fred McCarthy and David Moore, who had ‘just completed a tribal listing’ (Chapter 7), although recognising Australian Arthur Capell, the only person in Australia teaching linguistics. Dixon referred to Capell as an ordained schoolmaster who had been appointed to Peter Elkin's department at Sydney University after serving as Rev. Elkin's locum tenens for the church at Morpeth in the Hunter Valley, without acknowledging his training at London University, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). I admit bias: Not only did I matriculate to Sydney University from the same secondary school as Capell (in thesis Dedication), I had a fellowship at London University, Imperial College. Dixon has never caught up to Capell's ability, although Dixon's obituary has yet to be published. Capell's textbook was in teaching use for forty years. ⟨Bob Dixon, 1984, ‘Searching for Aboriginal Languages’, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia (Brisbane), Chapter 1: ‘Setting Off’, pp.1-18; Tigger Wise, 1985, ‘The Self-made Anthropologist - A Life of A.P. Elkin’, George Allen & Unwin, North Sydney (Sydney); Arthur Capell, 1966, ‘Beginning Linguistics’, (continued...)} Did he dishonour the privilege of access by demeaning Mathew's desire...
to edit and improve his own endeavours to be published? Where Mathews should be praised, Dixon offered what has been taken as perverse criticism in more than one of his own publications, slighting Mathews's experience as merely ‘a Sydney surveyor’ in deplorable ignorance of Mathews's extensive field knowledge. Dixon in the 1970s exhorted that Mathews's work must be treated with caution, and unfairly wrote in 1980: ‘Mathews tended to doctor and normalise his notes for publication, so that recourse must be had to the original field notebooks’.

The marginalia in Mathews's notebooks are especially relevant to the Dharug entries which appear more casual than others, consistent with Mathews not finding a focus of Dharug people as discussed above. He seems to have been trying to find an identification for these language terms eventually labelled ‘Dharruk’ [various spellings], in comparison with the Gundungurra and Darkiñung entries which are strongly categorised. The two language groups of mountains peoples had survived when settlement had annihilated culture on the plains around Sydney.

I have found details of Darkiñung [range of spellings] in five of Mathews's notebooks which I have examined, and two also have mention of Dharrook [range of spellings] when considering location. Some are attempts to determine where the Country had been for adjacent Language groups. The source context of these date

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71(...)continued

University Co-operative Bookshop [publisher], Sydney. [There is a new ADB online entry for Capell.]

Mathews should have been complimented for his attainments without a graduate education comparable to Dixon's training by Michael Halliday at Edinburgh. Mathews's field experience was much broader than Dixon's. It can be wondered if Dixon's notebooks from northern Queensland will be as useful a hundred years later as are those surviving from Mathews. Dixon had been employed by AIAS to work on the ‘so-called Rain Forest languages in the neighbourhood of Cairns’. In the Report of the First General Meeting of the Institute, October 1964, the Convenor of the Advisory Panel on Linguistics, Dr A. Capell, reported: ‘We await the writing up of his results.’ Mathews's reputation was quietly defended by Gavan Breen, who hoped to have the opportunity for access to Mathews's results as Dixon had. (Articles by Breen have appeared in publications edited by Dixon.) Dixon remained steadfast, with his 2002 magnus opus reluctantly acknowledging only 5 papers from Mathews's vast output: of Mathews's published articles, 27 have language in the title, being a bit hard to miss. As discussed earlier in relation to Spencer, Schmidt in Vienna had not missed them as Dixon did. J. Gavan Breen, 1980, ‘Linguistic Salvage in Australia and R.H. Mathews’, section in ‘Linguistic Salvage in Australia - Review of Diana Kelloway Eades [1976], The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast’, Linguistics, 52 (1-2): 179-93, pp.179-80; Robert Malcolm Ward Dixon, 1980, ‘The Languages of Australia’, Cambridge Language Surveys series, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p.15; Robert M.W. Dixon, 2002, ‘Australian Languages - Their Nature and Development’, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Newsletter, Australian Institute for Aboriginal Studies, Vol.2 No.1, January 1965, p.29.

73 An actual source of an identification term for the unnamed language was not given by Mathews in any of his notes which have survived, although when he was working on notes for publication he had chosen ‘Dharruk’ - e.g. see Criterion Hotel notebook entry in footnote following. The Aborigine Billy Russell, whom he knew, comes to mind as the source of this variation, also recorded from Russell, as ‘Dharruck’, by Alfred Bennett given earlier in this chapter. However, someone else, in different handwriting, has added the term with spelling variation as detailed following.
from after 1889 to before 1897 when this material began to be published. In an exercise book (identified as No. ‘7’ without an original author’s title) across the opening page, page 1, is the heading: ‘Darkiñoong Language - “Tilly Clarke” - native of Hawkesbury’, written above two columns of vocabulary with English meanings. This continues to page 7 where the entries finish with: ‘about 300 words in this vocab.’

Tilly with her brother Hiram have been shown above to have occupied the location around present day Sackville, at the original Portland Head Rock area where Gomebeere and Yellomundy’s people were when the First Fleet expeditions arrived in 1789 and 1791 (Chapters 1 and 5). During the research project for this thesis, I found this absolutely convincing to show the Darkiñoong were the people of the Hawkesbury.

The entries in notebook No. ‘7’ continue on page 10, where the heading is ‘Darkinyoong - M= Henry Barber’ with some of inserts and marginalia added to later read ‘Annie Barber - native of Wollombi’ and ‘Tom Dillon’s sister’. These entries deal with expressions and grammar, continued on notebook page 11, thence pages 75 to 81, with an entry at page 77: ‘Darkinyûng - Tilly, daughter of Lucy’. There are more entries under the heading ‘Darkinung’ or ‘Darkinyung’ with the informant given as M= Annie Barber née...

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74 The term ‘native of’ was used to mean place where born (and reared). Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Darkinung and Wiradjuri’ pages as in text.

75 I included this data with my transcripts of all Mathews's mentions in a 2008 working manuscript reviewing sources for the terms Darkiñoong and Dharug. The ms was distributed for comment to nineteen researchers who were known to have an interest in the use of Aboriginal identification around Sydney. None were able to show errors or omissions, despite there being a general reluctance by those who publish to believe that the remnant of an Aboriginal group whom Mathews met at the Hawkesbury were not Dharug people. The source for that incorrect idea being current is a 1984 paper (reprinted 1990) by J.L. Kohen for the Blacktown and District Historical Society - followed with a religious faith, by Blacktown descendants and by unquestioning academics, being shown in the 1993b book for a local population 'The Darug and Their Neighbours’ (which is part of the discussion in Chapter 7). Some of the responses showed disbelief that there could be new findings they had not appreciated because they had followed Kohen without considering any need to confirm sources. Among Aboriginal descendants who adopted his contrived term ‘Darug’ he has had the cult status of a messiah, especially those who accept that they are a ‘Darug’. [After all, a Kohen is a person with the status of a High Priest appointed by God, descended from the Hebrew Aaron (brother of Moses). However, for a sin (even through ignorance) even the priest must atone with a burnt offering from a bullock. I am looking forward to the barbecue. Book of Leviticus Chapter 4, in The Holy Bible.]
Dillon from pages 95 to 99, where entries change to Mrs Timbery - Thurrawal. Robert Mathews knew the Barber family at Sackville, so this change may be an indication that he went from there to La Perouse to see Emma Timbery (accompanied by his son William as above). Annie moved from Sackville to a residence at La Perouse - where she became known as Grannie Barber and lived until her death. Her husband ‘Harry’ (Henry) was the younger brother of ‘Andy’ (Andrew) as above, both from Sackville.

I contend that with the detail presented above it is now a completed case - quite uncomplicated despite the complex historiography - that the Darkiñung identity belongs to the Aborigines who were recognised by the settlers as ‘The Branch’ natives of the Hawkesbury River catchment and as the ‘Wollombi tribe’ of the Hunter River catchment (Chapter 2). Because the people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges were Darkiñung [various spellings], the question as to why these people at the Hawkesbury River have been, are being, called Dharug [various spellings] in error needs to be resolved.

Place of the Dharug [The Dhar-rook] Language

Using opportunities when droving and later when on surveying or magisterial duties, Mathews extended his Aboriginal culture field experience to cover vast areas of eastern Australia (viz. Qld, NSW, Vic. and SA of which NT was then a part). Thus it is remarkable that two Sydney region tribes who occupied the Blue Mountains, Darkiñung to the north and Gundungurra to the south, feature in thirteen of his journal publications. The term Dhar'-rook or Dharrook (Dharruk) occurs six times - only in articles which feature the Gundungurra. This is quite consistent with the critical concept explored in Part III of this thesis that the Gundungurra were the inland mountain tribe of the coastal Dharug, while the Darkiñung

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76 I am using the spelling Darkiñung for the pronunciation as settled by Mathews and adopted by AIATSIS. In ‘A Note on Spelling and Pronunciation’, Colin Yallop advised about Aborigines and orthography for the representations of non-English sounds, that ‘Recent efforts have been directed more towards consistency and practicality - employing, for example only letters and combinations of letters that are available on English (keyboards) - than towards phonetic accuracy. Thus a palatal nasal consonant, made with the blade of the tongue against the roof of the mouth and somewhat like ñ in Spanish or gn in French or Italian, is written ny rather than as a phonetic symbol [ŋ].’ That is, with regard to Darkiñung, the alternative spelling Darkinyung used by Caroline Jones is more appropriate than Darkinjung used out of country by the LALC on the Central Coast (Chapter 8). A problem arises that readers break up the word incorrectly between ‘n’ and ‘j’, validating spelling to show the correct pronunciation of the third syllable (in Mathews's notebook ‘7’ as above) from Annie Barber: ‘Darkin-nyoong’. Yallop taught Aboriginal Languages at Macquarie University before going to Melbourne University. He lived among Aboriginal people in northern Australia in 1960s. \ Colin Yallop, 1982, ‘Australian Aboriginal Languages’, André Deutsch, London, pp.20-26.
were the inland mountain tribe of the coastal Wannungine [now known as ‘Guringai’ + ‘Awabakal’]. Jim Smith discovered the connection of the Gundungurra with Dharruk and Thurrawal [Dharawal] made by Mathews in a ca.1907 unpublished manuscript.

The ‘South-Kuri’

Arguably the most objective analyst has been Wilhelm Schmidt in distant Austria who impartially reviewed everything available. Within what he grouped as the ‘Yuin-Kuri’ languages, Schmidt identified as ‘South-Kuri’ the (a) Gundunggura together with Dharruk and (b) Port Jackson [Troy's later ‘Sydney’, Port Jackson / Botany Bay] Language. His ‘Middle-Kuri’ language consists of Darkůňųŋ, Wannarua and ‘Awabakal’. The most closely related, ‘North-Kuri’ language covered Kutthung [Kattung, in which is Worimi] and Biripi. Although Schmidt reviewed the records of the languages available at the beginning of the twentieth century, it is an identical conclusion to my review of the historical records of the people and places at the beginning of the twenty first century. The least accomplished classification for this local area is that by Robert Dixon who, when classifying Australian languages into fifty geographical Groups, had Dharuk and Darkinjung left over and bundled them in a Subgroup on their own, unrelated to the Groups.

77 Just as there was a similarity in languages between the southern Blue Mountains (Wollondilly) and corresponding coastal people, Curr also noticed a similarity in languages between the northern Blue Mountains (Hawkesbury) and the corresponding coastal people: ‘The Wonnarua language is more nearly related to that of the Hawkesbury than any other’. The problem in his findings was that he didn’t know that James Tuckerman’s list was from inland mountain people, and that Robert Miller’s list was actually the Wannerawa (aka Wannungine) coastal and estuarine people (rather than inland Hunter valley) - which is dealt with in Chapter 9/NE. Edward M. Curr, 1887, ‘The Australian Race - Its Origin, Languages, Customs [etc]’, Vol. III, Victoria Government Printer, Melbourne, also Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill (London), p.352.


80 It appears that Dixon had not noticed Schmidt’s analysis which showed Dharruk and Darkůňųŋ as distinct from each other. Dixon has to be seen to be believed that someone could do this: Australian Central East Coast, Group M, includes the northern NSW rivers on the coastal side of the Great Dividing Range (GDR), which seems sensible, although outside my study. Central NSW, Group N, covers the interior, including Wiradjuri [Wiradjuri] and Gamilaraay [Kamilaroi] - but has added Awabagal (with Wonarua) and Gadjang (Kattang), which is queer (see my Chapter 9/NE). While Dixon has Gamarayal [Cameraygal] aka Iora to be a dialect of Dharuk, he also has it, duplicated as Cameeragal, to be a dialect of his Awabagal in the interior. Southern NSW, Group P, separates the tablelands in which appears Gundungurra (or Burragorang) and the south coast in which appears Dharawal. Despite the recorded language overlapping with these, Dharuk is classified separately without a Group as Sydney, Subgroup O. Although (continued...)
It appears that Mathews was struggling to find a place for the Dharug people he had known in his infancy as above, and had to incorporate them with studies of those who had moved in to occupy their country, the Gundungurra and Dharawal (his ‘Thurrawal’). When Mathews's Gundungurra-descent informants were overlapping those of school teacher Mary Everitt at La Perouse, her additional work was incorporated jointly with his study presented in 1900 to the Royal Society of New South Wales, and he sent more to an American journal.81 ‘An abstract’ of his Gundungurra work was presented to the Royal Society the following year as an appendix to a presentation on the ‘Thurrawal’ language, for which there were also descendant informants at La Perouse. For this article, Mathews added the Gundungurra language abstract ‘to show its affinity to the Thurrawal’. Mathews could only muster a short item for the ‘Dharuk’, about the size of his Gundungurra abstract, so he inserted Dharruk within the Gundungurra appendix to the Dharawal article.82 Between the time of settlement and the time he made his records, there would have been a lot of language sharing between these three groups [viz. Gundungurra, Dharawal, Dharug] where their survivors were then sharing what used to have been Dharug country before being occupied by the settlers a century earlier (Chapter 10/SE).83 Similarly, Mathews 1903 had noted some affinities between the Kamilaroi and the Darkiñung native speakers - from where they interacted at the Hunter River (Chapter 12/NW).

80(...)continued

81 Criticisms that Mathews did not gather data, and the suggestion by ill-informed Illert that Mathews was physically incapable of riding a horse or of meeting Aborigines in Burrarorang Valley are pernicious, and a review of them is not part of this thesis. Illert hardly enhanced his own reputation by quoting Mathews's reports of lifetime encounters with Aborigines as ‘chauvinistic and sometimes prurient’. (Illert ignored p.iii in the 1900 source journal.) It is to be hoped that Michael Organ, at least, apologised. M.Organ has adopted C.R.Illert, placing him (Illert) on his (Organ's) website at Wollongong University, where he (Organ) notes his (Illert's) ‘researches during the 1990s resulted in an unlocking of the code to the original Australian Aboriginal language - -’. ‘In 2004 he commenced a Ph.D. in linguistics at the University of Western Sydney’. \ Mathews & Everitt 1900 ‘The Organisation (etc) of the Aborigines of the South-east Coast’; Mathews, Robert Hamilton, 1901a, ‘The Gundungurra Language’, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 40: 140-48; Christopher R. Illert, 2001, ‘The Centenary of Mary Everitt's “Gundungurra” Grammar’ communicated by Michael K. Organ, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 134: 19-44; Michael Organ, 2010, ‘Chris Illert's Proto-Australian Aboriginal Language’, online at www.uow.edu.au/~morgan/illert.htm, ‘updated at 28 July 2010’.


83 Should the question be addressed whether Dixon, as above, was inept by linking Darkiñung with Dharug - to the exclusion of other languages?
Mathews noted a boundary as ‘Lane Cove’, which was the Pittwater Lane Cove road [present day Mona Vale road], not Lane Cove river as Capell incorrectly assumed (Chapter 9/NE).

In his reference to Mathews’s ‘field note book [singular, sic]’, held at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Library [sic], Kohen published the statement: ‘It is important to note who R.H. Mathews’ Darug informants were.’ Not only does he show ignorance of Mathews’s notebooks actually held at the NLA as discussed earlier this chapter, he shows confusion both with who were Mathews’s informants and between members of the Lock Family when Mathews visited the Black Town. Robert Lock jnr born 1867, the husband of Fanny Lynch who spoke the Gundungurra language, is incorrectly listed by Kohen as a ‘Darug’ informant. Instead, it was Robert Lock snr born 1829 and reared on the Georges River who is identified with Mathews’s list of Dharruk words – as discussed later in this chapter. That is, the eldest son of convict Robert Lock (Chapter 4). In his list Kohen also uses a great deal of leeway when he wrongly attributes to Mathews: ‘Jimmy Lowndes who he states is an initiated Darug man, living at Botany Bay.’ Mathews could not have stated this because Lowndes was not noted as his contact, but as Mary Everitt’s, and Lowndes was not initiated, other than as a stockman for settlers. Lowndes, the son of convict James Lowndes, is discussed later in this chapter. Kohen 2006 Daruganora p.14. [It is p.44 of this reference that is discussed later this chapter.]

It appears that someone is trying to guide the reader into thinking that it had been Sarah Castle who provided Kohen’s contrived term. In a copy of his own transcript from this page which he kindly shared with me, Keith Smith has noted: ‘ Darug [another hand]’, providing agreement with my observation. Smith had been checking on references in an article by anthropologists Wood and Williams 2001, submitted to the Federal Court 2002 (Chapter 7) which had been supplied to him by his supervisor, Jim Kohen, at Macquarie University. The entry by the unknown person is the only record linking any Aboriginal informant to the identification of the language as Dhargu [whatever spelling]. This marginalia cannot have been added by Mathews, who drew the letter ‘g’ like the number ‘8’, starting at the top with a (continued...)
by Kohen that Mathews would not use - rather, Mathews showed ‘Dh’ as a different sound to ‘D’, and pronounced each letter ‘r’ separately, although a hard ‘g’ and ‘k’ could be interchangeable.\textsuperscript{87}

![Image](image.jpg)

Extract from top of p.23, Mathew's notebook '7'. $35 photo, used by permission of the National Library of Australia.

Additions recently made to this page include the new word ‘Darug’ contrived ca.1990 by J.L. Kohen. It is heavily underscored in red and a heavy red line has been drawn over the left hand wavy line separating seven expressions from the rest of the page.

From a subsequent meeting by Mathews, eight pages later in the notebook following more Gundungurra vocabulary, Sarah Castle re-appears, on page 31 headed: ‘Mrs W\textsuperscript{m} Lock, nee “Sally Annie Castle”, sister of “Charlie Smith” at Hawkesbury’, with inserted under her name: ‘Born at Liverpool in 1836 in May’. The entries appear to continue over three pages, still without identification, until they end at the heading ‘Fanny Lynch - Mrs Fanny Lock’ to which is added ‘Gundungurra’. The language name Dharug cannot be attributed to Sarah Castle because there is no language identification whatsoever associated with these three pages, although the notes can be seen to have contributed to Mathews's publication of ‘The Dharruk Language’ as given above.\textsuperscript{88}

\textsuperscript{87}(...continued)

half circle continuing down below the line to make a complete lower loop, even at the end of a word. The unidentified person drew the letter ‘g’ with a distinctive full circle above the line, doubling down the left hand side and continuing to make a tail without a lower loop. As already mentioned, Elkin published ‘Dharruk’ and Dixon ‘Dhark’. Although it does not match Capell's writing, I observe that in 1966 he had recorded (from Catherine Berndt in northern Australia) that Darug was the term for ‘cousin talk’, a limited language on par with ‘mother-in-law talk’. Similarly, a possible meaning from Gundungurra-speaking informants who provided the term with a ‘Dh’ sound is ‘hen's talk’, i.e. ‘woman's talk’. \textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{88}At the beginning of the publication in which Mathews introduced his Dharruk language to the world, Mathews wrote under ‘Orthography’: ‘The system of orthoepy is that of - - the Royal Geographical Society, London’ with several specifics including - ‘Dh’ is pronounced nearly as th in “that” ’, and ‘in all cases where there is a double consonant, each letter is distinctly enunciated.’ \textsuperscript{87}

\textsuperscript{88}Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Darkinoong and Wiradjuri’ pp.31-33.
A likely scenario from this notebook is that Mathews had met Sarah Castle (Mrs Lock) incidentally when he was pursuing his investigations of the Gundungurra Language with Fanny Lynch (Mrs Lock) to whom he had been referred by Joseph Lynch. In attributing Sarah to have come from Liverpool, he was attributing her language to the Georges River people - just as Kohen in 1984 identified the Georges River language as Dharug (Chapter 7). Kohen's genealogy project gave Sarah's parents as convict Benjamin Castles and Aborigine Sarah Moran who came from the Aboriginal group at Prospect Creek tributary of Georges River, with their daughter Sarah born at Cabramatta Creek in 1847 [she’d told Mathews May 1836].\footnote{Ben Castle was transported with a life sentence, arr.
{em}Norfolk
1837. This genealogy is not part of the thesis and more study is required (I found his 1837 age given as 21yo and 28yo). With this first ‘Mrs Castle(s)’ née Moran, Kohen describes three generations called ‘Sarah Castle’.

The daughter could not have been born May 1836 when she told Mathews if her father had not arrived.... could he have become a step-father? Kohen gives October 1847. His genealogy project was being conducted for the publishers as given for the book following. (This published genealogy was changed in new 2006 edition.)


Sarah (Mrs Lock) from Georges River evidently became an informant for Robert Mathews when they met at Black Town, by providing phrases from which some grammar was constructed. Sarah and her husband William Lock had been witnesses for the marriage of ‘Charles Joseph Smith’ to William's younger sister ‘Clara Lock’ in 1877 (by when Charles was nearly 40yo). Although neither had married before, Clara already had a 9yo daughter, Maria Stevens, and had no other known children.\footnote{Sarah (Mrs Lock) from Georges River evidently became an informant for Robert Mathews when they met at Black Town, by providing phrases from which some grammar was constructed. Sarah and her husband William Lock had been witnesses for the marriage of ‘Charles Joseph Smith’ to William's younger sister ‘Clara Lock’ in 1877 (by when Charles was nearly 40yo). Although neither had married before, Clara already had a 9yo daughter, Maria Stevens, and had no other known children.} Charles may have then fled to the Hawkesbury community taking his new wife and step-daughter because he was unpopular at Blacktown amongst the Lock family community. After he went to live on the Sackville land reserved for the Aborigine's camp, he was a common complainant to the Aborigines Protection Board about people there and seeking to improve resources without labouring as the younger men did. In contrast to the working class of his generation, it appears that Charles was literate so probably displayed a superior attitude - perhaps he had been educated as a white boy. He was out of place, for the Aboriginal community on the Hawkesbury had remained independent, working on local farms. He fenced himself off on a portion of the reserve and lodged a formal complaint when a person who used to camp there came back from being employed elsewhere. At 20yo, step-daughter Maria married Richard White who was a local in the Sackville (Portland Head Rock) district, but they had little (perhaps nothing) to do with Charles. Richard knew so little, and cared less, about Maria’s step-father that when he died in 1918 as an isolated old man (six years after Clara), Richard let the Windsor undertaker who collected the body think that Charles could have been born there. \textcopyright Data sources: research by Jack Brook in Brook 1994 ‘\textit{Shut Out}’, 1999 2nd edn, various entries for Charlie Smith; Charles Joseph Smith, Marriage Certificate, registration 4745/1877; Charles Smith, Death Certificate, registration 6919/1918: Clara Locke Birth registration NSW BDM Index Vol.1776, 61/1842; Maria Locke [Maria Stevens, daughter of Clara] Birth registration NSW BDM Index 17842/1868. See next footnote re genealogy table.

\footnote{Kohen's published genealogy of the Lock Family appears with a duplication: he has as a supposed son of Clara, John Bolton b.1862 (whose father was an Englishman) who was the father of John Bolton b.1888, who married Clara's granddaughter: viz. Maria and Richard's daughter Laura b.1891.}
mother Maria having come from there when she was a small child (Chapter 4). 91

The Lock family of the Black Town (Chapter 4) had been in residence at Liverpool, at first when convict Robert was working for Rev. Robert Cartwright there. 92 Of the family of Maria and Robert Lock (1st), Sarah Castle had married son William - born 1834 at Liverpool, after each had had children from other liaisons, and Fanny Lynch daughter of Billy Lynch had married grandson Robert jnr (3rd), whose father was Robert snr (2nd) - born 1829, Liverpool. Charlie Smith had married their younger sister Clara (born 1842, Liverpool), so he was a brother-in-law (and may have also been Sarah Castle's half brother). 93 None of this genealogy, pursued by Kohen, establishes the Hawkesbury community visited by Mathews as above to have been Dharug as commonly sourced to Kohen by other authors (discussed in Chapter 7).

The Gundungurra Source of Dhar-rook / Dhar-ruk

My historiography study provides a solution to the mystery of from where Mathews obtained his Dharug

91 Kohen's genealogy as published needs review: in the 1st edn (1993 p.179) Kohen shows Clara b. 5 Jun 1842 with sister Eliza b. cir 1843; in the 2nd, corrected, edn (2006 pp.126-27) Kohen shows Clara b.1842 as before with sister Eliza born 4 Feb 1842 to the same mother (Maria). Sister Martha is shown born 7 Oct 1847, but Martha's birth (baptism?) was indexed Vol.3403,72 for 1842, so that would have been three daughters born in the same 1842 period - could they all be to the same mother, or are any of them not this Lock family? While Clara's only child Maria became Mrs White as above, Martha married William Stubbings in 1866 and Eliza married William Parsons in 1861 - both shown with large numbers of descendants. For their sake there should have been clarification before publication to show that they were the family of this Maria Lock.... whose ancestry as shown in this thesis was Darkńung. (That clarification is not a function for this thesis.) \ Genealogy table published by Kohen, 1st edn in Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’ App.1 pp.145-88, 2nd edn in Kohen 2006 ‘Daruganora’ Chpt.9 pp.70-168: Eliza Lock x William G Parsons, Marriage registration NSW BDM Index 2589/1861; Martha Lock x William Stubbins [sic], Marriage registration NSW BDM Index 2776/1866.

92 At late 1825, convict Robert Lock was residing with his wife Maria on a small (4 acre) plot within the previous ‘Native Institution and Farms’, which he wrote [had written for him] that the church was going to appropriate, so he applied for a grant of his own there ‘on Eastern Creek’, but no more land was available at that location. [In 1826 the church used this previous ‘Black Town’ Native Institution for a white child boarding school.] By the census late 1828 Robert's sentence had expired and he was a timber worker at Liverpool. From Liverpool Maria in 1831 wrote that she had not received land, applying for the portion that was occupied by Nurragingy at the ‘Black Town’ as outlined later in this chapter. In response Robert, now a free man, was granted land at Liverpool where they were already living, so that is where the eldest of their family was reared - amongst the Georges River Aborigines. In 1843 Maria successfully reapplied for the 1816 grant to Nurragingy but which had been deeded in 1819 to Colebee and the Lock family moved residence from Liverpool to the ‘Black Town’. \ Allan Jackson & Marie Jackson, 1981, “The Wedding Portion”, unpublished collection of papers for private distribution, from Jack Brook collection; Naomi Parry, 2005, ‘Lock, Maria (c.1805-1878)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Supplementary Volume, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.236-37, available online from Australian National University at www.adb.anu.edu/ biogs.

language which is being developed in the present day as the Aboriginal Language for greater Sydney, inappropriately extended to incorporate Blue Mountains country from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges of this thesis. From entries in his notebook, the name identifying the language had come from Camden. The notebook entry, for three old women named at Camden referred to earlier in this chapter, was written on the top of one of the three pages which I have attributed to Sarah Castle as above, placing them also as a source of this language for Mathews. In his notebook pages surrounding this entry I have counted six entries of the Gundungurra term ‘Dhoorook’ interpreted as ‘doe’ representing a female animal.\(^{94}\) This is the only source recorded locally with affinities to the term which Mathews applied to the language, suggesting that if it was the source of the language identification it may have been given by Gundungurra-speaking people with whom Mathews talked. It can be no co-incidence that at Camden it was also recorded by Alfred Bennett as ‘Dharruck’ in Billy Russell's memoirs with implications as discussed earlier in this chapter. Robert Mathews himself published that Billy Russell had been one of his (Mathews's) ‘principal informants’.\(^{95}\) Although he had given the language name Gur-gur when he spoke with Bennett many years later than when he spoke with Mathews, the finger of history points to Billy Russell as a culprit who named the people using Dhoorook aka Dharrook which Mathews took up as the language Dharruk [various spellings].\(^{96}\) Mathews's records show that he met Gundungurra-speaking people not only in Gundungurra country but also in what can now be considered as having been traditional Dharug country at Camden, La Perouse and Black Town (Chapter 10/SE).

\(^{94}\) Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Darkinoong and Wiradjuri’ pp.14 [4 entries],17,65.

\(^{95}\) Mathews's contact with Billy Russell was noted in the context of: ‘having visited and camped with the natives of Burragorang, on the Wollondilly River, the most isolated and hence the best preserved and primitive remnant of the Gundungurra speaking people’. (Page iii confirms it was he who went down to the Wollondilly River.) Mathews & Everitt 1900 ‘The Organisation (etc) of the Aborigines of the South-east Coast’, p.iii, pp.262-63.

\(^{96}\) Given the relationship between them, the question of a language overlap between Gur-gur and Gundungurra bears further investigation. Use of the expression - which described the plains people [Gur-gur] with the term ‘dharrook’ - was retained by the mountain people [Gundun-gur-ra] who travelled up the Cox River, a tributary of the Wollondilly. Their move was summarised by Dianne Johnon 2007. From camps around a mining village in Nelly's Glen they settled ‘The Gully’ at Katoomba. [I was familiar with both areas as a child, and investigated Nelly's Glen social history when an undergraduate, producing the 1961 Nelly's Glen map published by Paddy Pallin Pty Ltd.] In her memoirs, discussed later this chapter, Joan Cooper while at ‘The Gully’ remembered the use of the term to describe the plains people being pronounced the Gundungurra way. She thought it meant a bird. (Its meaning as “Hen, Gandangara” has been entered in Mathews notebook ‘7’, p.65.) Joan's parents had talked ‘Language’, in the form of a ‘pigin’. When they moved to The Gully she fell in love with a teenage Gundungurra boy there, Harold ‘Digger’ Cooper [who ‘used to dig up worms’]. Joan remembered Digger as a teacher of Gundungurra culture - e.g. telling their sons when they saw a spirit man “He was a friendly man”. The term she remembered as pronounced ‘Dhoorook’ for Dharug appears to have come from Digger's Gundungurra people at The Gully. While Digger's father was Burragorang man Matthew ‘Nat’ Cooper, his mother was of Darkinhung ancestry as established in this thesis: Ethel Lock, daughter of Maria's son Charles. (The term could not have come from Joan's father's talk with his brothers who lived at Sackville, because they were the Everingham family whom Robert Mathews identified specifically as Darkinhung.) Johnson 2007 ‘Sacred Waters’, p.58; Johnson 2003 ‘Aunty Joan Cooper’ p.117, p.118.
By the time subsequently when Mathews was working on the phrases he’d collected, (recognisably
developing Sarah Castle’s information to decline the verb to throw), he used a page in a later notebook
which he had headed ‘Dharruk’, showing he had chosen an identifying name the same as spoken by Billy
Russell (written by Bennett, as above) when he (Mathews) was preparing to publish.\footnote{7}

The Participation of the Extended Hassall Family Preachers\footnote{8}

Whereas Mathew’s Darkiñung speech distinctly came with the identifying name from members of the
Hawkesbury community with whom he was friendly, my historical solution is that Mathew’s un-named
speech later called Dharug probably came from members of the ‘Black Town’ community which
Mathews had contacted when seeking more information on the Gundungurra language from Fanny
Lynch, now Mrs Lock as above. Long before Mathews began his visits from Parramatta, although they
retained their grants at Liverpool, the Lock Family of the indomitable matriarch Maria (born ca.1808,
Chapter 4) had moved from the Georges River to the Black Town about 1843, across the Richmond Road
from where the Native Institution had been transferred from Parramatta in 1823.\footnote{9} There, Maria took
possession, and moved her family to the 1816 grant from Governor Macquarie [1819 deed] discussed
following - which had been occupied by Nurragingy’s family as follows.\footnote{10} The extended Hassall Family
had had a pervasive influence on this history while Maria and the Native Institution had been at
Parramatta, interacting both with Nurragingy in the area of what was to become the ‘Black Town’, and

\footnote{7} When travelling in northwestern NSW, Mathews had had to obtain an extra notebook, which he did
from Mrs E.C. Everingham, then the proprietor of the Criterion Hotel at Moree. Subsequently, he used
the unfilled pages to clarify concepts which he had gathered. He appears to have been drafting grammar,
for which he has chosen the new term ‘Dharruk’ for publication, and no source is given. There is only
one page headed ‘Dharruk’, but it is surrounded by pages headed ‘Thurrawal’ and ‘Gundungurra’ (or
‘Burragorang’). The third line on the Dharruk page has been circled, and re-labelled ‘Burragorang talk’
in Mathew’s handwriting - supporting the concept that the un-named language he had collected and
named ‘Dharruk’ was influenced by Gundungurra-speakers who had come from Burragorang Valley.
\footnote{8} Data on the interactions of the extended Hassall Family is given by Stewart & Hassall, with Rev.
William Walker Chapter 9 and Rev. Walter Lawry Chapter 7. \footnote{9} Jean Stewart & David J. Hassall, 1998,

New South Wales University Press, Kensington (Sydney), pp.134.

\footnote{10} Maria’s family continued to grow after the move to Black Town. Sometime during this period, records
for the parents Maria and Robert were entered as ‘Locke’. I will retain Lock. The eldest son, Robert
Lock 2nd (who became Robert Lock snr to his son Robert Lock 3rd) was born 1829 at Liverpool, his
youngest brother James was born 1845 at Black Town. It appears to have been Robert Lock born 1829
who - in the 1890s - was to tell Robert Mathews the Aboriginal words he had learned as a youngster on the
Georges River, as given later in this chapter. \footnote{10} Robert Lock, birth registration NSW BDM Index
Vol.279,13/1829; James Locke, birth registration NSW BDM Index Vol.3402,72/1845.
with *Yellomundy* in the area of Portland Head Rock to become Ebenezer. The Hassalls and their sons-in-law Lawry and Walker were Mathews's antecedents in their contacts with the Hawkesbury River *Darkinung* people.

On Sunday 7 October 1821 while still newly arrived in the colony the erstwhile missionary, twenty one years old Rev. William Walker, had been taken by the young James Hassall to visit ‘a place known by the name of South Creek - - - where some of the girls out of the [Parramatta] Native Institution, who have lately been married to the wild men, have settled.’ They met Aborigines with whom James was familiar in ‘several huts’ on the Richmond Road.\(^{101}\)\(^{102}\) They dined with the Aborigines, their leader whom Brook identified as ‘Jemmy’ [*Nurragingy*] playing host.\(^{103}\) Researcher Jack Brook located this place as the 1816 land grant where the road crossed Gidley Ponds (present day Bell's Creek which flows into Eastern Creek at Riverstone). This is the place which Walker chose to become a mission he pre-named ‘Bethel’.\(^{104}\)

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\(^{101}\) Walker's 'huts' were typical settler accommodation: Brook found that a then settler neighbour (on the land across the road to later become the Native Institution) had been paid by the government to build a 'House for Nurragingy, chief of the South Creek Tribe'. This location at Gidley Ponds was not strictly South Creek which was crossed 4½ miles (ca.7km) further along the road to Richmond. Later a South Creek 'Blacks' Camp' settlement was located closer to the Creek, apparently at Marsden's 'Marsden Park' farm. An Eastern Creek settlement developed at O’Connell's ‘Riverstone’ farm upstream of the junction with South Creek, although Gidley Ponds (present day Bells Creek) geographically is part of Eastern Creek. I have found the Gidley Ponds site was well placed to be above the lowlands which flooded, chosen on the higher ground protruding to the north between South Creek and Eastern Creek along which the Richmond Road ran [later Plumpton Ridge]. \(\ll\) Visit to ‘South Creek’; Rev. William Walker, 1821, ‘Report addressed to Rev. Richard Watson [as Secretary of Mission Society], 17 October 1821’, in James Bonwick (ed.), 1887-1902, Transcripts Series 1, Missionary Documents, Box 51 document 203 [previously 143], pp.942-45, also, Walker references cited by Brook & Kohen 1991 as in a following footnote; Jack Brook, 1983 (1st edn), 'Blacktown, A Name of Character - A History of the Aboriginal Settlement of Black Town', Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown, p.11, additional information about 'House for Nurragingy' from research by Brook is in 1996 3rd edn p.13.

\(^{102}\) The location, ‘Gidley Ponds’ (later ‘Bells Creek’), did not then indicate either a perennial flowing stream or a dry gully. Before settlers cleared the countryside and transformed the watercourses into swiftly flowing drains, what later became known as ‘creeks’ were chains of ponds or swamps and lagoons which supported local wildlife and provided habitat for edible fish. My study on this subject of ‘natural geography’, as mentioned in Introduction, cannot be accommodated in this thesis, but note discussion by Peter Andrews and especially reference to work of Wayne Erskine footnoted next chapter. \(\ll\) Peter Andrews, 2006, ‘Back from the Brink - How Australia's Landscape Can be Saved’, ABC Books, Sydney.

\(^{103}\) ‘Jemmy’ was a slang term for James used as an alternative to Jimmy: Lawyer William Walker (no relation - other than by marriage) knew *Nurragingy* as ‘Jamie’ - as cited below.

\(^{104}\) Rev. William Walker reported that it was ‘very necessary’ to ‘fix my first tabernacle at Bethel among the Aborigines’ ‘as the females who have been married out of the Native Institution will all run wild, if some measure is not adopted to prevent them’. He also had two Aboriginal boys living with him. In instructing me in what he thought I should discover for this thesis (see Introduction), Jim Kohen has drawn my attention to this citation from Rev. Walker - who actually listed ‘Hawkesbury - part of which tribe have settled at Bethel. The Chief's name - Jemmy.’ This is an argument for Kohen locating Jemmy's (*Nurragingy*)’ ‘South Creek’ Aborigines as occupying the Hawkesbury River and Blue Mountains. However, Walker was writing with the meaning of the Hawkesbury church circuit:- it was Aborigines on (continued...)
Bethel was the ancient place of the first Land Rights in the historical record. Three weeks later Walker referred to it as ‘the black town’ at ‘Boongarrunbee’ (aka ‘bungarribbee’). Rather than the

104 (...continued)

the higher land on the mountain side of the floodplain who actually occupied the Hawkesbury River, as described in Part I (Chapters 2 and 3). In listing more ‘tribes’ whom he wanted to settle at his ‘Bethel’, Walker included groups north to Broken Bay, south to Illawarra Five Islands, west to The Cowpastures and east to Botany Bay. The Aborigines of the Hawkesbury River (whom Mathews was to identify as Darkiñung) may have been those to whom Walker referred as the Windsor tribe, but wrote he did not see them when he ‘rode to Windsor expecting to meet them’. In an important adjunct to his list, Walker added: ‘The languages of all these tribes are different, so much so that one tribe rarely understands another in every particular.’ In contrast to the ‘Richmond Road’ Creek people, the River people are better known in historical records as the Richmond Hill and Portland Head people: i.e. ‘The Branch’ natives of Chapter 2. As a member of the extended Hassall family, Walker was aware of Yellomundy’s people on the River - who ranged between the respective present day towns of North Richmond (Richmond Hill) and Wilberforce (Portland Head) which are only 7 miles (11km) apart across country on the left hand (western) side of the river along the higher ground of the Richmond Terrace. \ Rev. William Walker, 1821, ‘Report addressed to Rev. Richard Watson, 15 November 1821’, in James Bonwick (ed.), 1887-1902, Transcripts Series 1, Missionary Documents, Box 52 document 217 [previously 157], pp.998-99; Kohen’s citation from Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘The Parramatta Native Institution’, p.122, this is ref. given p.275 as Walker to Watson 5[sic]/11/1821, and in Kohen’s 1986b thesis this is ref. given p.349 as 13[sic]/10[sic]/1821.

105 In biblical times, Jacob, twin son of Rebekah and Isaac, when crossing the Ephraim mountains on a journey away from home dreamed of a ladder up to heaven. During his dreaming, while looking up at heaven, the Lord God of his grandfather Abraham gave him that place where he had laid down - which was first called Luz. A stone cairn was placed to mark the site of ‘Jacob’s Ladder’ which he renamed Bethel - now a town in those mountains. Reminiscently of biblical cairns, white explorers when crossing the mountains of this thesis found such a rock pile which may have been attributable to the people of the Darkiñung mountains marking locations for their Land Rights too (Chapter 3). \ Book 1 of Moses, ‘Genesis’ Chapter 28, in The Holy Bible.

106 Through the extended Hassall family it is easy to see a person confusing the Aborigines at South Creek with those from the Hawkesbury River, unless care is taken. James Hassall was a couple of years younger than William Walker, with elder brother to become Rev. Thomas Hassall (who married Marsden’s daughter), sister Eliza who married Walker in 1823 and sister Mary (who married Rev. Walter Lawry, another Methodist). They were children of Elizabeth and Rowland Hassall at Parramatta, property manager and preacher, who preached to the Protestants at Portland Head Rock on the Hawkesbury River and helped establish the chapel on Ebenezer Mount there. In 1809 he reported ‘The Portland Head chapel - is almost finished’. Along with visiting clerics like Lancelot Threlkeld who had land there (Chapter 9/NE), they came to know the local Aborigines along the Hawkesbury River who were later defined by Robert Mathews as Darkiñung. It was Rowland’s son-in-law Walter Lawry who had recorded Yellomundy there at Portland Head Rock in 1818 (Chapter 1). James would have been about 10yo when his mother Elizabeth Hassall took in the waif from the Hawkesbury River who was to become Maria Lock (Chapter 4). As mentioned for Chapter 4, the story is retold that Maria was first married off to Dicky (alias ‘Thomas Coke’ [pronounced ‘cook’]), one of the Aboriginal boys who had been in the care of Rowland’s son-in-law William Walker. \ Citations, from correspondence between Rev. William Walker and Rev. Richard Watson of the Wesleyan Missionary Committee in England, from Jack Brook research, in ‘A Missionary to the Black Natives of New South Wales’, Chapter 6 pp.103-31 in Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘The Parramatta Native Institution’; Rev. William Walker, 1821, ‘Report addressed to Rev. Richard Watson, 5 December 1821’, in James Bonwick (ed.), 1887-1902, Transcripts Series 1, Missionary Documents, Box 52 document 230 [previously 170], pp.1047-50, quote ‘the black town, Boongarrunbee’ p.1047; Niel Gunson, 1966, ‘Hassall, Rowland (1768-1820)’ and ‘Hassall, Thomas (1794-1868)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.521-23; S.G. Claughton, 1967, ‘Lawry, Walter (1793-1859)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.2, Melbourne (continued...)
Wesleyan Methodist church minister Walker getting his Bethel mission, Hassall's father's superior, the dominant Rev. Samuel Marsden, took control for the establishment Church of England, and instead appointed another young missionary, catechist George Clarke, to take charge. With Macquarie gone, Marsden had Macquarie's Parramatta Native Institution transferred to a nearby property at Gidley Ponds - on the other side of Richmond Road to the 1816 grant.\(^{108}\)

The historiography of Robert Mathew's inability in the 1890s to identify the local language takes its twists and turns from these actions in the 1820s. While Liverpool (a Georges River inland port) was only 9½ miles across country beyond Parramatta, it was 13 miles over the hills from Parramatta to Gidley Ponds on the Richmond Road.\(^{109, 110}\)

\(^{106}\)\(\ldots\)continued\)


\(^{107}\) For blankets issued from Parramatta, ‘Bungarrabbee’ is given as the transcription of the ‘district’ for the Warrawarry/Warrawarra/Werweruway/Worrowawry/Woorrewarry or Eastern Creek ‘tribe’ with whom is listed Woorrerwuda alias ‘Johnny’, husband of Betty Cox, described in Chapter 4. \(\triangleleft\) Jim Kohen (compiler), 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’ (& misc. lists to 1851), Macquarie University.

\(^{108}\) The proximity to Marsden Park (previous footnote) bears specific investigation. Marsden may have seen value in Institution trainees serving at the adjacent Marsden Park as follows: noted by Backhouse in 1835, Marsden achieved a collection of ‘half-domesticated’ Aborigines to work on his property at South Creek. Marsden's appointee Clarke and his wife left after a year but missionary-inclined John Harper who was teaching the children stayed on and was still there when Walker eventually was put in charge of the remaining girls (after the boys had been sent to Liverpool). The young missionaries were about the same age: Clarke born 1798; Walker born 1800; Harper born 1801. When Harper was sent to the interior, the institution closed down. \(\triangleleft\) Ron J. Harper, 2002, ‘Treatise on the Life of John Harper (1801 - 1862) - Missionary (1823-1828) to the Aborigines of the Colony of New South Wales, New Holland’, self published, Sydney, pp.9-10.

\(^{109}\) Once again, a failure to take into account the historical geography warps the interpretation of modern authors. A relocation of present day Blacktown closer to Parramatta is dealt with following. The original location of the Black Town, as known by Robert Mathews, was where Richmond Road* crosses present day Bells Creek, with the 1816 grant settlement (including later Plumpton ‘Mission’) on the east side and the 1823 Institution on the west side of the road. (Bells Creek is previous Gidley Ponds of Eastern Creek.) Although it is 13 miles (21km) from Parramatta over the hills, over the lowlands across the floodplain is only 11½ miles (19km) from Richmond, and turning off for the George Street road, just 11 miles (18km) to Windsor. Walker (8/11/1821 as above) gave ‘the black town’ location as ‘about 12 miles from Parramatta, 7 from Windsor’, continuing ‘But as the water in this place is little more than a small stream, it does not afford sufficient quantities of fish to sustain the settlers’, i.e. it was not a natural location for a permanent campsite. It is not surprising that camps were closer to the main streams. The begging and trading of some of the Aborigines from the Richmond Road camps was done in the main (continued...)
The South Creek Community Was Not The Hawkesbury River Community

The greatest problem in resolving whether the Hawkesbury Aborigines were Darkiñung-speakers (as given in 1890s by Mathews) or Dharug-speakers (as given a hundred years later by Kohen) is associated with determining who were the Aborigines on the south edge of the Hawkesbury floodplain known to have accumulated after settlement around the vicinity where the Richmond Road crossed South Creek. While some of them visited the Hawkesbury towns of Richmond and Windsor across the floodplain, historical records show that they did not take up residence there. It was foreign country to them.\footnote{111}

The 1816 land grant (across the road from the new Native Institution) had been in possession of \textit{Nurragingy} (\textit{Naranggungui}, alias ‘Creek Jemmy’), who - as a landowner in the colonial system - had attempted to mimic an English swell, even insisting on a landholder's rights for convict labour.\footnote{112} But

\footnote{(...continued)}

administrative town, the inland river port of Windsor. \textit{(* From the Richmond end, the road is, of course, the Blacktown Road.)}

\footnote{110} In his 1986b thesis, J.L. Kohen wrote: ‘Walker suggests that people from the South Creek Tribe spent some time on the Hawkesbury River probably in the late summer’ - - - . This is based on Walker having met ‘Jemmy’ and the others in October 1821 at settlement huts on Gov. Macquarie's 1816 land grant as above. Jemmy used to cross the floodplain to the north to beg in the river towns, but Kohen uses Walker's sycophantic letters as ‘ethnographic evidence’ for the traditional people at the time of first contact with settlers. Kohen wrote further, that the open camp sites (on Plumpton Ridge) to the south of the floodplain were used during the winter months. Walker's notes do not provide any such information about traditional life more than thirty years before he arrived in the colony (although cross refer to oral history by John Lawson ca.1900 footnoted Chapter 7). \textit{\&} Kohen 1986b ‘Prehistoric Settlement’ p.302.

\footnote{111} The Western Sydney Local History authority Carol Liston fittingly summarised what could happen across this floodplain after rain upstream: ‘an inland sea’ - - between Riverstone and Kurrajong. Only a narrow strip of high ridge (with the churches) in Windsor was dry.’ Governor Macquarie had chosen as the centre of his new town, Windsor, the high hill on which the two St Matthew's churches were placed alongside the square, although the settlers retained the adjacent ‘green hills’ at the wharf as their commercial centre. The Riverstone side represented the Dharug border, Kurrajong the Darkiñung, as shown in this thesis. See also consideration of Aboriginal territory at Lake Alexandrina [an inland sea] footnoted in Chapter 7. \textit{\&} Carol Liston, 2001, Foreword in Michelle Nichols, 2001, ‘Disastrous Decade - Flood and Fire in Windsor 1864-1874’, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights (Sydney), p.vii.

\footnote{112} Archdeacon Scott reported that Creek Jemmy's cattle had increased under the care of a paid stockman, but Creek Jemmy neglected himself. Scott wrote: ‘“Creek Jemmy” often asks me to Sell them for Money in order (to use his own Words) he may “Buy a long Coat and Cocked Hat, and be a Swell”, a Colonial phrase for a well Dressed Convict.’ Nurrangingy's government ration was on condition his granddaughter attend school, but her father would not permit her to attend. (Young James Hassall had introduced William Walker in 1821 to Creek Jemmy's son Bobby and his wife Betty Fulton who had been in the Native Institution. Apparently this Betty, born ca.1805, had been captured on the Georges River at the time of the 1816 Appin Massacre.) My review of this topic is beyond the scope for this thesis. \textit{\&} Thomas Hobbes Scott, Archdeacon, 1827, The Civilization and Education of the Native Inhabitants of the Colony, Report of Scott to Governor Darling, 1 August 1827, Enclosure No.1, pp.55-63, in Ralph Darling, Governor, 1828, Despatch to W. Huskisson, 27 March 1828, cited in Frederick Watson (ed.), 1922, ‘Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Governors’ Despatches to and from England, Vol.XIV, March 1828-May 1829’, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.54-64, quote p.63.
mimicking absentee landholders, ‘Creek Jemmy’ did not remain in occupancy. He visited the towns of
Windsor or Richmond and resided at the South Creek ‘Black’s camp’. Mr William Walker of the
Windsor legal family thought that with the death of Creek Jemmy’s Aboriginal family in the 1840s the
local Aborigines became extinct. They appear to have taken up a camp at South Creek closer than the
Black Town to the town resources.

Similarly, John Fitzpatrick from Windsor thought that later people at ‘the principal camp’, on the ‘creek,
between Windsor and Riverstone’, were ‘a miserable remnant of the once stalwart natives who had
roamed the banks of the Hawkesbury’. He was wrong, these people on the creek were a residue of the
South Creek people (the stalwart natives who had roamed south of the floodplain and fought the original
settlers to a standstill), a different group to the Hawkesbury River people who were still on the river and
were being visited by Robert Mathews downstream near Sackville. Fitzpatrick recalled the dominant

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113 When missionary-inclined Rev. John Harper returned from the interior, he was appointed to the
southern part of the Windsor church circuit. Harper wanted to set up a new missionary establishment at
Richmond, asking Aborigines whom he had previously known at Black Town: ‘to remain with me, but
they preferred wandering about’. Shortly before the archdeacon’s report to the governor above, on
Tuesday 20 February 1827 he met Nurragingy in Richmond: ‘I spoke to a number of Blacks among
whom was Jimmy, the Chief of the South Creek Tribe some time ago, he was getting on considerably well
with his farm at Black Town, his cattle alone were upon the increase: but his constant movement from
place to place meant he found subsistence by begging.’ Diary of Rev. John Harper, transcribed by

114 It is not clear exactly where Nurragingy’s family actually camped after his death. His son Bobby
(shown as 39yo in 1839) with wife and 2 boys was turning up for annual blanket handouts listed at
Parramatta. Woorrerwuda (alias Johnny Cox) had been on the blanket lists for years and in 1839 Bobby
joined him. In 1839 Johnny is shown as 38yo, wife Betty 31yo, with 3 boys and 3 girls. Some of these
Cox children became contacts of Robert Mathews as follows. Kohen 1986a ‘Return of Aboriginal
Natives’.

115 Lawyer William Walker, born 1828 in Glasgow, arrived at Windsor as a 12yo. His reminiscences
were presented in 1890 as a lecture. Around 1840 they were visited in Windsor by one Aboriginal family,
with whose later death he remembered ‘the Windsor tribe of blacks became extinct’. It was King Jimmy
[where Jimmy is alternative to Jimmy for James]; ‘- - King Jamie and his gin and two sons Billy and Bobby. Their
camping place was a short distance off, up the South Creek. Jamie wore a brass plate suspended by a
string from his neck, bearing his name, and which he said had been given to him by good Governor
Macquarie. The old couple were very harmless, and were the objects of charity.’ Care must be taken
with solicitor Walker’s personal identity, since, like cleric Rev. Wm Walker before him, lawyer Wm
Walker also married into the Hassall family, his first wife being Mary Hassall granddaughter of Rowland
Hassall. William Walker, 1890, ‘Reminiscences of a Fifty Years Residence at Windsor on the
of Biography, Vol.6, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p.344.

116 Fitzpatrick established the local newspaper “Windsor and Richmond Gazette” in 1888. John
Charles Lucas Fitzpatrick, 1900, ‘The Aborigines’, Part V in ‘The Good Old Days’ being a Record of
Facts and Reminiscences Concerning the Hawkesbury District’ - compiled from the columns of the
Aborigine with a gorget as being ‘Creek Tommy’ when he was remembering ‘Creek Jemmy’. The place where ‘land in and around Blacktown belonged to aboriginals’ seems to have been a separate location to the blacks’ camp lower down the creek which Brook identified as Marsden property.

The number of ‘camps’ at this South Creek / Eastern Creek, viz. Marsden Park / Riverstone, vicinity requires clarification. At that time in history it would have depended on the goodwill of the property owners who had received government land grants. In 1835 Woorrerwuda alias ‘Johnny’ of Eastern Creek, husband of Betty Cox, was appointed by Rev. Samuel Marsden as a ‘guide’ to conduct the visiting Quaker missionaries James Backhouse and George Walker from Parramatta to South Creek where they stayed with Marsden’s son Charles at ‘Marsden Park’. Backhouse wrote ‘we walked to the side of the Creek, to see the Black Natives - - - (who) may be considered as half-domesticated, and they often assist in the agricultural operations of the settlers.’ Backhouse mentioned Betty Cox (who ‘can read’), ‘who was educated in a school - - at Parramatta.’ At that stage, well before the Lock family arrived from Liverpool, it seems that Nurragingy's family may have already left the Gidley Ponds location of the Black Town: ‘A few of the Natives were, at one time, located upon a piece of the worst land in this part of the country, at a place, called Black Town.’

I found no suggestion that Mathews consulted Aborigines anywhere in this context other than the new community at the Black Town where he went to transcribe Gundungurra language from Fanny, and,

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117 Brook suggested Fitzpatrick could have meant Tommy Cox, son of Betty Cox and Aborigine ‘Johnny’ of Eastern Creek - but this was not so, because Brook himself firmly established for Tommy Cox that ‘For “many long years” he was an employee of Adolphus Tuckerman and had his own quarters on the property’ at Sackville, where it seems Mathews would have met him. This was just across the river from where Tommy's own grandparents, Betty's parents, lived (Chapter 4). Aldolphous and his brother Prosper inherited Stephen Tuckerman's estates there, in the vicinity where Aborigines Hiram and his sister Tilly lived - where Prosper's son James became Edward Curr's informant as given earlier in this chapter. Aborigines were constantly confused in the minds of the general public, such as Tommy [Thomas] for Jimmy / Jemmy [James] or vice versa. Brook gives such an example for the Aboriginal Cox brothers. I have observed a handwritten capital ‘T’ to appear like a ‘J’ (or vice versa), as in e.g. ‘Tim’ or ‘Jim’.

118 In the nineteenth century the Aboriginal community on the south of the floodplain seems to have spread between South Creek (Marsden Park location), and Eastern Creek (Riverstone location).

119 Backhouse may not have been told about Nurragingy's grant on the eastern side of Richmond Road where a convict government servant had raised cattle for him, and may have just been referring to the other side of the road associated with the Native Institution - where people such as the young married Lock couple had previously, as Backhouse put it: ‘raised grain, in spite of the sterility of the soil’. 

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separately, the Sackville community of the Portland Head Rock area where he went to transcribe Darkiñung language from Tilly and others. The family of Nurrangingy (alias Jemmy/Jamie), sons Billy and Bobby, appear to have deserted the Black Town property, living at a nearby ‘Blacks' Camp’. But Maria was able to reclaim the land in 1843 on the basis that the deed of grant had been made out to Colebee, putative son of Yellomundy, and Maria Lock presented herself as his sister (Chapter 4).

Maria and her family came from the Georges River about 1843, having replaced Nurrangingy's family using white man's law of land possession. As a business woman in the white community, Rev. Thomas Hassall soon recorded that she took timber sawn by her husband for sale in Windsor - which was across the Hawkesbury floodplain. Perhaps they had had to move from Liverpool where there were not trees accessible for Robert to cut into timber for sale. Instead of Aborigines becoming extinct locally, the replacement of the local South Creek family of Nurrangingy - by the family of an ex-Hawkesbury River woman from a different language group, Maria Lock and her convict husband - provided an eternal lasting legacy for the Aboriginal Black Town.

120 Perhaps the government convict servant looking after the cattle had been withdrawn. Perhaps the cattle issued by the government had been eaten. There are more comments in historical records which may throw light on why the property as seen by William Walker visiting with James Hassall in 1821 had apparently been abandoned, resulting in the white-educated business-like Maria Lock re-applying for it later on. The land was rather sterile for farming, as noted in 1835 by Backhouse above.

121 Aborigines prepared to say they would settle as farmers were being given land grants under Governor Macquarie just as ex-convicts were (Chapter 4). The 30 acres of land was a grant on 25 May 1816 to ‘Nurragingy’ and ‘his friend Colebee’ by Governor Macquarie for ‘their recent good conduct’. The deed was registered 31 August 1819, more than three years later. I deduce the clerk in the land office in 1819 couldn’t tell the difference in names, although Jack Brook discovered that where the 1819 deed was made out to Colebee, pencilled in afterwards was the entry ‘otherwise Creek Jemmy’. That is, it was really Creek Jemmy's grant, but in error the clerk had thought his proper name was Colebee. Maria used the term ‘Coley’, after the death of Colebee. It does not seem that Colebee had much interest in settling, and Keith Smith has him, as ‘Coalbee’, going to sea in 1819 as crew on Jonathan Griffith's ship Glory. \[Jack Brook, 1983 (1st edn), ‘Blacktown, A Name of Character - A History of the Aboriginal Settlement of Black Town’, Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown, p.8, 3rd edn 1996 p.11; Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘The Parramatta Native Institution’ pp.256-58 and other entries: Keith Vincent Smith, 2010, ‘Mari Nawi - Aboriginal Odysseys’, Rosenberg Publishing, Dural (Sydney), pp.164-65; Maria Lock, 1831, Correspondence to Governor Darling, 4 March (received 14 March) 1831, Colonial Secretary item 31/1,853, copy of original in research collection of Jack Brook (3 sheets with endorsements), transcribed in Jackson 1981 ‘Wedding Portion’ pp.13-14.

122 I have not overlooked a possible emotional attachment to the location, and have talked with descendants who express an emotional attachment to the place. The extended Hassall family had maintained a lot of contact with the Black Town. Eldest son Thomas, then residing near Camden, when reporting to a parliamentary committee about ‘facts relative to the Aborigines that would assist to promote their welfare’, wrote that the failure at Black Town arose from the want of good soil to cultivate. He reported about a woman as an exception, ‘whose husband is a sawyer; she is very industrious, taking in the timber herself with one of her children to Windsor to prevent her husband going and getting drunk.’ \[Thomas Hassall, 1846, Report to the Select Committee on the Aborigines ( Replies to a Circular Letter addressed to the Clergy), New South Wales Legislative Council, Votes and Proceedings, Second Session 1846, Hassall pp.3-4.\
Historical records vary as to the location name, because when the term ‘Blacktown’ was relocated to the Blacktown Road railway station, the original locality then became known as Plumpton. However, the original ‘Black Town’ location frequently appears as ‘Richmond Road’, part of the Windsor-based Hawkesbury circuit from where their local parson and police operated. Colloquially a location in the vicinity was sometimes referred to as ‘the blacks' camp’. Later missionaries promoted activities with the Aboriginal community at Bells Creek at the then Plumpton, often in tandem with the missionary activities at the Hawkesbury Sackville community. Since the time of Macquarie's experiment to civilise Aborigines by an English education of children at his Native Institution, it had become a pottage of peoples from a range of traditional language groups, as seen, for example with Charles Throsby's 1819 observation about the escape from Parramatta of ‘Good Friday’, a Gundungurra boy (Chapter 11/SW).

Although some families in the vicinity, such as of Betty Cox and Maria Lock, were of Hawkesbury River Darkiñung parentage as shown in this thesis, with mixed marriages I support the concept that the Aboriginal lingua franca spoken around this Aboriginal community was based on a local un-named language used by Sarah Castle. Although Maria had died in 1878, her children and their families now shared ‘Creek Jemmy’s’ Colebee grant. So, this was the environment to which Robert Mathews rode his horse from Parramatta to continue his language enquiries in the 1890s with Sarah and Fanny, the wives of William Lock and his nephew Robert Lock 3rd (Robert Lock jnr) as above. As discovered from Mathews's notebooks in my study for this thesis, Fanny spoke Gundungurra at the Black Town while it was Sarah's language which was later used for the grammar that became named by Mathews as Dharruk.

123 [This was the southern part of the circuit. The northern part of the Hawkesbury circuit became based at ‘twin towns’ of Pitt Town / Wilberforce linked with a punt.] \ Brook 1983 (1st edn), ‘Blacktown, A Name of Character’ 3rd edn 1996; Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘The Parramatta Native Institution’ p.75.

124 The limits on space for this thesis do not permit inclusion of these missionary aspects of my study which are another part of the history project in which I acknowledge the value of research by Cath Bishop which she has shared with me.

125 I acknowledge, with appreciation, Charles Gale's son Colin Gale - descendant both of Sarah Castle and of William Lock, and Jack Brook, who have independently explained the site to me and taken me around the location at Bells Creek (Gidley Ponds). The present day new suburb of ‘Colebee’ on the Richmond Road is there, where the Black Town was on ‘Creek Jemmy’s’ grant. And on Bells Creek across the Richmond Road (where the short-lived new Native Institution was) a new suburb has been named for the Hassall family. The investigation for this thesis established that, using terms derived from Robert Mathews, Sarah was of Georges River Dharug descent while William was of Hawkesbury River Darkiñung descent. Tying it all up neatly, the extended Hassall family - and later Robert Mathews - not only knew Darkiñung-language Aborigines on the Hawkesbury River, but also knew Dharug-speaking Aborigines from Georges River when they were living here. There is no suggestion that any of the Hassall family (including sons-in-law) had any interest in any tribal heritage such as language - in contrast to real pioneering missionaries, they were more involved in rearing colonised Aborigines to become English-speaking Christians, such as taking in young children to be ‘converted’. At that time saving ‘souls’ to go to heaven was supremely important.
While I suggest that Sarah and Fanny's children would have had some un-named ‘Language’ from the two languages of their mothers, there is no history that Sarah or Fanny's husbands, son and grandson of Maria Lock, had learnt any of her native Darkiñung tongue. Instead, there was another player, Robert Lock 2nd (Robert Lock snr) as below, contributing to Mathews's un-named ‘Language’ which he (Mathews) discovered at the Black Town.

It can be seen, then, that local groups of Aborigines had local ‘camps’, while the community based around old Black Town / Plumpton was a community derived from people whose ancestors came from three or more locations where the local groups had spoken different languages. Eighty years later when Robert Mathews arrived the influence from Governor Macquarie's actions pervaded, in having started to bring together Aborigines out of their ancestral country regardless of their heritage. It must be remembered, of course, that a language is also spoken in other than its home territory. For example, Mathews had found Gundungurra language from the Wollondilly River was spoken by people at Black Town Aboriginal settlement and at La Perouse Aboriginal settlement. By way of comparison, English is spoken in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and so on irrespective of the local indigenous speech.

Some of the children of Betty Cox from the Hawkesbury River (Chapter 4), presumptively as part of the Black Town / Plumpton community from this ‘Richmond Road’ area, could be expected to also have spoken the local dialect - an Aboriginal *lingua franca*. Since the date of Macquarie's Native Institution experiment, by this time the dialect must have contained many borrowed terms corresponding to languages brought in from elsewhere. Since the Aboriginal Lock family were living on a colonial land grant as settlers, the Aboriginal Cox family, with her husband Creek ‘Johnny’, would have been living at one of the nearby camps. However, some of Betty's children have re-appeared in historical records as adults with their Darkiñung brethren in the community at Sackville (across the river from where Betty was born).

**Blacktown Talk, from the Georges River**

In a notebook now held at NLA, Canberra, which he was using to record from Charlie Clark the ‘Darkinung’ ‘Bora’ [published 1897a as ‘Burbung’], Mathews had used pages in the centre to list questions for Charlie when he was completing the Burbung paper. In the middle of a notebook page

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126 The notebooks do not have dates, but the diaries do. This was January 1897 - when Mathews went by buggy with his two younger sons to the Hawkesbury river Aboriginal camp to see Charlie Clark. Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Initiation Ceremonies - General’ p.78: Robert Hamilton Mathews, 1908, ‘Diary 1893-1908’, unpublished, held at National Library of Australia, catalogue title: ‘Diaries, 1893-1908’, MS 8006/ Series 1/ Folder 2, Entry for 1897 January 6.
he’d entered: ‘James Cox about 71 years old, native of Blacktown, Darrook language same as on Georges River, Campbelltown, Camden, Penrith’ [my emphasis]. The note was together with ‘John Barber, 68, native of Hawkesbury - Darkinung’.\footnote{The most common use of the term ‘native’ in context relates to place of origin, of birth. Subsequently Mathews was to write around this note. In another notebook listing this distribution, Mathews crossed out Penrith for ‘Dharrook’ and wrote ‘Dharkuning - Penrith’, which seems to suggest that Mathews may have met James (‘Jimmy’) Cox with John [‘Johnny’] Barber when he was visiting the Hawkesbury community. The main heading of the sheets is merely ‘Vocabulary’ with the notation as marginalia on one side: ‘Jumma - Blacktown talk’, written in the same running-writing style. Since this seems to be the word *jemma, jumna, jannu*, which I have found in Mathews’s notes for first person, it is probable that his informant was explaining that this was ‘my (talk)’ or ‘our (talk)’ [i.e. as known to some people at Black Town]. This material provides a basis for an Aboriginal *lingua franca* – ‘our talk’ - spoken at Black Town by the old people met by Mathews which became known as ‘Language’ to their own offspring (now deceased) when spoken at home.}

\footnote{In the 1860s Jimmy’s sister Eliza Cox became Johnny’s second wife at the Hawkesbury after *Ballandella* had left him (Chapter 4). Other Cox siblings also lived at the Hawkesbury (near their mother’s family), such as Tommy footnoted earlier this chapter.}

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The vocabulary list is on pages divided vertically into left and right halves. At the top of the left hand half (below the centre-of-page heading ‘Vocabulary’) is written, ‘Robert Lock Snr, Sep 3, 1829, followed on successive lines by subheadings ‘The family’, then ‘Man collectively’, then the vocabulary list with English in the left column, Aboriginal words on the right (a man, an old man, husband, and so on). As she had been taught in English from infancy, Maria Lock is unlikely to have been a native speaker, and of course, neither was her convict husband, Robert Lock 1st. However, while accepted with the white population in the census (Chapter 4), their children had identified with the Aboriginal population. It can be called pride. This means that son Robert grew up with the language of the Georges River Aboriginal community before the family moved to Black Town.¹³¹ That is, grew up in the same community of Sarah Castle who was to go to Black Town as wife of his brother William, and there to meet Robert Mathews.

The significance, in international terms, is that Maria as a young child had migrated from Country of one nationality (language) to another. From Country of the Darkiñung to Country of the Dharug. Her children were reared as members of the Georges River Dharug people, and not as members of the Hawkesbury River Darkinung people to whom Yellomundy belonged. Therefore, the Lock Family identity could be regarded as having become Dharug (from the Georges River) rather than remaining that of Maria's ancestral Darkiñung (from the Hawkesbury River).

However, a name for their language was never recorded from these Georges River people of whom the Lock Family became part. Instead, it was recorded for them. In 1984, Jim Kohen was to complement

¹³⁰(...continued)

the modern Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation to say she was ‘Darug’ at the time when it was not known her family was Darkiñung, so in her memoirs she’d taken her family to have only been ‘Darug’ (using Kohen's new term): ‘Mum and Dad used to speak Darug.’ However their Language was not clarified, because her mother, to her recollection, actually said: ‘your father’s - - talking Pigin English’. ‘Darug’ is a spelling adopted by other authors taken from Kohen 1993b. Joan’s niece (daughter of Digger's sister), Lynette Stanger (née Booby) born 1946, became an informant for enquiries about The Gully by local anthropologist Dianne Johnson and social historian Martin Thomas. From his 1999 oral history recording, Thomas notes with regard to whether the words ‘Darug’ and Gundungurra were familiar in her childhood: ‘No. It sort of came along later on when a lot of the history was compiled and we were told more and more about this sort of thing’ [my emphasis]. Indeed, the term Gundungurra was not currently in the public domain until I resurrected it [as Gundungura] in 1961 (Chapter 11/SW). See Chapter 7 re Joan Cooper and Darkiñung ‘reunion’. \[Johnson 2003 ‘Aunty Joan Cooper’ p.102, p.60; Johnson 2007 ‘Sacred Waters’; Thomas 2003a ‘Artificial Horizon’ p.191; ‘Pidgin’ English is annotated in Glossary.

¹³¹ Maria and Betty Cox from the Hawkesbury River had been schooled as English-speakers, so their children were not exposed to their mothers’ ancestral Darkiñung language (Chapter 4). As well as Maria's family, the family of ‘Eastern Creek Johnny’ and Betty Cox used the language - which Mathews was to call Dharruk in relation to their son James / Jimmy. Their daughters Sarah married Robert Lock snr (Robert 2nd) and Mary was his brother William's partner (till she died), reinforcing the lingua franca of Black Town as this Dharruk - i.e. spoken from childhood by Robert and William and their wives [even though their mothers had been born Darkiñung].
Robert Mathews by also identifying the Georges River language as *Dharug*, as discussed Chapter 7. Kohen was correct, *Dharug* was applied for the term derived from the people around Camden, recorded for the Georges River people by Alfred Bennett and Robert Mathews as *Dharruck* / *Dharruk* / *Dharrook* (aka *Dhoorook*) as above. Mathews’s term, *Dharruk*, has been added in different writing, linked-printing style, just to the column of Aboriginal words on the first sheet in the ‘Vocabulary’ list as above. The intrinsic conclusion is that the *lingua franca* spoken at Black Town had no identifying name amongst the people there, but was derived from the surviving Georges River language at Liverpool (where it may have been influenced by neighbouring *Dharawal* and *Gundungurra* to which it was allied). The unalienable conclusion is that the Hawkesbury River people had no part to play, so that there is no support for a concept that the Hawkesbury Aborigines were *Dharug*-language speaking people.

Whereas notebook material of sentences from Sarah Castle as above found its way into a short grammatical section of Mathews’s published ‘Dharruk Language’, this originally unidentified ‘Vocabulary’ list of ‘Jumma - Blacktown talk’ is the draft of the actual wordlist which he transcribed to publish as ‘Vocabulary of Dharruk Words’, i.e. they are actually the same wordlist. Not only are individual words listed in the same order, even the groups of nouns are numbered as presented for publication. Just seeing it must have sent Bob Dixon (as above) berserk, because there has been a lot of tidying up of vowels for publication. Other linguists would not agree with him, such as Caroline Jones whom Mathews had pre-empted with his vowel adjustment - she discarded the vowels anyway for the analysis described in Chapter 5. In that analysis - of the two records which were actually of the identical wordlist (as above) - she found the dissimilarity to be negligible, less than 0.1 in a score from zero to one. I obtained the same result with a pencil and ruler in a few minutes without use of the University of New South Wales supercomputer. I am bemused by linguists’ concern about another unidentified language present on this list, but it is not really mysterious.

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132 For these two examples of actually the same wordlist (for *Dharruk*) Jones had separated them for analysis (score 0.08). But, in a strange aberration, when faced with the differing handwritten and published records of Mathews’s *Darkiňung* vocabulary (Chapter 5), Jones combined them into one before analysis so that she could not compare them. The only more identical wordlist (score 0.04) was that of Miller which was plagiarised by Fawcett (which she did not combine), discussed in Chapter 9/NE. References are given for discussions in respective Chapters.

133 Mathews had run vertical pencil lines through columns of his list as he transcribed them to the next draft for publication, as was his practice. Inserted in the rows on this copy of his copy along the lines between the English term and the Aboriginal word ostensibly spoken at Blacktown is the equivalent from another Aboriginal language, written in small neat handwriting (possibly Arthur Capell’s). [I have looked at records with writing from Peter Elkin and Arthur Capell held in the Sydney University Archives.] From a cursory comparison they appear to be words from a distant Interior language - perhaps that which Capell was comparing when he had a copy of Mathews’s list either at Sydney University or when he had retired to the Australian National University - and would be simple to identify. Instead of doing so, Jones (continued...
Despite my exhaustive search in extensive historical records for Mathew's *Dharug* Language informants, another person (as follows) has been nominated who does not appear in any of Mathew's notes, much less with a statement about initiation. Kohen in 2006 published the stunning statement without source: ‘Jimmy Lowndes was one of R.H. Mathews informants for the Darug language.’ Further, Kohen announced without attempting to be truthful: ‘Mathews stated that he was initiated.’ In contrast to these spectacular claims, Jimmy Lowndes was the contact of Mary Everitt. As someone reared at

133 (...continued) included this inserted list in her statistical analysis for languages around Sydney, under a confusing language identification of ‘Blacktown Left Column’.

134 The front cover of the 2006 book (and its 2009 reprint with revised genealogy as its Part 2) has the unsubstantiated confused claim displayed on the front cover. Kohen’s surprising statement is in legend to Figure 10 p.50 without reference, and in text p.44 he further proclaims that ‘Jimmy Lowndes - - - is listed as one of R.H. Mathews main informants on the Darug language’ given in Mathews 1901 (incorrectly citing the Mathews 1901b publication discussed here which does not even mention Lowndes). In contrast, Mathews actually gave his informants as ‘old natives acquainted with the language’, so it is quite obtuse to proclaim that this meant Jimmy Lowndes, and culturally insensitive to imply that Mathews’s term ‘old native’ meant an initiated man when from his notebooks ‘old native’ referred to women such as Sarah Castle (Mrs Lock). Kohen 2006 ‘Daruganora’ p.44, p.50. [It was p.14 of this reference discussed earlier this chapter.]

135 He was respelled as Lownds by Mathews for the 1900 paper in which he included Mary Everitt’s collaboration. [Everitt who knew him had used Lowndes.] Rather than Jimmy Lowndes the *Dharug* man, it is actually Billy Russell the *Gundungurra* man whom Mathews knew as one of his ‘principal informants’, so it appears that J.L. Kohen could not tell the difference between these men of overlapping language groups from the vicinity of Camden. Kohen’s innocence supports the close relationship between the two groups. Along with Billy Lynch, all three were born about the same time ca.1830s to Aboriginal women with white fathers, a survival technique exploiting settlers used by Aborigines in the first areas colonised (Chapter 4). In this case, the convict James Lowndes, 7 year sentence, arr. Recovery 1819, worked for the Macarthur family on their Cawdor property at Camden where he is shown in 1825. Aborigine Jimmy was born at Camden (upper Nepean River), and married ‘Betsys’, an Aboriginal woman of the Georges River, becoming step-father to her mixed blood daughter Emma (whose father was one of the Huberts Waldron, a farmer, as given by daughter Angelina as informant for her death certificate). According to Everitt, Emma was born ca.1840 at Liverpool [death certif, 1842] - making her mother’s family *Dharug* contemporaries of Maria Lock’s children and Sarah Castle from whom Mathews noted some sentences subsequently used for the *Dharug* language, as above. The best information about Emma was collected at La Perouse by Esther Wait. She was known from her mother’s husband as Emma ‘Lowns’ [Lowndes], and had been taken to be a domestic servant for the politician Richard Hill (Chapter 10/SE), whom she left to marry the son of Joe Timbery at the south coast who had been given a brass plate as ‘Chief of the Illawarra Tribe’. Her eldest children were born on the south coast [ca.1860s-70s, from death certif.]. after which Emma’s family moved to La Perouse where they were the first family to actually settle and she became known as ‘Queen Emma’. Thus, as Mrs Timbery, she became the informant for her husband’s Illawarra language *Dharawal* which she taught both to Everitt and to Mathews, as mentioned earlier this chapter. So, it would not be surprising to find overlapping of Georges River *Dhar* ug and Illawarra *Dharawal - as spoken at La Perouse*. Mary Everitt wrote of Lowndes as ‘my old friend’, although at that time he lived upstream (rather than at La Perouse). Robert Mathews had not noted him, suggesting he had not met him. \ Mathews & Everitt 1900 ‘The Organisation (etc) of the Aborigines of the South-east Coast’, p.263. p.265; Baxter, C.J. (ed.), 1999, ‘General Muster List of New South Wales 1823, 1824,1825’, Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record for Society of Australian Genealogists, North Sydney (Sydney), p.347; Mary M. Everitt, 1901, correspondence to A.G. Stephens, editor of ‘The Bulletin’, held in Hayes Collection, University of Queensland, published as ‘The Aboriginal Letters of Mary M. Everitt June-July 1901’ by Michael K. Organ, 1993, in ‘Illawarra and (continued...)
Camden, Lowndes knew of the identification ‘Dhoorook’ / ‘Dharrook’ discussed here (even if it was a term from the Gundungurra).\textsuperscript{136}

It is conclusive from Mathews's available source records that he had not been given an identity for the Dharug Language from his informants who were then associated with the Black Town, and therefore he had had to derive a name - which is used in the present day for the Country and the People. In the 1890s as above, Mathews associated the language he called ‘Dharruk’ with people who had learned that speech at the Georges River, just as for the Rowley wordlist published 1875 and 1877/8 above which Kohen identified in 1984 as Dharug (Chapter 7).

As shown in Chapter 10/SE, the Dharug country spread across the settlers' Cumberland Plain to The Cowpastures, encompassing the catchment lands of the streams flowing into Port Jackson / Botany Bay (with Bate Bay as above) and the upper Nepean River (above the Warragamba River junction), across the catchment of South Creek and Eastern Creek (south of the Hawkesbury floodplain). This is the area where traditional Aboriginal customs were first annihilated, so the survivors were those who had joined the white occupants' way of life (Chapter 4). From the study in this chapter as above, it seems a name identification of their residual language was provided a hundred years after the settlers arrived - given by people from Camden who may have had Gundungurra-speakers in mixed ancestry. It was the Cumberland Plain people who had suffered from loss of heritage when their own Aboriginal neighbours moved into the vacuum created from their annihilation by the settlers: ‘Guringai’ of Broken Bay on the northeast; Dharawal of the Illawarra on the southeast; Gundungurra of Burratorang on the southwest; and Darkinjung of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges on the northwest.

Other Sources Proposed for Term ‘Dhar-rook / Dhar-ruk’

The situation most commonly raised with me - by historians and botanists alike - is that (i) John Hunter

\textsuperscript{135}(...continued)}

South Coast Aborigines, 1770-1900’, Report to Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, online at Wollongong University Research Online: ro.uow.edu.au; Esther Wait, 1950, ‘The Migration of People of Aboriginal Ancestry to the Metropolitan Area, and Their Assimilation’, Thesis, University of Sydney, pp.9-10; Emma Timbery, Death Certificate, registration 15855/1916.

\textsuperscript{136} A brief biography of Jimmy Lowndes has recently been published with Aboriginal people of the Georges River, who - as shown in this thesis - were Dharug. Although he was given as a ‘Dharrook blackfellow’, he was not noted as a Dharrrook language informant in any historical records. His own family was known as ‘Loundes’ or ‘Lounes’ ['Louns']. (His step-daughter Emma is mentioned in the biography of Biddy Giles following that of Lowndes.) \& Heather Goodall & Allison Cadzow, 2009, ‘Rivers and Resilience - Aboriginal People on Sydney's Georges River’, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney, Jimmy pp.83-86 (Emma p.88).
In Mathews's orthography (1901 publication) he clearly distinguished between \( \text{dh} \) for \( \text{dharruk} \) as mentioned above and \( \text{dy} \): ‘An approach to the sound of \( j \) is frequently given by the natives, which may be (continued...)

reported yams being dug up by Aborigines when Governor Phillip's 1789 expedition arrived at Richmond Hill on the Hawkesbury River so (ii) local Aborigines called themselves \( \text{Dharug} \) because (iii) \( \text{dharug} \) means yam in their language, proving \textit{ipso facto} (iv) the Hawkesbury people must have been \( \text{Dharug} \). When analysing this commonly repeated ‘history’ not a single fact can be found in that statement. Item (iv), the conclusion, cannot be correct because the Hawkesbury people, ‘The Branch’ natives [who included \( \text{Yellomundy} \)], called themselves \( \text{Darkiįŋ} \) as shown here. Item (i) is dealt with in Chapter 7:

When at Richmond Hill, Hunter referred to yams having been seen dug up inland-from-the-sea-side-shoreline between Port Jackson and Botany Bay. There were no Aborigines seen at Richmond Hill when they arrived in 1789. Item (iii) is false, as mentioned following and discussed in Chapter 7. Item (ii) is covered above - the term was transcribed for publication twice, both by Mathews (1901: \( \text{Dharruk} \)) and by Bennett (1914: \( \text{Dharruck} \)) apparently coming from \( \text{Gundungurra} \) persons near Camden such as Billy Russell. There is no historical source record of the term being used by those traditional Aborigines now known as \( \text{Dharug} \) (discussed further Chapter 10/SE) - i.e. Aborigines whose Country was the lands draining into Georges River (and Hacking River), upper Nepean River (above Warragamba junction), Parramatta River or South Creek south of the floodplain.

When he searched for a source to fit, J.L. Kohen changed the whole tenor of the history of the \( \text{Dharug} \) language. He denigrated Mathews's work by hypothesising that the source of the word \( \text{Dharruk} \) was ‘yam’ based on some Victorian vocabularies from which Beth Gott 1983 listed Aboriginal words for yams. In Gott's article which he cited, the leading entry is very appealing: ‘\( \text{darook} \)’ as taken from Robert Smyth 1878 for a root found at the place Tandarook. Other spellings used in Victoria included ‘\( \text{dyarruk} \)’ and in a 1969 survey for AIAS Luise Hercus also used ‘\( \text{djarug} \)’. Apparently recognising that \( \text{Dharruk} / \text{Dharook} \) (\( \text{Dharug} \) as adopted by AIATSIS) was a different Aboriginal term to \( \text{darook} \), Kohen warped the history when devising his new word ‘Darug’ to fit his hypothesis. The hoax was promoted by the Blacktown and District Historical Society in a 1993 book, becoming so successful that Kohen's contrived word ‘Darug’ became the term of choice, replacing \( \text{Dharug} \). The historiography and orthography are taken up in Chapter 7.

So, Mathews's term ‘\( \text{dyaruk} \)’ for ‘yams’ (which he also collected from a distant Victorian language), does not really come into the equation. Neither does a different term represent yams, ‘\( \text{dyuruk} \)’ for ‘stones’ in the Hawkesbury River \( \text{Darkiįŋ} \) language. (Mathews for ‘yam’ gave term ‘\( \text{midin} \)’ in ‘\( \text{Dharruk} \)’ language.)\(^{137}\) Kohen's other proposal is even less likely, that Mathews's language identification

\(^{137}\) In Mathews's orthography (1901 publication) he clearly distinguished between \( dh \) for \( \text{dharruk} \) as mentioned above and \( dy \): ‘An approach to the sound of \( j \) is frequently given by the natives, which may be (continued...)}
‘Dharruk’ came from the local term ‘tarra’ for ‘teeth’, which [Kohen proposed] were the same in appearance as yams. (Mathews for ‘teeth’ gave term ‘yira’ in ‘Dharruk’ language as discussed in Chapter 7).\footnote{138}(...continued)

History becomes easily distorted when terms are misrepresented. Other than the use of the Gundungurra term ‘Dhoorook’ discussed above, there are two more sources for an Aboriginal language term sounding like ‘Dharrook’ / ‘Dharruk’. One source is Kohen’s hoax from Western Victoria mentioned above. Another source is geographically much closer, which I discovered in Robert Mathews’s notebooks.

Mathews wrote extensive notes about what he titled ‘The Bora of the Gooringai Tribes’, with an article in draft about the Allyn River Aborigines near Paterson. These were a group of the Kattung-speaking people on the north side of the Hunter River floodplain and estuary (Chapter 9/NE). In describing an old bora ground, he included carved trees, noting: ‘The marking on the trees is called dharrook. Some of the devices cut upon the trees represent turtles, men, iguanas, snakes, and the usual patterns’. Mathews tried to show in his notes that this word sounded different to him by writing ‘dharrook’ here, and there is no suggestion in the history that there was a relationship with the Georges River language recognised as Dharug (now Kohen’s ‘Darug’) and patterns cut in trees.\footnote{139}

There is one final mention to be dealt with: When writing about the term used by tribes in Victoria, Kohen 1993b published that: ‘This word is also recorded as “yam” in the Kamilaroi language in northern NSW’, with the intention of showing the use of the term for yams in Australia was widespread.\footnote{140}

Although at that time Mathews’s unpublished notebooks were not being consulted as they are in the present day, to make the false connection as follows a person would have mistakenly thought that


\footnotetext{139}{These notes which I discovered were combined with others to publish a paper on the ceremony of initiation ‘extending from Newcastle almost to the Macleay River’. For the publication, Mathews used spelling ‘dharrook’ or ‘dharroong’, i.e. at the final sound ‘k’ represented ‘ng’ rather than ‘k’ for ‘g’. \(\backslash\) Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Bora of the Gooringai’ p.24, p.28; R.H. Mathews, 1897d, ‘The Keepara Ceremony of Initiation’, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 26: 320-40.}

\footnotetext{140}{Kohen pers. comm. This was nearly twenty years ago, no source was given (the book merely referenced Victoria paper as above) and none can be found now. \(\backslash\) Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’ p.14.}
Boydell’s Allyn River Gooringai [as above] were a group of Kamilaroi-speaking people (Chapter 9/NE). Mathews had entered the notes for the above draft in the back of a field notebook, in which he wrote some Gooringai Aboriginal words of the Kattang language. For the above ‘Dharook’ he entered the abbreviated term ‘yam” which can be mistaken by a reader. It is not English word ‘yam’, but a Wiradjuri word ‘yammunamun’ for these markings, the patterns or devices, which were made on the ground or cut into the trees. Putting the term ‘yam”’ in his notebooks was Mathews’s shorthand for this meaning.\textsuperscript{141} It does nothing to establish that ‘Dharuk’ means ‘yam’ - as has been tortuously claimed for evidence that the Hawkesbury Aborigines either were Dharug people or were people identified as yams with Kohen’s application from Western Victoria using ‘Darug’.

\textbf{Chapter 6 Findings}

The work by Robert Mathews outlined in this chapter is the heart of the thesis.\textsuperscript{142}

In the earliest historical records about the Aboriginal languages or vocabularies to the west of Sydney listed by native-born settlers reared with Aborigines, an identifying name was not was known. Starting when he lived at Singleton and continuing when he retired to Parramatta, Robert Mathews born 1841 met Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges and listed their language. The name these people gave their language was Darkiñung. Although migrant English (or Scottish) men arriving during the 1850s to 1960s who considered they were authoritative on Aboriginal culture derided Mathews, studies of his unpublished notebooks have authenticated his endeavours.


Despite Mathews's thorough records for Darkiñung as the Aboriginal community at the Hawkesbury River, modern authors - taking their lead from confusion at the Blacktown and District Historical Society - have erroneously placed another community associated with the original Black Town area as occupying the Hawkesbury River instead of the Darkiñung. This area was located on the southern side of the Hawkesbury floodplain in the vicinity of South Creek where the historic Richmond Road crosses. The error is generously explained by the then Black Town being included in the Hawkesbury church circuit with which James Kohen at the historical society confused the Aboriginal ‘Tribal’ identity. I have found that this Aboriginal community identified with the Black Town was actually associated with the Georges River Aborigines, from where their language came and thus their ‘Tribal’ identity. Their ‘Blacktown talk’ was based on the Georges River language which was identified by Robert Mathews, confirmed by Alfred Bennett, with the term Dharruk - taken from Gundungurra sources they met near Camden. It had been verified in 1984 by Kohen at the historical society who recognised the Georges River Aboriginal language recorded by John Rowley as Dharug, and this is taken up in Chapter 7. (Although Dharug is the modernised term for Dharruk, Kohen subsequently altered it to ‘Darug’, a term for a vegetable root in Western Victoria, which changes the pronunciation - and thus has a different meaning.)
Chapter 7

Jim Kohen at Martin Williams’s Mogo Creek Aboriginal excavation site instructing a group of high school students about conducting archaeological research

Notes:
This cave being excavated is located on the through road north of St Albans just before ‘Deanes’, which was a rest stop for the Cobb & Co coaches operating between the Hawkesbury and Hunter valleys. Mogo Creek [aka Wallambine] is a tributary of the Macdonald River. This route through the ranges was preferred to the Great North Road along the top of the Judge Dowling Range which was considered too dry for livestock. When Peats Ferry over the Hawkesbury River was closed on the advent of the railway bridge crossing there in 1889, this route became the main road highway to the north from Sydney, via Wisemans Ferry. After the Hawkesbury was bridged in 1945 at the new highway at Peats Ferry, this road became a byway, which was bulldozed deeper through the cave to accommodate local timber jinkers. The photograph was published for a press article 7 July 1995. I thank the newsphotos manager at ‘Newspix’ for approval to use their photograph.
PART II (3)

Chapter 7

Being Given Neighbour's Identity:
The Misidentification of Darkiňung People as Dharug People
at the Hawkesbury and the Northern Blue Mountains

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A good man:

Gently my eyelids close
I’d rather be good than clever
And I’d rather have my facts all wrong
Than have no facts whatever

A dream of Ogden Nash for J. Cohen

The Issue

This chapter addresses the historiographical conundrum as to why, against the evidence of all the historical records, the people of the Hawkesbury identified by Robert Mathews as Darkiñung had been, and are still being, considered as people of the Georges River identified by Robert Mathews as Dharug. The error had been taken up both by the Blacktown and District Historical Society where the Aborigines were renamed ‘darug’ for a Western Victoria yam, and by those who followed publications there without checking sources.

The Beginning of Information (Moore and Kohen), Blacktown and District Historical Society

The original draft manuscript which became this chapter was completed in early 2010 as a historiography to discuss my then unresolved dilemma about the topic with J.L. Kohen who had left Macquarie University in 2009. In a 2006 published retrospective written as a staff member of Macquarie University, he had provided some of his own historiography:

In 1980 I [Jim Kohen] was approached by Kevin Moore, a committee member of Blacktown and District Historical Society, to see if I would be interested in collaborating with Jack Brook on researching the history of the Black Town, an area where farms and a school had been established for Aboriginal people in the 1820s. At the time, I had just begun my own research investigating the distribution of prehistoric [archaeological] Aboriginal sites across western Sydney.
- - a great deal of interaction initially took place with organisations such as the Indigenous People's Council, the Aboriginal Affairs foundation, and later Mt Druitt and Daruk (now Deerubbin) Local Aboriginal Land Council - -

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Direct quote taken from Introduction to 2006 book. The book title is a new term made up by the author from his own new word ‘Darug’ as follows, and from a term he gave in 1993b: ‘found in names, including “ora” (a place or country e.g. Woronora)’. Without giving which is the source for his ‘research’ which he quotes, the author gives five ‘Kohen 1993’ references in his bibliography. Although the Mt. Druitt LALC adopted Tindale’s misspelling ‘Daruk’ as mentioned in this quote, the new suburb in the vicinity was named with a correct spelling from the historical record ‘Dharruk’. J.L. Kohen, 2006, ‘Daruganora: Darug Country - The Place and the People’, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), Blacktown, p.2; James Leslie (‘Jim’) Kohen, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney), p.16.

I have written this thesis in support of Kohen's contention that the Aboriginal people approached him for advice on their heritage. But other descendants were already doing their research. From the investigations which I have made it appears more likely (i) that the Gale family [Kohen 2006 ref. as above] approached Kevin Moore to give him advice because his information being published for the historical society was faulty, then (ii) after Moore passed the contact to Kohen that he approached the Tangye family, as for quote following in this chapter: ‘My first attempt - -’ [Kohen 1993c ref. as below].

The late Charles (‘Charlie’) Gale (1912-1986) belonged to an Aboriginal-descent family at the then Plumpton (previously the Black Town), his grandparents George and Mary Jane Stubbings who were cousins, grandchildren of Maria Lock. Charlie, with his wife Jane, had been collecting the Aboriginal family history and local history from descendants of Maria Lock - the Aboriginal girl from the Hawkesbury River b.ca.1808 who was reared in the Parramatta Native Institution, settled at the Georges River, and ca.1843 had taken her family from Liverpool to reside at the Black Town (Chapter 6). The late Kevin Moore for a hatchling Blacktown and District Historical Society solicited interest in the local Blacktown Advocate newspaper, where he was acknowledged as ‘retired history teacher’. Moore included in his ‘Blacktown's history’ 16 June 1976: ‘On March 15, 1821, Aboriginal constable Michael Yurringgy and his son, Robert, of Richmond, - - - - were each granted sizeable tracts of land - - - - The farms failed, however, and the Yurringgys deserted them.’ This account of the origin of Black Town with Nurragingy needed auditing, as compared with actual history - given in Chapter 6. The society fledged four months later. Charlie and Jane continued to contributed their information, which was acknowledged by Kevin Moore in correspondence from the society October 1980, when he attributed errors to the newspaper reporter: ‘they are never quite exactly right’ (Colin Gale, son, family history collection).

With such ease of passing off errors, Kevin Moore seems to have set the standard for the society which became the model for publication followed by Jim Kohen. In a later 1994 society book as a tribute to Moore, in which he (Kohen) is writing as ‘Past President’, Kohen praised Moore that he (Moore): ‘had the capacity to see through the facade of history, and get to the heart of the matter.’ This could explain much of what has followed the Gale family contact, in that Kohen learnt from Moore that historical sources may be modified as merely a facade [Kohen's word], i.e. with a substance as he (Kohen) chose. For instance, Moore takes the severe attitude against the Irishman Andrew Hume beyond explanations from the historical records (footnoted in Chapters 3 and 10/SE) when claiming his son Hamilton as a son of Blacktown. [The first Hume family farm was on the old Windsor Road at Toongabbie Creek next to Pyes Crossing, Portion 142 of Prospect. It is now at the border of Seven Hills and Baulkham Hills.] In the meantime, Jack Brook was independently developing a records base of historic sources from studies in the archives of NSW State Records (Jack Brook, personal research collection). When Moore had (continued...)
Fifteen years earlier in 1991, the Lock Family Legend had been published from Charlie Gale's papers: ‘Robert Lock was a member of Governor King’s household guard who married a fullblooded Aboriginal lubra who worked in the Governor’s kitchen. On marrying, the couple received a grant of land from the governor as a wedding present.’\textsuperscript{5} This legend, passed down orally, has a basis on Maria being named from Governor King's daughter (Chapter 4) and is examined in Chapter 2 with reference to ‘Maria the cook’.

In 1980 retired history teacher Kevin Moore representing Blacktown and District Historical Society introduced the then thirty three years old Jim Kohen to the Gale family: ‘Behind the Black Town settlement, on the hills towards Schofields and Riverstone, one of our members who is an archaeologist at Macquarie University [my emphasis], has found very large areas where the Aboriginal people lived and made stone tools, etc., for at least 2,000 years. We are certain that that is why the Aborigines asked for land there and the governor gave it to them.’\textsuperscript{6,7,8} With this mistaken statement to the Gale family, Moore...\textsuperscript{4}(...continued)

\textsuperscript{4}(...continued)

passed the Society baton to Kohen (who became President), Kohen expanded the Society’s oral history collection with more material provided by the Gale family (and other families) as follows, which was retained as his own private research collection - then inaccessible. He was able to produce the 1993b ‘yellow book’ with this, as well as with use of Brook's archival research results and with his family tree data base constructed from the NSW state Pioneer Index, as below (Jim Kohen, pers. comm.). While much of the Brook material is sourced to the archives in Kohen's texts, the material provided by Aboriginal descendants is included without source acknowledgement there. Some of this unsourced material of which he has discretionary control was used for his role as an expert witness to the Federal Court, as follows in this chapter. \textbackslash Kevin Moore, date ng, reproduced 1994, ‘The Hume Story’ in four parts pp.44-50, in Dennis Cox and James Kohen (eds), 1994, ‘Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow - The Writings of Kevin Moore’, Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown.

\textsuperscript{5} This quote was attributed to ‘Letter from Charles K Gale to Kevin Moore Blacktown District Historical Society nd (ca 1982).’ Assistance for this 1991 book was attributed to named people of Lock Family descendants as well as the Local Aboriginal Land Council and the Indigenous People's Council. At that (1982) period, before commemorations for the 1788 Sydney landing bicentenary, recognition of convict ancestors was avoided, so that attributing a mock military status to Robert Lock was normal. Further, it had become difficult (subsequent to 1967) to recognise that one's Aboriginal ancestors were anything but ‘fullblooded’. As a parallel, I observe that in the present day people find it difficult to recognise how Bill Onus (Chapter 4) celebrated both his black and white family at the Hawkesbury who are subjects of this thesis. He kept contact with families of his father's Everingham siblings of whom two married into white families. \textbackslash Jack Brook & J.L. Kohen, 1991, ‘The Parramatta Native Institution and The Black Town - A History’, New South Wales University Press, Kensington (Sydney), p.vii, quote p.250, ref.9 p.283.

\textsuperscript{6} This location was identified by Kohen as the Plumpton Ridge, north of present day Bells Creek (then Gidley Ponds of Eastern Creek). It was part of his massive survey across areas of western Sydney utilising disturbed land (such as fire trails) to notice stone chips. This was analysed when presented as his subsequent Ph.D. project. For Plumpton Ridge he reported an oral history from John Lawson, a Rooty Hill doctor's son, who had been told that ‘around the turn of the century’ [i.e. ca.1900] ‘the ridge was used as a winter campsite, and was also told that the rocks on the ridge were important to the traditional owners, confirming the significance of the ridge as a source of silcrete - - -.’ I have heard this testimony from Kohen commonly repeated as pre-settlement ancestral history expressed by present day descendants of Maria Lock at the Black Town. Lawson's story is supported by the observations by John Fitzpatrick (continued...
had anointed Kohen to take over a position of vacant Authority on the Aborigines of Western Sydney, which allowed his influence to prevail. Actually, cultural heritage had not been practised since the settlers arrived to take control of the land, such open campsites were widespread and those campsites had no bearing at all on the governor's original grant to Nurragingy [which became Rev. Walker's 'the black town'], who said he wanted to "Buy a long Coat and Cocked Hat, and be a Swell" (Chapter 6). Stone tool making was abandoned for the iron age when the new settlers introduced hatchets to the Aborigines (Chapter 1) and glass to shatter making sharp points.

Kohen presented a paper for the Blacktown and District Historical Society on prehistoric occupation in 1980, and in 1982 he espoused the field of genealogy, in which his 'mother proved to be a veritable

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6(...continued)

7 By this time, Jim Kohen appears to have been under the influence of a geomorphologist in the School of Earth Sciences at Macquarie University, then a lusty infant conceived in 1964. Martin Williams, who was just six years older than his new protégé, was an English Cambridge graduate who seems to have been particularly involved in North Africa. Arriving at Macquarie University in 1969 - the same year as Kohen, Williams became Kohen's supervisor, publishing with him in 1981 a preliminary report of an excavation used for Kohen's 1986 Ph.D. thesis submission. However, Williams left in 1984 and went to Monash University, apparently leaving his student without guidance. [Subsequently, Kohen's contact acknowledged in his Ph.D. thesis was Ronald Lampert from The Australian Museum.] Williams's Australian research prior to Macquarie University had been about 'soil creep'. His local archaeology involved studying the soil stratification in cave excavations at two locations in my thesis study area, which had previously been turned over by bulldozers and by pigs as mentioned later in this chapter. Kohen was adept at finding stone chips in disturbed soils.

8 Moore did not invite these local Aboriginal families to join his new society, even though they were compiling local history for Blacktown. He was writing to impress them, giving status to the society by pretending that Kohen was then a university academic. It was Williams who was the university academic. Despite the reputation as given by Kevin Moore, rather than being a graduate archaeologist at Macquarie University as implied, Jim Kohen may have been a competent technical assistant. According to his 38pp CV as circulated 2006, three years after Macquarie University awarded his first [and only] university degree in 1988 (the 1986 Ph.D. in the 'School of Earth Sciences'), Kohen was still employed in his career as a technician - for twenty years until 1991 (at 44yo). In this period he additionally refers to himself as 'Tutor', in biology. He had qualified from the then Institute of Technology with a B.App.Sci., 1975. \ Kevin Moore, 1980, Correspondence from Blacktown and District Historical Society to Jane Gale, 30 October 1980, in family history collection of son Colin Gale.

9 From this contact a strong liaison developed between Jim Kohen from the Blacktown district historical society and one of Charley & Jane Gale's sons, Colin, from the Blacktown district Aboriginal descendants. An ensuing productive partnership developed the Darug Tribal Link (applying Kohen's newly contrived term 'Darug', discarding Jack Brook's research for the Dharug people). When this progressed as the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation in 1996, Jim Kohen remained in control behind the scenes as the registered Public Officer although Colin Gale was the public face establishment Chairman. On (separate) visits with me to a Darkiümung traditional location above the Hawkesbury River at Maroota [then mistakenly thought to have been Dharug], Jim demonstrated his skills as a chipped stone spotter, while Colin with one of his brothers confidently exhibited the comfort of feeling "at home".
goldmine'.

There followed a strong genealogical component for the Aboriginal history project, as explained by Kohen from the studies for Blacktown and District Historical Society:

My first attempt to trace local Darug people resulted in a meeting with an Aboriginal lady in her fifties, and her mother, who was in her seventies. They told me that they were descendants of an Aboriginal princess. When we began tracing their family history, we found that that statement was about as close to the truth as you can get.11

Researcher Jack brook had discovered that when requesting a land grant in 1831 Aboriginal daughter Maria Lock (wife of a convict) asserted that her father had been ‘the Chief of the Richmond Tribes.’12

Historical analyses for some of the consequences of Kohen's own ‘Subsequent research’ as above [my emphasis], have found such variance as to have led to this chapter being placed in my thesis, where I am searching for an explanation as to how Darkiñung people (who originated from the Hawkesbury River)

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10 Kohen summarised his involvement for a publication in 1989, establishing himself as the first archaeologist in western Sydney: ‘His [Jim Kohen’s] study of the archaeology of western Sydney, the first of the area's prehistory, revealed a world which had remained largely hidden for 200 years. Evidence also indicated that there could be large numbers of descendants still living in the area. Dr Kohen also discovered that he had Aboriginal relatives: Although his own bloodline is Irish, he found that his grandfather's brother had married a Dharug woman. He has made contact with what has been a long lost side of the family, one which has Dharug descendency.’ He had personally advised that he was related to the Smith family, and in his 2006 revised genealogy Kohen gives Maria Lock b.1859, daughter of William Lock and Mary Cox, married ca.1884 to William George Smith b.1855 from Maitland [although it is observed that he has not verified his own connection]. J.K. Kohen, 1980, ‘Prehistoric Aboriginal Occupation of the Blacktown Area’, Journal of the Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1 (1), reprinted in Learmouth, 2001 [below], pp.2-3; Jim Kohen, 1982, ‘Logic and Luck - A Family History’, Journal of the Blacktown and District Historical Society, 3 (1), reprinted in Learmouth, 2001, pp.69-70; Anna Learmouth, 2001, ‘The First Five Years’, Blacktown City Council for Blacktown and District Historical Society, Blacktown; Peter Quiddington, 1989, ‘The Lost Tribe of Sydney’, The Sydney Morning Herald, Spectrum, Saturday 21 January, 1989, p.78; Kohen 2006 ‘Daruganora’ p.90.

11 (For the ‘princess’ citation, see following footnote. The Jacksons had already done the research separately to the involvement of Moore and Kohen.) There was an untested assumption at this level of research, that any Aboriginal people associated with Blacktown were, or became, Dharug (Kohen's ‘Darug’ to be). Kohen continued: ‘The descendants of the Darug from the Black Town tended to marry people from the Aboriginal (communities elsewhere)’. J.L. Kohen, 1993c, ‘The Darug Aborigines’, Timespan, Journal of the Nepean Family History Society, No.50 March 1993 Pt.1 pp.4-7, No.51 June 1993 Pt.2 pp.62-65, citations p.62, p.63.

12 This claim to Governor Darling for a ‘wedding portion’ land grant was the basis of the family story about a black princess. Maria, and later Betty Cox, were two of the Aboriginal girls educated in English at the Parramatta Native Institution whose Aboriginal families were Darkiñung from the Hawkesbury River (Chapter 4). After receiving land at Liverpool (which had been promised for her marriage into a white family, a convict who had come with his father), Maria also used colonial law to claim legal rights to an 1816 colonial grant of land [original deed 1819] at Black Town to which she moved with her family about 1843 (Chapter 6). In the quote from 2006 book given above, apparently the late Charlie Gale had been referring to members of Betty Cox's family who ‘returned’ to the Hawkesbury (Sackville), with some marrying into the Aboriginal Barber and Everingham Families who had remained there (Family History study and discussions with Colin Gale, Charlie Gale's son, descendants of Maria). Brook had looked at the original documents in the state archives. Allan Jackson & Marie Jackson, 1981, ‘The Wedding Portion’, collection of papers for private distribution, Jack Brook collection, p.13.
became known as *Dharug* people (who originated from Georges River). In other chapters I have detailed original source historical records. For both terms *Dharug* and *Darkiñung*, society is indebted to the person who recorded them, Robert Mathews, as detailed and discussed in Chapter 6. Aboriginal-descent people from Blacktown specified by Kohen [Tangye, Gale families] were descended from a Georges River woman, Sarah Castle, who provided Mathews with sentences in a language un-identified at the time which was later termed *Dharook* / *Dharruk* for publication. Maria Lock’s children who were also born at the Georges River were reared in contact with the Aborigines there before she took them to the Black Town. The then unidentified Georges River language was that known by her family, and the wordlist to which Mathews allocated the term *‘Dharruk’* is now attributed to her eldest son who spent the first fourteen years of his life living at Liverpool in contact with the Georges River Aborigines (Chapter 6).

**The Collection of Information (Brook and Kohen)**

Jack Brook who was also a member of the new local historical society had been researching the history of the Black Town prior to Kohen’s involvement as above, authoring the first of the books based on his research. For Kohen’s evidence to the Federal Court of Australia (FCA), it was submitted: ‘Dr Kohen’s principal field of expertise is in prehistory. In the late 1970s, Dr Kohen, is association with Mr Jack Brook, began to record the history - -’.

The term *Dharug* (Kohen’s ‘Darug’) was not used in that first book from the historical society. However in Kohen’s exhibits submitted to court, he changed the recognition of people from being ‘Aboriginal’ to being *Dharug* (using his new term ‘Darug’), thus allocating a ‘Tribal’ identity which was becoming normal practice at the time. His encompassing term for *Dharug* included all the *Darkiñung*-descent and *Gundungurra*-descent people there too.

With regard to the Aboriginal people from Blacktown, Kohen contributed to the court: [direct quote] ‘Many

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15 This example was used to illustrate an unprejudiced review written impartially in far off Western Australia. With regard to that material before Madgwick J, Glaskin found that ‘the claim seems to have arisen out of a degree of confusion.’ She noted and quoted that this expert witness [J.L. Kohen], had ‘not always displayed the rigours of examination expected of a professional, occasionally unjustifiably turning speculations into inference as to possible versions of events that have attractions for members of the claimant group’. In perspective, could Tench’s story book (Chapter 1) have been more reliable by comparison? \ Katie Glaskin, 2004, ‘An Anthropological Perspective on Writing for the Court’, Land, Rights, Laws: Issues of Native Title, Vol.2, Issues Paper No.29, 12pp., edited from a paper presented to Native Title Conference, Adelaide, June 2004, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, quote pp.4-5. Available online at ntru.aiatsis.gov.au/ntpapers/.
Darug people have always known who they were and where they came from. Some have lived at Aboriginal settlements including the Sackville Reserve, La Perouse and Katoomba, all which fall within Darug boundaries (source Brook 1994).[end quote]16 The source which he gave to the court, Brook 1994, is the first edition of Brook's book about the Hawkesbury Sackville Reserve, in which Brook identified the Dharug with: “No evidence has been found that any Dharug “full-blood” tribesperson survived beyond the 1930s. Martha Everingham who died in 1926 is reputed to have been “the last of the full blood tribe” of the Hawkesbury”. Therefore, given that Kohen's source which he gave to the court for his ‘Darug boundaries’ was not really a source of boundaries at all, but one of his misrepresentations, his evidence to the court was erroneous: Brook's source was Bowd's local history which cited a church register epitaph for the Aborigine Mrs Everingham and makes no tribal or language identifications. I have read the church leger. In his own 1993b book about the ‘Darug’, Kohen included Martha Everingham's genealogy as part of the ‘Darug’ people, where he used the mistaken name for her as Martha ‘Hobbs’. Including her as ‘Darug’ was a more serious mistake, for in my own Family History studies with Martha's descendants - with whom I share convict ancestors - I showed she originated at Wollombi and is listed by Mathews as Mrs Everingham in the 1890s as part of a Darkiïŋ community at the Hawkesbury.17

16 Madgwick J 2004 paragraph 33.

17 Despite my sharing the hard copy evidence of ‘Hibbs’, Jim Kohen continued to refer to Martha as ‘Hobbs’ [although, I had identified a documentary basis for the mistake]. He has never forgotten that - in my researching Everingham Family History with my cousins - I had found that the Hawkesbury Aboriginal people were not Dharug as he advocated, but Darkiïŋ. Ever since, to justify his erroneous court evidence, he has been trying to delete the Darkiïŋ from the Hawkesbury to replace them with Dharug (his ‘Darug’), in spite of the records by Robert Mathews - which form the heart of the study for this thesis (Chapter 6). At the time, I had no idea that my then new finding was in conflict with testimony Kohen was providing to the Federal Court of Australia, FCA, and I had no knowledge - or interest - that there was a Federal Court case for the National Native Title Tribunal, NNTT. Actually, I had thought I was supporting his 1993b ‘yellow book’, as follows, unaware that Kohen no longer personally accepted as Darkiïŋ boundaries those he had cited in that book prior to the court case. It had remained hidden among FCA findings that ‘The manner in which Dr Kohen had prepared his (“expert”) report’ was questioned by the Court, so that the lawyer for the applicants relying on him (‘The Darug People’) had made an application for the Court to appoint a more appropriate expert witness without cost to them. Madgwick J (2001b) dismissed the request (that the court pay for the ‘Darug’ to replace Kohen). In my studies the turning point was in June 2005 when Kohen first spoke about the court case, and wrote to me: ‘Please don’t feel constrained by anything I have published. I’m the first to admit that the information in “Darug and their Neighbours” is now well and truly out of date, and it is in dire need of an upgrade.’ [my emphasis] Yet, he rejected the use of historical record sources for a revision (as mentioned in Introduction). }\Jack Brook, 1994 (1st edn), ‘Shut Out From The World - The Sackville Reach Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Self published, Seven Hills (Sydney), p.7, 1999 (2nd edn), ‘Shut Out From The World - The Hawkesbury Aborigines Reserve and Mission 1889-1946’, Deerubbin Press, Berowra Heights (Sydney), p.8 [search string: Sackville reserve]; Doug (Douglas Gordon) Bowd, 1979 edn, ‘Macquarie Country - A History of the Hawkesbury’ [Book 1], Library of Australian History, Sydney, p.37; Jim Kohen, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aboriginal Owners of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown, Appendix 2 (continued...)
By 2004, Justice Madgwick - when failing to accept Kohen's ‘Subsequent research’ which had been submitted to the Federal Court as exhibits ca.2001/02 - provided a sympathetic exoneration for Kohen's own inaccurate attempts at history: ‘Dr Kohen has put countless hours of his time into learning of, and assisting as best he can, people thought to be descended from the traditional owners of land in the Sydney basin to understand their history. Many of these families could be traced back to the Black Town settlement.’

The proceedings of this court case were conveniently summarised in the National Native Title Tribunal (NNTT) Newsletter, where Dr Kohen is classified as ‘an expert in pre-history’.  

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17(...continued)  

18 In another 2001 court finding also by Madgwick J for which Kohen had morphed into ‘senior lecturer in the field of Human Geography’, The Deerubbin Local Aboriginal Land Council was directed to pay him $5000 personal expenses for providing copies of information which he had relied upon in preparing “expert” reports submitted to the court (‘exhibits’). Kohen's material prepared for the court was commented upon unfavourably by the multiple anthropologists and historians who assessed it for the court. Experts asked to advise the court included the late Ken Maddock who had been teaching anthropology at Macquarie University. From his early start on the staff as above, Jim Kohen had watched the university grow and felt part of its soul. No wonder, then, he was distressed (pers. comm.) when Maddock as a later staff member did not show loyalty by just explicitly agreeing with everything he (Kohen) had submitted to the court. \ Rodney Neville Madgwick, 2004, Federal Court of Australia Decisions, ‘Gale v Minister for Land [etc] for New South Wales [2004] FCA 374 (31 March 2004)’, online at www.austlii.edu.au, paragraph 30; Rodney Neville Madgwick, 2001a, Federal Court of Australia Decisions, ‘Kohen v Deerubbin Aboriginal Land Council [2001] FCA 343 (7 March 2001)’, online at www.austlii.edu.au; Kenneth Maddock, e.g. 1982 (2nd edn), ‘The Australian Aborigines - A Portrait of Their Society’, Penguin Books, Ringwood (Melbourne).

19 About that time, Friday 8 November 2002, I was shown how meticulous research could easily be perverted. Jim Kohen wrote (pers. comm.): ‘The often published photograph of an Aboriginal man standing next to a corn field on the Hawkesbury River is Charley - - who was living on Coal and Candle Creek - -’ [i.e. at the Cowan Water Southwest Arm of Broken Bay]. Kohen is not alone in this simple error: Amongst Aboriginal History writings in my library I find that Peter Read attributed this particular photograph to an Aborigine called William at the same place. Remarkably they had both used the same source of information, although collaboration was unlikely because Read refers to Kohen as Cohen. While I was preparing this thesis Read gave his opinion that confirmation of such proffered information is not necessary when the source has been a person identifying with Aboriginal ancestry. However, the book by researcher Jack Brook given by Kohen as his source for the court as above had already shown the photograph to have been taken at the historic Sackville Reserve, so important to this thesis. On site I have independently established Brook to be correct, in conjunction with the present landholder with whom I have reproduced the photograph. \ Jack Brook 1994 ‘Shut Out’ p.34, 1999 edn p.63; P.J. Read, 2000, ‘Deep in the Sandstone Gorges’ Chapter 1 pp.6-29 in ‘Belonging - Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership’, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp.12, 26/27.

20 ‘Prehistory’ is the accounts of events before recorded history (O.E.D.). Once it was apparent that the applicant (Gale, the establishment chairman, on behalf of DTAC) had been hoodwinked, he was abandoned by his younger cousins who became new committee members for DTAC seeking to retain Kohen’s “expertise” to provide more ‘accounts of events’. \ Anon., 2004, Determination of native title cases: ‘Gale v Minister for Land and Water Conservation (NSW) [2004] FCA 374’, “Native Title Hot Spots”, National Native Title Tribunal newsletter. No.9 April 2004, pp.29-34, online at www.nntt.gov.au/News-and-Communications/Newsletter/Native-title-Hot-Spots-archived, accessed 2010.
Kohen provided DTAC with a new 2006 book for which he has manufactured a marvellous new title word, ‘Daruganora’, to represent ‘Darug Country’. In this he re-presented for general knowledge some material from his court exhibits - which already had been rejected by the judge where he had been seeking a decision accepting his extension for Country of his Georges River ‘Darug’ People into the Country of their neighbours the Hawkesbury River Darkiñung People.  

In what may be diagnosed as ‘political correctness’, recent authors giving Aboriginal history around Sydney seem to have felt it incumbent upon them to identify Aborigines with a language-group ‘Tribe’ name from the time of first contact with the British colonisers. Such allocating of ‘traditional owners’ to the land without examination of original historic source material has led to misrepresentations of the history. As examples from history writers well respected in the field, there has been writing on Parramatta history, on Campbelltown history and on Liverpool / Georges River history, even writing on Blue Mountains history as well as a new book on early Hawkesbury River settlement history. Some of such authors are now relying on Kohen 2006 as above or have relied upon Kohen 1993b, which was known as the ‘yellow book’ to its target Blacktown audience as follows. But this book is historically

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21 For example, the map which failed in the court is reproduced in this 2006 book, p.15. It omits a substantial area of original Dharug Country to the south, and incorporates a considerable part of Darkiñung Country to the north - which I have discussed in Part III. \Jim Kohen, 2006, ‘Daruganora: Darug Country - The Place and The People’, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation, Blacktown.


23 As discussed following, the 1993b ‘yellow book’ was [quote as follows] ‘written to provide a basis for the people to be able to understand more about their culture’. With regard to his work with the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), after the second 2006 book ‘Daruganora’, the author, J.L. Kohen, was to explain to the inaugural Chairman of DTAC, given here in extracts from written correspondence 26 November 2009, that ‘I formally handed over copyright to DTAC.’ And that ‘by publishing through DTAC, I lost income [author's emphasis], because if I had published through my usual publisher, University of New South Wales Press, I would have been eligible for Lending Rights for this book [2006;*]. I elected to publish through DTAC because I considered it important that the Darug community have ownership of the information contained in the book. In terms of my academic career, it has been to my disadvantage’. Further, ‘I believe that my contribution to Aboriginal people, especially Darug people, is widely recognised.’ Then, Kohen made a very appealing statement [verbatim quote]: ‘Daruganora is fully referenced.’ In my dictionaries, ‘fully’ is not used to mean ‘haphazardly’. The book is mainly a revised printout of his genealogy database. ‘Information’ in this 2006 book includes testimony and exhibits that (continued...)
Kohen provided personal responses for the earlier draft manuscript from which this chapter developed. Some of responses are included as follows. He specifically pointed out that it should be noted who the audience was for whom his 1993b book was intended: ‘WRITTEN TO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR THE PEOPLE TO BE ABLE TO UNDERSTAND MORE ABOUT THEIR CULTURE’ - which did not include academic researchers such as those above. The people for whom the book was produced by Blacktown and District Historical Society are as given in the 1993b quote cited later in this chapter with my note about the 2009 Queen's Birthday medal. Kohen has been enthusiastic about constructing family tree data bases from genealogical records using both the New South Wales Registrar's Office ‘Pioneer Index’ CD-ROMs and a transcription of ‘Blanket List’ records obtained while at Macquarie University.25

23(...continued)

were not accepted in the Federal Court, as given above in this chapter. It includes the map discussed above, denying Darkiñung their recognition as reported by Robert Mathews (Chapter 6), which Kohen had previously given to me in an unsubtle, clumsy, effort to stymie my research for this thesis. The map is still being promoted (2010).

* That month, Tuesday 3 November 2009 when he was suddenly packing up because he had been requested to leave Macquarie University, Kohen had informed me that he was writing another book on the topic for Cambridge University Press. I had read his 1995 ‘Environmental Impacts’, written as from the School of Biological Sciences at Macquarie University when it was published by the University of New South Wales Press, and I continue to recommend it for general reading as an adjunct to Flannery’s 1994 door stopper written as from The Australian Museum, Sydney. Flannery has since gone to Macquarie University. \ References and annotations as in Bibliography.

24 In discussion with Kohen about his mislocations, he pointed out it doesn’t matter, by which I understood that he had not intended his pronouncements to be taken as accurate or to be used seriously. I disagree - he has been taken seriously. This mislocation joins some of the geographically impossible ‘Inland Clans’ which he gives in the 1993b book ‘The Darug’ (list p.21) - and are still being cited. A similar situation applied to his location of a phantom Hawkesbury ‘Clan’ of Aborigines at Marra Marra National Park, which he advised author Melinda Hinkson to have been the ‘Mara Mara Clan’, justifying it to me on the basis that if there had been a clan located there then they might as well be referred to as the ‘Marra Marra Clan’. (At the time, I had been researching Aboriginal history in that part of the lower Hawkesbury.) I also use reference names and agree that they have their values, but this is the condescending application by the colonialists using their own locality terms when naming Aboriginal groups which Robert Mathews had strived to overcome. This new non-existent ‘Clan’, totally invented by Kohen a mere ten years ago, now is claimed for the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), not only to have existed, but also to have been a traditional Dharug clan. The place is not even in Dharug historic country (Chapter 10/SE). With the tidal Marra Marra Creek being in the estuarine area of Broken Bay, the creek was probably Wammungine (aka ‘Guringai’) country (Chapter 9/NE). Hinkson had been hoodwinked. The then chairman of DTAC to which Kohen attributed the fraud was unaware of the hoax. \ Melinda Hinkson, 2001, ‘Aboriginal Sydney - A Guide to Important Places of the Past and Present’, Aboriginal Studies Press (AIATSIS), Canberra, p.xxiii.

25 Although some of Kohen’s ‘Blanket List’ transcriptions reached me from being circulated in the public domain, I have been greatly aided by a digital copy provided by him in 2005. These returns transcribed (continued...)
The Extension of Information (Tindale and Kohen)

Commendably, for twenty years Kohen filled a vacuum by providing a personal honorary service all over Sydney metropolitan area delivering talks, or walks and talks, to Clubs and Societies or Associations of people hungry for someone to make Aboriginal heritage simple and easy to understand. I was a beneficiary. Many of these talks were printed in newsletters and magazines, or online where they are accessed at respective internet ‘web’ sites.26

Work in my thesis is provided to assist Dr Kohen and his varied audiences by examining relevant historiography. This chapter examines how it had happened that Darkiñung Aborigines at the Hawkesbury River and into the Blue Mountains have mistakenly been given the identification of the Georges River Dharug people.27

With regard to which language-group was where in districts surrounding Sydney, an unsubstantiated belief of past history had developed in modern times well before more recent authors from the 1980s began to allocate ‘tribal’ or ‘clan’ identities around Sydney to people of Aboriginal descent seeking to

26(...continued)


27 Kohen himself has become the object. The project topic of ‘Darkiñung History’ had been referred to me by Dr Kohen after I had been doing historical research for the Hawkesbury ranges and had been working with Cultural ‘Heritage Interpretation’ as an active postgraduate-trained member of the ‘Interpretation Australia Association’ (IAA). It was a challenge - I hope he has found me worthy.
Descendants of Darkiñung Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges have the same need to recover their lost identity as those people of Aboriginal descent elsewhere whose grandparents had needed a ‘certificate of exemption’ to move around in the wider society. In the last few years, I have observed this yearning growing stronger among the younger people affected by the study for this thesis. The impact on me became critical to my approach.

The unsubstantiated belief of perceived identity had misplaced Dharug people onto the other side of the Hawkesbury River into the Blue Mountains. Instead, they were those from across the Cumberland Plain past Campbelltown to Camden (Chapter 10/SE). For example, telling popular family history in 1971, Hesba Brinsmead (née Pixie Hungerford) writes of the mountain people above Kurrajong whom she imagined to be ‘Daruk’ [Tindale’s term]. Other examples from Aboriginal history were written by Jack Horner in 1978, with the term ‘Daruk’, and Keith Willey in 1979, Dharuk. Local histories were caught up in this pretence too. None of such examples provides a source for the belief which they espouse. Willey’s book was the best account for Aborigines ‘of the Sydney Region’ up to that time. Horner also acknowledged ‘Darkinang’ [Darkiñung] and ‘Wonjarua’ [Wonnarua] whom he imagined were from the

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28 Descendants of Darkiñung Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges have the same need to recover their lost identity as those people of Aboriginal descent elsewhere whose grandparents had needed a ‘certificate of exemption’ to move around in the wider society. In the last few years, I have observed this yearning growing stronger among the younger people affected by the study for this thesis. The impact on me became critical to my approach.

29 I observe that people of, say, Polish origin who have moved to Spain may become ‘naturalised’ Spanish citizens and entitled to style themselves as Spanish. Historically, their ancestors remain Polish and cannot possibly be regarded as Spanish - and Poland remains the country of the Polish people. Specifically, since Maria with ancestry from Darkiñung Country moved to, and reared most of her children at, the Georges River in Dharug Country, then her descendants may choose to be ‘naturalised’ Dharug, but her ancestors remain Darkiñung, as does their traditional country at the Hawkesbury River. The rhetorical question is that if the Polish children reared as Spanish move to Poland, what are they then? This situation is facing many of the descendants of Maria Lock (and of Betty Cox) at the present time. Reports of their history need to be accurate to help their decisions.


31 For example, the well regarded local historian from Richmond, Mary Avern, called these mountain Aborigines ‘the Dharruk (or Daruk)’ in a 1973 published essay. But, taking her lead from Howitt or Fison, she confused these people with the “Nungawal” and in discussing the Kimalaroi she reflected the common lack of understanding of the period. At the time there was no Darkiñung recognition. [The Ngunaawal were from along Molonglo River in Queanbeyan area.] M.R. Avern, 1973, The First Inhabitants: Aborigines of the Area, 3pp. in N.W. Rodd (ed.), 1973, ‘Mount Tomah’, Mt. Tomah Society, Richmond.
northern Blue Mountains towards the Hunter River.

In the absence of other material in use for the general public, this belief of past history is probably due to entomologist Norman Tindale from South Australian Museum (SAM) who mistakenly showed the Dharug to the west beyond Lithgow.\footnote{William Walford Thorpe of The Australian Museum, Sydney (TAM) had omitted the Dharug and the Darkiňung (with any spellings) when in 1913 he compiled a list of tribes which excluded any of the publications by R.H. Mathews - who was then living at Parramatta. On my own chronological list I have 169 published items attributed to Mathews before then (and 2 more later). Thorpe was following the museum and university standard of ostracising Mathews as required by the despicable Spencer who with his acolytes pro-actively denied recognition to Mathews (Chapter 6). In early 1930s D.S. Davidson from America worked on a fellowship at The Australian Museum Sydney (TAM), South Australian Museum (SAM) and Queensland Museum. While extensively citing Spencer or Howitt, Roth or Radcliffe-Brown earlier, Davidson (e.g. 1928) had avoided acknowledging Mathews, then included him in 1938 (after J.B. Birdsell from America became involved with SAM - Chapter 6). Subsequently, Davidson 'intended to provide as complete and up-to-date a tribal map of Australia as is possible on the basis of available published sources up to 1938.' Although Davidson's map in 1938a had retained the earlier term 'Dhar-ruk', N.B. Tindale's map first published 1940 from SAM changed the expression to a different word, 'Daruk', adopted at TAM in 1946 (for Aboriginal Tribe no.17 out of 68) by F.D. McCarthy. Davidson 1938b included 34 references by Mathews for his register. Mathews, discussed in Chapter 6, had most commonly published 'Dharrook' / 'Dharruk' which is now the term Dharug. W.W. Thorpe, 1913, 'Australian Tribal Names, with Their Synonyms', Records of The Australian Museum, 8 (4): 161-92; D. Sutherland Davidson, 1928, ‘The Family Hunting Territory in Australia’, American Anthropologist, 30 (4): 614-31; D. Sutherland Davidson, 1938a, ‘An Ethnic Map of Australia’, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 79 (4): 649-79 + map; D. Sutherland Davidson, 1938b, ‘Preliminary Register of Australian Tribes and Hordes’, The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; N.B. Tindale, 1940, ‘Results of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition 1838-1939 - Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes; A Field Survey’, Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, 64 (1): 140-231 +map, the expedition was Tindale with American Joseph Birdsell (and their wives). [McCarthy as in a following footnote.]


\footnote{There is insufficient space in this thesis to appropriately discuss the 1950-60s confrontation over archaeological research in Darkiňung Country at the upper reaches of the Colo River . As I worked there then with McCarthy near Glen Davis, I do have a bias. They left their respective museums, Tindale from SAM went to reside in America, McCarthy from TAM to the A.C.T. Eventually they were ‘reconciled’ by D.J. Mulvaney and received honorary doctorates together at the A.N.U. F.D. McCarthy, 1946 (1\textsuperscript{st} edn), ‘New South Wales Aboriginal Place Names and Euphonious Words, with Their Meanings’, The Australian Museum, Sydney, the map was included right up to the last edition 1971 (5\textsuperscript{th} edn) - these McCarthy editions replaced the previous editions by the deceased W.W. Thorpe ‘List of New South... (continued...)}
the first Principal of AIAS (later AIATSIS), he wisely did not accept Tindale's map uncritically.\(^{35}\) McCarthy had been a student in Peter Elkin's department at Sydney University, and AIAS had commissioned people working with the records there: anthropologist David Moore to determine locations for a tribal listing, and linguist Arthur Capell to determine language locations.\(^{36}\) The best thinking of the time about Aboriginal country borders was espoused by Bill Stanner, discussed in Part III.\(^{37}\) Along with Stanner, neither Moore nor Capell considered that actual boundaries could be mapped - such a requirement for delineated and fixed limits has been a more recent outcome of applying ‘white man’s law’. In contrast to mainland Australia, the gardeners of Papua-New Guinea and Torres Strait Islands did have delineated plots with native title passed on by inheritance as discovered in the High Court ‘Mabo Case’. Complex legislation was required to recognise native ‘title’ in ‘white man’s law’ for Australia.

\(^{34}\)(...continued) Wales Aboriginal Place Names and Their Meanings’ without map; John Mulvaney, 2000, ‘“Cave men” Honoured: - - - 18 April 1980’, Australian Archaeology, No.50: 108.

35 Kohen's response to this paragraph: 'NO SERIOUS RESEARCHER HAS EVER TAKEN TINDALE'S BOUNDARIES AS DEFINITIVE. TO START WITH THEY ARE STRAIGHT OR CURVED LINES. TINDALE ALSO INCORRECTLY CITED MANY OF HIS REFERENCES.' On this subject, to justify his own inconsistent position Kohen published: ‘Tindale notes that rivers often form boundaries between clans or tribes. The Hawkesbury and Colo Rivers were the boundaries between the Darug and Darkinjung.’ Kohen's unsubstantiated suggestion - for which he relied on his ill-informed interpretation of his inaccurate rewriting of politician Richard Hill - is discussed in Part III (Chapter 10/SE). I observe that Kohen mapped the same ‘Tribe’, his ‘Darug’, on both sides of the Hawkesbury River in the settled areas in defiance of his own conclusions! Tindale's so-called note used by Kohen came from Chapter 4, ‘Tribal Boundaries’, in a section where he was discussing ‘ecological and geographical boundaries’ (p.56) on which he (Tindale) was an expert. In this context, Tindale's actual sentence states: ‘Divides, mountain ranges, rivers, general ecological and plant associational boundaries, microclimate zone limits, straits and peninsulas, often furnish clear-cut and stable boundaries.’ The tenor of the chapter was establishing water sources as the centre of Country, and Kohen's position is a serious misrepresentation reversing Tindale's point. Between tribes (language groups) it is high flow / broad rivers or lakes which form boundaries when they cannot be crossed readily. For the tribes he detailed at the Murray River, Tindale plotted different tribes on either side of Lake Alexandrina then five tribes each occupying both banks of the river going upstream. Thus Kohen's position claimed to be based on Tindale is contradicted by Tindale. The Mount Lofty Range above the Adelaide Plain was Tindale's most important boundary. Having lived there in the Adelaide Hills, and canoed on the Murray River myself, I can identify with the area. Tindale's significant book of considerable scholarship was re-printed for Australia, while being produced on the other side of the world, as arranged by Joseph Birdsell to whom he refers as his ‘leader of the UCLA-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition of 1952-1954’ \& Jim Kohen, 1995, ‘Mapping Aboriginal Linguistic and Clan Boundaries in the Sydney Region’, The Globe, Journal of the Australian Map Circle, No.41; 32-39, p.35 [copy presented to me by author as an off-print]; N.B. Tindale, 1974, ‘Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names’, University of California Press, Berkeley, pp.55-74, p.x, with map ‘Tribal Boundaries in Aboriginal Australia’.

36 David Moore was then employed by AIAS so his draft was first, I have a copy of a revision from his personal collection. [The AIATSIS Encyclopaedia developed from this work.] \& Re McCarthy: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) Newsletter January 1965 2 (1): 1; David Moore, ca.1963, ‘The Tribal Index to the AIAS Bibliography’, typescript; Arthur Capell, 1963, ‘Linguistic Survey of Australia Prepared for Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS)’, typescript.

After the enthusiasm shown with the wide public distribution of Tindale's 1940 map revised for 1974, it seems to have been losing its universal popularity from 1988 as more people undertook their own investigations. Kohen is disapproving of authors other than himself placing Aboriginal groups around Sydney, stating: 'It is useful to point out some of the errors and omissions in some recent publications', criticising the books by Meredith 1989 based on Tindale, by Turbett [sic] 1989 [he meant Turbet] based on Tindale, and worse by Willey 1979 with even 'more distressing' the novel by Willmot 1987.

The Utilisation of Information

In this chapter, I seek to provide the reader with an analysis of how it happened that with the best of intentions descendants have been provided with ancestral identities which were not historically correct for the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges and their rivers. I am writing with in mind my Aboriginal cousins and other descendants of the Aborigines whom Mathews personally named as Darkiñung people, whose most common plea has been:- we want to find ‘the truth’ about our ancestry - in the same way as convict descendants like me want to find theirs. Most have mixed Aboriginal and convict ancestry, which were suppressed in many families for generations. These people trust research to provide the best solution from historical records, just like the Link-Up program set up in New South Wales by Coral Edwards with Peter Read, who states he went through twenty two thousand documents in his research seeking accurate historical information. From scores of Aboriginal descendants who have talked - and do talk - with me


40 To ensure balance, it is appropriate to note that other researchers report that ‘Darug’ is favoured by members of descent groups known as ‘Darug’, irrespective of their ancestry. They are quoting Kohen's new term. The new generation of young adults, their children, has heard nothing else in the last twenty or so years. By providing them with an identity, Kohen has given such people a new-found dignity which cannot be denied, and to some of them the hoax does not matter. While it should be their choice how they are known, it does not change their historical ancestry, i.e. Dharug from the Georges River and Cumberland Plain Tribe and Darkiñung from the Hawkesbury and northern Blue Mountains Tribe.

41 In a 2010 radio broadcast with Aboriginal Gordon Briscoe, Peter Read said: ‘We have to look behind the scenes’, (where) ‘there are eight hundred documents which Keith Windschuttle and I have read. I’ve read the (other) twenty two thousand documents held in the New South Wales archives which are now closed.’ Briscoe responded: ‘It’s up to the historian to interpret these documents so that they become teaching documents.’ [transcripts of spoken words]. Peter Quiddington had reported this aspect of Read's work: 'In 1981, Peter Read - - - gained access to the archives of the NSW Aboriginal Protection Board (continued...)
about the issue of identity, there has been disension voiced by only one woman up to the writing of this thesis, who as a protégée of Jim Kohen in DTAC has absolute trust, or faith, assuring me that the identity ‘Darug’ which she has adopted had come from him and therefore she needed no knowledge of the history of Aborigines from whom Robert Mathews had recorded the term as Dharruk in the 1800s. She had no interest in the history that the connection for her Aboriginal Link had come from Mathews.42

During the study for this thesis there are those in academic institutions who remind me of the ‘risk’ as a student, of ‘my attaching my own meaning’ to what I observe. As a professional pathologist, research scientist, university lecturer, research scholar supervisor and editorial referee - in the life before working on history of cultural heritage full time - I was well experienced with those issues and am now immune to intimidation. Further, it is a requirement for me as a historian to interpret historical records. In the case of this analysis I am considering those Aborigines whose names were actually recorded in the community from which the language term Darkiñung was sourced by Robert Mathews (Chapter 6). The question being addressed is how their descendants have had these ancestors of theirs wrongly regarded instead as Aborigines who spoke another language which became known as Dharug. From coteries of anthropologists and linguists, archaeologists and historians from whom I have sought comment on my findings, only a few with archaeological background - including some whose work I respect - have shown the attitude that the best available historical information need not be provided for descendants.

41(...continued)

42 This contact is of a subsequent generation than those identified by Kohen for whom he was working. On the other side of the spectrum, people with academic appointments cannot conceive that, or how, they have been hoodwinked to become uncritically accepting of such a hoax. Just as people have such short memories that within a few years they reoccupy flash flood or wild fire devastated areas, the public consciousness of the success of the Piltdown Quarry hoax one hundred years ago has faded. And a hoax which is not exposed is not appreciated for the effort applied to make it successful. ‘For any hoax to work there has to be a great deal of convincing mendacity - - - Duplicity, pretence, obfuscation, covering tracks, ambiguities and evasion - -’ wrote the experienced tale teller, English novelist William Boyd. William Boyd, 1998, in “The Guardian”, as cited by Melissa Katsoulis, 2009, ‘Telling Tales: A History of Literary Hoaxes’, “Cuckoo Books” Constable and Robinson, London, p.328.
Links in The Chain

Tracing Links in The Chain

I have chosen for a starting point a professional writer of my own age born 1939 who is a most thorough researcher and has often exchanged information with me, poet, successful journalist and war correspondent, magazine editor and publisher, recent graduate in history and anthropology, conference convenor, exhibition curator: K.V. Smith. Two of Keith Smith's books, biographies of ‘Bennelong’ [up to his departure with Governor Phillip to England, December 1792] and of Bungaree provide definitive pictures of Aboriginal life around the Colonial settlement at Sydney Cove. An example from him - as to how an understood belief changes with more careful examination - is given with the ‘Broken Bay Tribe’, the Kuringgai [now ‘Guringai’] as follows.

Bungaree belonged to the Broken Bay Tribe, which was designated by Capell in 1970 as Kuringgai - a term which was proposed by Scotsman Fraser in 1892 (Chapter 9/NE). This group replaced the Aborigines who had disappeared after the settlers had occupied Port Jackson. Although Bungaree with sixteen families of his people (who had travelled from their home at Broken Bay) were residing on the north shore at Port Jackson before 1815, Smith knew before 2001 that ‘The idea that the Kuringgai language [at the time of settlement] extended south to Sydney's north shore - - rests on shaky ground’. Independently, the archaeologist Val Attenbrow of The Australian Museum, Sydney (TAM) presented the same observation at a conference on Aboriginal Names around Sydney. About two hundred years after the arrival of Bungaree at Port Jackson from Broken Bay, since the 1970s of Willey's writing as above, this now seems perfectly obvious - but it is a change in belief since the 1980s. After the realisation by Smith, this change has been adopted later by Kohen for his popular book of 2006. The Port Jackson and Hawkesbury River situations are conversely similar, reverse images of each other.


44 In this hurried report [see annotation in Bibliography], Capell wrote, inter alia, ‘this language could perhaps more conveniently be called Kuringgai (Guringai)’. Arthur Capell, 1970, ‘Aboriginal Languages in the South Central Coast, New South Wales: Fresh Discoveries’, Oceania, 41 (1): 20-27, p.23.


46 Personal communication, V.J. Attenbrow 2009. She gave no other details.

47 Kohen 2006 ‘Daruganora’.
Despite his care, Smith mistakenly placed Dharug at the Hawkesbury River (using the new word ‘Darug’ given to him from Kohen). His second thesis uncharacteristically has no reference for this location mistake, a sign that it is assumed to be general knowledge, just as in 1971 for Hesba Brinsmead above.\footnote{Smith was Kohen's student. Kohen's response to this paragraph: ‘IN LIGHT OF NEW DATA, THESE INTERPRETATIONS WILL CHANGE AS NEW DATA AND NEW DETAIL BECOMES AVAILABLE’. I have praise for Smith, because when his thesis was published as a book independent of Kohen, he replaced ‘Darug along the Hawkesbury River’ with a more correct phrase ‘Hawkesbury River Aborigines’.} But seven years earlier Smith had mistakenly written: ‘The name Darug (Darook, Daruk, Dharug, etc.) was obtained by R.H. Mathews from Aboriginal people living on a reserve at Sackville on the Hawkesbury River about 1901.’\footnote{Smith 2001 ‘Bennelong’ p.110.} However, I investigated all of Mathew's known notes and publications on the subject and found that Mathews did no such thing.\footnote{This fallacy created by Kohen brings discredit not just to himself but reflects discredit on Mathews by falsely attributing the deception to him. A research ms from my investigation was distributed in 2008 for review and comment. The results of those investigations are included in this thesis.}

Therefore, I have followed the links in the reference chain. Smith's source is not Mathews, but is Kohen, his postgraduate university supervisor, who launched Smith's Bennelong book Saturday 7 April 2001 at Macquarie University ‘Aboriginal Sydney’ conference convened by Smith. Smith's endnote reference is Kohen 1995 in the Journal of the Australian Map Circle, which Smith's text states is revised from Kohen's thesis, 1986b. Readers have had confidence in these references to his supervisor given by Smith, the former (1995) would have been reviewed by cartographers, the latter (1986) would have been examined.\footnote{Indeed. On Thursday 13 July 2006 Kohen showed me a thesis copy with pages of the examiner's notes which were also spread throughout the text. The impression given was of a preponderance of queries (‘?’). In some places, examiner's notes contest the text. Presumably these were answered, although the thesis itself was not corrected and has been used widely by the author as an authoritative source. [For my own Ph.D., I was subjected to defending my research with an oral examination by a panel with an international representative which was the practice at ANU in the 1960s.]}

The citation taken for Smith's quote, is: ‘The word Daruk was obtained by an ethnographer, R.H. Mathews, from Aboriginal people living on the Sackville reserve on the Hawkesbury River around the turn of the century (Mathews 1901)’.\footnote{Kohen's response to this paragraph supports people moving their place of home: ‘I HAVE INFORMATION FROM MANY FAMILIES THAT THEIR ANCESTORS LIVED EITHER AT SACKVILLE OR AT OTHER LOCATIONS FROM WINDSOR TO THE NORTH’. He may have meant information provided by the Gale family as acknowledged earlier this chapter. [Alternatively, some of my Everingham family relatives who are of Darkinjang descent from Sackville had also provided him with information.]} This statement is absolutely wrong. It is not even a misquote.
The Mathews 1901 reference is to relevant pages in an appendix of a much longer presentation discussed below. The influence of Tindale as above is at work in Kohen's own writing: It was Tindale who used the term as *Daruk*, whereas in his publications Mathews progressed from *Darrook* [in error] / *Dharrook* [corrected] to *Dharruk*. Yet the mistake blatantly attributed to Mathews had become a dogma by the time it had been used by Smith.

Kohen was wedded to Tindale's misspelling representation: ‘The Blacktown area was near the eastern boundary of the Daruk tribe.’ The sequence demonstrates that Kohen provided the alternative word ‘Darug’ to identify the Blacktown people as used today, divorcing himself from Tindale when choosing a word from a thousand kilometres away which could be translated as ‘yam’. The linguistic spelling of ‘g’ replacing ‘k’ has been modernised when compared with Tindale’s 1940 ‘Daruk’, just as ‘Kuringgai’ is now ‘Guringai’. Mathews's spelling of ‘Dharrook’ and ‘Dharruk’ had been retained as ‘Dharug’ which Kohen maintained when submitting his Ph.D. thesis to Macquarie University. After it had been accepted he then dropped the use of the correct ‘Dh’ term for the Blacktown people in favour of his own

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52(...continued)
(proceedings p.xlii), pp.155-60.

53 Tindale's term ‘Daruk’ to replace *Dharrook* had been adopted as their name by the Mt Druitt Local Aboriginal Land Council in Western Sydney, who later adopted ‘Deerubbin’ (a Darkiňung word for the Hawkesbury River) instead. Jim Kohen, 1980, ‘Prehistoric Aboriginal Occupation of the Blacktown Area’, Newsletter of the Royal Australian Historical Society, No.188: 2-3.

54 Arriving in the First Fleet, David Collins remarked on differences with which the same word was sounded by two people, and for the Aborigines: ‘they have been observed sometimes to differ from themselves, substituting the letter b for p, and g for c, and vice versa - - - and some of their letters would require a new character to ascertain them precisely.’ In an attempt to standardise simplified spelling of Aboriginal words, using limited English characters, the AIAS when formed recommended in 1964 that ‘B, D and G are to be used in preference to P, T and K. J is pronounced Y. Duplication of any consonant means it is sounded twice’ [my emphasis]. In addition, the orthography of the Royal Geographic Society used by Mathews specifically gave ‘Dh’ a ‘th’ sound (as in this and that), so that using ‘Darug’ for Mathews's ‘Dhar-ruk’ / ‘Dhar-rook’ is inappropriate. David Collins, 1798, ‘An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales [etc]’, Vol.I, T.Cadell Jun. and W.Davies, The Strand (London), Facsimile edition 1971 [vol.1], Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, p.609, Fletcher 1975 [vol.1] edn p.506; Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) Newsletter January 1964 1 (3): 11, with correction July 1964 1 (4): 15.

55 Warping Aboriginal names has been a custom of colonial men using a position of power over Aboriginal people. Surveyor General Mitchell was concerned about the ‘printing of long names, which is by no means desirable on maps’. Such concerns may have affected other records, too. Mitchell considered ‘letters as superfluous as gum trees on the hill.’ [Hills were cleared to give views for trigonometrical sightings.] He directed that ‘h’ to be dropped both with ‘g’ (such that the sound as in ‘ghost’ is written ‘gost’) and at end of words (so that ‘bah’ sound became ‘ba’). He wanted the diphthong sound ‘oo’ to be replaced with a single letter, ‘u’ - unless it was emphasised at the end of a word. Duplication of ‘r’ was not permitted unless after the emphasised syllable. From the records, new words (different sounds) were created for our English lexicon, e.g., as he gave the example, ‘Brulee’ for the Aboriginal term ‘Brroulheé’. In this thesis I have discussed *Wallambine* becoming ‘Wollombi’. T.L. Mitchell, 1829, ‘Instruction to surveyors regarding spelling of native names’, 5 September 1829, transcribed by Ward Havard, 1934, ‘Native Place Names’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 20 (2): 121.
new word ‘Darug’), while still using ‘Dharawal’ for neighbours.\textsuperscript{56} The Aboriginal people themselves had retained their established practice of using locality terms for their identification. For example, to the First Fleeters, the people at Port Jackson were those from \textit{Cadi}, the south shore, \textit{Cadi’gal} of pre-colonial times. In colonial times settlement terms were used, of which a location example is ‘Richmond Road’.\textsuperscript{57}

Not only Keith Smith (using Kohen’s new term ‘Darug’ to displace \textit{Dharug}), but another competent researcher of our age, Jack Brook - whom Jim Kohen co-authored at Blacktown and District Historical Society - had accepted \textit{Dharug} as the tribe present at the Hawkesbury River for his 1994 book about the Sackville Reserve there. However, during the time since Kohen referred to me the research of the \textit{Darkiñung} on the basis that it had never been considered, their history has been questioned by descendants of the actual Aborigines from Sackville named by Mathews as \textit{Darkiñung}. They are looking for an explanation from my research as to how they have been wrongly regarded as Mathews’s \textit{Dharug} (or Kohen’s ‘Darug’) when they are rightly Mathews’s \textit{Darkiñung}. This deals with that conundrum.

\textbf{Conflicting Beliefs}

Kohen 1995 does review Kohen 1986b as Keith Smith 2008 mentioned, but in between times, he had produced the popular 1993b ‘yellow book’ from the Blacktown and District Historical Society, the well known ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours’ which became the gospel for ‘knowledge’ about Aboriginal descendants west of Sydney.\textsuperscript{58} Yet, in 1993b Kohen had chosen to publish that \textit{Darkinjung} country was

\textsuperscript{56} Some person using Kohen’s modern spelling (‘Darug’) has recently added \textit{this} term to one of Robert Mathew’s notebooks held in the National Library Canberra, thereby leaving a falsified account for those who view this as Mathew’s record. As discussed in Chapter 6, it appears as marginalia. Mathews himself did not use such a term. The term as ‘Daruk’ as per Tindale 1940 was in public use as shown by previous entry for Brinsmead 1971. (It was while having lunch with an Aboriginal-descent family related to me that my attention was drawn to her use of the term, supporting Kohen’s contention that at least some were aware of Tindale’s term being used for traditional Aborigines.)

\textsuperscript{57} An unattached comment in Kohen’s response reads: ‘WHEN I BEGAN WORKING WITH DARUG PEOPLE, LONG BEFORE DARUG LINK CAME INTO EXISTENCE, THEY KNEW THEY WERE ABORIGINAL. THEY KNEW THEY CAME FROM RICHMOND, WINDSOR, PARRAMATTA, CAMDEN, LIVERPOOL, KATOOMBA, AND VARIOUS OTHER PLACES. SOME OF THEM USED PARTICULAR TERMS TO DESCRIBE THEMSELVES - E.G. THE “RICHMOND ROAD TRIBE”. GIVEN THE MARRIAGE PATTERNS, THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE EXTENDED FAMILIES, AND THE HISTORICAL EVIDENCE WHICH WAS AVAILABLE, THE MOST APPROPRIATE TERM FOR AT LEAST MOST OF THESE PEOPLE WAS DARUG. SOME OF THEM USED THIS WORD BEFORE I WROTE ANYTHING. AND WITH THE HINDSIGHT OF MATHEWS FIELD NOTES, MOST OF THEM WERE DESCENDED FROM DARUG SPEAKERS. MANY OF THEM WERE ALSO DESCENDED FROM DARKINJUNG, GUNDUNGURRA, DHARAWAL, AND OTHER GROUPS.’ I have verified that the term, as \textit{Dharrook}, was known to some with Gundungurra heritage (Chapter 6). The term as ‘Daruk’ from Tindale was used in the public domain (as illustrated above), even for the Local Aboriginal Land Council, prior to and independently of Kohen’s involvement. [It was ‘Daruk’ in use, not Darug which latter is a term contrived later by Kohen to match a vegetable root in Western Victoria.]

\textsuperscript{58} Kohen’s reverse response to this paragraph, extracted: ‘BY THE WAY, THE BOOK IS NOT JUST ABOUT THE DARUG - IT IS ABOUT ALL ABORIGINAL PEOPLE LIVING IN THE SYDNEY AREA. - - - WHAT WAS ‘KNOWLEDGE’ (continued...)
on the Hawkesbury River, from Wilberforce downstream (to the north) to include Sackville, attributing it to Mathews 1897 although it is actually Mathews 1903, as below. Its use in the 1993b ‘yellow book’ is directly from his 1986b thesis (complete with this wrong citation), before being changed with omission of the Darkiñung on the Hawkesbury upstream of the Colo in the text for the 1995 article above.\(^\text{59}\)

Elsewhere in the 1993b text Kohen also gives the Colo area, as well as Macdonald Valley and Putty, as part of the Darkiñung country without source.\(^\text{60}\) This popular 1993b belief from Kohen was the starting point for my studies, too. So, two conflicting sources both for Dharug and for Darkiñung on the Hawkesbury River are each published by Kohen: 1986b confirmed 1993b (also 1985 monograph as follows) but changed 1995 as above.\(^\text{61}\) It is no wonder that Aboriginal descendants from this location with whom I have had contact have become confused as I had been, leading to an analysis, now attempted in this chapter.

At the time of the preparation of Kohen's 1986b thesis, another article was published as the second monograph for the 1985 ‘Western Sydney Project’ of the University of New England and the then Nepean College of Advanced Education (now University of Western Sydney). Kohen incorrectly stated:

\(^{59}\)\(^{...continued}\)

IN 1986 OR 1993 IS NOT ‘KNOWLEDGE’ IN 2010!'\(^\text{59}\)


\(^{60}\) Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’ p.105.

\(^{61}\) Kohen's response to this paragraph: ‘MY INTERPRETATION AT THAT TIME WAS THAT THE DARKINJUNG WERE THE FIRST BRANCH [Macdonald River], SECOND BRANCH [Colo River], PUTTY, ETC PEOPLE, AND THAT THEY WERE ESSENTIALLY ON THE NORTH AND WEST SIDE OF THE HAWKESBURY. WHEN I WAS FORCED TO PUT SOME SORT OF LINE ON A MAP, I SUGGESTED THE COLO RIVER AS (A LINE FOR) A LIKELY BOUNDARY.’ And further, removing the boundary from the waterway to its watershed: ‘I AGREE THE DARKINJUNG CAME SOUTH AS FAR AS THE BASIN OF THE COLO RIVER’. I observe that Kohen's the Putty location is part of ‘the basin of the Colo River’. Kohen's responses are still contradictory, his map published in the 1995 map journal (taken from 1986b thesis) frequently republished, showed his then claimed Dharug land on west side of the Hawkesbury as shading but did not show the Colo River as a boundary, instead showing the land unshaded as Darkiñung Country. He does not appear to have reconciled his text with his ‘Aboriginal tribes’ map. Intellectually wrestling with Kohen's contribution to the topic of my thesis is like attempting to grasp a wet jellyfish with its tentacle stings intact. Kohen's 1995 restatement about water courses - such as Mangrove Creek - being a boundary between people of differing language groups is totally, absolutely, ridiculously, bizarre to those of us who actually spend time there and in the surrounding ranges. (I spend time familiarising myself at Mangrove Creek, where my mother's family had occupied the first land grants.) Strangely, there also have been desk-top archaeological studies for university theses analysing non-existent cultural differences from art work recorded on either side of this creek, without stating how two Aboriginal language groups knew which of the tributaries and gullies draining into the valley was going to be named as Mangrove Creek. Kohen's map correctly shows Dharug either side of upper Nepean River [above Warragamba] while his supporting text incorrectly states it was the boundary with the Gundungurra. Whew! (This border is discussed Chapter 10/SE).
Dharug (also spelled Dharuk and Dharruk) was the name used by the Aboriginal people living along the Hawkesbury River near Windsor near the turn of the century. This information was collected by R.H. Mathews, a surveyor who spent a great deal of his time gathering data on Aboriginal languages, ceremonies and art sites. It is clear from Mathews' research that the Dharug lived from the Hawkesbury River in the north to Appin in the south, and west into the Blue Mountains where they were bounded by the Wiradjuri.62

Robert Mathews collected no such information, although John Rowley had gathered data on the language at the Georges River to Appin (Chapter 10/SE). The reference to Mathews cited is the section on ‘The Dharruk Language’, in the appendix of a longer presentation, listed in Kohen's 1985 monograph as Mathews 1903, but actually Mathews 1901.63 As shown below, it is easy to get the maze of Mathews's interacting papers confounded as Kohen has. Care must be taken to manage the morass of Mathews's material. I have had the advantage of Martin Thomas's 2005a annotated bibliography about Mathews's publications for AIATSIS, which was not available to earlier workers.64 However, ‘from Mathews’ research’ outlined 1901, Mathews actually wrote that ‘The Dharruk speaking people adjoined the Thurrrawal on the north, extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River, and inland to what are now Windsor, Penrith, Campbelltown, and intervening towns.’65 Throughout the colony it was common for towns and district centres to become centres for multiple ‘tribes’, especially for blanket distribution as displayed on the returns compiled by Kohen.66

It is historically correct that people from the western Cumberland Plain who could have been Dharug such as South Creek people, did go into the townships of Windsor and Richmond, of Castlereagh and Penrith, but that did not place their tribal group as having occupied the country of the Hawkesbury River itself.67 Brook showed that the remnants of the local Aborigines in the 1830-40s camped on Marsden family property at South Creek and Eastern Creek, while because they visited Windsor they were known

66 Jim Kohen (compiler), 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’ (& misc. lists to 1851), Macquarie University.
67 Even the residents around ‘The Richmond Road’ location (as from the original Black Town) were serviced from Windsor in matters of church and state (and would visit Richmond and Windsor to access town resources) as discussed in Chapter 6.
as ‘The Windsor Tribe’. When the same individuals went to Parramatta, they were known as the
Worrowawry [various spellings] South Creek Tribe or as the Werweruway [various spellings] Eastern Creek
Tribe.

At that time, even Kohen himself could not have accepted Mathews's Dharruk (aka Dharug) people extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River and inland in the way attributed to Mathews above, because he (Kohen) had placed the Kuringgai there (i.e. before Keith Smith corrected him as discussed above). Capell had examined this issue and found that the Dharug had not been shown to be there. Following Tindale which Kohen 1985 showed he had done as above, to place the Dharug ‘west into the Blue Mountains where they were bounded by the Wiradjuri’ is, in a legal sense, courageous. Not only

68 People from South Creek sometimes called Windsor Aborigines or Hawkesbury Aborigines had crossed the floodplain and lowlands to get to Windsor (Chapter 6). During this period ‘The Branch’ natives Aboriginal people from the other side of the flood plain, actually on the Hawkesbury, were more commonly known as Richmond Hill (aka Richmond / Kurrajong) or Portland Head people, or just ‘mountain’ people [which latter term had been mixed up between either southern or northern Blue Mountains]. Jack Brook, 1994, 1999, ‘Shut Out’, p.12 (1994), p.15 (1996); William Walker [lawyer] 1890, ‘Reminiscences of a Fifty Years' Residence at Windsor, on the Hawkesbury’, Turner and Henderson, Sydney, facsimile 1977, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), p.7; William Walker [Rev.], 1821, Letter to Richard Watson 5 November 1821 (Chapter 6).

69 Kohen 1986a ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives’.

70 The people of the coast and Broken Bay at the Hawkesbury estuary are discussed in Chapter 9/NE. In relation to Mathew’s comments about the Dharruk language extending on the coast from Sydney to the mouth of the Hawkesbury River and thence inland, Capell noted that ‘Mathews’ statement was an assumption, which he had not proved’. Allowing for Mathews’s geographical knowledge as a practical land surveyor (which Capell did not share) to account for the use of term Lane Cove, I have a more practical reconciliation (Chapter 9/NE, re term Lane Cove). Mathews meant the early Lane Cove Road then in use from Pittwater, but Capell without knowing local history mistakenly guessed it must have meant Lane Cove River. Capell’s article was referred to by him as only an ‘initial report’, and he did not use the Lane Cove River for his extended discussion in his 1979 final publications discussed in Chapter 9/NE. \\

71 Kohen had already wrongly attributed this clumsy conclusion to Capell. Kohen is identified as from Macquarie University, and in a presentation which he lists in his extensive CV as one of his ‘Professional Articles’, Kohen 1993d pursued his hoax in a manner typical of his mistaken misleading misinformation. He blamed Capell with a statement [direct quote]: ‘Professor Arthur Capell demonstrated conclusively in 1970 that the same language which was spoken at Sydney was spoken by those people who lived across western Sydney into the Blue Mountains, and he correctly identified this language as Darug [sic]. Eora was therefore a dialect of the Darug language. Capell had compared the language recorded in 1790 at Port Jackson by William Dawes with the language recorded by R.H. Mathews in the early 1900s spoken by Aborigines living on the Sackville Reserve on the Hawkesbury River, and found them to be the same.’[end quote] In fact, in the introduction of his ‘Fresh Discoveries’ article, which Kohen absurdly misrepresented, Capell 1970 did not refer to William Dawes. Troy noted that copies of Dawes’s notebooks were not available in Australia until after 1972 (as follows in this chapter). Capell did refer to F.D. McCarthy and to R.H. Mathews, merely concluding in the introduction with regard to the coast north of Sydney that Mathews’ statement was an assumption - as footnoted above. Kohen twisted this to become ‘Capell demonstrated conclusively - -’. Capell’s final statement in this 1970 ‘initial report’, is (continued...)
has Keith Smith shown Kohen was wrong about the Kuringgai, but another of Kohen’s postgraduate students has disagreed with him too. Over thirty years research, Jim Smith has long promoted the view that where the Cox River rises to the west of the Blue Mountains is Gundungurra country, so even if it had been the Dharug in the Blue Mountains west of Penrith, they would not have been ‘bounded by the Wiradjuri’ there unless Jim Smith is wrong.\textsuperscript{72} Indeed, Mathews himself had given the Darkiñung as neighbouring the Gundungurra in the Blue Mountains in a paper actually published 1903 as below. Prior to colonial settlement, there was no place for the ancestral Dharug in the Blue Mountains.\textsuperscript{73}

In a crucial contribution, Brook already had found the cause for the error during his extensive research leading to his first 1983 Blacktown book, ‘Blacktown A Name of Character’, describing how historians have been misled by the location ‘situate in the District of Bathurst’ for Governor Macquarie’s 1816 land grant [1819 deed] for Aborigines Colebee and Nurrangingy in western Sydney. There were two districts of Bathurst until this ‘Inland’ district west of Parramatta disappeared with the introduction of parishes in 1835, leaving the ‘Interior’ district west of Mount York.\textsuperscript{74} Kohen 1985 had ignored Brook 1983 despite the incredible importance of the finding, but Brook’s solution was included when the book of his research was expanded into the very useful history, ‘The Parramatta Native Institution and The Black Town’

\textsuperscript{71}(...continued)

that the linguistic situation on the coastal side of the Great Dividing Range is ‘other than it has been taken to be’. And ‘work is in hand’ to present an analysis. Once upon a time I trusted my parents with their pretence that a fairy would give me a silver sixpence coin for a baby tooth. It was a pretence by Kohen to say that Capell compared the language recorded at Port Jackson by Dawes with that recorded by Mathews at Sackville and found them to be the same. \textsuperscript{73} James Kohen, 1993d, ‘Justice for the Darug Tribe’, in Metzke, Mari (ed.), 1993, ‘Giving History the Justice it Deserves’, Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the Royal Australian Historical Society with Affiliated Societies, Goulburn, 9-10 October 1993, Royal Australian Historical Society, Sydney, pp.50-52; Capell 1970 - as above.

\textsuperscript{72} The people of the Blue Mountains are discussed in Chapter 11/SW.

\textsuperscript{73} Kohen’s response to this paragraph: ‘WITH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION IT WOULD BE STRANGE IF THERE WASS NOT DIFFERENT AND NEW INTERPRETATIONS. IT MAY BE THAT (THE BLUE MOUNTAINS RANGE) IS WHERE THE DARKINJUNG HAD A BOUNDARY WITH THE GUNDUNGURRA’ It seems that Kohen may now be taking Mathews 1903 to be ‘additional information’ as if not available when he was working in 1980s. This ‘boundary’ is discussed in Chapter 11/SW.

\textsuperscript{74} This connection by Brook of two government Districts named after the Earl of Bathurst is not the only source of confusion. For example, there were also two historical locations identified with O’Connell, one his land grant in the ‘Inland’ District of Bathurst [viz. ‘Riverstone’ farm], the other a river flat named for him in the ‘Interior’ near Bathurst on the original Bathurst road. The location of this land is an issue in Chapter 11/SW, when O’Connell near Bathurst had been confused, by a member from the Eastern Suburbs Bennett family, with the Connor Family land near Bannaby. In the same orders appointing Colonel Macquarie to be Governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Maurice Charles O’Connell of Macquarie’s regiment was appointed to be Lieutenant-Governor. \textsuperscript{74} F.M. Bladen (ed.), 1901, ‘Historical Records of New South Wales - Vol.7 - Bligh and Macquarie 1809, 1810, 1811’ , Government Printer, Sydney, p.253.
published 1991 - with Kohen as joint author.\textsuperscript{75}

Confusing Beliefs

The confusion, whereby Dharug were falsely located at and across the Hawkesbury River, had originated before Kohen’s writing up of his 1986b thesis itself. Kohen had listed on his curriculum vitae, ‘Archaeological consultant’.\textsuperscript{76} Of several people with whom I have had the privilege of being in the field, Kohen was the most practical observer of flakes from stone tool workings loose on the ground. After he qualified at the NSW Institute of Technology he had sent observations on Aboriginal ‘open campsites’ or ‘surface workshops’ to the state government from 1978, when the Cumberland Plain was ‘the focus of a large number of archaeological field surveys - - - concerned with - - - the spread of Sydney’s Western Suburbs’.\textsuperscript{77} Work was done at development sites such as the Castlereagh aka Cranebrook Terraces at the lower Nepean River near Penrith.\textsuperscript{78}

The topic for Kohen’s 1986b thesis was prehistory [archaeology], ‘in the western Cumberland Plain’, for the then School of Earth Sciences at Macquarie University when he included on excavation at a rockshelter on Shaw’s Farm in the foothills of the Blue Mountains. Geomorphologist Martin Williams, the supervisor who appears to have had some responsibility for developing Kohen’s expertise, is given as

\textsuperscript{75} Although Kohen jointly authored the 1991 book from Brook’s research, he appears to have chosen to continue to ignore this finding. \& Jack Brook, 1983, ‘Blacktown, a Name of Character - A History of the Aboriginal Settlement of Black Town’, Blacktown and District Historical Society, p.11, 1996 3\textsuperscript{rd} edn p.12; Brook & Kohen 1991 ‘Parramatta Native Institution’ p.40.

\textsuperscript{76} After leaving high school in 1964, Kohen was employed at Macquarie University from 1969 until retirement, during which period he qualified at the NSW Institute of Technology. Then - five years after submitting the Ph.D. on ‘archaeology’ in the geology department - in 1991 becoming a tenured lecturer in biology, from where he retired in 2009 as Associate Professor. During this university employment he also listed his employment as ‘Archaeological consultant’ from 1981-2002. The Blacktown and District Historical Society had referred to him in 1980 as an archaeologist, given earlier this chapter. In 1982 Kohen became Honorary Secretary for the Anthropological Society of New South Wales. \& Curriculum Vitae for James Leslie Kohen born 1947.


\textsuperscript{78} An immensely important favour was donated to those fledgling ‘Darug Tribal Link’ people whom Kohen meritoriously instructed in this archaeology, enabling them to provide an archaeological service in order to satisfy changed NSW planning requirements that such surveys at development sites be carried out by indigenous people. The extensive income from developers for these early honorary labours by members set up significant funds which resourced DTAC to be where it is today. A new membership, replacing the generation which did the work, has its own well equipped rooms containing feature exhibits, adjacent to the historical society in the basement of the previous poultry research centre facility at Seven Hills. DTAC members are obligated and eternally indebted to Kohen for his services.

This overhang (‘cave’) through which the road had been constructed is located between St Albans and Bucketty. It is in the heart of acknowledged Darkiñung country, and referred to (in notes from Kohen) as ‘Yengo site’. The area is dense in Aboriginal sites well known to locals and bushwalkers. Higher up the ridge above the road is a significant habitation cave and downstream in the same occupation area is the habitation cave site excavated by David Moore (well above the road) - which I have also visited, where he (Moore) made a trench across the width of the site. I have not been able to locate any report of the Williams/Kohen excavation site (separate to Kohen’s 1986b thesis), other than a 1995 press item and in a 1995 article, generously presented to me by Kohen, written by Dean Gilligan who was then Kohen’s student. Gilligan went on to do a 2001 Ph.D. thesis at Macquarie University on conservation genetics and population survival. Despite acknowledging the prior existence of other examples, such as this The Australian Museum work by David Moore and the prolonged project in the neighbouring valley of Mangrove Creek collated by Val Attenborough, their work was downgraded by noting that it was this Mogo Creek site which ‘provides an archaeological deposit derived explicitly from a terrestrial resource base’ (i.e. other than marine). Kohen had already done work on Williams’s excavated sample material (as mentioned in his 1986b thesis), although in 1995 reference was made to ‘the unsuitable nature of the previously excavated sample’. J.L. Kohen, given 1986b as in preparation, ‘Mogo Creek Rockshelter: A Prehistoric Site Showing Economic Variation During the Late Holocene’; Dean Michael Gilligan, 1995, ‘Faunal Analysis of a Late Holocene Aboriginal Occupation Site in the Macdonald Valley, New South Wales’, Thesis, Macquarie University: unpublished paper prepared for journal ‘Australian Mammalogy’; Kirsty McGoldrick, 1995, ‘Secrets of Natural World Resurfacing’, Central Coast Express Advocate, 7 July 1995, pp.4-5; David R. Moore, 1981, ‘Results of an Archaeological Survey of the Hunter River Valley, New South Wales, Australia - Part II: Problems of the Lower Hunter and Contacts with the Hawkesbury Valley’, Records of The Australian Museum, 33 (9): 388-442; V.J. Attenborough, 1981, ‘Mangrove Creek Dam Salvage Excavation Project’ in 2 vols, Report for New South Department of Public Works to New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, Sydney; V.J. Attenbrow, 1987, ‘The Upper Mangrove Creek Catchment - A Study of Quantitative Changes in the Archaeological Record, Thesis, University of Sydney; V.J. Attenbrow, 2004, ‘What’s Changing: Population Size or Land-Use Patterns? - The Archaeology of Upper Mangrove Creek, Sydney Basin’, Series Terra Australis volume 21, Pandanus Books, Australian National University, Canberra.

Walter Enright’s purpose was to describe three small red figures left from Aboriginal occupation. I have been with locals to other caves in the bush nearby with more extensive Aboriginal occupation relics. Enright, who was in contact with local residents, described the site with a floor which (in 1890s) ‘is quite level, to the back wall, but the depth [of the soil] was originally much greater, as portion of the floor had recently to be cut away in forming the roadway.’ Again from local history, in the twentieth century the road was reconstructed with bulldozers moving blocks of rock to cut a new lower base, well before Martin Williams or Jim Kohen arrived to dig. High jinkers with great logs would travel along the (continued...)
Shaw's Farm was the location of excavation works done by archaeologist Father Eugene Stockton, who in 1973 acknowledged geomorphologist Martin Williams from Macquarie University. Stockton discussed the 'displacement of archaeological material', while in the later excavation for Kohen's thesis as above, the previous presence of pigs was suggested from pigs' teeth in the excavation. When road past the cave, until the commercial timber was removed. Eventually the remaining crown land in the neighbouring ranges was gazetted 'national park' in 1988 and named ‘Yengo’. Kohen's own first trench was: ‘behind a large sandstone block assumed to have prevented disturbance’. Enright maintained his local contacts for exploring Darkiñung Country, and this is the location near where, forty years later in 1935, he set out from 'Deanes' place to locate the Burragurra 'Devil's Rock' with Roy Goddard, the great grandson of Eliza Dunlop who reported her work. (Dunlop's part at Wollombi in Darkiñung recognition is discussed Chapter 2.) Walter J. Enright 1895, ‘Rock Paintings’ in R.H. Mathews & W.J. Enright, 1895, ‘Rock Paintings and Carvings of the Aborigines of New South Wales’, Proceedings of Section F: Ethnology and Anthropology, in Shirley, John (ed.), 1895, Report of the Sixth Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Brisbane, January 1895, publ. by the Association, The University, Glebe (Sydney), pp.624-37 +pl.XCIX & C, quote pp.629-30; Roy H. Goddard, 1937, ‘Certain Observations of Aboriginal Rock Carvings in the Wollombi District’, paper read in Section F, Meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, Auckland, January 1937, ‘Abstract’ published as pp.1-9 +pl.I & II.

I acknowledge that I have challenged Jim Kohen's authority in interpreting effects of soil disturbance at archaeological sites. From the time my father carried me on his shoulders in the bush I have walked and boated (later canoed) around the banks of the Hawkesbury / Broken Bay Arms, and am personally versed with the remnants of many Aboriginal shell middens. These were dug up and turned over by boatmen to extract shells for limeburning to make mortar in the early 1800s, and there is good Local History about this. Kohen recently supervised a Biology research student at Macquarie University to use the stratigraphy at such Aboriginal relics 'to provide indicators of environmental change', insisting that if she used a 'water based survey' she would find middens which had been left by the Aborigines but not discovered by the boatmen who scoured the shores two hundred years ago when they were less scrub covered.

Shaw's Farm was at the base of McCann's Ridge, the Aboriginal route for ‘The Branch’ natives from the river to Springwood known to the bushman James Burns who was guide to Gregory Blaxland in 1813 (Chapter 3). Shaw's Farm has been incorporated into present day Yellomundee Regional Park.


It was supposed by Kohen that ‘the presence of pig teeth may be associated with Aboriginal occupation of the site after contact.’ (The first settler over the river, Obadiah Ikin in 1804, is footnoted in Chapter 2.) In the Hawkesbury-Hunter ranges area, I have observed examples where rock overhangs ('caves') have been used by farmers as pig or as poultry pens by fencing in around the front. Such sites include Aboriginal habitation shelters. (One farmer in the early 1900s had dug holes in the floor of a cave with Aboriginal art work and stone chip relics in order to put in props under the roof when he was excavating to use it as a store room. Some Aboriginal occupational shelters which I have visited in the bush have wombat burrows and do not seem suitable for archaeological excavation.) As well as mentioning several (continued...
I visited Shaw’s Farm during the study for this thesis, feral pigs were still in evidence and the ground surface disturbed. However, other work was done on the depositional chronology at campsites investigated by Stockton on the terrace above the river.

Although establishing the experience of participants, unfortunately no conclusions can be drawn from any of the knowledge gained from any of this archaeology as to the identity of the Aboriginal people, which was taken up by Kohen for the Blacktown and District Historical Society after the approach of Kevin Moore (as at the start of this chapter).

Although not the first - that honour belongs to F.D. McCarthy - Stockton's archaeological site where Kohen did his student work is arguably the most important excavation for the Darkiñung Aborigines who are the topic of my thesis. Their excavations, upstream (south) of Wilberforce, had generally been considered to be in the country of the Dharug people as part of the mistaken understanding adopted by everybody at this period, but my new findings from 1805 records (Chapter 2) found locations across the

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85(...continued)

pig teeth found in different areas of his excavation. Kohen noted disturbance ‘by rabbit and insect burrows’. Stockton 1973 had already discussed displacement of artefacts at Shaw’s Creek, when he acknowledged ‘Dr Martin Williams (Macquarie University), - - - for help in fieldwork and in discussing the issues posed’. Kohen draws attention to Stockton's 1970s site having been previously ‘dug out by campers’, in contrast to his having been turned over by pigs. \ Kohen 1986b ‘Prehistoric Settlement’ p.147, p.123, p.20.

86 The caves had been disturbed before excavation. For the writing up of his archaeology field studies: after concluding ‘Recent disturbance was identified as the factor most likely to influence the identification of a prehistoric site’, Kohen then wrote that his excavations ‘provided securely dated assemblages’. I am not an archaeographer graduate, but I have wondered if ‘disturbance’ was a specialist word for ‘securely’. However, although it was Jim Kohen who did the field surveys, it had been geomorphologist Martin Williams who was credited for the ‘stratigraphic’ unit sections in the 1986 thesis (and Eugene Stockton for the lithic classifications). \ Kohen 1986b ‘Prehistoric Settlement’ p.328, Williams p.120, Stockton p.124.

87 On an exploratory return trip, I am grateful for the companionship of an Aboriginal descendant, one of my Darkiñung Everingham cousins, who knows the river well at this location as a fisherman and is a skilled bushman. We visited the axe workshop on the edge of the Nepean River. The courtesy may be misguided, but in this thesis I am following the protocol of not naming people with Aboriginal ancestry - other than when given in previous publications.


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I submit that, with the historical data detailed from my study, the debate is over.

\textbf{Already other researchers are looking at the same material as I have examined, and the knowledge is no longer secret that the traditional people who occupied the Hawkesbury and the Blue Mountains at the time of settlement were not the Dharug.}

Those descendants who have themselves been working on their Family History know this already, including representatives of several Hawkesbury Aboriginal families who had participated in the inaugural meeting (‘Reunion’\footnote{This ‘Reunion’ included people of all families with Aboriginal ancestry from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, although it was organised by members of the Everingham Family. Everingham Aboriginal people also had been active in the local organisation of the first Everingham Family ‘Reunion’, held at the Hawkesbury in McQuade Park Windsor in 1983.\footnote{I acknowledge the courteous advice from Jim Kohen during the latter writing up of this thesis, that he has voluntarily taken on the genealogy of the Darkiųųŋ people (i.e. as well as of the Dharug). By finding other people in the Hunter river catchment who share a name with Hawkesbury Aborigines, he has been attempting to relocate the origin of traditional Aboriginal people from the Hawkesbury catchment to the Hunter catchment, thus adjusting the historical recognition to fit his hoax. The material which I have examined show the Darkiųŋ people in both, for example, some Putty people (Hawkesbury catchment of Colo River) moved between there and Broke (Hunter catchment of Wollombi Brook), while people recorded at Broke were also recorded at Sackville (Hawkesbury catchment). The Darkiųŋ occupied the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, and historical records show them south of the Hunter River floodplain and north of the Hawkesbury River floodplain (Part III).\footnote{The citation reads ‘For service to the community of Katoomba, through a range of organisations including the Blue Mountains People for Reconciliation.’}}) of Darkiųŋ Families at Wilberforce on Sunday 6 November 2005, which Brook and Kohen attended.\footnote{Ephraim Everingham's Aboriginal mother, Mildred Saunders, recognised by Robert Mathews amongst the Darkiųŋ as ‘Butha emu’, was native to Sackville (in the Portland Head Rock area). Ephraim was (continued...)} It was opened by the late Aunty Joan Cooper who had moved to Katoomba as discussed in Chapter 6. She had previously understood her Aboriginal ancestors to have been Dharug, and on Australia Day 2005 had been made a Member of the Order of Australia (AM) for her reconciliation services for people thought to be Dharug.\footnote{Aunty Joan's parents were of Darkiųųŋ descent, with her Everingham grandparents named in Mathews's notebooks among the Darkiųųŋ at Sackville.\footnote{In 2005 Jack Brook commendably suggested publically that it would be good if my new...}} 93 Aunty Joan's parents were of Darkiųųŋ descent, with her Everingham grandparents named in Mathews's notebooks among the Darkiųŋ at Sackville.\footnote{In 2005 Jack Brook commendably suggested publically that it would be good if my new...}


91 This ‘Reunion’ included people of all families with Aboriginal ancestry from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, although it was organised by members of the Everingham Family. Everingham Aboriginal people also had been active in the local organisation of the first Everingham Family ‘Reunion’, held at the Hawkesbury in McQuade Park Windsor in 1983.

92 I acknowledge the courteous advice from Jim Kohen during the latter writing up of this thesis, that he has voluntarily taken on the genealogy of the Darkiųųŋ people (i.e. as well as of the Dharug). By finding other people in the Hunter river catchment who share a name with Hawkesbury Aborigines, he has been attempting to relocate the origin of traditional Aboriginal people from the Hawkesbury catchment to the Hunter catchment, thus adjusting the historical recognition to fit his hoax. The material which I have examined show the Darkiųŋ people in both, for example, some Putty people (Hawkesbury catchment of Colo River) moved between there and Broke (Hunter catchment of Wollombi Brook), while people recorded at Broke were also recorded at Sackville (Hawkesbury catchment). The Darkiųŋ occupied the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, and historical records show them south of the Hunter River floodplain and north of the Hawkesbury River floodplain (Part III).

93 The citation reads ‘For service to the community of Katoomba, through a range of organisations including the Blue Mountains People for Reconciliation.’

94 Ephraim Everingham's Aboriginal mother, Mildred Saunders, recognised by Robert Mathews amongst the Darkiųŋ as ‘Butha emu’, was native to Sackville (in the Portland Head Rock area). Ephraim was (continued...)}
findings could correct any mistakes he may have put in his books with regard to misidentifying historic Darkiňung people from the Hawkesbury as Dharug.95

Kohen's 1993b quote from Mathews 1903 (wrongly attributed by Kohen to Mathews 1897) - discussed above where his articles are in conflict - is copied by him from his 1986b thesis. However, a sentence in the immediately following paragraph of the thesis states: 'Dharug was the word used by Aborigines living along the Hawkesbury River to describe themselves to R.H. Mathews, - - -'. 96 Here, Kohen has taken it upon himself to directly contradict Mathews's own historical records (Chapter 6). Kohen's own source is not Mathews, rather, his source reference for this information is himself: a Kohen 1984b booklet at Blacktown and District Historical Society. This particular booklet was retyped for a 1990 edition, and its substance reprinted 1993a, all with different pagination. It starts with the background that the ‘inland people’ at the Hawkesbury River spoke a different dialect of the language which was spoken by ‘coastal Aborigines’ at Port Jackson.97 Kohen mistakenly contended both were ‘Dharug’, taking it upon himself to refute the 1791 conclusions by the First Fleet officers that they were different languages, as affirmed in 1793 (Chapters 1 and 5). New findings from analyses by linguists of the ‘dialect’ at the Hawkesbury have confirmed it to be a different language, Darkiňung, to that at the coast as discussed in Chapter 5, so that

94(...continued)
Joan Cooper's grandfather. Family History is not part of this thesis, other than historical recognition (e.g. Chapter 4).

95 I have confidence in Jack Brook's considerations, which I acknowledge. On one of the research study field trips when he accompanied me, we travelled through the landscape where we were able to discuss the likely topography which may have contributed to a ‘tribal’ border between the plains Dharug and the mountain Darkiňung. In this thesis I place this likely border as the Hawkesbury floodplain (below the Warragamba River junction). The subject of Brook's third book, Sackville, is well within Darkiňung country. It is consistent with ideas previously published by Eugene Stockton from his observations on the geography and geological changes, which I acknowledge. The concept is not new of a high volume river in flood - which would have prevented permanent occupation on that border. (It is a consideration in Chapter 3 re the Hume family settling in the floodplain, and Gov. Macquarie's plans for his towns on higher land.) \ Refer, e.g. H.I. Jensen, 1911, ‘The River Gravels between Penrith and Windsor’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 45: 249-57; P.H. Walker & C.A. Hawkins, 1957, ‘A Study of River Terraces and Soil Development on the Nepean River, NSW’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 91 (2): 67-84.

96 A continuation of this sentence follows later in this chapter. Kohen 1986b thesis p.60.

Kohen's contention is confirmed to be wrong. 98 **Kohen 1984b continued, establishing that the language to which he referred as ‘Dharug’ was actually that for which ‘The first major word list was compiled by John Rowley, - - published (as) “Language of the Aborigines of Georges River, Cowpasture [upper Nepean River] and Appin [upper Georges River] - - in 1878”’. The implication is striking, even if quite painful to grasp and hard to accept: Kohen's own source for his claim of Dharug being Hawkesbury River people is attributed to himself, in his booklet of 1984b in which he actually showed Dharug to have been the language of the Georges River people.

End of the Trace

Therefore, despite language of the Georges River being identified by Kohen as Dharug [adapted from Mathew's Dharruk terminology], it was being confused, confounded and conflated in 1984 by Kohen with the language of the Hawkesbury River - identified by Mathews as Darkinjung. This 1984b booklet is a continuation of the loose history used by storybook authors in the 1970s such as Hesbah Brinsmead as above. It followed the 1980 statement without references by Kohen published in an article on stone tool artefacts for the Blacktown and District Historical Society: ‘the Daruk occupied a territory extending from the Hawkesbury River in the north to Camden in the south, and from Katoomba in the west to Toongabbie.’ Blacktown was given as ‘near the Eastern boundary’ of the Daruk which meant that Kohen

98 Ross 1988 also observed the difference between the two languages of the ‘coast’ and ‘inland’ without then perversely saying they were the same as did Kohen. However, she had incorrectly assumed, like Kohen, that the inland Hawkesbury language was Dharug, so that she concluded that Guringai (from Broken Bay) was spoken at Port Jackson along to Botany Bay. She became more entangled in a web of confusion as she tried to review Kohen's application in his 1986b thesis of Dawes's language notebooks. (Kohen told me the notebooks were provided to him from F.D. McCarthy who left the museum in Sydney to go to Canberra twenty years earlier in 1964, although Ronald Lampert at the museum may have taken on an advisory role for the thesis work when supervisor Martin Williams left the university in 1984.) In 1989 Kohen told Quiddington that from the Dawes manuscript he could reconstruct the local dialects, trace the territories of each band [clan] and draw much clearer linguistic boundaries for the tribes in the region. Kohen's outlandish claims are impossible because Dawes recorded just one Aboriginal language dialect, that of ‘Sydney’ (Port Jackson / Botany Bay). Within her take on the subject of Dawes's notebooks, Troy wrote: ‘Australian linguistics owes a great deal to R.W. Dixon for facilitating their rediscovery, in 1972, from - - the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London.’ Ross was not the only one to be bewildered trying to understand Kohen's confusing thesis. From this, her ‘Aboriginal tribal boundaries’ map formed the basis of arguments for more than ten years. In 1990 she repeated her map version in conflict with that of Kohen from his 1986b thesis. \ Anne Ross, 1988, ‘Tribal and Linguistic Boundaries: A Reassessment of the Evidence’, Chapter Two in Graeme Aplin (ed.), 1988, ‘A Difficult Infant: Sydney Before Macquarie’, New South Wales University Press, Kensington (Sydney), pp.42-53 + 6 figs at centre of book (map Fig.2.5); Anne Ross, 1990, ‘Aboriginal Life on the Lower Hawkesbury at the Time of European Settlement’, Chapter 3 in Jocelyn Powell & Lorraine Banks (eds), 1990, ‘Hawkesbury River History - Governor Phillip, Exploration and Early Settlement’, Dharug and Lower Hawkesbury Historical Society (Wisemans Ferry), pp.31-42, 114-15; Jakelin Troy, 1992, ‘The Sydney Language Notebooks and Responses to Language Contact in Early Colonial NSW’, Australian Journal of Linguistics, 12 (1): 145-70. Quiddington 1989 ‘The Lost Tribe’.\
considered Port Jackson was not Dharug.\footnote{Jim Kohen, 1980, ‘Prehistoric Aboriginal Occupation of the Blacktown Area’, Journal of Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1 (1) [also RAHS Newsletter No.188, April 1980].}

This 1980 article was followed in 1981 by another statement without references published for the Blacktown and District Historical Society: [quote] ‘Word lists obtained from the Aborigines living on the Hawkesbury River during the 1890’s [sic] include “tuga” meaning “thick brush near a river”. The Tugagal then lived in a thick brush near a river (probably somewhere along the Hawkesbury)’ [end quote].\footnote{Jim Kohen, 1981, ‘The Meaning of Parramatta’, Journal of Blacktown and District Historical Society, 2 (1), reprinted in Learmouth 2001 pp.34-35.}

However, the term tuga was never recorded along the Hawkesbury River at all, rather, it is a word from Rowley's Georges River language cited by Kohen as above. In 1875 William Ridley published - in the second, extended, edition of his book - this language with about 200 terms \footnote{John Rowley, 1875, ‘Georges River Language: Language of Georges River, Cowpasture, and Appin’, in William Ridley, 1875 (2\textsuperscript{nd} edn), ‘Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages etc.’, New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, pp.103-08.} attributed to native-born John Rowley who was reared among the people later known as Dharug and could speak their language (Chapter 10/SE).\footnote{Although Robert Mathews had lived among the remnants of these people when a child 1841-1850, it was not until the mid 1890s that he came back and tried to record the identification of the language from the residuum of the people remaining (Chapter 6).} It was Kohen who in 1984 identified this Georges River language as Dharug. And of these Dharug speakers thus acknowledged by Kohen, an important note in Ridley's 1875 edition is ‘\textit{Very few of the tribe speaking this language are left}’ [my emphasis].\footnote{Rev. Ridley had taken this list out of a collection from John Rowley (with another 50 terms [253]) by Andrew Mackenzie who collated it as part of his second submission for the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales. The NSW government would forward such material to Ridley, resident in Paddington, whose books they published. The colony's governor subsequently sent it to the London Colonial Office from where it was forwarded to the Anthropological Institute and presented by the Director at a meeting, on 10 April 1877.\footnote{This second collection of Mackenzie includes the Rowley 1878 reference cited by Kohen as above - all well before the ‘1890’s’ [sic] as above, mistakenly suggested by Kohen.} This second collection of Mackenzie includes the Rowley 1878 reference cited by Kohen as above - all well before the ‘1890’s’ [sic]} as above, mistakenly suggested by Kohen.

The only generous conclusion possible from this analysis is for a geographically challenged person to have thought that the Georges River with “thick brush” (tuga) was the Hawkesbury River.

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\footnote{Jim Kohen, 1980, ‘Prehistoric Aboriginal Occupation of the Blacktown Area’, Journal of Blacktown and District Historical Society, 1 (1) [also RAHS Newsletter No.188, April 1980].}


\footnote{John Rowley, 1875, ‘Georges River Language: Language of Georges River, Cowpasture, and Appin’, in William Ridley, 1875 (2\textsuperscript{nd} edn), ‘Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages etc.’, New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, pp.103-08.}

\footnote{Although Robert Mathews had lived among the remnants of these people when a child 1841-1850, it was not until the mid 1890s that he came back and tried to record the identification of the language from the residuum of the people remaining (Chapter 6).}

In his 1984b (and 1990a) booklet as above, Kohen continued: for a second major word list recorded by R.H. Mathews [i.e. second publication after Rowley's Georges River language], the term Dharruk was published. Although Kohen quotes Mathews 1901, he mistakenly gives the article date as 1903 (as discussed for Kohen's 1985 monograph as above), and suggested this was when the term for Dharug was introduced. In fact, Mathews had introduced the term for Dharug as ‘Darrook’ in a publication six years earlier, in the 1897 article which Kohen confounded with the actual 1903 article. In the next paragraph of the 1984b booklet, Kohen continues most erroneously: ‘By the time Mathews gathered this information, there were only a handful of people fluent in the Dharug language, most of whom were living on a reserve north of Windsor on the Hawkesbury River.’ No reference is given - 1984 is the end of the trace. Mathews made no such observation, instead identifying the people on the Hawkesbury by name as Darkinya in his notebooks, diaries and articles, and identifying sources of the language he called ‘Dharruk’ as originating from the same areas as Rowley as above, Georges River and upper Nepean River (Chapter 6).

Whereas Mathews noted a large ‘remnant’ community still speaking their Darkinya language at the Hawkesbury River, in his notebooks he also noted a residue, naming a few old women, merely ‘acquainted with the language’ which he dubbed as ‘Dharruk’ - consistent with Ridley's mention thirty years before when he wrote very few are left by that time. There were many more around when native-born John Rowley, born 1797, had close contact with them while growing up in the colony as discussed in Chapter 10/SE.

The Final Link in the Chain

Therefore, tracing back the reference chain from K.V. Smith 2001 as above, this 1984b booklet dealing with language appears to be Kohen's primary source of the problem about his misidentification of Darkinya people as Dharug people at the Hawkesbury River - the final link. It followed his 1983 companion booklet on ‘The Aborigines of Western Sydney’ dealing with historical culture which only superficially introduces locations of language groups.

In summary, these 1983 and 1984b free-standing pamphlets appear to be an initial action of a wondrous contribution begun by Kevin Moore which led to the award to Jim Kohen of a Medal on The Queen's Birthday 2009, in the Order of Australia (OAM). The significant importance of this contribution had

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104 Mathews quickly, with his next publication, corrected the mistaken pronunciation ‘Darrook’ to ‘Dharrook’.

For over ten years [in 1993] I have worked with Darug people, and to a lesser extent, with people from the Gundungurra and Dharawal language areas, who want to know more about their heritage. Some of these people have recently ‘re-discovered’ their Aboriginality, following a period when, because of social and economic disadvantages of claiming an Aboriginal ancestry, many families did not recognise [that heritage]. This book aims to tell the story of just some of the Aboriginal families from the Sydney region, some of the Darug and their neighbours.  

From the new findings and examination of sources it eventuates that people with whom Kohen was working include, to a greater extent, people whose ancestors were from Darkiñung language Country, who were mistakenly designated as ‘Darug’ by Kohen as described in this analysis. What became perpetrated as an intentional hoax could have started as an inadvertent mistake.

This misrepresentation of ancestral Darkiñung people by designating them as someone else is only an example of their identity being stolen. It has been so common elsewhere as to have become usual (Part III). In the present context, Tom Dillon, a Darkiñung Aborigine from Wollombi who lived among their communities of the Hawkesbury and Hunter valleys, retired to Karuah yet was mis-designated as Dharug after he’d died. I found in the Hunter Valley that the family of Harry Taggart, a member of the Putty Darkiñung Aborigines, were mis-designated as Wonnarua. Members of the Hawkesbury Darkiñung Saunders family were mistakenly presumed to be Gundungurra after they’d moved to Burragorang Valley. William Onus 1st (born William Hibbs) was incorrectly called Wiradjuri after he had worked in

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106 This is Kohen's own summary of the audience for whom he was writing - rather than for academic historians, he was writing for people who did not know their ancestral identity but yearned to find it. They were not to know that he changed the location of their Dharug Country from around the Georges River to the Darkiñung Country around the Hawkesbury River. Similarly, they were not to know that he changed the identification of the People from Dharrook / Dharruk (Dharug) to become ‘Darug’ using a word for vegetable root recorded in 1878 from the Western District of Victoria, as detailed in the subsequent section of this chapter. \ Kohen 1993b ‘The Darug’, Preface p.v.

107 Kohen’s finalising his response reads: ‘THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT I HAVE BEEN TRYING TO FIND OUT FOR ABORIGINAL PEOPLE FOR THE LAST 30 YEARS, I DON’T CARE IF PEOPLE ARE DARUG, DHARAWAL, DARKINJUNG OR IRISH, AS LONG AS I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ANSWER THEIR QUESTIONS TO THE BEST OF MY LIMITED ABILITY.’

108 When I was beginning family history studies with Hawkesbury families, Tom Dillon is the man whom Kohen advised me he had located on the south coast after he left the Hawkesbury. With knowledge of other history, I was able to show Kohen he had confused this Black man with a white settler and his son all of the same name. Settler Dillon with his family had left his Hawkesbury block (at present day Mill Creek, where the Singletons moved in) for Broughton’s place at Appin (Chapter 10/SE), having been ‘distressed’ by raids ‘from blacks and bushrangers’. Ross has some details. My own maternal Everingham / Woodbury ancestors were involved in this history at that location, as were my paternal Cobcroft family. \ Valerie Ross, 1981 (reprinted 1989 with Corrigenda), ‘A Hawkesbury Story’, Book Two of the Everingham history series, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), p.22, p.153.
Searching for Meaning

This section examines contrivances used to convince Aboriginal descendants that their language / tribal name in Western Sydney meant ‘yam’, apparently in order to relocate them from Georges River and South Creek at Blacktown to where Governor Phillip's 1789 expedition observed yams beside the Hawkesbury River near Sackville.\(^\text{110}\)

An Immaculate Conception

A clue to the origin of the problem comes from an attempt to translate the term ‘Dharug’ during Kohen's benevolent behaviour to provide an identity for those people involved with Blacktown and District Historical Society who, as he put it cited above, ‘have recently “re-discovered” their Aboriginality’. Kohen's 1986b thesis sentence (p.60) as above, continues: ‘- - - , but it [Dharug] is not translated in his [Mathews's] vocabulary or any others purporting to be Dharug.’ Kohen's choice of a replacement term

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\(^{109}\) Extracts from Family History studies - which cannot be accommodated within this thesis and are anticipated to provide another book volume. (Some references in Brook 1994/1999 ‘Shut Out’.)

\(^{110}\) At the time of completing this thesis, 2010, the new Revised Edition of the book of the ‘Darug’ still has the implausible entry for meaning of the term [quote]: ‘Dharruk . . . language name; tarak = yam’. Could the author have meant his term ‘da-rak’ [changed from ‘da-ra’ published by Collins], incorrectly attributed to Dawes’s Port Jackson language , as footnoted following in this section? \(\text{}\) Kohen 2006, 2009-2010 (‘Revised’), ‘Daruganora’ p.18 ['2009 Revised Edition' given as published 2010].
‘Darug’ to translate *Dharug* were not a people but a vegetable root. In the preceding chapter of his thesis, Kohen cites accounts of yams from Victoria, referred to as *darook* in Aboriginal language from Victoria with various spellings starting with *d* or *t* (*darook, djarug, dyarruk, taaruuk, tar-rook and turruc*). Then, an extraordinary statement:

There can be little doubt that this word [i.e. *darook* for yam from Victorian language] is identical with the name of the tribe of Aborigines living across the western Cumberland Plain variously recorded as *Dharug, Dharuk, Daruk, Dharoog and Dharruk* [my emphasis]. This is almost certainly derived from the word for teeth, given as *da-rak* by Dawes for the coastal dialect, and *tarru* for the inland dialect.

Such amazing assertions [‘there can be little doubt’, ‘is almost certainly’] could not be supported by any language knowledge. The term *darook* from which Kohen chose to derive his new word ‘Darug’ had this origin in the historic record, citing actual source: ‘Tandarook is the native name of Dr. Curdie’s homestead and limestone hill (derived from a vegetable root found there called *darook*)’ [end quote].

In 1993 Kohen published his own composite *Dharug* vocabulary listings in two books, which are very convenient to use, both ‘Dictionary of the Coastal Darug Language’ and 3rd edition of ‘A Dictionary of

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111 Actually, in his vocabularies, Mathews had recorded the term for yams from a Victorian language himself, using ‘*dya-ruk*’ (Chapter 6) - a term expressing a distinctly different sound to his ‘*dharruk*’ used for the Georges River language, where ‘*u*’ is ‘oo’ (‘*dharrrook*’). Kohen was correct that Mathews had not published a translation, but it was misleading to use a different word (‘*darrug*’, from Victorian language *darook*) which created a false impression.

112 For teeth, it was not ‘*da-rak*’ as pretended by Kohen but actually ‘*da-rah*’ noted as in a following footnote. The misrepresentation of this passage quoted has had great influence on Kohen’s target audience and is cited by some of them to reassure me that Dawes on the coast had recorded *da-rak* for yam and therefore that is the inland language name. However the similar word actually written by Dawes, when referring to potatoe, was ‘*tdra*’ in the phrase as spoken ‘*tdra birung* potatoe’, to enquire ‘did these potatoes grow at [belong to] place *tdra*?’. \ Kohen 1986b thesis p.43; William Dawes, 1790b, ‘Vocabulary of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney’, Manuscript 41645 (b), Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, 1st page.

the Dharug Language: The Inland Dialect. 114 For teeth he lists tara, dtarra, dara, darra, darrah for the coast and tarra, terra, yira for the inland. For yam Kohen gives no entry for the coast and midin for the inland. Dawes's notebooks are mistakenly included in his composite sources.115 The word Dharug is not shown in any of its incarnations - even darug, discussed in Chapter 6.

In tracking the sequence of events, this statement in the 1986b thesis (p.60) is the defining account for the current identity of traditional western Sydney Aborigines, so Kohen's source is critical. The reference source given for this information is another paper produced by Kohen 1984a, presented to a regional conference on technology, which describes how vegetation ‘data from two surveys are being stored on a microcomputer’.

This was indeed a significant advance for its time, and I had been part of that computer revolution. However, it was a strange choice to refer outside his thesis because the reference gives only mention of plant resources which are actually constructed inside his thesis itself, thus being the primary reference (pp.36-52). The 1986b thesis reference is for his own personal derivation of the ‘inland’ Aboriginal tribal language from the word for yam. The 1984a paper given as a reference discussed analyses ‘on a mainframe computer’ of ‘plants recorded as having been used by Aborigines’

114 For the Blacktown and District Historical Society the term Dharug was used from 1984; ‘Darug’ was a new word from when the Darug Tribal link was formed ca.1990 [1988?]. The accuracy of these composite listings as cited from Kohen in text have not been checked against original sources in the analysis for this chapter. \ Jim Kohen, 1993a [3rd edn], ‘A Dictionary of the Dharug Language - The Inland Dialect’ [reprint of the 1984b booklet], Chapter 9 in Eugene Stockton (ed.), 1993, ‘Blue Mountains Dreaming - The Aboriginal Heritage’, Three Sisters Productions, Winmalee, for the Aboriginal Resource Collective, pp.147-60; James Leslie (‘Jim’) Kohen, 1993b, ‘Dictionary of the Coastal Darug Language’, in ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney), Appendix 5 pp.208-44.

115 Well before Kohen republished (1993a, 1993b) it was known that Dawes's three notebooks were only two, and the third - known as notebook ‘c’ - was a neat transcription of words collected by the governor and senior officers for the ‘coastal’ language. Kohen's entry cited here from his 1986b thesis p.43 is not from Dawes as he pretends but is from this other notebook. It reads (from my personal observation): ‘Da-rah (or) Dar-ra _ _ _ _  the teeth’, and in her intense studies of the subject, Troy had made the same observation as I have. It also appeared in Collins's published wordlist as ‘Da-ra teeth’. For whatever motive, Kohen had changed ‘da-ra’ to ‘da-rak’ and falsely perpetuated it to be the same as a different word which ended with the sound ‘k’ [present day written as ‘g’]. \ Arthur Phillip et alia, ca.1790-1792, ‘Vocabulary of the Language of N.S. Wales, in the Neighbourhood of Sydney.’ Manuscript 41645 (c), Marsden Collection, Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), University of London, 16th page; David Collins, 1798, ‘An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales’ T.Cadell jun. and W.Davies, London, p.611, Fletcher 1975 edition p.508; Jakelin Troy, 1994, ‘The Sydney Language’, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), Canberra, p.37.

116 J.L. Kohen, 1984a, ‘Computer Analysis of Aboriginal-Plant Interactions on the Cumberland Plain’, in J.L. Kohen (chairman), 1984, ‘Science and Technology in the 80's [sic]’, Proceedings of a New South Wales Regional Conference on Science Technology, New South Wales Division of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science and New South Wales Branch of the Australian Institute of Science Technology, Macquarie University, North Ryde (Sydney), May 1984, pp.77-83.
surveyed ‘concurrently with the archaeological survey’ ‘to locate prehistoric Aboriginal sites’.117

**Winter Yams ‘during Summer’**

Kohen 1984a discusses occupation of Aborigines on the plains west of Sydney, moving to the higher ‘escarpment country during winter months when fruits are plentiful’ and ‘reliance on tubers along the river and across the plains during summer’. However, the seasonal location for fruit berries must be qualified which Kohen had not done, nor is it part of the analysis for my thesis.118 The origin of Kohen's 1986b conclusion is Gretchen Poiner's 1976 article ‘The Process of the Year Among Aborigines’ where she discusses historical sources starting with the First Fleeters whom she cites as ‘documenting’ a ‘dearth during winter months’ for marine fish. She reports that Aboriginal people in winter were then found ‘inland’ within a few miles from the sea shore in sheltered locations, which Kohen curiously transfers to the chilly mountains more than ten times the distance away. Poiner had included that Governor Phillip did not expect them to be in the mountains during winter months. In a comprehensive, credible, analysis of the situation for localities south of Sydney, Val Attenbrow had previously concluded ‘in summer a denser population could be predicted in the coastal zone’ and ‘in winter people would be more evenly distributed across the countryside although the uplands would not be occupied’.119

Kohen's strange contradiction may be an origin for the strange contemporary myth being taught in the present time, imagining how ‘Yaramundi’ led Dharug people from the Hawkesbury into the Blue Mountains during the winter months. Public education is affected by changing history: Kohen's contradiction is the message now being presented for those seeking Aboriginal cultural knowledge west of Sydney. Instead, as Yellomundy he appears to have lived his life along the river among his Darkiñung.

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117 While also employed as an “Archaeological consultant 1981-2002”, Kohen had access to resources and practical experience with his university employment: “responsible for practical classes in biology”, and 1991 becoming lecturer in the school of biological sciences. \ J.L. Kohen 2006 CV of 38pp placed in public domain, includes employment at Macquarie University from 1969.

118 My fathers' family moved from the Hawkesbury [where they'd arrived as Second Fleet settlers] to the Blue Mountains, where my boyhood, frequent bushwalking and later natural history associated with university botany studies took cognisance of bush tucker. Observations showed winter berries to be those hanging on from the end of summer - exploited by winter currawongs. Biological research is not included in this thesis. Knowledge of seasonal changes exploited by Aborigines is well known. \ Refer, e.g. Donald Thomson, 1939, ‘The Seasonal Factor in Human Culture’, Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society 5(ns) (2): 209-21; Stephen Davis, 1989, ‘Man of All seasons - An Aboriginal Perspective of the Natural Environment’, Angus & Robertson, North Ryde (Sydney).

people.  

In relation to ‘yams’ of root tubers, mention is made by Kohen 1984a as above of ‘early ethnographic accounts’ - for which the only reliable historic source is that for 1789 in which the use of riverside yams is described by Hunter 1793 as below. The actual species is discussed by me in Chapter 1. Hunter’s description was in July - the depth of winter in this location and so the converse of Kohen's contradictory statement. Of the 35 plants reported in Kohen's 1984a survey, none were included as a source of yams. However, one of them - wombat berry, the vine *Eustrephus latifolius* - has edible tubers as well as fruit, although Kohen was unaware of this feature in the 1984a reference. Yam plants form their own group for the 1986b thesis, initially sourced in an original 1986b table (p.45), so it is misleading the reader for Kohen to have given the 1984a earlier reference for a source. The whole of Kohen's 1984a paper cited by him as above has no mention of any Aboriginal word, for yam or for tooth or for anything else. But because of the statement about ‘early ethnographic accounts’ in relation to ‘yams’, Kohen 1986b thesis (p.43) may have been meaning to refer to material in his thesis (p.60) as dealt with below.

**Digging Deeper Holes**

Therefore, without any historical source to assist the asserted associations, the argument had become that,

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120 A person ‘Yarramundi’ *per se* did not exist, as detailed in Chapter 2. (The phantom ‘Yarramundi’ of Richmond Hill location was apparently *Yellomundy* recorded at Portland Head Rock location.)

121 I have exhaustively searched all ‘early ethnographic accounts’ of this period. This may be Kohen's way of expressing that he cannot find a supporting reference.* However, in his 1986b thesis, he cites two accounts: David Collins describing the use of fern roots mashed with ants, and Watkin Tench describing the 1791 meeting with *Gomebeere* where he writes *inter alia* ‘they depend but little on fish’ and ‘their principal support is - - a species of wild yam chiefly’. As discussed in Chapter 1, descriptions in Tench's book are unreliable and here, for instance, his statements are taken from incorrect presumptions in the report by John Hunter of the 1789 boat expedition on which Tench was not present. [We know Tench had Hunter's report with him on the ship *Gorgon* when he wrote his story book, because he made some verbatim quotes of Hunter's figures.] Rather, these ‘inland’ people lived by the waterways in which existed a great variety of edible freshwater fish species (including eels). Arthur Phillip's version of the *Gomebeere* encounter states ‘the women are employed in fishing and our party were told that they caught large mullet in the river.’ They too were canoeists like the coastal people at Port Jackson. As well, the men were actually described as climbing trees ‘after an opossum’. Even the rogue Charles Smith (Chapter 6) wanted an easy life, asking for the APB in 1896 to give him a boat to go fishing at this same location [as found in research by Jack Brook]. My study of this aspect as part of natural Geography could not be included in this revised thesis, but I do acknowledge, with appreciation, the time spent with me at Newcastle University by Wayne Erskine whom I had met at Wollombi. Much of his massive body of published research knowledge is accessible in online journals under W.D. Erskine (or Erskine Wayne David). For full First Fleet expedition references, from Chapter 1, see Bibliography. Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’, Hunter [re 1789] p.147, p.150, Bach 1968 edn p.102, p.104, Phillip in Hunter [re 1791] pp.523, Bach edn p.347; Tench 1793 ‘A Complete Account’ p.121, Fitzhardinge 1979 edn p.230; Collins 1798 ‘An Account of the English Colony’ Vol.1 p.558, Fletcher 1975 edn p.463 [* For Collins Kohen gives 1802 Vol.2 in error for his own reference. Citing a different book does not encourage confidence in his references]; Kohen 1986b ‘Prehistoric Settlement’ p.39.
(i) in Georges River language John Rowley recorded teeth as ‘tarra’ and (ii) teeth represent yams because in a distant Victorian language darook (= ‘darug’) means yams and (iii) Dharruk, present day Dharug (previously Tindale’s ‘Daruk’ now Kohen’s ‘Darug’) was Robert Mathews’s term for these southwestern Sydney Aboriginal people - for whom he recorded teeth as ‘yira’ - and (iv) dharug is the same as tarra [aka ‘yira’] in the language of these people. This strange conclusion ‘rests on shaky ground’ as K.V. Smith had put it for the incorrect Kuringgai conclusion (given earlier in this chapter). Or, perhaps rests on quicksand. Indeed, my new examination of Mathews’s writings for this study discovered that he recorded three uses of a word Dharrook closer than Victoria - in the catchments of Georges, upper Nepean and Hunter Rivers respectively (Chapter 6). The first of these is that for the language, the second potentially might be its meaning (from Gundungurra people).122 The third discussed at the end of Chapter 6 is quite different, coming from further to the northeast. None actually has any relationship with yams.

To support the circular argument for his 1986b conclusion as above, Kohen states ‘the staple diet of the Aborigines recorded along the banks of the Hawkesbury River was reported to be “a kind of wild yam” ’, with the reference attributed to Hunter 1793 without identifying which reference by Hunter. Hunter’s record I have dealt with for Governor Phillip’s 1789 expedition up the river, when the First Fleeters failed to appreciate the use of fishing away from the coast (Chapter 1), as evidently so has Kohen. The mistake could have arisen because having associated a word for yam in western Victoria with the Sydney language now known as Dharug as above, it was imagined that the term ‘Dharug’ was associated with the people at the location of Governor Phillip’s expedition at the Hawkesbury River. There, Hunter imagined about marsh club-rush yams on the riverside on Sunday 5 July 1789: ‘The natives here appear to live chiefly on the roots which they dig from the ground’. Hunter was quite ignorant about Aboriginal culture

122 Kohen’s response to this paragraph: ‘SO? ANYONE WHO HAS EVER LOOKED AT ABORIGINAL LANGUAGES WILL KNOW THAT THE SAME WORD CAN HAVE ENTIRELY DIFFERENT MEANINGS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE WORD “BURRA” IN DARUG MEANS FOOD. IT CAN MEAN EEL. IT CAN MEAN KANGAROO. IT CAN MEAN A PLANT YOU EAT (BURRAWANG). IT CAN MEAN A BIRD YOU EAT (KOOKABURRA).’ I had heard this yarn often at his talks, and had been convinced by Kohen’s authenticity. In re-reading this I cannot retain that conviction. According to Kohen’s own published ‘Darug’ (Dharug) wordlists: food is pa-ta-lia (coast) and karndo or ngunnun (inland); eel, not given other than parra as for ‘place of eels’ (coast) and burra (inland); kangaroo is pa-ta-ga-rang (coast) and burru (inland); the burrawang palm is not listed; kookaburra is go-gen-ne-gine (coast) and kogunda (inland); but kuburra (inland) is club. In surveying ‘over 250’ languages from around Australia, Edward Curr found the use of burra in the name for a group of people, thus Kakoo-burra = Kakoo people. Curr found a ‘tendency to express Blackfellow and kangaroo by the same Australia’. (This seems likely to be the relationship of the term for the Burra-go-rang or Burra-burra of the Wollondilly River catchment who spoke the Gundungurra language. As discussed in this thesis, some words attributed to Dharug probably had a common origin with Gundungurra, which may have been the case for kangaroo: burra / Burra- above.) ↓ Edward M. Curr, 1886, ‘Remarks on Some of the Words of the Vocabulary’ Chapter 2, pp.27-35 in Book the First of ‘The Australian Race - Its Origin, Languages, Customs, Place of Landing in Australia [etc]’, Vol. I, Victoria Government Printer, Melbourne, also Trübner and Co., Ludgate Hill (London), pp.28-29.
yet this use of his journal is the historical source for the ‘early ethnographic accounts’ that became Kohen’s ‘the staple diet’.123

Despite an absolute lack of historical basis for the supposition, Kohen’s contention has been distributed in education kits to teach our children make-believe pretence, such as the word ‘darug’ was first recorded along the Hawkesbury River.124 The Hawkesbury River is a very long way from Tandarook where ‘darug’ (darook) did mean yam as explained above.125 For Aborigines Tommy and Eric (Chapter 8) the process of prank playing on an old journalist may have been amusing, but I have not found this process of trick teaching our young students to be amusing.

Eventually, by tracing the ‘source’ links in the chain, the reference - as used above by Smith 2001, and re-assumed by him 2008 as above - has mistakenly become that Mathews obtained the name Dharug from the Aborigines on the Hawkesbury River at the location(s) where Captain Hunter reported yams.126 The first two locations of Hunter were alongside the marshy river edge: Wednesday 1 July 1789 up the northern river Branch (present day Macdonald River, St Albans vicinity); and Sunday 5 July 1789 up the southern river Branch (present day Hawkesbury River, Sackville vicinity).127

Careful Preparation (of Toxic Material)

Poiner 1976 (attributed by Kohen to be his source as above) used a third location from Hunter. After the expedition had landed further upstream to camp away from the river on the side of Richmond Hill, they

123 The concept of a ‘staple’ diet so repetitively used by Kohen has been borrowed directly from Gott in her discussion about edible root tubers in Victoria. This is the article from which Kohen adopted his term for yam, ‘darug’, taken from ‘darook’. The marsh club-rush is a sedge, as discussed in Chapter 1. \ Hunter 1793 ‘An Historical Journal’ p.150, Bach 1968 edn p.104; Kohen 1986b thesis p.60; Gott 1983 ‘Murnong: A Study of a Staple Food of Victorian Aborigines’.

124 Doggedly dogmatically the make-believe statement reads: ‘The word darug means “yam”, and along the Hawkesbury River where the word was first recorded, yams were the important component of the Aboriginal diet.’ \ J.L. Kohen, 1990b, ‘Our Aboriginal Heritage’, in Gay Hendriksen (ed.), 1990, ‘The Pemulwuy Dilemma - The Voice of Koori Art in the Sydney Region’, Penrith Regional Art Gallery, Emu Plains, Document 10 in Education Kit, pp.35-38.

125 The inappropriate term from Victoria (based on Kohen 1993b), has been adopted by the NSW Board of Studies (BOS) as given online, so it could be said that the Blacktown and District Historical Society hoax is complete. However, the NSW Education Department Curriculum Support has been slightly more circumspect in their online advice to primary schools: ‘One example of spelling variation is shown through the Darug. Alternate spellings are Dharruk, Dharrook, Dhar’rook, Darrook, Dharug.’ They maintain Dh for Dharawal [my emphasis]. www.curriculumsupport.education.nsw.gov.au/ shared/ abmaps/. Sites accessed 2010.


visited the location where the present day Grose River Branch 'came down with considerable velocity'.

The reference to yams here on Tuesday 7 July 1789 after camping overnight is quite different, and not specific to the people of the location:

we found yams and other roots, and had evident marks of the natives frequenting these parts in search of them for food. They have no doubt some method of preparing these roots, before they can eat them; for we found one kind which some of the company had seen [at Port Jackson] the natives dig up; and with which being pleased, as it had much the appearance of horse-radish, and had a sweetish taste, and having swallowed a small quantity, it occasioned violent spasms, cramps in the bowels, and sickness at the stomach: it might probably be the casada [sic] root.  

Governor Phillip's expedition observed no Aborigines when they camped at Richmond Hill. Hunter's description alludes to that for Phillip's walk along the coast to Botany Bay in July 1788: 'possibly the natives may remove the noxious qualities, by some process like those employed upon the cassada [sic].'

However, a misleading connection to Hawkesbury yams was made by Joseph Maiden, when he cited a predominant botanist of his time in Sydney, Rev. Dr William Woolls, reporting that, ‘after some preparation’ Aborigines ate the tuberous roots of a milk vine, *Marsdenia flavescens* (Botanical Family Asclepiadaceae). Without checking, Maiden mistakenly extrapolated that this was the plant referred to

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128 When people read this extract - which has appeared online - it is not appreciated that ‘had seen’ cannot apply to Richmond Hill vicinity because the expedition did not see any Aborigines there. For clarity I have inserted [at Port Jackson] as explained in the next paragraph. Hunter 1793 Stockdale original edn p.153, Bach 1968 edn pp.105-06.

129 Kohen's response to the preceding: ‘THIS SEEMS TO BE NONSENSE. WHAT DOES IT MATTER IF DARUG MEANS YAM OR NOT - - - [my emphasis] IT IS A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION, AND I MADE ABSOLUTELY NO CONNECTION BETWEEN WHERE HUNTER RECORDED “YAMS” AND THE LANGUAGE OTHER THAN TO SAY IT WAS ON THE HAWKESBURY.’ I had thought that the issue was that ‘darug’ (as taken from Tandarook in Western Victoria) actually does mean a yam, but that *Dharug* (the Georges River people) does not.

130 Even if it is only an issue for *Dharug* descendants (and those *Darkiung* mis-labelled *Dharug*), I consider that they are important enough that their history does matter.

131 They compared cassada with the ‘noxious qualities’ [toxin] in the fruit of the Burrawang palm which they had observed 'when eaten by - seamen, occasioned violent retchings; possibly the natives may remove the noxious qualities - -'. The journals in both Phillip's and Hunter's books are transcribed by John Stockdale's publishing clerical staff, cassada being an English spelling for cassava, *Manihot esculenta* (Botanical Family Euphorbiaceae) from South America. Its roots became a source of carbohydrate cultivated around the world, known in Australia as tapioca. Despite its food importance, in bitter varieties there are toxic levels of cyanogenic glycosides which must be removed. The First Fleeters' writings are only perspectives, the root of the horse-radish bush *Amoracia species* (Botanical Family Brassicaceae) is harvested for a mustard oil used as a condiment, and not used as a 'yam' or 'potatoe'.  


131 J.H. Maiden, 1899, ‘Native Food Plants - Part III: Dealing with Vols. IV and V of the *Flora Australiensis*’, Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales, 10 (3): p.623. The production of ‘Native Food Plants’ was published over several years. It is not the same as Maiden's earlier 1889 compendium ‘The (continued...)
in ‘Captain Hunter's Expedition up the Hawkesbury, July, 1788 [sic]’. (He meant July 1789.) However, Woolls was referring to somewhere else, Benson et alia found it does not occur in the location described by Hunter.\textsuperscript{132} As a most eminent curator of botany in Australia, Maiden's mistaken connection with Governor Phillip's expedition in July 1789 has been perpetuated, such as in the Cribbs' 1975 publication ‘Wild Food in Australia’: ‘Aborigines of the Hawkesbury River area used the tuberous roots [of Marsdenia flavescens] for food, but they required careful preparation, as Captain Hunter's Expedition on 1788 [sic] found out’. From there this erroneous misquote has propagated in various mistaken reports, to which some of my associates have courteously referred me.\textsuperscript{133} Kohen somehow included Marsdenia spp tubers in his thesis list of plants surveyed, although the plant was not there.\textsuperscript{134}

It seems that Kohen 1986b (p.60) as above had chosen a report about Phillip's expedition to be the location for ‘yam people’, and then transposed that Hawkesbury River history to the people from the Georges River whom Mathews actually identified as Dharug. Sadly, this transposition is not supported by Mathews's notes or publications, as follows.

Commentary on Confounding

I have studied Mathews's diaries and note books exhaustively in my thesis research, as well as checking all his pertinent publications, and it is possible to say categorically that Mathews's only information about the rivers and ranges from the Hawkesbury to the Hunter was in relation to Darkiñung.\textsuperscript{135} Mathews identified as Darkiñung the people located there.\textsuperscript{136} And, more recently, expert linguists have identified

\textsuperscript{131}(...continued)

Useful Native Plants of Australia’ with which it is sometimes confused. The latter was produced at the state Technological Museum [present day Power House Museum] before Maiden transferred to the state Botanic Gardens in 1896.


\textsuperscript{134} Kohen thesis 1986b p.45.

\textsuperscript{135} I have been privileged to have been able to use his personal research study notes provided at Sydney University by Martin Thomas in 2006 as a guide, as well as utilising his 2005 comprehensive Miranen Archive at AIATSIS, from which I developed a personal database specific to my study.

\textsuperscript{136} I recognise that individual Aborigines moved between places after British colonisation. There were also Aboriginal people from elsewhere who had come to the Sackville community, some of whom were identified by Jack Brook, such as George Trooper from the New South Wales north coast (from whom Robert Mathews also recorded some of his ‘Koombanggaree’ / ‘Kombainggarai’ Language). The Randwick and District Historical Society research files show that Trooper also stayed at La Perouse. The situation for Charlie Smith (from whom Mathews did not record anything) whose family came from Georges River is discussed in Chapter 6. ∘ Jack Brook, 1994, 1999, ‘Shut Out’ Chapter Ten, pp.54 (1994), pp.68 (1999). For Trooper, e.g. Robert Hamilton Mathews, date ng, Notebook book ‘7’, unpublished, held (continued...)
the language spoken there in 1791 as being *Darkiñung* (Chapter 5). Another Mathews 1901 reference to the ranges at Mount Victoria related to ‘*Gundungurra* tribe’, and other mentions of the Hawkesbury River or towns by Mathews did not have any information other than about *Darkiñung*.\(^{137}\)

A question is, if experts in archaeology like Stockton and Kohen with post-graduate university research training (who have personally each done so much for Aboriginal people in western Sydney) were using original historical sources from Mathews who was the only person to record the words, then how could they get the Hawkesbury and Blue Mountains identity wrong and have been so persistent about it? I have found that there is such a maze of material spread throughout Mathew's writings, it is actually simple for this to happen. The published source ‘Mathews 1901’ cited from Kohen 1995 by Smith 2001 as above, is a section, of an appendix with ‘The *Gundungurra* Language’, in a paper titled ‘The *Thurraval* Language’ presented to the Royal Society of New South Wales at the meeting 6 November 1901. In 1984b (repeated 1990a, 1993a) and in 1985 Kohen wrongly gave this as Mathews 1903. This section on pages 155 to 160 is in two parts, ‘The Dharruk Language’ pages 155 to 157 and ‘Vocabulary of Dharruk Words’ pages 157 to 160. For the *Dharug* Mathews 1901 stated ‘This grammar and vocabulary have been compiled by me from the lips of old natives acquainted with the language.’\(^{138}\) There is no mention of them being Hawkesbury River people - thus such a location mis-conception seems in-conceivable.

As shown in Chapter 6, Mathew's *Dharruk* informants had come from the Georges River (and moved to Black Town) or from upper Nepean River, as listed in his unpublished notebooks available for historical study which were not considered at the time Kohen (or Stockton and Williams) made the archaeology observations. In Kohen's personal research copy of these published 1901 pages 155 to 160 (which he has kindly shared with me) the date is handwritten in as 1902 on page 155, then written again as 1903 in the margin. The actual 1903 Mathews paper in this conundrum has the title ‘Languages of the Kamilaroi and Other Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales’, and includes a section in two parts, ‘The Darkiñung Language’ pages 271 to 275 and ‘Vocabulary of Darkiñung words’ pages 280 and 281. This was the publication cited by Kohen 1993b as above to place the *Darkiñung* on the Hawkesbury River at Sackville, i.e. below Wilberforce. For the *Darkiñung* Mathews 1903 stated ‘The information was obtained by me by


\(^{137}\) Mount Victoria mountain is a summit inside the Cox River catchment occupied by the *Gundungurra* (Chapter 11/SW). I have discussed elsewhere (Chapter 6) Black Town people from South Creek crossing the lowlands and floodplain to visit Windsor. Although they lived under the influence of the settlers' Windsor or Hawkesbury clerical circuit, that did not make them Hawkesbury River Aborigines.

\(^{138}\) Contrast this with next following reference. \(\backslash\) Mathews 1901 ‘The Dharruk Language’ p.155.
personal inquiries among the few old natives who still speak their own dialect.”\textsuperscript{139}  However, as above, Kohen 1986b (copied 1993b) attributed the quote from Mathews 1903 to Mathews 1897, which is an article titled ‘The Burbung of the Darkiñung Tribes’. With these errors in reference dates, it seems apparent that the three articles had been confounded by Kohen, possibly supporting in his mind the erroneous conviction that it was the former, Dharrook / Dharruk, people in the place of the latter, Darkiñung, people on the Hawkesbury River.

It is Mathews's unpublished notebooks from which some of my new findings have been made to assist Dr Kohen and Dr Stockton with this conundrum about the sources of Darkiñung and Dharug.

Of Mathews's published articles, here are the actual quotes about the Aboriginal people at the Hawkesbury:

\textbf{1896}: ‘Whilst recently on an expedition amongst the Darkiñung Tribe on the Hawkesbury River for the purpose of studying their customs - - ’\textsuperscript{140}

\textbf{1897}: ‘One of the principal dialects was the Darkiñung, which was spoken by the tribes occupying the country on the southern side of the Hunter River, from Jerry's Plains downward toward Maitland, extending southerly to Wollombi Brook, Putty Creek, and including the Macdonald, Colo, and Hawkesbury Rivers.

‘Amongst other dialects employed within the boundaries (coastal district from Newcastle southerly to about Sydney, comprising approximately the Counties of Northumberland, Hunter, Cook, and the greater part of the County of Cumberland) may be mentioned the Wannungine, and Darrook; but it is probable that in former times there were others of less importance, which have entirely disappeared - -.

‘A small remnant of the Darkiñung Tribe, numbering about sixty persons - men, women, and children - [my emphasis] are at present located on a Government Reserve on the left bank of the Hawkesbury River, about twelve miles below Windsor [at Sackville] - -. Two initiated men surviving - Joe Gooburra, a pure black, and Charley Clark, a half-caste - - - with whom I have been acquainted for some years.

‘On the north the Darkiñung are bounded by the Wattung [Kattung] and other tribes scattered over the country on the other side of the Hunter River; on the west they are joined by the great Wiradjuri community, and their limits on the south are identical with the boundary of the people occupying the south-east coastal district of NSW. The south-east corner of the taorai of the Kamilaroi

\textsuperscript{139} Contrast this with immediately preceding ref. \& Mathews 1903 ‘The Darkiñung Language’ p.271.

\textsuperscript{140} R.H. Mathews, 1896, ‘Rock Carving by the Australian Aborigines’, Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland, 12: 97-98 +Plate, quote p.97. NB: In one of those fascinating moments which pop up in research, J.L. Kohen's student J.L. Smith showed his working copy of this article to me, in which the words ‘Darkinung tribe’ were blacked out as if they had decided that Mathews did not know about whom he was writing (cf. the identification of sixty people following in 1897 paper).
Tribes touched the north-west corner of the Darkiñung territory about Jerry's Plains.¹⁴¹

Mathews's 1901b ‘Thurrwal Language’ paper is that in which ‘The Dharruk Language’ appears (which Kohen sometimes has wrongly cited as Mathews's 1903 ‘Languages of the Kamilaroi’ paper in which ‘The Darkiñung Language’ appears). He wrote:

‘The Dharruk speaking people adjoined the Thurrawal on the north, extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River, and inland to what are now Windsor, Penrith, Campbelltown, and intervening towns.

‘This [Dharruk] grammar and vocabulary have been compiled by me from the lips of old natives acquainted with the language.’¹⁴²

But Mathews could have not meant ‘along the coast to the Hawkesbury River’ literally, as discussed for Kohen's 1985 monograph in my text above (under line sub-heading ‘Conflicting Beliefs’). A resolution whereby ‘Hawkesbury River’ was meant for Broken Bay is explained in Chapter 10/SE (under line sub-heading ‘Drawing a Line’). ‘Mathews Line’ runs from south of the Arms of Broken Bay to South Creek at Windsor to delineate the northeast border of his Dharug. Viz. downstream of South Creek the watershed of the Hawkesbury was the southeast border of the Darkiñung - until the estuarine area of the Arms of Broken Bay as discussed in Chapter 9/NE.

Here is Mathews's final word published, actually cited by Kohen 1986b, 1993b although he mistakenly attributes it to Mathews 1897 (as above):

1903: ‘The Darkiñung speaking people adjoined the Kamilaroi on the south-east and occupied a considerable range of country in the counties of Hunter, Northumberland and Cook, extending from Wilberforce and Wiseman's Ferry on the Hawkesbury river, to Jerry's Plains and Singleton on the Hunter, and including the basins of the Colo and Macdonald rivers, Wollombi Brook and other streams. On the south they were met by the Gundungurra and Dharruk tribes - -.

‘The information was obtained by me by personal inquiries among the few old natives who still speak their own dialect.’¹⁴³

However, while gathering Gundungurra legends, J.L. Smith found ‘Two versions of the manuscript - - in the R.H. Mathews papers in the National Library of Australia. Neither is dated’, so this newly found ms

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could have been Mathews's final word - published as transcribed by Smith. Mathews relates the remnants of the Gundungurra tribe now residing on the Wollondilly river, just as he had for the Darkiňung on the Hawkesbury. He states: ‘On the north of the Gundungurra was the country of the Darkiňung.’ Mathews goes further, associating the language and culture of the Dharruk with that of the Gundungurra and Dharrawal (Mathews's Thurrawal).144

The County of Cook in the 1903 quote above, familiar to Mathews - a professional surveyor, was almost entirely within the Country of the Darkiňung-Language People whom he knew well, other than drainage into the Cox River tributary of the Wollondilly where the watershed formed a native boundary. Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell had wanted waterways as lines on a map to do the final plotting of his artificial boundaries for Counties and Parishes, just like Jim Kohen more than one hundred and fifty years later to do the plotting for his Aboriginal ‘Tribal’ areas.145 It would have been practicable that ‘Billy Kootee’, a member of ‘The Branch’ natives, i.e. Darkiňung people, had guided George Bowen around his own tribal Country when Bowen had been setting the area of Cook County for Surveyor General John Oxley before Mitchell took command.146

Thus, it is possible to conclude that Kohen had been closer to the truth in the beginning when relying on the actual 1903 quote which was Mathews's final conclusion published by him on the subject. This is because Mathews had identified Dharrook / Dharruk in his notebooks as originating further to the south, from Georges River and upper Nepean River, absolutely consistent with Rowley ‘1878’ as cited by Kohen 1984b in the beginning when he was correct (Chapter 10/SE). Mathews had identified the Darkiňung as meeting the Gundungurra, who were to the south - at Wollondilly River (Burragorang Valley) and up its Cox River tributary to Mt Victoria (Chapter 11/SW). The correct conclusion from the original sources is that if there were people along the Hawkesbury River harvesting yams in July as mentioned by Captain Hunter for Governor Phillip's 1789 expedition, they were the Darkiňung. However, as I have mentioned above, the First Fleeters had already observed the Port Jackson / Botany Bay Aborigines to harvest yams. The Hawkesbury River people did not refer to themselves this way - from Mathews's notebooks, when living along the river they described themselves as water people: [quote] ‘Buttagal = water blacks on

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145 Discussed Chapter 10/SE. Kohen's serious misrepresentation of Tindale's waterways is footnoted earlier in this chapter.
146 Discussed in Chapter 2. Although I found a perception that Bowen had crossed this Country, I have not (yet) recognised a historic record to that effect. (It may well have been in a report for Oxley.)
Chapter 7 Findings

The Darkiñung People have been misidentified as Dharug People (the ‘Darug’ of J.L. Kohen) on the Hawkesbury River and into the Ranges of the northern Blue Mountains. This mislocation of the term Dharug had occurred from a community of the ‘Black Town’ at the ‘Richmond Road’ on the western Cumberland Plain, whereby due to lack of local history knowledge, some authors mistakenly transposed this language group from Blacktown in the early ‘Inland’ Bathurst District west of Parramatta to the ‘Interior’ Bathurst District west of Mount York on the Blue Mountains.

The language of this community known as Dharug was correctly identified by the ‘archaeology consultant’ Jim Kohen in his 1984b publication at the Blacktown and District Historical Society as the historic language of the Georges River from Botany Bay inland. After Kevin Moore of the society circa 1980 had adopted the Aboriginal history of Blacktown as a society project and had suggested he participate, Jim Kohen allocated descendants of the original Black Town community to be Dharug, irrespective of their ancestral origins. Instead of building on his 1984 finding that the Georges River was the Country of the Dharug-Language People in historical records, he translocated their territory to the Hawkesbury River, which was the Country of the Darkiñung-Language People in historical records (Chapter 6). Every suggestion by Kohen that Robert Mathews - the source of both terms Dharrook / Dharruk (Dharug) and Darkiñung - had located Dharug at the Hawkesbury was based on a circular argument. For a source record Kohen referred to his own 1984b publication for the Blacktown and District Historical Society. With Kohen’s promotions of his actions, the Darkiñung-descent people - such as those who had come to Parramatta in Governor Macquarie’s time - retrospectively became known as Dharug.

The misidentification has been complicated further by Kohen renaming the term Dharug as a different word ‘Darug’ - from ‘darook’ a term from western Victoria for ‘vegetable root’, which has been wrongly

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147 Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Darkinoong and Wiradjuri’ p.96.
connected to the reporting of river-side yams during the 1789 boat expedition up the Hawkesbury River by Governor Phillip. After twenty years of being promoted with Black Town descendants, this complication with regard to the language term should now be dismissed with a 2010 response for this thesis from Kohen himself: ‘WHAT DOES IT MATTER IF DARUG MEANS YAM OR NOT’.

Answer: In western Victoria ‘darug’ [darook] may have been ‘yam’, but in western Sydney the ancestral Black Town and Georges River People were Dharug [Dharrook].
Chapter 8

Notes:
The late Eddy (‘Tomahawk’) Sales was an amazing advocate for his Darkiñung people (or as he would say, ‘Darkinoong true blood’). [It appears to be due to his promotion that modern people mistakenly thought that the Central Coast was Darkiñung ancestral country rather than recognising the traditional Wannungine there.] ‘Tommy’s’ mother, ‘Nana’ Sales (née Newman), was herself a remarkable Aboriginal woman, the granddaughter of Mrs Sophia Newman from Wollombi. As Sophie Newman, Robert Mathews knew her after the death of her first husband when she was living with her Darkiñung people at Sackville on the Hawkesbury River. The photo is an extract from a Sales family photograph of which I am grateful for being allowed to use.
Part II (4)
Chapter 8

The Darkiñung-Language Identity Taken Out of Country:
The NSW Central Coast Experience

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Darkiñung Language Taught as ‘Darkinyung’ on the Coast - Instead of Local Language ........... 304

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Mountain Darkiñung Identity Used as ‘Darkinjung’ by Coastal Aboriginal Community Group .... 308

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“....there is little to remind us of those vanquished tribes who inhabited these forested lands for countless years” Stinson 1979. The history of the Central Coast of NSW - currently identified as Darkinjung Country - has been presented in such a way as to install collective amnesia, dislocation, perhaps misplaced compassion and invisibility.¹

The Issue

Language identifications are used to define Country and its People, as dealt with in previous chapters, Chapters 6 and 7 (which detail the escape of the language term Dharug out of its true ancestral place on the Georges River to be misapplied to its north on the Hawkesbury River). Correspondingly, this chapter summarises the escape of the term Darkiñung out of its ancestral country to be misapplied to its east on the Central Coast.² The historic territories are discussed in detail in Part III. This chapter has had to be included in response to repeated requests for me to deal with this issue as if it was part of the thesis topic in order to be placed in the public domain for reference. Without the explanation in this chapter, the thesis would be unbalanced, and the recognition of the Darkiñung incomplete.

The work reported for this chapter provides a resolution as to how Norman Tindale of the South Australian Museum (SAM), followed by some people of Newcastle University, incorrectly allocated the middle part of the New South Wales Central Coast to have been traditional, ancestral, ‘Darkinjung Country’. The deception may be attributed to a twentieth century showman, who, like a conjuror did not perform alone.

¹ Stinson 1979 did write about the NSW Central Coast, of: ‘great forested wildernesses that had been effectively protected by those most exemplary conservationists, the indigenous Aborigines’ and they lived ‘without adverse effects on their environment and they were exemplary conversationists.’ I did not find Blair's above quote of Stinson 1979. \N Nerida (‘Ned’) Blair, ‘Darkinjung Country: Recapturing the Essence of New South Wales’ Central Coast’, Locality, Journal of Australian Centre for Public History, University of Technology Sydney, Issue Autumn 2002, pp.12-14; Edward Stinson, 1979, ‘A Pictorial History of the Wyong Shire’ Vol.One, Wyong Shire Council, Wyong, my quotes in this footnote p.viii, p.6.

² The Family History study summarised for this chapter is from a 2005 project which has not been undertaken for Sydney University research. The issue discussed is not a matter of colonial history records as for this thesis. It is a twentieth century phenomenon, so I have followed the protocol of not including previously unpublished details concerning the Aboriginal-descent people who have been personally contributing to this project.
While more and more Aboriginal descendants become involved in the legislative and emotive politics of land rights and title, those are not aspects of my studies. My research of Local History and Family History does involve the historic identification of ancestral People, their Country and Language - as for citation of Grace Karskens by Richard Waterhouse in the Preamble of Part I. The inaugural Family Gathering of Darkiñung people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges occurred on the Hawkesbury River, held at Wilberforce, Sunday 6 November 2005. It was attended by descendants of Aborigines whom Robert Mathews had recognised in his notebooks as such Darkiñung people (Chapter 6): including John Barber and Mildred Saunders (‘Butha’) from the Hawkesbury River, and Mildred’s son’s wife ‘Mrs Everingham’ (‘Madha’) and Joe Goobra from the Wollombi Brook (Chapter 4). Members of the Aboriginal Saunders family seem to have dispersed among other Aboriginal groups, and representatives attended other than Mildred’s descendants.3 Notably absent were any people who identified as Family of Sophie Newman who is listed by Mathews among these Darkiñung people.4 This chapter is an historical account about Sophie’s missing Family.

Darkiñung Language Taught as ‘Darkijnjung’ on the Coast - Instead of Local Language

Two women arrived at the November 2005 meeting who identified as members of a ‘Darkijnjung’ language revival group at Wyong on the Central Coast being conducted by linguist Caroline Jones.5 In 2005 it was reported that Jones, then from the University of New South Wales, had recovered ‘52 items’ of the Aboriginal language (although it eventuated that these were Central Coast location specific rather than Darkiñung language specific).6 With some exemplary historical research, Jones subsequently discovered during her project that the language which she termed ‘Darkinyung’ had not come from the

3 A 2005 gathering open to the public, entirely planned and conducted by descendants, was held on Sunday 5 November 2005 at Wilberforce. Visitors included J. Brook and J.L. Kohen from Blacktown and District Historical Society, who had assisted descendants at Blacktown establish the Darug Tribal Link (Chapter 7). I was present at Wilberforce as a guest speaker. The then chairman of the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC) was present as an invitee - there was no other known organised group with Darkiñung members other than DTAC. However, I have since found the Darug Custodians Aboriginal Corporation also has Darkiñung members. The Custodians were a breakaway group from the Tribal Link at the time of registration as Aboriginal Corporations in 1996.


5 The resultant book was ‘a project of Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre (MRALC), under the auspices of Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative (MALCC), Nambucca Heads’ ‘Many Rivers’ includes rivers north from the Hawkesbury River. \\ Caroline Jones, 2008, ‘Darkinyung Grammar and Dictionary: Revitalising a Language from Historical Sources’, Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative, Nambucca Heads, p.viii.

Central Coast but had been sourced from the Hawkesbury River, as discussed for this thesis in Chapter 6. Thus it could be concluded from Jones's ‘Historical Sources’ that ‘Darkinjung’ was **not** the language of the coast - which is dealt with in Chapter 9/NE of this thesis. Mathews identified the coastal people as calling themselves *Wannungine*. On Monday 15 December 2008 in her presentation during the launch ceremony for her *Darkinyung* book at a Newcastle University campus, Jones tactfully avoided drawing attention to the anomaly that the *Darkinjung* language from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges *Wallambine* country is being taught in the coastal *Wannungine* country - which already has its own language book similarly published which had been prepared by Amanda Lissarrague as discussed in Chapter 9/NE.

The chairman of the ‘Darkinyung Language Group’, published as Bronwyn Chambers, dedicated Jones's book to her father, the late Ron Williams. He is an established descendant of the Central Coast Aborigines ‘King Molly’ (alias Black ‘Ned’) and ‘Queen Margaret’ known from [White] Ned Hargraves's place at Norah Head (Chapter 2), and thus coastal *Wannungine* by Mathews's designation. Bronwyn Chambers is of mixed ancestry, because on the other hand, her mother (née Noakes) is an established descendant of Mathew's Sophie Newman as above, and thus she actually does have inland *Darkinjung* ancestry by Mathews's designation. Aboriginal people at the Central Coast have tended to gather around Tacoma at Wyong Creek (aka ‘the river’) where they have always been on Tuggerah Lakes as a fishing community. Recorded at Wollombi as Sophia Johnson, this *Darkinjung* Aboriginal woman was married by a Catholic priest to newly immigrant Englishman Edward Newman at Wollombi in 1867, and they left the ‘inland’ ranges to reside on the ‘coast’ where their family was reared - and has remained. For a

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7 Jones 2008 ‘Darkinyung’, pp.5-6.


9 I attended the ceremony. I am using the term *Wannungine* as the alternative to the term *Wannerawa* which actually apply for these coastal people. Due to misrepresentation from 1887, the *Wannerawa* (as ‘*Womnarru*’) were mistakenly thought to have been the upper Hunter Valley people, when actually the *Kamilaroi* had penetrated there over the Liverpool Range (Chapters 9/NE and 12/NW).

10 While the descendants of other Central Coast Aborigines normally identify as ‘*Guringai*’ now, members of Ron Williams's family normally identify as ‘*Awabakal*’ now, because Black Ned and Margaret with their children moved from Tuggerah Lakes and took up residence at the entrance to Lake Macquarie. This situation is discussed in Chapter 9/NE. The identifications ‘*Guringai*’ and ‘*Awabakal*’ were both derived from terms coined by John Fraser (Chapter 9/NE). The people who have chosen to use these two terms together are the traditional *Wannungine*. This thesis is not studying the coastal people, but it is observed that traditional Aborigines such as *Bungaree* and ‘*Molly*’ (alias Black Ned) appeared in history at locations of both the present day ‘*Guringai*’ and ‘*Awabakal*’.

11 I had collected research data as part of another project. The genealogical family history has since been independently published - although the birth record used by Dewberry for Sophia Johnson is that of
period after her first husband died in 1889, the widow Sophia went back, to stay with her Darkiñung Aboriginal family on the Hawkesbury River - about the time Mathews started riding from Parramatta to Sackville (Chapter 6), where he recorded her as Sophie Newman.\footnote{Mathews date ng catalogue ‘Initiation Ceremonies - General’ p.26.}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{image}
\caption{Extract from top of p.26, Mathews's notebook ‘red tom cover’. $35$ photo, used by permission of the National Library of Australia.}
\end{figure}

Sophie’s Darkiñung Family on the Coast

Sophia (‘Sophie’) knew she was Darkiñung, and so did her family, who propagated their tribal identity around the Central Coast, while the people descended from the traditional, ancestral, Aborigines of the coast were not then making a public issue about their identity.\footnote{During another cultural heritage study in the 1990s before my involvement with the Darkiñung of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, I had researched history of the traditional Aborigines of the Central Coast at the time of settlement, known as the ‘Broken Bay tribe’. I declare another interest: as I got to know descendants, I have found other cousins - that is, descended from common convict ancestors.} Sophie’s ten children born from 1868 to 1883 married on the coast, leaving a large Darkiñung population there. Several of her descendants intermarried with the pre-existing Wannungine coastal people who have adopted the terms ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’ for their present day Aboriginal identification. Of the known local history, her granddaughter Edna Gertrude Newman born 1907, who married Darcy Sales, was the ‘Nana Sales’ who had eight children and kept an ‘open house’ for Aborigines near ‘the river’ at Wyong.

\footnote{another Sophia Johnson who married Richard Dunstan at Windsor in the same year, 1867. \\
pam Dewberry, with Patricia Irwin, 2005, ‘On Flows The River - Reflections on the Early Days and Families Living at Rocky Point, North and South Tacoma’, self published, Wyong (pages not numbered). Newman Family, plus Noakes and Sales Families (Branches of Newman Family) are included. I have had personal discussions with members of those family branches, who have shared historical documents - for which I am immensely indebted and grateful.}
Some of Edna Sales's children, grandchildren and great grandchildren had involvement in the Darkinjung Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) which was to follow, as below. Her eldest son, Edward (‘Eddy’) Sales born 1923 became a performer with sideshows at rural showgrounds, where he learnt to assume an appropriate ‘identity’ for the occasion - such as being a North American Indian which meant one could go to a country pub in the Interior where Australian Aborigines were then banned. Away from home as a ‘Red Indian’, Eddy adopted the stage name of ‘Tomahawk’, and back on the Central Coast Dewberry recorded he ‘liked to wear a big hat and dress in cowboy gear’. He became well known as ‘Tommy’ Sales, where he gave talking performances describing the sort of Aboriginal culture which enthralled his white middle class audiences. He went to La Perouse where he sold boomerangs made at Tacoma. For his later public talks he put up his age by seven years (which would have made him born before his mother reached puberty). His Aboriginal mother ‘Nana Sales’ has been reported to me by white archaeologists or land managers as exhorting him to stop his - to her unacceptable - ‘exaggerations’. She survived Tommy by four years. Her obituary in the local newspaper stated that there were members of her family ‘in just about every pocket of the Central Coast extending northward to the upper Hunter’.

After his wife's death Tommy had four other partners recognised by his family - he claimed more (and children of more claim him\textsuperscript{14}). In 1995 his funeral supervised by his mother was standing room only, with uncounted people there as his Darkinjung children or grandchildren. A marvellous Aboriginal woman who is revered, Auntie Beve Spiers (who had originated from the Hunter Valley and also been identified as ‘Darkinoong’) conducted the service.\textsuperscript{15} Transcriptions of some of Tommy's later talks had been made by Val Francis, a white schoolteacher enthralled with Tommy's stories about Darkinjung culture.\textsuperscript{16} Tommy's grandfather lived until Tommy was twenty years old. To the public Tommy said that his grandfather living on the Central Coast (mother's father Edward Newman jnr), whom he called Katala, was the last Aboriginal Chief of the ‘Darkinoong’ Tribe, called ‘King’ by the white men, thereby convincing these well meaning well educated white people that the Central Coast had always been

\textsuperscript{14} Even during my current research, contact has been made with me by people whose mother had told them that Tommy Sales was their father. This would increase the number of Darkinjung descendants around Newcastle and on the Central Coast.

\textsuperscript{15} From local family history (unpublished) shared with me, it is likely that Beve is closely related to Tommy's mate Eric mentioned later this chapter. \textbackslash R reference ‘Return Thanks’, notice from Mrs Edna Sales for attendance at her son's funeral. Central Coast Express, 12 January 1995 (in collection of a member of Sales family).

\textsuperscript{16} From people who informed me about Tommy's talks, one would have to wonder if the audience had been eating magic mushrooms. In an understatement from another scholar who is familiar with the topic, 2005, ‘something in his [Tommy's] accounts [transcribed by Francis] doesn’t quite ring true’. \textbackslash V Val Francis, date ng, ‘Tom Sales’, student project for Armidale College of Advanced Education, Armidale.
country of ‘Darkinjung’ people.  With such high-exposure publicity, this concept was taken up, and accepted, by members of the emerging Aboriginal organisation, particularly those who had originated in the Interior of northwest NSW with Kamilaroi ancestry and were seeking cultural relevance in their new place of residence.

Mountain Darkinjung Identity Used as ‘Darkinjung’ by Coastal Aboriginal Community Group

When a local Aboriginal community group was registering to take advantage of becoming a new Local Aboriginal Land Council (LALC) under the 1983 New South Wales mercenary Land Rights legislation, Tommy advocated the name being ‘Darkinjung’ from his own ancestry, although he was not so popular among other Aboriginal people in the organisation that they adopted it because of him. The adoption of ‘Darkinjung’ for the LALC was more likely to have originated from the insidious influence of Tindale's 1974 map, which had erroneously placed ‘Darkinjung’ across Tuggerah Lakes, encompassing this community who were predominately fishermen. I propose that it would have been members of Sophie Newman's Darkinjung Family who had met Tindale and Birdsell during their peripatetic tours around the continent when they were trying to put all Australian Aboriginal ‘Tribes’ into boxes.

Tindale's publication may also have led into the reason why the LALC term ‘Darkinjung’ was also unwittingly adopted for the traditional Central Coast Aboriginal people at Newcastle University.

17 The Dewberry book has a photograph of Tommy's grandfather, Edward Newman jnr the fisherman, (sourced from Tommy's uncle the late Gordon ‘Booker’ Newman). After his wife left him, Edward reared his daughter Edna, Tommy's mother, and son Gordon with a ‘Darkinoong’ identity. Gordon became a fisherman. He recalled (published by Pam Dewberry) that they went away from home for days and slept in the open under a corn bag. [This I can identify with: I've been away from home and slept under a bush - where there was no rock ledge to crawl under to avoid the dew or frost.] Separately to many family members whose names are not published so I will not name here, I acknowledge with gratitude general background from graduate Aboriginal school teacher and education manager, Dave Ella - an impartial man whom I have known for about fifteen years. (He is not from families involved in my studies.)

18 By mercenary legislation I mean providing Crown Land for commercial opportunities, in contrast to heritage legislation providing land to be retained for cultural use. By commercial use of the land as intended by the NSW state government, some Councils have been able to develop their original community services functions which the state government was to stop funding.

19 Records of Central Coast Aboriginal Community Group, 1983 (in family member's collection).

20 I have dealt with Tindale & Birdsell's 1930s and 1950s excursions and influence in Chapter 7, with references to Tindale 1940 and 1974.

21 In an extraordinary twist, the university received a Federation Grant [start quote]to pursue aspects of Darkinjung history through the life of Bungaree, a well documented and well known Darkinjung man[end quote]. The university was writing about the same Bungaree whose coastal Broken Bay tribe were separate to the mountain Wollombi Darkinjung tribe. They were the ancestral people of the Wannungine Kurringai group [various spellings] now known as ‘Guringai’ (Chapter 9/NE). The ‘historians’ doing research for the university did not check the identity, merely substituting the word ‘Darkinjung’ for Central Coast ‘Aborigine’. (Although Caroline Jones as above had started the same way, as soon as she checked the historical identity she corrected the mistake but did not let anybody know, while she retained (continued...)
residents seem to think that a name for a LALC would be the name for the ancestral tribe which occupied that land. On the contrary, it is the exception rather than the norm, since local town names are usually used in New South Wales to identify Local Aboriginal Land Councils.

I have found that the late Tommy Sales, born 1923, was not necessarily the only Darkinjung descendant advocating a ‘Darkinjung’ identity, although he was the most publically recognised. However, he distinguished the term ‘Darkinjung’ as being used non-specifically for the Central Coast, while those persons whom he knew had Aboriginal ancestors specifically from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (including his own family) told me he addressed them as ‘Darkinoong- true-blood’.

\(22\) (...continued) Jim Kohen (as ‘Cohen’) is acknowledged with the ‘Local Historians’ in the published 2000 Report. The university’s professional historian responsible is published in the initial appendix of both reports as: ‘Professor Lyndall Ryan, Head School of Humanities, Faculty of the Central Coast’. Indigenous representatives named as contributing, who came from the LALC, were not descendants of the local coastal ancestral Aborigines and thus had no traditional indigenous links with the area. \(N\)erida Blair (compiler), 2000, ‘Darkinjung History: Lands, Waters, Peoples and Culture’ - A Report to A.I.A.T.S.I.S., Umluliko Indigenous Higher Education Research Centre, The University of Newcastle; \(N\)erida Blair (compiler), 2001, ‘Bungaree: An Indigenous Statesman or Colonial Puppet?’ - A Report to Aboriginal History Project for NSW Centenary of Federation, Umluliko Indigenous Higher Education Research Centre, The University of Newcastle; \(N\)erida Blair (ed.), 2003, ‘Darkinjung Community Standing Strong’, Gosford City Council, booklet published for the exhibition of the same name, Gosford Regional Gallery, June-August 2003.

I have been referred to erroneous statements that the traditional Darkinjung Aborigines occupied the land of the Gosford and Wyong local government Council areas, with the same boundaries as set for local government. This happened because that was the land allocated by the state government to this LALC. The centre of actual ancestral Darkinjung country in the Macdonald Valley Branch of the Hawkesbury River with other local government boundaries was allocated to the Sydney Metropolitan LALC (the Redfern mob, aka ‘Metro’), yet it does not seem that anyone assumes that the traditional Aborigines there would have belonged to Aborigines named the same as a Land Council, i.e. called the Metro Tribe and speaking an Aboriginal language called Metro.

\(23\) Of the 119 LALCs in NSW, only about 10% have used Aboriginal words for their names. Predominately, they are named for the central town, so the Central Coast LALC would be the Wyong (or Tacoma) mob, where the Sydney LALC is the Metropolitan (or Redfern) mob. Samples of LALC names elsewhere are: Armidale, Bathurst, Casino, Deniliquin, Eden, Forster, Glen Innes, Hay, Ivanhoe, Jerringa, Kempsey, Lightening Ridge, and so on. \(\ll\) ‘LALC Regions and Boundaries’, accessed online at link www.alc.org.au/land-councils/, rechecked 2010.

\(24\) Even professional historians are not innocent of mistaking the historical significance of a LALC name. Keating, for instance, wrote that an older version (‘Gandangara’) used by a local Land Council is preferred for the tribal term ‘Gundungurra’. He then erroneously used the Land Council name to apply to local people despite the fact that the land allocated by the state government to this particular LALC is within the country of the Dharug people and has no relationship with traditional (historic) land of the Gundungurra people (Chapters 10/SE and 11/SW). \(\ll\) Christopher Keating, 1996, ‘Aboriginal Culture and Environment’, Chapter 1 pp.1-7 in ‘On the Frontier - A Social History of Liverpool’, Hale and Iremonger, Sydney, p.1, sidenote 1.

\(25\) Tommy’s pronunciation was more valid than that used for the LALC, as footnoted in Chapter 6.
The *Darkiñung* Thespians: Tommy and Eric

Among Tommy's *Darkiñung* mates was an Aboriginal man whom I have found to have been an awe-inspiring performer. The late Eric Taggart, born 1918, was the grandson of ‘Harry’ Taggart, an Aborigine from Putty (Chapter 4) who had married a girl from England.²⁶ With Tommy as his tout, Eric could emerge from the Wollombi bush in the ranges as a wild Aborigine complete with primitive wooden weapons, and disappear again as an uncivilised hunter. His cache of weapons is still hidden in a secret closed rock cavity. If pressed for more detail, Tommy would relate that when Eric had been coaxed from the bush he was runover by a truck, and his body buried under a tree in the ranges. I wonder if the tree that Tommy pointed out for his ‘burial’ is the same tree that Eric used to point out for his ‘birth’ to his open mouthed admirers. He is buried at Singleton cemetery, and used to hunt in the bush with a rifle.

Around the Singleton district where Eric Taggart worked casually as a farmhand, stories of his tall tales are so much a legend that he could have put Frank Hardy's Billy Borker to shame.²⁷ The industrial affairs journalist Percy A. Haslam began to turn up with his newspaper driver and photographer George Steele at Eric's house so often, to enquire about Aboriginal culture, that Eric had to resort to taller and taller tales to satisfy him. Eric was far too intelligent to make his stories as implausible as some of Tommy's had been for his public performances, and Percy's reports from Eric's tales are included in his (Haslam's) records. According to the biography, Haslam travelled widely to collect published references and in search of unpublished stories, and was awarded an honorary degree at Newcastle University for his studies. His reports form a basis of Haslam records about Aboriginal culture archived at Newcastle University where they are used by students and researchers.²⁸


²⁷ In the book Preface, Clement Semmler wrote that Frank Hardy's Billy Borker ‘is in the same bracket as Paterson's Saltbush Bill and John Manifold's Bogong Jack.’ The Billy Borker series was broadcast on television, where ‘He has the gift of making the tallest story somehow credible.’ Frank Hardy, 1965, ‘The Yarns of Billy Borker’, A.H. & A.W. Reed, and Horwitz, London, republished 1967, Ure Smith, Sydney.

²⁸ Some of Haslam's notes for his collection are about as imaginative as Tommy had come up with, for example on female initiation, but this is not a topic for which there is space in this thesis. John Maynard, date ng, ‘Percy Haslam (d.1987)’, Newcastle University Awabakal site online; ‘Aboriginal Dreamtime of the Hunter Region - The Percy Haslam Collection’, catalogue accessed online at www.newcastle.edu.au/ service/ archives/ dreamtime; ‘Unlocking Regional Memory, Archival Resources, Auchmuty Library, University of Newcastle: The Percy Haslam Collection’, catalogue accessed online at www.nswera.net.au/ archives. (The Archives are now the university library Cultural (continued...
Although these two pranksters shared their common Darkiñung identity from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, it appears that Tommy only promulgated that ancestry publically where Sophie Newman's Aboriginal family descendants were on the Central Coast, for in the Hunter Valley Harry Taggart's Aboriginal family descendants have been incorrectly regarded as Wonwarua. 29 Yet, Haslam erroneously wrote about these Darkiñung Aboriginal people as Awabakal. While some of the ancestral people are mentioned in Part I, the histories of identifications at the time of settlement for the Aborigines bordering the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges are discussed in Part III.

Chapter 8 Findings

Darkiñung Aboriginal persons of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges in the 1890s were listed by Robert Mathews, among whom was Sophie Newman who in 1867 had gone from Wollombi in the ranges to the coast where she had reared her family. Members of the Newman Family retained their ranges Darkiñung identity on the coast where they joined the Aboriginal fishing community. This Darkiñung identity was maintained in public and appeared to have been taken up for Wyong (across to The Entrance of the Tuggerah Lakes) when Norman Tindale from South Australia was collecting local data for his maps of ‘Tribal Boundaries’ in Australia. The traditional Wannungine local identity was not publicised during this period, allowing people to mistakenly assume that the Central Coast had been ‘Darkinjung’.

A Newman family member, the late ‘Tommy’ Sales, had presented Darkiñung as a tribal name to the public, using it in his talks on the Central Coast. Although in New South Wales the boundaries of Local Aboriginal Land Councils do not reflect any sort of Tribal boundaries and it is not usual for Land Council names to be the same as for local ‘traditional owners’, when the Land Council covering Gosford and

28 (...continued)
Collection.)

29 Despite the misidentification of the Taggart family from the ranges, others sought to maintain their identity, even after it was wrongly ‘borrowed’ by the LALC. Vicki Silk (née Everingham) and Ruby James (née Packer), the elder granddaughters of Madha (Mrs Everingham - Chapter 4) shared an understanding of their Aboriginal heritage within the family of Madha’s descendants. It was Ruby who sent her eldest daughter Gracie to care for the little daughters of Madha’s grandson Bill Onus (illustration at start of Chapter 4). I recognise a granddaughter of another of Ruby’s daughters, Cindy Laws, as reclaiming their Aboriginal identity from the Central Coast LALC to become the first modern person to publish that it was Aborigines on the Hawkesbury who were Darkinjung. (Cindy had told me they knew they were not Dharug.) \ Cindy Laws, 2002, ‘Wargan the Crow’, Envirobook, Annandale (Sydney).
Wyong Councils’ local government areas adopted the title ‘Darkinjung’, it led to a ‘mass consciousness’ that this meant the original Central Coast Aborigines at the time of settlement would have been the Darkiñung. That concept is not supported from knowledge of legislative history, of Local History or Family History.

[The historic traditional Wannungine Aboriginal people of the coast currently refer to themselves using the terms ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’ (Chapter 9/NE).]
Part II

Brief Conclusion for Part II

Recognition of the Darkiñung Language

Although the First Fleet expeditions into the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges found that the Aboriginal language inland at the Hawkesbury River Branches was different to that on the coast at Port Jackson / Botany Bay, an identifying name was not recorded until native-born Robert Mathews made friends with these people one hundred years later and recorded their language at the same place as Governor Arthur Phillip had met them in 1789 at the Portland Head Rock location. In his exercise books Mathews noted this language spoken by Aborigines from the Hawkesbury River and Wollombi Brook as Darkiñung [various spellings with English characters]. A translation was not recorded. Thus, Darkiñung is the present identification of the People, their Language and their Country. They had referred to their landscape in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, and perhaps themselves, as ‘Wallambine’ [various spellings].

An analysis is included showing the history how this Darkiñung identification was misapplied (as Darkinjung) to become the name for a modern Local Aboriginal Land Council on the Central Coast, even though the Land Councils under New South Wales state legislation are mostly named after local towns. The traditional people at the Central Coast had referred to themselves as Wannungine.

Detailed explanation is given from source records with analysis of how in modern times the historical Darkiñung at the Hawkesbury River have been misidentified as Dharug, using a hoax term ‘Darug’ published by the Blacktown and District Historical Society concocted from a Western Victoria word. The original Dharug language recorded by native-born John Rowley applied to the Georges River Aboriginal people from Botany Bay to beyond Appin upstream. By the late 1800s (after coalescing with intermarriages between adjacent language groups), Aboriginal people from Liverpool and Black Town on the south side of the Hawkesbury floodplain referred to their lingua franca as ‘our talk’, jumna. The term Dharug was given for this at Camden by neighbouring Burrarorang persons, spoken as Dharrook [various spellings] (which may have translated for those Gundungurra people as ‘hen’).

Note on pronunciation:
When using English characters ‘-ine’ is spoken as for tine and fine, not pronounced as for tiny or finny - e.g. Wollambine became written Wollombi [to rhyme with ‘eye’]. Similarly, Wannungine would be meant to be spoken Wannungi(ne), rather than as ‘Wannunginny’ requiring nn. [From its Latin origine, Ab-origine (‘-inny’) is unusual.]
Part III

As at 1875: ‘In the Midst of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (with surrounding country)’
[Aborigines’ Putty is on Tupa C. (taken from Major Mitchell’s map as shown here),
their Boorohwall is on nearby tributary of Macdonald R.
and Wollemi is shown as Wollena ]

Part III

Recognition of the *Darkiňung* Country

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Part III (1)
Chapter 9/NE Country to the Northeast of the *Darkiňung*: ............. 323
Interacting with the *Wannerawa* of the Coast and Estuaries
(aka *Wannungine* alias ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’)

Part III (2)
Chapter 10/SE Country to the Southeast of the *Darkiňung*: ............. 359
Interacting with the *Dharug* of the Coastal Plain,
The Cowpastures and the Woronora Plateau

Part III (3)
Chapter 11/SW Country to the Southwest of the *Darkiňung*: ............. 389
Interacting with the *Gundungurra* of the Southern Blue Mountains

Part III (4)
Chapter 12/NW Country to the Northwest of the *Darkiňung*: ............. 437
Interacting with the *Kamilaroi* Who Occupied the Upper Hunter Valley
or with the *Wiradjuri* Across the Central Tablelands

Brief Conclusion for Part III .............................................. 469
Part III

Preamble

For people interacting with their environment,

The relations between a group and its territory are among other things ecological relations. The relations between members of the group in respect of the territory, in itself, or as a locality of a larger entity, are among other things social relations.

Bill Stanner wrote of ‘three connected adaptive systems - the ecological, the institutional or social, and the cultural’ when considering traditional Aborigines surviving in northern Australia.\(^2\) His views are universal, to apply to the circumstances of this thesis seeking history to recognise territory as at the time of British settlement.

For a local group [viz. ‘Clan’], Stanner’s ‘estate’ was their home country with a ‘range’ being a wider area over which those people foraged or hunted. His approach was based on local ecology in a period before intervention by settlers.\(^3\) However, it is seen in Chapter 3 that even when retaining possession of their home estate in the ranges ‘The Branch’ natives, from the northern locations of the Colo and Macdonald Rivers Branches near the Hunter/Goulburn River, had begun travelling across tribal country through the ranges into the settlement towns on the Hawkesbury River even before white men had arrived in their locality. For Part III of this thesis, I am considering for the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges what Country was occupied by the related local groups of People identified by a common Language, Darkiñung.

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\(^3\) Stanner's actual observed territories have become severely modified to adjust to the advent of changes by settlers' culture such as roads for vehicles, as well as a more recent thrust to accommodate native title under white man's law. \(^\text{\textcopyright Nicholas Peterson, 2008, ‘‘Too Sociological’’? Revisiting ‘‘Aboriginal Territorial Organisation’’, Chapter 12 pp.185-97 in Melinda Hinkson and Jeremy Beckett, 2008, ‘An Appreciation of Difference - WEH Stanner and Aboriginal Australia’, Aboriginal Studies Press (AIATSIS), Canberra; Peter Sutton, 2008, ‘Stanner and Aboriginal Land Use: Ecology, Economic Change, and Enclosing the Commons’, Chapter 11 pp.169-84 in Hinkson & Beckett 2008 ‘An Appreciation of Difference’}\)
Before the advent of the civilisations which led to accumulative aggregations of people developing into cities (as in a termite colony with specialist functions of its inhabitants), societies of humans living in a natural or ‘wild’ state are seen to have parallels with situations for other foragers and hunters sharing the habitat. In Australia, although separated by cultural factors, humans showed similarities of ecological territorial behaviour with dingos - the other predatory, yet omnivorous, eutherian mammal to arrive on the continent having evolved elsewhere.4

From my review of literature about Aboriginal Country - grown more mountainous since Stanner’s 1965 presentation - I understand edges to have been porous, with visits to neighbours ‘covered by conventions or institutional rules’, as he put it. But even this requires borders to be understood. In his 1974 review, Tindale cites examples where boundaries were defined by natural features with intruders driven away by force.5 The venture of interpreting from historical records appropriate topographical features for such borders is better appreciated after consideration of the routes of arrival of humankind into this situation, as follows.

In the present day, with public acceptance of using molecular biology for investigating human evolution across the planet, our society recognises the research hypothesis of population expansion by migration along the ocean coast where nourishing resources are plentiful, expanding upstream along river courses - following waterways to their watershed. Continuing movement around South Asia took humans through the Sunda [Malaya, Indonesia, Etc.] archipelago, crossing to the Sahul [Papuan/Australian] continent.6

An excellent model to adopt for the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges has been provided by Sandra Bowdler's adaptation of Stanner's terminology for the people on Sahul making their way along the east coast from the north, taking up a home ‘estate’ on the seashore where sustaining resources are abundant and easy to

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4 I marvel at the adaptability of these species. After learning something of the lore of the wild dingo in the Blue Mountains during my youth, in later life I also had the opportunity to observe their flexibility to cope with seasonal changes in the outback of the Lake Eyre Basin and Central Australia. It is eerie to have observed how the ecology of such indigenes in the mountains changed, by them utilising the settlers’ roadways constructed through the scrub covered ranges. \ Refer, e.g. Roland Breckwoldt, 1988, ‘The Social Life of the Dingo’ Chapter 7 pp.152-68 in ‘A Very Elegant Animal - The Dingo’, Angus and Robertson, North Ryde (Sydney).

5 I was given a similar message by Luise Hercus (pers. comm.) from her own knowledge of the inland situation in SA. \ Norman B. Tindale, 1974, ‘Tracks, Travel, Trespass, and Trade’, Chapter 5 pp.75-88 in ‘Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names’, University of California Press, Berkeley.

harvest, extending their ‘range’ into the hills of the coastal catchment.\(^7\) Where they took up permanent occupation, neighbours would retain some language and cultural similarities, as seen here in Chapter 9/NE based on the Hunter River region marine environment with Wannungine and Kattung languages peoples. However, the next node of coastal habitation may have a more distant relationship, here based on the Botany Bay - Georges River environs seen in Chapter 10/SE for the Dharug language people who had an observed variation in culture from those to their north.

From the permanent populations at the coast, more intrepid members of the expanding population who had to move away from the marine environment followed the fresh water rivers inland as elsewhere on the planet, here moving along the waterways into the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges of the northern Blue Mountains to become the Wallambine (Darkiñung) people who remained associated with their coastal neighbours the Wannungine as in Chapter 9/NE.\(^8\) Correspondingly, the people who crossed from the Georges River (and Shoalhaven ??) into the southern Blue Mountains to become the Gundungurra people remained associated with their ancestral neighbours the Dharug (and Dharawal ??) people as in Chapters 10/SE and 11/SW. Such inland movements up streams into higher lands are consistent with a subsequent review by Bowdler.\(^9\) Just as the Gundungurra moved upstream to the far reaches of the Wollondilly River, probably the Darkiñung had first moved upstream to the headwaters of the Hunter River - before more aggressive Kamilaroi had invaded over the Liverpool Range [of the GDR] and replaced them in the upper valley.

Of alternatives for populating central regions of Australia, it has been surmised that the Wiradjuri / Kamilaroi peoples of the interior to the west of the Great Dividing Range either would have followed up the rivers from the coast at the Murray River mouth or could have spread overland from arrival points at the north.\(^10\) Either way, these interior people would be adapted to very different ecological relations - as


\(^8\) It was also part of the discussion by David Moore examining a relationship between the ‘Darginung’ and the coastal people. [He used terminology of the time, some of which is corrected by the research for this thesis.] \(\setminus\) David Moore, 1981, ‘Results of an Archaeological Survey of the Hunter River Valley. New South Wales, Australia - Part II: Problems of the Lower Hunter and Contacts with the Hawkesbury Valley’, Records of The Australian Museum, 33 (9): 388-442, discussion pp.421-24.


\(^10\) The pattern of occupation along the interior rivers and marshes suggests following river branches upstream from the coast, at least for these people. Birdsell was one of the postulators for a general (continued...)
overland model, citing earlier of his papers in this symposium article about the sea crossing. During the early 1960s I had driven my Volkswagen ‘Beetle’ car along deep sand dry river beds in the arid zone of Central Australia to visit the oasis relic Palm Valley, which demonstrates how a more profusely vegetated centre of the continent with flowing rivers could have been amenable to crossing. \ Joseph B. Birdsell, 1977, ‘The Recalibration of a Paradigm for the First Peopling of Greater Australia’, chapter pp.113-67 in Part 2: ‘Peopling The New Lands’, in Allen, Golson & Jones (eds) ‘Sunda and Sahul’.  

Rusden went on to suggest that the Aborigines had been under-rated and, by comparison, to place in a ‘contemptible’ light the explorers with ‘civilized appliances’ who have perished in explorations. (In Chapter 12/NW I note a literary relationship of Rusden with Alfred Howitt whose relationship with the Burke expedition - of perished explorers - is mentioned in Chapter 6.) \ George William Rusden, 1883 (1st edn), ‘History of Australia’ in three volumes, Chapman and Hall, London and George Robertson, Melbourne, pp.89-90, 1897 (2nd edn), Melville, Mullen & Slade, Melbourne and Ludgate Square (London), pp.85-86.  


Bill Stanner is credited with popularising the concept of ‘The Dreaming’ to the European population, the conception of which [as ‘The Dream Time’] he attributed in 1956 to Spencer & Gillen.  

Perhaps dreaming stories of ‘once upon a time’ may be the correct approach, that the people have always been here and the mountains came afterward. Eileen Carberry presented just such an approach for the topic of

10(...continued)
Part III, the country of the Blue Mountains, ‘telling it as it was told to me by an aged aborigine’. But rather than Aboriginal mythology, her story uses European similes to tell of an Aborigine maiden, so beautiful that flowers would shut their petals in shame as she passed. She was adorned by a mantle of butterflies’ wings. After being captured by the neighbouring tribe to be the bride of their chief who was an ugly old man, she escaped, thereby precipitating an intertribal war. Just as the peaceful tribe of the maiden was about to meet death, ‘a Great Chain of Mountains rose up between the two tribes’. So the maiden threw her mantle into the air where it turned into the blue curtain of the mountains. Irrespective of the source of such a legend, the concept of a mountain divide becoming a tribal border is the topic of Part III.

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13 Eileen Carberry, 1910, ‘Legend of the Blue Mountains’, The Blue Mountains Echo 11 June 1910 [my copy was obtained by Fisher Library]. Jim Smith has been collecting Blue Mountains Legends purporting to have been passed down from Aboriginal tribes. As far as any may apply to the northern Blue Mountains of the Grose and Colo Rivers catchments, then they would be legends of the Darkīnung Country, the Gundungurra Country being the Cox Rover catchment of the southern Blue Mountains. James Leslie (‘Jim’) Smith, 1992a, ‘Aboriginal Legends of the Blue Mountains’, Gundungurra Series Volume 3, self published, Den Fenella Press, Wentworth Falls.
Chapter 9/NE

A Rock Overhang above Bulga Creek
close to the first Bulga Road stock route from Richmond (Chpt 3)
where it came out near Bulga village on Wollombi Brook.
The insert showing some of the rock art is modified from 1896 published scale drawing by R.H. Mathews.
The figure was 9ft (2.75m) high. The white patch on the stomach is visible in exact centre of photograph.
Although a Darkiiung site, this deity-like figure is now claimed by other Aboriginal people from the NE to the NW.*
Photograph by Geoff Ford Sunday 17 September 2006

Notes:
On the back wall of this rock shelter is an Aboriginal art figure pre-dating arrival of the settlers, referred to
as The Milbrodale Man (from the locality). The site is on a farm where David Moore from The Australian
Museum carried out an archaeological excavation (1969, 1970). I have become familiar with the property in
consultation with the owners to whom I was introduced by a past resident of Milbrodale (Joan Robinson -
on steps in photograph). Since the ‘large and lofty trees’ (reported by Mathews 1893 p.355 to be in front of
cave) had been cleared, exposing the cave, the bottom of the back wall has lost pigment so the legs in the
present day are only seen reaching the size of the prominent penis. The figure was outlined in white (with
pipeclay) and filled in by rubbing lines of dry red ochre into the rock - as Moore has discussed with me.
Similar style artwork (including stark white eyes and rubbing red ochre), is a common feature at sites which
I have visited throughout the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Although Mathews wrote (1893 p.358) that he
would not speculate on the meaning, the art reminded him of ‘a colossal figure of a man on the ground’
built up with earth that ‘the blacks said represented Baiame’ when associated with a Kamilaroi initiation
bora ceremony elsewhere (e.g. 1894 p.111). He was familiar with a description in Ridley's book (1875 p.156) in
upper Hunter Valley where the Kamilaroi had penetrated from the Interior before settlement (Chpt 12/NW).

*This site has been set up as a tourist cave by the NSW NPWS as if this was a Kamilaroi bora site. It was not.
Part III (1)
Chapter 9/NE

Country to the Northeast of the Darkiñung:
Interacting with the Wannerawa of the Coast and Estuaries
(aka Wannungine alias ‘Guringai’ and ‘Awabakal’)

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The Issue

This chapter examines the relationships of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges people with the Aborigines occupying country on their northeast quadrant - at the Hawkesbury River estuary of Broken Bay and its Arms following along the coast to the Hunter River estuary of Port Hunter. My research discovered that although the actual ‘Tribal’ and/or Language name for them of Wannerawa had been noted from the 1890s, it has been misapplied (as ‘Wonnarua’) from the false memory of one man as published in 1887. Instead, the published terms of ‘Kuringgai’ (‘Guringai’) and ‘Awabakal’ created in 1892 by a white man for an international book had inadvertently been adopted. In consequence, I am favouring the alternative term Wannungine¹ which was recorded also for the actual Wannerawa. From this study it appears that the people of the ranges and those of the coast were aligned, possibly with ancient common ancestors, and their boundary was porous. The findings are consistent with the hypothesis that an ancient group on the coast had moved up the Hawkesbury River and Hunter River tributaries, expanding into country of the ranges while their relatives remaining on the coast had had their residual country depleted as the sea levels rose over the continental shelf.

The 1838 Testimony

‘I reside at Lake Macquarie and have done so nearly fourteen years, during which I have been engaged in acquiring a knowledge of the language of the aboriginal natives, - - -

The native languages throughout New South Wales are, I feel persuaded, based upon the same origin: but I have found the dialects [languages] of various tribes differ from that of those (‘tribes’) which occupy the country around Lake Macquarie, that is to say, of those tribes occupying the limits bounded by the North Head of Port Jackson, on the south, and Hunter's River on the north, and extending inland about 60 miles, all of which speak the same dialect [language]. The natives of Port Stephen use a dialect a little different, but not so much as to prevent our understanding each other; but at Patrick's Plains the difference (in language) is so great, that we cannot communicate with each other; there are blacks who speak both dialects. The dialect [language] of the Sydney and Botany Bay natives varies in a slight degree, and in that of those further distant, the difference (in languages) is such that no communication can be held between them and the blacks inhabiting the district in which I reside.’

Rev. L.E. Threlkeld, 1838 Testimony to a Legislative Council Enquiry on the Aborigines²

¹ Note on pronunciation: When using English characters ‘-ine’ is spoken as for tine and fine, not pronounced as for tiny or finny with nn - e.g. Wollambine became Wollombi. [From its Latin origine, Ab-origine (‘-inny’) is unusual.]

² Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, 1838, Testimony in Evidence, Report of the Committee on the Aborigines Question, Votes and Proceedings, New South Wales Legislative Council 1838 pp.19-24; also reproduced (continued...)
The Dingy Missionary.¹

For the New South Wales Central Coast, Lancelot Threlkeld had never experienced anything other than the same language being spoken all the way from Newcastle south to Port Jackson. He would study local languages like other church missionaries of that period working in Oceania - which was the Pacific Islands and Australia. That religious trait for study of anthropology and linguistics continued until recently, with both Peter Elkin and Arthur Capell of Sydney University who feature in this thesis being ordained church ministers. Australians (and my studies) owe a great deal to Threlkeld, because he was first to put an Aboriginal language on a grammatical footing, rather than a mere unexplained word list.

Threlkeld's wife had died while they were at a mission on Raiatea Island near Tahiti, and he arrived at Port Jackson with his young children 19 August 1824.⁴ The self-opinionated Threlkeld was to take up land on the Hawkesbury River at Portland Head Rock district in the country of Aborigine Yellomundy (Chapter 1). There, he would preach at the Ebenezer church, and two months after arrival he was remarried, to Sarah Arndell, daughter of local magistrate, Surgeon Thomas Arndell (as in Chapter 2).⁵ However his 1838 statement in relation to Port Jackson, as in extract above, was not the situation found by the First Fleeters fifty years earlier in 1788. Before Threlkeld arrived the original Port Jackson Aborigines were no longer present on the north shore, which subsequently had been occupied by Broken Bay Aborigines from the north led by Bungaree. By January 1815, there were 16 families from Broken Bay identified by Governor Macquarie in occupancy of the north shore of Port Jackson.⁶ Prior to the intrusion of the Broken Bay people, the north shore language had been the same as for the south shore of Port Jackson - yet the concept of Threlkeld's testimony has been followed mistakenly for another hundred

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¹(continued)


³ This observation by Lady Jane Franklin, as mentioned later in this chapter.


⁵ Threlkeld learnt some of the Darkiニング language at the Portland Head Rock location (as footnoted following). When his grant of 150 acres was registered later (in 1834), the deed for the land was made to his wife, Sarah Threlkeld. [He wanted a deed to the coal resource at Lake Macquarie for himself.] \ Jean McNaught, 1998, ‘Index and Registers of Land Grants, Leases and Purchases 1792-1865’, Richmond-Tweed Regional Library, p.220.

and sixty three years, when Keith Smith published a correction.\footnote{Keith Vincent Smith, 2001, ‘Bennelong - The Coming in of the Eora, Sydney Cove, 1788-1792’, Kangaroo Press, East Roseville (Sydney), pp.111-12. Also Chapter 7 of thesis.} Until then, authorities as cited in this thesis accepted the language group dubbed ‘Ku-ring-gai’ as the original north shore group known to the First Fleet arrivals from the place, Cam-mer-ray [wide range of spellings in English characters].\footnote{There was confusion from unsuccessful attempts by authors to reconcile the original traditional north shore Cammaraygal / Kameraigal [various spellings] at Port Jackson with these ‘Ku-ring-gai’ (‘Guringai’) who had arrived from Broken Bay and occupied Port Jackson after settlement. Misrepresentation of local history, such as by authorities such as Norman Tindale and Bob Dixon discussed in other chapters, have made it difficult for latent descendants to gain public recognition of their actual ancestral country at the time of settlement.}

The Hawkesbury Inland and Coastal People

It is known that at Portland Head Rock area (alias Ebenezer/Sackville area) Threlkeld gained some knowledge of the Hawkesbury Aborigines, subject of this thesis, with whom Arndell had been associated for more than twenty years (Chapter 2), and he could have been able distinguished them from others.\footnote{As noted at beginning of thesis, I am using Portland Head Rock to identify the historical location of Portland Head. The chapel was built there at ‘Ebenezer Mount’ (Chapter 6). Threlkeld refers to ‘my black teacher’ from whom he was getting words ‘at the Hawkesbury’, when writing an introduction to his first published treatise on notes of ‘Aboriginal sentences’ involving source(s) at Newcastle. \& L.E. Threlkeld, 1827, ‘Specimens of a Dialect of the Aborigines of New South Wales; Being the First Attempt to Form Their Speech into a Written Language’, “Monitor Office”, Sydney. Republished Appendix G pp.131-48 of Part IV (The Appendix, with separate pagination) in John Fraser, 1892b, ‘An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie (near Newcastle, New South Wales) - being an account of their language, traditions, and customs: by L.E. Threlkeld. Re-arranged, condensed, and edited, with an appendix’, Government Printer, Sydney, quote App. p.132.}

During the 1820s Threlkeld gathered some language from Broken Bay Aborigines, identified as ‘Karree’.\footnote{While Threlkeld wrote Karr,ee as the heading of the first column, Capell transcribed this as Karee in brackets at end of title. I have examined handwritten original from Mitchell Library. Discovered in Mitchell Library archives and discussed by Capell. Identified by Capell as Guringai p.23. \& L.E. Threlkeld, ca.1824 (date ng) ‘Specimens of the Language of the Aborigines of New South Wales to the Northward of Sydney: Karree’, ML MS A382; A. Capell, 1970 ‘Aboriginal Languages in the South Central Coast, New South Wales: Fresh Discoveries’, Oceania, 41 (1): 20-27.} That is now recognised as representing the Cari’gal, Kari’gal or Gari’gal group of the south Arms of Broken Bay (Pitt Water and Cowan Water). If the location was known as Gari, then Gari’gal were a local Broken Bay Clan. In his investigation of the language's origin, Arthur Capell in 1970 identified the language to ‘more conveniently be called Kuringgai (Guripgai)’, and Guringai is the name applied for use by descendants of the Broken Bay Aborigines from 1970 to the present day. Capell's 1970 paper was not complete, he called it ‘this initial report’ and wrote about ‘the monograph that is intended to follow’. He had retired from the Sydney University in 1967, and his last work on Aboriginal languages...}

Capell did, indeed, supplement the 1970 ‘initial report’ when he published with Wurm 1979 and pointed out that Threlkeld's Lake Macquarie Language (termed ‘Awaba’ by Fraser) and his 1970 ‘Guringai’ (then, in 1979, ‘Guringgay’) were variations of the same language - with a ‘real gulf between this northern language and (Dawes's) the “Iyora” and (Mathews's) Dharug of Sydney district’. Capell was to go much, much further with the classification from his analyses: ‘\textbf{Darkginjung [Darkiñung] and Guringgay language are hardly more than dialects of the Awaba [recorded by Threlkeld]’}.\footnote{Capell's last ‘work’, published 1979, was multiple. As well as studying Dawes's notebooks (p.287), Capell had studied some of Mathew's notebooks (p.288) with draft articles on language. Unfortunately, he created an unfulfilled expectation that he had in hand the analysis from those notebooks of the language of the Sydney district (including the \textit{Dharug} area - Chapter 10/SE). He did not maintain some of the interim speculation from what he called his ‘initial report’ in 1970, which is discussed following (and is mentioned in Chapter 7 with regard to the road to Lane Cove as a border). However, there was additional material to his 1970 promise [misprinted as 1972 on p.284]: 1\textsuperscript{st} article section 2.2.4.5, pp.284-87, and 2\textsuperscript{nd} article p.199. Although his 1979 revised map, p.194, still has geographic anomalies, it means that the conventional wisdom is false when it has been based on the 1970 map which is absolutely redundant. \textcopyright{} Arthur Capell, 1979a, ‘Grammatical Classification in Australia’, in Stephen A. Wurm (ed.), 1979, ‘Australian Linguistic Studies’, Pacific Linguistics, Series C - No.54, Australian National University, Canberra, pp.141-228; Arthur Capell, 1979b, ‘Classification of Verbs in Australian Languages’, in Wurm 1979 ‘Australian Linguistic Studies’, pp.229-322; Arthur Capell, 1979c, ‘The history of Australian Languages: A First Approach’, in Wurm 1979 ‘Australian Linguistic Studies’, pp.419-619. Major quote p.199.} It is a defining observation in understanding the close linkage of the \textit{Darkiñung} people with those on the coast to their northeast.\footnote{Capell's own analysis reinforced that for Wilhelm Schmidt's ‘Middle-Kuri’ language (Chapter 6), which linked the \textit{Darkiñung} of the \textit{Wallambine} ranges with the \textit{Wannungine} of the coast. When published, Robert Mathews had shown (1901b) his \textit{Dharruk} language associated with the \textit{Dharawal (Thurraval)}, but given (1903) \textit{Darkiñung} language with affinities to the foreign \textit{Kamilaroi} language to its northwest.}

By September 1825, not long after he had arrived at Newcastle as follows, Threlkeld was able to write about the connections of the local Aborigines, in effect commenting on inter-related territory of their neighbours which is the subject of this chapter: ‘The natives here are connected in a kind of circle extending to the Hawkesbury and Port Stephens.’\footnote{Although Threlkeld was to define a local County Northumberland Language based on Lake Macquarie, Newcastle and the estuary of the Hunter River, this earlier statement is consistent with the final published analysis in 1979 by the doyen Arthur Capell as cited above. Since the Port Stephens people spoke the related language \textit{Katt 'ung} with common understanding, it is seems that Threlkeld may have already continued...} Although the retired Arthur Capell had then been

\begin{quote}

\textit{...and then continued...}
\end{quote}
working in proximity to the young Niel Gunson at the Australian National University, I see no collusion and take their observations to be independent re-enforcement for my projected relationship of the Hawkesbury Darkiñung with the coastal Wannungine (this chapter), in distinct refutation of a relationship with the Georges River Dharug people (Chapter 10/SE).

As a biographer, Gunson tactfully referred to Threlkeld's ‘independence’ although perhaps self importance may be more fitting. His earlier biographer, Ben Champion, suggested Threlkeld was prevented from returning to the islands of the South Seas when it was decided he should conduct a mission to the Aborigines at Newcastle, Coal River [then called King's Town]. But at Newcastle the local parson Rev. G. A. Middleton, who had come across the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (with J.M. Blaxland), was already ‘an especial favourite with the blacks’. George Middleton, with the help of the Commandant Captain Francis Allman was able to divert Threlkeld to locate him out of the way at Reid's Mistake, the entrance to Lake Macquarie - where the land was not granted to the mission, but was to be held in trust for Aborigines.

The Proud Protégé

In a great circle of history, Governor Macquarie, as above, had visited the Broken Bay Aborigines, that is

14(...)continued)

appreciated his circle to arc to Port Stephens from his property near Ebenezer on the Hawkesbury River at the location where the Darkiñung language had first been recorded from Yellomundy in 1791 (Chapter 5). He used this connection as an argument that the Attorney General should prevent other missionaries competing for his Aborigines, which has the abominable effect that there would never be a comparison of his position as happened at Wellington Valley. (The letter brings a wry smile to my face as I read his letter, politically couched, telling Bannister that ‘my present employment is going with the natives in their hunting excursions with a book and pencil collecting words and phrases’. That could make a marvellous cartoon.) \ L.E. Threlkeld, 1825, Letter to Saxe Bannister (Attorney General) responding to ‘the French examination’, 27 September 1825, cited by Gunson ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld’ pp.186,7; Capell 1979a ‘Grammatical Classification’ p.199.


16 Middleton's route across the ranges, which was intersected by Surveyor General Mitchell when visiting Mount Warrawalong, was known as The Parson's Track from Wollombi Brook to Newcastle, and as Blaxland's Track from Richmond to Wollombi Brook (Chapter 3). I have visited sections with local historians bushwalker Joan Robinson and Carl Hoipo, resident of Blaxlands Arm of Wollombi valley. \ Quote from Bingle, John, 1873, ‘Past and Present Records of Newcastle’, cited by Champion 1939 ‘Lancelot Edward Threlkeld’ p.310.

17 Threlkeld had been diverted by other church ministers / missionaries from the South Sea (Pacific) Islands, diverted from Ebenezer (on the Hawkesbury), and then diverted from Coal River/Newcastle. Without the Aborigine misfit as follows, he would have been diverted from history. (Indeed, without another misfit, John Fraser, collecting his works for the Columbian Exhibition as follows Threlkeld would not hold his now revered place in history.) \ Champion 1939 ‘Lancelot Edward Threlkeld’ pp.308,10.
people speaking Capell’s Guringai language, where many families who had come south with Bungaree were occupying the north shore of Port Jackson. The governor was accompanied by his favoured officer, Captain John Mander Gill, who (as was a custom of the day, Chapter 4) took in to his household a young Aboriginal boy from Bungaree’s Broken Bay mob then at Port Jackson. This lad was reared as John M’Gill (viz. John, boy of Gill) in the officers’ quarters, where Christian religious instruction was practised.18 After Captain Gill’s regiment completed their service at Port Jackson and left, adolescent Aborigine John M’Gill became the responsibility of Captain Francis Allman, who took the teenager as one of the ‘Black trackers’ when he went to Port Macquarie to establish a penal settlement there. At this time, John M’Gill became a ‘man’ in Aboriginal terms, and took on a new independent persona. When Allman became Commandant at Newcastle, M’Gill - now a young adult almost twenty years old - became superfluous so he was left to fend for himself there, where he was among his own people at the town fringe even although at a distance from his Broken Bay family.19

When thirty seven years old Threlkeld arrived at Newcastle needing help to go through the bush to Reid’s Mistake and to set up new premises, a liaison formed between these two misfits who had been passed by by white society. Working for the whiteman - as was usual - had become M’Gill’s initiation to manhood at Port Macquarie, and subsequently he had been given (or taken) for his adult persona the name of Birrugin [various spellings] of the Biripi people. It was apposite for M’Gill to present himself as Threlkeld’s ‘Biraban’ from Birrugin since the word means young man, handsome etc, re-interpreted in the Christian tradition as Jesus (explaining some of his relations which Threlkeld never comprehended), but Threlkeld thought that M’Gill was describing himself as ‘Biraban’ to be an eaglehawk, which was wir-ri-pāng in the language that M’Gill gave to Threlkeld.20 Details from my study of Biraban’s life are not part of this

18 Young John M’Gill [= Gill’s boy] was likely born ca.1805 to be consistent with Threlkeld’s statement (1850) that: ‘He had been brought up from his childhood in the Military Barracks, Sydney’. He was allowed to remain as the officers’ houseboy at the same time that the Hassalls and other families were transferring their ‘fostered’ Aboriginal children of about the same age to the Native Institution for English education. Yet Governor Macquarie instructed his officers to kidnap children for the Institution - as for the Appin Massacre (e.g. Betty Fulton in Chapter 6).

19 There are instances of travel along the coast between Hunter River and Hawkesbury River of known Aborigines, e.g. Bungaree. The instance of Aborigine ‘King Molly’ alias ‘Black Ned’ moving from Ned Hargraves’s house to the entrance to Lake Macquarie is given in Chapter 2. By 1799, Bungaree was already identified at Port Jackson - apparently replacing the local Aboriginal people who had not survived, where he was known as ‘a native of the northside of Broken Bay who had been noted for his good disposition and open and manly conduct’ with the white people. \David Collins, 1802, ‘An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, from Its first Settlement, in January 1788, to August 1801 [etc’], Vol.II, T.Cadell Jun. and W.Davies, The Strand (London). Facsimile edition 1971, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, p.225, Fletcher 1975 [vol.2] edn pp.161-62.

20 Threlkeld was not naive about Aboriginal languages before he went to Newcastle and met John M’Gill. He had probably already heard the word he wrote as ‘biraban’ spoken around Sydney for a large bird and (continued...)
thesis, and were being prepared for presentation elsewhere.\(^{21}\)

\(^{20}(...continued)\)

may have assumed this was the term spoken by M‘Gill (next footnote). Native-born John Rowley, reared with Aborigines on the south side of Sydney, told it as birabain / biriabain / birribain - shown in 1870s publications by Andrew Mackenzie and William Ridley (Chapter 6). As noted in Chapter 2, ‘King Boni’ the person represented an eagle hawk. (The term was a variation to ‘murrion’ / ‘marayong’ used for an emu. [Matthews later listed mullian as a Darklung term for an eaglehawk - 1903 p.280.]) \(\text{\small \textit{Lancelot Edward Threlkeld, 1834, ‘An Australian Grammar, Comprehending the Principles and Natural Rules of the Language, as Spoken by the Aborigines, in the Vicinity of Hunter’s River, Lake Macquarie &c. New South Wales’, Stephens and Stokes ‘Herald Office’, Sydney, p.93.}}\)
The relevance of Biraban's story to this thesis is that the coastal country of his People bordered that of the People belonging to the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges and that (rightly or wrongly) Language borders are commonly used to determine Country. His language, which was spoken by the people around Lake Macquarie and taught to Threlkeld with some influence from Biraban's time at Port Macquarie, was his parents' Broken Bay language dubbed by Capell as Guringai. Most recently, this has been corroborated by Jim Wafer with Amanda Lissarrague, who include Threlkeld's Karree (Capell's 'Guringai') as their ‘Karikal’ with Threlkeld's ‘Hunter River- Lake Macquarie Language’.

County Northumberland Aborigines

Readers should be cognisant that Newcastle had attracted Aborigines from a range of local groups who exploited the cargo brought by the white occupiers - as was normal for centres of settlement in colonised territories around the world. Aborigines from the ranges would come across and visit settlers such as on the mission at Lake Macquarie. Threlkeld studied and wrote specifically about the language of Aborigines from Newcastle and Tuggerah Lakes who visited his mission station, but never provided a native name to identify the language or the people speaking it - which was normal until more missionaries arrived in the colony and, like Ridley, began to consider languages of Aborigines from over the Great Dividing Range (Chapter 12/NW) who still practised their culture in the interior.

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21/(...continued)


22 In Biraban’s sentences recorded by Threlkeld there are several references to Port Macquarie in Biripi country (and Biraban may have used common or borrowed word terms which were recorded by Threlkeld). I am indebted to my colleague Jeremy Steele for first pointing out how Fraser had mistranscribed Threlkeld's work to change Port Macquarie to Lake Macquarie.

23 Whereas the term ‘kuri’ (‘guri’) was the common noun for ‘man’, the term ‘Karree’ (‘Gari’ and many more spellings) was the location on the southern Arms of Broken Bay [present day Pittwater and Cowan Water], hence Gari’gal is recognisable as a locality Clan name. \ Jim Wafer & Amanda Lissarrague, 2008, Chapter 6: ‘Hunter-Hastings Languages’ pp.158-93 in ‘A Handbook of Aboriginal Languages of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory’, Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative, Nambucca Heads.

24 Visits from the ranges to Tuggerah Lakes of the Darkinung Aborigine Boni are discussed in Chapter 2, and to Lake Macquarie of Wallatu, the composer, are mentioned below.

25 The Aboriginal boy John M’Gill had been taken in to the Sydney settlement and Christianised when too young to have acquired his own culture, so that he may not have been able to provide some of the material (continued...
For present day knowledge, studies are dependent on recovering what is available from records of prophesising missionaries and of vain scholars educated in Great Britain, or of practical persons working away from towns in Aboriginal country. The present day descendants, whose culture disappeared in the first settled areas which are the topic of this thesis, are dependent on such studies.

In 1831 Threlkeld moved from the Aboriginal Reserve at the eastern ocean side of Lake Macquarie, ‘Bahtahbah’ mission (near present day Belmont not present day Buttaba), to a commercial property of his own at the western inland side (near present day Toronto), which he named ‘Ebenezer’ mission, i.e. taking the mission to Aborigines with him.\(^{26}\) While David Roberts has outlined an ‘inherently political’ nature to Threlkeld's behaviour, I consider that there was a commercial nature stemming from his younger days as a tradesman, theatre performer and businessman.\(^{27}\) Threlkeld was not so philosophical as to empathise with the Aborigines’ cultural needs and his mission foundered.\(^{28}\) Although he abandoned Lake Macquarie to live in Sydney in 1841, deserting the isolated Biraban who died soon after, Threlkeld continued to mine coal at Toronto until receivers sold the property in 1844 when he retired to work for a mission to seamen, setting up the Mariners’ Church (and writing his memoirs).\(^{29}\)

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\(^{25}\)(...continued)

sought as Threlkeld's informant ‘Biraban’. For example, ‘Biraban's Dream’ was Biblical rather than Aboriginal. That would not have mattered to Threlkeld who dealt with Aborigines in a white man's world, such as involvement in legal court cases. It was not until later in the nineteenth century that settlers sought to acquire Aboriginal terms to encompass languages, and commonly a location term would be given as for Gari (Karree) in text above. To separate his study from other languages, Threlkeld used district qualifications in English such as language of County Northumberland and language of Hunter River-Lake Macquarie.

\(^{26}\) Giving the mission at his coal resource the name ‘Ebenezer’ was not merely deference to influential settlers at the Ebenezer on the Hawkesbury River. It was popular for missions to heathen people to be named for Samuel's monument, ‘Ebenezer’, celebrating a victory against Philistines by Israelites. (I have found examples of jumbled history due to such repetitive naming using popular terms.) \(\text{\textbackslash}\) Maxwell Miller and John Hayes, 2006 (2\(^{nd}\) edn), ‘A History of Ancient Israel and Judah’, SCM Press, London, p.120, p.135.


\(^{28}\) When Threlkeld met the vivacious wife of Van Dieman's Land Governor (Sir John Franklin), travelling from Sydney by boat on 27 May 1839, he confided to her that although at first he had 160 blacks, he now had only one living with him [Biraban?], although 30 came [for the handouts?]. Lady Jane was far more adventurous than Threlkeld, whom at 50yo she saw as a ‘dingy’, ‘plain’ old man. Yet he (b.1788) was scarcely older than she (b.1791). \(\text{\textbackslash}\) Penny Russell, 2002, transcription in ‘Excursion to the Hunter River and Port Stephens’, Chapter 9, pp.126-53, in ‘This Errant Lady - Jane Franklin's Overland Journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839’, National Library of Australia, Canberra, p.129.

Although no record has been discovered by which Threlkeld had recorded a native term (other than location Karree as above) to identify the Aborigines or their language, he did designate County Northumberland as a term in English: e.g. Prayers written by The Venerable W.G. Broughton ‘- - - intended for the introduction of publick worship amongst the Aborigines of Australia’ were ‘Translated Into the Northumberland Dialect by L.E. Threlkeld 1834’.\textsuperscript{30} Aboriginal language names for these people studied by Threlkeld were later noted by a practical man, Robert Mathews as below.

The Tyrannous Teacher

The recorded names from ‘Aboriginal’ terms which are in common use today were contrived by an immigrant Scotsman thirty years after Threlkeld’s death in 1859: Edinburgh University educated John Fraser born 1834, who from 1861 was employed as a teacher at the Presbyterian college ‘Sauchie House’ in Maitland.\textsuperscript{31} His profession made him an accomplished reviewer. While at Maitland, Fraser wrote an essay on ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’ [pp.1-41], introducing them as Kushites from the black races of the Biblical Era and continuing with such comparisons through the article - normal for scholars of that period who were not familiar with Aborigines, becoming recognised internationally as an expert when it was published as a Memoire Couronné for the Institution Ethnographique. Although it was not read before the society Fraser was given a large £25 Prize by the Royal Society of New South Wales, the first awarded. When Mr Fraser then joined the society the essay was placed in the 1882 volume of the Royal Society's journal printed by the New South Wales Government Printer in 1883 [pp.193-233, but with uncorrected cross references to pp.1-41 of earlier print run].\textsuperscript{32} Having retired to Randwick, now styling himself as Dr Fraser, he produced an expanded version published by the government printer as a comprehensive book ‘Written at the request of the New South Wales Commission for the World's Columbian Exposition

\textsuperscript{30} Threlkeld was demonstrating that there was no term for the Aboriginal Language group's territory. However, the colonial local government areas were not related to Aboriginal People's Country - other than Bowen's County of Cook covering Darkiñung Country (Chapter 2). Despite this, Threlkeld was nominating country to the coast from the Hawkesbury where he referred to ‘my black teacher’ as given earlier this chapter. \Ms in the Mitchell Library catalogued as Broughton W.G. and Threlkeld, L.E., 1834, ‘A Selection of Prayers for the Aborigines of Australia’, call. ML A1446, microfilm reel CY 2214, frames 76-91.


\textsuperscript{32} Theories of migrations out of Africa have received the scientific imprimatur of modern geographists (Preamble). Fraser's essay is not mentioned in the Proceedings of the New South Wales society. In sequencing Fraser’s various submissions before printing, time must be allowed for sailing ship mail to arrive when sent to Europe from New South Wales. (Later, when long standing society member Robert Mathews was awarded the same prize in 1894, he was perversely criticised because a part of his material had been shared with the breakaway colony of Victoria, footnoted in Chapter 6.) \& John Fraser, 1882a, ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’ (41pp.), Memoire Couronné for the Institution Ethnographique, Association Internationale des Hommes de Science; John Fraser, 1882b, ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’ (41pp.), Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 16: 193-233. [Same title as 1892a]
at Chicago’. New South Wales represented all the Australian colonies at this exposition, and a number of exhibits about Aborigines have had an impact on the topics of this thesis.

Fraser did not claim a personal relationship with Aborigines, acknowledging that original information came from [white] ‘friends’. Material referred to in this thesis about what Fraser called the ‘Gringai tribe’ was attributed to James W. Boydell born 1843, who was second son of Charles Boydell of ‘Camyr Allyn’ Gresford, north of Maitland on the Allyn River, a tributary of the Paterson River. Fraser’s material about the ‘Kamilaroi tribe’ was attributed to Charles Naseby born 1812, who had retired to Maitland. Naseby had arrived 1831 as a convict and settled on the upper reaches of the Castlereagh River where the town of Binnaway was to develop. Like the Macquarie (putative Wiradjuri-language country), the Castlereagh arises further west on the south side of the Warrumbungle Range, joining the Macquarie just before entering the Darling River together, downstream of the Namoi (putative Kamilaroi-language country), which is the catchment on the north side of the Warrumbungle Range.

I have read Fraser's works with great voraciousness without finding much veraciousness, instead finding

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33 John Fraser, 1892a, ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’ (102pp. plus illustrations), Government Printer, Sydney. [Same title as 1882b]

34 My study of the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago 1892 is not part of this thesis. I have some further personal detail from Anne O’Sullivan, a granddaughter of Joseph Frederick McGuinness, a member of the government staff there, subsequently Secretary to Sir William Lyon, Premier of NSW and later Minister of Home Affairs in the new Australian federal government.

35 Other than from the two named local residents as follows, Fraser's article was a review of written works such as by William Ridley and Alfred Howitt. He did include: ‘statements made to me personally by the blacks with whom I have conversed’, letting the readers know that he had seen Aborigines, perhaps in the streets of Maitland town. Yet, in 1892 he was to publish, as cited below, that ‘The indigenes - - are gone long ago’. \(\text{\textcopyright} \) John Fraser, 1882b, ‘The Aborigines of New South Wales’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 16: 193-233, p.199.

36 The Boydell family had a close relationship with the local Aborigines, with records lodged at the Mitchell Library, including a journal which I have consulted. \(\text{\textcopyright} \) James Boydell birth registration NSW BDM Index, Vol.2025 27A/1843; Charles Boydell, ‘Journal, 1830-1835’, Mitchell Library ms A 2014, microfilm CY 1496.

37 Naseby's testimony about Kamilaroi people is suspicious, hence trust in Fraser must be qualified, as well as the reliance upon Naseby by Alfred Howitt (Chapter 12/NW). It is very peculiar that Naseby's home was on the Castlereagh where the first identification of the Aboriginal people was by William Ridley: ‘On the Castlereagh they speak Wirathere [Wiradjuri]’ in comparison ‘Kamilaroi is spoken all over the Liverpool Plains along the Peel and Namoi - -’. Ridley confirmed ‘Wiradhiuri’ on the Castlereagh in the 2nd edition of his book. Consideration of these western flowing river catchments is not part of this thesis, other than particular consideration of their watershed country bordering the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the northwest, Chapter 12/NW. \(\text{\textcopyright} \) William Ridley, 1853 publ. 1856, ‘Kamilaroi Tribe of the Australians and Their Dialect, in a Letter to Dr Hodgkin [Nov.3, 1853]’, Journal of the Ethnological Society of London, 4: 285-93, p.293; William Ridley, 1875 (2nd edn), ‘Kamilaroi and Other Australian Languages - with Comparative Tables of Words from Twenty Australian Languages [etc]’, New South Wales Government Printer, Sydney, p.119.
Fraser was prone to assertions not necessarily apparent from the original authors of articles which he presented to the scholarly-educated classes. Over two years 1891-92 during his retirement Fraser read, to the Royal Society in Sydney with his own commentary, some Folk Songs and Myths from Samoa translated by Rev. G. Pratt in 1867. For Pratt’s Story of Creation, Fraser’s impressive Introduction was less worldly but much more wordy, followed by a commentary twice as long incorporating Fraser’s opinions on Aboriginal culture. At the same time, he could not resist adding his own opinions to Threlkeld’s information too.

Already in 1890 Fraser, when living in Sydney, had presented a review of publications about Aboriginal languages with ‘Some remarks on the Australian Languages’ in which he remarked that ‘The earliest of individual efforts to deal with any single language of the Australian group was made by the Rev. L.E. Threlkeld’, and related how he (Fraser) had discovered manuscripts by Threlkeld and that:

- - - fruits of Mr Threlkeld’s labours - - - , will shortly be published by the Government Printing Office, Sydney. The volume will be the most important that has yet appeared on an Australian language. But it deals with only one dialect, and, for the purposes of comparative grammar, more languages than one are required.”

Threlkeld’s pioneering work did not escape Fraser’s personal convictions when he re-presented it in his 1892 new book, which included some material from Fraser’s 1882 article cited above. Gunson considered that he edited Threlkeld’s writings to conform with his (Fraser’s) linguistic theories. The book was printed by the New South Wales government in vast numbers and taken to the World’s Columbian Exposition Chicago 1892 where it was distributed to the delegates from all around the world. As he did

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38 A reaction to John Fraser - whom I perceive reviewing written work locked away from reality in the ivory tower of his classical knowledge being taught to rich squatters’ sons - is mentioned later in this chapter as given by a contemporary, J.F. Mann, with reference to the Royal Society £25 Prize.

39 John Fraser, 1891,92 [Pratt, 1867], ‘Some Folk-songs and Myths from Samoa. Translated by the Rev. G. Pratt, with introductions and notes by John Fraser LL.D.’ Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, vols 25,26 (reading of the first part July 1891, last part November 1892).

40 Scotsman Fraser appears never to have had touch with practical reality regarding Aborigines after he arrived in Australia, even while working in Maitland, and certainly not from living at Randwick. He may have been relying on impressions from, and impressing, English-born Alfred Howitt in Victoria. Although its examination pertains to the weight one should place on Fraser’s written legacy, I have left the discussion of this commentary to Chapter 12/NW. \ Fraser 1891 [Pratt, 1867], ‘Myths from Samoa’, journal vol.25, Part XXX being pp.261-86.

41 In fact, Fraser included in the 1892b volume articles from other authors giving five other different languages in addition to the collected works which Threlkeld had written for publication. \ John Fraser, 1890, ‘Some Remarks on the Australian Languages’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 24: 231-53.

for Pratt's translations as above, Fraser included his own commentary, as well as editing Threlkeld's material, which I have compared with the original works published by Threlkeld. Ever since the expo, Fraser's hypotheses have affected concepts for Aboriginal languages and their boundaries on the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

What modern readers and writers have overlooked, is that Fraser had not intended his book to be used for reconstruction the way it has been. Fraser was one of those amongst a society who imagine that nobody would ever scrutinise their work, so that they become inviolate, as a sort of deity within their own lifetime. He defined along the coast with Threlkeld's 'sphere of labour' to be within the Sydney District, perhaps justifiably since his works were intended to be related to whole world geography. With no more school children to instruct at Maitland, Fraser called himself Doctor and began to instruct the world instead. At exactly the same time as Robert Mathews was talking with the Aborigines living at their camps (Chapter 6), Fraser in 1892 was telling the world about a race he decided was virtually extinct:

The indigenes of the Sydney district are gone long ago, and some of the inland [interior] tribes are represented now by only a few families of wanderers. They have decayed and are decaying in spite of the fostering care of our Colonial Governments.

We have now come to know that this dialect (which I have called the Awabakal) was essentially the same as that spoken by the sub-tribes occupying the land where Sydney now stands, and that they all formed parts of one great tribe, the Küriggi 43.

‘Awaba’ was Old Jackey’s Place

Most importantly, in his 1892b Introduction of sixty four pages, within a biography of Threlkeld, Fraser wrote (inter alia): ‘- - - of Mr. Threlkeld’s labours in the dialect which I have called the “Awabakal” ’ [p.xv], [my emphasis]. Sure enough, in the list of ‘Geographical Names’ p.50 appears: ‘Awaba, Lake Macquarie; the word means “a plain surface” ’. It is a blatant addition deceptively attributed to Threlkeld but inserted into Fraser's edition without providing an explanation. In Threlkeld's 1834 original edition this is a list of ‘Names of Common Places’ p.82, where there is nil entry of the term, yet for Lake

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43 My comments are unnecessary - any comment is superfluous in the present day with an increasing awareness of an Aboriginal presence. [However, present day understanding is different to what it was in Fraser's society.] Fraser otherwise used the spelling 'Kuringgi'. To be fair to Fraser, he had been influenced by the Preface of Threlkeld's 1857 work written in Sydney: (inter alia) ‘on December 31, 1841, the (Lake Macquarie) mission ceased - - solely from the sad fact that the aborigines themselves had then become almost extinct - - - - -'. The extinction of the aborigines is still progressing throughout these colonies. The last man of the tribe which formerly occupied the site of Sydney may be seen sitting (beside) - - - the South Head Road - - - - - - Fraser 1892b ‘An Australian Language as Spoken by the Awabakal’ Fraser's Preface p.v; L.E. Threlkeld, 1857 [revised from 1831], ‘The Gospel by St. Luke Translated into the Language of the Aborigines Located in the Vicinity of Hunter's River, Lake Macquarie, [etc]’, ms published by Fraser 1892b as ‘The Gospel by St. Luke’ pp.121-94 in ‘An Australian Language as Spoken by the Awabakal’, Threlkeld's Preface pp.125-27.
Macquarie Threlkeld recorded a different term with a different meaning, *Nik-kin-ba*, ‘the place [-ba] of coals [*nik-kin*]: The whole lake, twenty-one miles long by eight’. Fraser’s book has been commonly thought to have been as written by Threlkeld, subsequently the term *Awabakal* has acquired currency of Threlkeld’s original records. The outcome of this misrepresentation is that *Awabakal* is thought to be an Aboriginal Language, to be an Aboriginal People, as well as to be Aboriginal Country now in dispute, with present day claims that the *Darkiñung* people from Wollombi of this thesis were *Awabakal*.

Consequently I have addressed the question as to the origin of the term as follows.

Despite his use in 1892b with unattributed source, Fraser had not made up the term Awaba, presumptively and presumptuously of Aboriginal origin, because the word was known to W.T. Proctor who used it in 1841 on a sketch drawn for Threlkeld himself to do with his ‘Ebenezer’ colliery, where Proctor printed: ‘Awaba or Lake Macquarie’. More specifically, before Fraser published it in 1892, the term ‘Awaba’ was in use by the colonial authorities: it was applied from 1887 to a school located at ‘Inglewood’ and for a railway platform where the present day Awaba village developed.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to investigate its interpretation, but I propose that if *Awaba* was a location, it was at Lake Macquarie in the area surrounding present day *Awaba* Bay (a cove between Boughton Point and Marmong Point) where Clouten mentioned it in early historical contexts. In further support of this proposal, Fraser’s own description as a plain surface would not apply to the 1887 hilly location, but could apply to the sheltered northwestern corner of Lake Macquarie at the estuary of Cockle

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44 W.T. Proctor, 1841, W. Baker Lith’ King Street east (Sydney). ‘Plan accompanying the Rev’d M’ Threlkeld’s app’ of Aug 1841 to the Governor to be allowed to purchase 10ac of land without competition to form a depot in the exportation of Coals - - -’. My copy from NSW State Archives, Sketch Book (SB) 4, Folio (FOI) 84, microfilm reel 2779. Partially reproduced in Gunson 1974 ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld’ p.151.

45 Department of Education School history: The school at Inglewood was named Awaba from August 1888 to March 1891 when it was renamed Grenton, and spent a period sharing with the school at Mandalong. The name Awaba was reapplied to a school at a new site from June 1891. Fraser had been a teacher at an elite school in a big town - he would have been unlikely to have followed the progress of these tiny public schools in out of the way rural locations with small farmers and woodsmen, so *Awaba* must have been a term of public awareness. \Anon., 1998 5th edn, ‘Government Schools of New South Wales 1848-1998: 150 Years’, Open Training and Education Network (OTEN), New South Wales Department of Education and Training, Sydney, 1st edn published 1977; Doug Saxon, 1988, ‘Pit Props and Sleepers - The story of Awaba’, Awaba Public School Parents and Citizens Association, p.26; Doug Saxon, 1991, ‘Bark Hut or Horse to Toronto - Awaba School 1891-1991’, The Awaba School Centenary Committee, p.3.

Creek. Initially, it may have been a sheltered smooth-water inlet, hence ‘plain [flat] surface’, such as present day Fennell Bay. This is at L.T. Creek, a local name of which I do not know the significance.


There were sixty people counted in this group. Threlkeld noted that: ‘The Tuggerer Beech Tribe - - are occasional visitors, as well as the tribe on the opposite shore [of Lake Macquarie].’ Threlkeld, 21 May 1828, Letter to Alexander McLeay [Colonial Secretary] enclosing Return of the Black Natives.

Gunson in 1974 attributed to Professor Stephen Wurm, also at the Australian National University, that: recent linguistic research suggests that the Awabakal had most in common with the Wanarua or the Hunter River tribe. This was the period when Capell was there too, working with Wurm at ANU as mentioned above. Capell had accessed copies of some of the notebooks of Robert Mathews. Such notebooks, which are the key to the study for this thesis, since being located at the National Library Canberra, are the key to many people's other recent and ongoing research projects too. R.H. Mathews and the notebooks are discussed especially in Chapter 6. Mathews had not been recognised in Australia in his own time, not until Elkin acquired his manuscript papers for Sydney University and recovered some of his.

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50 There were sixty people counted in this group. Threlkeld noted that: ‘The Tuggerer Beech Tribe - - are occasional visitors, as well as the tribe on the opposite shore [of Lake Macquarie].’ Threlkeld, 21 May 1828, Letter to Alexander McLeay [Colonial Secretary] enclosing Return of the Black Natives.

knowledge. In particular, even though Mathews was at Singleton while Fraser was at Maitland, Fraser had joined with other British-born British-educated men studying Aborigines like laboratory subjects such as two residents of Victoria who had come out as a zoologist, Walter (Baldwin) Spencer, and as a gold digger, Alfred Howitt. Such learned men did not recognise Australian native-born Mathews who actually mingled with Aboriginal people.\(^{52}\)

In the situation for this chapter, Mathews had known the missing name for the people to the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges whose language Threlkeld had studied, who Fraser dubbed ‘Awabakal’ and ‘Guringai’. Mathews had found they were not just ‘most in common with the Wanarua’, but that they \textit{were} the Wannerawa [aka ‘Wonnorua’]. A link between the real Awa -ba and the broad group Wanner-awa would be appropriate with Awaba as the place of a local ‘clan’. However, it was not until 1898 - well after Fraser's misleading book had been distributed to the world, that Mathews named those Aboriginal people in a publication, when for a paper published in America he used both the terms \textit{Wannerawa} and \textit{Wannungine} within a larger grouping mapped with ‘approximate position’ on the coastal side of the Great Dividing Range. He wrote that: ‘It is outside the purpose of this paper to define the areas occupied by the people speaking the different dialects - - - ’.\(^{53}\)

Mathews was a practical man, retaining exercise books of notes to record what he found out in the field before drafting his publications. It was in Mathews's notebooks that the country of the coastal \textit{Wannungine} or \textit{Wannerawa} was described, and hence their border with the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges people of this chapter. Although the field notes are undated, from his diaries which I have examined it appears that his contacts in relation to the topics of this thesis were while he was at Singleton and soon after he moved residence from there to Parramatta in 1889. Entries for this location to the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges are in four notebooks.\(^{54}\) The entries show attempts to write oral

\(^{52}\) The impacts of this situation are detailed and discussed in Chapter 6 about R.H. Mathews. It is apparent that John Fraser had connived in their conspiracy to suppress Mathews's first hand findings, and to screen Mathews's knowledge from the public gaze.

\(^{53}\) By this time Mathews had become sensitive to the efforts by Spencer and his Stirling cronies in the British Empire to suffocate him (as discussed in Chapter 6). \(\&\) R.H. Mathews, 1898, ‘Initiation Ceremonies of the Native Tribes of Australia’ (short title ‘Initiation Ceremonies of Australian Tribes’), Proceedings of The American Philosophical Society vol.37, no.157, 54-73 +Pl.V.

\(^{54}\) The new ‘titles’ of Mathews's notebooks do not necessarily reflect contents, being added for library cataloguing. My transcriptions of note extracts are:


(2) in the note book, new library catalogue “Darkinoong and Wiradjuri”; p.8 ‘Warrimee Language- Morpeth to (continued...)

\footnote{An example of a close cultural relationship of the Kattung (including Gringai) on the northeast with the Darkiñung and Wannungine south of the Hunter River is shown by ceremonial and ritual activity at Maitland mentioned in Chapter 12/NW in relationship to the Geawegal and the Darkiñung. Historical records are littered with examples of Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges bordering the Kattung-speaking people across the lower Hunter River have been removed from this chapter. (In that study I had welcome assistance from staff of The Hunter Valley Research Foundation and Chas Keys.) Kattung language people include the Worimi of whom Threlkeld wrote as the ‘natives of Port Stephen’ cited at the beginning of this chapter, and the Biripi from whom Biraban seems to have taken his initiation name at Port Macquarie, as above. However, Amanda Lissarrague is onto this task, as reported 2006: ‘beginning research on Kattang/Gadhang in December 2004’. \‘Galiinga’, 2006, newsletter of Muurrbay Language & Culture Co-op, Nambucca Heads, issue No.1, July 2006, p.8.}

Applying Gringai from the Kattung for Terminology of a Disappeared Race

By the time Mathews was interviewing survivors, many of these people had come in to Newcastle, hence the entries for Newcastle together with Lake Macquarie (transcribed in footnote). Threlkeld had originally distinguished the Port Stephens people from the Newcastle / Lake Macquarie people. The Gooringai of Mathews speaking the Kattung language were Boydell’s Gringai group at ‘Camyr Allyn’ (as...continued)
above for Fraser's contact). The *Gringai* language was noted [by a member of Boydell Family household] as ‘Vocabulary of the Allyn River Blacks’ which Wafer & Lissarrague analysed, to come to the inevitable conclusion that it was the language of the *Gringai* (their ‘*Guringay*’).57 The affiliation of the ‘*Gringai*’ has been clouded by Gordon Bennett, who was influenced by Fraser's and Howitt's books when writing his own treatise of the Aboriginal tribes north of the lower Hunter River. However, when purporting to reproduce the reminiscences of William Scott, who lived at Port Stephens 1844-1873, Bennett gave the people there as ‘*Gringai* tribe’ too.58

Since Boydell's son was identified by Fraser to be his source (as above), I submit that the term *Gringai* given by Boydell was the inspiration for Fraser to contrive the name ‘Kuringgai’, 1892, (Capell's ‘*Guringai*’, 1970) which Fraser applied for Aborigines who used the noun *kuri* [guri] to mean man or mankind. The academic classification of their languages by modern linguists is the Kuri Sub-group of the Yuin-Kuri language Group which applies for the coastal drainage from the Great Dividing Range along the mid southeast coast of Australia.59 The origin as ‘*Gooringgai*’ is shown from the Aborigines at Paterson (i.e. of Boydell's group), in Mathews's notebooks transcribed in the footnote above. Given the dates they cite, Wafer & Lissarrague provide a punitively cynical view for an etymology: ‘According to James Kohen (1993), Fraser [i.e. by 1892] invented the name “Kuringgai” using Mathews' Dharug grammar (1901) to add the Dharug possessive case form -nggai to the [Awabakal] word *kuri* or “man”’. [According to Kohen] Fraser evidently intended the name to mean “belonging to the aboriginal men”. But as an alternative to Kohen's impossible claim [cf 1901 v. 1892], Wafer & Lissarrague also give their own interpretation: ‘presumably this is supposed to mean [by Fraser] “the language of the people who say *kuri* to mean man”’. However, Kohen, unlike Mathews, had not recognised the distinction in the Aboriginal language between nouns and pronouns. *Kuri* is a common noun, and according to Fraser - in the same


58 Port Stephens people usually appear in the literature as Worimi. This thesis is not addressing any differentiation within Kattung-speaking people who may have been known as Gringai / Gooringai, Worimi or other, to the northeast of the Darkiñung. For the purposes of this chapter, they are placed on the north side across the floodplain and estuary (delta in some geographies) of the lower Hunter River. \ Gordon Bennett, 1929, ‘The Port Stephens Blacks: Recollections of William Scott’, “The Chronicle Office”, Dungog.

59 This topic is discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to the place of Dharug.
1892 publication - its genitive/possessive case is ‘kuri-ko-ba’. Kohen 1993b (as above) has confused nouns and pronouns when making his assumption, actually misrepresenting Mathews whose words are detailed by himself in Kohen 1993a.

The term is Wannungine which Mathews gives as the Language or Tribal term for Threlkeld's group, occupying along the coast southward from Hunter River estuary to what Mathews noted as ‘Lane Cove’, but not occupying to the north shore of Port Jackson as discussed above. For a consummate surveyor as he was, Mathews used the term ‘Lane Cove’ to delineate the southern perimeter of the Broken Bay catchment, where merchants used a road to Lane Cove to take goods from Broken Bay at Pitt Water across country to the Lane Cove River from which cargo could enter Port Jackson upstream without attracting fees that had been placed on vessels arriving from the ocean. Part of this Lane Cove Road is in use still, or largely replaced by Mona Vale Road, along the watershed ridge of the Arms of Broken Bay. For a surveyor, the Lane Cove Trigonometrical Station was near the top of the Broken Bay catchment above Cowan Water (present day suburb Gordon). This affected the 1970 misplacement of Capell’s ‘Guringai’ discussed above. Capell had made use of copies of Mathews's notebooks and likely would have seen the entry that the Wannungine language, which he wanted to name ‘Guringai’, went to Lane Cove (as footnoted above). He was no geographer or surveyor, and his reading of Mathews's notes probably caused the error in his 1970 ‘initial report’ whereby Capell used Lane Cove River waterway to represent a geographically unrealistic boundary instead of the watershed ridge. This misunderstanding of Mathews's knowledge has caused echoing repercussions with misrepresentations by modern scholars who

60 Fraser did not have records of Dharug language grammar, and had published that they were ‘gone long ago’ as cited above. I submit that he took the term ‘-nggai’ (re-expressed in his preface given above as ‘-ngai’) from the Kattung language of the Gringai / Gooringgai. \ Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ p.160, p.173; Fraser 1892b ‘An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal’, Threlkeld’s Grammar with declensions p.16.

61 The records on which Kohen relies do not support him. Taking the possessive case from Kohen's own publications of Mathews's Dharug grammar on which he relies, if the common noun kuri was the subject [the possessor], the term would be ‘kuri-gu’, and if the object (as in men belonging) would be ‘kuri-bi’. [Fraser seems to have published a united double suffix ‘-ko-ba’ equivalent to Kohen meaning ‘koori-gu-bi’ where ko=gu, ba=bi.] Kohen published ‘-nunggai’ for pronouns as the subject suffix from which he makes his claim about Fraser's term ‘-nggai’ for common nouns. \ Although Kohen has published this grammar multiple times, 1993a is the most accessible, although the 1990 2nd edn booklet /pamphlet is still in print at the historical society (2010): Jim Kohen, 1993a [3rd edn], ‘A Dictionary of the Dharug Language - The Inland Dialect’, Chapter 9 pp.147-60 in Eugene Stockton (ed.), 1993, ‘Blue Mountains Dreaming - The Aboriginal Heritage’, Three Sisters Productions, Winnemere, p.149; James Leslie (‘Jim’) Kohen, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney), p.14.

62 As part of a Local History study, in 1995 I reviewed on the ground every historic Trigonometrical Station in the Ku-ring-gai local government council area, using details supplied by the Office of the Surveyor General of NSW Lands Department to which I reported. Further, before Mathews wrote about it, the Lane Cove Post Office had been opened in 1860 at what became present day Gordon town centre.
ignore history, thinking the nineteenth century is the twentyfirst century. The surveyor Mathews meant the watershed - Capell mistakenly chose the waterway for his interim article, expecting to be more definitive for ‘the monograph that is intended to follow’ that would amend ‘this initial report’ which he put out in 1970 to claim precedence for his ‘Fresh Discoveries’.

The People of Our Place (Our Land)

Of particular importance is that Mathews had identified the term Wannerawa, although he applied it to the southern part of the identified Wannungine area, viz. to Capell's ‘Guringai’ location (i.e. around Broken Bay). Knowing that Threlkeld sixty years earlier had found the same language along the coast from Broken Bay to Hunter River as discussed earlier in this chapter, it is safe to recognise that the terms Wannerawa and Wannungine applied to the same people, with a similar word stem wannar or wannuñ. However, Wafer & Lissarrague attempted to separate the terms, despite many other language names having no known translation. Their writing about relationships between the neighbouring Aboriginal groups being studied in this thesis is quite confused, whereby in discussing the Wollombi people from the ranges with the coastal people as at Brisbane Water they accused Mathews of conflating, fusing the two groups. That is not possible because he distinguished them with separate names. However, taking advantage of Wafer's & Lissarrangue's deliberations, somewhat corrected with further examination of the original manuscript data as in following footnote, the best fit is to recognise the term Wannungine for the people of the place, who occupied along the coast from the estuary of the Hunter River to the estuary of the Hawkesbury River, viz. Broken Bay and its Arms. Perhaps the Aborigines had been trying to tell

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63 For example, Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ p.163 in their attempted insult of Mathews about what they mistakenly thought was his lack of geographical and topographical understanding.


65 I see ‘Wanna-gine’ could have been the answer given for who are the people at this place (i.e. here: Lake Macquarie / Hunter River) while ‘Wanna-awa’ as the answer to mean those a further walk away (i.e. there: Tuggerah Lake / Broken Bay).

66 Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ p.163.

67 My interpretation is given in text. This footnote analyses the authors' interpretation. They gave the term as wannang [wannuñ] to be the query ‘which place?’, as for the word wonnung, wonnen (Threlkeld, copied by Hale), wanna (Mann)*, Wannung-garri-bee (Larmer) collected by Lissarrague. From Lissarrague's study they found no other meaning for wannar [wannar] but attributed the suffix -uwa [-awa] to mean a grammatical perlative. That is from the obsolete word ‘peruse’ which meant ‘to travel through and to survey [to know] thoroughly’. The term was given by her as a prefix uwa- to be ‘move’ or ‘walk’, as for the word uwtoliko (Threlkeld), walla (Mann) collected by Lissarrague. In this context, Threlkeld's words are those at Lake Macquarie (called ‘Awa-ba-kal’ by Fraser), Larmer's and Mann's are those of Broken Bay and Brisbane Water (Threlkeld's Karree called ‘Guringai’ by Capell). (continued...)
Mathews that they were ‘people of the place (our land)’. Although his sources are often obscure, Haslam reported that it meant ‘people of the hills and plains’, a journalist’s way of writing the same thing.\footnote{68} I do not disregard that there may have been all these Aborigines said to identify themselves as the People of a Language group from particular Country, in comparison to saying that they were from a localised place as recorded by First Fleet diarists for the men from the south shore locality of Port Jackson: cadi’gal. The story of a Broken Bay man, Bungaree, that when at Port Jackson he flung his arm to the north to identify his country and people, it was not with a proper noun such as ‘We are Wannungine’, but with an exclamation interpreted as ‘my people, my land’.\footnote{69} The concept is discussed further in Chapter 10/SE, about Europeans’ compulsion to apply a name for a language:- people called English speak a language called English and come from a land called England.

\footnote{(…continued)}

To mean ‘where’, or ‘place’, the term won was used at Lake Macquarie, while at Brisbane Water for ‘where are you going?’ Aborigines used the expression wanderinga-bee [noted by Larmer] wanderin-bee [from handwriting noted by Mann, but in typescript mistranscribed as wundenu-be], where it is the spoken sound -bee, -be or -by missed by Lissarrague which represents the query. In his final discussion of this language, Capell re-analysed the -ga- [as here for Larmer], or -gay-, to be the marker representing the place of origin for an action, a location in time. [This thesis is not the place to examine what Capell meant by using ‘Guringgay’ as his final view for Threlkeld’s ‘Karree’ language.] *Lissarrague had not recognised that what was noted by Mann as ‘where is money’ was a universal expression, ‘wanna money’, used by an Aborigine in English. - Larmer had noted that the same people called money burril. 


\cite{Haslam1989} ‘These Are my People, This is my Land’, cited for Bungaree at Port Jackson when speaking to Captain Theddeus Bellinghausen, was used as the title for an education resource book for the region to the north of Sydney. [There was a separate publication for the Hunter region.] \cite{Anon1991}, ‘These Are My People, This is My Land’, Aboriginal People and Their Culture, North of Sydney Harbour’, Metropolitan North Region Curriculum Services, N.S.W. Department of School Education, Hornsby (Sydney); G. Debenham (ed.), 1945, ‘The Voyage of Captain Bellinghausen - to the Arctic Seas 1819-1821’, Vol.1, Hakluyt Society.
The Supreme Surveyor

Surveyor John Mann, born 1819, was a practical observer of Aborigines, who played a significant role in understanding them. In 1883 he produced a more realistic treatise on the Aborigines, for the emerging Geographical Society of Australasia (of which he was a Founder member), than that of John Fraser in 1882 mentioned above, to which Mann cynically referred as ‘The subject of their origin, as to whether they are descended from Shem, Ham, or Japhet, has been so ably discussed in the paper which obtained the premium of £25 - -.’ 70 Trained at Sandhurst Military College, Mann had superb access to that other military man Surveyor General Major Thomas Mitchell, marrying his daughter Camilla in 1857, and making sketches which became a record of his trip accompanying Leichhardt’s exploration. 71 Without John Mann the records by Robert Mathews reinforcing this thesis would not exist, because Mathews attributes to Mann his determination to become a surveyor. 72

Under a heading ‘Brisbane Water 95 Years Ago’, the Gosford Times weekly newspaper republished an article from ‘thirty years ago’ which was ‘written by John F. Mann’ [in 1842]. Mann described contact with his informant, ‘Long Dick an influential native’, who was of the Broken Bay ‘tribe’, son of Bungaree. I consider that Mann's observations are of premium value. The home territory (of the Broken Bay ‘tribe’) extended along the coast from the Hawkesbury River to Lake Macquarie where they met the Newcastle Moolabinda ‘tribe’. Mann's note that these ‘tribes’ were [quote] ‘at enmity’ is his reference to Long Dick’s description of sporting encounters between teams of the same language groups (Chapter 1), which contrasts with the war by ‘The Branch’ natives and ‘Wollombi tribe’ to repulse the Kamilaroi (Chapter 12/NW). Long Dick's information continues, the coastal people ‘westerly joined the Wollombi tribe who were their staunch friends and allies.’ Mann was invited by Long Dick to attend a grand corroboree on Wyong Creek at Tuggerah Lake in honour of the visiting Wollombi ‘tribe’. 73

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72 The adolescent Robert Mathews came under the influence of surveyor John Mann near the upper Lachlan River in the 1850s as given in Chapter 6. At the time, young Robert was further developing his practical skills for perception of Aboriginal culture beyond having first been a playmate in his infant life near the upper Nepean River.

73 As a son of Bungaree, Long Dick was a closely related contemporary of John M’Gill (‘Biraban’). As well as being the informant for Mann's record, Keith Smith makes a strong case that it was Dick (or (continued...))
The Coastal Dividing Watershed

As well as these lakes, the estuaries occupied by the coastal people were the waterways in which there was, at the time, a more marine ecology than a freshwater ecology - which would contribute to specific culture of particular Aboriginal people and their economy. For the Hawkesbury River, that would place Mathew's' Wannerawa / Wannungine (Capell's Guringai) in the catchments of the marine Arms of Broken Bay, i.e. Brisbane Water, Pitt Water and Cowan Water. By including the estuarine Berowra Water for people of the coast, that would make the Canoe lands Ridge a border watershed, with Laybury's Creek upstream being country of the people of the ranges. On the northern (left hand) side of the river, including the estuarine Mooney Mooney Creek for people of the coast means that the equivalent border watershed on the north side is Peats Ridge. Upstream were the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges people, Mathew's Darkiñung, not restricted by flood plains in this steep hills situation. Peats Ridge watershed continues north to link with the Watagan Range and thence to The Sugarloaf near Newcastle, with the eastern side of this range being the coastal catchment.

For his momentous study of Threlkeld and his writings, Niel Gunson at the Australian National University derived a map from Threlkeld's data showing the [Newcastle] Sugarloaf Tribe at the more northern part of the Central Coast and the Broken Bay Tribe at the more southern part. The sketch astutely separates the more northern coastal ‘Awabakal’ from the Darkiñung of the ranges along the watershed which divides streams flowing directly to the coast from those flowing inland to the Hunter River.\(^{74}\) To date (2010), this is the most pertinent and realistic map I have found.\(^{75}\)

For the Hunter River in those early colonial times there was a sinuous course through the lower floodplain with boats able to carry goods up to Wallis Plains (Maitland), although passengers would sometimes

\(^{73}\)(...continued)

\(Bungaree\) himself who was the informant for Threlkeld's ‘Karree’ mentioned above. This, of course, would have led to the 1838 testimony by Threlkeld at the start of this chapter wherein Threlkeld identified the language at Lake Macquarie being used between 'the North (Shore) of Port Jackson, on the south, and Hunter's River on the north’. \(\backslash J.F.\) Mann, [reprint of ‘an ancient document of 1842’, from 1906 files] 1936, ‘Brisbane Water 95 Years Ago: (I) Quaint Story of Olden Times; (II) Wollombi Tribe and Gosford Blacks’, The Gosford Times No.2765, 29 October 1936 p.9, No.2766, 5 November 1936 p.16; Keith Vincent Smith, 2004, ‘Eora Clans - a History of Indigenous Social Organisation in Coastal Sydney, 1770-1890’, Thesis, Macquarie University, p.20.

\(^{74}\) Further, a geometric separation for the more southern coastal ‘Guringai’ from the Darkiñung is shown as a semi-circle centred on Wyong without following the topography. \(\backslash Niel\) Gunson, 1974, ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld - Missionary to the Aborigines 1824-1859’, in 2 volumes, Australian Aboriginal Studies No.40, Ethnohistory series No.2, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, map on endpaper.

\(^{75}\) I have collected, so far, 36 maps published to recognise Tribal [Language] Country for the Aboriginal People being considered in this thesis. They don’t.
I found that a study of the paleo-hydrology greatly helped my understanding for the changes across the floodplain with terraces, and estuary, of the Hunter River. This in turn assisted my recognition of the different river found by the colonists when they arrived. The small size of this thesis does not permit these findings to be included.

Travelling Great Distances

Threlkeld's testimony of 1838, as cited at the beginning of this chapter, provides a guide concerning the northeastern border for the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Travelling from Lake Macquarie to Newcastle then up the Hunter River to Maitland, could be compatible with the: ‘extending inland about 60 miles’ quoted by Threlkeld for the coastal language being spoken. On 27 April 1836 when walking the distance with Beerabahn [Biraban], James Backhouse recorded twenty six miles through the bush as the distance between Threlkeld's mission station on his property ‘Ebenezer’ and Newcastle. (The modern winding road reduces that to eighteen miles.) In the context of that travel, a further thirty four miles could have taken Threlkeld as far as Maitland, in the period that travellers followed the river to Morpeth - then went overland to Wallis Plains to shorten the distance looped by the river which was then flowing in a channel further to the north. (In contrast, it is now twenty miles from Newcastle to Maitland straight through on a bitumen highway.) Some modern writers seem to have overlooked that people travelled by foot (whether walking or riding) or by rowing boat. In his 1838 testimony, Threlkeld mentioned he would visit Morpeth and converse with the blacks there - it would have been a day's journey each way. Rusden's conclusions cited in Chapter 12/NW are consistent, that Maitland became a centre where neighbouring Aboriginal groups converged.

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76 I found that a study of the paleo-hydrology greatly helped my understanding for the changes across the floodplain with terraces, and estuary, of the Hunter River. This in turn assisted my recognition of the different river found by the colonists when they arrived. The small size of this thesis does not permit these findings to be included.

77 In the context of maps consulted for this thesis, these include reprints of the earliest survey maps to the latest date digitised maps. The dominant [Newcastle] Sugarloaf is to be distinguished from a smaller Watagan Sugarloaf in the ranges (near Laguna) which is also mentioned in the historical records. The shape of a sugarloaf peak, as applied for Surveyor General Mitchell, is discussed in Chapter 11/SW.


79 The road maps which I have consulted show some variation in the distances they give between centres. I have converted present day kilometres to colonial day miles.
Threlkeld continued, ‘But at Patrick's Plains [present day Singleton area] the difference is so great that we
cannot communicate with each other.’ This is the border with the Kamilaroi-language people from the
upper Hunter Valley, as detailed in Chapter 12/NW of this thesis. Threlkeld used to travel to courthouses,
and the Patrick's Plains courthouse was at Ben Singleton's ford. In his 1838 testimony Threlkeld
mentioned attending court at Patrick's Plains, ‘and the distance I had to travel was 200 miles’ (viz. travel
one hundred miles each way to get to Singleton). 80 In the 1830s the district boundaries were set as the
Police Districts: ‘The district of Patricks Plains extends from Jerry's Plains to the west, to Black Creek
[present day Cessnock] on the east, and from Wollombi on the south to Captain Black's station on the
north’. 81

In spite of the geographical clarity of the history, Lissarrague (who wrongly accused Mathews of
conflating the Wannerawa with the Wollombi Aborigines as above), has herself confused, fused, the
Aborigines of Lake Macquarie with those of the upper Hunter Valley who were known to the first settlers
to be Kamilaroi [various spellings] discussed in Chapter 12/NW. In referring to Threlkeld's estimated
distances, she places Singleton ‘only fifty miles inland’ [intimating it was half way to Patrick's Plains],
and describes the two hundred miles return for his attendance at Patrick's Plains courthouse as taking him
to the upper Hunter Valley. 82 It gets worse. A particular issue is that for the foreign language people with
whom Threlkeld's coastal Aborigines ‘cannot communicate’, Lissarague suggested ‘Darkinyung or
Gamilaraay’ [Kamilaroi]. 83 Although she has the location wrong, the latter is correct. The former is an
odd suggestion because of the historically well-known intercourse between the Darkiñung-speaking
people of the ‘Wollombi tribe’ and those whose language Threlkeld was studying as given above. 84, 85

80 The route is not given, but people would call in at properties when travelling for such long periods.
Until the machine age of bulldozers and concrete constructions the normal way wound past rocky
outcrops and around boggy ground and should not be compared with present day direct travel.

81 Threlkeld was testifying about the 1830s. Robert Scott (Chapter 12/NW) provided evidence 4 June
1835 to the government enquiry on police services. Upstream, the upper Hunter Valley beyond Jerry's
Plains / Singleton was a separate District, as was Maitland downstream. The NSW Police Online Website
‘The Thin Blue Line’ History Information provides detail, noting that upstream of Jerry's Plains was the
district of Merton [present day Denman]. \ www.policiensw.com/info/historydocs, accessed 2009.


84 Although in 2006 Lissarrague published about Darkiñung as a foreign language, this was contrary to
what she published in 2008 with Wafer, although they did note: ‘There may be some systematic
phonological differences between Darrkinyung [language] and HRBB [Threlkeld's language(s)]’,
footnoting that: ‘We have set these out - -, in a paper forthcoming called “The Kuringgai Puzzle” ’. This
article ‘forthcoming’ has not been available at the time of completing this chapter, although Wafer earlier
advised me that it was in press. There were historical and geographical errors published in their language
handbook - in this context they incorrectly considered that James Tuckerman recorded Aboriginal
language on the coast at Broken Bay (their BB) when he was actually with the very same people at the
(continued...)
It is not for this thesis to review reasons why Lissarague, from the Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre (MRALC) at Nambucca Heads, placed Threlkeld’s language group, i.e. people who belong to the country northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges along the coast and estuaries, away inland up the upper Hunter Valley to the Great Dividing Range to the northwest of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. She stated that her research was ‘on behalf of the Wonnarua Nation Aboriginal Corporation’ in the online newsletter of the Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-op., of which MRALC is a part. The MRALC covers the Hawkesbury River to the New South Wales - Queensland border, and includes the Darkinjung, the subject of this thesis. Lissarague produced her book for this particular Wonnarua Aboriginal Corporation, whereby its foreword reads that ‘We, the Wonnarua people, - - - - started our journey to reclaim our language in 2001. - - - We engaged a linguist - - -’. Local History ‘authorities’, like Jim Kohen from Blacktown and District Historical Society (Chapter 7), inaccurately advised that the term ‘Wonnarua’ applied to the upper Hunter Valley.

84(continued)

very same place on the Hawkesbury River in the ranges where Robert Mathews recorded language identified as Darkinjung during the same time period (Chapter 6). They also incorrectly mixed (using ‘k’) separate terms at Broken Bay representing Gari’gal (Gari = name of place) and Guri’ngai (guri = common noun for people). \ Wafer & Lissarague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ p.144.

85 Eliza Dunlop, wife of Wollombi magistrate David Dunlop in the ranges, identified an old man there as the doyen of composition for poetry and song, referring to him as a metaphorical ‘god’ who ‘comes in dreams and transports the individual to some sunny hill’. He was known as Wallatu or Wallati, Threlkeld’s Wūllati or ‘Woolaje as the white folks used to call him’. Just as Aboriginal people were later to move from the ranges to La Perouse by the sea shore, Wallatu [my word] to the entrance to Lake Macquarie where his speech was understood by the local Aborigines. In his reminiscences, Threlkeld noted a relationship of the poet’s language to that which he was studying. Details of this subject are not part of the Darkinjung recognition historiography for the thesis but are part of the Darkinjung history study. \ Niel Gunson, 1966, ‘Dunlop, Eliza Hamilton (1796-1880)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.337-38; Eliza Hamilton Dunlop [e.g.], nd, ‘The Vase, Comprising Songs for Music and Poems’, unpublished ms held in Mitchell Library, New South Wales State Library, call no. ML B1541, copy accessed on microfilm reel CY 1238, frames 1-121, Wallatu frame 0060; L.E. Threlkeld, 1854, ‘Aborigines. - The Muses. - Poetry.’, The Christian Herald [etc], 11 November 1854 pp.315-16, in a series ‘Reminiscences’ [of the Aborigines of New South Wales], published from June 1854, also reproduced in Gunson 1974 ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld’, p.58, my access to The Christian Herald at the National Library of Australia (see Bibliography).

86 I found the people at Muurrbay very receptive, and acknowledge that I have received help from them. Although archived copies remain, it is appropriate that the 2006 MRALC online map which misrepresented Country of Language groups was taken down during my studies for this project.


89 Accurate Local History was actually available at their local Singleton Historical Society where Ian Webb had lodged research detail - as well as published by Allan Wood as given in Chapter 12/NW. (The society at Scone has more material about the upper Hunter.) During my studies, J.L. (Jim) Kohen at (continued...)
At the same time as being ‘engaged’ by Lester, by early 2002 Lissarrague had already joined Wafer's Handbook Project with the outcome published in 2008.  By then, Jim Wafer & Amanda Lissarrague acknowledge themselves confused, suggesting: ‘that a review of the territory in which Wanarruwa was spoken would be in order’ and ‘available data are unspecific and contradictory’, with: ‘Kayawaykal [Geawegal] may have been a subset of Wanarruwa’ and ‘the extent of - - - territories needs further clarification’.  They had advanced further than anybody else, and the study for this thesis reported in this chapter is an answer to their prayers.

The Wonnarua Quandary

In this section of the chapter I discuss the issue of how the coastal Wannerawa / Wannungine Aboriginal people came to be misplaced inland (as ‘Wonnarua’ people) in foreign country.

An Unreliable Memory

Misplacing a group called Wonnarua to occupy the upper Hunter Valley based at Singleton is the outcome of historic anomalies attributable to a single misstatement by Robert Miller published in 1887 about memories more than forty years earlier, as follows. The town of Singleton became a well known base drawing in Aboriginal people, displacing Maitland as their centre. More families arrived associated with the missionary work there, especially when Aboriginal people moved to the reserve at Mount Olive on the St Clair estate to the north of Singleton. Several Aboriginal families moved to the St Clair mission

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89(continued)

Macquarie University informed me that he had advised Victor Perry about research on the Wonnarua people, and given references to the Wonnarua. However, this was not accurate, the material listed by Kohen was about Aborigines in the Hunter Valley instead of really being about the Wannerawa. [Members of the Lester and Perry families have been publically active in the locality.] In contrast to Lissarrague's and Kohen's misapplication, within the Local History and Family History studies with which I have been associated from the 1990s, it has been discovered that the Aboriginal families who congregated about Singleton and the nearby St Clair mission were predominately Darkiṅung originating from the south side of the floodplain and the local St Clair Geawegal from the mid Hunter River region (Chapter 12/NW). As well, there were local Gringai and other Kattung-speaking people on the north of the lower river (this chapter) who had not joined the main movement to the coastal town at Newcastle (in which Kamilaroi people participated, especially after the railway line became operational). [The railhead of the northern railway line from Newcastle was at the Namoi River (Narrabri) in 1882, having reached its tributary Peel River (Tamworth) in 1878.]

90 Wafer & Lissarrague 2008 ‘Handbook of Aboriginal Languages’ Background p.x.

who had been identified by Robert Mathews as Darkiñung-speakers from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the south of the Hunter River. Other families came from the Kattang-language areas to the north side of the lower Hunter River, including the Gringai from the Allyn/Paterson Rivers as above. And one can assume that there were also some Kamilaroi people from the upper Hunter Valley (Chapter 12/NW) - a most successful race from northwestern NSW which has never stopped expanding and now predominates on the Central Coast. In the case of some Darkiñung-descent families, there was a subsequent move to the Purfleet mission at Taree. Popularising Robert Miller's name Wonnarua as a covering term for all the Aboriginal people in this broad location was done with a pioneering book in 1985 by Jim Miller who was raised at Singleton and identified as a Gringai person from his parents. In the 1980s there had been no necessity of the present day imperative to take a single language-term as a Tribal name for personal identification, and Miller announced he was ‘from the Wonnarua, Narwan and Kamilaroi people.’

In a most prescient thought for the application of the study for this thesis more than twenty years later, Miller wrote ‘The most important thing I received by tracing my family, was a new sense of identity.’

It is intended that my study will be of similar value to descendants of Darkiñung people.

The historical anomaly of placing the Wonnarua Aborigines in the upper Hunter is attributable to a false ‘memory’ of one man, published in 1887 - Robert Miller. I have not been able yet to confirm who he was because at the time he claimed to be in the Hunter Valley there were ten Robert Millers listed there. He is not the ancestor of Aborigine James Miller who attributed his surname to ‘Family oral tradition’ at the Bathurst/Orange area, and who was scathing about his namesake Robert Miller, suggesting that he

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92 These findings are part of the Family History studies. I acknowledge Ian Webb (sometime president of Singleton Historical Society) for sharing his Local History research. Subsequently, in a post-retirement life, he returned to family childhood haunts up north where he had been reared in the company of Aborigines (pers. comm.).

93 In the Introduction, a journalist J.W. Fawcett (as follows) is acknowledged as a historical source. James Miller, 1985, ‘Koori: A Will to Win - The Heroic Resistance, Survival & Triumph of Black Australia’, Angus and Robertson, Sydney. Personal identification p.xv.


‘believed all dark-skinned people were likely to practice cannibalism’. Edward Curr, who published Robert Miller’s memoir (above) in his books of common vocabulary for a range of locations across the whole continent, himself knew Aborigines as an adaptive race since he had had experience with Aborigines in much of Australia after managing his father’s grazing runs north of Melbourne in the 1840s. He compiled his comparative word list collected from correspondents, anonymous local magistrates in some places, and included their additional text and words in his volumes when supplied, as in this case.

Miller's claim was that he settled in the Hunter River district in 1841 and lived there for several years. He informed Curr that when he first knew the Wonnarua tribe ‘they occupied the Hunter and all its tributaries from within ten miles of Maitland to the apex of the Liverpool Ranges, an area of two thousand square miles.’ Curr had no basis from which to doubt his integrity. Even for the time the first settlers arrived, Miller’s claim is absurd, as discussed in this thesis elsewhere for the northwest border of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (Chapter 12/NW). Possibly, Wonnarua was the only term for Aborigines which this Robert Miller knew, so that he applied it to the whole of the Hunter Valley to satisfy what he thought it was that Curr wanted. It is Curr's only entry for the Hunter Valley, and in a similar way Curr's only language listed for Broken Bay does not belong at that location (Chapter 6). By applying Local History geographical knowledge, we know much better now.

As mentioned above, Gunson in 1974 had reported that Stephen Wurm, with Arthur Capell, had already noted the similarities between the language given by Miller to Curr, Wonnarua (Wanarua), and the language studied by Threlkeld - which I have found as above to be Wannerawa (aka Wannungine) i.e. the same. That means that Robert Miller appears to have lived downstream of Maitland on the coast in order to acquire first hand language information - if he had been in the Hunter River district at all. Alternatively, before the 1887 publication he would have had access to Threlkeld's earlier 1827 and 1834

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99 Further investigation is required to identify this “Robert Miller” in order to define his false testimony. Perhaps he had responded to an advertisement seeking information about Hunter River Aboriginal people. He knew about Kamilaroi incursions without realising they already occupied the upper Hunter Valley (Chapter 12/NW). Application of claims taken from reading his ‘report’ suggests that his ‘Wonnarua Tribe’ was a composite.
In confirmation that Miller should actually have meant his *Wonnaruwa* to be coastal people, he described as an ornament a shell cut into the shape of a gorget and worn as a breast plate - as northern Queensland Aborigines did with crescents cut from hard mother-of-pearl shells. Miller wrote that the shell was a nautilis. However, this does not remain intact if carried any significant distance away from the shore, because the nautilis is a cephalopod with a beautiful fragile shell. The pearly nautilus is tropical, and its shell is rarely found in Australia, so that Miller should have meant the paper nautilus, whose shell is merely a brittle egg cradle. I have gently collected some washed up on the beach to display in a glass cabinet, and they are too brittle to be grasped, so whatever was Miller writing about?

The Disappearing Plagiarist

Robert Miller could have been the first author to have reliably recognised the name *Wannerawa* (his ‘Wonnaruwa’) if he had correctly identified the actual location that they occupied. His false evidence may have been ignored had it not been confirmed by a plagiarist, J.W. Fawcett in Queensland. Every other publication placing the *Wonnaruwa* in the Kamilaroi-occupied upper Hunter Valley has taken it from these two ‘sources’ without checking. Fawcett wrote for ‘Science of Man’ the new popular journal of the Anthropological Society of Australasia. Although I have been investigating his intervention into history for years, I credit Amanda Lissarrague with the first published suspicions when she noticed that Miller in his text had used a strange form of grammar, ‘*anigunya*’, which Fawcett had copied as ‘*anigunga*’ - perhaps Miller had meant the greeting from his listed ‘*animua*’ to signify ‘Hey, you!’. The other journalist Percy Haslam had himself plagiarised the plagiarist with *ani-gunga* from Fawcett, which isn’t much help. Subsequently Jim Wafer reported gently that Fawcett ‘appears to have read Miller’, which I had found glaringly obvious, and in his chapter on Kinship Wafer noted that Fawcett's account was ‘seriously distorted’.

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100 As well as Threlkeld’s earlier published works, the prizewinning 1882 review by John Fraser, printed at 41pp discussed earlier in this chapter, had had wide distribution and was topical before Miller wrote to Curr.


Fawcett had not given any sources, but made a further mistake by slipping into his journalism an additional term he’d taken from the 1882 essay by Fraser noted above. Fawcett’s ‘boombit’ was Fraser’s ‘boombat’ which he had obtained from Alfred Howitt with whom he (Fraser) corresponded. Howitt’s source, in turn, was correspondence with E.M. McKinlay of Dungog. There were good descriptions of the use of the word by McKinlay (and by William Scott), not part of this thesis, which I have confirmed as part of an initiation ceremony. The term is to do with creating smoke from fire, as listed by Nils Homer for Kattang-speaking people. In my review of the literature I found that smoke ceremonies at initiation were common all over Australia, but not McKinlay’s term ‘boombit’ stolen by Fawcett.

The literary demise of Fawcett occurred in 1899 when he plagiarised Aboriginal poetry collected by the prominent authority on Aborigines, Archibald Meston, at that time the Anthropological Society’s Queensland representative who promptly denounced him. As well as the plagiarism, Meston wrote of Fawcett’s ‘alleged songs from the north’ as ‘purely an unhealthy effort of Mr Fawcett’s imagination’. One of the songs claimed by Fawcett came from Meston’s own 1895 book ‘Geographic History of Queensland’. It is disappointing that this man may have influenced others who had trusted him prior to Meston’s 1899 exposure of him. Fawcett would say in 1896 he wrote from ‘personal observations’ but he may have copied other journalists. I have confirmed that Fawcett disappeared from public view in that he had already published two books on Church of England dignitaries avoiding acknowledgement of


109 Amongst authors who repeated his correspondence was Robert Mathews. For example, in a paper published 1896, Mathews inserted with his own primary observations ‘Mr J.W. Fawcett informs me’ from Townsville, from Charters Towers, from Herbert River and Hinchinbrook Island. Revealingly, Fawcett told him, inter alia, that people used sticks to draw in beach sand. Mathews himself could not have been drawn in to be part of the web of deceit about the misplacement for Fawcett’s 1898 ‘Wannah-ruah’ because when in residence at Singleton he knew that the Kamilaroi had occupied the upper Hunter Valley (Chapter 12/NW), and knew that the Wannerawa were actually on the coast (this chapter). \R.H. Mathews, 1896, ‘Australian Ground and Tree Drawings’, The American Anthropologist, 9 (2): 33-49 + Plate, p.37.

110 This quote applied to a newspaper supplement article about Cyclone ‘Sigma’ in Townsville, January 1896. \John Alexander Ferguson, 1963, ‘Bibliography of Australia’, Vol.5 1851-1900 A-G, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, Fawcett pp.925-26, ref.9564.
any sources, and was doing a third which dropped out of sight when he was exposed by Meston.\footnote{Fawcett had written books on Right Rev. William Broughton, and Rev. John Cross, 1898, printed by Sydney Hobart Publisher, Brisbane, which I have examined as part of colonial history studies. I have not located the third of this series, then coming ‘shortly’ on Venerable Rev. William Cowper.}

With my new findings, it can now reliably be concluded that there were not Wannerawa (‘Wonnarua’) Aboriginal people in the upper Hunter Valley at all. (The Kamilaroi people who actually were there at the time of settlement are discussed in Chapter 12/NW, along with the traditional Darkīňung located in the mid Hunter and Goulburn River valley.) However, I make no comment on the present misapplication of the term Wonnarua by authorities like Kohen as above for Aboriginal Corporations which are being registered in the present day, on the basis of Robert Miller's falsehood plus J.W. Fawcett's plagiarism, in order to encourage mining companies destroying the landscape so that they may claim compensation for this destruction of land. That is compensation which was not paid by the first settlers who displaced ancestral Aborigines.

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Chapter 9/NE Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to recognise the Darkīňung-Language People of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges by separating their Country from that of those to their northeast at the time of settlement, who are found to be the People who really spoke the Wannerawa Language in the region from the Hunter River estuary along the coast to the Broken Bay estuary. This neighbouring language was assessed without identification by Lancelot Threlkeld who recovered it from Bungaree's Broken Bay Aborigines (who had expanded to their south to occupy the north shore of Port Jackson subsequent to settlement). Threlkeld's principle source was a boy from this group presenting himself when a young adult at Newcastle to become known as ‘Biraban’, representing the hero Birrugan from Aboriginal culture he learnt when at Port Macquarie. (In his missionary work before terms such as Kamilaroi were applied to languages, Threlkeld had not succumbed to ‘tribal’ name-creation which was taken up by others.)

Although Threlkeld himself did not provide an identification term, the recognition of these people for the English was provided as Wannerawa aka Wannungine, apparently to indicate ‘of the Place’ - as a response to queries to the people about who they were. [In English convention, this identification
becomes the term which is used for People, used for Language and used for Country.] In the mean time, a literary man, John Fraser, took it upon himself to create a name for these indigenes (who, he wrote) ‘are gone long ago’, naming them after a cove in Lake Macquarie known to the settlers as Awa-ba. The success of his 1892 book meant that Fraser's artifice has been used ever since for northern Wannungine near the Hunter River. The farther Wannerawa had since adopted another term proposed for near Broken Bay as ‘Guringai’ by Arthur Capell in a preliminary 1970 article. ‘Guringai’ had been used by Fraser in 1892 as ‘Kuringgai’ to designate people who used the common noun kuri for man, which he appeared to have taken from the term Gringai / Gooringai used by the settlers to identify a local group of Kattung-Language people across the Hunter River at the Paterson / Allyn River tributary.

The coastal range watershed is the natural topographical feature which appears to have been a practical geographical border for the coastal Wannungine / Wannerawa to the northeast of the Darkiŋung Aborigines in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. [It is taken as understood that the former used to occupy the continental shelf when it was above sea level.] This coastal range watershed is present day Peats Ridge from Mooney Mooney on the Hawkesbury River through Kulnura, along the central spine of the Watagan Ranges to the Newcastle Sugarloaf. Historic records demonstrate that the boundary was permeable in the sense that people from the ranges on the inland Wollombi side were regularly welcomed visiting the coastal people. While the ridge of the present day Mona Vale Road (1890s Lane Cove road ridge) was the southern Broken Bay catchment border, to the north of Newcastle the Hunter River floodplain / estuary covered the northern border with Kattung-speaking people. The Darkiŋung shared language and cultural relationships with these neighbouring coastal groups. [In distinction, they did not share with Dharug or Gundungurra on the south who had their own relationship with each other as in following chapters.]

Further, the corollary issue is considered here whereby these coastal and estuarine Aboriginal people had been mislocated to country in the upper Hunter Valley which actually had been occupied by Kamilaroi Aborigines originating from the interior as shown in Chapter 12/NW. Only two historical records stated the upper Hunter was the location of the Wannerawa (as ‘Wonnorua’), the first with false statements about these coastal people, the second merely plagiarism of the first. The Wannerawa (aka Wannungine) were the most important neighbours interacting with the Darkiŋung - but only residing at the coast and estuaries to the northeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.
Chapter 10/SE

In the SE foothills of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges,
the tidal reaches of present day Cattai Creek cannot be crossed by foot
from photograph by Geoff Ford Thursday 11 October 2007

Notes:
When Governor Phillip's walking expedition arrived here Tuesday 12 April 1791, the stream (on the right hand side of the Hawkesbury River) was too wide for the convict servant class to fell a tree so that the officer upper class could walk across the water, so they followed the bank upstream. While the walking party bashed through the tangles of scrub with thickets of vines and fallen trees (in present day Mitchell Park), they could hear the local Aborigines talking among themselves while they canoed on the water shown here. A couple of days later when they returned to the main river, Phillip's party met some of the canoeists (who camped with them) who have been identified as Darkiŋung from examination of their language.
Part III (2)
Chapter 10/SE

Country to the Southeast of the Darkiñung:
Interacting with the Dharug of the Coastal Plain,
The Cowpastures and the Woronora Plateau

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This thesis has tried to unravel what was the status at the time when the new white occupants arrived. Afterwards, Aboriginal men from the coast (especially sons of convicts) travelled into the interior as stockmen with pastoralists from the settled areas taking livestock to sheep and cattle runs. As these runs became established with homesteads (often occupied by the white sons of the pastoralists), Aborigines from the interior travelled with the pastoralist families back to the areas which had been settled earlier. In parallel with this movement were the number of Aboriginal children born to lonely white men growing up in the interior, and conversely, the valuable economic role played by these Aboriginal stockmen after convict servants were no longer available and farm labour became scarce when the immigrant men chased the mid nineteenth century mining boom of the gold rushes. For the new era of Aborigines working away from their home estate with the white men, the Aboriginal Lore, providing Law, of Country no longer applied.

Long after the convict era, even when it was considered that Aboriginal 'sexual exploitation was a way of life for many white men' in the brutal days of colonisation of regions to the north, Ted Egan's social history tells of situations 'where a meaningful relationship developed and mixed race children were recognised', immortalised in his 1981 love song 'The Drover's Boy'. Of course, sometimes a wife and family did travel overland as white 'pioneers', such as for my mother's Bridge family settling at Mabel Downs in northern WA. The Aborigine politician Ernie Bridge was an outcome of good relationships with the locals such as described in Chapter 4. Ted Egan, 2003, 'The Overlanders, Drover's Boys, & Other Women Pioneers', Chapter 15 pp.120-131 (song p.129), in ‘The Land Down Under’, Evergreen Media, Sydney.
later railway station. The historically inept presumption has arisen by extrapolating backwards from the 1980s, assuming that for Aboriginal families associated with Blacktown District in the present day, the tribal identity of their ancestors would have been the same as that of the original Aborigines who once upon a time had occupied the lands where the Black Town had been located - i.e. at Gidley Ponds - present day Bells Creek, a tributary of Eastern Creek near where it flows into South Creek. With regard to this misplacing of people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, the misidentification of the Darkiñung people of the Hawkesbury as Dharug people at the Black Town is dealt with in Chapter 7. Thus this chapter seeks to recognise the situation at the beginning of settlement, from which the new findings considered in this study suggest the geographical border of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges was the geological floodplain of the Hawkesbury River downstream of where the Warragamba joins the Nepean. With regard to terminology, in the present day as descendants seek an origin of their forebears, is has become usual to adopt names recorded for languages (Chapter 6), thus the diminished group of the Cumberland Plain were the Dharug-speaking peoples while the Aborigines of the mountains and rivers northwest of the floodplain were the Darkiñung-speaking peoples.

Fiercose Mountain People

The term Darkiñung was initially published, with a location, in 1896: ‘on an expedition amongst the Darkiñung tribe on the Hawkesbury River’. The term Dharug was not published until 1897 when Darkiñung was repeated: ‘One of the principal dialects was the Darkiñung, - - - on the southern side of the Hunter River - - extending southerly to - - - Hawkesbury River - -.’ Followed by: ‘Amongst other

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4 This erroneous presumption, now widely assumed, seems to have arisen from the response at Blacktown and District Historical Society where Kevin Moore was approached by descendants who could help the society with Aboriginal local history. Moore passed the benefits of Aboriginal contact to Jim Kohen, from where the historiography has been considered in Chapter 7: Jim Kohen, apparently employed for technology in the biology department at Macquarie University, seems to have become a higher degree student for archaeology in the geology department. At Blacktown and District Historical Society he aided the establishment of a Dharug Tribal Link for which he took a Western Victoria language term to contrive a new brand-word for them, ‘Darug’. When the Tribal Link split at registration, Kohen was the Public Officer for the ‘Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation’ (DTAC). Later Kristina Everett of Macquarie University social sciences, a postgraduate student in anthropology, became Public Officer for the ‘Darug Custodians Aboriginal Corporation’. For a more complete perspective of their work, both these Macquarie University theses should be considered. \J.L. Kohen, 1986b, ‘Prehistoric Settlement in the Western Cumberland Plain’, Thesis, Macquarie University; Kristina Everett, 2006, ‘Impossible Realities: The Emergence of Traditional Aboriginal Cultural Practices in Sydney's Western Suburbs’, Thesis, Macquarie University.
Details are discussed in Chapter 6. The term Darrook used in 1897 was an error in orthography never used again, but quickly corrected in 1898 with the use of Dhoorrook/Dharrook/Dharruk thereafter. In the first two publications to mention Dharrook, it was linked with the Wannungine on the coast (Chapter 9/NE), illustrating that Mathews had trouble clarifying the locality separation of these two groups on the coast. This was the problem from the early years after settlement of Bungaree’s ‘Kuringgai’ (the Wannungine) having moved into northern ‘Sydney’ from the north (Chapter 9/NE) - just as Timbery’s Dharawal moved into southern ‘Sydney’ from the south mentioned later this chapter. 

Well before the time Mathews arrived, perhaps ever since they arrived, Gundungurra people were moving amongst these Dharug people across the low separating watershed ridge at The Cowpastures as discussed below (later in this chapter).

The Cumberland Plain people to the east of the lower Nepean River near Penrith were distinguished from the adjacent northern Blue Mountains people across the floodplain by an Aboriginal woman who was old in the 1880s, ‘Black Nellie’. She informed Sarah Shand that the Aborigines of the mountains were strange people who might kill her, providing the presumption that the plains people [Dharug] and the adjacent northern mountain people [Darkiñung] did not have a friendly relationship. A similar situation is discussed in Chapter 12/NW whereby people in contact from opposite sides of the Hunter River at the floodplain there felt that they were at risk of being killed if they tried to occupy land across the floodplain. In his world-wide appraisal, discussing ‘An Attitude of Self-Esteem’ for adjacent Aboriginal tribes, Birdsell summarised the lore that ‘if you could not understand the (foreign) language of strangers, you feared them and speared them’, which seems to have been the situation across the Darkiñung borders at the time when the colonisers arrived (other friends to their neighbour discussed in Chapter 9/NE).

5 Details are discussed in Chapter 6. The term Darrook used in 1897 was an error in orthography never used again, but quickly corrected in 1898 with the use of Dhoorrook/Dharrook/Dharruk thereafter. In the first two publications to mention Dharrook, it was linked with the Wannungine on the coast (Chapter 9/NE), illustrating that Mathews had trouble clarifying the locality separation of these two groups on the coast. This was the problem from the early years after settlement of Bungaree’s ‘Kuringgai’ (the Wannungine) having moved into northern ‘Sydney’ from the north (Chapter 9/NE) - just as Timbery’s Dharawal moved into southern ‘Sydney’ from the south mentioned later this chapter. \n\n6 Relationship of the Central Coast people (Wannungine) with the ranges Wollombi people (Darkiñung) described by Mann is dealt with in Chapter 9/NE.

7 Young Sarah came out from England as the wife of John C. Shand ca.1887. (In the 1880s John Shand’s property was ‘Walgrove’ at Eastern Creek.) \n\n8 Birdsell concluded that discussion with an impact of the colonising powers: ‘While such attitudes can be understood in an ancient world of small societies, they are hardly acceptable in a world where man has walked upon the moon - -’. There is something to be said about the impact of explosives on mankind evolution, as observed affecting the observance of borders after the settlers arrived. \n\n(continued...
About the time that Nellie was born the fear of these fierce people in the mountains [Darkiňung] where the new Bathurst road crossed seems to have been universal. Three of these Aborigines from the plains [Dharug] were sent across the mountains by landholder John Jamison to accompany a rather unfit Thomas Jones, his ‘collector of natural productions’. In December 1818 they were to follow down the river beyond Mount York named after roadbuilder William Cox in order to confirm Jamison's deduction that it flowed into the Warragamba River above ‘Regentville’, Jamison's property on the river upstream of the road crossing at Emu Ford. The Cumberland Plain Aborigines were ‘alarmed’ even at signs of mountain Aborigines. On 16 December 1818, day 4 after leaving the road depot past Mount York, when they actually met ‘the savage tribe’, the plains men were ‘in despair that they were to be the immediate victims of a cannibal massacre.’ But instead of the savage northern Blue Mountains tribe [Darkiňung] expected, the plains tribesmen [Dharug] personally knew these mountain men they met in the Cox River valley, whom Jamison was able to name retrospectively as the ‘Condanora’, southern Blue Mountains tribe [Gundungurra].

Although the mountain Gundungurra people seem to have acquired an unjustified reputation of being cannibals, it is concluded that this ‘savage’ behaviour feared by the plains people was actually attributed to the mountain Darkiňung people across the lower Nepean River.

**Drawing a Line**

Despite historic testimony of Aborigines from the lifetime of ‘Nellie’ as above, the most vexed question has been whether, to the southeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges occupied by the Darkiňung, the Dharug-language people occupied anywhere along the Hawkesbury River banks, or as some writers imagined, even occupied the Blue Mountains on the western side of it. Robert Mathews is the inaugural source for these two language terms. In his published articles, at superficial reading Mathews seemed not to have decided on a common boundary. More careful perusal shows a different result. In his 1900 paper on the Gundungurra, incorporating work done by Mary Everitt (Chapter 11/SW), he put it that ‘The Dhar'rook dialect, very closely resembling the Gundungurra, was spoken at Campbelltown, Liverpool, Camden, Penrith, and possibly as far east as Sydney where it merged into the Thurrawal’, followed by two more items published in 1901: ‘The Dhar'rook and Gun'dungur'ra tribes respectively [my emphasis] occupied from the mouth of the Hawkesbury river to Mount Victoria, and thence southerly to

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8(...)continued


9 The Aborigines looking after Thomas Jones were named by Jamison as Gilderoy (alias ‘Bob’), Millott (alias ‘Joe’) and Nagga (alias ‘Jack’). This chapter is about the Dharug. The relationship of the Darkiňung with the Gundungurra is extended in Chapter 11/SW. \ John Jamison, 1834, ‘Journal of the First Excursion up the Warragamba [November-December 1818]’ as part 1, and report from journal of Thomas Jones of the First Excursion down the Coxs River [December 1818] as part 2, ‘The New South Wales Magazine’, vol.2: 53-61 and 111-17, encounter p.113.
Berrima and Goulburn. On the south and southeast they were joined by the Thurrrawal - -'; and ‘The Dharruk speaking people adjoined the Thurrrawal on the north, extending along the coast to the Hawkesbury River, and inland to what are now Windsor, Penrith, Campbelltown, and intervening towns.’

Within the third quote, Mathew's comments about the Dharruk language extending along the coast from Sydney to the Hawkesbury River, were dealt with by Capell in his ‘initial report’ of 1970, where he noted that ‘Mathew's statement was an assumption, which he had not proved’. However, as I have mentioned elsewhere (Chapter 9/NE) Capell worked with linguistics, not geography. Before Capell had reported his ‘New Findings’ of Threlkeld's ‘Karree’ (Capell's 'Guringai') being spoken at Broken Bay, Mathews had found that that language, which he identified as Wannungine (aka Wannerawa), was spoken to the south of Broken Bay - for which he (Mathews) had had the topographical knowledge to place at the road to Lane Cove along present day Mona Vale Ridge at the Broken Bay watershed (Chapter 9/NE). That is, Mathews coming from the north had used the term ‘Lane Cove (road)’ to delineate Broken Bay with its Arms. Alternatively, Mathews coming from the south as seen in the two 1901 quotes here used the expression ‘along the coast to (the mouth of) the Hawkesbury River’, meaning Broken Bay, to locate the same place. I concur with Capell, in that at no stage in his records had Mathews reported (Capell's ‘proved’) that Dharug people occupied the Hawkesbury River.

As a surveyor who had become one of the most experienced topographers in the colony, Mathews's skill was exemplary at drafting the northern limits of the Dharug - conversely being the southern limits of the neighbouring Darikhung of this thesis. Well before Mathew's time, Windsor was used as the central place name for a district incorporating areas in all directions, which had included the South Creek localities on the southeastern side across the floodplain from the Hawkesbury River (Chapter 6). It is quite affirmative to observe that Mathews's description, with a surveyor's precision giving limits for the Dharug across country, completely excludes the Dharug from the Hawkesbury River itself and its intervening watersheds below Windsor including Cattai Creek - viz. a line drafted from Broken Bay as above to Windsor. This ‘Mathews Line’ thus far provides a working plan for the southeastern location of


the Darkiňung, along the watershed between the Parramatta and Hawkesbury Rivers. From Windsor, the same drafted line continues westerly, giving limits for the Gundungurra to Mount Victoria which shows the Cox River valleys of the southern Blue Mountains as Gundungurra. That included Katoomba where Mathews noted that Aborigines Gilbert Godrey and James Lynch ‘know the Gundungurra (language)’.

Straying, and Staying, Across the Floodplain

As dealt with in the preceding parts of this thesis (Part I Chapter 2 and Part II Chapters 6 and 7), there is actually no source material at all of Dharug-origin people either having occupied the Hawkesbury River (below the junction of the upper Nepean with the Warragamba River) or having occupied the Blue Mountains. That is, until Charlie Smith went across the floodplain, to stay with his Darkiňung wife at the location reserved at Sackville for Aborigines to reside who were local farm labourers, and did not go back (Chapter 6). Smith was not identified himself as Dharug, but was noted by Mathews as the ‘brother’ (half-brother or brother-in-law) of Georges River-born Sarah Castle (Mrs Lock) whom Mathews met when he went to the Black Town to visit Fanny Lynch (Mrs Lock). Sarah became a source of the language ‘grammar’ which Mathews called Dharruk (Dharug) as outlined in Chapter 6. Although Charlie Smith had isolated himself from the Darkiňung Aboriginal community who occupied the Hawkesbury when he got there, in advising me during the writing of this thesis Jim Kohen inaccurately averred that the presence of this man is sufficient evidence in order to establish that the Dharug occupied the Hawkesbury River and the mountains, in order for him to contradict Mathews’s overwhelming evidence placing the Darkiňung there (Chapter 6).

There is a fascinating study of the geomorphology of the Hawkesbury floodplain where the waters are

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12 West of the Parramatta River catchment, a border becomes a conundrum, and may have been disputed territory, especially where associated with the floodplain. However, since Governor Phillip found in 1791 that the ‘inland’ Aborigines were strangers, foreign to the ‘coastal’ people at present day Scheyville and Pitt Town vicinities (Chapters 1 and 5), it is likely that present day First Ponds Creek (aka Killarney Chain of Ponds) drainage into the floodplain as well as Second Ponds Creek drainage into Cattai Creek were nominally the territory of these strangers since shown to be the Hawkesbury River Darkiňung people (Part II). Thus the high ground on the east of Eastern Creek carrying the Richmond railway and Windsor Road - the nominated ‘flood evacuation route’ - would provide the putative northern edge showing the limit of the Georges River Dharug people as follows.

bottled up by the shoulders of the higher ground on which Governor Macquarie located his towns of Wilberforce and Pitt Town facing each other across the river, and then are throttled like a bottle neck downstream by the constriction of the cliffs at Portland Head Rock on the left hand bank and equivalent cliffs on the right.\textsuperscript{14} It is consistent with ideas previously published by Pat Walker or by Eugene Stockton from observations on the geography and geological changes (with variations in river course), which I acknowledge, but that leaves unresolved the use by Aborigines of localities within the floodplain area which had been discovered as Aboriginal open campsites.\textsuperscript{15} The pertinence of particular floodplains for Aboriginal borders follows on from the mention of Norman Tindale's 'ecological and geographical boundaries'.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Recognising Dharug People's Own Territory}

In this section of the chapter I consider where were the Dharug-language people, since they did not occupy the Hawkesbury River and Blue Mountains.

\textbf{Georges River People}

With modern writers having misidentified the Darkiñung Aborigines who were at the Hawkesbury River as Dharug people, another identification came to be given to the actual Dharug further to the southeast. For this, writers chose Dharawal, the people from the Illawarra coast, as an identification for the Dharug who were historically at the Georges River.

\textsuperscript{14} This is part of the project which has had to be removed from this thesis to save space. (The right hand cliff is known as Lubra's Leap with a legend attached to it.) Members of Governor Phillip's expedition up the river in 1789 (Chapter 1) were in awe of logs high up in trees as signs of the floods.

\textsuperscript{15} I credit Jim Kohen in discussion with raising the issue of the archaeological sites on the floodplain terraces at which he had worked along the lower Nepean River (below Warragamba River junction), as mentioned in Chapter 7. It is practicable for the mountain people (Darkiñung) to retreat upwards at the beginning of a flood so that the workshops near the river next to the mountains would have been theirs, while it is practical for the plains people (Dharug) to have used the old geological beds of river stones further to the east. This idea is not original: I acknowledge that it was put to me by one of my Aboriginal cousins (who has both ancestries) after visiting a river stone workshop together and later viewing the scene from the Hawkesbury Lookout up the hill on the way to Springwood. (Walker or Stockton as in Bibliography.)

\textsuperscript{16} The mention is in Chapter 7 discussion of Kohen's misrepresentation that 'Tindale notes that rivers often form boundaries'. Tindale presented Lake Alexandrina as a boundary, but not a river per se such as the Murray River. Developing this, politician Richard Hill is misquoted by Kohen to erroneously claim the Georges River as a boundary as detailed later in this chapter.
The potential *Dharug* misidentification has been compounded by some recent writers referring to Aboriginal people camped by the Georges River at Appin as *Gundungurra*, the people who were of the Warragamba River catchment (Wollondilly River and its Cox River tributary).\(^{17}\) The given source is D.K. Eades, whose extrapolated sweeping map lines show an architectural separation of the coastal region south of Sydney to run through Campbelltown and Picton, continuing on ‘to Omeo’ in Victoria, with a branch of her smooth line swooping out to Boorowa in the New South Wales central west from Picton, showing country of *Dharuk* and *Gundungurra* on either side.\(^{18}\) This is a lamentable characteristic of linguists’ maps which I have discussed with others of them - whereby they retreat with horror (or with bemusement) from the concept that anybody would think that linguists had published maps to show boundaries of Country for Language groups. That is a recent impact of Native Title claims since the federal legislation for which anthropologists are consulted in an attempt to determine, with traditional owners in the field, cadastral boundaries which did not exist.\(^{19}\)

Another source cited is the paper that Capell 1970 termed ‘this initial report’, to refer to which has become a rite of passage for authors, including this thesis where it is dealt with in Chapter 9/NE. Capell’s 1970 ‘New Orientation’ allied the “Dharawal (Thurrrawal)” language with his 1962 “Affix-transferring” structure of “Western Desert” languages from Central Australia, which “Dharruk did not share”, and proposed the language which had reached the southern shore of Botany Bay (mouth of Georges River) known as ‘Gweagal, which may be interpreted as Gwiyagal’ to be ‘a dialectical form of Thurrrawal, having a distinct vocabulary.’ He did not mention the history for movement of the Illawarra people to Botany Bay as below. For the Georges River upstream of the estuarine area, Capell did not show the river as a proposed boundary (as he mistakenly did for Lane Cove river instead of Lane Cove road mentioned

\(^{17}\) Some recent writers have been attributing this to the bicentenary research for Campbeltown Council by Western Sydney historian Carol Liston. \(\text{\%}\) Carol A. Liston, 1988b, ‘The Dharawal and Gandangara in Colonial Campbeltown, New South Wales, 1788-1830’, Aboriginal History, vol.12 (1): 48-62 (location map is p.48), from her book Carol Liston, 1988a, ‘Campbeltown - The Bicentennial History’, City of Campbeltown, Campbellew.

\(^{18}\) Diana Kelloway Eades, 1976, ‘The Dharawal and Dhurga Languages of the New South Wales South Coast’, Australian Aboriginal Studies, Research and Regional Studies No.8, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, map frontispiece, text p.2.

\(^{19}\) Cadastral boundaries exist for inheritance of garden plots in Papua and Torres Strait Islands (as found for High Court ‘Mabo’ Case) but not in less fertile Australia. I have been given first hand stories from northern Australia of mediation being required between existing Aboriginal groups - before the surveyors can arrive. It is universal behaviour around the planet for people from either side wanting something which is located in a borderline position: Southeast Asian temples of antiquity (in current affairs, 2010) come to mind - with reference to the Hindu temple *Preah Vihear* where Cambodian and Thai troops clash.
above), but placed the Dharuk language on both sides.20

Setting Up for The 1816 Appin Massacre on the Georges River
The early settlers had little knowledge or understanding of distinctions between language group ‘Tribes’, so that with no knowledge of the terrain (prior to the overland trip by surveyor Meehan in 1818) they were susceptible to a rumour in winter 1814 that an Aboriginal tribe at ‘Jarvis’s [Jervis] Bay’ would launch an attack ‘to kill all the whites’ on the next full moon.21 These coastal Aborigines to the south had shown an ‘inimical’ attitude when small vessels touched there and crews had ‘fired upon’ them. Their posturing hostility was confounded in the imagination of the white people when Aboriginal families of Georges River and upper Nepean River gathered without hostility. It is evident that Aborigines were being shot at The Cowpastures, where they now had ‘less dread of fire arms than formerly’ (presumptively by staff at Macarthur Family's ‘Camden Park’, as for The 1816 Appin Massacre discussed with Duall below).

The frightened Liverpool magistrate Thomas Moore, assuming the gathering families to be assailants, proposed a night watch at a farm further away, that of Andrew Hume at Appin. I have walked and camped among the Shoalhaven River ranges inland of Jervis Bay, now Morton National Park, where the gorges did not lend themselves to a crossing by a party carrying wooden weapons prepared for war.22 While Jervis Bay Aborigines threatening to attack Liverpool could be seen to be ludicrous now, at the time the country beyond settlement was the great unknown to fearful settlers. It seems to me that this may have been the story which originated the imaginary concept that people then occupying the coast would want to move up through these rugged rocky ranges, in order to ‘commit depredations on the corn fields’.

In colloquial terms, why would coastal Dharawal with the rich marine resources there choose to occupy inland Dharug country where resources were more difficult to obtain?23

20 Although Kohen had been attributing his misuse of rivers as boundaries to Capell (as for Capell's Lane Cove river for road mistake), it is hard to reconcile Kohen's mistakes with what Capell actually published. Capell did not misplace the Dharawal in the heart of traditional Dharug Country at Campbelltown, which error is a much more recent phenomenon. \ Capell 1970 ‘Fresh Discoveries’.


22 Think of carrying each long spear to be thrown representing each short bullet to be fired from a rifle. \ Jim Thomson (ed.), 1988, ‘Fitzroy Falls and Beyond - A Guide to the Fitzroy Falls - Bundanoon, Shoalhaven - Etrema Wilderness, Northern Morton National Park and Bungonia State Recreation Area’, NSW South Coast Ranges volume 2, The Budawang Committee, Eastwood (Sydney).

23 Thomas Moore may have been in error about foreign Aborigines coming from the southern coast into the country of the then peaceable Dharug of the Georges River / upper Nepean River Country. Although not a study for this thesis, it appears that it was Aborigines from the southern mountains.
Identity of Georges River Aborigines

The recent writers who had given Dharug people a Dharawal identification were shown to be wrong by J.L. Kohen as early as 1984b (republished 1990 and 1993a), as follows, when he correctly recognised Georges River Aborigines to be Dharug-speaking people at least as far up the river as they were known at the time beyond Appin, i.e. to the limits of settlement occupied by the Kennedy Family as below.

Since the language terms to describe the people were not used and not known in the historic colonial period of this thesis, I prefer to use the then colloquial identification of ‘Georges River’ tribe which applied to the people for whom Mathews ninety years later presented the term Dharug, just as the description ‘The Branch’ natives was applied by the settlers to those for whom Mathews presented the term Darkiñung.

Researcher Keith Smith found in the earliest historical records that the ‘Sydney’ vocabulary was spoken on the south side as well as the north side of Georges River flowing into Botany Bay, establishing that the same people occupied both sides at the time of settlement. He transcribed what he titled: ‘1803: Georges River Word List’ collected by botanist Robert Brown, with his (Smith’s) comment: ‘Brown's list agrees with the principal First Fleet ‘Sydney’ vocabularies - - -’, which had been collected at Port Jackson / Botany Bay.24 Smith reported that ‘This vocabulary was collected on 2 October 1803 by botanist Robert Brown in the vicinity of Mill Creek, near its junction with the Georges River’, which is present day Alfords Point. Mill Creek is on the south (right hand) side of the narrow Georges River estuary here, across from East Hills district to the north (left hand) side. With his exhaustive research, Smith was unable to find any support for the concept that at that time local Aborigines were of a different language group on either side of this river. His findings mean that it was a different people who arrived later to occupy the south bank of Botany Bay (and estuarine Georges River) with a different language, from the Illawarra. In the same way it was Smith who also established that the ‘Sydney’ vocabulary was spoken on both sides of Port Jackson at the time of settlement, with a different people from Broken Bay arriving later (Chapters 7, 9/NE).25


25 But the claim by Goodall & Cadzow of a different language spoken on either bank is referenced to Smith 2006 [where a language south of the Dharug is not actually mentioned]. However, while working on a second thesis at Macquarie University, Smith was, for the time being, to acquiesce to the erroneous suggestion of his supervisor, Jim Kohen, that Georges River itself formed a boundary of language tribes

(continued...)
Domino Effect

Chapter 9/NE of this thesis has dealt with the movement of Broken Bay Wannungine Aborigines (known as Kuringgai aka Guringai) to occupy Port Jackson with a leader Bungaree, which confused the historical borders for that tribe which was to the northeast of the Darkiñung. However, it is not within the scope of this thesis to investigate the history for the corresponding movement of Illawarra (South Coast ‘Five Islands’) Dharawal (aka Thurawal) Aborigines to occupy Botany Bay, which having confused the historical borders of the Dharug has then had a domino effect.\(^{26}\) Movement from the Illawarra along the coast to Botany Bay is alluded to by historian Maria Nugent, with reference to a leader from the Illawarra identified by visiting French in 1819 as Timbéré [Timberly, now Timbery].\(^{27}\) Robert Mathews identified an informant on social organisation for the south coast as an old man he knew as ‘Timbery’, of Wollongong.\(^{28}\) Esther Wait discovered that the ‘first Aboriginal family to make a (permanent) settled home in La Perouse’ was George Timbery from the Illawarra (and his wife Emma ‘Lowns’ [Lowndes] from the Georges River as footnoted in Chapter 6).\(^{29}\) The establishment of these Illawarra people at Botany Bay was followed by the arrival there of Aborigines from many places, including Darkiñung-speakers from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. One of Mathews’s Darkiñung language informants, Annie Barber (née Dillon), was there, where she was known as ‘Grannie Barber’ and painted in 1914 by artist Herbert Beecroft.\(^{30}\)

Being in a rural area outside Sydney at that period, the Aboriginal camp to become La Perouse reserve was tolerated and remained while the then Protector of Aborigines in 1881, George Thornton, was

\(^{25}\)(...continued)

\(^{26}\) As mentioned in the preamble, the Dharug and Dharawal may have maintained a familiar relationship from a common ancestry in a similar manner to that found for the coastal Wannungine and Kattung-language Aborigines to their north.


\(^{30}\) In the research records of Randwick and District Historical Society, whose locality of interest includes La Perouse, there are identifications of Aborigines who came from many places, especially from the studies by Ellen Waugh of Herbert Beecroft’s work. I am honoured to have had access to her collections as a member of the society while she was president. A Beecroft portrait is illustrated at start of Part II.
transferring Aborigines away from urban areas. 31

Well before the mixing of and intermarriage between residual or remnant Aboriginal tribal groups which followed settlement, their location could be surmised by early historical records about Aborigines who communicated with the colonists (often called ‘chiefs’). The most prominent from whom can be gauged Dharug territory was explorer Barrallier’s 1802 friend Gogy - who was frightened out of his wits when out of his country when they encountered Goondel among les montagnards (‘the mountain dwellers’). Gogy was comfortable all the way from The Cowpastures of the upper Nepean River down either side of the Georges River as far as the Port Jackson / Botany Bay settlement. 32

Keith Smith observed that some of the words listed by Robert Brown in the Georges River estuarine area as above, were also ‘collected as “Darug” by R.H. Matthews (1901)’. 33 Mathews’s Dharug words lists were collected upstream of Botany Bay from people reared either on the Georges River at Liverpool or on the upper Nepean River at Camden, as shown from his notebooks above. However, it was preceded by a much earlier Georges River word list, about which the ‘Darug’ afficionado J.L. Kohen stated in his commentary for his dictionary of the Dharug language: ‘The first major (Dharug) word list was compiled by John Rowley, and was published under the heading “Language of the Aborigines of George's River, Cowpasture [Camden] and Appin, that is from Botany Bay, 50 miles to the south-west” - - - in 1878.’ 34

This distance acknowledged by Kohen, either by waterway or by roadway, takes one into the headwaters

31 ‘La Pa’ as it has been known, then a fishing place with a pleasant climate on the outskirts of Sydney, became a magnet. (Everingham Aborigines from the Hawkesbury Darkiung lived there too.) It seems that George Trooper and his wife Rachel (who also had been at the Sackville camp on the Hawkesbury, met by Robert Mathews - Chapter 7) turned up there as well, where Herbert Beecroft, who drew him, described him as ‘the blackest black I ever saw & a true type’. \ Nugent ‘Botany Bay’ p.50; Randwick and District Historical Society records collected by Ellen Waugh.

32 These earliest historical records around Sydney did not identify Aborigines by language group tribes. My study of Kogy cannot be included within the limits of this thesis. His name appears in historical records with a range of spellings as well as Barrallier’s Gogy. As Koggie, Gov. Macquarie 1810 placed him at The Cowpastures. As Cogie, Rev. Walker 1821 placed him at Liverpool. Some mentions of him are given in a biography by Goodall & Cadzow - who unfortunately keep referring to his historic Dharug people as Dharawal without providing justification for their switch. They have followed the present day convention of replacing the word ‘Aborigine’ with a language group identification name. \ Goodall & Cadzow 2009 ‘Kogi, “King” of the Georges River’ in ‘Rivers and Resilience’ pp.54-55.


of the Georges and upper Nepean rivers.

Kohen's astute recognition in 1984b of Rowley's first hand observations is the most important history in the recognition of the Dharug who were located at the Georges River to the southwest of Sydney, rather than his (Kohen's) later erroneous relocation of the Dharug at the Hawkesbury River to the northwest of Sydney - which is shown in Chapter 7 to have been supported by a circular argument whereby the proponent's source is himself.

Duall and the Kennedy Family with Young John Rowley

Recognition of the Georges River Aborigines at Appin, whom J.L. Kohen definitely and definitively identified as Dharug through Rowley's list, came about as follows because of the Kennedy family who settled there, migrants James and his sister Eliza (Elizabeth More Kennedy). Eliza became wife of settler Andrew Hume (viz. Andrew Hamilton Hume), James's son John expanded the settlement (through ‘Kennedy Brush’) and daughter Charlotte (Elizabeth Charlotte Kennedy) married William Broughton who had large land grants at Appin. It was at this location near Broughton's land where the Appin Massacre occurred on the night of 17 April 1816 when Aborigines tumbled over an escarpment at the Georges River, which became the template for horror stories of many more massacres about Aboriginal people hunted over cliffs (e.g. Chapter 3 in regard to Bells Gorge). These events can be traced back to a feud between this Kennedy clan and the Macarthur clan across the Nepean River on The Cowpastures at ‘Camden Park’, whereby animosity had developed when it had been Andrew Hume who was tried (but acquitted), then dismissed as storekeeper, following problems for receipts from the then paymaster, the litigious John Macarthur. Biographer Robert Webster suggests that Macarthur involved Andrew Hume in his

35 A further short biography of Broughton is given by Gillen: widow Elizabeth Charlotte Simpson née Kennedy was his second wife. Broughton would have started with a sympathetic relationship with the Aborigines as First Fleet assistant to surgeon John White who fostered Nambaree (Chapter 4). William Broughton's properties, ‘Lachlan Vale’ and ‘Macquarie Dale’, were located on Ousedale Creek flowing into the upper Nepean River near the Georges River (just over the higher ground between them which became Appin township). The Kennedys' grants, ‘Teston’ farm, were on a branch of a creek upstream, Rocky Ponds Creek, flowing into the present day Cataract River above its junction with the upper Nepean. Andrew Hume's home, ‘Hume Mount’ farm, was 3½ miles closer to Liverpool, also between the upper Nepean and Georges Rivers. (That location is marked with the Hume Monument on the Appin Road.) ∂ Locations from Parish maps; Robert H. Webster, 1982, ‘Currency Lad - The Story of Hamilton Hume and the Explorers’, Leisure Magazines, Avalon Beach (Sydney), p.4, p.20; Mollie Gillen, 1989, ‘Founders of Australia - A Biographical Dictionary of the First Fleet’, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), p.51.

36 Main references are given in Webster. I prefer the objective history by Michael Flynn to the account from Blacktown and District Historical Society by Kevin Moore (Chapter 7) claiming Hamilton Hume as ‘probably the most famous of Blacktown's sons’ while taking a severe attitude against his father Andrew. ∂ Webster 1982 ‘Currency Lad’ p.5; Frank O’Grady, 1964, ‘Hamilton Hume’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 49 (5): 337-59; Michael Flynn, 1993, ‘The Second Fleet - Britain's Grim (continued...)
(Macarthur's) dubious practices because of his (Hume's) subordinate position. It was staff members of the Macarthurs' establishment who misidentified the Kennedys' Blacks as miscreants, leading to the Appin Massacre followed by the arrest of the Kennedy family's friend Duall. The Aborigine Duall subsequently spent two years and a half of a seven year sentence as a convict in Van Diemans Land, before Charles Throsby was able to arrange a recall which resulted in Duall's historical contact with John Rowley as follows.

36(...continued)

37 This chapter shows that these were the Dharug who occupied that Country at the time the settlers arrived. (It seems to have been Gundungurra mountain dwellers who came from the west who were the miscreants and may have compromised the Dharug by seeking refuge with the Kennedys - these details bear further re-analyses.) There was no system for determining the truth of accusations against Aborigines identified by a settler - at best another settler might hide them or warn them they had been accused. This was a period of accusations that the government cattle at The Cowpastures were being stolen, and there were hidden agenda between the settlers. The power-play between Macarthur's staff and the Kennedy clan cannot be covered here. Watson summarises the punitive military expedition culminating in the massacre, and published Macquarie's report. While Elizabeth Macarthur had remained at 'Elizabeth Farm', Parramatta, the family had been away since March 1809 in England, with husband John arriving home October 1817 with their youngsters William and James. In older age, William, then Sir William, was seen to be very paternalistic, even allowing remnant members of the Gundungurra from the Wollondilly to camp on the property at the upper Nepean from which they had displaced the traditional Dharug. \ Malcolm Henry Ellis, 1973 3rd edn, 'John Macarthur', reprinted 1978 for 'Famous Australian Lives' series, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, p.443; A.L. Bennett, (ed.) 1914, 'My Recollections by William Russell', printed Camden News Office, p.20 - another edition with additional material published 1991, Oaks Historical Society for the Wollondilly Heritage Centre, The Oaks; Frederick Watson, 1917, ‘Three Detachments of the 46th Regiment’, Note 36 p.854 in HRA as follows; Lachlan Macquarie, 1816, Despatch to Earl Bathurst reporting punitive military expedition against the Aborigines, 8 June 1816 - transcribed in Frederick Watson (ed.), 1917, ‘Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Governors' Despatches to and from England, Vol.IX, January 1816-December 1818’, The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.139-45 (including Proclamation 4 May 1816 which followed the punitive expedition).

38 Other than confirming the Georges River Dharug at Appin through Rowley's contact, this story cannot be expanded for this thesis. I have drawn on use of original source documents cited in the biography of Hamilton Hume by Webster, and in the biography of Duall as exhaustively researched by Kristyn Harman at the University of Tasmania. Not quite exhaustively - she merely referred to this Dharug-language man incorrectly as 'Dharawal' without providing any basis for this basic mistake. The English transcription of Duall varies so much that one has to wonder how many Aborigines around that district had a name which sounded like that - when on Governor Macquarie's wanted list, at the time of the Appin Massacre, it was written 'Dewall', while 'Durelle' was an Aborigine whose body was recovered from over the precipice. Harman has combined all the apparent sources to develop a comprehensive history. Harman's basic mistake has become 'normal': the experienced history author Anne-Marce Whitaker opens a recent book with the bland statement, unsourced and unsound, 'The original inhabitants of the Appin area were the Dharawal people'. They have followed the present day convention of replacing the word 'Aborigine' with a language group identification. Another description of Duall and the Appin Massacre is given by K.V. Smith. \ Webster 1982 ‘Currency Lad’ pp.5-6; NSW BDM Registry for family records; Kristyn Evelyn Harman, 2008a, ‘Banishment to Bloodhounds’: the Changing Colonial Fortunes of Musquito and Duall', Chapter One pp.1-59 in 'Aboriginal Convicts: Race Law, and Transportation in Colonial New South Wales', Thesis University of Tasmania; Harman, 2008b, ‘Multiple Subjectivities: writing Duall's life as a social biography’, Chapter 4 in Peter Read, Frances Peters-Little & Anna Haebich (eds), 2008, ‘Indigenous Biography and Autobiography’, Aboriginal History Monograph 17, Aboriginal History Inc (continued...
The study in this chapter is, therefore, a beneficiary of Throsby.\(^{39}\)

In contrast to the behaviour of soldiers temporarily stationed in the colony, the Kennedy family children born in the colony identified with local Aborigines, and one of those at Kennedy's place was an apparent source for Rowley's record of language - 

 providing the best history of the Dharug. He was \textit{Duall} as above, with alternate spellings in English characters \textit{Duel, Dual, Doul, Doual, Douall, Dewall}. In 1814 \textit{Duall} took two of the teenage boys, Hamilton Hume and younger brother John Kennedy Hume, exploring through the upper Nepean catchment, in a way mindful of Ben Singleton learning bushwalking in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (with the \textit{Darkiñung}) about the same time.\(^{40}\) In return, Hamilton later helped other explorers, especially self-centred surgeon Charles Throsby of ‘Glenfield’ downstream on the Georges River who was expanding his land holdings south of Sydney in the direction decreed by Governor Macquarie. Native-born Hamilton together with John Rowley, a native-born friend the same age as him, in August 1817 guided Throsby and his servant Joseph Wild into the present day Southern Highlands which the Hume brothers already knew.\(^{41}\)

However, Throsby did not go with twenty two years old Hamilton or one of his brothers when looking for a better way to Bathurst from Sydney, for which the later journey in October 1827 from Richmond across the northern Blue Mountains by Hamilton Hume is discussed in Chapter 3. Instead, Throsby took the other John, twenty two years old John Rowley, as his native-born companion who was accompanied by

\(^{38}\)(...continued)


\(^{39}\) Throsby's journey around the southern Blue Mountains to reach Bathurst (via the ‘Foreign Kangaroo Ground’) is outlined in Chapter 11/SW. He was accompanied by John Rowley with \textit{Duall}.

\(^{40}\) When the Hume family were sold up at their Toongabbie farm ca.1805 they moved to an 1806 grant by Gov. King on the lower Nepean River in the Hawkesbury district (Chapter 3). However, this land was in the floodplain, so they moved to a new 1812 grant by Gov. Macquarie in the Appin district. Thus Hamilton (b.1797) had the opportunity to learn bush skills from the \textit{Darkiñung} Aborigines at the Hawkesbury during the very appropriate age of 8yo to 15yo (footnoted Chapter 3). Singleton features in Chapter 3. In his much later expedition along Darling Causeway of the Blue Mountains, Hamilton Hume was accompanied by youngest brother Francis Rawdon, as discussed in Chapter 3. [NSW BDM Records Index: Hamilton b.1797, John not listed b.ca.1800, Rawdon b.1803]

\(^{41}\) Joseph Wild was to become overseer of Governor Macquarie's road party there. [I note it was John Wild, Lieutenant Adjutant, who had taken up a grant at The Oaks in 1823 (Chapter 11/SW).]

Duall, when he made his attempt in April 1819 from The Cowpastures through the southern Blue Mountains, using as a guide another Aborigine, Cookkoogong who belonged to the southern Blue Mountains (Chapter 11/SW). All this was before even the birth of later contacts for historical records discussed in this thesis, e.g. before Jimmy Lowndes to become known as a Dharug man born at Camden (upper Nepean River catchment) and Billy Russell to become known as a Gundungurra man born nearby across the ridge (Wollondilly - Warragamba catchment).

Pea and Thimble Trick - Where Are The Dharug?

In Aboriginal country occupied by the colonists in the early areas of settlement, names were not widely known for a language spoken by Aboriginal local people, until after Ridley in 1853 (Chapter 6) went out northwest and dubbed ‘Kamilaroi’ in English characters as a language term to recognise several ‘Tribes’, which identification has achieved a consensus. Attempts to determine a consensus for a name for a ‘Sydney Language’ to the southeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges have not been successful. It is possible that Dharug (recently changed by J.L. Kohen of Blacktown and District Historical Society to his new brand-word ‘Darug’) was not the general language term as being ascribed for it in the present day.

42 Accepting that this was the Duall who had been outlawed and transported, that would have provided leverage for an unconscionable Throsby to insist on his co-operation without members of the Kennedy/Hume family, as for John Howe with Myles from the Hawkesbury River (Chapter 3). J.T. Campbell, Colonial Secretary, ‘Government and General Orders [re Tour lately made by Charles Throsby]’, Sydney Gazette Saturday 5 June 1819, p.1.

43 Aborigine Jimmy Lowndes features in Chapter 6. The Aborigine Billy Russell, as discussed with detail in Chapter 11/SW, was born at Werrriberry Creek (aka Monkey Creek [where ‘monkey’ = koala]) which flows into the Warragamba River in Gundungurra Country. His memoirs were transcribed by Bennett (reference as follows). By walking from Werriberry Creek over the bordering ridge to the east, past Mount Hunter, Billy was at the upper Nepean River in Dharug Country. When the settlers occupied along that river, then called The Cowpastures River at Camden, they were visited by Gundungurra people, not always peacefully. The Gundungurra seem to have considered themselves superior in some ways to the Dharug who had been dispersed by settlers advancing over the Cumberland Plain. In comparison, the rugged gorge country at the headwaters of the Nepean and Georges Rivers on the geological Woronora Plateau was the final refuge for the residual Dharug Aborigines - Duall’s people. This ridge [approx. present day Silverdale Road] was the borderline between the country of the Aborigines for the encounter related by Thomas Jones earlier in this chapter, and for Gregory Blaxland related in Chapter 3. (Confusion, or lack of understanding, of this tribal interface near Camden contributed to the Appin Massacre as above. In modern times, while Blacktown and District Historical Society diverted the attention for people of historic Darkiñung Country to the northwest of Sydney to be known as Dharug [Kohen’s ‘Darug’], Chapter 7, the people of actual historic Dharug country to the southwest of Sydney have become known as Dharawal.) Alfred Leonard Bennett, 1914, ‘My Recollections by William Russell’, [Transcribed from notes, as related by Russell], printed at the Camden News Office, Camden, another edition with additional material published 1991, Oaks Historical Society at the Wollondilly Heritage Centre, The Oaks.

The term Kamilaroi was used as a form for the negative ‘no’ - as was Wiradjuri. Jaky Troy (1993/4) just referred to ‘Sydney Language’, since which others have used variations of Eora. Keith Smith (2004) chose Biyal-Biyal for Sydney (Botany Bay / Port Jackson) as a double negative, but likewise suggested Gari-Gari for Broken Bay (Threlkeld’s ‘Karree’, Capell’s ‘Guri’ngai’). Biyal-Biyal is a derivative of Beeal-Beeal from the collection of Archibald Meston (1921). References as in Bibliography.
Language terms, as expressed in English, were recorded when investigators asked the Aborigines for a name for their language. In early contact, Aborigines described themselves, not by the language but by the location of their home group, at first in their own terms, later using the Englishman's terms. On this basis it seems a tad strange that, in his transcription, A.L. Bennett attributes to an illiterate Billy Russell a general expression for the Wiraljuri (sic: Bennett's spelling) north and west about Bathurst as well as the specific tribe named by Russell towards the coast, Dharruck, yet giving a particular place, Cabbage-Batha, as the location identification for people of Camden who 'were a different tribe to those at Burraga-rang' (Russell's own people) - i.e. Dharruck was the general ['tribal'] name for the People assumed for language identification. Such location identifications as Cabbage-Batha were used for Clan family groups. This supports the likelihood that Bennett had already been told the actual term by Billy Russell for the Language of the Georges River and upper Nepean River, Camden, which Bennett transcribed as 'Gur-gur', while for the name Billy spoke for the Burragorang Bennett wrote 'Gundung-gorra'.

In the present day Russell's locality for a Clan on the upper Nepean River Cabbage-Barta with language

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45 The term 'English' is a great model for the inconsistency about applying records for colonial Aboriginal identification [i.e. records in English]:- the term is a Language named for a Country which was named for a People who had come from somewhere else. And in recent times the form 'Anglo' has been derived, revitalised from its origin as a sort of cognomen.

46 Bennett published his transcriptions in 1914 (as for previous footnote). Nearly a hundred years earlier when there had been contact with Russell's own ancestral people, Jamison used terms in his 1818 journal: 'Condanora' [Gundangara, Gundungorra] to apply to the mountains southwest of the Warragamba River (i.e. west of Camden) and for the mountain country to the south of Coxs River the Aboriginal terms Barragarang Country [Burragorang] and Barnaley Country [Bannaby] were already known. This topic is discussed in Chapter 11/SW. \ John Jamison, 1834, 'Journal of the First Excursion up the Warragamba [November -December 1818]' as part 1, and report from journal of Thomas Jones of the First Excursion down the Coxs River [December 1818] as part 2, 'The New South Wales Magazine', vol.2: 53-61 and 111-17.

47 In his history of Camden, Alan Atkinson claimed the Cabbage barta people were a small and unwarlike tribe, contesting the findings of Robert Mathews identifying them as Dharruk. For Atkinson to be correct there would have been such inbreeding that such an independent 'tribe' could not have survived. This was at The Cowpastures identified by Governor Hunter's expedition November 1795 across the upper Nepean River, described by David Collins, a member of the expedition, as where: 'beautiful flats presented large ponds - - - - and the ground rose - - into hills of easy ascent'. Like other writers dealing with this area, Atkinson seems to have the neighbouring Gundungura of the Wollondilly catchment confounded with the Cabbage barta Dhargur people. He wrote, without identifying his source: 'the Aborigines called the place Baragal or Baragal'. I take this to identify the Burra [kangaroo] gal [people], echoed as Burra'gorang or Burra-burra, also misconstrued by some white people (Chapter 11/SW). \ Alan Atkinson, 1988, 'Camden - Farm and Village Life in Early New South Wales', reprint published 2008, Australian Scholarly Publishing, North Melbourne (Melbourne), pp.8-9, p.11; John Hunter, 1795, Despatch to Duke of Portland, 21 December 1795 - transcribed in Frederick Watson (ed.), 1914, 'Historical Records of Australia, Series I: Governors' Despatches to and from England, Vol.I, 1788-1796', The Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.550-51; David Collins, 1798, 'An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales [etc]', Vol.I. T.Cadell Jun. and W.Davies, The Strand (London). Facsimile edition 1971 [vol.1], Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, pp.436-37, Fletcher 1975 [vol.1] edn pp.364-66.
Russell gives the meaning of the location as cubbitch = white pipe clay, bartar = plenty, while the modern AHPI record refers to the coastal people, Dharawal, then incorrectly states: ‘Cubbitch Barta means ‘people of the river’ in the Aboriginal Gurgur language - -’. \ Bennett 1914 ‘My Recollections by William Russell’ p.20; Anon., date ng, ‘Cubbitch Barta National Estate Area, Old Illawarra Road, Holsworthy, NSW’ [otherwise Holsworthy Military Training Area], AHPI database online at www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb.

Thomas Rowley, John's father, had had more than one land grant in the Botany Bay catchment. At his property on Harris Creek at Williams Creek across the Georges River - i.e. on the right hand side, son John would have known the local Aborigines to the south of the river. John later held land at Liverpool, where he was an ‘innkeeper’ by the 1828 census. The local Aboriginal language which he knew - i.e. from both sides of the river - was the language with which Maria Lock's children were reared as given in Chapter 6. (In later life John Rowley became a publican in Sydney, dying at Scone, according to Ramage's research.) Goodall & Cadzow warn not to mistake Rowley's grandson John and Kogy's grandson 'Goggey' with the people being discussed in this chapter. In later life John Rowley became a publican in Sydney, dying at Scone, according to Ramage's research.}

Gur-gur are being applied to a different part of Dharug country on the coastal side (right hand side) of the Georges River.48 This is mentioned following in relation to Holsworthy Military Training Area. I do not suggest that a change is practical for the use of Dharug [representing Dharruck], other than providing here the best history possible. The source of that history is men named for military fathers: The identifying name of the Georges River people was told by the son of an Aboriginal mother, Billy Russell (b.ca.1830 - d.1914), while their distinguishing vocabulary came from the son of a convict mother, John Rowley (b.1797 - d.1873), friend of Aborigine Duall.

John Rowley as above - together with Duall - is arguably the most important historical source in locating the Georges River Aborigines to be the language group which Kohen in 1984 identified as Dharug (Chapter 7). Rowley was born 1797 as John Selwin and reared in the colony as second son of parents with a common law (de facto) marriage, convict Elizabeth Selwyn and Thomas Rowley, army Captain in the New South Wales Corps.49 John's early years were on the family properties at Cooks River (flowing into Botany Bay north of Georges River) and Georges River, at which time it was normal for native-born children of settlers to be acquainted with local Aborigines, who sometimes lived in their homes.50

48 Russell gives the meaning of the location as cubbitch = white pipe clay, bartar = plenty, while the modern AHPI record refers to the coastal people, Dharawal, then incorrectly states: ‘Cubbitch Barta means ‘people of the river’ in the Aboriginal Gurgur language - -’. \ Bennett 1914 ‘My Recollections by William Russell’ p.20; Anon., date ng, ‘Cubbitch Barta National Estate Area, Old Illawarra Road, Holsworthy, NSW’ [otherwise Holsworthy Military Training Area], AHPI database online at www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb.

49 Thomas Rowley, John's father, had had more than one land grant in the Botany Bay catchment. At his property on Harris Creek at Williams Creek across the Georges River - i.e. on the right hand side, son John would have known the local Aborigines to the south of the river. John later held land at Liverpool, where he was an ‘innkeeper’ by the 1828 census. The local Aboriginal language which he knew - i.e. from both sides of the river - was the language with which Maria Lock's children were reared as given in Chapter 6. (In later life John Rowley became a publican in Sydney, dying at Scone, according to Ramage's research.) Goodall & Cadzow warn not to mistake Rowley's grandson John and Kogy’s grandson ‘Goggey’ with the people being discussed in this chapter. In later life John Rowley became a publican in Sydney, dying at Scone, according to Ramage's research.}

50 Some settler families fostered Aboriginal children (Chapter 6), some convicts and their sons took Aboriginal women as partners (Chapter 4). [NB The term ‘take’ voluntarily, accept, as in traditional (continued...)
friend of the Hume brothers and companion of Charles Throsby as above, Rowley was later involved with
the Aborigines of the Airds (Campbelltown) and Appin area upstream along the Georges River.

Rowley's word list for the Georges River Aborigines was included in a collection by William Ridley for
the second, 1875, edition of his book, wherein its preamble states: ‘This Language was spoken from the
mouth of George's River, Botany Bay, and for about fifty miles to the south-west. Very few of the tribe
speaking this language are left, [my emphasis]’ A longer version of Rowley's language list was
presented in England two years later. There is no name given for the language in any record of it before
Mathews in the late 1890s, as above. It was Rowley's language list - the language spoken by Duall from
Appin - which Kohen was able to identify from Mathews's studies - firmly recognising in history the
Georges River Aborigines as Dharug.

Politician Richard Hill and the Waterways
While Kohen justifiably recognises Rowley's information in 1984b as above, the anomaly is difficult to
understand why in 1986b he had placed a stream as a boundary limiting Dharug at Liverpool on the
Georges River - but himself disagrees with his own concept in claiming a much wider and flood prone
stream did not limit the Dharug along the Richmond Road to the Hawkesbury River. This thesis's

50(...)continued
Christian marriage vows applies, rather than ‘take' forcefully as some authors have construed for such
partnerships.] It was not part of this thesis to investigate whether the first Aboriginal Rowley in the
vicinity could have been a child by a member of Thomas Rowley's family.

51 John Rowley, 1875, ‘Language of George’s River, Cowpasture, and Appin’, in William Ridley, 1875,
‘Kamilaroi, and other Australian Languages - Second Edition, Revised and enlarged by the author: with
Comparative Tables of Words from Twenty Australian Languages, and Songs, Traditions, Laws and
Customs of the Australian Race’, pp.103-08.

52 At that time in the colony, the New South Wales governor sent reports of interest to ‘Her Majesty's
Colonial Office’ in London, from where some were forwarded to The Anthropological Institute of Great
Britain and Ireland, to be read by the director at the meetings. A longer version of Rowley's language list,
part of a collection by Andrew Mackenzie, was presented to the Institute on 10 April 1877 when the
author and title were published in the second issue of the volume, with the article published 24 April 1877
in the third issue, although the date for the consolidated volume is 1878. ‘Language of the Aborigines of George's River, Cowpasture and Appin’, in Andrew Mackenzie, 1878,
‘Australian Languages and Customs’, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and
Ireland, vol.7 (2): 125, (3): 232-74, as supplement to previous report by Mackenzie ‘Australian Languages

53 Kohen must be given the accolade for recognising the Dharug as the Georges River people

54 Kohen's 1986b thesis map with this unresolvable anomaly has been reproduced multiple times, as well
as being used by other authors without checking. \ J.L. Kohen, 1986b, ‘Prehistoric Settlement in the
investigation is to contribute to an understanding of the Kohen conundrum. The relatively small waterway (Georges River) as a linguistic/tribal boundary Kohen misattributes to the politician Richard Hill in 1892, mistranscribed to be a specific boundary between Dharawal to the south and his (Kohen's) ‘Darug’ to the north.\(^55\) Kohen's misrepresentation of Hill is published as if to be a direct quote, without qualifications: \(\text{verbatim}\) ‘Those on the southern shore of the George's River, across to the coast and on the south shore of Botany Bay, spoke a different language to those at Liverpool’ \(\text{sic}\).\(^56\) This false quote tries to make sense of gobbledegook, citing Hill's 1892 Chicago Expo presentation, discussed following, taken from a semi-literate sentence of one hundred and twenty seven words, extracted here as follows. (Involvement for The World's Columbian Exposition Chicago 1892 is outlined for John Fraser in Chapter 9/NE.)

Hill, when discussing the ‘blacks belonging to the North Shore’ of Port Jackson ‘right away north to the Hawkesbury’, could only have meant the Aborigines from Broken Bay who had occupied the north shore (Threlkeld's ‘Karree’, Chapter 9/NE), although Hill did not have enough knowledge to distinguish them from the ‘Cammaragals’ who had disappeared from there soon after settlement. Then, concerning meetings of those ‘belonging to the North Shore’ with ‘the Parramatta, and sometimes the Windsor and Richmond blacks’, Hill wrote in 1892 that ‘the language differed a little’ and ‘it was apparent - - - that a difficulty in their language existed’. Hill continued in his extended sentence about Port Jackson ‘blacks belonging to the North Shore’: ‘and so [“a difficulty with their language existed”] with those that came from Liverpool and (with) the tribes which extended down(stream) in one way along the southern shore of George's River away to Botany Heads, down along the northern shore of Port Hacking to the coast where they joined the well known Botany blacks.’\(^57\) Hill was trying to describe his knowledge of the

\(^{55}(\text{...continued})\)


\(^{55}\) Hill does not name a ‘tribe’ at the Georges River, but links Aborigines at Liverpool with those [to be the same as those] on the other (south) side of the river, as shown following.


\(^{57}\) There is further support for Hill personally knowing the Georges River Aborigines, as he had Emma Lowndes for a servant until she left him to marry George Timbery on the South Coast (as footnoted in Chapter 6). \(\text{\&}\) Richard Hill, in Hill & George Thornton, 1892, ‘Notes on the Aborigines of New South (continued...)
unsettled area where he went fishing and hunting as given below. While it was supposed to mean something to people from around the world at the Chicago Expo, Hill's tortured statement is a conundrum to any person familiar with Sydney geography. Deciphered, Hill wrote that the people then on the north shore of Port Jackson (the Broken Bay people) spoke a different language to the people on both sides of the Georges River.\(^58\) Kohen's rewriting had drastically changed the meaning. The exasperating Richard Hill died a couple of years later, aged eighty 85 years old. I have examined others of his perambulations into print concerning Aborigines to try to understand how Hill's contributions are being used in present times to explain Aboriginal traditional country. By the time of his writing the Aborigines in Sydney were an amalgam of refugees from around New South Wales, but he tried to remember some earlier times.

A pattern of confusion developed in the nineteenth century about who were the Aboriginal people of Port Jackson, the Broken Bay Aborigines who arrived from the north with Bungaree to occupy the land. Although the traditional ‘Cammaragal’ Clan on the north shore had long since disappeared, their name was still known, and misused by people such as Richard Hill.\(^59\) Others who had travelled to the north in the interior such as his younger brother Edward knew of a term spoken as ‘Comlerai’.\(^60\) Edward's friend Philip Cohen distinguished between the term ‘Kamilaroi’ extending north from the upper Hunter Valley (discussed Chapter 12/NW) and ‘Comlerai’, like others of the time attributing the latter to a corruption of the term ‘Cammeray’ which had been used for Sydney Aborigines.

**Philip Cohen Challenges Richard Hill**

The attitude of the businessman Richard Hill born 1810 appears to have reflected efforts to get out of the shadow of his eldest brother George Hill born 1802 who was more admired in society, despite Richard's own success. Their experience for culture of Aborigines was seeing them as subordinate fringe dwellers

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\(^57\)(...continued)


\(^58\) Richard Hill had made an observation worthy of note, but not noticed (or not understood) until Keith Smith in 2001 made a similar finding about the Broken Bay ‘Kuringgal’ foreigners on the Port Jackson north shore with which he corrected Jim Kohen about the north shore as discussed in Chapter 7.


\(^60\) Accusations were rife in the literary match ignited by Viator as follows. Resolution has not been helped by modern eminent writers such as Dixon (2002) placing ‘Cameeragal’ out of Sydney in his Central New South Wales Group (Chapter 6), or others following Tindale (1940) calling them ‘Kameraigal’.
around Sydney. From his exhaustive archival research on the early history of the Aborigines at Sydney [Port Jackson / Botany Bay], Keith Smith provided this conclusion: ‘References to Indigenous People from outside the Sydney area camping in (Sydney) begin in the 1830s and increase throughout the nineteenth century. After 1850 very few were (Sydney) descendants while some reports referred to the “last” member of “the Sydney tribe”’. Smith discussed eighteen camps around Botany Bay and Port Jackson.\footnote{Keith Vincent Smith, 2004, ‘Fringe Dwellers: Nineteenth Century Campsites’, Chapter 6 in ‘Eora Clans’, Thesis Macquarie University, pp.173-86, quote p.174.}

The Hills' younger brother Edward born 1819, naturalist, museum trustee who was an acquaintance of Aborigines and made observations in rural areas, became friends with the merchant Philip Cohen born 1824. Cohen had intimate knowledge of Aborigines with whom he had lived as equals from the age of ten in northern New South Wales, where at the age of fourteen he had been taken to a ‘“Gabooraa”, Aboriginal man-making ceremony’.\footnote{Later, in 1899 after Cohen was dead, Walter Enright (b.1874) criticised the first hand notes by Philip Cohen (b.1824) of his own experiences thirty six years before he (Enright) was born because, he inferred, Cohen had not seen the full procedures which he (Enright) had been told lasted over more days when conducted for boys in a tribal situation. On 3 March 1898 the secretary of the Anthropological Society of Australasia when noting the death of Cohen wrote that the society would publish some of Cohen's notes [spread over several entries] is to what Enright referred. \ \ Walter J. Enright, 1899, ‘The Initiation Ceremonies of the Aborigines of Port Stephens, N.S. Wales’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 33: 115-24, comments about Cohen, giving the details of publication, p.124.}

Richard Hill's convict father had worked for the government slaughter house, and the family became associated, first as managers, with the Wentworth family. Philip Cohen's convict father was a merchant, assigned as a clerk to Major Archibald Clunes Innes at Port Macquarie where the Aborigines had retained their culture.\footnote{This reinforces the observation by Lancelot Threlkeld that the Central Coast Language could be understood north of Hunter River, and the close relationship between these two coastal groups and the Darkiñung of this thesis is further discussed in Chapter 9/NE. \ \ Philip Cohen, 1890, Sydney Morning Herald Tuesday 27 May 1890 p.7.} Philip became a member of the Anthropological Society and ‘Early Day Aborigines’

\footnote{As Innes's niece, Annabella Innes in residence at ‘Lake Innes’, Port Macquarie was aware of the Aborigines retaining their culture. Annabella later wrote as Mrs Boswell, discussed further in Chapter 11/SW. \ \ Annabella Boswell (née Annabella Innes), 1890 [book 3], ‘Recollections of Some Australian Blacks’, privately circulated, Cumnock GB, copy sent 1944 by daughter at Ayr, Scotland, to John Ferguson [ref Ferguson Bibliography 7289b], reproduced as ‘Recollections of Some Australian Blacks: Bathurst district, 1835-40, Port Macquarie, 1844, Hunter's River, 1850’.}
describing the ‘Gaboora’ from his notes was published after his death. In 1883 Richard as a Member of
the Legislative Council became an active participant of the Aborigines' Protection Board where he could
influence their destiny. In 1882 Richard had been a commissioner for fisheries, but it was Philip who
attended The World’s Columbian Exposition Chicago 1892 with his book ‘The Marine Fish and Fisheries
of New South Wales’, reducing Richard to the puerile one page and a half of the eight page booklet with
George Thornton which was cited by Kohen as above to be the authority for Aboriginal tribal
boundaries.65 Reviewing material about these two men, his envy of Cohen seems to have driven Hill to
write his unfortunate statements misquoted and misused by Kohen about the Georges River - Botany Bay
‘aboriginals’ as follows, in order to establish his superiority over his younger brother's friend.

A newspaper correspondent in April 1890 under the nom de plume of Viator [traveller] set the ball rolling
for a literary match about Aboriginal knowledge between Philip Cohen and Richard Hill who felt driven
to show Cohen's knowledge as inferior.66 The contest in the correspondence columns of The Sydney
Morning Herald lasted until the death, two months later, of another contestant, Reverend George
Macarthur.67 Even John Fraser (Chapter 9/NE) joined in, other players dropped in and out.68 Richard Hill
M.L.C. made rather pretentious statements about his acquaintance with influential persons in Sydney such
as the Crown Solicitor in attempts to exhibit his authority. He described his experiences as camping on a
hill near Kurnell, which I have located topographically from his descriptions to have been on the
peninsula between Botany Bay and Bate Bay where the Botany Bay National Park Discovery Education
Centre was located near Sutherland Point. Hill wrote, inter alia: ‘On the rising ground I spent, once or
twice a year, many happy days, fishing and hunting. - - - - My late brother, Mr George Hill, always acted
as providore on these expeditions, and was, I may say, the leader - -’.69 Apparently Hill saw Aborigines

65 References for paragraph: Martha Rutedge, 1972, ‘Hill, George (1802-1883)’ and ‘Hill, Richard (1810-
1895)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 4, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.398-
401; K.J. Cable, 1974, ‘Macarthur, George Fairfowl (1825-1890)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography,
Volume 5, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.123-24; Philip Cohen, nd, ‘Early Day Aborigines:
description of the “Gaboora”’, cover title ‘Aboriginal Man-making Ceremony as seen in the Hastings
River District in the Year 1838’ publ. [1925?] F.A. Fitzpatrick, Chronicle Print, Wingham [This is extract
from Cohen's notes, some of which had been published on his death 1898 - as given for footnote re
Enright 1899 above]; ‘Cohen, Philip (c1824-1898)’, in Manly Council Biographical Notes ‘C Manly
Biographical’ online at www.manly.nsw.gov.au; Philip Charles Cohen, date na, ‘Henry Cohen’, located

66 ‘Viator’, 1890, ‘What’s In A Name?’, The Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday 26 April 1890, p.8.

67 George Macarthur, b.1825, was son of Hannibal Macarthur and Governor King's daughter Anna Maria
- after whom Maria Lock had been named (Chapter 4).

68 In my printed reference collection, I have 23 letters, from 15 authors, in this correspondence.

69 Richard Hill, 1890, ‘Aboriginal Names’, correspondence to the editor, The Sydney Morning Herald,
Friday 6 June 1890, p.5.
as a servant class: the biographer Martha Rutledge reported that Hill had an Aboriginal houseboy and that he had been rowed across the harbour by ten Aborigines - like galley slaves rowing a Roman emperor - to his orchard estate where the medico and naturalist George Bennett had visited in 1850s.\(^{70}\)

In the correspondence contest, it would seem from Cohen's candidness and Hill's posturing that Cohen had visited urban camps and observed alcohol problems which eventuated in camps being shut down by the ‘protectors’ (cross refer George Thornton as above), while Hill as one of the ‘protectors’ had gone to camps as a member of VIPs' visits when the camps had been sanitised for their arrival.\(^{71}\) The tortured writing which Hill presented to the Chicago Expo, misused by Cohen, did not add to knowledge. What Hill was telling his international audience was that the Aborigines on the south bank of the Georges River were the same as those at Liverpool on the north bank and that they were different to the Broken Bay Aborigines on the north shore of Port Jackson. **This has implications beyond this thesis, in that descendants from the residual Aboriginal people of the Georges River (including Kogy’s family) are traditional owners of the Dharug inheritance, documented from the time of John Rowley (who was born there in 1797).** There was no imperative after all in recent times for Cohen to have taken the Dharug from there to pretend to have them occupy the southeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the north of Sydney instead of their own heritage area of the Woronora Plateau to the south of Sydney. That pretence forms part of the Blacktown hoax.

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\(^{70}\) Hill took for a servant housegirl a young Georges River Aborigine known as Emma Lowndes (later to become Emma Timbery - Chapter 6). The illusion to a galley is mine. Bennett describes visiting the estate by road without mention of Aborigines, but Smith has wrongly attributed Rutledge's reference (not given) to Bennett. However, he noted Maybanke Anderson had written about six Broken Bay tribe men from Pittwater ‘who were taken to California by Mr Richard Hill’. ‘Mr Hill took the blackfellows with him because they could be employed to row the boats’, apparently to supply a business service for ferrying gold-diggers - but only one Aborigine survived Richard Hill's gesture. (This was Bowen, son of Bungaree, who does not seem a likely candidate for Rutledge's report. Bowen is part of other studies which I had done previously.) \(\backslash\) Keith Vincent Smith, 2004, ‘Bungaree and the Migration of the Garigal’, Chapter 4 in ‘Eora Clans’, Thesis Macquarie University, pp.135-51, quote p.147; George Bennett, 1860, ‘Gatherings of a Naturalist in Australasia: Being Observations Principally on the Animal and Vegetable Productions of New South Wales, New Zealand, and Some of the Austral Islands’, John van Voorst, London, facsimile 1982, The Currawong Press, Milsons Point (Sydney), pp.307-17; Jan Roberts, 1996, ‘Maybanke Anderson's Story of Pittwater 1770 to 1920’, Ruskin Rowe Press, Avalon Beach (Sydney), p.52, including transcription of Maybanke Anderson (Mrs. Francis Anderson), 1920, ‘The Story of Pittwater’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 6 (4): 161-97.

\(^{71}\) Richard Hill's posturing to confront Philip Cohen in public concealed that he had been party to having Aborigines removed to Daniel Matthews's Maloga mission from Sydney where he had observed their excessive access to alcohol, as I found in other studies. Another politician of the time involved with the Aborigines’ circumstances was John Frazer who became involved with Matthews in Sydney. But having been often written as John Fraser he can be confused with the school teacher John Fraser who wrote about the Aborigines around Sydney being extinct (Chapter 9/NE) - even though having retired to Randwick which was on the way to the La Perouse camp.
Inaccessible Territory

Just as has been claimed by those who mistakenly pretended the Dharug did not cross the Georges River, it is observed that the Georges River right hand bank actually has been an impenetrable boundary within living memory, but the history of this is not part of this thesis. Along Mill Creek mentioned above in the east, thence along the main channel of the Georges River in the west, upstream beyond Campbelltown towards Appin has been the Prohibited Area of Holsworthy Military Training Area, used for training manoeuvres in 1906 and (with some resumed vineyards and orchards) reserved in 1913.  

The study of Dharug people to the southeast of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges has shown that their traditional country at the time of settlement has been largely disregarded. Its bushland contains some of the richest surviving cultural heritage in the world, protected by the Georges River military prohibited area as well as the Nepean River water catchment prohibited areas. The Dharug do not need the Hawkesbury as unwisely offered by Kohen for a culturally important area at all. Descendants of the Georges River people whose family history may be Dharug rather than Dharawal also have all the cultural heritage of their ancestors' traditional country irrespective of the name given to the language group, just as for the descendants of the Hawkesbury River people whose ancestral history may be Darkĩñung rather than Dharug.  

The occupancy of the Aborigines now known as the Dharug-language people [Kohen’s misnamed ‘Darug’] appears to have been the Georges River catchment commencing high above the south coast Illawarra escarpment, incorporating the upper Nepean catchment (i.e. upstream of the junction with Warragamba River which flows through a gorge from the southern Blue Mountains). This is the culturally rich sandstone Woronora Plateau. The catchment of South Creek - which arises between the upper Nepean and Georges Rivers at Catherine Field (Camden) below Currans Hill (Campbelltown) on the rolling Cumberland Plain - down to the floodplain near the Hawkesbury River, was utilised by the ancestral Dharug as part of their country. This floodplain, near where the Black Town occurred on the

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72 The Reserve is the ‘Holsworthy Military Training Area’. A quick reference is provided by the statements on the Australian Heritage Places Inventory (AHPI) for ‘Cubbitch Barta National Estate Area’ where cubbitch barta was given by ‘the nominator’ to mean ‘“people of the river” in the Aboriginal Gurgur language’. (As shown above, that meaning is inaccurate, having no relationship to the historical record as taken from Billy Russell’s memoirs.) AHPI record accessed online 2010.

73 At the completion, 2010, of this stage of my research I am left wondering what was the relationship pre-settlement of the Illawarra Dharawal and the Georges River Dharug - named by the Wollondilly Gundangurra man Billy Russell (Chapter 6). [Robert Mathews 1901b had culturally linked all three with their languages which he recorded first hand.] Could they have been the same ancestral people? Pursuit of this curiosity is not part of the study for this thesis. It provides grounds for further investigation.
Richmond Road across South Creek, were merely the northwest edge of Dharug Country on the southeast of Darkiñung Country.

**Chapter 10/SE Findings**

The purpose of this chapter is to recognise the Darkiñung-Language People of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges by separating their Country from that of those to their southeast at the time of settlement, the Dharug-Language People known from the Cumberland Plain to the west of Sydney. These latter are now commonly referred to in western Sydney by a new term ‘Darug’ contrived for them at the Blacktown and District Historical Society from where some Aboriginal descendants were being contacted to share historical information ca.1980, detailed in Chapter 7. This new word, adapted from a vegetable root in western Victoria, was applied to their infant Tribal Link ca.1990 [1988?], and gained false fashionability from the 1993 society publication ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours’ which is misleading about the historic position for their neighbours as well as being misleading for the Dharug. The author's motive for this successful hoax could not be ascertained.

The findings of this chapter show first of all that the Cumberland Plain people to the southwest of Sydney, the Dharug-Language People, distinguished themselves from the Aborigines of the northern Blue Mountains, the Darkiñung-Language People, of whom they were afraid.

The collections of evidence from historic records place the Dharug southeast of the Hawkesbury floodplain, which for the mountain Darkiñung forms the southeast border. Robert Mathews, the surveyor who first recorded these two language terms, placing the terms in the public domain, provided a separation line from the watershed south of Broken Bay across to Windsor. The watershed ridge, present day Mona Vale Road was then known by the road from the south Arm of the Bay, Pittwater, to Lane Cove which had been misinterpreted in 1970 as Lane Cove river. (The people of Broken Bay are considered in Chapter 9/NE.) Windsor town had become a settlement administration location for the Dharug from the then Black Town who visited across the Hawkesbury floodplain (as described in Chapter 6). It was the Hawkesbury settlers' administration district, not the Hawkesbury Aborigines' traditional area, which crossed the floodplain along the Richmond Road from Windsor and Richmond.
The traditional country of the Dharug, identified from earliest records of their language, has been shown credibly by J.L. Kohen at Blacktown and District Historical Society in 1984 to be based around the Georges River flowing into Botany Bay, using records by John Rowley reared there - who was a friend of Dharug Aborigine Duall from Appin. Assuming the river itself as a boundary was a misinterpretation in the 1993 book. As well, the Dharug occupied the upper Nepean River (above Warragamba junction) - possessing the South Creek plains country in between. The Dharug language was recorded from Botany Bay up into the Woronora Plateau beyond Appin before any other Aboriginal group moved in to occupy that country. Once the settlers began penetrating into the Wollondilly-Warragamba River catchment, it seems that the mountain neighbours from there, Gundungurra-Language people, began their own defence on Dharug land around Camden (having retaliatory consequences known as the 1816 Appin Massacre).

The only practical conclusion which is practicable is for the Hawkesbury / Nepean River floodplain to have formed a boundary between the Cumberland Plain Dharug and the northern Blue Mountain Darkiñung, with lower Nepean River as Darkiñung and South Creek catchment higher than the floodplain as Dharug territory, leaving the watershed between South Creek and the lower Nepean River as a nominal border. (While either side could be defended, for the use of land on the floodplain itself where open campsites existed, the answer to the question ‘who was where’ may be best answered by which way you would run when a flood arrived.) To the northeast of the floodplain the natural topographical feature to have been a geographical border is the watershed between the tributaries of the Parramatta River for the ‘coastal’ Dharug and the tributaries of the Hawkesbury River for the ‘inland’ Darkiñung (which corresponds to the Mathews Line).
Chapter 11/SW

The misty vista of the upper Grose Valley from Govetts Leap Lookout, Blackheath, at the end of the modern tourists’ road from photograph by Geoff Ford
Friday 4 June 2010

The cleared top of mountain Uraterer - which became ‘Gospers Mountain’ farm in the centre of the Colo River wilderness from photograph by Andy Macqueen
September 2001

From the Blue Mountains (on the drivers’ road) to the Wollemi (in the walkers’ wilderness)

Notes:
The SW of Darkiñung Country encompassed the Northern Blue Mountains peaks and valleys for the catchment of the Hawkesbury River Branches, both from the Grose River Branch and from the Colo River Branch which includes the present day ‘Wollemi Wilderness’. When my family was at Blackheath, we would walk to Govetts Leap (where there was a kiosk) where people began their bushwalking journeys. In colonial days small farmers settled in the wilderness while pastoralists took their stock through. Yet modern humans driving on roads in their air conditioned motor vehicles imagine it was too rough for traditional Aborigines to walk.
Part III (3)

Chapter 11/SW

Country to the Southwest of the Darkiŋung:
Interacting with the Gundungurra of the Southern Blue Mountains

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The valorisation of “wilderness” has accompanied an Amnesia of the fate of indigenous peoples.

Langton, 1995

None more so than amnesia about Darkiñung-Language people who have been misplaced. The designation of their Country in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges as ‘wilderness’ applies particularly for the southwestern quadrant adjacent to Country of the Gundungurra-Language People.

**The Issue**

This chapter examines putative borders on the southwestern quadrant of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, that is, examines the distinction between the Aboriginal occupation of the northern Blue Mountains of this thesis and of the southern Blue Mountains, bounded on the west by the Central Tablelands. It has become comfortable to accept that the range onto which the Great Western Highway ascends from the lower Nepean River at Emu Plains provides a border between Aboriginal Language groups (‘Tribes’), with Gundungurra-speaking Aborigines to the south of the main road. The consensus that these Gundungurra language people bordered Dharug-speaking people in the mountains to their north has been shown to be without foundation in this study - the Dharug did not occupy any country in the Blue Mountains before settlement (Chapter 7 and Chapter 10/SE). Rather, it was the Darkiñung-speaking Aborigines, first known in the colony as ‘The Branch’ natives who occupied the Grose River catchment to the north of the highway as detailed in Chapter 2. A natural topographical border is formed at the lower

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2 At issue for the study in this thesis is authorities who contradict themselves, which has influenced me to include detailed descriptions of sources in order to assist the reader to follow the argument. The most prominent researcher on Gundungurra history J.L. Smith published a 2003 book over the name of R.H. Mathews [Chapter 6] with text attributed to an unpublished manuscript by Mathews (located at the National Library by ‘Karen Attard’, giving ‘versions of legends’ written by Mathews). In this Mathews (continued...)
eastern section by the lesser known main range which is to the south of the highway. The natural border constitutes the watershed on the northern side of the Cox River, which flows east through the mountains joining the Wollondilly River in the Burrarorang Valley to form the Warragamba River. This chapter shows that range to be an appropriate geographical boundary between the Gundungurra Aborigines of the southern Blue Mountains and the Darkiñung Aborigines of the northern Blue Mountains (the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges of this thesis).

Geographically this chapter deals with the Blue Mountains from the Nepean River to the Great Dividing Range. Moving from south to west, the first task is to address the history of the lower part of the range rising west from the lower Nepean River up to the Kings Tableland (Wentworth Falls township). This lower part of the range with the Cox River to its south is named Erskine Range. The second task is to consider the higher range between the upper Grose River valley and the Cox River valley (Katoomba to Mount Victoria township). The third task is to study the range beyond the Grose River valley between the catchment of the upper Colo River tributaries and the upper Cox River. This is the section of the range from Mount Victoria to where the range branches off the Great Dividing Range, which was named by Hamilton Hume in 1827 as Darling's Causeway after the then governor (Chapter 3). I make the case that the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges were not impenetrable, to establish that the Aborigines of the upper Colo did not come into the ranges from the interior [west of Mount York] the way settlers had arrived at Wolgan and Capertee Valleys of the upper Colo River.

I am including at the end of the chapter the discussion as to whether a main dividing range, in this context the Great Dividing Range, formed a border for Aboriginal groups.

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2(...continued)

stated: ‘On the north of the Gundungurra was the country of the Darkiñung’, for which Smith gives two of Mathews's publications as verification. One of my research ms circulated for comment as part of my studies provided early historic evidence to support Smith: that it was ‘The Branch’ natives (Darkiñung) to the north of the Gundungurra in the Blue Mountains - and hence it could not have been Dharug as had been supposed before my study (Chapter 2). In response, Smith (pers. comm.) contradicted Mathews's publications and his own 2003 publication, arguing that it was preferable to believe they were Dharug because Kohen said so, rather than to recognise what was found in historic records (of which there is further discussion in Chapter 7). Jim Smith was Jim Kohen's postgraduate student at Macquarie University. \Jim Smith, 2003, ‘Some Mythology and Folklore of the Gundungurra Tribe by R.H. Mathews’, self published - Den Fenella Press, Wentworth Falls, p.13.

3 On the southern side of this watershed border is the Cox River catchment as stated. On the northern side - as elevation is gained east to west, are the Erskine Creek, the Grose River and the Colo River catchments of the Hawkesbury River.
There is not space available in this thesis to do justice to the study as to how the geology has affected the history of Aboriginal country. The Wollondilly-Warragamba River flows east through a gorge where the upper Nepean joins it, becoming the lower Nepean River, to flow north through a gorge, the ‘Nepean Gorge’, before emerging to form the western edge of the Cumberland Plain at the foot of the mountains. European names do not do justice to the natural topography. Reference is most commonly made to the seminal works of Griffith Taylor, former Professor of Geography and head of Sydney University Geography Department. The ‘wilderness’ Country of the Darkiñung-Language People in the Erskine Range - Nepean River to Kings Tableland (Task 1)

It is not possible to reconstruct from historical records where actual borders were for ‘The Branch’ natives (Darkiñung) of the river to meet with the other two language group ‘Tribes’ of Dharug to their southeast and Gundungurra to their southwest. An early settlement at the ‘Emu Plains’ with a crossing over the Nepean River, which resulted in that original crossing over the river (‘Emu Ford’) becoming the first Bathurst road, had disrupted the tribal integrity of the Aborigines there before the colonists had any understanding that there were different language groups in the vicinity. The only certainty is that the road's approach to the mountains from the ford was not a tribal border. Even as a route it had been rejected by James Byrnes, the person who knew an appropriate Aboriginal way onto the range (Chapter 3). Penrith which developed on the 1814 main road, supplanting the earlier Macquarie town of Castlereagh downstream of Emu Ford, was not a natural landmark for an Aboriginal boundary although it was used later as a reference location.

Given the discovery in this study (Part I) that ‘The Branch’ natives of the Colo and Macdonald River Branches also occupied the Grose River Branch, one topographical location for a border remained to be examined by looking for historical documents: That is, the range at the junction where the Warragamba River joins the upper Nepean. Consistent with that junction having been where the country of the three ‘Tribes’ met, the Dharug on the Cumberland Plain occupied to the southeast of the river floodplain, and the Darkiñung of the ranges occupied to the northwest of that floodplain as examined in Chapter 10/SE. The Aboriginal history has remained confounded because of which ridge the settlers used to cross the mountains. Until November 1818 when John Jamison, accompanied by his naturalist Thomas Jones, rowed up the Nepean River from his property ‘Regentville’ near Penrith, the mountains to the west of Mulgoa arising in the Nepean Gorge had not attracted any attention. Jamison's party explored up the ‘Western River’, named by Governor Macquarie the ‘Warragombie’. At first, Jamison thought that what he named the Erskine River flowing into the Nepean on the south side of the new Bathurst road would be

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There is not space available in this thesis to do justice to the study as to how the geology has affected the history of Aboriginal country. The Wollondilly-Warragamba River flows east through a gorge where the upper Nepean joins it, becoming the lower Nepean River, to flow north through a gorge, the ‘Nepean Gorge’, before emerging to form the western edge of the Cumberland Plain at the foot of the mountains. European names do not do justice to the natural topography. Reference is most commonly made to the seminal works of Griffith Taylor, former Professor of Geography and head of Sydney University Geography Department. The ‘wilderness’ Country of the Darkiñung-Language People in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges he labels as ‘empty’ for his settlement article. Thomas Griffith Taylor, 1958, ‘Sydneyside Scenery - And How It Came About’, Angus and Robertson, Sydney; Griffith Taylor, 1960, ‘Sydney: Topography and Settlement’, The Australian Museum Magazine, issue devoted to the natural history of the Sydney area, 13 (8): 266-69; J.W. Pickett & J.D. Alder, 1997, ‘Layers of Time: The Blue Mountains and Their Geology’, Geological Survey of New South Wales, New South Wales Department of Mineral Resources, Sydney.
the same stream as the Cox River which was crossed by the road on the other side of Mount York. But while Jamison's party proceeded up the Warragamba, as he called the river, when they reached the Burragorang Valley he wondered if the Cox River was that which he found flowing into it. Three weeks later Jones followed the stream down from the Bathurst road, confirming that the upper Cox flowed into the Warragamba, thus the name Erskine applies to the next tributary of the Nepean downstream of the Warragamba junction in the Nepean Gorge. It is the catchment country of this, present day Erskine Creek, with nearby Glenbrook Creek, which requires analysis for the history of Aboriginal country.

When considering a natural boundary for the Aboriginal groups, the delineating topographical feature is the watershed range to the north of the Cox River feeder creeks, present day Erskine Range, along which ran the aptly named ‘Watershed’ road when the Warragamba reservoir was being constructed. Travelling up this range, north of Dallawang Saddle (between Dallawang Creek flowing to Cox River to the south and Kiara Creek flowing to Erskine Creek to the north), the Erskine Range is the route followed by Kings Tableland Road from the township of Wentworth Falls on the main western road over the mountains.

Because modern people are so infatuated with desire for some line drawn on a printed map to mark a boundary and the settlers' main western road to Bathurst over the Blue Mountains fills that need, bizarre as it may seem, it is a new thought expressed in this thesis that the Aborigines would not also have adopted that road line before its existence, and thus an irreverent thought that Erskine Range watershed may have been their more realistic natural border. (The Erskine Range watershed is that shown on the

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5 Somewhat later, in 1831 while surveying for Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell's new Counties map, Francis Rusden visited this area, The Blue Labyrinth, and found what he thought was a new river wrongly imagined to be the Cox again. Few people appreciate that this feature is there to their southern (left hand) side as they travel up the Great Western Highway. \ Alan E.J. Andrews, 1983, ‘The Carmarthen Hills and Thereabouts: The First Fifty Years of Mapping the Blue Mountains’, Journal of Royal Australian Historical Society, 69 (1): 1-17, quote p.14.


7 This ‘Watershed’ road is now mapped as a bush fire road.

8 The exploration - from Emu Ford - for this line of road is discussed in Chapter 3. Other than transport routes such as roadways and tracks, the most common lines drawn on maps are waterways. Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell insisted on streams being plotted in detail in order to form his own territorial boundaries - that of Land Parishes. The cartographer, sitting at his board, then filled in a line at the headwaters - a comfort not available to people making their way amongst real topography on the ground. (continued...)
1875 map at the start of Part III.)

For the country between Erskine Range and the ridge up which the Blue Mountains settlement has developed - i.e. between the two possible boundaries - it has not been practicable for this thesis to engage further with the topic of the language group affiliations for the Aborigines who left their art and artefacts there. However, Erskine Range is the only appropriate feature from the Nepean River into the mountains which could form a natural boundary for Aboriginal territory. Obviously a creek cannot be such a boundary because there is no way of defining an upper end point in the gullies where little trickles meet when it rains. Between this watershed, the Erskine Range, and the Bathurst road the bushland is known as ‘The Blue Labyrinth’, which can be deduced to have been a southeast corner of the putative Darkiñung Country. A comprehensive Local History has been published by local resident Bruce Cameron who made the same deduction for the border of Aboriginal language groups. Although citing other authors without analysis, he usefully wrote from his own first hand knowledge that: ‘It is possible Erskine Creek or the Erskine watershed [Erskine Range] was the boundary (for the) Gundungurra lands’ to the south.⁹

Blue Mountains Range - Katoomba/Leura to Mount Victoria (Task 2)

When the Bathurst road was constructed by William Cox in 1814, there were no permanent Aboriginal presences reported and beyond Springwood the settlers' inns for the travellers along the route became the only habitation. But Aboriginal relics in the mountains may be associated with the out of sight camps of Aborigines passed by Blaxland's party in autumn 1813 (Chapter 3). The more permanent camps observed by the explorers were only noted in the valleys of the higher Cox River catchment beyond present day Katoomba.¹⁰ Thus, the later situation of Aboriginal people permanently settling on the range itself

³(continued)


⁹ To attribute a language group of Aborigines to these mountains, the author presumptively used one of the references by J.L. Kohen about Aborigines of the ‘Western Cumberland Plain’ discussed elsewhere in this thesis. [The Dharug were not in the mountains - that was from a mislocation of inland Bathurst district among Conflicting Beliefs - Chapter 7.] Bruce Cameron, 1992, ‘A History of The Blue Labyrinth, Blue Mountains National Park’, self published, Sun Valley, produced by Wren Graphics.

¹⁰ In these higher valleys the Cox River comes from the north, running against the western edge of the raised plateau before slicing through it. As part of the study which did not make the cut for this thesis, I commend the brilliant observation by Thomas Perry about the ‘Shelf Area’ (as he placed it) along the western edge below the dissected Blue Mountains sandstone plateau, consisting of ‘a series of wide, gently undulating plains’ whose ‘soils are principally clayey’. He listed, by name, the most important as those which I have found provided places of permanent Aboriginal habitation for this chapter of the (continued...)
occurred because of settlement changes. These occurred following settlement along the lower Wollondilly River at the Burragorang Valley (of which the lower Cox River is a tributary), whereby Aboriginal workers became involved with outdoor labour for the mines such as gathering timber pit props. The concentration of workers moved up the Cox Valley to Nelly's Glen in Megalong Valley below Katoomba for employment at the new shale mines. From there they moved to a new Aboriginal settlement at Katoomba best known in the present time as ‘The Gully’. By this stage of employment surviving Aborigines were not only of mixed race, but of mixed Aboriginal tribal blood because the Gundungurra of the Wollondilly River catchment had been joined by other language-group tribes. Some of these latter were from Hawkesbury River Families who had been part of the Darkinung community which Robert Mathews had visited there, such as members of the Barber and Saunders Families (Chapter 4, Chapter 6). Although their parents and grandparents had been Darkinung speakers, this group mistakenly were thought to be Dharug (the Georges River people - Chapter 7, Chapter 10/SE). This also happened when they were joined by families who had not travelled via the

10(...continued)


12 When I played (during primary school holidays) with the kids in the bush around ‘Catalina Park’, my parents just saw these families as the local people up the hill. We did not know then that some of the families were my mother’s Aboriginal relatives (who had come from the Hawkesbury). \ James Leslie (‘Jim’) Smith, 1993, ‘Katoomba’s Fringe Dwellers’ Chapter 7 pp.122-35 in Eugene David Stockton (ed.), 1993, ‘Blue Mountains Dreaming - The Aboriginal Heritage’, Three Sisters Productions, Winmalee, for the Aboriginal Resource Collective; Dianne Dorothy Johnson, 2007, ‘Sacred Waters - The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners’, Halstead Press, Broadway (Sydney); Martin Edward Thomas, 1999, ‘Homage to Catalina’, program broadcast in Radio National ‘Hindsight’ 18 April 1999, Australian Broadcasting Corporation. [Program includes Aboriginal people from The Gully, Katoomba.] Rebroadcast 19 May 2002.
Cox Valley and had come up into the mountains by train such as members of the Everingham Family.\textsuperscript{13} These Darkiñung who arrived at ‘The Gully’ intermarried with the Gundungurra whose ancestral country it was - i.e. in the Cox River catchment.

I have not found any record prior to the above for interaction of the Darkiñung with the Gundungurra, although there are interactions for the Darkiñung of the mountains with the Wannungine of the coast (Chapter 9/NE), as well as for the Gundungurra of the mountains with the Dharug towards the coast (Chapter 10/SE). Yet influence of the Darkiñung can be taken as having happened from historical events seventy years apart as follows for a Blue Mountains peak. When an Aborigine provided an answer to an explorer who thought he was asking ‘What’s the locality name of this topographical feature?’, he was most likely to get an answer to the question ‘What’s that called?’. An answer which the English explorer took on faith could, and sometimes would, be something like ‘don’t know’, ‘big hill’, or ‘same as the other one’. For such so-called place names it was usual not to record a meaning translated into English. Even an expression which translated as ‘I’m sick of your questions’, could have been taken down to be used as a geographical name.\textsuperscript{14} Thus the same Aboriginal expression at times was used as a location identification for more than one place, which was to happen regarding interaction of Darkiñung with Gundungurra people to their southwest.

On the Mellong Range in the northern part of Darkiñung country (Chapter 3) the name Kinderun Mountain for a summit at the head of the Putty Valley was known to the settlers in the 1820s - i.e. before Surveyor General Mitchell sent out his surveyors to do his mapping near ‘Kindarum’.\textsuperscript{15} It is, therefore, assumed to have been a unique identifying ‘name’ as the ex-military gentleman Thomas Mitchell

\textsuperscript{13} The Family History detailed studies of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges Darkiñung people is a research study done in collaboration with the descendants - but cannot be further included for this thesis due to space restrictions. Aunty Joan Cooper, whose father was Alfred Everingham from Hawkesbury River, is mentioned in Chapter 6. (Alfred was son of Ephraim, Chapter 4.)

\textsuperscript{14} This is normal human behaviour. In unpublished archived historical records I have read of such circumstances commonly told by correspondents who lived with Aborigines in the interior, and its replication in the latter twentieth century is related in Chapter 8. Towards the end of this item (27 May 1890), Cohen relates how ‘an ex-military gentleman’ would pester the Aborigines for native names and seriously note every absurd answer, with an example of sending to the museum a butterfly labelled banda-banda, the Aboriginal name for a ringed snake. \textbackslash Philip Cohen, 1890, ‘Native Nomenclature’, Sydney Morning Herald, No.16,278, Tuesday 27 May 1890, p.7, col.5.

While Mitchell's intolerance of his staff - observed in this thesis - may have been inappropriate as Surveyor General in the colony, it is easy to empathise with his strictness and to relate to his attitudes carried over from his military experiences as a young man in the Iberian Peninsula - initially battling and subsequently surveying. William C. Foster, 1985, Chapter 2: 'The Peninsular War, 1811-1814' pp.13-41 and Chapter 3: 'The Peninsular Surveys, 1814-1819' pp.44-80, in 'Sir Thomas Livingston Mitchell and His World 1792-1855', The Institution of Surveyors New South Wales, Sydney.

As part of Mitchell's legacy of Aboriginal 'place names', it seems that he had not comprehended that an Aboriginal expression might have been applied in more than one place. He expected unique topographical terms to be recorded by different surveyors to be orderly like a battle campaign, which would allow him to connect the jigsaw pieces of otherwise disparate maps which he was collecting to put together like pieces for a quilt. Writing about the peaks in the Darkiňung people's country of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, he said to Ogilvie: 'I will not suffer any surveyor to give to any river or place any other than the proper native names', and to Finch: 'The true natives' (names) of all these mountains being of importance'. Yet, as happened in this country repeatedly, Mitchell was trying to line up the pointed 'Tayan' Pic at Capertee Valley with another mountain [Coriaday], with a conical peak which he called 'Towen' seemingly from the same Aboriginal term. With such an inadequate knowledge of local Aboriginal language as now exists, it can just be wondered whether tay-an had anything to do with the Darkiňung term di-ang which Mathews published as location adverb 'here'.

After observing that sugar loaves made for the table in the nineteenth century were conical, Andrews was able to illustrate many of Mitchell's misplacements. He gives Mounts Yengo and Wareng as examples of sugar loaf cones which have become truncated. [NB As seen from on top, Yengo is comma shaped - rather than flat.] Mitchell thought mountain peaks had individual unique profiles from which he identified them, such as peculiar double peaks for Warrawolong ('the Coal River' Mountain) and Mount Banks, respectively. Matching the disparate sketches from field surveyors, it was not straightforward plotting the Darkiňung mountain country of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

Mount Victoria mountain peak itself is on a spur ridge totally within the catchment of the Cox River. [The map reproduced at the start of Part III has the Bathurst road on wrong side of the actual summit.]

From three biographies of Billy Lynch by J.L. Smith, Lynch would more likely have been a Wiradjuri speaker learnt from working in the central west of New South Wales [than to be a Darkiňung speaker]. Smith in 1988 reported that Lynch was born in 1830 to a whiteman shoemaker at Bungonia, worked as a (continued...)
there is no historical information about the identity of the Aborigines who occupied the Blue Mountains Range when the settlers arrived. That is not inconsistent with this range being a border, to the Cox River on the south being Gundungurra and to the Grose River on the north being Darkiňung.

**Darling Causeway and the Putative Problem of Access** (Task 3)

When Hamilton Hume named a range Governor Darling’s Causeway in 1827 (Chapter 3), it was seen as a branch to the northwest off the Blue Mountains Range up which the Bathurst road went to Mount York, but it turned out to be Mount York which is a short branch off the range. The Darling Causeway from Mount Victoria township actually is the main range (official name now Blue Mountains Range), which itself branches off the Great Dividing Range. On this first visit of settlers there Hume and his brother learned nothing about local Aborigines on the side of the range. This section of the thesis chapter is to consider whether this range is the appropriate border to define the country of the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges occupied by the Darkiňung. Southwest, to Hume’s left as he proceeded was the upper Cox River Valley which had been followed down by Thomas Jones in 1818 back to the Warragamba River as above. To Hume’s right were the high branches of the Colo River flowing to the Hawkesbury, unknown then to the colonists. These are: named as the Wollangambe River with its tributaries located to the east of Lithgow across Darling Causeway; and to the northeast of Wallerawang across Darling Causeway named as the Wolgan River, running into the Capertee River which is the higher source of the Colo River.\(^{20}\) This landscape was not impenetrable. Henry Deane’s railway line started in 1906 was constructed from the main line junction around the watershed of the Wollangambe before

\(^{19}\) (...continued)

tracker for the police out west at the Lachlan River, then as a shepherd in the Hartley Valley before retiring to live with a son in Megalong Valley. [Bungonia itself is in putative Dharawal country of the Shoalhaven River area.] Smith changed his mind for later publications, by 2008 realising that he had confused Bungonia which is out of Gundungurra territory with Bannaby [various spellings] of the Wollondilly River area. In a similar context about birthplace of other Gundungurra Aborigines, Bannaby has been confused with Bathurst as discussed for Myangarlie and Wonduck later this chapter. Smith also gave one of alternative spellings as ‘Bonamby’. In his 1818 journal Jamison used ‘Barnaley’ for his ‘Barragarang’ country. For his 2005 version, Smith has Lynch being reared in the Hartley Valley near Mount Victoria. In keeping with his variations about halfcaste Billy Russell born about the same time (later this chapter), Smith’s arguments about halfcaste Billy Lynch cover all directions, like watching the ripples bounce from the bank of a pond when a stone has been thrown in. \(\backslash\) Jim Smith, 1988, ‘The Gundungorra Aboriginals’, in Mary Shaw, 1988 (1st edn), ‘Historic Megalong Valley’, Megalong Progress and Sporting Association, Megalong Valley, pp.87-99, ‘Billy Lynch’ pp.90-92; Jim Smith, 2008, ‘The Gundungurra Aboriginal People’, in Mary Shaw, 2008 (2nd edn), ‘Historic Megalong Valley’, Megalong Valley Community Association, Megalong Valley, pp.87-97, ‘Billy Lynch’ pp.89-91; Jim Smith, 2005, ‘Lynch, William (Billy) (c.1839-1913)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Supplementary Volume, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.242-43.

\(^{20}\) As footnoted above, the upper Cox high valleys (Wallerawang), and the upper Colo high valleys (Capertee), between which is the border range watershed, are in a tablelands belt referred to by Thomas Perry as a ‘shelf’ area, with more fertile soil which could support the ecology for the habitat of a permanent occupation by small groups of Aborigines.
descending into the Wolgan Valley to the ex-mining location of Newnes township.\textsuperscript{21} Deane made a pertinent observation: ‘Those who know the Blue Mountain region are aware that its valleys and gorges are hemmed round by a generally precipitous wall of cliffs - - and it is only here and there - - that \textbf{access from the top to the bottom or “vice versa” can be obtained} [my emphasis].\textsuperscript{22} Not far north (in the Capertee Valley) is another ex-mining location of Glen Davis township.\textsuperscript{23} It was in this area where I worked (with other Sydney University students 1959-60) assisting The Australian Museum Sydney at a archaeology excavations of sites occupied by the Aborigines being investigated in this thesis.\textsuperscript{24} 

The Wolgan and Capertee valleys of the Colo were linked by Ian Johnson, but he wrongly considered for the Aborigines that there was ‘restricted access to the east via the narrow gorges of the Colo River’, apparently unaware of the surroundings there, whereby it is seen - at least by persons capable of

\begin{itemize}
\item Deane addressed the faculty on the topic in the then Peter Russell Engineering School at Sydney University, now the John Woolley Arts Faculty Building, the attic of which as a faculty postgraduate research centre has been my base accommodating the study for this thesis. \textsuperscript{\(\text{\textcopyright} \text{Henry Deane, 1910, “The Wolgan Valley Railway”, Journal and Abstract of Proceedings for 1910-11 Session of the Sydney University Engineering Society, New South Wales, 15: 45-60, quote p.45.}\)}
\item A general historical comment in 1974 applying to the high country of the Wolgan Valley is: ‘Access was possible in a few places, by bridle tracks, until 1897 when the New South Wales Public Works Department constructed a road into the valley’. \textsuperscript{\(\text{\textcopyright} \text{Gifford H. Eardley & Eric M. Stephens, 1974, “The Commonwealth Oil Corporation, Newnes, N.S.W.”, in “The Shale Railways of New South Wales”, Australian Railway Historical Society New South Wales Division, Sydney, pp.119-225.}\)}
\item It is observed that these two remote valleys hosted large industrial sites - Newnes, replaced by Glen Davis - which led to more recent modern conceptions of the area as part of the mining / industrial complex of the interior that was \textbf{beyond} the Blue Mountains - abruptly exciting Aboriginal history. I want the reader to appreciate the valleys as an integral part of the northern Blue Mountains. Ian Jack chose a most adept local quote: ‘civilisation fell like an avalanche on the mountain vastness’, referring to the 1906 development of the previously small mining venture, taking out oil shale from the Wolgan Valley with horse drays, by George Newnes's British company Commonwealth Oil Corporation. The valley had been used for a cattle run from 1828 - while the Aborigines were there - as an outstation of Wallerawang (given later this chapter). \textsuperscript{\(\text{\textcopyright} \text{Greg J. Taylor, nd (ca.1987), “Newnes - History of a Blue Mountains Oil-Shale Town”, Australian Railway Historical Society NSW; Greg J. Taylor, nd (ca.1999), “The Glen Davis Story - History of the Capertee Valley Shale Oil Project 1938-1952”, Australian Railway Historical Society NSW; Lithgow Mercury 23 November 1906 cited by R.I. Jack, 1979, “Oil Shale”, Chapter 6 pp.119-30 + 195-96 in Judy Birmingham, Ian Jack & Dennis Jeans, 1979, “Australian Pioneer Technology - Sites and Relics”, Heinemann Educational Australia, Richmond (Melbourne).}\)}
\item Frederick David McCarthy, 1964, ‘The Archaeology of the Capertee Valley, New South Wales’, Records of the Australian Museum, 26 (6): 197-246 +Pl.11-24; P.H. Walker, 1964a, ‘Soil and Landscape History in the Vicinity of Archaeological Sites at Glen Davis, New South Wales’, Records of the Australian Museum, 26 (7): 247-64 +Pl.25-27; and P.H. Walker, 1964b, ‘Sedimentary Properties and Processes on a Sandstone Hillside’, Journal of Sedimentary Petrology, 34 (2): 328-34. Although I use personal hard [paper] copies (which allow for marginalia notes) for studying, I am grateful for the digital copy from the museum (TAM) provided to me by V.J. Attenbrow, which is valuable for its search capabilities. I have been referred to Ian Johnson's thesis study for more discussion, but the only access available was six microfiches with nearly five hundred frames (of which my own study was not completed in time for this thesis). \textsuperscript{\(\text{\textcopyright} \text{Ian Johnson, 1979, “The Getting of Data - A Case Study from the Recent Industries of Australia”, Thesis, Australian National University.}\)}
\end{itemize}
bushwalking - that access through the ranges is via the ridges above the gorges. Such lack of awareness with insufficient topographical knowledge has led to his misguided suggestion that, as Johnson saw it, for the upper Colo ‘its ties are with the west’.25

Connection of Capertee to Bathurst District: Settlers', not Aborigines'
The ranges to the east downstream of the Wolgan/Capertee area have never been inaccessible. That is a modern concept for managers who are provided with helicopters for access to travel across bushland, or with bulldozers to cut roadways. The concept of inaccessibility has led to the false premise that it was inaccessible to Aborigines too, leading to a modern approach that therefore they must have accessed the land the same way as the white men - via Bathurst district (west of Mount York). To the early British colonial government this upper Colo catchment was wasteland unsuitable for farming, yet some settlers took up cattle runs on the edges of these sandstone mountains utilising the ‘shelf areas’ described by Thomas Perry as noted above. In particular, the first of the white men was William Lee, to whom we must attribute the term ‘Capertee’ which applies to the margins of Darkiñung Aborigines in this chapter. Lee was one of the earliest Bathurst settlers who had been given cattle and a hundred and thirty three acres at ‘Kelso’ (Bathurst) on the recommendation of the roadbuilder William Cox, in whose care he had been at Windsor. A few years later he took up ‘occupation of land, sixty miles from Bathurst, for use as a grazing run’: - The 1823 permit to occupy identified the land as being ‘at Cobberty’, and the 1824 application to transfer the land to become a grant as being ‘at Capata’. Although the connection may not have been known to the settlers at the time, this was the upper Colo River running down to the Hawkesbury which became known by this name, transliterated as ‘Capertee’.26,27 It is an integral part of


26 Readers could be confused by the site of present day Capertee which is not the historic location in the Capertee Valley. I have read historic stories from the Capertee Valley located at Rylstone township, which is about a third of the distance from Bathurst town. On the Cudgegong River above Mudgee, Rylstone is also part of the Macquarie River catchment draining west. As the head of the Colo River, Capertee River drains east to the Hawkesbury. From Annabella Boswell’s written ramblings I perceive that in the mid 1800s there was a store on the road (from Bathurst) into the valley, at which she remembered local Aborigine farmhands trading. Subsequently the name was taken out of the valley for relocation (of the local store) to a railway siding village along the Great Dividing Range. References to Boswell (née Innes) follow later in chapter. \Bruce Jefferys, nd (ca.2002?), ‘The Story of Capertee - where the rainbow has passed by’, Capertee Progress Association, Capertee.

27 I acknowledge being alerted to the significance of William Lee by a descendant of local Aborigines whom I cannot name in this thesis in order to follow the protocol of not including previously unpublished details concerning the Aboriginal descent people who have been personally contributing to this project while I am working at the university. William Lee (also known from his stepfather as William Pantoney junior), had been living at Windsor with the Cox family when he moved to the Interior in 1818 (which I imagine was after he came of age, 21yo). He went looking for more grazing country in Nov./Dec. 1821 (continued...)
Lee may have erred in applying the term we now accept as Capertee for the location. The alternative uses of ‘b’ and ‘p’ as above, provide the information that this was an Aboriginal word which they were trying to write with English alphabetical characters (as discussed in Chapter 7 when dealing with alternatives ‘g’ and ‘k’). This anomaly is exemplified by the colonial authorities mistakenly transcribing as Patricks Plain the term ‘badrig’ used by the local Aborigines for Bathurst Plain.  

28 This mistranscription had an impact on the Darkiñung recognition from a warped view of history concluding that Aborigines from Singleton on the Hunter River at Patricks Plains [Darkiñung territory] travelled beyond the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges for an issue of blankets at Bathurst [Wiradjuri territory]. Allan Watson challenged the concept from his studies of Wiradjuri language, locating a record of ‘Patriggu’ meaning Bathurst (pers. comm.). Analysis of the blanket lists shows that the Aborigines listed at Bathurst as from the ‘Patricks Plains tribe’ are those same people who appeared in other years from the ‘Bathurst tribe’ - some of them even had an English alias from local Bathurst settlers such as Suttor. In recording the Wiradjuri language, James Günther noted ‘p and t are so like b and d [respectively] that the author has not given a separate place for them.’  

27(continued)
Indeed, the use of the term ‘Capertee’ in historical records around Bathurst was not meant for the place of present day Capertee Valley on the other side of the Great Dividing Range, but as applied by the settlers seems to have been used for out-of-the-way, hidden, location(s) in the hills out of Bathurst. It might be as simple as describing a place - Cobberty (as initially used by Lee above) with alternate spelling Gubbity - where there was pipeclay. While the first use of the term by Bathurst Aborigines to the settlers may have meant a location with a useful mineral deposit of white pipeclay, highly valued for basic decorative purposes, subsequent application of the term by settlers may have merely related to other locations with similar characteristics, which Suttor related as ‘the deep dells of the Capertee country’. Once the Bathurst Aboriginal term was misapplied to the location by Lee, it has remained in use for the upper source of the Colo River.

**Connection of Capertee to Hawkesbury District:  Stockmen’s and Aborigines**

Fifty years ago before dependence by society on motorised vehicles, our community accepted routes through these ranges, where e.g., McCarthy was able to propose without disagreement that even the

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28(...continued)

Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’, Macquarie University: Aboriginal censuses also known as ‘Blanket Lists’.

29 The variation in localities referred to as ‘Capertee’ [various spellings] is also mentioned in Chapter 12/NW with regard to W.H. Suttor's description possibly applying to the headwaters of Clear Creek upstream of ‘Brucedale’ - their property which was where Clear Creek joins Winburndale Rivulet. In his wrestling with the dilemma as to identification(s) of Aborigines for the upper Colo, Allan Watson mentions ‘Salisbury & Gresser (1971) includes two references where “Capertee” is used to describe areas along the Turon River’ [my emphasis]. However, he may have been writing about these two mentions, attributed to Suttor and Innes, because the Turon River arises in the mountains above Clear Creek. George Innes (father of Annabella) whose family lived with Aborigines of this thesis in the Capertee Valley at the head of Colo River also had estate with a different Capertee in another direction when they lived on Winburndale Rivulet near the Suttor family just north of Bathurst. Although the Sydney Gazette gave it (‘Capertry’) as west from Bathurst, I suggest in my discussion of Innes family later in this chapter that it referred to an area around the Winburndale Rivulet property, and thus could indicate the same general location as given by Suttor. Although George Innes's block just north of the Bathurst road, and George Suttor's block managed by his native-born teenage son were early settlement prime selections, not the stuff of rugged mountains nearby, these families could still have provided a sanctuary for Aborigines.

20 McCarthy was able to propose without disagreement that even the

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29 It might be as simple as describing a place - Cobberty (as initially used by Lee above) with alternate spelling Gubbity - where there was pipeclay. While the first use of the term by Bathurst Aborigines to the settlers may have meant a location with a useful mineral deposit of white pipeclay, highly valued for basic decorative purposes, subsequent application of the term by settlers may have merely related to other locations with similar characteristics, which Suttor related as ‘the deep dells of the Capertee country’. Once the Bathurst Aboriginal term was misapplied to the location by Lee, it has remained in use for the upper source of the Colo River.

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31 Suttor was writing more than sixty years later about events in 1824 ten years before he was born (even retelling the story of his father when 18yo talking down Windradyne in his own language when on a payback rampage). The Aboriginal location would be verified if it could be shown that their Winburndale Rivulet country was a place of pipeclay (gubbity) for the Bathurst Aborigines (Windradyne's group).
gorges were occupied and there was a route between the headwaters of the Colo River at Capertee Valley and the Hawkesbury-Nepean River. A modern construct is that the river and ranges country of the Colo River headwaters was unoccupied, leading to the false concept that Aborigines of different language group ‘tribes’ must have visited, because in the present day the landscape is regarded as ‘Wilderness’, or ‘Wild Places’, which is shorthand for city folk to mean magnificent robust scenery to be looked at from a scenic lookout on a roadside and preserved, or at least conserved. However, even the reputedly impassable Colo gorges are approachable, there are readily navigable walking passes using the ridges for access. Jim Smith was the first to point out to me that a stock route had been opened up by George McLean from ‘Glen Alice’ in the Capertee Valley to Richmond on the Hawkesbury “in the olden days” and used to take hundreds of ‘Glen Alice’ horses to Sydney.

Peter Prineas reviewed a human history for the area, including that George William Townshend had found the area accessible enough to mark the route of a railway ‘to avoid the ascent of the Blue Mountains’. In the historical period when families could carry their own belongings without

32 McCarthy 1964 ‘Capertee Valley’ pp.202-03.
34 George McLean, born 1855, would likely have been running cattle in the ranges when Bob Gosper took up his selection at Uraterer in 1877 as follows. Other studies outside this thesis suggest that George’s father John McLean may have been the person who engaged Frederick D’Arcy to discover and mark a stock route, as mentioned below. I acknowledge - with gratitude - the copy of this reference by ‘L.G.J.’ sent by J.L. Smith (pers. comm. 2005). Although ‘L.G.J.’ himself did not find the overgrown stock route when he went looking with ‘an old hand to whom the track should be familiar’, he did report observing Aboriginal cave art on the way. Smith was the earliest provider to me for the reference by ‘C.P.’ who also mentioned McLean’s stock route to Windsor. ‘C.P.’ crossed the ranges via Uraterer from Putty to Capertee, and found that George McLean’s sister there, then Mrs Margaret Jamison, was familiar with access into the ranges. Her husband William was the grandson of Sir John Jamison from ‘Regentville’ whose occupancy at Capertee is mentioned above, and they had married locally. [Please note, this part of the thesis is historiography about Country, and does not include the study of the history of the Bogee massacre in the Capertee Valley over the divide from Rylstone mentioned by ‘C.P.’] ‘L.G.J.’, 1904, ‘A - - - Discovery’, bylined in the ‘Western Post’, reprinted in the Lithgow Mercury, 22 July 1904; ‘C.P.’, 1914, ‘No Man’s Land’, Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday 20 June 1914, p.7; William Henry Jamison and Margaret [Birth registration 1851 Mary] Effie McLean, Marriage registration NSW BDM Index 3996/1875.
35 I am grateful to Anthony Dunk, pers. comm., for pointing out the railway survey. Carne’s Field Book No.3 1900 showed the surveyed trace of the railway route. Although Townshend marked a route, his was no more successful than the first attempt at a crossing by Parr (Chapter 3). Peter Prineas, 1997, ‘Colo’ pp.147-71 + 275-77, in Peter Prineas & Henry Gold, 1997 (2nd edn), ‘Wild Places - Wilderness in Eastern (continued...)
constructed roads for vehicles, the early settlers were more like the Aboriginal naked bushwalkers - or like contemporary expensively kitted-up bushwalkers. Without leaving historical records for the public domain, the white bushmen penetrated the ranges at a time when the undergrowth was less scrubby - managed by frequent fires as discovered by the pretentious William Parr in 1817 (Chapter 3). The real pioneers were the Aboriginal occupants. While the Sydney toffs like William Cox with their carts and carriages corresponding to present day air conditioned motor vehicles - spread out along their ‘roads’ from Bathurst and later Lithgow, small selectors from the Hawkesbury River branches followed ‘The Branch’ natives into these sandstone mountains, taking up the little plots of fertile soils formed from the geological degradation of basalt patches remaining from a distant era of volcanic activity. With variant vegetation, they were known as ‘Clears’, and plotted when government geologist Joseph Carne did a survey for mining. The Aboriginal camp on the east which Howe in 1819 noted as Boorohwall (alias ‘Burrowell’), later ‘Wickety Wees’, was at such a site which is now ‘Green Hill’ (Chapter 3). Cattle trails became common, and at Nullo Mountain on the north a subtle Jessie (‘Lizzie’) Hickman was able to utilise discreet bridle trails.

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36 Parr used seasonal fires as an excuse for failing to achieve what was actually an impossible objective, to reach Bathurst in the direction he was travelling. The seasonal fires were an ecological necessity pre-settlement, maintaining sufficient open ground under the forest canopy to facilitate animal movement - providing easy ways for Aborigines too. My Medhurst Grandmother's family were among the so-called pioneers, who made their way with cattle through the ranges when it was grassland between the trees, and cousins of my age (Jean Sykes's sons) are familiar with that situation. Some of the early Medhurst holdings in the ranges are now owned by a cattleman descended from the traditional Darkinjung Aboriginal ancestors whom I have verified occupied these ranges. Jean Sykes, 1988, ‘A Medhurst Story’ pp.33-35 in Bertha Laurel Strick, 1988, ‘Medhurst Pioneers 1799-1988’, self published, New Lambton (Newcastle).


Focus on *Uraterer*

Bob Gosper from a Colo River Family at the Hawkesbury selected some of this fertile land in the centre of the Colo ‘wilderness’ at *Uraterer* mountain, where his farm became known as Gosper’s Mountain.

Although it was furthest point from any road access, that did not inhibit travel through the ranges with livestock, so it could not have been a barrier to the Aboriginal people either. By avoiding the gorges, parts of the ranges had been penetrated by surveying teams leading packhorses, reviewed by engineer Alan Andrews.

More recently Bob Gosper’s mountain was accessed with a bush road (from a different direction) by army engineers to be used for military training. For many years, the centre of the ranges have become like a recreational backyard for another retired engineer, Andy Macqueen, a bushwalking expert in trackless country who is the ultimate authority on the rugged country that was inhabited by the *Darkiñung* Aborigines. Macqueen has not studied the Aboriginal people, but knows their ancestral relics and art work. He has been revisiting some of the exploits there in 1833 and 1853 of his great grandfather, surveying draftsman Frederick D’Arcy.

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39 It is likely that surveyor Peter Ogilvie obtained the term ‘Uraterer’ from *Darkiñung* Aborigines in the upper Colo catchment, from where he also obtained the term now spelt Yengo [or Yango]. Actually, Ogilvie recorded the Aborigines’ sound as *Eu’engo*, while surveyor Heneage Finch heard *Yu’ngo*. The Aboriginal sound written in English characters as *Uraterer* similarly may have been *Eu’at-ra* (while as for *Y’engo*, as better representation may have been *Y’at-ra*). There is a need for care with pronunciation since Windsor magistrate John Howe in 1819 used ‘Yango’, a term he would have derived from his son-in-law’s friend Ben Singleton, who went into the mountains with the local *Darkiñung* Aborigines (Chapter 3).

40 While Gosper - and perhaps George McLean as above - possibly may have used the same stock route earlier marked by D’Arcy as follows, the local history of settler families from the ranges suggests that their sons had visited every nook in the mountains looking for patches of useful land. Picking out the ‘eyes’ of country was the then common practice of ‘peacocking’, typical of such small landholders [from the ‘eyes’ in the birds' tail feathers]. D’Arcy was working for the elite, he did not intend to settle on such a tiny block. Robert Gosper, born 1840, ‘took up’ land at *Uraterer* in 1877.


42 The army road, from the Cudgegong to Uraterer (Gospers Mountain) and Mount Wirraba, and its extension down to Wollemi Creek was built ca.1964 to give access to the Vietnam War era training exercises. Source reference from A. Macqueen, pers. comm.

43 In 1833 D’Arcy was still surveying for Mitchell’s 1834 Map of the nineteen counties. During 1853 D’Arcy was privately engaged in finding a new line of road through the ranges, which I find reminiscent of the attempts of Parr and Singleton (Chapter 3). This may tie in with McLean’s stock route mentioned above, which has also been considered by Macqueen and is being investigated. Alan E.J. Andrews, (continued...)
uninhabitable country.**44**

It is not necessary to rewrite history by bringing in Aborigines from the periphery accessed by settlers further west in order to have occupied the catchment of the upper Colo River and its branches. Recent people who have misplaced the original Aboriginal occupants must be those who need tracks made by somebody else to find their way through the bush, perhaps who need maps drawn by somebody else to navigate or even who need a global positioning system device from satellite signals which now blanket the Earth. Authorities now discourage visitors by requiring lack of self sufficiency, carrying modern technology with some sort of beacon to signal for a policeman to come and get them. This portion of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges has always been accessible by foot ever since the event of man here, and for those with cultural appreciation widespread evidence can be found throughout by the remnants of *Darkiňung* Aboriginal artwork remaining.

This area had its own population for the Colo River catchment, so there is no obligation to identify other groups of Aborigines to be labelled as the occupants. Despite this, when the bushman Macqueen as above advised authorities about some of this beautiful artwork which was not on the government record, the initial reaction of the experts without local knowledge was to attribute it to other groups, other than the locals.**45** There is no natural border inside this territory, supporting the concept for this chapter that the edge of this territory, viz. the Blue Mountains Range which Hume called Governor Ralph Darling's Causeway, was the border of country between tribal groups.

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**43**(...continued)

**44** I recognise that at the present time another retiree of my generation, who has recently discovered bushwalking, is making a prolific series of one day forays into these ranges (with companions of whom some were my Sydney University bushwalking mates). He is preparing an epic publication titled ‘Gardens of Stone’. One of his books already published incorporated new findings from this thesis in the public domain about ‘The Branch’ natives, aka *Darkiňung*, occupying the Grose Valley. Michael J. Keats, pers. comm.

**45** (The research team is being led by a Canadian of international repute with expertise in Northern Australia. [I had introduced him to Hawkesbury Sandstone Aboriginal art work in Ku-ring-gai Chase many years ago when he was at The Australian Museum Sydney.] My chapter on *Darkiňung* art work in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges did not make the cut for this reduced thesis.)
The Aborigines at Wallerawang

From the above minimal examples of settler access, I find quite strange the modern concept that this high Colo River catchment country had been unoccupied by local people, unoccupied unless Aborigines had been coming in over the upper Blue Mountains Range (Darling Causeway) from the Cox River catchment, or coming in over the Great Dividing Range from the Macquarie River catchment (Chapter 12/NW). In my searching for records of the local Aboriginal people, material from current sources converges on a history by the Blue Mountains tracks historian, J.L. Smith, presented October 1990 to the Lithgow District Historical Society. 46 By wrongly supposing that the Wolgan Valley could not be accessed from the east, he assumed that it had to have been accessed from the west by people of the uppermost Cox River Valley whom he presumed were Gundungurra. 47 Such a mistake is easy to make since the high reaches of the Cox and Wolgan River beds are merely a kilometre on either side of the ‘Wolgan Gap’ across the Blue Mountains Range [viz. Darling Causeway] divide. However that supposition was not the case, Andrews found that Frederick D’Arcy was able to take men carrying two weeks provisions through the Wolgan and nearby valleys to travel to the east. 48


47 The only known identification from historical records, of these particular Aborigines in the uppermost Cox River valley, are from the white men giving a locality name as ‘Wallerowong tribe’ and a breast-plate with inscription ‘Jemmy Myles - Prince of the Wywandy’ (Chapter 3). Remarkably, no association had been substantiated by Smith with the Gundungurra-language people downstream, and this uppermost valley may have been cut off from them (as suggested from Allan Watson's study). We may have to wait for the release of Smith’s thesis [as for following note at end of chapter] to see if he has further substantiated findings. Another possibility is a connection with Darkiïïung people who occupied upper Colo River valleys, although my findings do not support that. Smith records that Jemmy's sister Nelly went to a farm over the great divide on the tablelands at Mount Lambie, where the waters drain south from Meadow Flat to the Fish River - opening the possibility of a Wiradjuri connection. That would be consistent with Smith's suggestion of the travels of Gurangatch showing the limits of the Gundungurra territory as discussed later in this chapter. Thus, it is Smith's research which provides the concept that the Wywandry = Wiradjuri had established themselves in this uppermost valley on the east of the GDR tablelands. That is consistent with the Wiradjuri carrying out incursions across the GDR tablelands into the Darkiïïung Goulburn River valley too, although without establishing occupancy in this Hunter River catchment as the Kamilaroi had in the upper Hunter River valley (Chapter 12/NW). It does not support a claim for people from the uppermost Cox River valley occupying upper Colo River valleys of this thesis. [Although Wallerawang is the Aboriginal locality, Smith has renamed them Pipers Flat Aborigines.]

\ Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ p.6, p.7; Allan Watson pers. comm.

48 To avoid being caught in the gorges [D’Arcy’s gullies] it is necessary to make use of the ridges. Howsoever, Mitchell had insisted his surveyors plot the river courses and would not accept the reality of gorges and canyons. In direct contrast to Surveyor General Mitchell, George Bowen (Chapter 2) working as a Land Commissioner under Surveyor General Oxley, had taken cognisance of Darkiïïung knowledge in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges and encouraged surveyors to use the ridges instead of delaying time by going along the rivers. \ Frederick D’Arcy, 1831, ‘Letter about access to Wolgan and Capertee “gullies”’ to Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell 8 December 1831’, cited by Alan E.J. Andrews, 1992, ‘The Wolgan and the Colo Rivers’, Chapter 11 pp.144-55, in ‘Major Mitchell’s Map 1834 - The Saga of the Survey of (continued...
Referring to borders in this vicinity, Smith presented two telling comments. First he disagreed with Norman Tindale from the South Australian Museum (who had done some local archaeology in competition with The Australian Museum Sydney): ‘Tindale drew a line separating the Gundungurra, Wiradjuri and Dharug between Lithgow and Hampton, in a way that reflects nothing of local ecological factors or natural boundaries.’ This comment by Smith is inconsistent with his claim expressed following that the same presumptive Gundungurra crossed the Blue Mountains Range natural boundary between the Cox River catchment to the Colo River catchment (Wolgan River). Next, Smith agreed with Bathurst local Percy Gresser: ‘I believe with Gresser that “Being on the eastern watershed, the tribe or local group whose headquarters were here was probably an offshoot of, or allied to, the coastal tribes and not the tribes west of the Divide” (i.e., the Wiradjuri).’ 49 This comment is quite inconsistent with his [Smith’s] own claim expressed that the same Gundungurra ‘tribe’ were west of the divide.50 Because I agree with Smith’s two comments cited above, I cannot agree with his inconsistent claims which contradict them regarding boundaries of country.

Should Smith’s Gundungurra have occupied both sides of the range which I am considering, then ipso facto the boundary for the Darkiňung could not be along that range. For the Wallerawang Aborigines his own statement (p.2): ‘In the present [1990] state of our knowledge it is - - likely that they spent some of the year in the caves along Piper’s Flat Creek and part in the Wolgan Valley’, provides the first imagined ‘evidence’ given by Smith that his ‘Gundungurra’ ‘Upper Cox River Aborigines’ occupied both sides of the watershed of the divide which is the natural boundary between the Cox and Colo catchments respectively. While Smith’s Lithgow book itself has become the authority for present day history, I could not recognise his source of ‘evidence’ among the forty five authors of his extensive bibliography (but there were another ten people acknowledged for unstated information). In practice, it was a silly claim, in that to escape the rigours of wintery weather at the high altitude in the uppermost Cox River catchment Aborigines were hardly likely just to cross over into the high ranges of the upper Colo River catchment.51

48(...continued)
50 The Gundungurra people were known from the territory in the catchments lands of the Wollondilly River and its Cox River tributary. Smith erroneously placed them over the great Dividing Range at O’Connell Plains from a reference which stated they were from Connor’s Plains (or flats) located in the Bannaby area in that territory. It appears that Bannaby had been misrepresented as Bathurst [by Alfred Bennett - a writer reared in a Sydney Eastern Suburbs family], as discussed below.
51 There is a good history which I cannot cover here, of the traditional people clothing themselves with possum skin cloaks.
A possibility is that expressed by Smith himself, in others of his writings that his Gundungurra from further downstream moved up and down within the Cox Valley.\footnote{Examples of movement (although in the new world of the settlers) are given for people of Aboriginal descent around the end of the nineteenth century; e.g. Billy Russell from Burragorang Valley playing cricket in Megalong Valley. Smith 1991b ‘Aborigines of Burragorang Valley’ p.9.}

Scottish Settlers at ‘Wallerawang’ Valley

I have been studying the historical sources, and Smith's unfortunate reliance for his 1990 book on reminiscences of events that had happened before the teller was born is discussed in Chapter 3. He continued with a circular argument creating an imaginary track across that divide: ‘(James) Walker (with property on the upper Cox River at Wallerawang) established an early outstation in the Wolgan Valley and I [Smith] believe he would have been shown the way, along an ancient Aboriginal pathway, by one of the Aborigines from his camp.’\footnote{Like many of businessmen in Sydney, at the time Walker was an absentee owner with a superintendent in residence, so he (Walker) was unlikely to be mixing with Aborigines at a local camp as Smith would have his readers believe - the camp was mentioned, many years later when he was in residence, by his nephew Tom Archer as follows. James Walker, 1828, ‘Letter about leasing Wolgan Valley, to Alexander McLeay Colonial Secretary 20 February 1828’, cited by Frank Winchester, 1972, ‘James Walker of Wallerowang’, Occasional papers No.11, Lithgow District Historical Society, Lithgow, p.2.} Smith's supposition about Aborigines is quite unnecessary because it is known that settlers in the interior (beyond Mount York) prospected for cattle pastures and it is shown (earlier in this chapter) that Lee already occupied the adjacent valley in the upper Colo catchment by 1823. The land was kept open by fire as footnoted following for Charles Darwin. Walker's 1828 claim for crossing the Wolgan Gap, in the English expression of the time, was: ‘I am desirous of taking on lease a ravine, situated north eastwards and about 9 miles distance from this farm, amongst the Blue Mountains, for the purpose of occupying it with my cattle. As this place is only of value in the possession of one individual, in the event of it being let to me, I should expect that no other person's cattle would be permitted to be placed there - -.’\footnote{Smith 1990 ‘Aborigines of The Upper Cox River’ p.4.}

Scotsman James Walker was amongst the colonial elite whose family were business people residing in Sydney, and commenced his landholdings in the highlands at Marrangaroo of the upper Cox River Valley. Here the Aboriginal name for the river was Wallerawang, and Walker took up a farm at the junction with what was later to become called Piper's Flat Creek.\footnote{As discussed in Chapter 3 with regard to attempts to identify 1823 ‘Piper's Flat blacks’, I have not yet found the historical origin of the name ‘Piper's Flat Creek’ in this context. Captain John Piper himself did not arrive in the district until he settled ‘Alloway Bank’ at Bathurst in 1827.} He became holder of vast lands with estates out into western New South Wales, managed by his Scottish superintendent Andrew Brown, who it was who provided accommodation for travelling dignitaries at ‘Wallerawang’ such as George Bennett.
in 1832 and Charles Darwin in 1836 - authors whose published books mentioned their experiences.\textsuperscript{56}

Early history concerning the Aborigines who occupied this \textit{Wallerawang} area around the putative border between tribes, was provided by a young Scotsman from Norway who, with his eight brothers, later became a Queensland squatter. In later life this man, Thomas (‘Tom’) Archer, born 1823, wrote an autobiography with recollections of his own life for his children who had it printed in 1897.\textsuperscript{57} Tom landed in Sydney on 1 January 1838 with his brother William, having stayed in transit in London with the uncle of their father who was the very same James Walker, owner of Wallerawang. (Walker had gone back to Britain from Sydney, only subsequently going to ‘Wallerawang’ with his wife and family when Tom Archer was there.) On his arrival, Tom travelled to “Wallerowang” farm where he was to live. The manager was his brother David, who had succeeded when Andrew Brown took up his own farm nearby, and later became a grazier with large runs.

Although Tom Archer adjusted to the Australian bush, he never adapted as did a native-born child reared there. Tom frequently rode his horse to Wolgan Valley, where he described a path cleared for livestock access (as had been noted by Darwin). Although dramatic about access for Europeans, he was adamant that there were local Aborigines occupying the Wolgan Valley: ‘The native blacks could enter it at various points [my emphasis] by scrambling down the precipices, but no white man or quadruped could do so without imminent risk to their necks.’\textsuperscript{58} On the other hand, reading through Archer’s reports, it seems that there were no Aborigines along Piper’s Flat Creek then, but a camp had developed down at the water below the homestead (in which Darwin had seen platypuses), where Walker referred to an Aborigine at this camp as ‘old “Miles”’, whom he called ‘a black tracker’. Just as for \textit{Mioram}, another old ‘Miles’ at

\textsuperscript{56} Charles Darwin, in January 1836, noted that the owner of ‘Walerawang’ (James Walker) lived in Sydney. Although he commented on ‘rather more’ than forty convicts there, the only mention of Aborigines was that ‘they were anxious to borrow the greyhounds from the farmhouses’ to go hunting. The river near the homestead - which he visited - was represented by ‘a chain of ponds’ with platypuses - hardly the camp of tribal Aborigines who were going to lead Walker through the bush along their ancient pathways when he arrived, as mistakenly depicted by Smith. David Archer (as follows), to succeed Andrew Brown, took Charles Darwin horse riding for a day through the open woodland showing ‘the marks of fire’. Darwin noted that he descended the way ‘cattle are driven into the valley of the Wolgan by a path’. A few days later on his returning from Bathurst, Darwin had no difficulty travelling ‘through large tracts of country in flames’. \textsuperscript{\textendash}Charles Darwin, 1845 (2\textsuperscript{nd} edn), ‘The Voyage of The Beagle’, The Harvard Classics Edition 1937, P.F. Collier & Son, New York, section west of Mount York pp.442-47.

\textsuperscript{57} After his pastoral interests, Tom Archer became a diplomat and businessman, and died in 1905. His autobiography was written for his children (and published by them for the family when resident in Japan): Thomas Archer, 1897, ‘Recollections of a Rambling Life’, privately published, printed by Japan Printing Works, Yokohama, Facsimile edition 1988, plus Murdoch Wales, 1988 biography and Part Two of narrative, Boolarong Publications, Brisbane.

Although there is a local story - that a descendant of Walker's Wolgan Valley hut keeper married a descendant of Aborigine ‘Myles’ aka ‘Miles’ (with living descendants) - it has not been verified at the time of writing this thesis. [History now given in the area from the locals has come straight out of Smith's 1990 book at the local historical society.] The story seems to have been based on the English name ‘Miles’ appearing in someone's name. That local story itself does not support a claim that the Wallerawang Cox River Aborigines occupied the Wolgan Valley at the top of the Colo River catchment.

Scottish Settlers Taking up ‘Capertee’ Valley Land

It is only a few miles north of the Wolgan Gap that this Blue Mountains Range, which splits the country of the Colo and Cox Rivers, branches off the Great Dividing Range (in the present day ‘Gardens of Stone’ National Park) where headwaters of the Turon River which joins the Macquarie River are on the west, with to the north of it the Cudgegong River headwaters also flowing west - as considered in Chapter 12/NW. However, the upper Colo catchment of the Capertee River on the east is considered in this chapter with other Colo branches like Wolgan as above. The misplacement of the name ‘Capertee’ by settlers from Bathurst with a phobia about Aborigines, mentioned earlier in this chapter, does nothing to place the Bathurst Aboriginal people in the Colo catchment. However, once the misrepresentation entered the colonial records as above, ‘Capertee’ attained reference status as a location name for ever.

Another Scottish family with two young daughters followed the Walker-Archer extended family into this highlands country - Thomas Perry’s ‘shelf areas’ described earlier this chapter, passing northeast from Bathurst, through Wallerawang, to reach the highest valley of the Colo River which was later to become known as the valley of John Jamison's run ‘Capita’ - Capertee Valley. In this attractive place many settlers took up land. Annabella Innes (later Mrs Boswell) was born 1826 at her father's mill on his property at Winburndale Rivulet near Bathurst, from where her father George took up property he called Richmond known to Ben Singleton (Chapter 3), this was an English affectation for Aborigines from the wild.  

I can find no historic source that the Aborigines from the uppermost Cox (Wallerawang) River were those who occupied across the Blue Mountains Range divide into the Wolgan Valley at the top of the Colo River catchment.

59 Although there is a local story - that a descendant of Walker's Wolgan Valley hut keeper married a descendant of Aborigine ‘Myles’ aka ‘Miles’ (with living descendants) - it has not been verified at the time of writing this thesis. [History now given in the area from the locals has come straight out of Smith's 1990 book at the local historical society.] The story seems to have been based on the English name ‘Miles’ appearing in someone's name. That local story itself does not support a claim that the Wallerawang Cox River Aborigines occupied the Wolgan Colo River catchment.

60 Sir John Jamison, of ‘Regentville’ near Penrith, accumulated property in the Capertee Valley - even buying ‘Umbiella’ for a cattle run. Of the early settlers there, his mark is the most indelible suggesting further research may be fruitful, but I have not yet found records contributing to this part of the thesis. He is more feted in history for his title - initially granted in 1809 by a Scandinavian monarch when John was a naval surgeon. His colonial landholdings began on the Nepean River with his inheritance from his father Thomas, also a naval surgeon.
‘Umbiella’ in the Capertee Valley, later living at ‘Warrangee’ there before Annabella went to school. After George Innes built a new homestead, ‘Glen Alice’, on land which had been the grant to his brother James, this isolated outpost became the family home from 1835 when Annabella was eight years old until 1841 while she was fourteen years old.

After 1841 the family went to her father’s brother at Port Macquarie following the premature death of her father. Later, with her mother and sister, she stayed with her mother's sister Isabella who in 1831 had married Peter Grant Ogilvie of the Hunter Valley (Chapter 12/NW). There they stayed at St Clair, then a cattle station near Singleton. In 1866 she went to Scotland after her husband Patrick Boswell inherited the Family estate at Cumnock, spending forty years in New South Wales, fifty years in Scotland, where she wrote her reminiscences for local friends. When Mrs Boswell described the same event in two of the volumes there is a variation in detail. I cannot agree with other authors who take details literally without historical interpretation when written under such circumstances sixty years after an event.

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61 George Innes had had 2,000 acres granted 1823 at Peel (Winburndale Rivulet), and 400 acres granted 1831 at Capertee, while the 1831 grant in the name of brother James at Capertee was 1,760 acres - which he transferred to George. ‘Glen Alice’ homestead was built on Umbiella Creek, ‘Warrangee’ on Capertee River, as shown on topographical maps. Although properties in this period of colonial history were often occupied before being surveyed after which deeds were issued, it appears unlikely that the 1826 Sydney Gazette reference mentioned earlier in this chapter to George’s estate at ‘Capertry, lying to the westward of Bathurst’ was a mistake for this 1831 grant which is to the east. As a reference to Bathurst Aborigine ‘Saturday’ (Windradyne), the most likely place for him to have been ‘retiring’ in 1826 was in the dales and dells at the back of the Winburndale Rivulet property which was his home country north of Bathurst township. \Jean McNaught, 1998, ‘Index and Registers of Land Grants, Leases and Purchases 1792-1865’, Richmond-Tweed Regional Library, p.112.

62 Annabella Innes (later, Mrs Boswell) observed the Aborigines at Port Macquarie around the same period as Philip Cohen (Chapter 10/SE), whose father worked for Annabella’s uncle. This thesis is not the place to provide more Innes family history which I have gathered from a range of sources, other than this perspective in order to assess her reports about the Aborigines.

63 Similarly Annabella made more observations about local Aborigines while at St Clair near Singleton (a locality mentioned in Chapter 9/NE for a later period). She wrote of her times with the Ogilvies, identifying her uncle as ‘Peter Grant Ogilvy’. The original settlement of the Ogilvie family in the Hunter valley is given in Chapter 12/NW.

64 Based on childhood diaries, Annabella Boswell in old age wrote her recollections for a local audience in Scotland. A second volume was produced from copies of her letters. These particularly gave details of her social life, including useful insights about ‘Wallerawang’. In 1890 she produced a third slim volume of reminiscences about the Aborigines, which should be read in conjunction with the other two which provide more on geography. A copy of this latter was requested from her family in Scotland by Australian bibliographer John Ferguson, Justice, who reproduced it in Australia (next footnote). \Annabella Alexandria Campbell Boswell, nd, ‘Early Reminiscences and Gleanings from an Old Journal’, privately published, Cumnock GB, republished in Australia 1965, as ‘Annabella Boswell’s Journal - Australian Reminiscences Illustrated with her own watercolours and with contemporary drawings and sketches’, (new edition 1987) Angus & Robertson, North Ryde (Sydney); Annabella Alexandrina Campbell Boswell, nd, (original title not known) republished in Australia 1992, as ‘Annabella Boswell’s Other Journal 1848-1851 - Further Recollections of My Early Days in Australia’, Mulini Press, Canberra, with biography by Victor Crittenden.
the observations of a ten year old recalled as a seventy year old for an audience on the other side of the world provide the best historical insights available about the people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges in the upper Colo River catchment.

Annabella effectively identified the Capertee Aborigines with the Wollombi ‘Tribe’ Darkiñung-language group discussed in Chapter 12/NW. She told about a family of seven who spent time near the homestead, grandparents with two sons and their wives plus a granddaughter. They were remembered as ‘Jacky’, ‘Charlie’ and ‘Jimmie’, two women called ‘Mary’ and ‘Nannie’. She identified others who worked on various properties at ‘Capita’ (Capertee Valley, where there was a store at which the Aborigines traded). Although this family were ‘our old friends the Capita Tribe’, she went on: ‘The Blacks, as we called them, were an unsettled wandering race, but the small tribe [family] I am writing about kept always together, sometimes they were accompanied by a neighbouring tribe [family] and occasionally by strangers, the latter generally from the Coal river, or Hunter's river, as we now call it.’ These latter people - apparently of the ‘Wollombi Tribe’ - fit the perspective for members of the same language group who would be the childhood families [clans] of ‘Mary’ and ‘Nannie’.

A ‘Great Corroberee’ for An Eleven Year Old Child

Annabella remembered that around 1837 when she was eleven years old, there was ‘a great Corroberee or dance’ which ‘we supposed to be the amicable conclusion of some - - ceremony - - (with) a great gathering of strangers from distant tribes.’ With English usage of the time, like that of Billy Russell for Connor's Plain below, she used the word ‘plain’ to describe the creek flat where ‘The blacks encamped for several days - -’. About those who were, to her, ‘strangers from distant tribes’, old Mrs Boswell wrote: ‘I remember the Coal River (now Hunter) being mentioned, and also Goulburn and Maneroo.’ In this, she was remembering Rivers of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Under the circumstances which I have described, ‘Maneroo’ is a pretty good recollection by the old lady for, say, the less familiar

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66 Kinship laws which prevented inbreeding meant that women had to take partners in a neighbouring clan of their language group. (Clan is used in the sense of people from a particular location.)

67 In perspective, when young Ben Singleton and his mates met a mob of Aborigines in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges at Monundilla on Wednesday 6 May 1818 (Chapter 3), they took 8 days to get back to Richmond. But if they’d continued along the main range the way they were then going (and then headed Cudgegong River which flows west from the Great Dividing Range), they would have reached the site of Annabella’s corroboree by Friday night or Saturday 9 May walking at the same rate. Those whom Singleton met were the same Darkiñung-language group of people, from Annabella's ‘distant tribes’: Hunter, Goulburn and ‘Maneroo’.
Unnecessarily and unwisely other authors have written Goulburn to mean Goulburn town a long way to the south. The Goulburn River branch of the Hunter River arises as Munmurra River in highlands north of Capertee as discussed in Chapter 12/NW. Annabella could have heard the name as a girl, even if it was later when she was living in the Hunter Valley. Secondly, while other authors have leaped to the concept of dancing families making their way backwards and forwards to Capertee from near the Victorian state border (following footnote) picking up people at Goulburn township on the way, I have not overlooked that the Wiradjuri Aborigines of the interior catchments also had location names with which ‘Maneroo’ could have been confused, such as mannara [off Wilbertree road] downstream of Mudgee for a flat / level piece of land - translated by Günther as spreading out, to be wide. Boswell 1890 ‘Australian Blacks’ p.8; Günther [ca.1838] ‘Aboriginal Dialect Called The Wirradhuri’ Appendix D in Fraser 1892b, ‘An Australian Language’ Part IV Appendix p.97.

At the same period when she was a girl, surveyors attempting to map this area were having great difficulty in establishing fixed Aboriginal names for locations, which in his study Alan Andrews found changed while Surveyor General Mitchell ‘tried to fit them into this jig saw’ of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Andrews 1992 ‘The Hunter Range: County Hunter - Ogilvie and Finch 1829 and 1831’, Chapter 10 pp.126-43, in ‘Major Mitchell’s Map 1834’.

The historical records for Aborigines in the valley of the Goulburn River, western tributary of the Hunter River, are analysed in Chapter 12/NW.

The Innes home at ‘Glen Alice’ was on the headwaters of the eastern flowing Colo River above where it dropped into gorges among the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. ‘Cullenbullen’ was on the headwaters of the western flowing Turon River - across the Great Dividing Range on the Central Tablelands - above where it dropped into its gorges.

Alternatively, the then Aboriginal location she was trying to recollect from all those years ago may be a name not now known.

Annabella Boswell's testimony effectively links the Capertee Valley Aborigines of the upper Colo with contiguous Goulburn River people, placing them as Darkiŋung-language people of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. These were the times when three days with horses would be spent travelling along roads through the forest to reach Bathurst - longer walking, and for her Innes family between the ‘Cullenbullen’ and ‘Glen Alice’ homesteads took a day. Old Mrs Boswell's recollection of ‘Maneroo’ could not have been the present day Monaro tablelands because it is quite impracticable for Aboriginal families to have travelled about three hundred miles (nearly 500km) each way by direct line overland, and shows lack of cultural consideration when other authors assumed it to be the case without analysis.

Annabella spent years at Parramatta and in Sydney, so ‘maneroo’ in the Sydney language may well have been a familiar word that came to mind. It meant ‘I don’t know’, which could have been given by an Aboriginal companion to the English explorer who asked for a name when they arrived at present day Munmurra - the upper Goulburn River. Alternatively, the then Aboriginal location she was trying to recollect from all those years ago may be a name not now known.

68 Unnecessarily and unwisely other authors have written Goulburn to mean Goulburn town a long way to the south. The Goulburn River branch of the Hunter River arises as Munmurra River in highlands north of Capertee as discussed in Chapter 12/NW. Annabella could have heard the name as a girl, even if it was later when she was living in the Hunter Valley. Secondly, while other authors have leaped to the concept of dancing families making their way backwards and forwards to Capertee from near the Victorian state border (following footnote) picking up people at Goulburn township on the way, I have not overlooked that the Wiradjuri Aborigines of the interior catchments also had location names with which ‘Maneroo’ could have been confused, such as mannara [off Wilbertree road] downstream of Mudgee for a flat / level piece of land - translated by Günther as spreading out, to be wide. Boswell 1890 ‘Australian Blacks’ p.8; Günther [ca.1838] ‘Aboriginal Dialect Called The Wirradhuri’ Appendix D in Fraser 1892b, ‘An Australian Language’ Part IV Appendix p.97.

69 At the same period when she was a girl, surveyors attempting to map this area were having great difficulty in establishing fixed Aboriginal names for locations, which in his study Alan Andrews found changed while Surveyor General Mitchell ‘tried to fit them into this jig saw’ of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Andrews 1992 ‘The Hunter Range: County Hunter - Ogilvie and Finch 1829 and 1831’, Chapter 10 pp.126-43, in ‘Major Mitchell’s Map 1834’.

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72 The ‘Tribe’ now called Maneroo came from around the NSW/Victorian state border. The modern take on Annabella's writing that families of those Aborigines travelled to Capertee for a corroboree is facile, yet it has gained tenure. I ask myself, if crowds of foreign people were gathering from throughout a 500km radius [the area of France] as for a modern festival, then where were the equivalent of kiosks or food stalls to feed the masses out of home territory? How did they get permission to cross foreign country? They spoke foreign languages - were there interpreters? When the land had not been cleared, how did they all fit on the creek flat?
Monaro.73, 74

Concerning the wife of ‘Jimmie’ at Glen Alice, old Mrs Boswell recalled she was a doleful girl called ‘Mulwary Mary’ which separated her from Jimmie’s mother Mary, and that Jimmie ‘had carried her off from a distant tribe’.75 First, to ‘carry off’ reads like an English swain courting a girl whom he ‘swept off’ her feet. It does not have to be that hoary old chestnut whereby a primitive man is supposed to get a wife by carrying a woman over his shoulder for days across rugged landscapes or dragging her by the hair to his lair. In enforcing a Kinship law which prohibited inbreeding, Aboriginal girls had to leave their childhood family to take a partner, and perhaps young ‘Mary’ was discontented with old ‘Mary’ who was in charge. Annabella’s meaning of ‘mulwary’ is not understood, and it probably had a meaning in the local language.76 No substance can be found for the proposal that Mrs Boswell’s use of term ‘mulwary’ established that Jimmie went to capture a wife from Mulwaree (Tarago) two hundred miles (320 kms) away south, beyond the town of Goulburn. Just as Goulburn town has been confused with Goulburn River in NSW, this proposal has been used for the weak claim that because Mulwaree is on the far Wollondilly River watershed, Jimmie and his parents’ family, Capertee Valley blacks, must have been distant Gundungurra of the southern Blue Mountains rather than local Darkiñung of the northern Blue Mountains. The woman ‘Mulwary Mary’ may have even come from the Aboriginal group at Putty, for example, easily accessible across country past Gosper’s Mountain Uraterer as above and along Wirraba Ridge. Although less than forty miles (about 60km), in context it would have been a ‘distant tribe’ -


75 It is seen above that to young Annabella Innes (remembering as old Mrs Boswell) ‘distant’ meant across the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to Goulburn/Hunter River, and a ‘tribe’ meant a family.

76 By the time of her writing, Annabella had lived in Scotland most of her life. Again, she could be remembering a term from any of the various Aboriginal language groups with whom she had lived as a girl [alphabetically]: Bathurst, Capertee, Port Macquarie, Singleton and Sydney. \Boswell 1890 ‘Australian Blacks’ p.5.
because, as she recalled in old age, for young Annabella just to go ‘to the Woolombi’ [Wollombi] by the new Great North Road was ‘a grand expedition’.

**Darling Causeway Conclusion (Completion of Task 3)**

Starting with the Irishman's son Hamilton Hume, interpretation of the records from the Scottish offspring Tom Archer and Annabella Boswell (née Innes), has shown that the Aboriginal people at the top of the Colo River catchment bounded by Darling Causeway in the southwest portion of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges had no identifiable relationship either with those west of Mount York in the upper Cox Valley (Wallerawang) or with those from Bathurst. Rather, these Colo catchment Aborigines were the same group as those occupying Colo country downstream to the Hawkesbury, with particular relationship, probably family, established between them and the people of the Goulburn River and Hunter River (who were known as the ‘Wollombi tribe’, Chapter 12/NW). Thus it appears that at the time the settlers arrived, the southwest quadrant of the Darkiṅung-language people of the ranges was bordered by the watershed between the Cox River and the Colo at the tablelands, just as it was further east between the Cox and the Grose (Task 2) and between the Cox and the Erskine (Task 1).  

Although there is similar ecology, leading to a similar way of life, for the rivers flowing east to the coast split by the range between the Hawkesbury Branches and the Goulburn/Hunter tributaries, that is not so when the split is the Great Dividing Range and the rivers draining west to the interior support different habitat and different native species compared to the east coast rivers. Although the historical records do demonstrate that Kamilaroi Aborigines from the Namoi River catchment of the interior had established themselves across the Liverpool Range further north (Chapter 12/NW), there appears to be nothing to establish that Wiradjuri people from the Macquarie River catchment had done the same thing across the Central Tablelands (despite uncertainty as to who were the Aborigines at Wallerawang by the time of settlement there).

**The Dilemma of the Dividing Range As a Border**

Recognition of Aboriginal groups by their Country is affected by whether they occupied both sides of a significant catchment watershed with different environments on each side - none more significant than the Great Dividing Range. Thus, consideration must be given to whether Aboriginal groups occupying

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77 Although the watershed on the tablelands may be difficult to discern for travellers, the indigenous people have knowledge of their catchment land limits.
coastal draining river systems were the same people as occupying western draining systems which support
different ecological habitats/environments. Two major groups for this thesis which are from the eastern
drainage are the southern Blue Mountains Gundungurra-speaking people and the northern Blue
Mountains Darkinjung-speaking people being compared in this chapter. To their west are the Wiradjuri-
speaking people.

The Eastern Suburbs Scholar and the Illiterate Farmhand

In this latter section of the chapter I examine the possibility that these Aboriginal language-groups with
eastern-draining territory might have crossed the Great Dividing Range to occupy the western-draining
catchment as well. In my search of historical records, this concept appears to have originated with a
family history comment in recollections published in 1914 from a then resident of
‘Spring Hills’, a property at Glenmore, near The Oaks, five miles towards the mountains west of
Camden. In a ‘Fore Word’, Alfred Bennett wrote that William Russell (‘Werriberrie’) ‘is certainly by
far the oldest native of this district’ and ‘I have just taken what he had to tell me verbatim at the odd
moments I had to spare’. The attitude to Aborigines of Alfred and his brother Samuel Bennett reads like

78 By comparison, in the case of the watersheds between the Hawkesbury and the south Hunter river
systems, there is similar ecology through the Hawkesbury Sandstone environment there. Respectively,
‘The Branch’ natives of the Hawkesbury Branches could not be distinguished from the ‘Wollombi tribe’
of the southern Hunter tributaries (Chapter 3, Chapter 12/NW).

Printed at the Camden News Office, Camden - another edition with additional material published 1991,
2006, published 2009] that Bennett wrote from ca.1908-1914, unpublished notes in a private collection which
he has recently accessed and a publication is pending from Bennett's notes by J.L. Smith & J.M. Steele.

80 Alfred Leonard Bennett [Alfred jnr], born 1877, was second son born to Alfred srn and Emily Anne née
Cane among the Sydney elite. The next 3 children born in Sydney at their Eastern Suburbs home died, so
when little Eric was sickly the family moved out to the country at Camden where Eric died anyway, in
1892. Alfred jnr was then 15yo (his brother Samuel Vivian 17yo). Although his grandfather Samuel
Bennett (born 1815 in Cornwall) died a year after Alfred jnr was born, Alfred jnr was greatly influenced
by his grandfather who was a journalist, newspaper publisher and book writer. Alfred emphasised how he
agreed when he (Alfred) quoted his grandfather that the Australian Aborigines are ‘the most ancient
family of mankind’, with ‘no - - evidence of higher civilisation’ as ‘the negative proof’ [my emphasis].
Old Samuel Bennett considered the ‘tendency of civilisation is to combine and fuse (communities)’, while
the ‘tendency of savage nations seems to be towards the isolation of small communities’. He remarked
‘The segregation of the aboriginal tribes (is) greater probably than that of any other race of mankind’. It
is Bennett’s distinctions between tribes which define them that is being considered here for this thesis.
Despite writing the memoirs of an Aborigine, Alfred in 1914 himself also cited elder brother Samuel
writing in 1903 about a vanished race - ‘the dead of long ago’. Given this influence and the literary
(continued...)
dissecting a specimen in a museum: ‘the dead of long ago’. Therefore, to examine the reliability of the conclusions that may have been drawn from these records, I have considered here the reliability of the recollections - which could not have been checked by the illiterate halfcaste ‘author’ who had not intended them to be used the way they are now being interpreted. This brief review of Werriberrie who presented the Nattai ‘chief’ Myangarlie as his uncle provides a petite case study of how readers may be mislead by relying on old men's reminiscences for evidence, as further discussed in Chapter 3.

In 1836 Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell, in illustrating the view from Mount Jellore in the highlands southwest of Sydney where he had been in 1828, described as ‘exceedingly wild and broken’ the landscape of the Wollondilly River to the westward and of the Cox River to the north, which is the country of the Aborigines we recognise as Gundungurra people. This is the coastal-draining catchment to the east of the Great Dividing Range. Mitchell wrote: ‘In the numerous ravines surrounding Jellore, the little river Nattai has its sources, and this wild region is the haunt and secure retreat of the Nattai tribe, whose chief, Moyengully, was one of my earliest aboriginal friends.’ About 1830, a mixed blood Aboriginal baby born into this local group in an adjacent valley, Werriberri Creek, was given the boyhood name of ‘Werriberrie’.

80(...)continued

family background, it is difficult to visualise Alfred having a bushland comprehension which could help him understand an Aboriginal narration. It is probable that halfcaste Aborigines were labourers on the farm ‘Spring Hills’ at Glenmore, so that may be where he met Billy Russell and made the notes taken ‘at the odd moments I had to spare’, when he was in his thirties as a bachelor. Hopefully J.L.Smith & J.M.Steele's publication promised about this will provide personal insights. It seems that the Bennetts did not stay out of town in the country, and with elder brother Samuel Alfred was back in Sydney at Mosman when they died. Especially given their city upbringing, however, it could be expected that Bennett may not distinguish the Aboriginal Bannaby area from the settlement Bathurst district, but in society at that time he would not write, for example, lower class Connor if he meant upper class O'Connell. \ Bennett 1914 ‘Recollections’ of William Russell; Merilyn J. Bryce, 1969, ‘Bennett, Samuel (1815-1878)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Volume 3, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p.142, and other biographical sources of family history, with NSW BDM Index; Samuel Bennett, 1865, ‘The Aborigines’, Chapter 1 in Part III of ‘Australian Discovery and Colonisation’, Hanson & Bennett, Sydney; Part III is in Volume II of facsimile 1982, The Currawong Press, Milson's Point (Sydney), pp.247-87 in 1982 edition, my quotes p.256.

81 Smith noted ‘Russell could not read or write’, yet Bennett reported, in the persona of Billy Russell: ‘I have seen it printed in a semi government paper that - - -’. This suggests a credulity of Russell which exacerbates doubt about his historical credibility. \ Smith 1991b ‘Aborigines of Burrargorang Valley’ p.9; Bennett 1914 ‘Recollections’ of William Russell p.20.


83 This creek is also mapped with the settlers' name of Monkey Creek. ‘Monkey’ was a common representation from people who had seen koalas with extended legs when climbing, which is how they are (continued...)
Perhaps it was as had been the custom for Aboriginal people, that when becoming a man young Werriberrie was given an adult name, ‘Billy Russell’. In his ‘Recollections’ noted by Alfred Bennett, he denied the rumour of his white father having been ‘captain’ Russell, a bushranger highwayman on the Bathurst road (which crossed the river near Penrith). Instead, Billy ‘remembered’ his tribal mother speaking of a ‘Major’ Russell at ‘Regentville’, and could ‘just remember’ being at ‘Regentville’ where he saw Mr Luther whom Billy knew when he operated a vineyard at ‘The Hermitage’.84 This connection for a ‘Major’ at ‘Regentville’ was a fantasy, and given the eminent position of the Eastern Suburbs Bennett family and knowledge of history (footnoted as above), Alfred would, or should, have known it.

‘Regentville’ on the lower Nepean River near Penrith was the property of naval surgeon John Jamison who inherited it from his father naval surgeon Thomas Jamison and expanded it by incorporating neighbouring land holdings, before adding a mountain run at the head of the Colo River in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges which was called ‘Capita’ (as above, earlier this chapter). It seems that ‘captain’ Russell, the highwayman of whom Billy had heard, was retired (navy) Captain William Russell who arrived there in 1841 to marry seventeen years old Rebecca, daughter of John Jamison, and by 1862 he had eleven children which did not include Billy (born ca.1830). The family lived on property (known as ‘Russell's Homestead’) within the expanded ‘Regentville’, where Captain William Russell campaigned in 1845 to exact toll on the highway of the Bathurst road (as Billy seemed to have heard) by building a personal bridge to replace the punt over the Nepean River. He was prominent in local politics at Penrith until going to the Hunter Valley where as Captain Russell he became member of parliament for Patrick's Plains. Captain William Russell was born 1807 in Suffolk, England.85 I found no practicable connection with an Aboriginal woman from Werriberri Creek at The Oaks.86

83(...continued) depicted in some Aboriginal art work. The analogy is similar to naming native cats (quolls), badgers (wombats) and pheasants (lyre birds).

84 ‘The Hermitage’ was on Werriberri Creek, 2 miles (3½ km) upstream of The Oaks. Perhaps Mr Luther there had talked with young Werriberrie (‘Billy’) about having been at ‘Regentville’.

85 ‘Regentville’ and members of the Jamison Family are well documented for histories of Penrith district (and there are heritage studies online). Examples of sources include: J.F. Campbell, 1932, ‘Early Settlement on the Lower Nepean River, New South Wales, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society, 18 (5): 252-70; NSW Births Deaths and Marriages Index online; Parliament of New South Wales, archives of former members ‘Captain William Russell (1807-1866)’, online.

86 In apparently travelling to ‘Regentville’, young ‘Werriberrie’ would have had to cross territory such as that which before the settlers' occupation had been country of the putative Dharug people at Mulgoa. Using a seemingly circular argument for his genealogical attempts, J.L. Smith 1991a published, without source, that it had been a tradition for Gundungurra Aborigines to travel to ‘Regentville’, and in 1988 incorrectly alluding to ‘Major’ Russell as becoming the father of Werriberrie [Billy Russell] while at ‘Regentville’, Smith wrote romantically about ‘his mother Wonduck leaving the property a few years after the birth of Billy’. But in 1991a Smith unbelievably considered that after a sexual liaison with ‘Major’ Russell there, Wonduck returned to The Oaks and ‘had her child by the banks of Werriberri (continued...)
Fighting the Battles against the Devil

Such a pollution of history may have been the fault of Bennett, the raconteur of Billy's anecdotes. He may have inserted the false entry that it was Major Russell of ‘Regentville’ who owned a property at The Oaks and named ‘Authese’, ‘after a battle at which the Major fought.’ Billy's name does indeed appear to have come from retired (army) Major William Russell who in 1837-1840 occupied a property, ‘Orthez’ (later known as ‘Russell's Farm’), at The Oaks. He had family there, being related (by marriage) to the son of John Wild who had been superintendent of stock for The Cowpastures at a government cattle station (near Camden). Major William Russell was born about 1785 in County Cork, Ireland. There would have been a physical connection with the Aboriginal people in the vicinity at The Oaks. But, if young Werriberrie had been Russell's son he would have been much younger than born ca.1830 as reputed by Bennett. Whatever the correct connotation, actual history does not help the veracity of Bennett's report which has been misused to claim the southern Blue Mountains Aborigines occupied country on the western side across the great Dividing Range.

One of three government cattle stations for The Cowpastures 1813-1825 had been on Werriberri creek thirteen miles west of Camden where it had been called The Oaks. The Cowpastures - where escaped}

86(...continued)


87 William Russell, retired army major and his family stayed with John Wild's son in 1836-37 after he arrived in the colony while he was taking up land off the Burragorang road at The Oaks. He called his property ‘Orthez’. John Wild, Lieutenant Adjutant, had taken up a grant he called ‘Vanderville’ at The Oaks in 1823, which was referred to by Billy Russell as where the remnants of the Aborigines camped - but it is ambiguous as to whether this was the remaining fullblood tribal society of his mother Wonduck Aboriginal father Muruun and uncle Myangarlie, or whether later it included himself. [note it was another J.Wild, Joseph Wild, convict servant of Charles Throsby who went in 1817 with Hamilton Hume and John Rowley to the Southern Highlands (Chapter 10/SE) - and became overseer for Macquarie's road party there, where he was a contact for the Aboriginal group to which Coocogong belonged - as below.] Sonja den Hertog, 1987, ‘The History of The Oaks From The Records’, The Oaks Historical Society, The Oaks, pp.11, 12, 17.

88 Based on dates, it is more likely than not that young Werriberrie was given Russell's name as an ‘adult’ identification. It was common practice for Aboriginal boys, especially halfcastes, to become known by the name of their first white employer, a powerful symbol of graduation/initiation for a significant life passage. Other examples cited in this thesis are for two Aborigines called Tommy working for Thomas Mitchell (Chapter 2), and of William Hibbs working for Joseph Onus and taking his surname (Chapter 4). The employer's role was associated with that of the ‘social’ father.
cattle had roamed wild - therefore crossed the watershed ridge which formed the boundary between the Aboriginal ‘tribes’ on the upper Nepean and Warragamba river systems respectively. It was The Cowpastures area where the Wollondilly River Gundungurra people met the Georges River Dharug people (Chapter 10/SE).

The ‘Regentville’ connection of a father William Russell for the Aboriginal boy from Werribberri Creek has no veracity as shown above, so the connection needs to be considered with the same care whereby it has been claimed also from Billy Russell’s recollections that these Blue Mountains Aborigines occupied both sides of the Great Dividing Range watershed.

In his ‘Recollections’ as written in 1914 by Alfred Bennett, Billy Russell is transcribed as saying that his mother ‘Wonduck’ had come from a place called Wonduck near Richlands [Taralga district] which is on the Great Dividing Range a long way south, upstream at Guineacor Creek tributary of the Wollondilly River. He referred to an uncle, transcribed by Bennett as ‘My-an-garlie’. It was normal custom for Aboriginal women to leave their home locality to take a male partner because of strict Kinship laws which prevented in-breeding, but the men stayed in their home family locality. A problem arose because Bennett wrote that Billy Russell called Myangarlie his uncle - so modern readers assumed he meant brother of his mother in English terminology because they thought that Myangarlie could not be a brother of his unknown white father. Those unfamiliar with traditional Aboriginal culture were unaware that, although Aboriginal women had one partner who was responsible for their protection, copulation was not inhibited other than by Kinship law, and Wonduck’s Aboriginal partner Muroon was Billy Russell’s rearing father, adoptive in English terms. In ancestral terms a mother’s partner and his brothers had been called ‘father’, sharing rearing responsibilities, but by 1914 Billy Russell had assumed the way of white society, hence he could have observed that Muroon’s brother Myangarlie was his uncle.

Readers of Bennett’s transcriptions became further bewildered because he wrote that: ‘My-an-garlie’ was the Aboriginal name of a locality near a place now known as Connor’s Plain near Bathurst’ [sic]. Curiously, the name Connor has been taken by Jim Smith to equal the name O’Connell, to be a place on

89 Bennett 1914 ‘Recollections’ of William Russell p.9.
91 J.L. Smith suggests that Billy Russell was never told things he ‘would have learned from his [Aboriginal] father and uncles’, pointing out that his ‘memoirs [as by Alfred Bennett] would seem to indicate a poor understanding of Aboriginal religion and mythology’. Yet Billy had been reared by an Aboriginal ‘father’ - Muroon as above. [Smith 1991b ‘Aborigines of Burragorang Valley’ p.4.
the Fish River (which becomes the Macquarie River), thus it has become popular for modern authors to embrace a presumption with only this as evidence that Mitchell's Aboriginal chief of Nattai as above was born ninety miles from Nattai across the Great Dividing Range near Bathurst, in country considered to be Wiradjuri, instead of in his home territory. An alternative possibility exists that it was merely Billy's assumption that everybody was named after their birthplace because that was an explanation for him having been called Werriberrie. If Myangarlie had been a birth brother of Wonduck he would have been born with her near Richlands, rather than seventy five miles further north of there at O'Connell (O'Connell's Plains).\textsuperscript{92} For this Aboriginal warrior, Myangarlie should not have been his boyhood baby name (whatever it had been) if it was his name as an adult, so he may have acquired his adult name in recognition of travelling from home territory across the Great Dividing Range to fight foreign Aboriginal people near Bathurst, as transcribed by Bennett from Billy Russell's dramatic ‘memoirs’: they fought ‘against men of other tribes, such as the Wiraijuri tribes, north and west, about Bathurst’.\textsuperscript{93} There are anomalies about being named for a place: how many in the same group of people are given the same name for a particular place? Billy Russell was telling Bennett what he thought would impress him about earlier times - even before Mitchell had known Myangarlie, times long before Russell was born.

Billy Russell had been telling echoes of the legends he had heard as a boy; a legendary fight by his Burragorang tribe against Wiradjuri across the great dividing range, although the Eastern Suburbs city-

\textsuperscript{92} I do not know the actual location sites for these supposed places called Myangarlie or Wonduck. The term ‘Bathurst’ (and ‘Bathurst’ district) was used non-specifically for ‘over the hills’ to indicate the interior further than Mount York. While Myangarlie was presumptively (incorrectly) placed across the Great Dividing Range to be near O’Connell at Fish River in the Macquarie River catchment of Wiradjuri territory, placing Wonduck near Richlands could have been either in the Wollondilly River catchment or in the Lachlan River catchment of Wiradjuri territory because Richlands is on the great divide. I cannot find historical records supporting Gundungurra territory across the great divide as discussed here. The descriptions are consistent with both Wonduck's and Myangarlie's birth place(s) to have been as follows actually at Connor's Flats / Guineacor Creek area. The key is Alfred Bennett writing the term Bathurst when Billy Russell was talking about Bannaby [various spellings], which is discussed following. Although O’Connell on the Fish River may have been a place of cod fish, it had nothing to do with the puzzle at all - it was a ‘red herring’ false scent.

\textsuperscript{93} A simple direct route by which these Aborigines crossed the mountains to the north and west is given below in the discussion of 7 May 1819 from Charles Throsby's journal. The concept of fighting battles against the foreign Wiradjuri there suggests that the Great Dividing Range would have been a border between them. The description by James Hassall of an intended fight between Aborigines at the then family home at O’Connell near Bathurst was not between two language groups as some modern authors would mistakenly have readers believe as proof Russell's Gundungurra occupied O’Connell: Hassall's term ‘tribe’ applied then to a local group, and it was meant to be a sporting contest - as discussed in Chapter 1 - which one team forfeited by hiding until James's father Rev. Thomas Hassall offered a bullock for a feast. The incident was 1826, James was born in 1823, but when writing his reminiscences, 1902, he misleadingly cited the 1824 period of martial law which had been declared because of attacks which were black on white, not black on black. \sl James Samuel Hassall, 1902, ‘In Old Australia - Records and Reminiscences from 1794’, R.S. Hews, Brisbane, Facsimile 1977, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), pp.187-88.
bred Bennett had not recognised the bush lore behind indigenous stories. Russell’s compatriots lived and worked in Wiradjuri territory. Mark Feld, then of Picton, retold a version he’d heard whereby many generations ago Burragorang people battled for two days until they were victorious over the devil, with principles of good over evil across the mountains reminiscent of that battle retold by Eileen Carberry (Part III Preamble).

The proposition cannot be sustained, that Blue Mountains Aboriginal people occupied country to the west across the Great Dividing Range watershed, on the basis that they travelled there to fight battles against foreign tribes.

**Bannaby Area was ‘over the mountains’ - Like Bathurst District**

Just as the general word Wollemi, Wollombi, Wallambine [a wide range of spellings] was an oral term used by Darkiñung-Language Aborigines for country of the northern Blue Mountains, it appears that the general word Bunnaby, Bannaby, Barnaley [a wide range of spellings] was an oral term used by Gundungurra-Language Aborigines for mountainous country to the south.

The above discussion from Billy Russell is predicated on the unlikely basis that Myangarlie was a location near Bathurst, as presumed by Smith, the leading author on the topic. There is a far more feasible solution. Something was in error when Bennett wrote ‘Connor’s Plain near Bathurst’ as above, but it would be the term ‘Connor’ which was correct. The term plain was sometimes spoken for a flat beside a stream. If Wonduck and Myangarlie were brother and sister, i.e. from Guineacor Creek (near Richlands) as above, then more than likely Billy Russell was trying to identify Connor's flats which can be found on a side branch of Guineacor Creek (towards the location of present day ‘Bannaby’) where it

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94 This is given for Aborigine Billy Lynch from the Bannaby area earlier this chapter. Aborigines Jimmy Lowndes from Camden (Chapter 6) and William Onus (Chapter 4) were other examples.

95 There are strong analogies in Feld's retelling with biblical teachings of Christian priests, to which the Aboriginal people had been subject, impressing stories about hell and heaven. In this case, with the devil overcome, there will be no hell after death. The setting for the battle was given as ‘at Tambaroora which they call Dtham-bur-war-ing.’ (Tambaroora is now a location near Mudgee - over the hills in Wiradjuri country a long way from Burragorang Valley). There was no conclusion that Gundungurra people were fighting to occupy that Wiradjuri country near Mudgee as has been interpreted by others seeking to extend Gundungurra country across the Great Dividing Range. Alternatively, the legend's origin could have been fighting associated with Wiradjuri (Wywandry?) coming over the Central Tablelands from the west to occupy the top of the Cox River catchment at the Wallerawang area. \ Mark Feld, 1900, ‘Myths of Burra-gorang Tribe’, Science of Man, 3 (6):99.

96 Wallumbi appears to have first been recorded by young John Blaxland jnr from an 1824 expedition (Chapter 3). Much later, Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell appropriated the Aboriginal term ‘Wollombi’ for a township site. Similarly, the colonialists manipulated the Aboriginal term Bannaby without knowledge of the origin or appreciation of the consequences.
became Connor Family land. By the time Alfred Bennett's family arrived near Camden from their Eastern Suburbs home the settlers' knowledge of the meaning of the Aboriginal term Bannaby had been lost, and he may be forgiven his ignorance for having applied the more general English term ‘Bathurst’ for lands of the interior, ‘over the mountains’ from Sydney.97, 98

Before the settlers knew anything of the country of the southern Blue Mountains, the Aboriginal name was recorded, then published (with his report of Thomas Jones's expedition) by John Jamison. In his 1993 Cox River history, Jim Barrett carelessly thought for the 1818 expedition by Jones that when the journal referred to a river (in 1833 identified with the native name ‘Kowmung’ by surveyor H.F. White), it read ‘The Gundungurra natives advised the name of the river was the Barnalay’, but he (Barrett) was mistaken with a mistranscription. There were no Gundungurra Aborigines present, and Jones's 1818 journal as published by Jamison actually read: ‘they fell in with the junction of another new river which has its course from the southward through the Barnaley country’ [my emphases]. Smith casually perpetuated this mistake, using Barrett's name Barnalay [rather than Barnaley] to designate a river when it was really known as a term to represent the country of the southern Blue Mountains. Jim Smith takes language terms from Jim Barrett's studies, so without this causeless mistake he may not have made the error of thinking that Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell's Aboriginal chief of the Nattai, ‘Moyengully’ (Myangarlie), had come from O'Connell at Bathurst.99

It cannot be sustained that Blue Mountains Aboriginal people occupied country to the west across the Great Dividing Range watershed on the basis of a misidentification of Connor's flat known by Aborigine Billy Russell at Bannaby (Wollondilly River catchment flowing to the coast), being wrongly assumed by white persons to be O'Connell Plain at Bathurst (Macquarie River catchment flowing to the interior).


98 In the present day confusion can arise because a lot of eastern draining Wollondilly River catchment is within the ‘Upper Lachlan’ Local Government Council administrative area, while geographically it is distinct from the western draining Lachlan River catchment. Settlers in the Bannaby area did indeed approach over the tablelands from Bathurst - as part of the Bathurst district - as follows. Members of the Connor Family took out grants in the Bannaby area, although John Hillas appropriated the Aboriginal term Bannaby for his property, as follows. The earlier colloquially named ‘Rams Head’ Creek is officially named for the Connor Family there: Connors Creek. Bannaby is discussed elsewhere in this chapter, in relation to Aborigine Billy Lynch earlier and in relation to Aborigine Coocoogong later.

Further mislocation came with stories of an Aboriginal warrior, *Miranda*, named from the Abercrombie River location on the western side of the great divide at Richlands north of Taralga. Writing reminiscences when he was seventy seven years old, Charles MacAlister had had *Miranda's* burial described to him when he (MacAlister) was nineteen years old in 1849. *Miranda* was notorious for having murdered settlers in the Bathurst district ca.1831, placing him as a Wiradjuri-language man. However, due to a misrepresentation started by Throsby in 1819, *Miranda’s* local Abercrombie River group (Lachlan River catchment) was known to the settlers by a term given to Throsby by a Gundungurra-language man from the Tarlo River group (Wollondilly River catchment) as follows.

The unfortunate result has been that the settlers applied this term, *Burra-Burra*, to two different language groups which occupied country of both the eastern and western flowing catchments near Richlands.

In modern times, people in motor cars driving over the Central Tablelands may not know on which side

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100 The burial described was of the form typical for Wiradjuri, as also described for Wellington Valley in 1835. ¶ James Backhouse, 1843, ‘A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies’, Hamilton, Adams and Co., Paternoster Row (London), p.322. MacAlister next footnote.

101 Somehow Smith supports his unsubstantiated case [of the same people on both sides of the divide] by linking MacAlister’s *Mirandah* with a person transcribed by Alfred Bennett as “Murrandah”, to become an Aboriginal man leading James Macarthur from Camden to discover grazing land at Richlands - i.e. to the tablelands country which the Macarthur brothers actually had purchased from Thomas Howe well after Throsby's discovery. Was Smith really alluding to James Macarthur of Camden? In contrast, that James showed intolerance of Aborigines, at first supporting William Lee's antagonism (footnoted earlier this chapter), arguing that settlers acted with Christian ideals and that Aborigines should give up land the settlers wanted. Smith must have been thinking of Throsby's expedition with Coocoogong as follows - which resulted in both the place [*Mirandah’s* place] on the west side and the person [*Coocoogong*] on the east side being given the same white-man’s ‘tribal’ name of *Burra-burra* in error. MacAlister refers to his ‘boyhood’ at which time Aboriginal cultural life had been disrupted by settlement. He arrived in 1833 as ‘a toddling three-year-old’, and lived in the ‘Argyle’ District - a white man's construct on the southern tablelands.

In his introductory history review, MacAlister gives John Hillas, Thomas Howe and his kinsman Lachlan McAlister [sic], when seeking unsettled land south of Bathurst, coming from there across the Abercrombie country into the Argyle country - because Bathurst country had been taken by the likes of George Suttor and George Innes as above. (It was Hillas who appropriated the Aboriginal term when he 'settled at Bannaby'- thus artificially restricting its location to one settler's property.) That is, MacAlister gives these settlers as arriving in the upper Wollondilly River catchment by the reverse route to Charles Throsby, without being led by *Mirandah* - who had opposed settlement. This link (of the Bannaby region) with Bathurst was strong in the early days of settlement. In his 1847 novel mentioned below, Alexander Harris, ‘An Emigrant Mechanic’ uses the same route for his lead character. The Aborigines *Mirandah* (Wiradjuri) and *Murrandah* (Gundungurra, or Dharug) must have been two persons. A more thorough investigation, not part of this thesis, is required for this area, especially with regard to reports mentioning ‘Bathurst’ which were not about Bathurst as it is understood (for the town) in the present day. ¶ Charles MacAlister, 1907, ‘The Aborigines’, Chapter X (part of), pp.82-91 in ‘Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South’, Chas. MacAlister Book Publishing Committee, Goulburn, Facsimile edn 1977, Library of Australian History, North Sydney (Sydney), quotes pp.8, 3-4, pp.83-85; Smith 1991b ‘Aborigines of Burragorang Valley’ p.4; Bennett 1914 ‘Recollections’ of William Russell pp.20-21; John Manning Ward, 1981, ‘James Macarthur, Colonial Conservative 1798-1867’, Sydney University Press, Sydney, support of Lee pp.122-23 citing Sydney Morning Herald 1842.
they are of the Great Divide, but it is wrong to apply this lack of spatial awareness to the indigenous people before settlers arrived. This ‘motor car’ theory could have supported both sides of the watershed being within the territory of the same Aboriginal language group if the ecology was the same, but I have been unable to justify such a theory for the Great Dividing Range from historical records. However, the most intense research, of the area to the southwest of the Darkiñung for this chapter of the thesis, done by J.L. Smith has not let a paucity of verifiable historical records prevent him placing the same Aboriginal people on either side of the great divide. As well as for fighting discussed above, he appears to have rationalised this because of travel by Aborigines out of their respective home territory with expeditions - as follows for 1819.\(^\text{102}\) This misconception had continued for thirty years, from 1789 with Governor Phillip taking as ‘guides’ Aboriginal men who were under the armed protection of the settlers (Chapter 1). Travelling from south of The Cowpastures to Bathurst in April/May 1819, Charles Throsby was accompanied by a Gundungurra guide Coocoogong who had supposedly been to Bathurst.\(^\text{103}\) On the way the river ‘Wallandillii’ was named to Throsby. At a lagoon which ‘empties itself to the westward’ (i.e. across the great divide) the place was referred to by Coocoogong as ‘Burrah-burrah’ (without a meaning recorded then) and from there Throsby wrote that Coocoogong said the streams were ‘running to a (Myall) strange country’, i.e. of foreign Aborigines. They were at the headwaters of the Abercrombie Branch of the Lachlan River, and observed no Aborigines there.\(^\text{104}\) A run for cattle grazing on the tablelands over the great divide near this ‘Burrah-burrah’ lagoon, purchased subsequently from Thomas Howe by the Macarthur sons from Camden, was called Richlands as above. From the meaning given by Billy Russell, Coocoogong was telling Throsby that it was ground  

\(^\text{102}\) As discussed in Chapter 10/SE, the surgeon Charles Throsby of ‘Glenfield’ on the Georges River was expanding his landholdings, at first travelling with young native-born brothers Hamilton and John Hume with their friend John Rowley, who were accompanied by Dharug-language man Duall. Rowley with Duall (and another Dharug man) were with Throsby in April 1819 - but not a Hume.  

\(^\text{103}\) Ostensibly Coocoogong had been to Bathurst - on one of the legendary fighting journeys as above?, maybe a legendary fishing journey for cod as below? It is possible this was another mix up - that Coocoogong thought the ‘Bathurst’ Throsby wanted to be taken to was his well known Bannaby area as discussed above. Or did Coocoogong think Throsby was going to Bathurst Lake? Surveyor Meehan had been through Coocoogong’s territory when he discovered Bathurst Lake further south in April 1818. Once out of the Wollondilly catchment area into ‘myall’ country on the west side of the Great Dividing Range, Coocoogong did his best to get back to the east side, as follows. Throsby took native-born John Rowley who knew the Dharug language and his friend Duall, a Dharug man who would have been able to translate Coocoogong’s Gundungurra speech, which may explain why Throsby wanted Duall back from Van Dieman’s Land as given in Chapter 10/SE.  

\(^\text{104}\) Throsby was a stranger, depending on others for understanding of Aborigines. It is only his mistaken report which places Gundungurra man Coocoogong with authority over ‘the Natives about Bathurst’ across the divide. That’s silly, as below. \(\backslash\) Charles Throsby, 1819, Journal of Travel to Bathurst, transcribed by R.H. Cambage, 1921, ‘Exploration between the Wingecarribee, Shoalhaven, Macquarie and Murrumbidgee Rivers [Southern Rivers]’, Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society’, 7 (5): 217-88, Travels to Bathurst pp.238-44.
for kangaroo grazing, but Throsby mistakenly applied the term ‘kangaroo-kangaroo’ for absent Aboriginal people instead. With the same word stem, kangaroo, it is related to *Burra-gorang*.

After returning from Bathurst township along the new road via Mount York, Throsby submitted a request with his journal report to Governor Macquarie that *Coocoogong* be designated ‘as the Chief of the Burrahburrah Tribe, of which place he is a native’. Then Throsby spoilt the effect, showing he did not know what he was writing about by adding to Macquarie ‘which may be the means of tranquilizing the Natives about Bathurst’. During Macquarie's term, it was usual to ignorantly consider Aborigines as homogenous. Throsby did not know what *Burrah-burrah* meant to the *Gundungurra*, just as John Howe six months later did not know what *Booroh-wall* meant to the *Darkiñung* (Chapter 3). Irrespective of that, both are now used for official Geographic Names of features.

Despite the convenience for J.L. Smith to have ‘found’ the same indigenous people in the mountains irrespective of which side of the great divide, I cannot recognise Throsby's journal as providing evidence to establish that *Coocoogong*’s people occupied both sides of the Great Dividing Range. However, Smith has written up ‘*Burra Burra*’ Aborigines as if they were a single group occupying both sides, incorporating country at the creek from the lagoon named *Burra burra* - where *Coocoogong* said the creeks ran to foreign *Myall* country when Throsby was in the Lachlan River catchment on the west of the divide at Richlands. Smith wrongly attributed this location in the Abercrombie River branch area to be *Gundungurra* country with the presumption that *Coocoogong* was leading them along an established Aboriginal track, on the basis of a quote out of context that ‘pioneer whites were always steered along tribal boundaries - -’. In contrast to Smith’s misrepresentation, Throsby’s journal does not suggest either that they were following a track or that *Coocoogong* knew a route on the western side of the Great Dividing Range. Instead, once he could get Throsby’s horses around the scrubby country, as they made

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107 The *Gundungurra* term as ‘*Burra Burra*’ Lake is used for the lagoon (in putative *Wiradjuri* territory), while ‘Burrowell’ Creek is used for the location at The Branch in the centre of *Darkiñung* country. Both terms as from Geographical Names Board register, available online.
108 It is beyond this thesis to examine this area further. Smith also cites Macalister 1907 ‘that the Burra burra band ranged over the area “from the Abercrombie - -” ’, showing that Throsby’s mistake was established when MacAlister was there. Jim Smith, 1992b, ‘Aborigines of the Goulburn District’, Gundungurra Series Volume 4, self published - Den Fenella Press, Wentworth Falls; MacAlister 1907 ‘Old Pioneering Days’ p.82.
their way north Coocoogong had guided them more to the east across the ‘Myall’ gullies back to the Great Dividing Range onto the tablelands of Querungua (‘Geurung’). At this location Coocoogong regained the eastern side of the great divide amongst his Gundungurra people on the mountain tops of the catchment of the Kowmung River [Geurung?], a tributary of the Cox River flowing into Burragorang Valley.110

Charles Throsby and the Familiar Kangaroo People

There was an excellent direct route from The Cowpastures to this western border of Coocoogong’s tribal territory, following a main range which became the Camden-Oberon Stock Route.111 Throsby had insisted on riding his horses around the south of the Blue Mountains where he was searching for grazing land. He would have reached Bathurst township more quickly had he been prepared to travel directly through the southern Blue Mountains following the route of this short Aboriginal pathway - which became a stock route despite Throsby’s recalcitrance. At this location, on 7 May 1819, Throsby recorded: ‘fell in with a large tribe of natives, several of them have been at The Cow Pastures - -.’ His party saw ‘a boy - - very like the one named Good Friday, who escaped from the Native Institution at Parramatta - - he was Friday’s brother.’112 Thus, the data provided by Throsby shows the Gundungurra on the eastern side, but does not show them on the western side, of the Great Dividing Range.113

110 Surveyor General Mitchell used the term as ‘Guowogang’ for the Kowmung / Kuo-uo-gang area.
111 After the Burragorang Valley was flooded with the Warragamba reservoir, landholders in the Yerranderie area formed this cattle track into a rough vehicle track and it became the present day road from Oberon. I used the rough track for access to go exploring off track while I was a Sydney University undergraduate student preparing in 1961 a bushwalking map of the Kowmung Country named for the people, then spelt Gundungura [single r], similarly to the term then used in the public domain, Gandangara [aka Kanangra]. (It is now called the Colong-Oberon Stock Route.) \ Geoffrey Eric Ford, 1996, ‘The Whys of The Kowmung Country and Gundungura - A Tale of Maps’, in David Noble (ed.), ‘Press On Regardless: Fifty Years of Bushwalking’, pp.30-33.
112 The Aboriginal boy Friday had fled upstream of the Wollondilly, away from the settled areas, maybe to the protection of his grandparents. He’d gone to a large lake which they told Throsby was called Jacquaa - and he assumed was the lake which surveyor Meehan had only discovered 3 April 1818 and which had been named Lake Bathurst. \ Cambage 1921 ‘Southern Rivers’, p.241, p.234.
113 Not far from here, ‘travelling Throsby's direct route (to) Bathurst’, J.L. Smith reported that they were in country of intertribal warfare - with use of the jagged spears meant to destroy one's opponent. There is some difficulty in knowing when Smith is writing factually and when fictionally. Not only does he use unexplained extracts of unsubstantiated reminiscences and implausible memoirs, but also features flagrant fiction without qualification. As a supposed example of intertribal conflict at this location Smith was making use of one of the five novels written by Alexander Harris who had lived in Australia under another name 1825-1840 when fleeing from retribution in England. His first pen name - after leaving Australia - was ‘A Working Hand’ in 1846, later changed to ‘An Emigrant Mechanic’ in 1847 for the book cited by Smith. I am indebted to historians Alec Chisholm 1961 and Manning Clark 1953 revised 1964 for their research on Harris published with reprints of the fifth and first books respectively. Clark, on the book relied upon by Smith: ‘it appears to contain as much fiction as fact’. As summarised by (continued...)
Soon after Throsby's trip, during Governor Macquarie's excursion with him, on Sunday 22 October 1820 they met Nagary, Coocoogong's father and other members of his family at the Cookbundoon Range near the Tarlo River (Wollondilly River catchment). Here, Governor Macquarie was told these Aborigines were the ‘Burra-Burra tribe’. Given this historical record, I have not been able to follow Smith's reasoning whereby he has mapped Aborigines here as a ‘Tarlo Band’, in distinct separation from his ‘Burra Burra Band’ of Aborigines on the other side of the great divide at the head of the Abercrombie River (Lachlan River catchment). A more thorough investigation of the puzzle also would need to address how Throsby of the Georges River acquired a guide from such a distant place, which supports Coocoogong and Myangarlie having originated from the Tarlo/Guineacor area (Bannaby region) of the Wollondilly catchment and travelling within their own country to the downstream Burragorang area.

It cannot be sustained that Blue Mountains Aboriginal people occupied country to the west across the Great Dividing Range watershed on the basis that they travelled there with colonial explorers.

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113(continued)


115 As mentioned above, there were no people in this foreign (myall) country when Coocoogong told Throsby the lagoon was ‘kangaroo-kangaroo’ country. Throsby had taken with him young native-born John Rowley who had some understanding of the Aborigines. But from Throsby's report, his own lack of understanding meant that this became Throsby's creation of a second 'burra-burra' tribe across the great divide. Although his book text is a commendable conglomerate of historical records, Smith's map confuses Macquarie's meeting of Coocoogong's family ‘Burra-burra tribe’ near the Tarlo River (in historical records known as the Cockbundoon River). The mis-named ‘Burra-burra’ Aborigines associated with the drainage of Burra-burra Creek from the lagoon on the other side of the Great Dividing Range appear to be distinct on the map, and no relationship has been shown. \ Smith 1992b ‘Aborigines of the Goulburn District’ text p.5, map following p.48.
Travelling to The Edge of the Divide to Go Cod Fishing

In a seminal study visiting mountain locations with other walkers, Smith noted that bushwalking historian ‘Wilf Hilder was the author’s companion on bushwalks along Gundungurra trails.’ Smith 2009 ‘Gundungurra Place Naming’ p.113.


J.L. Smith was a zoologist who had become an authority on tracks, being ‘awarded a Churchill Fellowship in 1992 to study walking track planning and management’. He reported an enviable achievement, following geographical sites precisely described by surveyor Mathews who had published a Gundungurra legend collected in the Burragorang Valley about the travels of Gurangatch (a giant serpentine fish-like creature). Mathews identified the final travel site near Duckmulloy (present day Duckmaloi), Aboriginal Wan’-dak-ma-lai. Guided by the late Ben Esgate, Smith reached this location, where they identified Joolundoo waterhole, over the Great Dividing Range near Wicketty War Creek, on the headwaters of the interior-flowing Fish River upstream.

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116 Reference is made to Esgate below. Smith noted that bushwalking historian ‘Wilf Hilder was the author’s companion on bushwalks along Gundungurra trails.’ \ Smith 2009 ‘Gundungurra Place Naming’ p.113.


of O’Connell. This place on the Great Dividing Range Smith interpreted ‘where the Gundungurra came to catch cod’.

Rather than interpreting a location over the dividing range watershed as Gundungurra territory, Smith proposed that it would ‘help to define the western limit of their range’. I concur, because it was the limit to which the Gundungurra people went in the story (Bandler’s geography lesson). Yet, with scant regard to the confusion of his loyal readers for comparison with his 1991 items as above, in 1992 he went on to write: ‘I have often wondered if the Gundungurra met the Wiradjuri at Joolundoo or O’Connells Plains nearer to Bathurst.’ The circumstances of meeting Wiradjuri people when on a fishing trip near this location are of interest requiring further investigation. On one hand it could be a cause to seek retaliation, on the other hand, in supporting Smith’s zoological finding I see it as describing a biological phenomenon like a subarctic bear gathering out of personal territory to hunt salmon, when for humans and many other territorial species even competitors and enemies make peace and share country when sharing food resources.

It cannot be sustained that Blue Mountains Aboriginal people occupied country to the west across the Great Dividing Range watershed on the basis that they travelled to the edge to go fishing.

Thus material published to date shows that Gundungurra Aborigines from the eastern-flowing coastal catchment did not occupy country which they may have visited to the west across the Great Dividing Range. The borders of country for this chapter of my thesis are the borders of the Gundungurra with

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121 However, Smith 2009 points out that the present day location of a site may be miles away from the original Aboriginal location, such as Duckmaloi for Wandakmalai or Jelleindore for Joolundoo. Smith 2009 ‘Gundungurra Place Naming’, p.88.

122 And for Aborigines, it has been noticed that resources - such as river frontage in the outback - were shared at times of scarcity too. William J. Condor, 1886, ‘Reminiscences in the Interior of New South Wales, from the Autumn of 1864 to Christmas 1874’, pp.206-09 in H.C. Russell, 1886, ‘Notes upon the History of Floods in the River Darling’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 20: 155-75 (+ tables to p.211).

123 As well as the published material in his four volume Gundungurra Series, James Leslie (‘Jim’) Smith has done a 2008 postgraduate student thesis supervised by James Leslie (‘Jim’) Kohen at Macquarie University. Jim Smith acknowledged, published 2009, the support of Jim Kohen for his ‘research on the Gundungurra for the last 15 years’, although he has referred about the thesis to me as being his thirty years of research, which would include earlier bicyclist and bushwalker tracks material - and I consider it would be an important document. Attempts by Sydney University to access the secret thesis from Macquarie University have been unsuccessful up to the date of completing this chapter in 2010. It may (continued...)
Chapter 11/SW Findings

The purpose of this chapter is to recognise the Darkiňung-Language People of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges by separating their Country from that of those to their southwest at the time of settlement, the Gundungurra-Language People known from Burragorang Valley and further south in the Wollondilly River catchment.

The northern edge of the watershed draining to the Cox River appears as the natural topographical feature to have been a practical geographical border of the Gundungurra-Language Aborigines to the southwest.
of the Darkiñung-Language Aborigines. This is Erskine Range from the Nepean River to Kings Tableland, thence the present day Blue Mountains Range, incorporating Darling Causeway to the Great Dividing Range.

It cannot be ascertained from known historical records who were the Wallerawang (aka ‘Wywandy’), Aborigines who were poised between Wiradjuri on their west and Darkiñung on their east. Concomitant with Kamilaroi intrusion outlined in Chapter 12/NW they may have been Wiradjuri of the Macquarie River catchment in the Central Tablelands - yet following the watershed criterion it is likely that they may have been Gundungurra since Wallerawang, the local name, is at the head of the Cox River - which is a tributary of the Wollondilly River which is the Gundungurra base of their Bannaby Country. In a parallel situation on the more southerly part of their western flank, the Gundungurra may have been repelling the Wiradjuri of the Lachlan River catchment in the Central Tablelands.

While there may have been an overlap around the Mount Victoria vicinity, no interactions were discovered between the Darkiñung and the Gundungurra prior to the impact of settlement.

Where the Blue Mountains Range joins the Great Dividing Range are the Capertee and Wolgan Valleys at the head of the Colo River which is a Branch of the Hawkesbury River system. Confusingly, the colonial settlement of this upper Colo watershed was from the interior Bathurst district further southwest, yet it is shown that the Aborigines at the head of the Colo at the time of settlement were related to those of the Goulburn/Hunter River system to the northeast within the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges occupied by the Darkiñung-language Aborigines. The recent thought that these ranges have been impervious to people, requiring occupation from across the tablelands to the west, is shown to be untenable.

The vexed issue is considered as to whether - when the settlers arrived - Aboriginal Language groups occupied land beyond their basic home catchment over a main dividing range, here for the Great Dividing Range which is not distinct to the modern casual observer on the tablelands. While Aboriginal borders seem to have been permeable, historical records do not verify occupancy over the divide in the situation for this chapter (in contrast to Chapter 12/NW). The claimed placement of people from the coastal drainage over the divide was found to have been from interpretive mistakes reading the records. In the earlier case, by Charles Throsby misapplying the name of a Wollondilly group to name a waterway in the Lachlan River catchment, and in a later case by Alfred Bennett misinterpreting a locality term. It was
discovered that the country of the Gundungurra to the south of the Cox River had been known before its settlement as Bannaby [range of spellings] which was sometimes confused by settlers regarding it as part of Bathurst district over the mountains in the interior. With this discovery, some modern historical interpretations need to be re-visited.
Chapter 12/NW

Across Martindale Creek [earlier Greig's Creek of this chapter] at the head of the cleared cultivated valley looking towards the Cow Parlour valley from photograph by Geoff Ford Sunday 8 March 2009

Notes:
This is where the Darkiñung Aborigines retreated into the ranges to turn up at Putty, aka Booty (Colo River Branch drainage) after the killing at Greig's farm ‘Craytonshaw’ October 1825. The Cow Parlour is now a stock run for a cattleman who is descended from those Aborigines of ‘The Branch’ natives. This valley (draining to Hunter River) is where the Medhurst boys came through the ranges with cattle from Howes Valley (Macdonald River Branch drainage) to settle this valley. [John Howe had been first led, misled, by these Aborigines down the next one of these valleys to the east.] A Medhurst cousin of my age, Bert Sykes, pointing from his homestead verandah, is a son of a granddaughter of one of those boys. The family continued to be horsemen. We are descendants of John Medhurst who advised Robert Mathews about Aboriginal art work in the ranges.
Part III (4)

Chapter 12/NW

Country to the Northwest of the Darkiñung:
Interacting with the Kamilaroi Who Occupied the Upper Hunter Valley
or with the Wiradjuri Across the Central Tablelands

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The Issue

In this chapter, I outline historical records illustrating that at the time the settlers arrived at the northwest locations of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, there were Aboriginal people foreign to those who belonged to the Branches of the Hawkesbury River (known as ‘The Branch’ natives) and to the ranges south of the Hunter River (referred to as the ‘Wollombi tribe’). At this time there were no names of locations, other than those Ben Singleton had shared from his earlier contact with Aborigines from the ranges (Chapter 3). Some time ago these strangers had come from the plains and marshes of interior rivers to the west of the Great Dividing Range which flowed towards the centre of the continent. Settlers were to identify interior Aborigines from their languages which were designated by the respective word for ‘no’. To the north the tribes shared a language designated by ‘kamil’ for no, thus Kamil-

It has become conventional in recent times to consider that the Aborigines of the upper Hunter and Goulburn Rivers were ‘Wonnarua’ as did activist and author Jack Horner in 1977 who called them Wonj-arua (Chapter 3). However, historically this is an error attributable to a false memory of one man as published in 1887, so not pursued in this chapter but discussed for this thesis in Chapter 9/NE.

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1 The reader should be aware that the term Wollomi, Wollombi, Wallambine, etc, apparently represented an Aboriginal term associated with the mountains, which was co-opted by Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell who instructed his surveyors to call a township site Wollombi located at the junction of the two main branches of the mountain stream on the Great North Road survey. (That is, Mitchell artificially chose the site for the convenience of white travellers to be at the meeting of the waters of present day Wollombi Brook.) Surveyor Heneage Finch who had performed the road survey had applied the term Illulughn as the Aboriginal location for this junction site - which is apparently the word giving us present day Ellalong. (Breton’s ‘Illarong’ later this chapter.) Finch’s associate, surveyor Peter Ogilvie, in an 1829 map showed ‘Wollambi’ as a double peak in the Bulga Mountains. Writing to Ogilvie three months earlier, Mitchell himself had identified the double peak as Warrawolong. The original record of the term Wollombi is attributed to young John Blaxland jnr (viz. John de Marquett Blaxland) in 1824, on a second journey pioneering a shorter way from Richmond across the then unnamed Macdonald River Branch - ‘through Wallumbi, a level grazing country’ - when he was accompanied by Rev. George Middleton who was a friend of the Aborigines (Chapter 3). \Andy Macqueen, 2004, ‘Somewhat Perilous - The Journeys of Singleton, Parr, Howe, Myles and Blaxland in the Northern Blue Mountains’, self published, Wentworth Falls, ‘Wallumbi’ p.123; Finch cited by Henry Dangar, 1828, ‘Index and Directory to Map of the Country Bordering Upon The River Hunter; the Lands of the Australian-Agricultural Company; with the Ground-Plan and Allotments of King's Town, New South Wales’, Joseph Cross, Holborn (London), Facsimile edn nd, Archival Reprint Co., Finch p.iv, Illulughn p.62; Peter Ogilvie, 1829, in Alan E.J. Andrews, 1992, ‘The Hunter Range’, Chapter 10 pp.126-43, in ‘Major Mitchell's Map 1834 - The Saga of the Survey of the Nineteen Counties’, Blubber Head Press, Hobart, Ogilvie map reproduced Plate 28 p.133, Mitchell to Ogilvie p.130.

2 Language names to identify Aborigines were not used by the settlers, who used locality terms, but introduced by missionaries such as the peripatetic William Ridley as below (mentioned Chapter 6).
First Impressions:

**Thursday Nov 4**\(^{\text{th}}\) [1819] (From) the top of a high range of Rocks; see a heavy Fog, as tho rising from a River - fog appears to run nearly E & W - - - a very heavy fog ENE (which the Natives say is Coomery Roy & more farther a great way) - - - descend Hill with great difficulty to a Creek called by the Natives Coomery Roy Creek - - - [following this creek valley] to a forest thinly timbered & said to be leading to Coomery Roy - Sun Down rested for the night

**Friday Nov 5**\(^{\text{th}}\) [1819] - - - cross the Creek were we find a fine Vally & thinly timbered - - - to a fine fresh water River. This last 2 hours thro’ a fine Country thinly timbered & for the last hour many Acres with not a tree on it - - -; it is evidently flooded it having left the Rubbish where the bushes were about breast high - - - the tide makes in the River - - - caught a few Perch in great number in the River - - - The River wideneth to near the width of the Hawkesbury at Windsor & is very deep - - - opposite side of the River land more level - - it may be said to be clear - - - what we took to be high water mark was only the height of a fresh that we now found to be in it - - - stop for the night: and before we could unload the Horses we are surprised by a strange Native, who - - - disappeared - - - our Natives are much alarmed, - - - and would have shot the poor creature - - - about half an hour afterward we saw five cross the River about half a Mile below & came nearly opposite us to watch us - - - our natives threatened to leave & I detained 2 [of ‘The Branch’ natives from Boorohwall] till morning relying on Miles [‘The Branch’ native from Richmond] but even he poor fellow was much alarmed

**Saturday Nov 6**\(^{\text{th}}\) [1819] 1 mile; came across the tract of the Natives - - - & the Natives [from Boorohwall] will proceed no farther - - -

Journal of John Howe's 1819 Expedition\(^{3}\)

John Howe's 1819 expedition was not making very good time travelling during the fourteen hours between sun up and sun down at that time of the year. This quoted set of his journal extracts is a marvellous account of settlers' first sighting of Aborigines from a group new to them, to the northwest of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, who were foreign to the Boorohwall (present day Burrowell) Aborigines who occupied the higher catchment of ‘The Branch’ (present day Macdonald River), as discussed for the settlers' exploration (Chapter 3). In his ignorance, Howe did not distinguish between Aboriginal people - even expecting the strangers to be the same group as ‘The Branch’ natives from Richmond or Boorohwall. Instead, on arriving at the Hunter River floodplain downstream of the junction of Goulburn River with the upper Hunter River, Howe's party had reached the Aborigines' boundary of country, in this

\(^{3}\) At this time, Howe thought he had discovered a river flowing into Port Stephens, as discussed in Chapter 3. I use Howe's Journal 1819 as transcribed by Andy Macqueen. The transcription used by Waterston and Parsons has some alternative punctuation and wording which give a variation to the context. \(\backslash\) Macqueen 2004 ‘Somewhat Perilous’, pp.170-71; D.B. Waterston & T.G. Parsons (eds), 1989, ‘Hunter Journey: The Diary of John Howe, Free Settler and Chief Constable, Windsor, New South Wales’, The St. Mark's Press, pp.9-14.
situation between two hostile language groups. In his description of the floodplain at this place from a visit with a settler (John Blaxland jnr) twelve years later, William Breton states ‘we forded the river which was not higher than the horses’s girths, but it has been known to rise thirty or forty feet within two or three days.’

Correctly, the people Howe noted at the floodplain in November 1819 were a group of whom the settlers came to know later as Kamilaroi from their language. First used when on the (present day) Doyles Range south of Jerrys Plains, in Howe's journal cited above ‘The Branch’ natives' Aboriginal term ‘Coomery Roy’ meant neither the fog nor the creek valley into which they descended. In indicating to the east-northeast across the heavy fog ‘more further a great way’, the Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges were trying to get through to the settlers' expedition that the Kamilaroi were in that direction. They did not know that white people without Singleton's comprehension would have no understanding that they were trying to tell them to beware of the Kamilaroi. Interpreting ‘Coomery Roy’ as a place was Howe's folly. A critical point to raise here is that the Aborigines did not indicate that the ‘Coomery Roy’ people were to the west, that is, they were not along the Goulburn River branch of the Hunter River.

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4 William Henry Breton, (‘Lieut. Breton, R.N.’), 1833, ‘Excursions in New South Wales, Western Australia, and Van Dieman's Land During the Years 1830, 1831, 1832, and 1833’, Richard Bentley, New Burlington (London), p.94.

5 George Evans, a competent explorer, and Surveyor General John Oxley, had each been on expeditions from Bathurst through Wiradjuri territory going west down the Lachlan River before they set out from Wellington Valley together going northwest down the Macquarie River, taking horses to carry their provisions. After getting bogged in the flooded marshes again, in order to escape from the morass they headed east for the coast, penetrating through Kamilaroi territory centred around the country of the Namoi River tributaries. (They named the Goulburn plains, crossed eleven miles before reaching a stream they named Peel River, where they camped near present day Tamworth. Henry Goulburn was Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies in London. A number of localities named ‘Goulburn’ must be distinguished in reading the historical records for this thesis.) The year before Howe saw his Kamilaroi (‘Coomery Roy’) people as above, on 7 September 1818 Oxley and Evans's exploration party on the Northern (present day New England) Tablelands camped at Oxley's Sydney River (named as being due north of Sydney town). This is present day Macdonald River, the main headwaters of the Namoi River flowing west to the interior (sometimes confused with the present day Macdonald River Branch of the Hawkesbury River flowing east to the coast). Writing from Oxley's journals, Johnson reported that at that camp they ‘met a party of Aboriginal people’ of whom ‘it was clear they had heard of white people’. If the Kamilaroi away out there were aware of the settlers in 1818, then the Kamilaroi who were closer to settlement would have known too, when Howe reported in 1819 as above that five Aborigines ‘came nearly opposite us to watch us’ across present day Hunter River. \Richard Johnson, 2001, ‘The Search for The Inland Sea - John Oxley, Explorer, 1783-1828’, Melbourne University Press, Carlton (Melbourne), p.130.

6 Across the Hawkesbury River floodplain, there was fear by the plains Dharug people of the mountain Darkiñung people across the lower Nepean River (Chapter 10/SE). Although recorded behaviour, here at the Hunter River floodplain, demonstrates fear by the mountain Darkiñung people of the Kamilaroi penetrating from the north, I suggest that this was mainly to do with protection of territorial assets.
It is not surprising that powerful Aboriginal tribal groups from the interior plains and marshes would have expanded, taking them over the watershed to have occupied the neighbouring catchments, especially if they had become more war capable than those neighbours. Horatio Hale refers to such behaviour for the indigenes of North America, for the tribes ‘which sent forth new swarms’.  

Identifying Hunter River ‘Coomery Roy’ as Kamilaroi

It is to missionary Rev. William Ridley, an alumnus of University College London, to whom historians are indebted for the first public report on the Aboriginal group to the northwest of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. When he returned from his first ‘tour among the aborigines’, Ridley wrote in early 1853 to the Ethnological Society in London concerning ‘the protection of the races that British colonization threatens to banish from the face of the earth.’ Although presented in May 1854, his article was not published until 1856. However, Ridley had sent a later letter on a ship returning to England, this time to his teacher at the University College, Professor Key who presented Ridley's work in March 1855 and it was published that year. When he wrote to alert English scholars to the language which he transcribed with English characters as “Kamilaroi”, Ridley had found: ‘it is one of the most widely-spoken of the very numerous languages of the Australian aborigines, and is in common use through the upper part of the valley of the Hunter River; over Liverpool Plains, along the Namoi River - - - ’[my emphasis], and also, ‘There is hardly a word in Kamilaroi which bears any resemblance to the language spoken at Newcastle of which the Rev. L.E. Threlkeld published a grammar in 1834.’

Ridley had collected his Aboriginal philology with the assistance of graziers out in the nether-nether lands beyond the frontiers of the colony. More than ten years earlier this was something not done by the philologist Horatio Hale on the United States Exploring Expedition when he ‘made a jaunt to the Hunter

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7 In this article, Hale defends the intellect of the Australian Aborigines. Horatio Hale, 1892, Language as a Test of Mental Capacity’, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 21: 413-55, pp.423,424.

8 Ridley's was the first report in the context given here. In 1839, as follows, Hale was given the name Kamilaroi mistakenly. There are other historical records, beyond this thesis, from early contact by missionaries with Wiradjuri people, which may be examined at the Wellington Valley Project site. \ Hilary M. Carey & David Andrew Roberts (eds), 2002, ‘The Wellington Valley Project: Letters and Journals Relating to the Church Missionary Society Mission to Wellington Valley, NSW, 1830-1845’, Electronic edition online at www.newcastle.edu.au/ group/amrhd/ wvp/.


The Wellington Valley area, where the Bell River tributary enters the Macquarie River, has arguably the most fascinating history in the colonisation of New South Wales, e.g. through Bathurst outstation depot and mission, although sadly not part of this thesis. At Wellington Valley, Hale reported: ‘The language is known to the natives who speak it by the name of Wiradogeri or Wiradogeri;’ and in describing the Newcastle language which he had obtained from Threlkeld he named it Kamarrai which ‘is that given - - - by natives of Wellington Valley. We are not aware if it is known to the people (who speak it), or if they have any general word by which to designate all those who speak their tongue. None is given by Mr. Threlkeld - -’12 The implication is that when these Macquarie River Wiradjuri people were asked to identify those to their east for Hale, they only knew of Kamarrai-speaking people. This supports the separative nature of the Aboriginal groups arriving along the interior rivers from those who had arrived down the east coast to travel inland up rivers as mentioned in Part III Preamble.

At the time (1853) of his first ‘tour’ as above, Ridley had collected the Family / Kinship classes (called by him ‘caste or social organization’) which later were to be become known as the Kamilaroi system, a variation of which was identified for the Geawegal and the Darkinung-speaking people beyond the southeast border of the Kamilaroi as mentioned below. Ridley had collected much more information by 1866 when the New South Wales government published the first edition of his book for the Paris International Exhibition of 1867, but the additional material had less detail of interest to this thesis.13 However, the highly educated Ridley did give a valuable exposé of writing Aboriginal languages with English characters, useful to understand the conundrum that had been faced in 1819 by ex grocer John Howe as above. Ridley wrote: ‘Some who have reduced this language to writing call it Kamilaroi, some Gummilroy; but the aborigines insert a short sound between the l and the r - - about equal to the half

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11 The Wellington Valley area, where the Bell River tributary enters the Macquarie River, has arguably the most fascinating history in the colonisation of New South Wales, e.g. through Bathurst outstation depot and mission, although sadly not part of this thesis. [It is distinct to Bells Falls, on the historic Bell's Creek which is present day Tanwarra Creek, dropping from a Piper's Flat into the Turon River downstream of Sofala, as discussed in relation to the reputed ‘Bells Falls massacre’ mentioned elsewhere in this thesis (in relation to Piper's Flat Aborigines).] \ Charles Wilkes, 1845, ‘Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842’ in five volumes and an atlas, Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia; facsimile 1970, The Gregg Press, Upper Saddle River (New Jersey), Vol.II pp.245-56 (Hunter River), pp.256-65 (Wellington Valley).


vowel - in Hebrew grammars, - (to) be written thus - “Kamil’roi”.14

The Kamilaroi language was predominant throughout country of interior flowing river catchments with dialectical differences similar to variations of the English language throughout England. John Howe, who had limited experience with Aboriginal languages anyway (Chapter 3), is unlikely to have been able to write in his journal what the term really was to its native speakers, i.e. even to the Kamilaroi themselves.

Thus, Howe writing ‘Coomery Roy’ is not surprising. Further, modern linguists have re-expressed ancient Aboriginal languages in English characters for their studies in order to simplify phonetics in the way they imagine languages were spoken before the advent of settlers. They have overridden Ridley to now express the term as ‘Gamilaraay’, accepted by descendants who want to take advantage of their studies.15

It has become fashionable to assume that when settlers heard a ‘k’ or ‘c’ sound, they were really hearing a ‘g’ sound in English lettering. Ridley had found that rather than listed pairs of consonants being the same sound, ‘it is difficult to determine, in many instances’ which sound was meant.16

‘The Branch’ natives whom Howe’s expedition was accompanying were foreign language speakers as far

14 The veracity of a Scottish ex-teacher at a private Maitland school, John Fraser B.A., affects the interpretation of historic documents in this thesis (in particular for Chapter 9/NE). After he retired to Randwick where he pontificated with a new academic title [see below], Fraser spoke on comparative languages of the world, as was fashionable amongst scholars. In his discussion of Part XXX ‘The Samoan Story of Creation’, for his reading of Pratt’s translations, Fraser disagreed with Ridley’s ‘kamil’ for ‘no’, re-dissecting Ridley’s ‘Kamilaroi’. Fraser appears to not have had touch with reality, giving: ‘the composition of the word requires the spelling Kámãlarai, for it is made up of ka (dialect kya) “not”, -mal and -arai, which are common formative suffixes.’ (Fraser gave ‘Kya’ as taken from ‘Gea’, two syllables. He was without firsthand experience, here mixing up Kamilaroi people with the ‘Geawegal’ ‘Glendon Blacks’, which does not give confidence in his ivory-tower reliability.) Fraser was probably trying to mimic or to impress Walter Spencer, or perhaps Alfred Howitt (Chapter 6) who had published Rusden’s ‘Geawegal’ information, discussed following. L.E. Threlkeld, 1859, posthumously published by Fraser 1892b, gave kea-wai as the same negative. ∴ John Fraser, 1891 [Pratt, 1867], ‘Some Folk-Songs and Myths from Samoa. Translated by the Rev. G. Pratt, with introductions and notes by John Fraser LL.D.’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, vol. 25, Part XXX is pp.261-86, quote p.275; L.E. Threlkeld, 1859, ‘Lexicon to the Gospel According to Saint Luke’ [unpublished do to author’s death], in John Fraser, 1892b, ‘An Australian Language as spoken by the Awabakal the people of Awaba or Lake Macquarie [etc]’, Government Printer, Sydney, pp.195-227, quote p.215.

15 It was Alfred Howitt who in 1902 disagreed with Lorimer Fison’s use of Ridley’s ‘Kamilaroi’, instead respelling the term as ‘Kanulari’. Lorimer Fison, 1878, ‘Kamilaroi Marriage, Descent, and Relationship’, pp.21-96, the first of collected memoirs in Lorimer Fison & Alfred Howitt, 1880, ‘Kamilaroi and Kurnai’, George Robertson, Melbourne; Alfred Howitt, 1903, Proceedings of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 9th meeting 1902, Hobart.


16 Ridley 1866 ‘Kamilaroi [etc]’ p.4.
as the *Kamilaroi*-speaking people were concerned, and just as for such a situation around the planet their pronunciation would have varied. Ronald & Catherine Berndt have discussed how some Aboriginal people may be able to understand the language of their neighbours, even if spoken with a foreign accent.\(^\text{17}\) By the 1960s, a life-time resident, Allan Wood (born 1894) was regarded as ‘the foremost authority on the history of the Hunter River Valley’ from his studies of historic documents. In his book chapter discussing Howe’s ‘Coomery Roy’ he gathered several spellings for the Aboriginal term using English characters, including ‘Coomilary Roy’.\(^\text{18}\) From ‘early mss’ Wood records *Comilaroi, Comleroy* and *Kamleroy*.

William Dumaresq, the brother of Governor Darling’s wife, in 1827 used a variant when arriving in the Hunter Valley on a journey from Parramatta along the Great North Road: ‘This is the country called by the native blacks *Cumnaroy*, or, in their quick mode of pronunciation, *Comnaroy*’.\(^\text{19}\) Wood and other authors were mistaken in applying this tribal-language name as if it was the name of the locality, so the attempts to define it as a region are pointless and have placed it to the south of the floodplain in ignorance, that is, not even in the country of the *Kamilaroi* people. The term ‘Comleroy’ for country of *Kamilaroi* people, was not limited to this locality, but also applied to the western side of the Great Dividing Range: ‘In speaking of Liverpool Plains, the aborigines call them Corbon Comleroy, Corbon implying great’.\(^\text{20}\)

**Anxiety at the Floodplain**

As presented in Chapter 3 of this thesis dealing with Howes’s expeditions, ‘The Branch’ native from


\(^{18}\) While Wood published work in which references to research may be found, I would also like to acknowledge that a study of the Aboriginal people in this context had also been done by one of my peers, Ian Webb. After a long life employed in bushland management for the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, in his retirement Ian compiled records for the Singleton Historical Society reference collection, located at the museum there. [Webb also was associated with the Convict Trail Project and wrote books concerning aspects of the history for the Great North Road.] \(\backslash\) W. Allan Wood, 1972, ‘Dawn in the Valley - the Story of Settlement in the Hunter River Valley to 1833’, Wentworth Books, Sydney, p.11. (This book - *Dawn* - was planned to be the first volume of three.)

\(^{19}\) The author was relying more on Howe’s first confused description of land as above - the location of which Wood repeated, rather than using the knowledge of settlers such as the Ogilvie Family who had arrived a year or so earlier and actually lived among the *Kamilaroi* on the northern side of the floodplain as follows. It was this confused description which led to the name adopted for the road from Richmond as described by Dollin below. \(\backslash\) William John Dumaresq, writing as ‘XYZ’, Letter VI in The Australian newspaper 21 September 1827, reproduced in Ian Grantham (ed.), 1999, ‘XYZ Goes North: “An Account of a Trip to Hunter’s River” and “A visit to Wollombi and the Cumnaroy’, Wirrimbirra Workshop, Kulnura for The Convict Trail Project, Lower Macdonald [later, Wahroonga (Sydney)], p.68.

\(^{20}\) Breton 1833 ‘Excursions in New South Wales [etc]’ p.101.
Richmond, Mioram alias ‘Myles’ or ‘Miles’, went back in 1819 along an alternative route with some Boorohwall people, but refused to go anywhere near the Hunter River floodplain for fear of confronting the foreign Kamilaroi there, before John Howe returned along this alternative route in 1820 with Ben Singleton and others. From Howe’s Coomery Roy for Kamilaroi, the term Comleroy was adopted at Richmond for the Bulga road following the path of Howe’s later 1820 expedition, which became a busy stock route to the upper Hunter Valley from Richmond past the Singleton family’s Kurrajong mills where the expeditions had started. The name, Comleroy Road, has survived at each end of that route, and has been documented by Kurrajong local historian Les Dollin.\(^2\) He has recorded twenty two travelling stock reserves (TSRs) along this stock route.\(^2\) The remainder of the Bulga road is present day Putty Road, although since being constructed for military use associated with World War II it actually bypasses the Aboriginal location of Putty in the Colo River catchment while still going past Boorohwall in the Macdonald River catchment (as given in Chapter 3).

Field surveyor Robert Mathews became familiar with Kamilaroi speaking people when previously as a young drover he had worked and lived among them (Chapter 6). While he lived at Singleton, in the 1880s before Allan Wood was born, he had contact with the remaining Aborigines. Mathews reported in 1897a that ‘The south-east corner of the taorai of the Kamilaroi Tribes touched the northwest corner of the Darkiñung territory about Jerry’s Plains’, i.e. where Howe had seen them. In 1903 he repeated that ‘The Darkiñung speaking people adjoined the Kamilaroi on the south-east [of Kamilaroi territory]’.\(^2\)

‘The Branch’ natives from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges in the Hawkesbury River location became known mainly by the English term ‘Wollombi tribe’ for the mountain people in the Hunter River location. Their anxiety about the foreigners at the floodplain seems to have been well founded, with groups of the Kamilaroi having come from the westerly flowing river catchments of the interior, across the Liverpool Range section of the Great Dividing Range to then occupy the easterly flowing river catchment of the

\(^2\) Comleroy Road at southern Richmond/Kurrajong end, Comleroi Road at northern Singleton end. Dollin has used ‘Comleroi’ as the name presented for a place in modern times rather than its historic rendition for the term ‘Kamilaroi’. Online documentation: comleroyroad.com.

\(^2\) It is a critical concept to later family history of the Darkiñung people that it was this route by which livestock were taken from Richmond via Putty to the upper Hunter Valley and beyond - rather than by the later Great North Road via Wollombi alternative. It provides the key to the name by which the most important Darkiñung father in history, William Onus (born William Hibbs), apparently took his adult name from grazier Joseph Onus when he (William) became a drover (Chapter 4).

The conflict between these Kamilaroi and the earlier occupants of the ‘Wollombi tribe’ trying to regain or retain their country had to be fights to the death, in contrast to the sporting battles pre-arranged between friendly neighbours (viz. of a common or closely related language group), discussed in Chapter 1. At an Aboriginal sporting contest pre-arranged near Maitland to coincide with the settlers' horse racing contest, a participant, who had acquired a musket from Robert Scott's younger brother at ‘Glendon’ (as below) without sufficient skill in its use, shot an opponent dead by mistake, and the two teams ceased their contest and left the ground. The continuity of the range may have led to confusion of these river origins mentioned later in this chapter.

Repulsing the Kamilaroi

In the 1833 memoirs of his travels, William Breton included time he had spent in the Hunter Valley with John Blaxland jnr of ‘Fordwich’ - which was called by the natives ‘Kineland’. Breton's recollections of his overland excursions are those of a naval officer, being commissioned as a lieutenant in the Royal Navy in 1827. The reader should distinguish the impressionable observations in 1833 of this navy William Henry Breton, born 1800, from the rather different experiences of the army Henry William Breton who in 1832 married the sister of this John Blaxland, and lived in the colony as a military captain.

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24 For practical purposes of this thesis, the Liverpool Range is that part of the Great Dividing Range between Coolah Tops to its southwest and Barrington Tops to its northeast. The Kamilaroi seem to have only penetrated over a portion of this watershed towards the more eastern end where the Hunter River rises rather than the more western end where the Goulburn River rises. The continuity of the range may have led to confusion of these river origins mentioned later in this chapter.

25 This example of local history demonstrates the social relationship discussed in Chapter 9/NE for the Aborigines identified there as Wannungine / Wannerawa and Darkiñung on the south side of the river floodplain and the Kattung-speaking Aborigines on the north side of the river who ‘met’ at the settlers' town of Maitland. Women and children were at the gathering. The planned justice of punishment (death) for a man to pay for a transgression was used as a catalyst for a joint gathering with a corroboree and the ritualised sporting fight in which another death was accidental. The Geawegal group from the Scotts' farm ‘Glendon’ discussed following in this chapter were part of the Darkiñung people at the contest, while their Paterson River neighbours from the Boydells' farm (Chapter 9/NE) were with the Kattung-speaking people from Port Stephens forming the other team. \ Anon., 1843, ‘Fight Amongst the Aborigines’, Maitland Mercury, 6 June 1843, p.2, cols 3-4.

26 Breton was born 1800. Written after his return to England with 1st edition 1833, this popular book was republished, with a 3rd edition by 1835. By 1835 William Breton had settled at Richmond, but at Richmond Van Dieman's Land, not at Richmond New South Wales. \ Breton 1833 ‘Excursions in New South Wales [etc]’ p.92; Alex O. Green, 2003, ‘William Henry Breton 1800-1867’ in ‘Coal River History, Tasmania, Australia’, online at www.users.bigpond.com/ aogreen/ , accessed 2009.

27 W.H. Breton's memoirs were just that - recollections from memory: When writing he acknowledged that he was confused between the early settlements of Port Macquarrie [sic] and Moreton Bay, ‘I forget which’. \ Breton 1833 ‘Excursions in New South Wales [etc]’ p.285; Anon. (‘By Authority’), 1834, ‘The Navy List corrected to 20th March 1834’' publ. April 1834 by John Murray Bookseller to the Admiralty, London - digitised by Google, accessed online 2009.
Breton referred to the area around ‘Fordwich’ (near present day Broke) in the Hunter Valley as ‘the Wollombi’, although, in the context of riding a horse through the ranges, he had referred separately to ‘Wollombi Creek’ for the area of the upper stream (present day Wollombi Brook). In the book for his English audience Breton did not differentiate characteristics between the Wollombi Aborigines and the unnamed Kamilaroi Aborigines whom he observed to their northwest, although he wrote: ‘It was during my rambles from the Wollombi to Liverpool Plains that I saw more of the natives than in all my excursions’. Breton took him to look at the graves from ‘an affray’ between these two groups, where ‘four men and two women of the Comleroy tribe were slain’. Although Breton wrote the site was ‘on the Wollombi’ the description of the burial, apparently as described to him by Blaxland, was that of the Kamilaroi culture.

Such destruction of foreign people could be consistent with Breton’s description of ‘not less than sixty’ Aborigines whom he encountered when coming through the ranges with his party of ten white people along the settlers’ Great North Road. He wrote of those Aborigines painting their bodies ‘in a most fantastic manner with a substance that resembled pipe clay’ preparing ‘to wage war’. One of the men criticised Breton for an inability to throw a spear amongst weapons which he had traded to him for two or three pieces of tobacco. They were in good humour despite preparing for a fight to the death. These men-only were Darkiñung from those historically known as the ‘Wollombi tribe’. About five years earlier a similar men-only fighting force of Darkiñung, from those historically known as ‘The Branch’ natives from Richmond, were met making use of the earlier settlers’ stock-route road to Bulga. Reverend Ralph Mansfield, as a member of a party travelling south, recalled meeting north of the Colo River crossing [his ‘Kolo’] ‘a tribe of forty men crossing the mountains’ who were ‘“Going to fight the

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28 Captain H.W. Breton (becoming Major, by purchase at 31 December 1828), who had a sterling career in the British Army, was in New South Wales with the 4th Regiment of Foot. Henry W Breton and Eliza M Blaxland Marriage registration, NSW BDM Index Vol.915 16/1832. [John Blaxland’s sister Elizabeth was born 1808, died 1834.]

29 Breton 1833 ‘Excursions in New South Wales [etc]’ p.196.

30 Breton 1833 ‘Excursions in New South Wales [etc]’ p.203.

31 These were the battle corps combined, as Breton discovered, from Wollombi and Ellalong [Breton’s ‘Wallombi’ and ‘Illarong’]. In the local historical records, these two local groups normally fielded teams against each other (in the terms of sport described in Chapter 1). Breton 1833 ‘Excursions in New South Wales [etc]’ pp.90-92.
Kumnaroy blacks” . 32 This group also had been reported to be in good humour. This was no sporting intent, for as well as all being armed with traditional weapons, these Darkiñung had muskets and asked the white party for more powder, leading to the conclusion this was a fight to the death - which I attribute to asserting rights over their territory where the Kamilaroi were usurping land across the Hunter River floodplain. 33

Mansfield, over a pen-name for his new magazine, made a comparison relevant to this chapter, although in total ignorance of Aboriginal inter-nation politics: ‘An Englishman goes to fight the French - because - - he acquires glory by fighting the battles of his country’, yet ‘Without - any reason, these men were going to fight the Kumnaroy’. Mansfield stated that that placed the Europeans in ‘the civilized’ state, using his own foolishness to state the Aborigines were in ‘the savage’ state. 34 I suggest that the Darkiñung were more noble than the English, if defending their country, and thus their people, from further incursion by the Kamilaroi who had already advanced across the Great Dividing Range at the Liverpool Range to occupy the upper Hunter Valley, displacing and killing the original inhabitants - who may well have been ancestral Darkiñung of whom the Geawegal of ‘Glendon’ as below were part.

Affinities of ‘the Glendon Blacks’ (mid Hunter Valley)

While cattle were being moved from Richmond through the ranges via Putty and Bulga to Singleton, settlement on the Hunter River from 1822 also progressed by land upstream of the junction with Wallis


33 The Aborigine Mioram (alias ‘Myles’ or ‘Miles’) with other Darkiñung men had been given muskets by John Howe, then Hawkesbury Chief Constable, to protect them when going from the Hawkesbury River to the Hunter River in December 1819 without a white man. Mioram did not complete this journey for John Howe because he had used all his ammunition before getting in range of the foreign Aborigines along the river whom they had observed on Friday night, 5 November 1819 (Chapter 3) - as re-cited at the beginning of this chapter. Although Howe was granted land on the Hunter (at present day Singleton), he personally avoided this tribal warfare, retaining his comforts and status at the Hawkesbury until 1839, well after the events described here by Mansfield and Breton. Nancy Gray, 1966, ‘Howe, John (1774-1852)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.1, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, p.560.

34 He should have been writing about the Germans and the French foreigners - on continental Europe - to make a more valid comparison between the Kamilaroi and the Darkiñung. However, in contrast to Europe occupied by Europeans, the Aborigines’ continent became controlled by an alien power from outside their continent. Under protection from these British aliens, Aboriginal people in the colony of New South Wales travelled in all directions into lands of foreign language groups, of which the continued movement of the Kamilaroi towards the east coast seems to be the most successful. In the present day the presence of Kamilaroi there is stronger than that of the remnant traditional people remaining (identified in Chapter 9/NE).
Creek, i.e. Wallis Plains (present day Maitland) - the navigable head of the river to where boats carried heavy goods from Newcastle. Early settlers were Robert Scott and his brother Helenus, their father the late Dr Helenus Scott who had died at sea. The young men called their combined property ‘Glendon’, which they had chosen in 1823 on the left hand (northern) side of the river. As was common throughout the colony, it appears that farm homestead resources became a magnet for local Aborigines.

Fifteen years after Howe while in the ranges reported Kamilaroi (his Coomery Roy) from across the Hunter River floodplain: ‘to the ENE more further a great way’, in 1834 the Rev. G.K. (George Keylock) Rusden from England took up the Church of England Parish of Maitland. The family had close contact with the Scott family and thus with ‘the Glendon Blacks’, with Rusdon's daughter Sarah marrying young Helenus the next year in 1835. Robert remained unwed, without any other family, which may have had an influence on his attitude as a magistrate when dealing with Darkiñung from the Wollombi as discussed below.

Rusden's parish extended throughout the upper Hunter Valley as far as Murrurundi on the Great Dividing Range. His fourteen years old son who was a compulsive traveller, George William Rusden, seems to have got to know the district, so that in the period from 1834 until George jnr left home at twenty one years old, he became particularly familiar with Hunter Valley Aborigines, especially those associated with ‘Glendon’. Further, in adult life he might have maintained contact, through his family there. After 1856 when Rusden (the son) became clerk of the Victorian Legislative Council, he provided information from his knowledge of these Aborigines which was published, when he was sixty years old in 1880, as an Appendix by Alfred Howitt to a Memoir about Aborigines in Gippsland where he (Howitt) was magistrate at Sale township. After Rusden retired to England, his three volume ‘History of Australia’ was published, with 'space devoted to the records of the aboriginal tribes’ - as he inserted in the second edition preface where he mentions aspects of Kamilaroi culture.

39 Although the first edition was published when he was in England, Rusden had returned to Melbourne to live before the publication of his second edition. George William Rusden, 1883 (1st edn), ‘History of Australia’ in three volumes, 1897 (2nd edn), Melville, Mullen & Slade, Melbourne and Ludgate Square (London), pp.xii-xiii.
The Aborigines whom Rusden had described for Howitt bordered those from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, also being at the limit to where the Kamilaroi had penetrated: ‘They were always in dread of war with the Kamilaroi, who intruded down the heads of the Hunter - - -’. Later, the presumptuous Howitt compounded the confusion of which group was where when he used Rusden’s strictly limited reflections throughout his (Howitt’s) own book, incorrectly giving Rusden’s limited Geawegal group from ‘Glendon’ a prominent position in his map of New South Wales. Alternatively, the informant whom Howitt used for ‘the southern tribes of the Kamilaroi situated to the northward of Maitland’ was Charles Naseby - the same person as relied upon by John Fraser although he then resided in Maitland.

These people, ‘the Glendon Blacks’, Rusden labelled as Geawe-gal - where three separate syllables Ge’(y)a ‘we’ denoted a word for English ‘no’. A consequence of this label was this group being placed by Geoffrey O’Grady in the main subgroup of the Wiradjuric Group, of those Languages identified by the word for ‘no’ (which Group includes the Kamilaroi languages). O’Grady provided the Australian section for the composite publication of ‘Languages of the World’. The classification was retained in the Revised Linguistic Survey of Australia for the then Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS), which badly mis-located these Geawegal to the Liverpool Plains on the interior side of the Great Dividing Range (from whence the Kamilaroi had invaded the Hunter Valley).


41 Naseby had moved from the interior to Maitland. His testimony is suspicious, and thus the publications of Howitt and Fraser who depended on him are suspect, as mentioned in Chapter 9/NE.


In their actual situation as observed by Rusden for ‘the Glendon Blacks’ - Geawegal people would have been a local group of a greater Language-group ‘tribe’. That is, the term Geawegal was not a separate language at all, but as given by Rusden ‘these aborigines spoke the language of those of Maitland’.

Located on the edge of Darkiñung Country (Chapter 9/NE), Maitland town was visited by allied language groups of the Hunter Valley, which provided three alternatives as follows.44 These three groups related to the coastal eastern flowing rivers were allied against the foreigners who had come from the interior western flowing rivers.

Unfortunately, Rusden did not record the Geawegal language for Howitt, which he could speak as a boy, but mentioned some Aboriginal-origin words used in English and remembered one from the Kamilaroi.

Although acknowledging incomplete recollection, Rusdon also cited two terms for the class or kinship divisions which were used by the Kamilaroi, allowing modern writers to seize on this to suggest the Geawegal were classed with the Kamilaroi, as done by the linguists. That is unlikely, as the adjacent people towards the coast and related people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges also used these widespread terms for kinship classes.45 I suggest that the Geawegal were more closely related to them,

43(continued)
Centre.

44 A close relationship, with mutually understandable languages, is outlined in Chapter 9/NE for the three language groups: Kattung, Wannerawa [Fraser's ‘Awabakal’] and Darkiñung.

45 However, whereas the Kamilaroi from the interior plains used the term Murri for men, the other language groups from the ranges and coast used Bya. (Fraser wrote it as Biah in his 1882 review essay in relation to Boydell's contacts discussed in Chapter 9/NE.) In a composite article by Mathews 1897b, a large part is played by the ‘Kamilaroi System’ which seems to have been parallel to the Darkiñung / Geawegal / Gringai - Kattung culture. I include Thomas's reference book because he reviewed several sources by different authors. However, Thomas in Nature journal attacked Mathew's credibility (on unwarranted bases of Spencer's false assertions, Chapter 6), to which Mathews responded in Nature with Thomas's qualified apology attached by the journal. I observe that the publishers of Nature, Macmillan and Co., had apparently blackballed Mathews at Spencer's insistence (Chapter 6). In turn, Mathews (published 1908) noted Thomas's failure to acknowledge his work, to which the obsequious Thomas took up a spirited defence for haging his work on the obnoxious English-educated Spencer, Howitt and Roth - who had denigrated the colonial-educated Robert Mathews as discussed in Chapter 6. Mathews had a final word in 1911, ironically calling Thomas an ‘able anthropologist’. \ Robert Hamilton Mathews, 1897b, ‘The Totemic Divisions of Australian Tribes’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 31: 154-76, Darkiñung specifics pp.170-71; Northcote W. Thomas, 1906, ‘Kinship Organisations and Group Marriage in Australia’, Frank Cass & Co., Woburn Walk (London), republished 1966, F.W. Cheshire, Melbourne, Darkiñung and Mathews p.42, p.73; Northcote W. Thomas, 1906, ‘Australian Ethnology’ [A thinly disguised slander of book ‘Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria’, by R.H. Mathews 1905], Nature, 74: 100-01; Robert H. Mathews, 1907, ‘Ethnological Notes on the Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales and Victoria’, Letters to the Editor in Nature, 76: 31-32; R.H. Mathews, 1908, ‘Marriage and Descent in the Arranda Tribe, Central Australia’, American Anthropologist (ns)10 (1): 88-102 quote footnote 4 p.99; Northcote W. Thomas, 1908, ‘Remarks on a footnote to Mr R.H. Mathews' Recent Paper’, Anthropologic Miscellanea in American Anthropologist (ns)10 (2): 352-53; Robert H. Mathews, 1912 (presented 1911), ‘Notes on Some Published Statements With Regard to the Australian Aborigines’, Report of 13th Meeting of the (continued...)
i.e. more closely related to the _Kattung_-language (Chapter 9/NE) or _Darkiñung_-language people of this thesis - perhaps a remnant on the northern side of the river which had repelled the _Kamilaroi_ invasion. This latter concept that the _Geawegal_ from ‘Glendon’ were remnant _Darkiñung_ is in strong contention from the local history of their being part of the 1843 _Darkiñung_ team versus the _Kattung_-speaking team at the pre-arranged sporting contest outlined earlier in this chapter.46

As an alternative to the _Geawegal_ being a residual group of ancestral _Darkiñung_, another linguist, Amanda Lissarrague, in her treatise on Threlkeld's ‘Northumberland County language’ [his term] from ‘Hunter River and Lake Macquarie’ (HRLM) reproduced as the word ‘kayaway’ meaning ‘no’ or ‘not’ both Rusdon's word ‘Geawe’ and Threlkeld's word ‘ke-a-wai’ from the coast.47 I concur that they are cognate language terms (discussed in Chapter 5), noting that the _Darkiñung_-language people from Wollombi interacted with the Central Coast people all the way along the coast between the Hunter River and Hawkesbury River estuaries as discussed in Chapter 9/NE (and mentioned Chapter 2). The third alternative is that Rusdon's _Geawegal_ could have been from one of their neighbouring _Kattung_-language groups north of the lower Hunter River adjacent to the language group whom Threlkeld studied near Newcastle.48 Rusden did not leave us sufficient data about these ‘the Glendon Blacks’ to be confident who they were (other than one of the three groups about Maitland each of whose language was understood by the others).

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45(...continued)
Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, Sydney 1911, Proceedings of Section F Anthropology and Philology, pp.449-53 + pl.XLII.

46 The _Kamilaroi_ had come from the less mountainous western interior plains country, whereas the _Geawegal_ group seemed to be able to survive in the ranges on the east of the upper Hunter Valley which could have helped them defend their territory. That is, similar to the survival of the _Darkiñung_ in the more rugged ranges - as well as maintaining a stand against further southward encroachment at the floodplain. New arrivals on the wrong side of a flood would be vulnerable to being eliminated.


48 Rusdon's _Geawegal_ group were at the Glendon Brook flowing into the Hunter River, on the west of the present day Paterson River which was occupied by the Kattung-speaking _Gooringai_ discussed in Chapter 9/NE. _Geawegal_-related Aborigines likely occupied the other adjacent stream valleys which drained south from the Barrington Tops Plateau on the east of Mount Royal Range, such as Fal Brook - on which was located St Clair (mentioned Chapters 9/NE and 11/SW). Mount Royal Range is the logical barrier to the _Kamilaroi_ occupancy on the upper Hunter River to its west. The _Gooringai_ of Robert Mathews were Boydell's _Gringai_ group at ‘Camyr Allyn’ on the Allyn River tributary of the Paterson River (Chapter 9/NE).
Affinities of ‘the Merton Blacks’ (upper Hunter Valley)

In January 1825 three settlers who had an impact on the history being examined for this thesis arrived in Sydney, retired Royal Navy Lieutenant William Ogilvie with his wife Mary, Royal Navy Surgeon Peter Cunningham and mathematician Heneage Finch, grandson of the Earl of Winchilsea. Ogilvie and Cunningham selected neighbouring land, and at first shared a hut upstream on the upper Hunter just above its confluence with the Goulburn River. William Ogilvie named his property ‘Merton’, and this became the local centre of settlement, developing into a township (superseded by the present day Denman on the adjacent property).

Stories of ‘the Merton Blacks’, otherwise ‘Ogilvie’s Blacks’ are well recorded either in the family memoirs or in Peter Cunningham's writing, and this thesis is not the place to re-use them. These had been the Aborigines who so frightened ‘The Branch’ natives as described in Howe's journal at the beginning of this chapter. They have been referred to as the most southern of the tribes of the great Kamilaroi confederation, the powerful and warlike Marawan'cal. A great irony of Australian history is that these noble people, arguably the most successful of their race, had to be championed by Mary Ogilvie who attempted to defend them against colonial authoritarianism. Researcher Allan Wood concluded ‘No man knew the Kamilaroi better than (Mary's son) Edward Ogilvie, who had hunted and camped with (them) in his boyhood. They were rapidly disappearing when he named the tribes of the (upper Hunter Valley) Kamilaroi’. These groups of Ogilvie's “C'amilarai” were “the warlike Marawancal, the Gundical,

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49 Finch was to survey the government route through the heart of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges for the Great North Road from Parramatta, along which the Wollombi Aboriginal people were finally displaced by the settlement development. Peter Cunningham took up land next to Ogilvie and subsequently wrote a book in the form of ‘letter’ chapters providing us with an unnecessarily dramatised history of the Aborigines being considered in this chapter. More details of local history were recorded by Ogilvie's son E.D.S. (Edward) Ogilvie ‘Diary of Travels’, recorded by Ogilvie's daughter Mrs Ellen Bundock ‘Memoirs’ and by her daughter Mary Bundock, ‘Memoirs’. Of the sources available, I have chosen to use here transcription extracts for the Ogilvies provided by Wood 1972 ‘Dawn in the Valley’. In addition, Annabella Innes (later Mrs Boswell) whose contact with Aborigines is discussed in Chapter 11/SW, stayed as a child with Peter Grant Ogilvie, her uncle by marriage. Wood 1972 ‘Dawn in the Valley’ p.52: Peter Miller Cunningham, 1827a (July, 1st edn), ‘Two Years in New South Wales; A Series of Letters, Comprising Sketches of the Actual State of Society in That Colony; of Its Peculiar Advantages to Emigrants; of Its Topography, Natural History, &c. &c.’, in Two Volumes, Henry Colburn, New Burlington (London), Facsimile 1966, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, 1827b (October, an enlarged 2nd edn [reprinted July 1828 as 3rd edn]), Republished David S. Macmillan (ed.), 1966, ‘Two years in New South Wales’, Angus and Robertson, Sydney, for the Royal Australian Historical Society.


the Tooloom-pikilal and the Panin-pikilal”. It can be concluded that there was not friendly contact by (the ‘warlike’) ‘Ogilvie's Blacks’ with ‘The Branch’ or Wollombi Aborigines across on the south side of the valley, so separate were these Kamilaroi to the Darkiňung there.

Ghindaring, of the Burning Mountain

Although ‘the Merton Blacks’ and their brethren known to Edward Ogilvie were separate to the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges adjacent to them across the floodplain on their south, the latter Darkiňung-language people knew about features of the upper Hunter Valley now occupied by those Kamilaroi-speaking people. Amongst their sustaining legends is the story of Ghindaring, a spirit figure. The description of Ghindaring represents Mount Wingen, the burning mountain, which is located high up in the valley towards the Liverpool Range, supporting the possibility that once upon a time, before the Kamilaroi came across the Great Dividing Range (summit watershed of Liverpool Range), it was Darkiňung-language people who had moved up the Hunter River to occupy the higher catchment, in parallel to moving up the Hawkesbury to occupy its higher catchment such as of the Colo River.

This legend reinforces a possibility that in now ancient times a wedge of Kamilaroi coming down the more fertile river valley had cut off the Geawegal on the left hand side of the upper river from their Darkiňung relatives remaining on the right hand side of the river in the Goulburn Valley ranges. These latter Goulburn River Valley people had been described as attending ceremonies at the head of the Colo River in Chapter 11/SW. This is compatible with the concept of a genealogical affinity of common origin with the people now remaining on the coast (Chapter 9/NE).

Affinities of Aborigines at the Confluence of Goulburn and Upper Hunter Rivers

(Affinities of ‘Blacks at Craytonshaw’)

Differing incidents across the floodplain from Merton define the local people on the south side of the Hunter River and distinguish other Aborigines who were foreigners. The Scotsman James Greig took his livestock to the Hunter Valley before receiving any grant on which to run them, but never obtained the amount of land to which he was entitled by his wealth. In 1825 Greig took up residence on Bureen Creek

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52 These groups are locality Clans, called ‘tribes’ in the expression of the time. \| Wood 1972 ‘Dawn in the Valley’ p.114; p.137


Also, William White, brother of Mary Ogilvie, had first stayed with Edward Ogilvie at Merton before settling on his own grants. 


I do not know to what extent Greig had injured Aborigines when hunting them off his farm, but given what was known about his character, such a situation is certain. I consider it was most likely to have been a retaliation event that prompted the death in October 1825 of two white men in residence at his farm when Greig was away. I consider it less likely to have been Peter Cunningham’s proposal to excite his

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55 Also, William White, brother of Mary Ogilvie, had first stayed with Edward Ogilvie at Merton before settling on his own grants. \ Wood 1972 ‘Dawn in the Valley’ pp.67, 68, 198.


58 Robert Scott & Alex MacLeod, 1826, Report to Colonial Secretary McLeay in Sydney, 3 October 1826, ‘a brief account of the hostilities’, enclosure No.1 to Darling 1826 ‘Outrages’ in Watson 1919 HRA Ser.1 Vol.12 pp.610-12.
audience in England that ‘Their remote insulated situation’ was the prompt.\(^{59}\) He went further for a motive.

The racist attitude of Cunningham in his book, affected for his English readers, is unbecoming to a gentleman surgeon: ‘Mr. G’s skull was as clear of brains as if they had been licked out by a dog - supposed to have been the work of these cannibals.’ The Scotch collie was waiting there when the bodies of Greig’s cousin Robert and a convict shepherd were found.\(^{60}\) Rather than travel away up the Goulburn River towards Mudgee as Scott & McLeod could have reported to transfer blame as follows, the perpetrators together with (other) ‘Wallumbi Natives’ including women returned to ‘their haunts’ in the ranges of the Hawkesbury catchment towards Richmond, where they were known to the men working for Hannah Laycock who owned, but did not occupy, a small estate at ‘Bootty’ (Putty).

Whether the purpose, for which shepherds in residence at Putty were attacked, was for retaliation is not known either, yet this is a period with reports that Aborigines had been randomly shot by isolated shepherds who thought that that would ensure their security. There were Aboriginal women present, therefore this was unlikely to have been a raiding party. The attackers did not prevent Robinson, one of Mrs Laycock’s wounded men, travelling down the Bulga road to Richmond from Putty. According to Scott & McLeod his arrival at Richmond prompted a party of soldiers being sent from Windsor, who shot those Aborigines whom they found in the vicinity of Putty when they arrived, but did not report the casualties they achieved.\(^{61}\) Cunningham wrote that the soldiers attacked a friendly group who had not been involved.\(^{62}\) It is a moot point whether it had been Robinson and his companions who initiated the

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\(^{59}\) Remoteness may have been a prompt for bastardy by white men from Britain in an ill-advised attempt to exhibit superior force (as demonstrated much later by Alfred Howitt ‘to be on friendly terms’, footnoted in Chapter 6). \(\backslash\) Cunningham 1827 ‘Two Years’ 1966 Macmillan edn pp.197-98.

\(^{60}\) Peter Cunningham was quite out of order - but it is important to be cognisant that those authors such as Cunningham, like Watkin Tench before them (Chapter 1), were not writing history, but were writing to sell books to an audience in far away England. It is we modern scholars who find it convenient to use such books as sources for history. The readers in Britain were used to the stories of the cannibals on the South Sea islands (such as Fiji) and adding cannibals to one’s book would help publicity. However, at the same time Robert Dawson with vast experience of several Aboriginal Language-group ‘Tribes’ wrote: I know that the natives feel they cannot, in any way, so much degrade their enemies in the eyes of white people, as by calling them cannibals, - - who are no more deserving of it than themselves!’’. Dawson 1830 ‘The Present State’, p.336.

\(^{61}\) Scott & MacLeod 1826 ‘a brief account of the hostilities’ p.610.

\(^{62}\) This story is laced with emotion - when I appreciate that I have probably met descendants of survivors. These are the exact same Darkiñung community whom John Howe enticed with biscuits only six years earlier and who used to go into Richmond (Chapter 3). Was this their recognition for helping the whites?
fight, because the story he told, repeated by Cunningham, has an air of incredibility. The community justice system of their law by Blacks was you kill one of us, we’ll kill one of you. A summary ‘justice’ system by whites was militaristic: you hurt one of us, we'll kill all of you.

Wiradjuri ‘Outrages’

In this latter section of the chapter, I take up consideration of the people from the upper catchment of the Goulburn River tributary of the Hunter, adjacent to the upper catchment of the Colo River Branch of the Hawkesbury considered in Chapter 11/SW.

Foreigners from the Interior Crossing the Great Dividing Range

While a Kamilaroi-language group had penetrated into the upper Hunter River Valley from the interior north of Coolah Tops (and achieved residency as above), it appears that a Wiradjuri-language group too had made raids into the Goulburn River Valley from the interior south of Coolah Tops. It was good politics to transfer the blame away from friendly Aborigines, which Scott & McLeod did in 1826, placing blame on the situation where there had been earlier retaliation in the Bathurst district, that is in the interior to the west of Mount York. Governor Brisbane had declared Martial Law, proclaimed by Colonial Secretary Goulburn in Sydney on 14 August 1824, to be repealed four months later on 11 December.

Scott & McLeod attributed the ‘cause of ill blood’ to a raid against the Aborigines of the Hunter's River

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63 The possibility should not be disregarded that fights between convict men were attributed to local Aborigines - especially when a convict was killed. Cunningham 1827 ‘Two Years’ 1966 Macmillan edn p.198-99.

64 It is a separate research project outside this thesis to examine historical records for a border in this area between Kamilaroi-speaking and Wiradjuri-speaking Aborigines. This chapter is considering borders of these interior ‘tribes’ with the Darkiilibi of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. For this purpose, Coolah Tops on the Great Dividing Range (GDR) is taken as a practical location to distinguish country of the two great inland nations, with Wiradjuri to the Macquarie River catchment across the Central Tablelands section of the GDR and with Kamilaroi to the Namoi River catchment across the Liverpool Range section of the GDR. Historical records for the upper Hunter River Valley above the confluence with the Goulburn establish that the Kamilaroi had intruded over the Liverpool Range to permanently occupy the upper Hunter Valley. In contrast, intrusion of the Wiradjuri over the Central Tablelands to the Goulburn Valley was not permanent.

by ‘The Mudgee Blacks’ or ‘the Mudgee Natives’ whom they recognised as having been ‘concerned in the outrages in the Bathurst Districts.’ Joseph Onus from Richmond already had a cattle run on Wollombi Brook in the Hunter Valley where the Bulga road came out of the ranges. Scott & McLeod wrote ‘During the time that the Mudgee Natives remained (at the Hunter's River), reporting about ‘- - - food and clothes being forcibly obtained from some of the lone stock stations, for instance Mr. Onus’s station at Wollumbi Brook.’ This attribution places foreign Aborigines from Mudgee (people of the Cudgegong tributary of the Macquarie River) travelling through the ranges of the Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers. Thus, the conclusion is that the local people from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges were different to those Wiradjuri people from the interior across the Great Dividing Range.

Despite ‘Mudgee’ Aborigines at the Wollombi being regarded as foreign raiders, there may have been an idea at the time of unrestricted tribal territory in the minds of such people who knew little about the ranges. William Suttor jnr, of that family from ‘Brucedale’ at the junction of Clear Creek with Winburndale Rivulet (at Peel just north of Bathurst town), in his reminiscences mentions encounters with Aborigines during that period (Chapter 11/SW). Retelling second or third-hand stories, he wrote, for example, ‘the blacks were shot down without any respect. Getting the worst of it, most of them made out

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66 I have taken Robert Scott to have been sympathetic, like his younger brother's family, to the local Aborigines on their farm, but he showed no sympathy to Kamilaroi or other Aborigines from the interior. In his biography of Robert Scott, Niel Gunson places him being active, as a magistrate, ‘in attempting to reduce the ravages of the Aborigines’. However, Nancy Grey paints him as a more harsh figure initiating attempts to ‘reduce the depredations of Aboriginals and bushrangers’ but dismissed from the magistracy for an ‘arrogant defence of the Myall Creek murderers’, depicting him as a bachelor to have been one of the social exclusivists, spending lavishly to make Glendon a cultural centre. Niel Gunson, 1974, ‘Australian Reminiscences & Papers of L.E. Threlkeld - Missionary to the Aborigines 1824-1859’, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, p.330; Nancy Gray, 1967, ‘Scott, Robert (1799?-1844)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol.2, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.428-29.

67 Various grants and property records; Family history; Parish maps... For other reasons, men called Joseph Onus have been part of my broader research project. [Joseph Onus b.1818 employed Aboriginal stockmen from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.]

68 The understanding is that there was a party of foreigners from Mudgee raiding settlers' outstations. Aborigines adapted to the new settlers' roads being a way of safe haven through foreign territory, seen in this period with Wiradjuri people from Bathurst travelling to Parramatta on William Cox's road route (as mentioned Chapter 3). It seems the settlers also developed a route across the Great Dividing Range towards Mudgee through the Goulburn Valley: Robert Dawson, manager of the Australian Agricultural Company at Port Stephens wrote: ‘It was formerly supposed that the Blue Mountain Range [i.e. Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges] prevented any means of communication between the natives of the coastline and those west of the range but this is not the fact, for a communication [i.e. land route] has recently been discovered between Bathurst and Hunter's River, by which I sent no less than two thousand sheep’. Robert Dawson, 1830, ‘The Present State of Australia; A Description of the Country, Its Advantages and prospects, with Reference to Emigration and a Particular Account of the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of Its Aboriginal Inhabitants’, Smith, Elder and Co., Cornhill (London), Facsimile edn 1987, Archival Facsimiles, Alburgh Harleston (Norfolk), p.336.
into the deep dells of the Capertee country and although some escaped many were killed there. Suttor could not have meant present day Capertee location at the head of Colo River at all, as discussed in Chapter 11/SW. Topographically, his deep ‘dells’ appear to be gorges at the head of Clear Creek, and beyond that was a further maze of gorges at the headwaters of the Turon River. Although there was a massacre reported at Bogee near a swampy flat at the top of the Capertee Valley, knowledge of it does not contribute to understanding as to who were the people who occupied that part of the Colo River catchment within the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges. Salisbury & Gresser relate a massacre there to corroborate stories of massacres at Bells Falls on Tanwarra Creek and at Clear Creek in which men, women and children were supposedly driven into the gorges and shot. (This is mentioned previously with regard to a Pipers Flat.) Such stories have some similarities with the history of the Appin Massacre of the Dharug at the gorge of the Georges River. That is the event which I think became a basis for many such stories retold as reminiscences, but I have not been able to reconcile any to recognition of the Darkiñung.

Goulburn River

Whereas Robert Scott from ‘Glendon’ in 1826 nominated intrusions of ‘the Mudgee Natives’ [i.e. putative Wiradjuri] as above, Wood in 1972 proposed that Kamilaroi had occupied the Goulburn River.

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70 These are tributaries in the interior catchment of Macquarie River. The pioneer route from Bathurst north to Mudgee followed by the earliest settlers crossed lower levels of Winburndale rivulet and Clear Creek, past Wattle Flat and down over the Turon River. The variation in localities referred to as ‘Capertee’ [various spellings] is discussed in Chapter 11/SW with regard to the first white occupant, non-resident William Lee of Kelso (Bathurst), at the upper Colo River of the Hawkesbury catchment.
71 I have considered this issue with a descendant of the survivors studying their history, who (I understand) suggests that they were people who may have come across the dividing range from Dabee near present day Ryldstone at the Cudgegong River on the Macquarie River side of the Great Dividing Range. Our discussion, which involves consideration of the Bogee massacre, is not part of this thesis. In the present day it is usual to relate the Capertee location to Ryldstone as the local town. I have considered it with the written memories of Annabella Innes (Mrs Boswell) in Chapter 11/SW.
73 Discussed in Chapter 10/SE. Detailed, for example, by Carol Liston in her 1988 Campbelltown history. . . although she has mistakenly referred to the inland Dharug-language people who were there as being the coastal Dharawal people.
74 In my Hawkesbury studies outside the research for this thesis, I have come across descriptions of massacres written both by John Pilger and by the late John Tipper towards Broken Bay, which seem to have the Appin Massacre as their basis. I understand that Pilger was confronted with his error and apologised, but Tipper's story is being passed on and is still being retold at the nature reserve where he established a sanctuary. [I have another history research project on the life and times of John Duncan Tipper, founder of Muogamarra Sanctuary overlooking the Hawkesbury.]
There are explanations why Rusden could have mistakenly referred to the Wiradjuri as Kamilaroi. For instance, he may not have appreciated the difference, or may have misplaced the Namoi River country in his memory. The continuity of the Liverpool Range may have caused confusion (as considered earlier in this chapter). G.W. Rusden, 1880, ‘The Geawe-gal Tribe’, Appendix G pp.279-84 of A.W. Howitt, ‘The Kurnai: Their Customs in Peace and War’, pp.177-292 (the third of collected memoirs), in Lorimer Fison & A.W. Howitt, 1880, ‘Kamilaroi and Kurnai’, George Robertson, Melbourne, facsimile edn, 1991, Aboriginal Studies Press, AIATSIS, Canberra.

It cannot be told now whether George Rusden was looking for a tribal term to satisfy Howitt, or whether Howitt changed Rusden's testimony. Alfred Howitt (and John Fraser) seem to have been misled by Charles Naseby who called the Castlereagh Wiradjuri people Kamilaroi (Chapter 9/NE).

When Horatio Hale in 1839 visited the missionaries at Wellington Valley, the people there called the Aborigines to their northeast (the direction from which Hale had come) Kamilaroi, as given earlier in this chapter. Kamilaroi was a common term not always accurately used.
Talbragar turns west towards the interior, joining the Macquarie River at Dubbo.  

William Lawson, Commandant at Bathurst for the earliest settlers west of the Great Dividing Range had three times attempted to reach the Liverpool Plains from the Bathurst District. On his third expedition 9 - 25 January 1822 he was with ‘a black native’. The expedition that matters most for this thesis was Lawson's fourth, 22 November - 14 December 1822, when James Blackman and the Aborigine named Ering [alias ‘Aaron’] accompanied him. They named Aboriginal places on the west of the divide, such as ‘Davey’ [Dabee] near the head of the Cudgegong River where present day Rylstone is at the river crossing. There were no Aboriginal names on the east, supporting the situation that the east was out of Ering's country. Thick smoke from bushfires covered the country. They crossed a ridge on 29 November and next day reached a river running southeast, having penetrated into the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges without the white men knowing. While Lawson was provided with Aboriginal names west of the divide, such as Cudgegong for the river (which had been followed down to Mudgee), no local names were given for east of the divide. So Lawson named the new stream Goulburn River which ‘with no doubt in my mind’ he identified as a branch of the Hastings River flowing into the sea at Oxley's Port Macquarie.
The Botanist Who Got Lost

Within a more extensive excursion, botanist Allan Cunningham spent from 2 May until 1 June 1823 fruitlessly wandering around the southeast base of the Liverpool Range in the present day Merriwa area on the north side of what we now know as the Goulburn River valley in the eastern watershed.\textsuperscript{82, 83} It is significant for this chapter that he noticed no Aborigines or signs of Aborigines there. Cunningham apparently had had Aboriginal input from the Mudgee area, but the last advice he recorded was of a locality on the western watershed ‘named by the aborigines Nandoura’, until he was back on the western watershed where the Aborigines told him a stream was ‘called Pubo-batta’ [Putterbutter].\textsuperscript{84} This result suggests that in crossing the watershed of the Great Dividing Range south of Coolah Tops Cunningham's

\textsuperscript{81}(...continued)
\textsuperscript{82} As an explorer, the hapless Allan Cunningham seems to have been less ept than even the feckless William Parr (Chapter 3) who had had less resources than he. In November 1823 Cunningham tried to follow Bell's line across Mount Tomah along the route marked by surveyor Robert Hoddle only the month before. But not far past the mountain he turned back with his overladen horses. It is pertinent to this thesis that Cunningham did not avail himself of the support of local Aborigines for this mountain crossing, although Hoddle's party was accompanied by two of ‘The Branch’ natives, Darkiñung, likely those who had escorted young Archie Bell (Chapter 3). \textbackslash Meredyth Hungerford, 1973, ‘A History of Mount Tomah, New South Wales’, 22pp. (incl.maps) in N.W. Rodd (ed.), 1973, ‘Mount Tomah’ [1st edn of the Mount Tomah book], published typescript, Mt. Tomah Society, Richmond; Ida Lee, (Mrs. Charles Bruce Marriott), 1925, ‘Mount Tomah, - -. Through Pandora's Pass - -’, Chapter 16, pp.511-43, in ‘Early Explorers in Australia - From the Log-Books and Journals’, Methuen & Co., London, quote for turning back p.515.

\textsuperscript{83} Allan Cunningham, the botanist, was less able as a navigator than William Lawson who, a trained surveyor, had been exploring in the same area. Cunningham got on quite well in familiar areas until food carried by packhorses ran low. Once he had gone down the north side of the Goulburn Valley he could have continued on a short distance to the new settlement where the Bulga road (route) from Richmond came out of the ranges (Chapter 3), if he had had any idea where he was. Giving him the benefit of my doubt, perhaps he did not because he needed people to acclaim him for finding the way from Bathurst to the Liverpool Plains. He avoided the settlers [at Singleton in 1823] by turning back to return towards the west where he located a lowering of the Warrumbungle range which [lowering] he called Pandora's Pass (later known as Brennan's Gap). There he named the valley leading up to it from the south after the same nobleman as Governor Phillip in 1789 had named his noble river: Hawkesbury Vale. Proposing repeat terms does not endear him as a navigator, and such practice was to lead to Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell requiring Aboriginal terms which he assumed to be unique and could not have been made up by his surveyors to satisfy him. \textbackslash Lee 1925, ‘Cunningham Reaches Pandora's Pass’, Chapter 15, pp.489-510, in ‘Early Explorers’, quote for Hawkesbury Vale naming p.508. Judge Field's report [next footnote] is one hundred years before Mrs Marriott's.

\textsuperscript{84} This aspect established lack of knowledge by the interior Aborigines about the waterways on the eastern watershed, from which it can be deduced it was foreign country. George H.F. Cox (eldest son of George H. Cox, grandson of William Cox) placed Talbragar plains at the Puberbatta river, and translated as putta for ‘hill near a creek’ with bugga for ‘tainted meat’ from the stench of fish decaying on the bank of a waterhole where they were stranded after a flood. \textbackslash George Henry Frederick Cox, 1910, ‘History of Mudgee’, typescript copy held by Royal Australian Historical Society Library, donated by Mudgee Historical Society, p.5, p.26; Allan Cunningham, 1825, ‘Journal of a Route from Bathurst to Liverpool Plains in New South Wales’, pp.131-91 in Barron Field (ed.), 1825, ‘Geographic Memoirs on New South Wales; by Various Hands: Containing an Account of the Surveyor General’s Late Expedition [etc]; together with Other Papers on the Aborigines [etc]’, John Murray, London, quotes p.147, p.184.
party had wandered into country foreign to Aborigines from the Mudgee area. He noted the actual change on the basis that the voracious, easy to catch, cod of the westerly flowing waters were not present in Lawson's easterly flowing Goulburn river, replaced by a smaller ‘short, thick, black fish’ which ‘darted - - - beneath the overhanging muddy banks’.\textsuperscript{85} However, Cunningham in 1823 had been cribbing it - he had Lawson's report naming the Goulburn River 30 November 1822, when \textit{Ering} had told Lawson there would be no cod.\textsuperscript{86}

Matching the history to the topography shows that the \textit{Kamilaroi} had occupied the upper Hunter River valley, having crossed the Great Dividing Range from the Namoi River catchment north of Coolah Tops. And that \textit{Wiradjuri} Aborigines from the Macquarie River catchment either only ‘intruded’ with ‘raids’ down the Goulburn River valley as above, or they may not have been there at all. Thus, history is consistent with the Aborigines of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, the \textit{Darkiĩŋ}uŋ-speaking people, occupying the Goulburn River valley as part of their country, but in fear of incursions by foreign Aborigines as observed by Howe arriving in 1819 and as related to Rusden who arrived in 1834. That the white settlers called the intruders \textit{Kamilaroi} whether they were or not is illustrated by notes from oral history of my own family in residence in the ranges up Martindale Creek (aka Bureen Creek or Greigs Creek as above).\textsuperscript{87}

\textbf{Limiting the Wiradjuri}

Rusden’s ‘cordillera’ of high ridges and plateaux footnoted above (as part of the Macquarie River catchment on the Central Tablelands) are conventionally considered to have been country, not of the \textit{Kamilaroi}-speaking people, but country of the variant great interior nation, the \textit{Wiradjuri}-speaking

\textsuperscript{85} It can be assumed that the giant cod were \textit{Maccullochella peeltii} [named by Mitchell in 1839] which used to grow to more than 100kg in the interior, and inhabit rocky upland streams, favouring deep waterholes (consistent with the legend of \textit{Gurangatch} to conclude with cod fishing, Chapter 11/SW). There were many more edible freshwater species before settlement changed their habitat, although Cunningham's shorter fish may have been females of the bass, \textit{Macquaria novemaculeata} [identified in 1866], which had been listed as Estuary Perch, \textit{Macq. (aka Peralates) colonorum}. Despite the \textit{Gundungurra} legend detail of this mighty fish as told by R.H. Mathews (Chapter 11/SW), Smith favours the much smaller ‘trout’ cod, \textit{Macc. macquariensis}, which survived impacts of settlement. ∆ Cunningham in Field 1825 ‘Geographic Memoirs’ p.149, p.164; G.R. Allen, S.H. Midgley & M. Allen, 2003 (2\textsuperscript{nd} edn), ‘Freshwater Fishes of Australia’, Western Australian Museum Perth, CSIRO Publishing Collingwood (Melbourne), p.201, p.203; J.L. Smith, 1992a, ‘Aboriginal Legends of the Blue Mountains’, Gundungurra Series Volume 3, self published, Den Fenella Press, Wentworth Falls, p.60.

\textsuperscript{86} While presenting Lawson's observations as if his own original findings could be taken as cheating, Cunningham was dependant for his security of employment upon the impressions from his reports, so it behoved him to include such detail. \∆ Lawson's Journal, cited by Jervis 1954 ‘William Lawson’ p.78.

\textsuperscript{87} A general application of the term \textit{Kamilaroi} to people who were not is discussed earlier this chapter. \∆ Jean Sykes, 1988, ‘A Medhurst Story’ pp.33-35 in Bertha Laurel Strick, 1988, ‘Medhurst Pioneers 1799-1988’, self published, New Lambton (Newcastle).
people. I have been provided with information from local descendants suggesting that the former may also have invaded the latter, that is having come from the north across the Warrumbungle Range to the west of Coolah Tops on which Cunningham discovered his Pandora’s Pass. This contention requires more intensive investigation than can be part of this thesis. Since it is natural for the human race around the planet over thousands of years to have travelled up the rivers from a coastal migration, then when they reached the limits of a watershed, where would they progress eventually, other than over into neighbouring catchment country to challenge neighbours?\footnote{In his extensive appraisal Mark Cohen argued that - in ancient times - at the point when the land had reached its carrying capacity of hunting/gathering people, then some form of agri-culture evolved. In the country of this thesis, this seems to have been the point at which the colonists arrived and disrupted that natural evolution which was occurring in Aboriginal culture. Mark Nathan Cohen, 1977, ‘The Food Crisis in Prehistory - Overpopulation and the Origins of Agriculture’, Yale University Press, New Haven, see e.g. p.53 in ‘The Theory of Population Pressure and the Origins of Agriculture’, Chapter 2 pp.18-70.}

This issue of the traditional Wiradjuri country’s northeastern limits is rather contentious and cannot be concluded here. Like the Kamilaroi to their north, there were many ‘tribes’ with an apparently common language. At the time when he had completed his 1983 thesis, Peter Read had not even included the Wiradjuri near the Macquarie River at Wellington Valley, excluding them both from the country where that language was first recorded by the missionaries there, and from the country where the first Wiradjuri land claim was established, for the Wellington Common.\footnote{The 1983 map in question is in circulation, being provided independently to me by putative Wiradjuri-descent people to look at my area of research. Its source was not known to them (but I recognised it and verified it). During the study for this thesis Peter Read has advised me that the historical situation is different to that which people of the present day see as what he called ‘area of association’. This rewriting of history is not unique: A similar historical situation appears to affect this thesis with the Hawkesbury River location into which Jim Kohen more recently misplaced the Georges River Dharug, although traditional Darkiňung people of Hawkesbury River have been wanting to be recognised there (Chapters 6 and 7, Chapter 10/SE). Kohen is known to have misinformed many people of Hawkesbury Darkiňung descent that they are what he has re-labelled ‘Darug’, and it may be found from further Family History and Local History studies that people of Darkiňung (or Gundungurra) descent along the Central Tablelands have mistakenly been called Wiradjuri. Peter Read, 1983, ‘A History of the Wiradjuri People of New South Wales 1883-1969’, Thesis, Australian National University, map p.xi.} He did not show a spatial relationship of a border with Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, although including as Wiradjuri Country the Hartley area (Lithgow) up to Darling Causeway which seems likely in the past to have been traditional Gundungurra country of the upper Cox River Valleys (Chapter 11/SW).

To deal with the problem of which Aboriginal people occupied the catchments from the watershed of the Great Dividing Range between Cox Creek [Namoi River tributary] draining to the west on the north and Cox River [Wollondilly River tributary] draining east on the south, I am constrained to have to agree with Tindale, who in his travels with Joseph Birdsell in the 1930s, sought contact with those who could give...
him information on traditional tribal boundaries.\(^\text{90}\) He gave the western border of the *Darkinjang* (*Darkiñung*), i.e. of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges Aborigines of this thesis, based on Wiradjuri to their west, as on the Great Dividing Range.\(^\text{91}\) Even allowing for Allan Cunningham's ridges and plateaux effect, then, with Goulburn River valley unambiguously *Darkiñung* Country as above, there is no evidence for a suggestion that any of the other valleys of such coastal flowing river catchments were occupied by any Aborigines other than the *Darkiñung*-speaking people.\(^\text{92}\) In this situation that means the Colo River country of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, which includes the Wolgan and Capertee Valleys at the Great Dividing Range where the Hunter and Goulburn Rivers people visited as discussed in Chapter 11/SW.

**Chapter 12/NW Findings**

The purpose of this chapter is to recognise the *Darkiñung*-Language People of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges by separating their Country from that of two major nations to their northwest. These were the Aborigines known from the Interior (across the Great Dividing Range) who were Kamilaroi-Language People from Country of the Namoi River catchment, and Wiradjuri-Language People from Country of the Macquarie River catchment (separated from each other on the Great Dividing Range at Coolah Tops and thence the Warrumbungle Range to the west).


\(^\text{91}\) For eastern border of the Wiradjuri, Tindale noted ‘east to Rylstone’ and ‘at Wellington, Mudgee, Bathurst - which is remarkably in tune with the findings from the study of historical records of exploration examined in this thesis. \(\backslash\) Norman Barnett Tindale, 1974, ‘Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names’, University of California Press, Berkeley, with map ‘Tribal Boundaries in Aboriginal Australia’, *Darkinjang* p.193, *Wiradjuri* p.201.

\(^\text{92}\) The proposal that the Georges River Aborigines, i.e. the Dharug-language people, occupied the Colo River catchment was taken to the Federal Court where the claim could not be substantiated. Despite that, the false proposal was subsequently reproduced in a book published by and for the ‘Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation’ (DTAC). This issue is discussed in Chapters 7 and 10/SE. \(\backslash\) J.L. Kohen, 2006, ‘Daruganora: Darug country - The Place and the People’, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), Blacktown.
From the time that John Howe arrived in 1819 from the south across the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges with Aborigines from Richmond, foreign Kamilaroi (Howe's ‘Coomery Roy’) Aborigines have been noted at the Hunter River who were those who had already penetrated over the range to occupy the upper part of the Hunter River Valley, downstream to what became ‘Merton’. It appears they had only been repulsed by the Darkiñung at the floodplain, for which I surmise that any advance party obtaining a foothold across the river would have been annihilated at the next flood.

The Kamilaroi had occupied country on the coastal side of the Great Dividing Range which may in a legendary past have been Darkiñung. The ‘Glendon’ Geysawegal who were also in dread of the Kamilaroi intrusion may have been a residue of those Darkiñung who had been cut off but retained an affiliation when compared with the Kattung-speaking people on the north of the lower Hunter River. (Despite the apparent war footing at the boundary, it is observed that the Darkiñung, Geawegal and Kattung-speaking people had some common cultural characteristics shared with Kamilaroi peoples.)

The Aboriginal people south of the mid Hunter River floodplain such as visited ‘Craytonshaw’ on Greigs Creek were part of ‘The Branch’ natives at Putty (Colo River Branch), i.e. Darkiñung.

Although foreign Wiradjuri from west of the Central Tablelands appear to have had intentions on the Goulburn River Valley down to the Wollombi, their intrusions had been limited, so that the Goulburn River Valley and its side valleys remained as Country of the Darkiñung.
Part III

Brief Conclusion for Part III

Recognition of the Darkiñung Country

When the study for this thesis began, the Darkiñung-language people as of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (northern Blue Mountains aka Carmarthen Hills) were ‘somewhere else’: On the south they were misidentified as Dharug, on the east misidentified as ‘Awabakal’, on the north misidentified as ‘Wonnarua’ and on the west misidentified as Wiradjuri. But the research of original historical source records uncovered fallacies in these concepts.

Modern expectations assume cadastral boundaries, but that was not the case for traditional Aborigines, so I have reported topographical borders which fit the findings from the original histories. The country of the Darkiñung extended to the floodplain of the Hawkesbury River in the south, to the floodplain of the Hunter River in the north, to the Interior Bathurst district of the Macquarie River watershed on the Great Dividing Range in the west and to the Watagan area of the watershed on the coastal range in the east. These people of the ranges were closely allied with the coastal people between the Hawkesbury and Hunter River estuaries.

To the northeast of the ranges, the traditional ‘people of the place here’ on the coast from the Hunter River estuary south were Wannungine, while apparently indicating those of the same group as ‘people of the place there’ (i.e. further away) were Wannerawa to the Hawkesbury River estuaries at the Broken Bay Arms. Particularly with the Wannerawa (‘Wonnarua’) misunderstanding to the northwest, it is most appropriate to use the term Wannungine for these coastal people. Due to the 1892 scholarly writing by a retired school teacher who thought them extinct, the names adopted now for these Wannungine are ‘Awabakal’ of lower Hunter River and Lake Macquarie and ‘Guringai’ of Broken Bay and Tuggerah Lakes. They are identical people: e.g. a principal ancestor residing at Lake Macquarie had moved there from Tuggerah Lakes.

To the southeast, the Dharug were identified from their language as the traditional people of Botany Bay - Georges River with the nearby upper Nepean River [above Warragamba] up into the Woronora Plateau. Just as the Wallambine mountain people were allied to the coastal Wannungine, so were the Wollondilly mountain people allied to the Dharug, with the South Creek people being part of the Georges
River *Dharug*. [My study does not deal with the question of how closely these Georges River people dubbed ‘*Dharug*’ were related to the Illawarra *Dharawal* Aborigines.]

The border with the *Darkiñung* at the time of settlement could only have been the Hawkesbury floodplain. Between floods the people are considered to have ventured onto the fertile floodplain either to attack or to co-operate, with an eye to their escape home when the waters rose. (Any mention of Hawkesbury or Windsor Aborigines at the Black Town on the Richmond Road in *Dharug* country applied only to the administration of the parsons and ministers, police and magistrates, whose circuit crossed the floodplain and had no bearing on traditional Aboriginal country.) An appropriate border for present day requirements would be the low watershed ridge between the South Creek and the River.

To the southwest there was a more certain geographical border from the junction of the Warragamba River with the Nepean/Hawkesbury River along the watershed of the Blue Mountains Range up to the Great Dividing Range, with the *Gundungurra* to the south in the catchment of the Cox River tributary of their main Wollondilly River country. Near the Great Dividing Range, the upper catchments of the Colo River Branch of the Hawkesbury, especially the Capertee Valley, were occupied by *Darkiñung* people who identified with other Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges Aborigines. The misconception that across the mountains from the coast was occupied by *Dharug* people arose because the Black Town located near South Creek had been in the original ‘Inland’ Bathurst district which was not known to those writers who had made the mistake and confused it with the subsequent ‘Interior’ Bathurst. [My study does not answer the question as to whether the top of the Cox River at *Wallerawang* had become occupied by *Wiradjuri* from the west (Wywandry?) coming over the divide of the Central Tablelands.]

To the northwest, although the *Wiradjuri* from the Interior Bathurst district made forays over the Great Dividing Range down the Goulburn River to the Hunter, they had not occupied that *Darkiñung* country. However, by the time of settlement, the *Kamilaroi* from the interior had intruded over the Great Dividing Range further north to occupy the main valley of the upper Hunter River, repelled by the *Darkiñung* at the mid river floodplain. (The ‘Wonnarua’ were the coastal people whose name had been misplaced to that *Kamilaroi*-occupied land due to a false 1887 report - whose author may have misunderstood *Wannerawa* for ‘people of the place further away’.)

Analyses of historical records discovered that the *Darkiñung* Aborigines were not hidden ‘somewhere else’ away in the wilderness. Although their members have been misidentified in modern times, they were the great tribe of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges, the Blue Mountains to the northwest of Sydney.
The Next Stage

The Darkiñung Future:

Three men, then schoolboys, on a family visit to an Aboriginal cultural site created by their Darkiñung ancestors north of the Hawkesbury River from photograph by Lee Ford Monday 13 June 2005

Notes:

Descendants of Aborigines **Budha**, native of Sackville on the Hawkesbury River (Mildred, the first Everingham partner) and **Madha**, native of Laguna on the Wollombi Brook (Martha, the next ‘Mrs Everingham’), bushwalked to the “Place of the gods” heritage location in the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges on an excursion with family members. Robert Mathews knew, and noted, both of these Aboriginal women in the Darkiñung community. This photograph was taken along the way.
Intermission

My mother may have called me a tinker, yet I am only in the shadows of the likes of simple Sym, the son of Joi: ‘I, who have lived ‘neath the tent of the skies, Know of the flowers, and which to prize . . .’

Joi had a son and his name was Sym;
And his eyes were wide as the eyes of Truth;
But Sym, he would laugh when he ought to be sad;
He romps with the puppies and talks to the ants,
With his back to a tree and his feet in the grass,
He watched the thistledown drift and pass,\(^1\)

This is the period of Intermission, the present Act in this theatre of History having been played out by resetting the stage for the Recognition of the *Darkiňung*. In this Act I have analysed the historiography of how - in a preceding Act - the *Darkiňung* who were at the Hawkesbury River northwest of Sydney had been taken for the *Dharug*, then renatured to be a plant root from Western Victoria, ‘darug’.

The stage is ready to enthuse descendants of Aborigine ‘Sarah Moran’ and convict Ben Castles with others from the Georges River to celebrate their Georges River *Dharug* heritage, while the descendants of ‘Maria’ and convict Robert Lock with her compatriot ‘Betty’, Aboriginal daughter of convict George Cox, re-join their Hawkesbury and *Wollombi* relatives in celebrating their *Darkiňung* heritage of the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges.

The next Act may be performed by a later following generation with their ‘eyes of Truth’, just as that other anthropological hoax publicised by Arthur Woodward in 1912 took forty years to resolve in the public's eye, even though it was exposed in 1915 by Marcellin Boule and by Gerrit Miller. Has the Black Town become another Piltdown Quarry, publicised by a ‘*stern Sir Stodge and all his Swanks*’?

In the meantime, I will continue with the local history of the Hawkesbury-Hunter area rivers and ranges, and their indigenous *Darkiňung* history, as foreshadowed in the thesis Preface addressed to the readers.

\[ \text{With his feet in the grass and his back to a tree;}
\text{And he looks on the Valley and dreams of old years,}
\text{For the wise seek the mountains - - -} \]

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Glossary and Bibliography

(with some annotations)

The university location for this study:
The Post Graduate Arts Research Centre (PG ARC)
high in the roof of the John Woolley Building
at Sydney University
from photograph by Geoff Ford Tuesday 21 April 2009
Glossary,
Abbreviations and Acronyms, with Annotations of selected terms

Some readers may be uncomfortable about some words written in this thesis not satisfying 2010 usage. I have used terms with their English-character spellings and meanings as in the context of historic records for the times about which I am writing. The glossary is to assist with the life of the thesis after I’ve gone.

In repeating terms such as ‘fullblood’, ‘halfcaste’, ‘mixed’ descent and so on, I am mindful of the consideration of a historian of my own age, Aboriginal academic Gordon Briscoe (2003 p.3), who wrote with regard to source records that ‘Changing the terms to reflect modern usage - - - distorts the intentions of the people involved in past events.’

Not every word is annotated here which has changed its meaning, for which I had consulted Johnson dictionaries, and other writings of the period. For example, the First Fleeters used the term ‘creek’ for a small inlet or bight. Some entries are included with a later generation of readers in mind.

[ ] - square brackets as parentheses used to add editorial words.
( ) - round brackets as parentheses used to enclose words understood in the context, used sometimes for alternative terms or for qualifiers.
\ - used as a separator symbol to indicate start of references following commentary in footnotes.
• - there are no paragraph breaks in footnote commentaries, thus on a few occasions with extended commentaries complementary to the text narrative I have used this symbol instead of a paragraph break.
* [period stop] - for abbreviations of a word I have endeavoured to use the rule of placing a period mark if the final letter of the short form is not the final letter of the full word.
£ - a capital ‘L’ was used as the sign for the Imperial ‘pound’ money, consisting of twenty shillings, ‘s’. (Each shilling was twelve pennies (pence), ‘d’.) However, it took forty years or more for British money to become the currency of the colony in New South Wales. Five shillings was an English crown, but with metrification [decimalisation] of financial currency in Australia, ten shillings became one dollar.
& - ampersand character representing ‘and’, used here to conjoin the joint authors (or editors) of a combined written work, or placed here as at times used by a publisher. In literature sometimes replacing the ‘et’ of et cetera.

4WD - Four-wheel drive vehicle, in the original context of optional 4WD for difficult off-road terrain.
AACo - Australian Agricultural Company.
ABGR - Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record.
Aborigine (Aboriginal etc.) - used as in context of the historical records. It meant the indigenous native-born people, often referred to as Blacks or Black natives to contrast with the native-born whites. See also note above about terms.
acre - surface area of measure for land (representing 4,840 square yards), with 640 acres to 1 square mile. Replaced by hectares, where 1 acre = 0.4047 hectare (approx. 2½ acres to a hectare).

ACT (or A.C.T.) - Australian Capital Territory, often referred to by the capital city name, Canberra.

ADB - Australian Dictionary of Biography (first issue 1966 to begin period 1788-1850), a Commonwealth venture - prepared at ANU, printed copies at Melbourne University Press Carlton (Melbourne), and subsequently placed online at Australian National University.

AHPI - Australian Heritage Places Inventory.

AIAS - Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra, later AIATSIS.

AIATSIS - Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, previously AIAS.

alien - see under foreign.

aka - also known as.

*alma mater* - [‘bounteous mother’] for institution of learning.

anon. - anonymous.

ANU - Australian National University, Canberra.

APB - Aborigines Protection Board.

App. - Appendix.

approx. - approximately.

ARDS - Aboriginal Resource and Development Services, Darwin. [See also IAD.]

arr. - arrive [commonly used for a ship voyage]. See also dep.

as below - in relation to a following cross reference in same chapter.

as above - in relation to a preceding cross reference in same chapter.

b. - born (for baptised, *bap.* is used).

*Bannaby* / *Bunnaby* [range of spellings] (location) - This appears as the Aboriginal term for a ‘central tablelands’ area of NSW not appreciated by colonial Sydney-centric persons who then considered Interior areas to be Bathurst. In an 1818 journal Jamison used spelling ‘Barnaley’ for ‘Barragarang’ country south of the Blue Mountains which relates to part of the Wollondilly River catchment. The area was occupied by the Gundungurra speaking people. From a broad use for a mountainous area west of the ‘southern highlands’, the location became limited with the term becoming used for a property name, and a township. [Cf. *Wallambine*.] See also entry Interior.

barbarism - a word which does not follow the rules of a language, such as being introduced from foreign speech. The Rev. Lancelot Threlkeld in his 1834 grammar publication noted that the English not only introduced their alien words, barbarisms, into local discourse with Aborigines, but transmitted foreign words from one Aboriginal language to others, also barbarisms. [Alien and foreign used for this note as for this thesis.] See also ‘pidgin’.

Bathurst - see entry Interior.

BBC - British Broadcasting Commission.

BDM - Births Deaths and Marriages registrations for New South Wales. For this thesis the online Index of registrations was used in searches, and full copies of Certificates purchased as nominated in the chapters. Records pre1856 when the Registry was established are those for church legers, which were duplicated from the local church parish to centralised volumes collecting baptisms (for births) and burials (for deaths) or marriages. However, these transcriptions are not without error, for example Hamilton Hume is Indexed as 1794 and 1797. (He was born 19 June 1797.) Such transcription errors may also account for some of the anomalies in genealogical data bases which need review (as noted in text).
Blue Mountains Range (BMR) - Geographically this range is the watershed running southeast off the Great Dividing Range from the present day ‘Gardens of Stone’ down to the junction of the Wollondilly River (as the Warragamba River) and ‘The Cowpastures’ River, viz. upper Nepean River. In practice, the lower portion of this watershed is now the Erskine Range, while the name BMR follows the 1814 Great Western Road down to ‘The Emu Ford’. The upper portion of this watershed range was named by Hamilton Hume as ‘Darlings Causeway’ (or the Darling Causeway) after Governor Ralph Darling. The BMR is the watershed separating major coastal-flowing waterways: to the south ‘Coxs River’ (or the Cox River) tributary of the Wollondilly River; to the north the Colo River and the Grose River Branches of the Hawkesbury River.

Blue Mountains (BM) - Effectively this was Governor Arthur Phillip’s colloquial term for the two ranges as seen in 1788 on the western skyline from present day Wrights Hill (above Pymble railway station) which he named Carmarthen Hills (northern) and Lansdowne Hills (southern). Although Phillip separated them at the cleft (present day Grose Vale) which marked the waterway where he wanted to cross the mountains, the northern and southern BMs became separated by the Great Western Road constructed to cross the mountains, past Mount York to Bathurst. The northern Blue Mountains is the Country of the mountain Aborigines who spoke the Darkiňung language (‘Wallambine’: Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges). The southern Blue Mountains is the Country of the mountain Aborigines who spoke the Gundungurra language (‘Bannaby’: Wollondilly Ranges). Despite their higher elevation, the Blue Mountains are not part of the Great Dividing Range (which runs across the Central Tablelands in this vicinity).

BM - Blue Mountains, which see.
BMR - Blue Mountains Range, which see.
BOS - Board of Studies of New South Wales.
BT - Bonwick Transcripts. These are handwritten transcriptions (which remained unprinted) of original handwritten documents sent from Australia to England. They were compiled by James Bonwick, although the assistants who rewrote [transcribed] them are unknown - just as for the modern compilations edited by Jim Kohen 1986a or Carol Baxter as in Bibliography. The practice of anonymous transcribers was in use when the colony of NSW was founded, whereby the governor had to have multiple handwritten copies of despatches sent to London on different ships in case one of the vessels foundered on the way. Such records need to be read in context (even after being printed): I have a case where historical meaning was changed by mistranscription of ‘peat’ printed as ‘pest’. The BT boxes of transcribed documents in the State Library were placed in the ML, where they are now accessible for research on microfilm reels. Those documents printed were accessed for this thesis in HR NSW and HR A. Others, such as unprinted Missionary Documents in Series 1, were accessed from the microfilms of handwritten copies (with examples in Bibliography).

Budha / Butha - alternatives Buda, ‘Booza’, Bootha (Anglicised as Bertha) - a kinship term denoting a family class for women, used by related Aboriginal groups, viz. the Darkiňung-language [Wallambine] people in the ranges corresponding to the Wannungine people on the coast and the adjacent Kattung-language people to their north. The terms (with an exception) were known from the Kamilaroi-language people, becoming identified as the Kamilaroi class system. Also used in this thesis: Madha. (The dh was pronounced with the tongue on the teeth as for th in English this and that, hence having been transcribed at times by ‘z’. [Imagine ‘th’ in the word brother.])
ca. - circa, approximately.

**Capita / Capertee** - From William Lee (Chapter 11/SW): Cobberty / Capata = Aboriginal word, apparently taken from Macquarie River Bathurst location by Lee and reapplied to upper Colo River Darkiñung location. I speculate it represented pipe clay from Macquarie River Wiradjuri language, although settlers applied it to country of the Darkiñung people.

Capitals, use of - I have written some terms with upper case in order to emphasise a capital role, a type of title effect. This especially applies to a formal triumvirate of People - Language - Country for identification to recognise Aboriginal Tribes. Each of these three notables is used as the topic for a part of the thesis. Further, the terms ‘clan’ and ‘tribe’ may be capitalised when related to specified groups.

**Carmarthen Hills** - refer to Blue Mountains (northern).

**CD** - a form of compact disc (12 cm diameter standard) used instead of the larger disks (12 in diameter for long playing standard), of plastic bakelite then vinyl, for audio sound recording. The CDs replaced magnetic tape media - as DVDs replaced magnetic tape video recording. They are also being replaced with more dense digital memory on smaller ‘cards’.

cf. - confer, compare with.

Christian name - see under surname.

Clan - Clan is used here in the particular sense of people from a specified location, an ‘estate’ based on ecological, social and cultural criteria which was the home area of their food resource ‘range’. It needs to be compared with the use in historic documents of the term ‘tribe’, which see.

**CMS** - Church Missionary Society. (Cf. LMS; WMMS.)

**Coast** - in the beginning of colonial times used to mean the sea shore, then as the settlers penetrated ‘inland’ used to separate the earliest settlements dependant on the Port Jackson / Botany Bay waterways. See also Inland, Interior.

**CoE** - Church of England, which contrasted with the Protestants, especially the Wesleyan Methodists in this thesis associated with the extended Hassall family. See also RC.

cousin - used here in Family History sense, i.e. with identified common ancestors.

col. - column.

**CV** - *Curriculum vitae* ['course of life'], a brief [sic] account of a person's education, qualifications, and previous occupations. An alternative for ‘Résumé’.

d. - died (for buried, bur. is used).

**Darkiñung** - An Aboriginal Language term, also used contemporarily for the Country in which it was spoken at the time of settlement or for the traditional People there. Spelling adopted here from AIATSIS encyclopaedia. As used here, the term is taken from R.H. Mathews who first placed the name in the historical record. There have been many alternative spellings in English characters for the same word.

de facto - by fact (actually). Contrasts with *de jure*, by law (rightly).

dep. - depart [commonly used for a ship voyage]. See also arr.

**Dharug** - An Aboriginal Language term, also used contemporarily for the Country in which it was spoken at the time of settlement or for the traditional People there. Adopted here from AIATSIS Encyclopaedia. As used here, it is the modern spelling for the term from R.H. Mathews and A.L. Bennett who placed the name in the historical record. There have been many alternative spellings in English characters for the same Aboriginal word.

(The dh was pronounced with the tongue on the teeth as for th in English this and that, which would distinguish, in English, words such as thug and tug.) The spelling ‘Darug’ is not an alternative but a new word contrived to re-name Western Sydney Aborigines for
an infant Tribal Link being formed at Blacktown ca.1990. The new brand-name ‘Darug’ (created by a member of Blacktown and District Historical Society as follows) was derived from a term, *darook*, used in Western District of Victoria, for which the original source published 1878 reads: ‘*Tandarook* - Dr Curdie’s homestead and limestone hill, derived from a vegetable root found there called *darook*’.  

DTAC - ‘Darug’ Tribal Aboriginal Corporation. ‘Darug’ is a newly created word ca.1990* for the Tribal Link, taken from a Victorian Western District term, used to replace the actual local Aboriginal word *Dharrug* recorded around Camden as *Dharrook / Dharruk* [various spellings]. DTAC became the registered corporation for the ‘Darug’ Tribal Link.  

* J.L. Kohen has given for his 2006 38pp ‘CV’ that he was ‘Honorary Research Officer’ for ‘Darug Link Association Incorporated’ from 1988. From there he became the formal Public Officer for the Corporation from 1996. In 1997 he was Patron of ‘The Darug Project at Macquarie University’. [Thus ‘ca.1990’ can be related to 1988.]

DVD - digital video disc, the late twentieth century advance in memory and viewing technology held on ‘compact discs’ which replaced magnetic video tapes for a period, but in the early twentyfirst century is being replaced with more dense digital memory on smaller ‘cards’.

e.g. - *exempli gratia*, for example.
edn and ed. - edition and editor (with editors rendered as eds).
est. - estimate.
etc. - *et cetera*, ‘and the rest’.
et seq. - *et sequens*, ‘and that following’.
father, Father - presumed to be male parent in English, although this was not always the case. There may be a cultural implication such as a RC priest, ‘Father’. In context, it may indicate a social father, an important man in a group. Often used in the context of a male guardian or foster father. Other terms in English such as mother, brother or sister etc., may also have a varying social context in Aboriginal culture.

FCA - Federal Court of [law for] Australia. In this context, the court sits as the NNTT.

fn - footnote.

foreign - I have used this in the sense of people of a different language group and culture on the same continent as for elsewhere on the planet. Thus it mainly refers to neighbouring people. (The term alien instead has been used in the thesis with the sense of people from somewhere beyond past comprehension, e.g. in this thesis from a different continent.)

ft - foot (singular) or feet (plural) - Imperial measurement used at the time of this thesis. Linear measure of 12 inches (in). With metrification [decimalisation], 1 in = 25.39 mm, 1 foot = 30.48 cm and 3 ft, 1 yard (yd), = 0.914 m. [3.28 ft = 1 m.]

Furphy - unsubstantiated yarns, or rumours, usually far-fetched stories, as told around the water cart (or water cooler in modern offices), or with a beer around the pub bar. From the family name of the company which produced carts for drinking water used in the Great War (WWI).

GB - Great Britain, the Island of Britain with the kingdom of Scotland as well as that of England which then included Wales as a princedom. (Contrast United Kingdom, UK, with Northern Ireland included.) The British Isles meant both Britain and Ireland with satellite islands.

GDR - Great Dividing Range, which see.

**Goulburn River** - A major tributary of the Hunter River, flowing east from the GDR at Coolah Tops, to merge with the upper Hunter River with its greater flow from Barrington Tops, flowing on the western side of Mount Royal Range. Must be distinguished from the Goulburn River Victoria, as used for E.M. Curr, and Goulburn township in the Wollondilly River catchment (with which it had been mistaken in studies reviewed in this thesis).
Great Dividing Range (GDR) - Effectively the watershed between waterways flowing west to the ‘Interior’ and those flowing east in the ‘Inland’ of the early colony (and thence to the ‘Coast’). In the New South Wales Central Tablelands of this thesis where there are not deep valleys the GDR may only be apparent by following the direction of water flow. Consistent with this feature, T.G. Taylor (1960) deplores the use of the term ‘range’ which does not apply in a geographical sense. In the thesis text, the GDR may be implied by the use of terms such as ‘great divide’ or ‘the divide’ subject to context. The Blue mountains are not part of the Great Dividing range, despite their higher elevation.

Gundungurra - An Aboriginal identification term based on the Language, also used contemporarily for the Country in which it was spoken at the time of settlement or for the traditional People there. Spelling adopted here from AIATSIS encyclopaedia. (In 1961 I had used ‘Gundungura’ [single r].) As used here, the term is taken from R.H. Mathews. There have been many alternative spellings in English characters for the same word including a form used in the mid 1900s, ‘Gandangara’ [alias Kanangra]. (The people were also known as Burra’gorang or Burra-burra people.)

Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges - Effectively this was Governor Phillip's Carmarthen Hills which became known as the northern Blue Mountains. Around 1830s when settlers were using the Great North Road they referred to the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges as the Blue Mountains. Contrast Lansdowne Hills aka southern Blue Mountains. Although Governor Phillip named them from present day Wrights Hill (aka Pymble Hill), looking at their horizon skyline from a vantage point (say, on the hills to the north of Parramatta) there is an obvious distinction. See Blue Mountains; Wallambine.

HR A (or HRA) - Historical Records of Australia, the collection of transcribed documents as edited by J.F.W. (Frederick) Watson. See also BT and HR NSW.

HR NSW (or HRNSW) - Historical Records of New South Wales, the collection of transcribed documents as edited initially by Alexander Britton, then by F.M. (Frank) Bladen. See also BT and HR A.

HRLM / HRBB - abbreviation used by Lissarrague / Lissarrague & Wafer [see Bibliography] for Hunter River and Lake Macquarie or Broken Bay to represent the language of the people identified in this thesis as NSW Central Coast Wannungine (aka Wannerawa).

i.e. - id est, that is.

IAD - Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs. [See also ARDS.]

in - inch. Imperial measurement used at the time of this thesis. See under ft (foot).

Inland - used in this thesis as applied by the original English colonists to mean away from the coast (or even at Port Jackson / Botany Bay to mean away from the sea shore). The then Inland Bathurst District around South Creek / Eastern Creek where the original Black Town developed on the Cumberland Plain has commonly been confused with the Interior Bathurst District. See also Coast, Interior.

inter alia - inter alia, among other (things).

Interior (including Bathurst) - used in this thesis as applied by the early English colonists to mean across the mountains which themselves were inland from the coast. At first (from 1813) it applied to the then [second] Bathurst district which was beyond Mount York (even though this included the top of the inland catchment of Cox River which flowed to the coast). Effectively, a term used by colonial Sydney-centric people for the Central Tablelands of NSW. The term ‘Bathurst’, for Bathurst District, commonly crops up for the Interior across the northern Blue Mountains to the Macquarie River catchment, but
also for the Interior across the southern Blue Mountains to the Lachlan River catchment at the times of early exploration (e.g. when looking for alternative routes to Bathurst from The Cowpastures). This accounts for the less well known Bannaby (in which vicinity was Connors Plains) being mistaken for Bathurst (near which was O’Connell Plains). Further, valleys of the Colo River such as Wolgan and Capertee on the eastern coastal side of the GDR were confounded with the Interior because they were accessed from the Bathurst District to their west. See also Bannaby. Compare with Coast, Inland.

*ipso facto* - because of that fact.

J.P. - Justice of the Peace - normally acting as a magistrate for local legal proceedings.

jnr - junior, son or daughter of the namesake; also jun. in some publications.

**Kurrajong** - Anglicised spelling of an Aboriginal term applied to plant fibres used to make twine, and woven into nets and bags. Taken from the inner bark of bushes *Commersonia fraseri* (‘Black-fellow’s Hemp’) and *Hibiscus heterophyllus* (‘Native Rosella’). Recorded by David Collins in the ‘Sydney’ language on the coast as *Car-rah-jun*, a fishing line. This ‘Coastal’ term was transposed by the white settlers to ‘Inland’ locations known as ‘The currajong brush’ where the bushes used to grow on the slopes above the lower Nepean River and the Hawkesbury River in the area at Richmond Hill (which see). When the County of Cumberland was divided into districts, some areas across the river were made districts. Phillip became the district for Wilberforce town across the river from Nelson District (for Pitt town) and Kurry-jong became the district at North Richmond across from Richmond district (for Richmond town). [In another settlers’ transposition, Caddie which became Cattai is the Anglicised spelling of the ‘Coastal’ term *Cadi* applied at an ‘Inland’ location.] Such transposed words are examples of barbarisms, common in the colony, which see.

**LALC** - Local Aboriginal Land Council of New South Wales.

**Lansdowne Hills** - refer to Blue Mountains (southern).

late, the late - deceased, euphemism for a dead person.

lc - lower case.

**LC** - as for **M LC**, which see [and also note **LA LC**].

**Left Hand Side (LHS)** - to determine which bank of a waterway, sides are identified facing downstream.

(However, recent buoy marker rules may not follow that social convention.)

**Lower Portland** - refer to Portland Head.

**LMS** - London Missionary Society. (Cf. **CMS**; **WMMS**.)

**m** - metric measurement of 1 metre; **mm** represents millimetre, cm centimetre.

**Madha** (Anglicised as Martha, pet name ‘Maddy’) - a kinship term denoting a family class for women, used by related Aboriginal groups, viz. the Darkiųŋ-language [Wallambine] people in the ranges corresponding to the Wannungine people on the coast and the adjacent Kattung-language people to their north. The terms (with an exception) were known from the Kamilaroi-language people, becoming identified as the Kamilaroi class system. Also used in this thesis: Budha. (The dh was pronounced with the tongue on the teeth as for th in English this and that. [Imagine ‘th’ in the word mother.])

**MALCC** - Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative, Nambucca Heads.

**Mile** - used as the imperial measure of distance in the context of the colonial times of this thesis. The alternative of kilometre (0.625 of a mile) is used to measure distance in the present day.

**Miles, or Myles** - An adaptation of the English personal name ‘Miles’ was often used as an alias for Aboriginal men, usually spelt ‘Myles’, as a corruption of ‘Myall’ [various spellings] for a wild man or an unknown.
ML - Mitchell Library, of the New South Wales State Library Sydney.
MLC (or M.L.C.) - Member of the Legislative Council of the Parliament of NSW.
modern - in context, this term used here refers to the recent times since circa 1930s.

Mount York - see Interior.

MRALC - Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre, of New South Wales coast north of Sydney, at MALCC, Nambucca Heads.

ms (plural mss) - manuscript.

N.B. - *nota bene*, note well; also appears as initials for Norman Barnett Tindale.

na - not available (or not applicable, in context).

native - the term has mixed connotations. Historically, as used here for people, it relates to the place of birth - rather than a person's indigenicity. Hence historical records sometimes refer to ‘native blacks’ to distinguish Aborigines from those native-born to settler parents.

nd - no date = date ng.

NE - northeast.

Nepean River - this name forms a conundrum, and is inconsistent in its historical use. For the thesis I qualify two sections. The lower Nepean section is that below where the Warragamba River [Wollondilly + Cox tributary] comes out of the southern Blue Mountains. This lower section in some historical records is interchangeable in name with Hawkesbury [e.g. Colo River flows to Nepean - see 1875 map at start of Part III of thesis]. The upper Nepean section is that above the Warragamba River junction, which in some historical records is given as The Cowpastures River. In the present day, there is a geographical use of the term ‘Hawkesbury-Nepean’ which may relate to the whole watershed of which the Wollondilly River is the main contributor. When Governor Phillip first named the Hawkesbury there was a storm flush coming from the later named Grose Branch which he thought was the Hawkesbury River, but that connotation was abandoned when the importance of the Nepean was appreciated, by which time he had already named the Nepean and that name was retained for the river upstream beyond the tidal section navigable from Broken Bay.

New Holland - A term being used by Europeans for the southern continent, present day Australia.

New South Wales - That part of New Holland claimed by the British, did not include present day Western Australia, but otherwise the then southern continent of New Holland. (Later NSW state.)

ng - not given.

NLA - National Library of Australia. (Sometimes ANL).

NNTT - National Native Title Tribunal.

NPWS - then National Parks and Wildlife Service of NSW, since absorbed into government environment and/or climate agencies of varying political departmental names. I have been a casual employee and a volunteer worker for the service, recognised by the lyrebird emblem.

ns - new series.

NSW, sometimes NS Wales was used historically - New South Wales, which see.

NT (or N.T.) - Northern Territory. Part of SA in its beginning, transferred to the Commonwealth (Federal) government control at 1 January 1911.


OCR - Optical Character Recognition, software program used for computer scanning of text. There may be alpha-numerical characters not correctly recognised, so that the scans have to be edited.
per se - by itself.

pers. comm. - personal communication, i.e. unpublished material, particularly if not in public domain.

pidgin (alternative pidjin) - used as a term by the British who thought they are simplifying their speech for those who were not English-speakers. It came from commerce in eastern Asia when English traders mocked those known as ‘Orientals’. Chinese-speakers, just like Australian Aborigines, spoke ‘b’ with a ‘p’ sound and did not use ‘s’, so that English word ‘business’ became ‘pidgin’ with ‘pidj’ for ‘biz’ with no ‘ess’. [“Let’s talk business.”] But, these alien languages also had sounds which could not be written in English characters, leaving the British at a disadvantage. See also barbarism.

pl. - plate, viz. picture plate.

Portland Head, Portland Head Rock - the Portland Head location on the Hawkesbury River, the ‘Rock’ being the cliff on the side of the river, which, with a cliff on the right hand side, form the bottle neck or choke which causes the banking up of water upstream to create the dangerous Hawkesbury floodplain. (The river port developed at some green hills in the floodplain - present day Windsor, although Governors Phillip and Hunter had preferred a port site in the deeper water below this choke where the banks rise higher.) The rock was named from its silhouette profile of the Duke of Portland - shown in frontispiece illustration to Preface. This original Portland Head is present day Ebenezer [at the choke] upstream of the rock with Sackville downstream of the rock [below the choke]. Further downstream near the junction of the Colo River Branch is Lower Portland, and the term Portland Head has been applied in later times to near the junction of the Macdonald River Branch at Wisemans Ferry. With Governor Phillip's Richmond Hill, Portland Head Rock formed one of the two original Hawkesbury districts, until Governor Macquarie's Wilberforce and Pitt Town upstream of the cliffs together became the local centre connected by a punt. (The higher land above the river on which these two towns were located is akin to the bottle shoulders where the flow of flood waters is first restricted.) These original districts were separated by South Creek where it joins the river at the green hills (present day Windsor). See also Richmond Hill.

Qld - Queensland.

RAHS - the Royal Australian Historical Society.

RBG - Royal Botanic Gardens Sydney (New South Wales).

RC - Roman Catholic (Church). See also CoE.

ref. - reference.

re - regarding, with respect to.

Rev. - Reverend, as title for ordained minister in one of the Christian churches. In the RC faith they were likely to be known as priests and called Father. As well, some catechists who had not been ordained worked as missionaries and/or ministers and may have been called Rev.

Richmond Hill - Although in 1788 Governor Phillip gave this name for a mountain [present day Mount McLeod Morgan] in the Grose Vale cleft as seen from Wrights Hill (above Pymble railway station), when he arrived on the Hawkesbury River level with the cleft in 1789, he gave the name for a ‘hill’ on the end of a ridge spur as seen from the water. It became Bell's farm ‘Belmont’, with the setting-off point to go north through the adjacent kurrajongs [which see], i.e. North Richmond, the nearby township. Rising above the floodplain on the mountain side (LHS), it is, nevertheless, located mid floodplain. With
Portland Head downstream, Richmond Hill formed one of the two original Hawkesbury districts, until Governor Macquarie's Richmond across the river became the local centre. See also Portland Head.

Right Hand Side (RHS) - to determine which bank of a waterway, the sides are identified when facing downstream. (However, recent buoy marker rules may not follow that geographical rule.)

RN (or R.N.) - Royal Navy, Royal British Navy. The Lieutenants and Captains in the navy were in much more responsible positions than the rank of those with the same title in the army. The marines are a conundrum - in no way could Lt Dawes the most junior of officers be fairly compared with the authority of Lt Bradley in charge of a ship.

ROM - A ‘Read Only Memory’ on a card (‘chip’) which cannot be altered. As used in this thesis applied to pre-set computer instructions and data. Cf. CD and DVD entries.

SA - South Australia - included its NT at the period of this thesis.

SAG - Society for Australian Genealogists (New South Wales).

SAM - South Australian Museum. (Cf. TAM.)

SE - southeast.

SETIS - The Sydney Electronic Text and Image Service, University of Sydney [also SES is now being used for Sydney Electronic Scholarship].

sic - sic, original, literally so, cited exactly (see also verbatim).

snr - senior, father or mother of the namesake; also sen. in some publications.

SOAS - School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, including studies of Oceania (which incorporated Australia and New Zealand with other Pacific Ocean islands).

‘Soundex’ - an algorithmic rule to match, by their English pronunciation, similar names with differences in spelling. Patented in 1918 for indexing surnames, it was modified for an American version in 1930s, with new systems developed in the 1970s-90s to deal with inadequacies. Four characters were required, the initial letter prefix plus three numbers for consonants: 1=b/p, v/f; 2=g/k, c/q, j, x, s/z; 3=d/t; 4=l, 5=m/n, 6=r, with h, w and vowels not being coded. Instead of four, the analysis reviewed in Part II (Chapter 5) used only two characters for Aboriginal pronunciations written as terms in English characters.

string - for digital electronic representation, used here for a fixed sequence of alphanumeric characters.

surname, sur-name - derived from earlier meaning of supernomen, a hereditary family name, and contrasts with personal fore-name, in the English colonial society referred to as a Christian name associated with a Christian christening ceremony, usually a baptism. Church ministers, especially RC priests, attempted to baptise and bestow ‘Christian names’ on as many Aboriginal children as they could catch, with examples given in thesis text. Baptism has been an essential step in saving a person’s soul before they could ascend to heaven.

SW - southwest.

TAM - The Australian Museum Sydney (New South Wales). (Cf. SAM.)

Thesis - some of earlier undergraduate Honours theses are as substantial as later postgraduate theses, and I may not have shown the degree for which they were being submitted. The latter have been more commonly located in university libraries (faculty libraries), found there in catalogues, the former were usually found at more intimate departmental or school libraries, even in staff room cupboards. The earlier theses were micro-filmed in-house for the library when Sydney University had a film unit, and some (not on catalogue) were found for me located in a dungeon. Not all those studied are listed in the Bibliography.
TOL - Ticket of Leave, for a convict.

traditional - this term is used in relation to the Aborigines within this thesis to indicate a period before an Aboriginal group was influenced by settlement, viz. pre-settlement, that is while ancient cultural practices were being maintained and heritage was intact. In some cases the term ancestral may have been used loosely to indicate such a period.

transl. - translation.

Tribe / tribal - This terminology has so many implications, it is dangerous to attempt to provide a limited definition, but it encompasses a group of people with a common feature. Used in English it can mean something as small as a single family, used in English for ‘a gang’, ‘a mob’, or ‘a tribe’ of children gathered together, perhaps with the same parents, to something as big as including every person who speaks a particular language. In the historical period of this thesis, it was most commonly used to indicate a group resident at a place, which may be better represented by the alternative location-specific term ‘Clan’, which see. Subsequently to Brown (aka Radcliffe-Brown, first professor of Anthropology here) proposing a definition for Aboriginal people, anthropologists continued to argue with their own variations. I have both cited the source use of ‘tribe’ (lc) and have used the term ‘Tribe’ (uc) as a proper noun for a group, such as the Darkiñung-Language Tribe.

TSR - Travelling Stock Reserve, places for holding livestock overnight on a travelling stock route.

uc - upper case. See also Capitals.

v (or v.) - versus, in contrast to (from turned ‘towards’ an opponent).

VDL - Van Diemans Land (later, Tasmania).

verbatim - from verbum, word, exactly the same words (see also sic).

Vic. - Victoria [state].

vice versa - vice versa, with preceding items reversed (from turned ‘around the other way’).

VIP - Very Important Person.

viz. - videlicet, in other words.

Wallambine / ‘Wollombi’, ‘Wollemi’ [range of spellings] (location) - This appears as the Aboriginal identification term for what is referred to in this thesis as the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges (which see). It was first recorded as Wallumbi by young John Blaxland jnr (viz. John de Marquett Blaxland) when he was crossing these ranges in 1824. The area was occupied by the Darkiñung speaking people. After being applied to a stream in the ranges - which flowed across the Hunter Valley, the location became limited when Surveyor General Thomas Mitchell appropriated the Aboriginal term as Wollombi for a township site at a junction on the stream known as Illulughn. [Cf. Bannaby.]

Wannungine - An Aboriginal identification term for the traditional People on the NSW Central Coast between the Hunter River and Hawkesbury River (Broken Bay) estuaries, bordering the Wallambine country in preceding entry. [The pronunciation would rhyme with Wallambine.] As used here, the term is taken from R.H. Mathews, and was an alternative to Wannerawa. As a consequence of the term having been misplaced (as ‘Wonnarua’), descendants of these People have adopted identification from words contrived in 1892 by a white man from Aboriginal terms: ‘Guringai’ on the coast towards the Hawkesbury and ‘Awabakal’ on the coast towards the Hunter. (See also HRLM / HRBB.)

Wisemans Ferry - refer to Portland Head.

WMMS (or W.M.M.S.) - Wesleyan Methodists' Mission Society. (Cf. CMS; LMS.)

WWII - ‘World War II’ [two], 1939-45, whereby ‘The Great War’ became re-known as WWI.

yd - yard. Imperial linear measurement used at the time of this thesis. See under ft (foot).

yo - years old.
Bibliography

Annotations
This Bibliography contains added annotations for some entries, particularly added for the background of future readers not necessarily familiar with the reference.

Primary Sources
The nominal classification of reference sources into primary and secondary records of events cannot be met because of the analyses in this thesis showing that many of the primary source writers used here included events at which they were not present - even relating events before they were born. Original newspaper items seem particularly prone to hearsay (as do some letters). Being born 1939, I am the same age now as some of the informants cited whose reminiscences I have found cause for wariness. Many retold other's stories. I trust readers to distinguish between recalled experiences and recorded events. Classifying some sources as primary provides an imprimatur of historic respectability which I have discussed may not be justified. For example, Alexander Harris's 1847 book has been taken as a primary historical source although exposed by Manning Clark 1953 and by Alec Chisholm 1961. See, for example, annotation for W.H. Suttor 1887 in this Bibliography.

Many of the secondary source writers are not describing historical events, yet may be the primary writer on the topic such as describing plants which I can relate to 1789 descriptions.

Maps
Maps have been particularly important for this thesis study. Varied categories have been used, predominately the NSW government maps provided by the state ‘Lands Department’ agencies (with title variation changing at the whim of a current government, e.g. ‘Central Mapping Authority’). Their series of 1: 25 000 Topographical Maps are my mainstay. Next in importance as used for this thesis are the larger scale national maps of the federal government agency, with varying names, e.g. ‘NatMap’, of which I have commonly used their 1: 250 000 topographic series. They are part of my extensive personal reference library. The commercially produced DVD compilation with ‘Memory-Map mapping software’, for ‘Interactive Topographical Maps: NSW T3’, has been used on my computer with its valuable search function. It includes the state and federal maps as above, plus Universal Business Directory (UBD) maps of Universal Publishers. Several individual maps other than the above series have also been consulted. Both current and historic NSW Land Parish Maps have been a source, the later now being placed online (with the internet address changing, also seemingly on a whim). A searchable resource for Parish maps has been provided by Geoff Cannon as listed in Bibliography, who used recent printed editions. Early colonial maps are constantly consulted, particularly as reproduced with books of the earliest colonial Historic Records. Use of more recent publications with maps is as follows in Bibliography. The book compiled by Ian Jack 2010 produced by NSW Lands Department for NSW Heritage Council demonstrates many of the useful historic maps - e.g. showing ‘inland’ Bathurst and Kurrajong districts in relation to the Hawkesbury River.

From time to time I also exploited the ‘Google’ maps and ‘Google Earth’ depictions available online.
Newspapers
The newspapers and magazines consulted, many of which have been cited, were mainly examined using microfilm copies. For a few, I was able to view original copies. However, as the study for this thesis progressed, newspapers in Australia were gradually being placed online by NLA with OCR scanning, so that resource was used too. The references are detailed in the thesis text.
Newspapers examined and cited include, for example (alphabetically):
Sydney and General: The Australian; The Sydney Gazette (and New South Wales Advertiser); The Sydney Herald and Sydney Morning Herald; The Sydney Mail (and New South Wales Advertiser); The (Sydney) Monitor.
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Anon. - Parliament of New South Wales, [various dates for various issues], New South Wales Legislative Council, Votes and Proceedings. After the hard copies [viz. printed volumes] had been taken from the ML reading room, these parliamentary reports (used here) were found in the reading room with Open Access on microfilm reels with a variety of catalogue codes which had to be worked through. For example, the select Committee on the Aborigines 1846 was accessed on microfilm reel no.4, MAV/FM4/10867.

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With the best efforts of the university libraries over prolonged periods, I was not able to recover all the articles by Kohen to which I’d been referred for reference in this thesis. Those contacts who were aware of society meetings and conferences suggested that some (including some he listed as ‘Professional Articles’) may have been handouts distributed at talks which were otherwise unpublished, and not amongst wreaths of papers generously copied for me at Macquarie University by the author. Only items read and used for this thesis are listed here. In distinction to others in a list of 23 ‘Popular Articles’, items here marked Kohen* are presented by him under the heading ‘Professional Articles’ for ‘Publications’ in a 2006 38pp CV, with (*) as books or book chapters. One academic pointed out that these are not professional publications - yet they are used as source material by academics. Kohen is an instructor rather than an investigator - the first published professional papers from research to show on the CV (other than 1984 with his supervisor Martin Williams as given below) appear to be by postgraduate student
Nynke Brouwer in 2005/06 with Joanne Jamie and Subramanyam (‘Subra’) Vemulpad from the 2002 Macquarie University Research Development Grant for ‘An Ethnopharmacological Study of Medicinal Plants in Coastal NSW’. No reference has been made for this thesis to any of the 111 unpublished archaeological reports also listed in the 2006 edition of his CV in the public domain provided to me.


Kohen*, Jim, 1980b, ‘Prehistoric Aboriginal Occupation of the Blacktown Area’, Newsletter of the Royal Australian Historical Society, No.188: 2-3. [Although cited by the author under ‘Professional Articles’, this is published as coming from the Blacktown and District Historical Society.]


Kohen, Jim (compiler), 1986a, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives 1832-1844’ (and misc. lists to 1851), Macquarie University. Aboriginal censuses also known as ‘Blanket Lists’. Kohen himself referred to the source as: Anonymous, ‘Return of Aboriginal Natives, Archives Office of New South Wales’, telling me he had forgotten who had made the transcriptions. [He provided a digital copy spreadsheet to me 16 June 2005 which he said he’d compiled, although some local libraries had copies of some of the material which had been attributed to Macquarie University.]

Kohen, Jim, 1986b, ‘Prehistoric Settlement in the Western Cumberland Plain: Resources, Environment and Technology’, Thesis, Macquarie University. From library catalogue it may have been accepted 1988 - see 1988c.

Kohen, Jim, in preparation [1986], ‘Mogo Creek Rockshelter: A Prehistoric Site Showing Economic Variation During the Late Holocene’, cited Kohen 1986b thesis. [See also under Gilligan, 1995.]

Kohen*, Jim, 1988a [presented 1987], ‘The Importance of Archaeology to Aboriginal Communities on the Cumberland Plain: An Archaeologists Perspective’, in Wright, Barry, Moody, Daniel and


Kohen(*) Jim, 1993b, ‘The Darug and Their Neighbours - The Traditional Aborigines of the Sydney Region’, Blacktown and District Historical Society for Darug Link, Blacktown (Sydney). This book includes the 1st published edn of descendants’ genealogy in Appendices. It is known as the ‘Yellow Book’.


Kohen(*) Jim, 2006, ‘Daruganora: Darug Country - The Place and the People’, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), Blacktown. This book is the vehicle, in 134 of the 196 pages, for the 2nd edn of the genealogy database (1st edn 1993b) which was reprinted (viz. 3rd edn) in a 2009 revision of this book published 2010 in two parts. Although the 1993b book had been published as from the historical society (giving the society address), this 2006 book is by James L. Kohen at ‘Macquarie University’, claiming academic authority of that institution for the contents. (The
cover of ‘Revised Edition’ gives 2009, but the date of publication is provided as ‘16th April 2010’. 

The author retains the status of Macquarie University, although he had left October 2009.) However, as for the subsequent 2010 series too, the author ‘assumes no responsibility for errors in the information provided by contributors.’ That is, for errors in his genealogy database: As the author had explained to me: ‘they come to me with their family history lists and I enter their contributions into my computer.’ Beginning at the meeting of DTAC which I first attended - at Muru Mittigar by invitation of my Aboriginal cousins - I've observed a queue at Kohen's table. This Family History is the part most in demand for the publications. Yet the entries typed in are unchecked.

Kohen, Jim, 2010, ‘Aboriginal Families And Clans of the Sydney Region’: late addition to Bibliography. A series of eleven separate books with a common ‘Introduction’ pp.3-18 followed by a printout from the author's genealogy data base, ‘Descendants of the - - - Clans’ pp.19, Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation (DTAC), Blacktown. DTAC runs its own printing press. A laudable purpose is to allow each of the thousands of descendants to just purchase the $12 separate book with their name in it rather than buy the more expensive 2009 edn of ‘Daruganora’ with the extended genealogy in Part 2. One would expect these books to be in the home of every descendant of the Aborigines from western Sydney. Although the books of this 2010 series were not referred to for this thesis, after the thesis chapters were written I have examined book (9) subtitled: ‘The Darkinjung Clans - Butagal, Putty, Wollombi, Colo’. Rectifying historical inaccuracies has been resisted by the author, instead he has persisted (insisted) on repeating mistakes from the first published edition of the genealogy, 1993b, as well as adding to them, with instances showing naive credulity such as giving an Aboriginal woman both as her mother and as herself which is a technique to appeal to descendants as an extra generation. It would be an acerbic attempt to document erroneous historical misinformation, there is so much of it repeated. On p.18 in every book of the series Kohen has anticipated this Sydney University thesis by informing his readers, concerning independent findings (with sources) and analyses which I have shared with him, that this work ‘on the history of the Darkinjung people’ is vaguely ‘differences of opinion’, in contrast to his own students dependent on him who have been subjected to his supervision at Macquarie University whose work is ‘outstanding research’. Cross refer here to my thesis Introduction. In talking about ‘opinion’, Kohen is speaking for himself, and readers may confirm references in my thesis for themselves. A finding discussed in my thesis Chapter 2, which I referred to Kohen in October 2007, is denied with his statement on p.6 ‘but Darug seem more likely’ [sic] - without his having attempted to check historic source material during the ensuing three years. I note that, in citing references he does use to claim a point, Kohen writes of something which does not support his own misconcepts as ‘an error’. Misquotes repeated in his 2010 series pp.3-18 Introduction had already been dealt with in my studies covered by this thesis - such as (Chapter 10/SE) the misrepresentation of politician Richard Hill and the waterways, p.5.

Kohen, Jim, 2010, ‘African Connections’, Darug Aboriginal Tribal Corporation, Blacktown. [This is included here as the twelfth of the books which are a revision of genealogy first published in a 1993b Appendix, as above - but is not part of the above series of eleven.]


Kohen*, Jim, Stockton, Eugene and Martin Williams, 1984, ‘Shaw's Creek KII Rockshelter - a Prehistoric
Occupation Site in the Blue Mountains Piedmont, Eastern New South Wales’, Archaeology in Oceania, 19 (2): 57-73. [This paper was done before supervisor, geomorphologist Martin Williams left Macquarie University in 1984, to become Professor of Geography at Monash University.]


Kohen, Jim
- see also Cox, Dennis; Brook, Jack.


Laffan, Shawn W.
- see also Crisp, Mike; Jones, Caroline.


Lang, John Dunmore, 1837 (2nd edn), ‘An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Both As a Penal Settlement and As a British Colony’, in two volumes, A.J.Valpy, Fleet Street (London).

Lang, John Dunmore, 1875 (4th edn), ‘An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, From the Founding of the Colony in 1788 to the Present Day’, in two volumes, Sampson Low, Marston, Low, & Searle, Fleet Street (London).


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Larmer, Mr. Surveyor [James], 1898, ‘Native Vocabulary of Miscellaneous New South Wales Objects’ (communicated by permission of the Honourable the Secretary for Lands), Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales 32: 223-229.


Group [now Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Co-operative], Nambucca Heads, also p.33 in Volume 1 English Edition 1992. [Only Volume 1 was produced, but more have been planned by Muurrbay.]

Laves, Gerhardt
- see Larrigo, Jack.


Lissarrague, Amanda
- see also Ash, Anna; Wafer, Jim.

Liston, Carol A., 1988a, ‘Campbelltown - The Bicentennial History’, City of Campbelltown, Campbelltown.


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Mac - - - and Mc - - -:
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McBrien, James, 1823, ‘Survey of Road from Emu Plains Nepean River to Bathurst’, Surveyor General Maps B.5-7.147, NSW State Records Items 1282-84.


McCarthy, Frederick David:
McCarthy, F.D., 1946 (1st edn), ‘New South Wales Aboriginal Place Names and Euphonious Words, with Their Meanings’ [with map], The Australian Museum, Sydney. The map was included right up to the last edition 1971 (5th edn).


McCarthy, F.D., 1978, ‘New Light on the Lapstone Creek Excavation’, Australian Archaeology, No.8: 49-60. [Article includes a retrospective of earlier involvement of Clifton Cappie Towle.]


Mackenzie, Andrew, 1874, ‘Specimens of Native Australian Languages’, The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 3: 247-261, Includes languages on NSW South Coast, correspondence with William Ridley [etc], transmitted by author to Colonial Secretary in Sydney 1872, thence sent to Colonial Office in London, presented to The Institute 1873 and published 1874. [See also Ridley 1873.] In report as follows, p.232, the author dates this as ‘The reports transmitted in 1871’, and refers to the second one as ‘a supplement (with) additional information’.


McLeod Morgan - see under Morgan, H.A. McL.


Macquarie, Lachlan, Governor:


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- see Jones, Phyllis Mander.


Mann, J.F. ca.1912 [data ca.1842], ‘Aboriginal Names’ with introduction ‘Australian Aborigines - a few notes on their language’, Mitchell Library handwritten ms [and typescript transcription]
Am 1/1-2, microfilm reel CY 2355 with mistaken catalogue title ‘Aboriginal names and words of the Cammeray Tribe’. That is because Mann's informant was given as Long Dick of the Brisbane Water tribe, son of Bungaree, who sometimes resided on the north shore of Port Jackson which had been country of the ‘Cammeray’ people when the settlers arrived.


Marriott (Mrs.) - see Lee, Ida.

Mathew, Felton
- see under Mathew, Sarah Louise.


Mathew, John, 1899, ‘Eaglehawk and Crow - A Study of The Australian Aborigines including An Inquiry into Their Origin and a Survey of Australian Languages’, David Nutt, The Strand (London), also Melville, Mullen and Slade, Melbourne. In the Preface, Mathew credits the basis of the book to have been his ‘essay upon the Australian Aborigines contributed to the Royal Society of New South Wales, for which I was awarded the (1889) prize’ [as had Robert Mathews for 1894]. [I treasure an original copy of this book, from the collection of Frank Walford.]


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With regard to unpublished ‘notebooks’ and ‘fieldbooks’, date ng - the notebook titles are as given for cataloguing under MS 8006 at the National Library (i.e. not titles supplied by the author). Notebooks are generally in the form of exercise books. [Not all of his notebooks and diaries were donated to the NLA by Janet Mathews as discussed in Chapter 6.] Nearly all the published papers are annotated in ‘The Miranen Archive of R.H. Mathews (1841-1918)’ by Martin Thomas 2005a.
Also, there is material deposited at the AIATSIS Library, but it is catalogued MS 299 as ‘Holograph (photocopy)’ [sic]. The annotation lists various languages as ‘Contents’, and it is discussed in thesis that this Mathews material may have been copies being studied by Arthur Capell, whose material catalogued MS 4577 was lodged by ‘Peter Newton, Co-Executor of the Capell Literary Estate’.


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Mathews, R.H., 1894, ‘Aboriginal Bora Held at Gundabloui in 1894’, Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 28: 98-129. [this is the 2nd article published.]


**The Thurrawal Language** pp.127-150 [for vocabulary of Thurrawal words, see 1903]

Appendix: **The Gundungurra Language**, pp.151-155 [See also Mathews 1901a]

**The Dharruk Language**, pp.155-157


Mathews, R.H., 1903, ‘Languages of the Kamilaroi and Other Aboriginal Tribes of New South Wales’, Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 33: 259-283:

**The Kamilaroi Language [and dialects]**, pp.259-271

**The Darkiňung Language**, pp.271-275

Vocabulary of Kamilaroi and Thurrawal Words, pp.275-279

Vocabulary of Darkiňung Words, pp.280-281

Appendix: Some Native Tribes of Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, pp.282-283.


Including Vocabulary of Wiradyuri Words’ pp.299-302.


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Mc - - -

- see under Mac - - - alphabetically.

‘Mechanic’: ‘An Emigrant Mechanic’

- see Harris, Alexander.

Medhurst, John, 1894, correspondence [plural] about Aborigines making hand stencils at Wollombi (Watagan Creek) to Robert Mathews 29 April 1894, 10 May 1894, held in papers of R.H. Mathews, National Library of Australia call no. MS 8006/ Ser.2/ Fol.7.

Medhurst

- see also under Sykes, Jean


Merriman, John
- see also Stockton, Eugene.


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Miller, James
- see also Wilson-Miller, James.


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- see also under Stockton, Eugene.


Nash, David G.
- see also under Wilkins, David P.; Alpha, Barry.

Nathan, David [with Susannah Rayner and Stuart Brown] (eds), 2009, ‘William Dawes' Notebooks on the Aboriginal Language of Sydney, 1790-1791’, The Hans Rausing Endangered Language Project and SOAS Library Special Collections, School of Oriental and African Studies London. This includes scanned reproduction of the original pages. [Funding assistance was given in Sydney by the NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs.] This book is available in Sydney from Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation, Blacktown. In addition to this hard copy publication [which I have consulted], Dawes’s notebooks (a) and (b), with notebook (c) [Phillip et alia], have recently been placed online by David Nathan of SOAS at new site www.williamdawes.org.

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- see also under Austin, Peter; and cross refer under Dawes, William.


Oldfield, Roger
- see under Mansfield, Ralph.

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Organ, Michael K., 1993, ‘Illawarra and South Coast Aborigines, 1770-1900’, Report to Australian Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, Canberra, online at Wollongong University Research Online: ro.uow.edu.au.


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- see also Carey, Hilary M.; Crotty, Martin.


St Leon, Mark
- see also Ramsland, John.


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- see de Salis, Margaret.


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- see Bennett, Gordon.


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- see also Welch, David M.


St [as abbreviation for Saint]
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Stanner, William Edward Hanley (‘Bill’):


Stapylton, Granville William Chetwynd, 1836 Journal, transcribed by Alan Andrews 1986, which see.


Steele, Jeremy
- see also under Kohen, Jim.


- for book 1 see: Phillip, Arthur, 1789, ‘The Voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay [etc]’.
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- see also under Kohen, James Leslie; Nanson, Gerald C.


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Index Note

This thesis does not have a static index. Rather, it is intended that it be freely available in digital pdf configuration so that readers can choose their own terms to electronically search and note.
“When the ‘facts’ change,
I change my mind.

“What do you do?”

[Attributed to John Maynard Keynes,
with implications of The Great Depression.]