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Resistance: A process of survival
for Balardong people

by

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Submitted as part of course requirement for
Honours Degree

Pooongang Garang: School of Indigenous Health
Studies
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Resistance

A process of survival
for
Balardong people
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Abstract

In writing this historical research, it is written from the perspective of a Balardong person. This in itself demonstrates that Balardong culture has been preserved. The historical chapters provide an insight into Balardong lived experience, changes to lifestyle and adaptations made. Whilst Balardong people have made many adaptations and changes to lifestyles, their culture and identity has been maintained. More importantly there is no ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ way in interpreting what is meant by culture and identity. As this is ultimately the responsibility of Balardong individuals. Balardong people are diverse in their views and behaviours. But nonetheless they are still Balardong.

History shows that Balardong people have within the holistic cultural framework adapted to changes over the past two centuries. However, they have not lost sight of their cultural heritage. Whilst colonisation processes eroded some of the aspects of culture the remaining fragments have been reserved for future generations. At the same time cultural history despite losses have been remembered. This process is part of the sustaining and maintaining of Balardong culture and its heritage.
Preface

This research thesis is written from the perspective of a Balardong person from York, Western Australia. I am the youngest of three brothers and five sisters. I was raised in a country town called York, which is 100 kilometres from the city of Perth. York is the first inland town to be settled by non-Aboriginal settlers in 1831. York is also a wheat-growing and sheep-grazing district. My father was a Noongar from the Balardong language group and traditionally came from the York area. My mother is a Wongi and mother’s mother traditionally came from Ceduna. I was raised as a Noongar from the Balardong language group in York. However, I did learn much from my mother and grandmother about Wongi culture.

I first realised that I was Aboriginal during my first week at school when I was called racist names. I came home from school and in the bathtub started to use a wire brush and soap to scrub ‘black’ off my skin, and my arm began to bleed. My mother could hear me crying with frustration and came into the bathroom. She asked me what I was doing. I told her that I was scrubbing all the ‘black’ off. I can still see the look of sadness in my mother’s eyes when she saw what I was doing. She grabbed the wire brush off me and cradled me in her arms and said ‘You are not black bub, you are brown and beautiful’.

I believe that the rude awaking was so ‘in my face’ because my family never ever spoke about people being different colours. Before I went to school I saw people being treated all the same. I never saw my mother or father treat anyone different. I know that this incident in the bathroom set the scene for the rest of my school years. A week did not go by when I wasn’t called racist names. I suppose like many Aboriginal kids, you became thick-skinned to it all.

Mum was very protective and she did not encourage furthering of education. I know that mum’s over-protectiveness was mainly due to her experience while being raised
in a mission. Mum had many fears. At the age of sixteen, I begged to leave home and live with one of my older sisters in Perth.

While living and working in Perth, I began to meet Aboriginal people from all over Western Australia. My view of Aboriginal people's identity broadened, as I was only familiar with Noongar people from my own area and had some knowledge about Wongi culture. I came to see and hear how other Aboriginal people lived. I came to clearly identify the diversity of Aboriginal people. After doing some academic studies my view of Aboriginal people's identity expanded even more.

The idea for this particular research initially came about when my sister and I in 1998 completed an assignment required by the Community Development III Lecturer of Yooroong Garang at the University of Sydney. The assignment requested a proposed Community Development model for our community. During the process of constructing our Community Development model, I recognised how important it was to sustain and maintain Balardong culture for future generations of Balardong and non-Balardong Australians.

I found that as a Balardong person I had taken for granted that my culture would sustain and maintain itself. I then started to ask some questions such as; how has Balardong culture survived? How has Balardong culture been maintained? I even began to question myself; As a Balardong person had I begun to live on the fringes of Balardong culture just as we as Balardong people lived on the fringes of Wyalgella (white) culture? After asking these questions I made a promise to myself that I would make it my business to answer these questions and to play a major role in maintaining and sustaining Balardong culture.
Chapter One
Chapter One
Introduction

"You as an Aboriginal person have a choice of bringing your past into your present to enable you to go forward into your future". Wanganeen. (1994) P. 13

Most Aboriginal people find that bringing the past into the present to go forward into the future is a constant challenge. This raises some pertinent questions. Why is this a constant challenge? Don’t Aboriginal people automatically live and breathe within the ideology that the past, present, future is the here and now? The past, present, future concept is an automatic way of thinking for Aboriginal people. However simple it may sound the past, present, future way of thinking is not a simple notion. The complexity of the ideology is such that it resides within everything that we as Aboriginal people come across in our lives. This may come in the physical, spiritual, environmental, social or mental form. To actually live the past, present, future is the ultimate challenge!

The purpose of this research is to describe the survival of Balardong people and their resistance to European invasion and colonisation. In addition, the research will show that Balardong people have survived and maintained cultural links to a greater extent than was once believed. This will be achieved by researching oral stories, archives, Native Welfare Records and current literature in order to discover how three generations of Balardong people from York, Western Australia survived the colonisation process and kept their culture strong.

The theory underpinning this research is based on the belief that colonisation/colonialism has undermined the resilience of Aboriginal people (Coombs, 1994 & McConnachie, Hollinsworth & Pettman, 1993). In addition, the research question in this study involves a voyage of discovery concerning whether cultural sustainability and adaptation has been maintained.
The research findings may not reflect the viewpoints or opinions of all Aboriginal Australians. However, it is important to recognise that because of Aboriginal individuality and cultural diversity that these experiences and viewpoints may not necessarily be shared (Bourke, Bourke & Edwards, 1998; Oxenham, Cameron, Collard, Dudgeon, Garvey, Kickett, Kickett, Roberts & Whiteway, 1999). Therefore any findings/conclusions and statements made throughout this thesis may be relevant to experiences faced by some Aboriginal Australians.

Chapter two discusses the research design and methodology. The research design is based upon the ‘willy willy’ analogy, past, present, future ideology, narrative analysis, triangulation data processing method and research data collection. The ‘willy willy’ analogy; was an oral narrative told by a Balardong Elder to the researcher at the age of 8 years. The Balardong Elder used the ‘willy willy’ as his analogy to teach a lesson about life. The ‘willy willy’ represented us as the individual moving through life gathering up what it needed and throwing out what was no longer required. The story’s description of life did not only mean the here and now, ‘life’ represented the past, present and future within the here and now. Even though the researcher did not fully understand the story when it was initially told, she remembers telling the Elder that she did not understand what he meant. The Elder’s reply was ‘bye and bye’. This meant one day she would grow to understand the story. As the researcher grew older she experienced many signs which pointed back to this Elder’s story of the ‘willy willy’.

Many Aboriginal people believe that signs are projected in many physical and spiritual forms. For example, the researcher and her sister completed an assignment that requested a proposed community development model for their community. During the process of constructing their community development model, the researcher recognised how important it was to sustain and maintain Balardong culture for future generations of Balardong and non-Balardong people. Dreams should not be dismissed as pure imagination nor should the dream process be underestimated, as messages and signs continue to come through dreams until the dreamer has learnt the true meaning of the dream. To Aboriginal people the dreaming process is considered to be an aid to survival.
The following words that the Balardong Elder said while relaying the ‘willy willy’ story are strongly embedded in the researcher’s mind, words such as;

"Always remember where you come from, always know who you are and never forget the past now (present), because this will be the run (means the route Balardong ancestors use to take, while passing through the country they belonged to) for your grannies".

Throughout this research the perspective of a Balardong person of York, Western Australia will be presented along with the views and experiences of other Balardong men and women. The Balardong people are part of the Noongar people located in the South West Region of Western Australia (Refer to Map 1 – includes neighbouring language groups). More detail about who the Balardong people are will be provided in Chapter 3. Chapter 3 will include specific details concerning Balardong people in York, Western Australia; the York landscape prior to colonization; Balardong people’s first encounter with European colonists; conflicts between European settlers and Balardong people, and the impacts of the process of colonisation.

If Aboriginal people begin to come to terms with and utilize the past, present, future concept then it may be possible to address one of the important components of holistic well-being, which includes acceptance of one’s own culture in its present form. It is essential that Aboriginal people incorporate this way of thinking and living into their everyday lives to link a sense of displacement. This can be clearly seen when researching ones own family histories.

This research is historical and according to Gay (1987) historical research, “is the systematic collection and objective evaluation of data related to past occurrences in order to test hypotheses concerning causes, effects, or trends of those events that may help to explain present events and anticipate future events” P. 179.
Nyungar territories of the southwest based on Tindale (1940).

Cited in Green, 1984, P. 8.

Gay’s definition recognises that there is a strong connection between the past, present and future. To Aboriginal people the past, present, future concept is referred to as a whole. However, it must be noted that this historical research is not just to re-tell history but to ask whether Balardong people’s cultural sustainability and adaptation has been maintained over the past two century’s.
It is well known that historical data recorded the invasion and colonisation of Australia from the viewpoints of non-Aboriginal pioneers, government officials, church leaders, historians, anthropologists and others. (Coombs, 1994 & Dodson, 1994). However, the historical data failed to incorporate Aboriginal lived experiences of the colonisation process. Stace (2000), reinforces this view,

"The only version of the history of this nation is the version told by European Australians. It is a version of history that either ignores or denigrates Aborigines at every opportunity. It is a history that fails to confess the magnitude of the crimes committed against the original inhabitants of this country as well as their descendants. It is a history which fails to acknowledge the courage and strengths of a people who have managed to survive against horrendous odds". P. 2.

It is important that non-Aboriginal Australians' recognise that Colonisation did not just involve the settlement of Australia. It included devastating consequences to Aboriginal life and culture. Devastating consequences that are still being dealt with on a daily basis by Aboriginal people Australia wide. Atkinson (1997), refers to colonisation as a “catastrophe” which has brought

"multiple experiences of trauma to the generations of Aboriginal people who have lived and continue to live on this continent now called Australia”. P. 3.

It is crucial that more Aboriginal people provide their viewpoints on the Australian colonisation process. Bourke, Bourke & Edwards (1998) summarises how Aboriginal people have responded to non-Aboriginal versions of Australian history,

"Aboriginal people have started an invasion of their own over the last few decades-challenging the dominant “white” view of Australia’s past. They have begun presenting their own versions of what has happened in
Australia in the last two hundred years and before and introduced a new perspective, based on The Dreaming, of Australia’s much longer history ... rewriting ... Australian history from an Aboriginal perspective”. P. 18.

The research design and methodology discussed in chapter two, provides a chart (see Appendix A) that will highlight the impacts and consequences of the colonisation process on Aboriginal people through out Australia and more specifically on Balardong people of York, Western Australia. This research then records the life experiences of three generations of Balardong people with the colonisation process. Included in the research and design, the theory of narrative analysis will be discussed in chapter 2 in relationship to oral stories.

It is important to note that the recording of history in Aboriginal culture throughout Australia has been maintained through art, song, dance and oral stories. The use of oral stories are so fundamental to Aboriginal culture and history that they will be utilised in historical accounts throughout this research. Stephenson & Suri (1993), recognized the absolute essence of oral stories. In addition, Bloomfield (1986), highlighted that oral stories are essential components of the Aboriginal way of learning, which is necessary to maintain cultural connections.

The research process combines archival data along with other literature with oral stories, the data strongly promotes the following:

- The evidence of experiences with colonisation.
- How Balardong people adapted to the colonisation processes.
- How Balardong people resisted colonisation processes.
- How Balardong people sustained culture.
- How Balardong people are using the impact of colonisation to restore and regenerate their culture.
- Historical events such as;

  ➢ Destruction of land
Destruction of sacred sites
Destruction of family
Destruction of Balardong people

• The focus is on 'survival'.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in this thesis will include life experiences of three generations of Balardong people from the York area of Western Australia, to determine what impact colonisation had on their way of life, culture, holistic well-being, relationships and their world views.

It is anticipated that new data as well as a re analysis of existing data will provide greater understanding in relationship to Aboriginal holistic health. Wanganeen (1994) describes the link between Aboriginal culture and holism,

“...as Indigenous people of Australia all aspects of our culture were developed by Spirit (the Creator of our Dreamtime) and we lived that development through a holistic lifestyle”. P. 10.

The following research is a record and more importantly a discussion and analysis of events affecting Balardong people prior to and during the colonisation process. The research will demonstrate how Balardong people survived invasion, initial colonisation and its processes and how they were able to adapt to their circumstances. In addition, demonstrate the strength of the Balardong culture that enabled Balardong people to sustain and maintain their culture into the future.
Chapter Two
Chapter 2
Research design and Methodology

"when human beings make their lives meaningful they primarily do this by telling a story"
(Polkinghorne cited in Rice and Ezzy, 1999)

This chapter discusses the way in which data was collected; the models used to guide the data collection processes; and the theories underpinning the contextual components of the research.

The contextual components include; the ideology of the ‘everywhen’; the relationship between the model of the ‘willy willy’ and the past, present and future concept; and the discussion of narrative analysis as applied to analysis of the data.

The terms of reference for the collection of data and the research was guided by a chronologically sequenced chart (Appendix C). The chart highlights the consequences and impacts on Balardong people from York, Western Australia since invasion. Sources of relevant literature are included in the chart.

2.1 Model of the investigation

The frame of reference for data collection was based on the premise that oral stories can provide an understanding of the way things are and have been in the lives of the Balardong people from York, Western Australia.

The oral stories used in conjunction with archival data, literature and records from Native Welfare, government policies, microfilm, internet historical traces and Police Gazettes can provide cross tabulation and triangulation of data sources, which creates a more holistic picture of events over the past two centuries.
The vitality of oral stories will be fundamental components of the research. This is interconnected to the past, present and future concept and the analytical component of narrative analysis. Rice and Ezzy (1999) point out that,

"the self can only be studied as a whole when past, present and future are understood as an integrated whole through a narrative”. P. 1.

It must be recognized that Aboriginal people have placed great emphasis on both oral traditions, stories and the relationship to the past, present and future. Oral stories have culturally been the means by which knowledge, laws, spirituality, customs, rites, rituals and kinship for example, have been shaped by past events in the here and now and transmitted from one generation to another (Berndt & Berndt, 1983; Edwards, 1987; Stanner, 1979; Rice & Ezzy, 1999).

Levi-Strauss (1978), supports this argument,

"Each telling of a myth draws upon these rags and bones, and each piece has its own previous life-history that it brings into the story”. P. IX.

Aboriginal people believe that there is continuity between events of the past, which are carried through actions and more importantly sustained through oral stories (Edwards, 1987; Stanner, 1979; Berndt & Berndt, 1983; Bourke, Bourke & Edwards, 1998).

Therefore given the importance of the above, the models of investigation, and design of the chart, was shaped by a number of factors. Firstly the frame of reference for data collection was based upon the premise that focus be given to oral stories. The model used in the study permits qualitative data to be collected, which places emphasis on views of Aboriginal people. What needs to be recognised is that this research includes data collected from Balardong people (i.e. oral stories) and provides an historical account of the ‘survival’ of Balardong people since invasion, written by a
Balardong person. Smith (1999), supports the emphasis on views of Aboriginal people by stating the following;

“It privileges sets of texts, views about the history of an idea, what issues count as significant; and, by engaging in the same process uncritically, we too can render indigenous writers invisible or unimportant while reinforcing the validity of other writers”. P. 36.

Secondly, the model is used as the foundation for data collection because it enables important components such as past, present and future, oral stories, other literature sources and narrative analysis to be interrelated and circular. Hence the model placing emphasis on the requirement that each piece of data not be viewed separately from the other.

2.2 The Everywhen.

It is crucial to this research that the concept of the ‘Everywhen’ be clearly defined. Stanner (1987), when referring to the past, present ideology of the Dreaming stated; “One cannot ‘fix’ The Dreaming in time: it was, and is ‘everywhen’”. (cited in Bourke, Bourke & Edwards, 1998, P. 225). Stanner’s definition of the “dreaming in time” includes the time within the dreaming; the ‘everywhen’. But as previously mentioned in the introduction the challenge of the past, present, future ideology for Aboriginal people, is to actually live and experience the past, present, future. Bourke, Bourke & Edwards (1998), refers to the complexity of this challenge:

“The Aboriginal concept of time is therefore cyclic, rather than linear, but in the sense that each generation is able to experience the present reality of The Dreaming”. P. 79.

The ‘everywhen’ incorporates the past, present and future. The ideology of continuity between the time or eras’ within the dreaming for Aboriginal people is of importance in this research. It must be recognized that Aboriginal people view time in a different perspective. Western societies view time in a linear framework, that is eras’ and
events that may have been associated within a particular period of time (Edwards, 1987 cited in Bourke, Bourke & Edwards, 1998). However, Aboriginal people perceive events, as being a continuum that is, the past, present, future being within the 'here and now'; the 'everywhen' (Stanner, 1979). According to Stanner 1987,

“Western people view life and history as being associated to linear views of time with emphasis on beginnings, dates, eras’ and endings”. (cited in Bourke, Bourke & Edwards, 1998, P. 12).

Aboriginal people have a circular view believing that there is interconnectedness to events. Values differ, post events related to establishment of culture, law, kinship, care of land, social organisation, rites of passage, which is ongoing (Edwards, 1987; Stanner, 1987; Green, 1984).

2.2.1 Theoretical perspective: Past, Present and Future.

The concept of the past, present and future in relationship to Aboriginal peoples belief of the interconnectedness of these time eras’, was understood by Australian Anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner. Stanner (1979), referred to the theory of Operational Transactionalism. The theory was founded upon the principles that human affairs is a developmental structure of operations, but more importantly exemplified in these transactions are things which are seen of value. Human actions are influenced by other factors such as how society operates, whereby there is a deep relationship to the past, which is not contextual. Aboriginal social interactions and culture seem to be concerned with the actions of human behaviour, which is influenced by past and present events, these subsequently impact upon future events.

An example of operations transactionalism can be seen in the kinship lores; when there is a death/loss in a family. Depending on the relationship of the person who has passed away determines the role(s) that family members play. The kinship lore has been in existence for many generations and is linked to the dreaming (Edwards, 1987; Stanner, 1979 & Atwood, 1996).
2.3 The significance of the Willy Willy oral story

According to Bourke, Bourke & Edwards (1998), in Aboriginal culture and amongst the Balardong people from York, Western Australia; stories, myths, legends and culture itself was founded upon events at the time of creation (the first sunrise). This time is often referred to as the Dreaming. Events occurring in the environment have shaped spiritual values and indeed oral stories. Each story emerging over time not only provided forms of archival data (Berndt & Berndt, 1983) but also a wealth of knowledge. Each event was seen to be of importance, often with many different meanings. In Aboriginal way of thinking and living everything effecting life is automatically situated within an holistic framework and has real meaning and purpose. Such is the story of the ‘willy willy’.

The Collins Concise Dictionary (1988), defines ‘willy willy’ as “a small sometimes violent upward spiraling cyclone or dust storm”. P. 1363. It is specifically associated with Aboriginal thought and belief.

Associated with the past, present, future ideology is the emphasis on the Balardong ‘willy willy’ oral story discussed in the introduction. Further to this the ‘willy willy’ analogy guided the research procedures. The message relayed throughout the oral story is not new. It can be deemed that throughout Aboriginal Australia, clan groups will have passed on a similar story with the use of a different object or symbol. The ‘willy willy’ characteristic of the oral story presented in this research is by no means the only symbol used to relay a similar message. What needs to be acknowledged is that age, timing and intuition, were all taken into account by the storyteller, before an oral story was told.

The ‘willy willy’ analogy can be compared to Kemmis and McTaggart’s concept of the Action Research spiral phenomenon (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988). The phenomenon has its roots in Action Research, where the goal is to provide solutions to a given problem, and act upon that problem by evaluating and redesigning the solution if its not successful. Hence, the process is ongoing. Further to this Gay
(1987), notes that, "within the field of education, changes occur and that tracing back historical events can indicate a 'spiral phenomenon'". P. 180.

However, it would not be wise to make too strong a connection with Kemmis and McTaggart or Gay's 'spiral phenomenon'. The main reason being that the 'willy willy' oral story is far more holistic and includes the 'everywhen' and the unknown phenomena. Unknown phenomena being matters that are deemed as an automatic part of the story such as things that do not need to be discussed and things that should not be discussed. According to Levi-Strauss (1978), "myth can be translated only by another myth, never by a scientific formula". (P. X). For this reason alone it is very difficult for an Aboriginal person to quantify and explain phenomena. There are so many meaningful components within the 'willy willy' story that cannot be refined to having just one meaning. None of these factors can be excluded or ignored. Everything about the story has to be analysed in the whole. Gee, 1986, reinforces this argument by recommending that "...the oral aspects of stories, such as pitch, pauses and other features" be included in the analysis. (cited in Rice & Ezzy, 1999, P.8). This view reinforces that there cannot be one focal point alone within the 'willy willy' story. Instead there are many aspects within the story composure and all aspects are interconnected.

The following model (see Appendix B) describes the 'willy willy' comparing it to individuals moving through life facing many experiences which includes events of the past, present, future which impact upon the individual. The 'willy willy' analogy can be a destructive element of nature. The 'willy willy' causes damage, destruction, it can bring about change and mayhem. The 'willy willy' demonstrates similar experiences faced by generations of Balardong people as a result of the colonisation process. In addition, the feet in the model represent the Balardong people walking over their land of belonging. The model is promoting that holistic well-being is achievable, through the past, present, future within the 'willy willy', for future generations of Balardong people.

The participating Balardong people support the recording of history concerning how Balardong people have survived colonisation. This will be approached by
sequentially mapping dates, events, impacts and consequences of invasion and colonisation on five generations of Balardong people. This will be discussed in 2.4.

The Balardong people from York, Western Australia support the recording of history concerning how Balardong people survived colonisation. The approach to the research which incorporates culturally secure contents such as the use of oral stories, including the past, present and future ideology, has been perceived as appropriate ways of recording history.

The data collection technique was founded upon chronologically sequenced charts, which map out dates, events, impacts and consequences of European colonisation on five generations of Balardong people.

2.4 Guide to Data Collection.

The chart entitled ‘Guide for the conduct of research: Three generations of stories concerning Balardong people’, were designed, with each chart representing a generation of Balardong people which guides the researcher with data collection and content of the thesis.

The chart will have three columns with the following headings; Impacts, Consequences and Relevant literature. This chart will guide the gathering of information throughout the research. Data gathered will be collated, sorted and recorded within chronological time frames. The chart highlights the impact and consequences for Aboriginal Australia and more specifically Balardong people during the early 19th century through to the 20th century. This chart will ensure that significant occurrences with specific periods of time are not excluded from the examination of data. Literature sources are also included in the charts and are relevant to that period of time.

The chart provides a framework for Chapters 3, 4 and 5 in the research; data collection techniques, literature needed; in association with the time eras’, impacts and consequences of colonisation on Balardong people.
The chart indicates three generations of Balardong people with the time era, impact, consequences on Balardong people and related literature; primary and secondary sources.

2.5 Significance of Oral Stories.

Judge Woodward pointed out that oral stories are important, as they are fundamentally part of Aboriginal culture, and verbal stories in conjunction with art forms provide an insight into spirituality and religious connections that Aboriginal people have with land (Suri & Stephenson, 1993).

Further to this, Bloomfield (1986) wrote that Aboriginal people have,

"...an accumulation of poetry, song, dance, legends and stories. They saw this as an accumulation as a whole, not like western man as separate art forms". P. 14

Stanner (1972), also supported the idea that Aboriginal story telling was a means of gaining knowledge about Aboriginal history, religion and life, which was passed on from one generation to the next. This was a way of recording total life events in a verbal form (cited in bloomfield, 1986). Berndt & Berndt (1983), reinforced this verbal recording of total life events when they stated that, “Myths, stories and songs were living archives”. P. 76.

Arnold (2000), provided a good example of how oral stories were used to assist as an historical source of data when important archival documents were lost in a fire. Arnold argued, “that archives are not simply store-houses”. P. 59. Arnold further argued that;

"...history begins with sources”. P. 61.

"...a source can be, in fact, be anything that has left us a trace of the past”. P. 60.

"...sources may have voices”. P. 75.
It is pertinent that the research methodology provides an explanation of the researcher’s rationale on the use of oral stories throughout this research. Participating Balardong Elders have given permission for the use of some Balardong oral stories to support the arguments in the research. The researcher has been granted permission to present one dreaming oral story in full. However, the researcher will attempt to describe the setting before presenting the oral story and explain how the reader will not feel the full impact of the story. In relation to the other oral stories used throughout this thesis, they will not be presented in full. Only the key points within the oral story will be used to provide evidence for the research.

Oral stories were not simply told because that was the done thing in Aboriginal society. Several factors within the holistic wheel of Aboriginal life such as age, timing, intuition, family, surrounding environment, location, feeling, lore and many more elements within the oral story itself, influenced the effect that the oral story has on individuals or a gathered group of people. A variety of oral accounts tended to be very humorous; humour was an important feature of oral story telling which included changes in the tone of voice, sign language, body language, dance, facial expressions and much more. These aspects of story telling all assisted with the presentation of the story. However, the humour did not take away the seriousness of the message, meaning or purpose within the oral story it assisted the listener to remember what had been told. Berndt & Berndt (1983), describe the art of storytelling,

“Provided the basic story line was there, details could be expanded or contracted to suit the audience. A good storyteller was always tuned to audience demands and feedback: gasps, laughter, giggles, questions and comments. Gestures, pauses, changing tones and facial expressions could add up to a compelling performance, a theatrical show in miniature. P. 92 & 93.

Oral stories were told for many different reasons, some of the reasons were;

• to reinforce lores such as sacred places which should only be visited by men or women,
• to provide lessons in life such as the ‘Willy Willy’ story providing a guide,
• to ensure that significant places will be remembered and looked after properly,
• to tell traditional creation stories about local country that described the peoples’
  connection with the dreaming,
• reinforced how to look after the land, bush and living creatures so that these ways
  would be remembered and passed on to future generations, and there are many
  more reasons.
(Berndt & Berndt, 1983; Stanner, 1979; Bourke, Bourke & Edwards, 1998 & Green,
1984).

Each and every oral story that has ever been told has true meaning and serves a real
purpose in life. Because the ‘true meaning’ of oral stories are remembered
consciously and unconsciously over time, this is how oral stories were passed down
from generation to generation.

2.6 Data Collection.

The major steps in the design and conducting of the historical research is the
collection of data and the combination of narrative analysis and triangulation of the
following material:

**Primary data source**

• Original documents
• Oral stories
• Archival data (e.g. Native Welfare files & legislation)

**Secondary data source**

• Review of literature
• Oral stories
• Anthropological and historical data
• Archival data
Records from Native Welfare files
• Newspaper Articles
• Police Gazettes

These sources will be found in:

• The Library
• On Microfilm
• On the Internet
• On CD Rom
• Aboriginal Affairs Department (AAD – State Body)
• York Convent.
• Oral stories (handed down to me).

2.7 Narrative Analysis.

The primary and secondary sources of data will be analysed by the process of narrative analysis. Narrative analysis is defined as:

“...analysis of a chronologically told life story, with a focus on how elements are sequenced, why some elements are emphasized, how the past shapes perceptions of the present, how the present shapes perceptions of the past, and how both shape perceptions of the future.” (Author unknown, 2000, online, http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/garson/pa765/narrativ.htm).

Narrative analysis will illustrate the intricacy of the Balardong way of life and will assist in capturing the whole of the ‘Everywhen’. In addition, it will prevent historical data being analysed and recorded in a fragmented fashion. Historical data includes archival data. For example; ‘Annie’s Story’, found in the archival section of the Battye Library in Perth, Western Australia (Payne, 1880, micro film). This piece of data records a story about a Balardong woman named ‘Annie’ from York, Western Australia, during the 1880’s. This story will be introduced in Chapter 4. It was a
story recorded by Police and interpreted by Police. Unfortunately, the dialogue was not in ‘Annie’s’ own words or in Balardong language. There are two different perspectives emerging from the story, which gives license for critical and narrative analysis.

Narrative analysis will allow the researcher in the present to explore and perceive events in the past such as ‘Annie’s Story’, which will assist with the examination of the known and unknown components of the story, that may have greatly affected the current form of the ‘Everywhen’ for Balardong people today. The use of Narrative analysis will be clearly demonstrated throughout the research. According to Klein (1995), “…master narratives or meta analysis has grown popular for describing stories which seem to assimilate different cultures into a single course of history dominated by the west”. P. 275.

Attwood (1996), further supports the important of oral evidence and views this as being “…encapsulated within a master narrative of survival”. P. 47. Further to this, Attwood (1996), goes on to state that “a major characteristic of oral cultures is that different parts of their traditions are preserved in the memories of different people, with the inevitable overlaps and gaps” P. 47.

2.8 Data Synthesis.

The data will be synthesised using the triangulation methods. Diagram 1; entitled Triangulation processes, show the relationship between oral stories, archival data and literature.

For example; a Balardong oral story regarding a place known as Coal Harbour, approximately 4 miles out of York was always referred to as a ‘bad place’ by traditional Balardong people. It is a place where contemporary Balardong people do not visit. The oral story refers to the place as one of death, this place is historically linked with Archival data. Research of the Western Australia Police Gazette of 1881 records the spearing incident as murder. However, it can be suggested that traditional punishment had taken place for the breaking of traditional lore. According to Curr
(1886), “If a woman is detected in infidelity to her husband, she is admonished with a spear or club”. P. 343. However, recent literature acknowledges that in some areas the punishable act referred to as ‘infidelity’ in non-Aboriginal vocabulary was permitted in Balardong way, if the woman received permission from her husband (Berndt & Berndt, 1983 & Lawlor, 1991).

After using the triangulation perspective, it is possible to gain greater understanding of issues and events. It provides a basis to gain an holistic perspective.

According to Guba (1977), the process of triangulation involves,

> “a variety of data sources, different perspectives or theories, and/or different methods are pitted against one another to cross check data and interpretation”. P. 247.

The triangulation methods can be viewed as a vehicle for cross validation which enables the researcher to confirm authenticity and reliability of data sources. Miles & Huberman (1994), reinforces this view; “…triangulation is a way to get to the finding in the first place-by seeing or hearing multiple instances of it from different sources by using different methods”. P. 267. Special effects will be undertaken to ensure that material provided represents the truth and the viewpoints of Balardong people. It will also permit the comparison and analysis of data sources.
Title: Triangulation Processes

Special care will be taken with the following:

1. Age of material (eg welfare records, police gazettes and micro film - interpretation of government officials of the time).
2. Author credibility (eg. Daisy Bates - Accuracy of information).
3. Time delay in recording of events (eg. Native Welfare records - recording of events sometimes happened months later).
4. Bias and motive of author.
5. Consistency of data (eg. triangulation of data – this process will definitely assist in confirming authenticity and reliability of data sources).

Care of data

Care of data will be conducted in the following way:

- Collecting and filing of data in historical format by year of publication.
- Use of endnote.
2.9 Expected Outcomes.

After presenting the analysed data using both narrative analysis and triangulation of data sources it is anticipated that the research question concerning, whether Balardong people's cultural sustainability and adaptation has been maintained over the past two centuries, will be addressed. The research is not just a re-tell of history but will focus on Balardong perspectives because history has recorded the settlement of Australia from the viewpoints of non-Aboriginal Australians. This research will trace back three generations of Balardong people and their experiences with the colonisation process as told by Balardong people.

Some expected findings include the following:

- The intention of the study can demonstrate the impact of the colonisation process on the destruction of the Balardong people. However, the study will show that the Balardong people have survived, adapted and maintained a cultural lifestyle despite the disruptions to their culture.

- Also it is anticipated that new knowledge and expansion of existing knowledge will provide more understanding in relationship to Aboriginal holistic health. As Coombs (1994) says an important component of holistic well-being is to gain acceptance of one's own culture in its present form.

- In addition, new knowledge may be gained to understand the relationship of the past, present and future within the dreaming and the 'everywhen' through the Balardong way of thinking and living.
Chapter Three
Chapter Three

Nyorn (To feel sorry for)

Karron (Yesterday)

"I have reason to believe that their history and geography are handed down from generation to generation orally in verse"

(Lyon, R. M., 1833, The Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal)

This chapter will provide a snapshot of Balardong people's lifestyle and culture prior to European invasion. The chapter will include the Balardong peoples' dreaming story of the area known today as York, an account of the European invasion of York, the initial contact between European and Balardong people. Included will be some Balardong resistance stories and a description of the contemporary Balardong boundaries will be focal points. In addition, the use of Balardong names throughout this chapter as well as European names will be incorporated when describing the Balardong people's journey through these events.

Throughout the Universe people of all different cultures tell stories that describe the creation of the country in their part of the world. The Australian Aboriginal people viewed the earth before the first sunrise as being,

"...flat, and featureless, unbroken by any mountain range, river or major natural feature. This barren waste was totally uninhabited. There was no light, no living creature, not even a blade of grass to disturb that dim, mute immensity. There was no sound of wind. Nothing moved". (Roberts A & Roberts D, 1989, P. 6).

Mother Earth witnessed the dreaming that brought about the first sunrise. Spirit beings residing within, around and above Mother Earth, took on many different forms and proceeded to live on and move over the earth creating the significant landmarks' and living creatures' as we know them today. When the dreaming came to an end the spirit beings then disappeared into the forms they came as such
as the different landmarks’ and living creatures’ they created and are known today as the ancestors of Aboriginal people (Stanner, 1979, Edwards, 1987, Roberts & Roberts, 1989).

This creation lore has been handed down from generation to generation of Aboriginal people throughout Australia. The dreaming provided the close connection and responsibility Aboriginal people have to the land. This included the links to the ancestral beings of the dreaming, the living creatures of the land, the past, present, future within the dreaming and the many lores of the dreaming which guides Aboriginal peoples’ behaviour, lifestyle, existence and life force today (Green, 1995). Stanner (1979), supports this belief,

"Clearly, The Dreaming is many things in one. Among them, a kind of narrative of things that once happened; a kind of charter of things that still happen; and a kind of ‘logos’ or principle of order transcending everything significant for Aboriginal man. If I am correct in saying so, it is much more complex philosophically than we have so far realized". P. 305.

Australia wide different Aboriginal language groups had their own creation lores that were handed down from generation to generation. According to Amery & Bourke, (1994),

"Some 600 dialects belonging to in excess of 270 different languages were spoken throughout the continent at the time of the invasion". P 102.

In the Noongar (also spelt Nyungar) territory alone there were 14 different language groups which include the following; the Nganda, Amangu, Yeud, Balardong, Whadjug, Binjareb, Wilmen, Nyaginyagi, Ganeang, Goreng, Wudjari, Wandandi, Bibelmen and Mineng peoples"(Tindale, 1940 cited in Green 1984), (refer to Map 2); each group had the creation lore of the dreaming handed down to
The Dreaming linked the Nyungar to the Aboriginal creation and gave them not only an affinity with the land but a personal relationship to it. It was an existence in which Aboriginal man had both place and purpose; a place determined by kinship and a purpose that everyone recognised and acknowledged. P. 21.
The Noongar peoples’ boundaries covered an area of approximately 3,000,000 hectares with a coastline of 1600 kilometres which includes islands known today as Garden, Carnac and Rottnest. Rottnest being 18 kilometres off a place known today as Fremantle. During the Dreaming these islands were part of the mainland then “the sea rushed in and forever afterwards the islands were as they are to this day” (Green, 1995, P. 1).

According to Green (1995), the Darling Ranges a significant landmark within Noongar territory “forms the spine of the territory and provides a watershed irrigating the coastal plain with numerous creeks” and stands approximately “700 metres” at its highest point. P. 1. The other side of these Ranges formed part of the Balardong peoples’ run (the route that Balardong people travelled seasonally throughout their country).

The contemporary boundaries of the Balardong people’s ‘run’ includes the York, Beverley, Greenhills, Northam and Toodyay Districts, up to Mundaring on the way to Perth (refer to Map 3). Unfortunately, due to the colonisation process accurate details of the traditional boundaries of the Balardong ‘run’ were not handed down. However, the places illustrated in Map 3 were orally provided by a Balardong Elder in 1976.
“The Walgul came up from the river Golguler in York, he made two big hills Wongboral (known as Mt Brown today) & WalWalling (known as Mt Bakewell today) in York. He made another hill (known as Mt Matilda today) when he crossed over and headed out from York. He left his trail over this last hill and to this day nothing grows on the trail of the walgul and standing back in York you...
This creation story within the Balardong peoples' dreaming brought about the first sunrise for the Balardong people. There are many oral stories surrounding the York area that covered the Balardong peoples' run (the route that Balardong people travelled seasonally throughout their country) which reveals the link of the Balardong people to the land and the relationship with the people surrounding the Balardong territory.

Oral traditions ensured the continued passing on of knowledge to future generations of Balardong people. The knowledge handed down ranged from the dreaming stories and basic fundamentals of life through to the complex traditional lore business for men and women. Because each aspect of life connected with another, most knowledge was taught in such a way that each link was easily made and understood by the people (Stanner, 1979 & Bourke, Bourke & Edwards 1998).

In Balardong culture some oral descriptions of various ceremonies, especially initiation ceremonies were not handed down, because the teachers of this knowledge had to be very selective when choosing the right person, discretion was also used as only certain people were considered appropriate. Likewise such people had to demonstrate that they were responsible enough to receive the knowledge.

Green (1984), provides another reasoning, “The Nyungar were reluctant to discuss their ceremonies with Europeans and very little of their initiation customs were recorded”. (Green, 1995, P18). However, this does not mean that no ceremonies were orally handed down at all. Oral stories provided by Balardong Elders in the 70’s, 80’s and 90’s tell of different places within the York District such as; Gwambygine Cave and the York Reserve where ceremonies were conducted on a regular basis, when the Elders were children.

Balardong Elders have suggested that part of the unwillingness to discuss ceremonies in the early days of invasion and colonisation were to prevent the misinterpretation of
various oral traditions and customs. Some oral traditions and customs recorded have
been dramatically changed to fit into the Wyalgella (white) way of understanding and
thinking. Balardong people viewed this action as a direct interference with their
culture. A Balardong Elder after being interviewed regularly by a non-Aboriginal
researcher in the mid 1970’s, once stated “You know, Wy algell as’ (white people) just
can’t take what has been said, they want to know the ins and outs of a ducks quon
(bottom)”. The elder was describing the frustration of explaining the ways of culture
to some Wy algella’ (white) people.

In Balardong way when you are being told something, if you do not fully
understand what has been described at that particular point in time, it is fine to let
the Elder know that you do not fully understand. However you are taught that as
time goes by you will come to fully understand what was told. Time is the
essential key to gain knowledge and understanding about any culture throughout
the world, and in this case especially Balardong culture. Bruner (1990) cited in
Rice & Ezzy (1999) reinforces this ideology,

“First, a narrative has a configuring plot, an overall
structure within which the constituent parts make sense.
Second, the plot is constructed out of these parts, out of a
succession of events, and the power of the story derives
from understanding this sequence of events. P. 123.

Further to this, Non-Aboriginal people believe that the non-recording of
traditional customs is very unfortunate and automatically assume that Balardong
peoples’ culture does not fully exist. This is because certain aspects of the culture
such as ‘traditional ceremony’ is not clearly visible. Balardong people view this
introduction of putting their culture into a non-Aboriginal class or category as an
insult. Europeans have a tendency to categorise time, events, social status of
people and even in the field of literature have attempted to categorise Aboriginal
writings into genre (Watego, 1988; Johnson, 1990 & Sabbioni, 1998). It has to be
recognised and acknowledged that even though Balardong people strongly
resisted European invasion and the colonisation process, that the limited
recordings of Balardong traditions is not seen as unfortunate by Balardong people
in contemporary times. In fact, Balardong people see this as a major part of their resistance to European Invasion and sustenance of their culture, which can be interpreted by Balardong people as a form of ‘Cultural Security’. It can be suggested that non-recorded traditions of visible cultural ceremonies have been incorporated into other holistic components of Balardong culture today such as spirituality. Because Balardong history and culture is oral, theorists such as Hegel in the past believed and promoted that people “without writing” meant “peoples without history”. Kleins responds to Hegel’s ideology,

“Today, decolonisation has made this bit of Hegel’s tale both implausible and unappealing. Peoples “without history” have been subjugated, colonized, and exploited, but they have neither vanished from the story nor become European”. P. 275.

A Balardong legend during the dreaming acknowledges that Balardong people have a history prior to European invasion, that Balardong people have not completely vanished from history and that Balardong people have survived invasion and the colonisation process.

In addition, the Balardong legend will demonstrate how some oral stories have been handed down from generation to generation of Balardong people. This particular oral story will reinforce the links that Balardong people had with the land and the relationships they shared with neighbouring Noongar people.

Permission was obtained from Balardong Elders to write this oral story in full. However, the following factors need to be mentioned before telling this story. Usually this story is only ever told orally while standing within the valley of York, Western Australia and the timing to tell the story would be gained from one’s own intuition. Usually hand gestures (e.g. pointing to the hill), body movements (e.g. shaking of the head) and facial expressions (e.g. raising of eyebrows) would be included along with changes in tone of voice and body language. Sabbioni (1998), also points out that hand gestures, voice tone adds texture to the story. It is very difficult to record oral
stories as you cannot translate features to the written page. The inclusion of these elements brings the story to life.

However, because the story will be presented in the written form the story is considered to be dead. The powerful impact of the story will not be fully experienced or have the same effect on the listeners/readers.

This legend was told by a Balardong Elder in 1976,

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Legend of the two hills in York

"There is two big hills in York the biggest is Walwalling (known today as Mt Bacakwell) which means 'place of weeping' and the other hill is Wongborel (known today as Mt Brown) which means 'sleeping woman'. Now there's a reason for these two hills to have these names. The Noongars gave these names to the hills because of what happened a long time ago. This is in the dreaming.

Years and years ago one family of Noongars came here to live in York. They cleared some of the trees away and burned the bushes and the grass. Every year they would burn the grass and when the new grass would grow the kangaroos would come and eat the new sweet grass. The Noongars would kill the kangaroos for food and they would use the skins to keep themselves warm cause it would get cold in the valley of the two hills. Anyway as the time went by the family got bigger and there were too many people living in the valley. So the old man said to his two youngest sons I want you to go and see what food you can get up in the hills. The youngest son left early in the morning and started climbing the hills they came with lots of different types of foods. They told their Father that there was plenty to eat in the hills.

The old man decided to send his two youngest sons and their wives to live on the two hills. His two youngest sons had many children and grandchildren. Time went on and the old man was ready to die, so he sent for his sons and their children and grandchildren. Down from the hills they all come to see the old man. They all played sports and games and danced around the fires and hunted together and all
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had a big feed. The old man watched the games, he watched them all dance around the fire, and he ate the food that was caught for him and then he died with all his family around him.

Every year at the same time the hills Noongars and the valley Noongars would meet in the valley. They would dance around the fires, play games and hunt and eat together. For many more years they did this. Then one year something wrong happened, one young fulla whose name was Wundig came down from the hills, he had moorditj marts (good legs) and he could run real fast and was a good hunter. It was soon time for him to marry the yorga (girl) he was promised, she was from over the other side of the hills. But Wundig wanted to marry Wilura who was from the valley people. They decided to take off together. This was wrong way because they were related.

The valley Noongars thought Wilura was living with Wundig up in the hills and the hills Noongars thought Wundig was living with Wilura down in the valley. The valley Noongars went looking for Wilura up in the hills. The hill’s Noongars told the valley Noongars that they didn’t know where the two young fullas were. The valley Noongars wouldn’t believe the hill Noongars and a big fight started.

The hills Noongars were too good on their own land in the hills and a lot of valley Noongars were killed. The valley Noongars still left alive looked up and saw more hill Noongars coming from the other hill, there was too many of them so the valley Noongars went back down to the valley and called on their Mubarn man (clever fulla) and asked him to use his Mubarn. As the other hill people came over the big hill and down the slope they were turned into Balgas (black boy bushes) to this day you can see them still standing still on the big hill.

The Mubarn man then turned his Mubarn on Wundig and Wilura and they both died. Wundig’s Karnya (shame) would stay on Walwalling (known today as Mt Bakewell) and his yorga (girl) Wilura’s Karnya (shame) was sent to the other hill that he call Wongborel (known today as Mt Brown). The Mubarn man said that Wundig and
Wilura would never meet again until the two hills came together and he made the river run between the two hills. This is how it still is today.

The Mubarn man turned back to Walwalling and said that if any Noongar climbed the hill they had to climb to the top, if they didn’t make it to the top then someone in their family would die. So if you are going to climb Walwalling today make sure you can climb it to the top”.

Prior to European invasion the Balardong people were related to the land known today as the York area of Western Australia. Their role was one of a caretaker, they did not own the land, bush or living creatures within it. In Balardong vocabulary the term ‘own’ was not used in relation to the land, bush and living creatures, rather the land, bush and living creatures were considered to be ‘belonged to’ by the people.

This meant that Balardong people belonged to the land, bush and living creatures rather then the land, bush and living creatures belonging to them. This belonging respected and acknowledged the connection that the Balardong people had to their land and ancestral forefathers within the dreaming. This ideology of ‘belonging to the land, bush and living creatures’ is considered to be part of the foundation of the terms of reference that Balardong people adhered to for generations. Green (1984), supports this ideology,

“The European settlers were at a loss to understand the Aborigines’ affinity with the land, with the bush and with the creatures that were a part of their traditional and physical world”. P. 1.

Let us consider a snapshot of Balardong life prior to European invasion from the perspective of a Balardong person.
Through the eyes of an girdiluck (old fulla)

An mongan (old fulla) urayining (sits) close to the kalla (fire) in the center of the my­­ya (camp), is making a barbed spear (gidgee) head out of black quartz, the daily events within the Balardong my­­ya (camp) are observed.

It is getting close to sundown. Three young yorgas (girls) stand around the fire holding boona (wood) in their arms and throw one piece of boona (wood) at a time onto the kalla (fire). To the left of the kalla (fire) four small boola coolongs (children) are talking, laughing and playing a game with boyas (stones) and gum nuts in the dirt, within the boundaries of the my­­ya (camp). A coolong (baby) is sitting in the dirt near the opening of a shelter crying. Not far from the coolong (baby), is a young yorga (girl) and older woman who get up from the place, where they are grinding seeds on a flat boya (stone), to see to the coolong (baby). The other women continue to grind seeds and listen to one of the older woman telling a story about her childhood. Through the jibber (grass) plains the mo (three) young yorgas (girls) continue to gather more boona (wood) for the kalla (fire). Off in the distance the men are heading back to the my­­ya (camp) with a large Yonga (Kangaroo) for everyone to anong (eat).

The mongan (old fulla) senses that everyone is feeling relaxed and there are no concerns about benong (tomorrow). He believes that everyone looks happy with what they are doing and are looking forward to travelling to the next my­­ya (camp). However, the mongan (old fulla) knows that the burning off of the land for this area has to be carried out before they leave... ... ... ... ...

Even though the Balardong way of life appeared to be laid back and without too much stress, such assumptions should not be made. Members within the groups would have been given various responsibilities, which is the case within other cultural groups. Likewise, any issues that arose were dealt with by the Elders of the group along with the support of the other members. Therefore, Balardong people did have their fair
share of handling stressful situations. Davis (year unknown), referred to this period of time as “a perfect way of life”. P.56. However, this ‘perfect’ way of life was not going to last forever as European explorers extended their excursions further over the Darling Range where they discovered good rich land for the new visitors to settle.

In 1830, an explorer Ensign Dale crossed the Darling Ranges for the third time and investigated the area towards the east as far as the Golguler, Avon River approximately 60 miles from the Swan River Colony. According to Austen (1998),

“The Valley – found by a party led by Robert Dale, who was an ensign, the lowest rank of commissioned officer in the army – resembled part of Yorkshire”. P. 11.

Yorkshire being a place in England possibly known to Dale, hence the name ‘York’ deriving from his observation. York is located within a valley with two hills on either side, the biggest hill is called Walwalling “place of weeping” (known today as Mt Bakewell) and the other is called Wongborel “sleeping woman” (known today as Mt Brown). Hallam (1998), provides a description of the explorer Dale’s first impression of the area known today as York;

“these hills had a rich and verdant appearance, and were clothed with grass to their summit, and moderately wooded with gum trees”. P. 2.

During this visit, Dale recognised that the land was already being cared for by the local Balardong people, he viewed the local Aborigines as;

“not simply passive acceptors of the natural landscape, but as pasture-managers, moulding that landscape by firing, creating pasture for flocks of kangaroo, pasture that European pastoralists were soon to covet for their sheep.” (Hallam, 1998, P. 2).

Dale also acknowledged the relationship that Balardong people had with the land,
"They were also tied to their land by 'law', the ceremonies and myths and sacred places which gave particular people a tie to particular areas of land". (Hallam, 1998, P. 3).

Even before Dale discovered the area known today as York, oral stories handed down from Balardong elders, point out that the people already knew well in advance that non-Balardong people were occupying the country on the other side of the Darling Range. The knowledge was gained in various ways, the Yued and Whadjug people sent messages via the Noongar grapevine with the assistance of message sticks, the local 'Mabarn' men, (also known as 'clever fullas') and 'Healers' were warned even before the first fleet arrived, through spiritual visions and physical signs provided by the land and living creatures. Further to this, annual gatherings held on the Canning River in Perth covered the areas already settled by Europeans and would have brought Balardong people in direct contact.

McDonald & Cooper (1988), refer to the annual gathering of Noongar people on the banks of the Dyarlgarro (the Canning River in Perth, Western Australia) within Whadjug territory (refer to Map 4). The 60 mile radius covered the Whadjup, Balardong, Yued, Wilmen and Binjareb language groups within the area.

"In summer, the tribe for 60 miles around would assemble, settle old grievances and raise new ones. At these meetings, they entertain each other with the well-known dances and chants etc of the corroboree. ........ There is some evidence that the Canning River at Maddington Park was a traditional site for tribal assemblies. P. 37 & 38.
Place names and territories as told to Robert Lyon by Yagan in 1832.

Cited in Green, 1984, P.50.

It can be suggested that the Whadjug people, who belonged to the land that is known today as Perth, would have had many stories to share with the other language groups attending the annual gathering on the Dyarlgarro known today as the Canning River at Maddington. The yarning between the people would have included various stories
that told of dramatic changes to the landscape, the ways of the new visitors, the different talk of the new visitors, the number of Whadjug people that had been killed, the total confusion about the whole situation and much more.

Prior to 1827, history records that the Whadjug people had previously received visitors to their country. Green (1984), refers to one of these visits,

“In December 1696, three ships, *Nyptang*, *Geelvink* and *Wesel* anchored off Rottnest Island within sight of the coastline that now forms part of metropolitan Perth and Fremantle”. P. 27.

In March 1827, the next European visitors anchored off the mouth of the Derbal Yaragan (known today as the Swan River) located within the Whadjug peoples country, known today as Perth. However, it was not until 30 December 1828 that Captain James Stirling was placed in charge of the “proposed colony at the Swan River” and the initial invasion of the Whadjug territory. (Green, 1984, P. 48). The official site of the future city, known today as Perth, was selected on the 12th of August 1829, the birthday of King George IV (Green, 1984, P. 51). This meant that the European invaders did not reach the York area of the Balardong territory until October 1830, nearly two years after Captain James Stirling was made the commander of the future Swan River colony.

During Dale’s expedition in October 1830, the first sighting of Balardong people were from a distance, they noticed seven fires of the Balardong people. The next day Dale came across a group of four natives, Hallam (1998) refers to the meeting,

“a party of four natives who, from the terror and surprise they manifested at first beholding us, evidently showed they could never have seen Europeans before; after two of them had advanced in a hostile manner to allow the two women who accompanied them time to escape, they ran away as fast as their legs could carry them, and disappeared behind a hill”.

Dale assumed that it was the very first time that Balardong people had ever seen Wyalgellas’ (white people) and this may have genuinely been the case. However, it can be suggested that the people had remembered the warnings through oral stories that the Whadjug people (people who belonged to the area known today as Perth), provided at the last annual gathering on the Dyarlgarro (Canning River), about the non-Aboriginal visitors, and they were abiding to the precautions that the Elders may have put in place to prepare for the arrival of the Wyalgellas’ (white people). Likewise, the four Balardong people that Dale came across may have not been nominated by Balardong Elders to communicate with the Wyalgellas’.

**Baallay! (Look Out!)**

Baallay is a term that Noongar people use to warn others to ‘look out’! When Noongars’ hear this word they usually show the following emotions, get into a panic, become afraid, become scared and carry out the following actions; run, jump, move quickly and shout. For example, “Baallay Monarch” (look out! Police), “Baallay Bydi” (look out! spider, ant, bee or insect) and “Baallay Mummaris’” (look out! little fullas). During the early days of conflict with settlers and later with government agents removing children from parents this word was often used.

In the words of Berndt & Berndt (1983), “Only a time machine could reveal” what actually happened after Dale discovered the valley of York on the 30th of October, 1830. P. 8. During the period of 30 October 1830 through to December 1832, there are no official recordings of conflict between Balardong people and the European settlers in York, even though this period of time totals two years and two months.

Based on the evidence of interactions between European settlers and the Perth Noongar people, it can be suggested that similar incidents did arise during this period of time (Russo & Schmitt, 1987). The European settlers would have lost patience with the
“traditional activities, such as free use of land and the annual burning of the country in kangaroo hunts. After settlement this practice posed a threat to the crops, stock and even the homesteads of the settlers”. (Green, 1984, P. 201).

Incidents included Balardong people being driven out of traditional camping grounds, access being denied to natural food and water supplies (Stannage, 1981), traditional ceremonies and customs being interfered with, due to sacred sites being desecrated or located within non-Aboriginal Settlers land claims. Many of these incidents resulted in death (Berndt & Berndt, 1984; Saggers & Gray, 1991, Reid & Trompf, 1994).

The relationship between the European settlers and the Balardong people in York was referred to by Hallam (1998), as “having begun inauspiciously”. P. 8. There were too many factors working against Balardong people and European settlers for a good relationship to develop. Some of these factors included:

- different languages were spoken, which resulted in huge communication problems.
- misinterpretation of hand gestures and body language, as each group would have based interpretation on their own cultural beliefs and value systems.
- the western class structured society VS a very holistic based society.
- the influencing ideologies of the time such as; ‘Social Darwinism’.
- very different values and belief systems.
- and numerous other factors.

Balardong and non-Balardong perspectives on invasion/conflicts

The outcome of the relationship between Balardong and European people was predictable, two very different cultures were brought together in 1830. The European Settlers assumed that the Nyungar people were “an homogeneous group sharing a common culture and language”. However, each Noongar language group including
the Balardong people, “knew who they were and what was expected of each”. In comparison, the European people entered the new colony of Perth in 1829 and 1830 with a totally different world view. They came from different areas within the United Kingdom and “belonged to different levels of society”, and found the new land to be a real “culture shock” (Green, 1984, P. 54 & 55).

Oral stories provided by Balardong Elders tell how the township of York was not the original camp that the European settlers made, rather a place known today as Cole Harbour is where the European settlers first camped, whilst they began building the township of York. Balardong Elders believed that the main reason for this original camp at Cole Harbour, was due to large amounts of fresh water being more accessible than in the Avon Valley.

In 1831, York was officially declared a town site and it was not until 1835 that the first town lot was sold (Wood-Wilson, 1981). The first recorded incident that occurred in York between European Settlers and Balardong people was in January 1833, the record states, “several Aborigines killed at York”; there was a total of 3 Balardong people killed. (Irwin to Goderich, House of Commons Session Papers, cited in Green, 1984). The term ‘several’ seems to contradict the actual number of Balardong people killed, would not the term ‘few’ be more appropriate. This record tends to lean towards a suggestion that more Balardong people were killed than was recorded.

Oral stories told by Balardong Elders describe some atrocities committed by European Settlers that occurred during the invasion period of York. Some Balardong babies were snatched from their mothers, held by their ankles and their heads were smashed against trees and some Balardong people were chased through the bush and kicked in the head with stirrup irons. These incidents were not recorded by the settlers but remembered by Balardong people.

In 1834, the incident quite often referred to by non-Aboriginal people as the ‘Battle of Pinjarra’ is mostly referred to as ‘the massacre at Pinjarra’ by Noongar people. The massacre was carried out by “Governor Stirling, Surveyor-General Roe, Captain Ellis, Mr Norcott and five mounted police, three corporals and eight privates of the 21st
Regiment, Mr Thomas Peel and a servant, Captain Meares and his son Seymour and Mr Smythe” (Green, 1984, P. 101). It was estimated that 15 – 20 Noongars’ were killed during the Pinjarra Massacre.

However, eye witness reports describe how 60 to 70 people were fired at within the camp and for a period of 30 minutes after the massacre, any Noongar person that survived or had been wounded were hunted through the bush and shot. Captain Daniell was ordered to survey the area after the massacre. The report suggests that many more Noongars were killed at Pinjarra. Even though mass graves were found, Daniell did not conduct an official count of the dead because it was raining and he feared being attacked. (Green, 1984).

The massacre at Pinjarra, further widened the gap that existed between European and Balardong people’s relationship. Due to the number of incidents recorded alone in York after the massacre, it sparked an uproar throughout the Noongar territory and this included the European people. Between April and June of 1836 there were three incidents recorded in York:

- 1836 April  “Aborigine fatally shot at Solomon’s farm, York.
- 1836 June  “Two Aborigines shot”.
- 1836 June  “Soldier speared at Lennard’s farm, York.

(Perth Gazette, 1836 & Government Gazette, 1837, cited in Green, 1979)

Considering the fact that York was still “a town in embryo”; which consisted of “two houses, a barn, a barrack and some outhouses, with about fifty acres of cleared land”. Bunbury, 1930, P.28). There was an urgent need on the part of the European Settlers to gain control of the local Noongar people.

The Lieutenant Bunbury’s Journal and Letters of July 10, 1836, state the following;

“I was ordered over here (York) with a detachment to make war upon the Natives who had been very troublesome lately, robbing farms and committing other depredations, even attempting to spear White people”. P. 27.
The Lieutenant patrolled an area of nearly fifty miles in length on the Avon in the York District, he and his men were stationed at different farms throughout the District. (Bunbury, 1930, P. 27).

A real ‘thirst for blood’ was developing amongst the European people within the Avon valley. The massacre at Pinjarra was considered to be a successful event, which brought the ‘native problem’ under control in that area. It was as though the massacre at Pinjarra was an event to be very proud of and one that could be used to threaten the local Balardong people of York, if they didn’t stop their resistance. According to Garden, (1992),

“In the next few weeks Bunbury and other Europeans were to be involved in some of the least savoury events to occur in the history of the Avon Valley. Several natives,
both guilty and innocent, were shot by the military and settlers, though how many will never be known because most of the details were hushed up”. P. 52.

However, Bunbury’s presence in the Avon Valley did not make the Balardong people back down or stop their resistance. Many incidents that were recorded and not recorded, between European Settlers and Balardong people, increased after Bunbury was ordered to the district. The European Settlers formed ‘White Vigilante groups’ to shoot the Noongars (Garden, 1992). Likewise, Balardong people were fighting back with a vengeance.

Between April 1836 (before the arrival of Bunbury in York) and November 1837, 22 incidents between European and Balardong people, were officially recorded in the York District. The incidents resulted in 45 Balardong and 3 European people being killed and 2 Balardong and 4 European people being wounded (Green, 1979). It has to be noted that within the record of 22 incidents between Balardong and European people. One incident included a total of 11 Balardong people being killed by Lieutenant Bunbury and another incident was a reprisal killing for two settlers named Jones and Chidlow; resulting in 18 Balardong people being killed. In essence, during two incidents a total of 29 Balardong people were killed. These mortality statistics demonstrate the following:

- that the Balardong spears were no match for the European guns.
- the enormous imbalance between the number of Balardong and European people killed.
- that the period of time was very violent and a war began in the District of York.
- that the incidents recorded ended in too much blood shed.
- the strength of the Balardong people.
- the massive resistance to invasion by the Balardong people.
- the heartless and inhumanity of the European people involved in the incidents.
- The influence and impact of the ‘Social Darwinism’ ideologies on European people during this period of time.
that we could not imagine how many other unrecorded incidents occurred that ended in bloodshed.

In July 1836, Giustiniani a Church of England missionary to the Aborigines, was sent to the new colony via Fremantle, aboard the ‘Addingham’, by the Church Missionary Society. In September 1836, Giustiniani visited the York District and was outraged at the “ill treatment” of the Balardong people (Stannage, 1981). His report to Lord Glenelg, the secretary of State, claimed that the York Settlers “were collecting the ears of shot Aborigines as grisly trophies” (Stannage, 1981, P. 86). Green, (1984) also refers to such collections and includes a couple of other practices in the District of York,

“Mr Waylen, knowing the Aborigines’ fear of the spirits of their dead, buried the men in his front garden and was never troubled again. Similarly, ex-Sergeant Stanton, one of the heroes of Pinjarra, nailed the skull of an Aborigine above his homestead doorway to warn off tribesmen. Other settlers in the York district decorated their kitchens with the ears of Aborigines strung above the hearth”.

During Giustiniani’s short stay in the colony, he constantly appealed to the Governor and leading Settlers, about the treatment of the Noongar people. He made his appeals known by publishing them in the ‘Swan River Guardian’ (Stannage, 1981). His main appeal was for a humane approach to the European and Noongar people’s problem (Green, 1984, P. 124), which resulted in a “war of words” (Stannage, 1981). Through these appeals Giustiniani “became involved in the colony’s petty politics” (Reynolds, 1998).

In addition, Giustiniani was enticed by the colony’s court, into a token position of “counsel for the defence of the Aboriginal prisoners” (Green, 1984, P. 125). Hence, he became the first European to defend an Aboriginal person in Western Australia. However, because he defended the supposed enemy, he did not have many friends in the colony.
Unfortunately, Giustiniani’s “application for naturalisation was rejected” (Reynolds, 1998, P. 89) and his “efforts to purchase land were thwarted on the grounds that he was a foreigner” (Green, 1984, P. 124). According to Reynolds,

“the pressure was beginning to tell. He bravely announced that his principles could neither be bought with money ‘nor annihilated by haughty frowns or malicious tongues’.

P. 89.

Then on the 13th of February in 1838, Guistiniani boarded the ‘Abercrombie’ that departed from the port of Fremantle (Green, 1984, P. 128).

Between December 1838 through to November 1849, a period of 12 years, only six incidents were officially recorded. During this period Noongar labour, forced and free, assisted the York Settlers with the harvest of wheat, “many crops would have rotted in the fields without their help” (Green, 1984, P. 128). In the 1840’s, Aboriginal police constables were introduced in the York District (Wood Wilson, 1981) this “guaranteed the settlers a trouble-free district” (Green, 1984, P. 128).

Likewise, official records of disease and illnesses that affected the York Noongars’ were produced in the 1840’s and 1850’s. However, there were only four cases recorded during this period. Venereal disease was reported in Landor – C.S.O, (1842), “venereal disease was serious at York” (cited in Green, 1984, P. 235). In addition, the Inquirer, (1849), stated that “unspecifed disease prevalent amongst Aborigines in York District” (cited in Green, 1984, P. 235). Included were two reports on influenza, the Inquirer (1851), mentioned, “Influenza – amongst York Aborigines” and the Government Gazette (1853), announced, “Influenza – several Aborigines dead at York”.

The York Noongars’ did not have the immune system required to deal with the European introduced diseases and illnesses (Reid & Trompf, 1994 & Siggers & Gray, 1991). Likewise, the dramatic changes to their environment meant huge adaptation within a very short period of time. It can be suggested that this alone created high
levels of trauma and stress for the York Noongar people. According to Coombs (1994),

“Aborigines can therefore be seen as having been compelled to adapt, within the lifetime of a few generations, to material and social changes which elsewhere have spread over 10,000 years”. P. 58.

Even though Coombs is talking about a ‘few generations’ here, consider the 1830’s to 1850’s period alone, a twenty year period, a period not even totaling one generation. If we fit these 20 years into Coombs equation above, we cannot even begin to imagine, the dramatic forced adaptations that the York Noongar people had to deal with and make during this short period of time.

According to Green (1984), “The resistance of the York Noongars was at an end;”. P. 128. However, the York Noongar people’s physical resistance may have come to an end for the moment. However, before passing judgment on the York Noongar people’s level of resistance, consideration of the following factors has to be acknowledged and recognised:

- the huge decline in the numbers of Noongar people in the York District influenced this closure.
- the Noongar peoples’ weapons were no match against the European weapons.
- the fact that the York Noongars’ were now a dispossessed people (Green, 1984).
- the dramatic forced adaptations that Noongar people had to deal with and make over a very short period of time.
- the huge stress and trauma that the people were currently experiencing.
- and many other factors.

Further to this, lets consider the Aboriginal holistic ideology of ‘survival and lived experience’. It can be suggested that resistance certainly continued within various other elements contained in the holistic circle of life. These elements will be
discussed further in the following chapters. Hence, the legacy of transgenerational stress and trauma (Atkinson, 1997) for future generations of York Balardong people.

Considering all that Balardong and Aboriginal people throughout Australia endured, as part of the colonisation process, out of respect for Balardong and other Aboriginal people across the continent, it is imperative that this chapter end with eyes and head faced down with the following Balardong words. **Nyorn (to feel sorry for)**

**Karron (Yesterday).**
Chapter

Four
Chapter Four

Balardong Survival

"heritage of an Indigenous people is a living one"
(Ministry of Culture and the Arts, 1999)

The period between 1830 – 1864 a span of thirty-four years, saw forced changes brought about by the European invasion and settlement of York. This period was devastating to the holistic lifestyle of Balardong people. Many Balardong people of York were killed during the massacres and confrontations between 1836 and 1837. This is mentioned after considering recorded incidents in various sources in the previous chapter. If all incidents were accurately recorded it can be suggested that the number of people killed may have been double or triple during this 2 year period (Green, 1984).

The decline in numbers of Balardong people such as killings and epidemics, meant that additional roles had to be taken on by those who remained in the York area. Consequently, much pressure was placed on the Balardong survivors to ensure that cultural traditional roles were maintained. This meant that Balardong people had to duplicate roles or leave certain roles vacant – such roles included; Story tellers, Healers, Mabarn men, Tool Makers, Skilful Hunters, Bush Medicine Experts, Gatherers of food, Elders, Conductors of various ceremonies including initiation ceremonies, and many other roles.

It has to be recognised that most traditional roles were not separate from each other. In fact, most roles were connected and this required much knowledge and experience. Knowledge and experience required years of training, for example; initiation ceremonies for young men taught the skills and requirements needed to sustain the traditional culture. Traditional culture refers to the “holistic ways of living and practised and refined by people and community for generations to generation”. (Ministry of Culture and the Arts, 1999, P. 315).

The purpose of this was to sustain heritage such as oral narratives, dance, song, art, language, medicine, spiritual knowledge, sacred sites and the environment. The Ministry of Culture and the Arts (1999), reinforces this point,
“the heritage of an Indigenous people is a living one and includes items which may be created in the future based on the heritage”. P. XVII.

Hence, Balardong people were not only a dispossessed people but were a disempowered people. They were powerless in the respect that imposing ideologies of the European people, were interfering and disrespectful of Balardong cultural ideologies. The European people did not place much importance on Balardong cultural lifestyle. They expected the Balardong people to adapt and fit their lifestyle around the settlers who invaded their country of belonging. Balardong people continued to drift throughout the District,

“moving camp from waterhole to waterhole, or staying for a while at one of the homesteads if they were made welcome”. (Garden, 1992, P. 55).

During the stay at homesteads they would help work the farm for food. In some cases, Balardong people adopted a homestead or family as their own. These changes to the lifestyle also impacted greatly on the Balardong roles not being regularly conducted. Hence, the beginning of the fragmentation of Balardong cultural heritage.

Because of changes to the traditional lands, such as; introduction of grazing properties, clearing of land, homesteads being located near sacred sites, water holes and part of ‘the Balardong run’, it meant that access was limited. In addition, access to food supply was reduced which meant that in order to survive Balardong people resorted to trading with settlers, eating European food and associating with European people with ‘alien’ diseases (Coombs, 1994 & Sagers & Gray, 1991 & Reid & Trompf, 1994).

The loss of traditional ways of hunting and gathering influenced change in food supply, which impacted on the physical health of Balardong people (Bourke, Bourke & Edward, 1998).
Some of the adaptations meant dramatic changes for Balardong people, which greatly affected the holistic mode of living (Coombs, 1994). One cannot even begin to imagine the thoughts and emotions that Balardong people were dealing with during this period of time. The emotional impact included grieving for land, stress associated with the loss of family, traditional customs, spirituality, freedom, holistic well-being and loss of consistency of 60,000 years of Balardong way of life (Coombs, 1994 & Bourke, Bourke & Edwards, 1998).

Loss of knowledge about the cultural heritage such as; knowledge of kinship, medicine, spirituality, rituals and customs that were passed down from generation to generation. Death of those with the knowledge influenced the fragmentation of cultural knowledge being handed down. Traditional lores and regulations were torn apart which created confusion amongst Balardong people. The values of Balardong people had began to change through exposure to ‘alien’ values and customs.

European people brought with them different belief systems, work ethics, laws, gender relations, class structures, western technology, religions, domesticated animals, concept of ownership (property and people), behaviours and attitudes to name a few.

**Concept of Adaptation**

As a result of colonisation Balardong people had to adapt to the changes in order to survive (Coombs, 1994, P. 57 - 62). This could be considered as a forced adaptation. From Balardong perspectives forced adaptation was having to succumb to changes for example; change in diet, food supply, clothing, ways of living, values, attitudes toward men and women, work and production, linear time, names, expectations, places, religion and many more adaptations.

The ideologies and practices of European people during this period of time were based on the laws and regulations outlined in the 1851 Vagrant Act. The 1851 Vagrant Act originated from the 1531 to 1536 Act, which was introduced to provide punishment for any person that was not meeting the criteria set down for working and begging. People seen as able bodied were not permitted to beg. The Act entitled
‘Punishment of Sturdy Vagabonds and Beggars’ of 1536, was the yardstick for the Henrican Poor Law Act, that later became the Elizabethan Poor Law Act. The Elizabethan Poor Law Act controlled immigration, hence the transport of convicts. Then in 1834 the Poor Law reform Bill was passed, one of the notions that the Poor Law reformed Bill reinforced was the ideology that “poverty was a crime” (Trattner, 1979). According to Sargent, (1994),

“The law has been used to regulate relations between classes, genders and races-for example, by the Masters and Servants Act, the Vagrancy Act, ....... Such Acts legitimise the use of force: Ultimately, class domination, whenever it occurs, is maintained by force. The legal system has a particular role to play in the legitimisation of the use of violence by governments. P. 347.

Under the Vagrancy Act, Aboriginal people Australia wide were automatically seen as an inferior group of people. They were considered to be able-bodied people who were not working or being productive. Since, the law encouraged the use of violence to maintain class domination, the law provided a justification for the European people’s force, to gain control of Aboriginal Australia. This was demonstrated through the attitudes and practices used on the Balardong people of York, during invasion and settlement (Stannage, 1981; Green, 1984 & Garden, 1992).

In addition, the influencing discourse surrounding the ‘Social Darwinism’ theory, ‘Survival of the fittest’, provided another justification for the treatment of Aboriginal people Australia wide. Supporters of the theory believed that “in human social evolution, there was a sequence of stages of development” (Sargent, 1994, P. 199);

1. Savage stage (people lived on wild plants and animals).
2. Barbaric stage (agriculture and animals in herds).
3. Civilised stage (the highest level, where people could write, legitimised by anthropology).

(Sargent, 1994, P. 199).
Further to this, social evolution was considered to be similar to biological evolution. Sargent explains:

"Because of natural selection, able people are chosen to do the most socially important work, receiving wealth and luxury as due reward. The less able and less important properly remain poor. It follows that it is best for society if the poor die young, for in this way the race is purified: only the successful reproduce, and the next generation is therefore an improvement on the previous one". P. 116.

Future Government Policies introduced in Australia to maintain control over Aboriginal people, definitely reflected and legitimised these beliefs associated with 'Social Darwinism'. After considering the abovementioned factors, is it any surprise that the attitudes and practices brought to this country by the European people were so destructive. They were not only destructive to the Aboriginal people of Australia but to the human race as a whole.

**Further adaptation for Balardong people of York**

The European invasion and settlement of York in the 1830’s, was quite devastating for Balardong people. Due to the devastation, Balardong people had to make dramatic changes and adaptations to their lifestyle. However, there were to be further changes and adaptations that were instigated by the current European settlers. In the mid 1840’s the labour shortage was a continuing problem for the Swan River Colony and the York District (Green, 1984).

The solution to the labour shortage meant transporting convicts from the United Kingdom to the Swan River Colony. However, settlers tended to focus on the strengths of the solution rather than the limitations and consequences of the solution. However, the consequences would be demonstrated once the convicts arrived. In June 1847, the
"...settlers of the York and Toodyay districts collected more than 400 signatures on a petition in support of Western Australia becoming a convict colony" (Green, 1984, P. 146).

Further to this in 1849, 200 additional signatures were collected on another petition in Fremantle and Perth (Green, 1984, P. 146). The Westralian History Group (1985), describes the actions taken, "the big farmers of York, and the big merchants and publicans of Perth and Fremantle", rallied the Imperial Government to print

"...an Order in Council of Her Majesty’s Government by which Western Australia was proclaimed to be ‘one of the places to which convicts may lawfully be sent from the United Kingdom’. (Westralian History Group, 1985, P. 145).

In relation to the consensus of the community and the decision making processes involved. According to Statham (1981),

"The move to introduce convicts was not, therefore, the outcome of a wide-spread majority view concerning labour shortage and economic conditions. It was rather the result of a powerful minority" (cited in Westralian History Group, 1985, P. 146).

On the 1st of June 1850, the first ship of convicts anchored at the Swan River Colony. According to the Westralian History Group (1985),

"...overall the convicts sent to Western Australia were as ‘disreputable’ a lot, perhaps even more so, than that sent to New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land. Certainly proportionately more had committed serious crimes against persons and property". P. 148.
Usually convicts after arriving in Western Australia worked for a period of time within the Establishment, on public works and sometimes for the Perth City Council. If convicts stayed out of trouble they were given a ticket-of-leave and were entitled to seek employment among the free settlers, or under Police control and work on their own account.

In 1851 the first ‘Ticket-of-Leave’ men arrived in York. The impact the convicts had on Balardong people was detrimental to their holistic well-being. The introduction of convicts meant that the Balardong people were

"further degraded by the brutalised white convicts in ways which serious research is only beginning to reveal, especially in the areas of drunkenness and sexual abuse” (Westralian History Group, 1985, P. 153).

In addition, most of the convicts transported to the colony, brought with them ‘alien’ diseases and illness such as; influenza, small pox, measles and consumption (tuberculosis).

Another consequence of the changes to lifestyle via adaptations, was the holistic health status of Balardong people. Balardong people’s health had begun to deteriorate rapidly. In 1865, the Balardong people suffered a severe blow in York. A measles epidemic wiped out half of the remaining Balardong people who survived invasion and settlement. According to Garden (1992),

"a serious outbreak of measles ran through the tribes in the valley, affecting nearly all the Aborigines. Special hospitals were seldom used by the natives, who preferred to remain together in their camps” P. 55.

However, the "chief cause of death” was consumption (Tuberculosis) (Hackett, 1886, P. 342). Many other factors also influenced the deterioration of the health status of Balardong people;
- the stress and trauma suffered during and after invasion and settlement.
- the introduction of strange diseases and illnesses brought to the colony by the European Invaders and Convicts.
- diminishing numbers of Balardong people.
- cultural fragmentation.
- total confusion.
- conflicts between neighbouring Noongar groups.
- dramatic changes to the environment in York.
- the desecration of some sacred sites and sections of the Balardong 'run'.
- forced reduced number of ceremonies being conducted.
- and many other factors.

Prior to colonisation Balardong people had established lores, communication and boundaries between themselves and neighbouring Noongar groups. Oral stories indicated that there were established relationships with neighbouring groups such as; marriage, trade, information exchange and annual gatherings and yes there were conflicts.

Lets discuss further the factor concerning 'conflicts that arose between neighbouring Noongar groups'. The following story highlights a fatal conflict between a neighbouring Noongar man and Balardong woman. The story also includes some of the changes and adaptations that Balardong people had made between 1830 and 1880, a period of fifty years.

**Annie's Story**

Annie's Story is not only an example of a conflict between neighbouring Noongar groups. It is an actual event that allows us to step back in time during the period of 1880 for a few seconds, to absorb a lived experience of some Balardong people. It includes detail on other factors associated with Balardong culture during this period.

The following transcripts describe two spearmgs that occurred in Northam, approximately 32 kilometres from York. The report was hand written and each photocopied page of the Police report below (found on microfilm at the Battye
Library Perth, Western Australia), was translated by a Genealogist of Northam in 1998 and typed up by the researcher. Dashes throughout the report replace unidentified words. Last names of Noongar people have been deleted by the researcher in order to maintain confidentiality, and to respect the Balardong descendants of ‘Annie’ who still live in York, Western Australia.

Central District
Newcastle (which was Toodyay) sub-District
Northam Station

I have to report for the information of the superintendent of police that on Tuesday 13th inst. Ab. Nat. Woman Annie (last name deleted) was speared in the right loin, by Nat. (last name deleted). The spear (being a barbed one) penetrated five inches and from the effects of which the woman died on Wednesday the 14th inst. The particulars are as follows. Annie (last name deleted), was Ab. Nat. (last name deleted) woman, he has at various times behaved very cruel to her. On the 24th of May last she ran away from Nat. (last name deleted) and went to Nat. “Billy” (who is in my employ) to him to take her as she could not stay with (last name deleted), Billy took the woman.

On Sunday evening the 27th June both Billy and this woman were at the Natives camp near Northam, when (last name deleted) came quietly on them.

Micro film [29(1929) 826/B (vol. 826/B) Acc 430 (Consignment No. 430)]
and threw a spear at Native “Billy” before the Native was aware of his presence. He threw several spears but missed “Billy” until he having boots on fell down when (last name deleted) ran onto him and stabbed him with a handful of spears. A barbed spear penetrating his shoulder and glass spear cutting him on the left arm above the elbow. Another spear passed through his trousers without injuring him. The wounds were not serious or dangerous. At or about this time (last name deleted) also speared the woman through the lower part of the belly and him and his friends dragged her away. The spear had broken off in her body and it has since worked out and is in my possession. I applied for and obtained a warrant against Nat. (last name deleted) for spearing Nat. Billy - the woman went - - to the Doctor and also obtained a warrant against Nat. (last name deleted) for spearing herself. She returned again to Northam on Monday 12th inst.

He then made an incision and extracted the barb. She lingered in great pain until 4pm the 14th inst. When she died. Mr Clifton having sometime previous taken her statement.

An inquest was held on the 15th inst. Messrs -, W. Kitchener, W. R. Greaves, J. M. Innes. After viewing the body and hearing statement of woman read and my evidence. The inquest was adjourned for medical testimony. The body in the mean time to be buried – the body was accordingly handed over to the Natives for burial. Nat. (last name deleted) is a great dread to the Natives and generally he being a very treacherous fellow. He has told the Natives he knows he shall be hung and will spear any white or black that try and take him.

L. Payne P. C.
16 - 7 - 80

Micro film [29(1929) 826/B (vol. 826/B) Acc 430 (Consignment No. 430)]
Statement of Ab. Nat. woman Annie (last name deleted).

My name is Annie (last name deleted), Native (last name deleted), was my man, but owing to his cruel treatment I ran away from him two – ago last Sunday. I was in James Morrell paddock near Northam. (Last name deleted) came then speared me through the body with a glass spear, the spear broke off in my inside. The piece has since come out and I gave it to the police and went to York and saw the magistrate and got a warrant for (last name deleted). On Monday night last I came back to Northam. On Tuesday morning I was sitting down in the Police Station yard, when (last name deleted) came quietly around and speared me in my back. I saw him and am quiet sure it was (last name deleted) and think I shall die. (last name deleted) has speared me many times and stabbed me with a pocket knife.

Affardavis before me here
this 14th day of July 1880 Annie X (Last name deleted)
at Northam mark
M Clifton

Witness

L. Payne P. C.

Micro film [29(1929) 826/B (vol. 826/B) Acc 430 (Consignment No. 430)]
Inst. - I engaged - - - - - - - - . On Tuesday 13th inst. Slept station. - - , the woman being in the station yard by the stable sitting down - - - - - . At 11:20 am my wife (who was in her - ) saw Ab. Nat. (last name deleted) pass the window and immediately after heard the Ab. Nat. woman scream. Ab. Nat. (last name deleted) then ran - again by the front of the station and made off in the bush. He went over the - - the - of the stable and speared her as she sat on the ground. Vise copy of her statement herewith. Me not being at home my wife sent for W. J. Clifton J. P. Who telegraphed to the R. M. (Resident Magistrate) for Dr Mayhew to be sent at once. Dr Meyhew did not arrive until 6 pm being 6 hours after sent for and the spear having then been in her body seven hours. Dr Mayhew drew the spear with the barb being left inside her.

Microfilm [29(1929) 826/B (vol. 826/B) Acc 430 (Consignment No. 430)]

After reading the accounts of 'Annie's' spearing, the reader is able to identify a European perspective on the incident. Also, many assumptions can be made concerning a Balardong perspective on the incident. Of course, these perspectives would greatly differ. However, due to the sensitive nature of the story, and respect for 'Annie's descendants still living in York, Western Australia, as a Balardong researcher, I have chosen not to provide a Balardong perspective for these particular accounts and I ask that readers respect this decision.

Nevertheless, the reader is able to describe noticeable changes and adaptations, to the Balardong way of life as a result of the colonisation process. Factors such as;

- Balardong traditional lore VS European law.
- the influence of European ideologies and values VS Balardong ideologies and values.
- the breakdown of the relationship between Balardong and neighbouring Noongar groups such as; conflict, communication breakdown, neighbouring people adopting westernised ideas, introduction of the 'black troopers' and kinship breakdown.
the anger that some Noongar people carried within them after invasion and settlement, which is one of the effects of invasion and the colonisation process.

- diversity of the European settlers.
- transgenerational stress and trauma.
- changes to ‘the Balardong run.’
- changes in traditional tools (e.g. spear head - glass instead of flint and introduction of pocket knifes through trading with European settlers).
- European domination during the period.
- European categorisation of Balardong people.
- and other factors.

Impact of Government Policies on Balardong people

In 1883, “the first inquiry was established to consider what was described as ‘the Aboriginal problem’” (McGrath, 1995, P. 252). It can be suggested that Aboriginal people who had a belonging to different land, through out the State of Western Australia, saw non-Aboriginal invaders as ‘the Aboriginal problem’.

As a result of the 1883 inquiry, the 1886 Aborigines Protection Act (UK), brought about the Aboriginal Protection Board. The Board was established to gain greater control of the ‘Aboriginal issue’ and to protect the ‘well-being’ of Aboriginal people throughout the State of Western Australia. The introduction of the Protection Board may have risen from positive non-Aboriginal ideologies. However, the protection Act demonstrated negative consequences to Aboriginal people across the State of Western Australia.

Non-Aboriginal male administrators were appointed as Protectors, consisting of Police Officers, Station owners and managers through out the State. The Protectors were responsible to the Governor of Western Australia and some of their duties included; the “care, custody and education of Aboriginal children”. However, the Act did not provide any Terms of Reference or procedure manuals on how the administrators should carry out certain duties or the extent of their powers (Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, P.11).
Due to the very broad nature of the Protector role, many Protectors took advantage of the power and control they inherited along with the role. According to a Walmajarri man, Eric Lawford (1995),

"the station manager could do pretty much as he liked. That included the stealing of women. While some stations brought in their own rule of not employing single European managers, 'the rule only applied to the managers; there was no attempt to stop the Kartiya [white] stockmen and stations hands from taking Aboriginal women" (cited in McGrath, 1995, P. 249 & 250).

It can be said that numerous similar incidents occurred throughout the State of Western Australia. Which resulted in many Aboriginal children being born and categorised by the Government as 'half castes'. The Government was concerned with the increase of the number of 'half-caste' children and began to seek solutions to handle the 'so called problem' (McGrath, 1995, P. 251).

A decade later in 1897, the Aboriginal Protection Board was replaced with the "Aborigines Department, a branch of the newly-formed Western Australian government" (The Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, P. 11). The Aborigines Department consisted of a Chief Protector, the first being a Mr John Prinsep, a travelling inspector and a clerk. In addition, the Police who were acting on behalf of the Department were handed more responsibilities as 'protectors' of Aboriginal people.

Prinsep had definite views on the role of the Aborigines Department. In his opinion, the Department could improve the 'Aboriginal problem' by removing them from society, which in turn provided protection to the wider society.

Prinsep believed that Aboriginal people should have very little contact with white settlements and that 'mixed descent' children should be removed from 'native camps'. Prinsep's rationale for the removal of children was that he thought that the children
would grow up and become “vagrants and outcasts and not only a disgrace, but a menace to our society” (Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, P. 11 & 12). This raises a pertinent question, who was being protected by the Protector’s of the Aborigines Department?

In accordance with Princep’s view concerning removal of Aboriginal people from the wider society. Not only were ‘mixed descent’ children removed from Native camps, their was also the removal of elderly Aboriginal people (refer to photo below, it includes some Balardong Elders). According to Haebich (1992),

“During 1903 elderly Aborigines from Perth, Guildford, Helena Valley, Gingin, Northam, York, Beverley, Busselton and Pinjarra were moved to Welshpool. P. 65.

In the first row on the far right is Yombich (his name is spelt incorrectly as Joobytych).
Cited in Haebich, 1992, P. 69.
However, the elders did not stay long on the Welshpool Reserve in Perth. During their stay Princep removed a family off the reserve for drinking alcohol and other residents including the elderly moved off the reserve in protest (Haebich, 1992).

It is clearly evident that the dominant ideologies of the Aborigines Department would certainly attempt to maintain control over the ‘Aboriginal problem’. However, in relation to Protecting Aboriginal people throughout Western Australia, this is certainly debateable. There are so many accounts throughout the State of Western Australia that could expose and provide evidence for the un-protection of Aboriginal people. An incident that occurred in Beverley (part of ‘the Balardong people of York’s run’), provides an example of the treatment, by so called protectors of Aboriginal people,

“Treatment of Aboriginals – Our York correspondent, telegraphing yesterday, says:-At Beverley on Wednesday an aboriginal who had some disagreement with his employer, a farmer, over wages, was given in charge, and the police attached a heavy chain to him and led him through the streets. This barbarous treatment met with great disapproval from the inhabitants, and some effort is to be made to prevent the police resorting to such “dark ages treatment” of a fast dying race” (Morning Herald, 27 April 1900).

It is interesting to note that even onlookers disapproved of the treatment used by the Police/Protector of Aborigines in this District. It can be suggested that European people may have had enough of seeing the ill treatment of local Noongar people.

Further to this, another example of the non-protection of Aboriginal people was the Aboriginal body parts trade, which involved Aboriginal people Australia wide. According to an Australian academic researching in Oxford, “between 5000 and 10,000 Australian Aborigines were desecrated, their bodies dismembered or parts stolen to support a scientific trade” (cited in Monaghan, 1991, P. 31).
The trade commenced during the 1800's in New South Wales, and the "last body was logged into the Royal College of Surgeons museum as recently as 1951" (Monaghan, 1991, P. 31). The trade had many interested members throughout Australia. A well-known local case, was Yagan of Perth, whose head in 1833, was "smoke-cured in a gum tree, then shipped to England for phrenological examination" (Monaghan, 1991, P. 32). The term phrenological derives from 'phrenology', which according to Webster's Dictionary (1990) means; "study of the shape of a skull; theory that mental powers are indicated by the shape of the skull". P. 289.

This meant that between the 1800's through to 1951; a total of 151 years, Aboriginal people's graves were desecrated and Aboriginal people were killed throughout Australia for their body parts in the name of science under the disguise of anthropology (Monaghan, 1991, P. 31 – 38). Considering that the Aboriginal Protection Board (UK) was set up in 1886 and then later replaced by the Aborigines Department in 1897. A question needs to be asked again; who were being protected by the Protectors of the Aborigines Department?

**The 1901 Commonwealth Constitution.**

On the 1st of January 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia was proclaimed (Russo & Schmitt, 1987 & Griffiths, 1995). Aboriginal people had no part or were even considered to play a role in the founding of the Commonwealth of Australia. Reference to Aboriginal people was made twice in the Constitution. However, each reference was to exclude Aboriginal people.

The first reference is in Section 51, which defined the powers that the States had to hand over, "for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth, one was the power to make laws for: the people of any race (other than the aboriginal race in any State), for whom it deemed necessary to make special laws" (Griffiths, 1995, P. 46). This rule pointed out that other racial issues were far more significant to Australians than the Aboriginal issue.

The second reference is in Section 127, relating to census-taking, "In reckoning the numbers of people of the Commonwealth or of a State or other part of the
Commonwealth, Aboriginal natives shall not be counted” (Griffiths, 1995, P. 46). This particular ruling officially announced that Aboriginal people throughout Australia were not considered to be citizens of their own country of belonging. In fact, it seems that the Federal Government assumed that Aboriginal people would become extinct. Being the general discourse for the last fifty years (between 1850’s to 1900’s), that the Aboriginal race was a ‘fast dying race’. It can be said that the government of the day had certainly planned for the future. Hence, the government undermined the resilience of the people.

1904 Royal Commission

Pastoralists in the North of Western Australia were concerned about the decline in the population of Aboriginal people. This decline meant that there was an increasing shortage of a cheap labour force. According to Haebich (1992),

“serious allegations concerning the treatment and conditions of Aborigines employed in the pastoral industry were creating a storm in State parliament”. P. 70

In 1904, the Royal Commission into the treatment and conditions of Aborigines in Western Australia, was conducted by “Dr W. E. Roth an ethnographer and the Chief Protector of Aborigines in Queensland” (Griffiths, 1995, P. 252).

Roth was considered to be a “national expert on Aborigines” (Griffiths, 1995, P. 252). However, the ‘real experts’ were the Aboriginal people themselves of Western Australia. They certainly had more lived experience in the area of treatment and conditions than Mr Roth would ever acquire through his observations and investigation. During the investigation, Roth gathered evidence from 42 witnesses around the State. It is interesting to note that out of the 42 witnesses, 2 were Aboriginal. McGrath (1995) states that,

“He criticised unlawful police practices, especially with respect to arresting and chaining Aboriginal witnesses, and the system of indentured Aboriginal labour. Yet Roth’s
Report also reflected his ethnocentrism, and overall, he recommended greater control of Aboriginal people. P. 252 & 253.

Even though, this recommendation would be detrimental to the holistic well being of Aboriginal people, it has to be acknowledged that local newspapers and police were very critical of the Report (McGrath, 1995, P. 253). Hence, the Roth Report resulted in the 1905 Aborigines Protection Act (Westralian History Group, 1985).

**1905 Aborigines Protection Act**

The overall aim of the 1905 Act was to ‘make for the better protection and care of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Western Australia’ (cited in Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, P. 13).

After considering the so called Aboriginal protection provided by previous government Acts and Boards, such as the 1886 Aborigines Protection Act (UK), the 1886 Aboriginal Protection Board and the 1897 Aborigines Department, which all employed ‘Protectors’. It seems more appropriate to refer to the 1905 Aborigines Protection Act, as the 1905 Aborigines Oppression Act.

The concept of the term ‘Protection’ seemed to be a fascination with the Western Australian and Federal Government. It can be suggested that maybe the term provided the government with a false sense of security concerning the Aboriginal issue. The World Book Dictionary (1992), defines the term protection as; “the act of protecting or condition of being kept from harm, defense”. P. 1672.

Wyalgella (white) people’s definition of ‘Protection’ was certainly different to Balardong people’s definition of Protection. Hence, it repeatedly raises the same question, who were being protected?

From the perspective of Balardong people, it was the settlers and ‘their’ property being protected from Balardong people. Literature provides the perspectives and attitudes of the European Settlers, such as; ‘abhorrence of Balardong people’,
'rejection of them as human beings', 'out of sight – out of mind' and 'How dare you come on 'my' land' (Haebich, 1992; Green, 1984 & Austen, 1998).

These European attitudes were reflected through:

- the treatment of Balardong people,
- the discourse of the day
- the discursive regimes such as; negative views, prevention of participation, indoctrination and fear.

The European people with such attitudes took delight in discussing the assumptions they had made about Balardong people and they did not even hesitate whilst carrying out such brutal actions. Common sense did not even prick their consciences’ to even consider the feelings that their fellow ‘human beings’, the Balardong people were experiencing. Nor did they look at that individual person (Balardong person) and think this could be my mother, father, brother, sister, aunty or grandmother.

Balardong people felt:

- Lowly.
- Afraid to criticise.
- Shame.
- No good about themselves (Lacked self esteem).
- They had no confidence.
- The shattering of their identity.
- The enforced passive resistance.
- Insulted.
- Like a animal on show at the Zoo.
- Pushed down (subjugated).
- Oppressed.

In addition, the repeated use of the term was inappropriate, as there certainly wasn’t any protection happening from the Aboriginal point of view. The constant use of the term raises many questions. Why use such a term as ‘Protection’, when the
Aboriginal Protection Board and Aborigines Department’s, previous attempts at protecting the Aboriginal people throughout the State, did not provide much protection at all. It certainly controlled Aboriginal people’s lives but it definitely did not provide a “condition of being kept from harm” (The World Book Dictionary, 1992).

In the Balardong way of thinking, to use this particular term over and over again, was a direct insult to Aboriginal people’s intelligence (Aboriginal people of the 1905 era). Aboriginal people having experienced the effects of the previous Acts, knew exactly how contradictory these Acts were. The people would have known what the 1905 Act had in store for them, such as; further subjugation, oppression and control. It wasn’t going to provide protection. Habich (1992) points out “Furthermore most had no need of any special ‘protection’. P. 83.

The Aborigines Protection Act was officially proclaimed in April 1906, the effects of the act significantly effected Aboriginal people’s lives across the continent (Haebich, 1992, P. 83). In contemporary times, most Aboriginal people are still dealing with the effects of the Act, consciously and unconsciously. Nothing could accurately describe the total effect of the 1905 Aborigines Protection Act on Aboriginal people.

The Act certainly brought about major changes to the Balardong way of life, which meant further forced adaptations. These forced adaptations meant that Aboriginal people throughout Australia and the Balardong people of York had to strengthen their existing holistic survival techniques and strategies. Oral stories tell of some of the survival techniques. Many Balardong people after seeing and hearing about the killings of their people during invasion and witnessing half of their people dying of the 1865 measles epidemic, made it their business to stay right away from European people by hiding and camping in the bush.

To survive Balardong people would use traditional camping sites still available near water holes not too close to non-Aboriginal people. Unfortunately, this meant that Balardong people were not necessarily able to occupy camps during the right seasons, which lead to traditional foods not being accessible.
Due to Balardong people hiding and camping in the bush, it can be said that the 1901 State Census did not accurately record the number of Balardong people in York. However, the 1901 census calculated the Aboriginal population at York as totalling 139 people (Haebich, 1992, P. 9).

The 1905 Aborigines Protection Act ultimately controlled the Aboriginal way of life. Throughout the early 1900’s and mid 1900’s many components of the Act were implemented and many strategies were developed to enforce them. Such strategies included:

- Controlling Aboriginal contact with the wider society. Aboriginal people could not use other services in the wider community, they had to turn to the Aborigines Department for everything they needed.
- Control of children, the Chief Protector was appointed the legal guardian of all Aboriginal children.
- Forced assimilation of children.
- Segregation. Aboriginal people were being placed together on Missions and Reserves away from the wider society.
- The introduction of being dependent on welfare for food, clothing, medicine, medical treatment, education and other resources.
- The Chief Protector made decisions on behalf of parents and children, on some very personal areas of life such as; marriage.
- The Act took away freedom and privacy.
- Control of access to employment.
- Movement of families. Aboriginal people were told; where they could camp, about prohibited areas and curfews.
- Controlled access to fire arms.
- Maintenance payments from fathers. The money was paid to the Colonial Treasurer and expended as he directed.
- Loitering. Aboriginal people were not allowed to loiter in the streets and other places.
- Aboriginal people were told what was the appropriate way to dress.
- Consumption of alcohol meant restrictions and further restrictions.
The Department determined who was Aboriginal, the caste system categorised Aboriginal people.
The number of dogs an Aboriginal person were allowed to keep.
Applications for exemption, citizenship rights - 'dog tags'.
And others.

The implementation and effects of 1905 Aborigines Protection Act will be further discussed in Chapter five.

In summary, the period between 1864 and 1905, totalling forty one years, certainly introduced many major changes to the Balardong holistic way of life. Forced changes meant forced adaptations over a very short period of time. However, Balardong people survived. In the next chapter, Balardong lived experiences will be incorporated, between 1905 through to 1935.
Chapter Five
Chapter Five
‘Yocki
(Noongar Victory Cry)’

“everyone feared Yombich”
(Balardong Elder, 1980)

This chapter will describe the period between 1905 and 1935. Considering that “many of the severe conditions imposed by the 1905 Act were not completely repealed until 1963” (McGrath, 1995, P. 253), some enforcements of the 1905 Act, concerning Balardong people of York will be discussed throughout this chapter. In addition, the devastating effects of the 1905 Act on Balardong people during this period (1905 to 1935) will also be discussed.

In reviewing the 1905 Act it is necessary to look at the holistic impact of this Act on Aboriginal people and more specifically Balardong people. It must be recognised that in order to survive Balardong people had two choices; you either quietly resisted assimilation or you openly resisted assimilation. From this perspective it is possible to see that there was a division of responses to policies. Unfortunately, this may indicate a divide and concur strategy it was also a ‘survival mechanism’.

However, the 1905 discussion will commence at the macro level which includes Aboriginal people throughout Western Australia and then at the micro level that specifically focuses on the effects of the 1905 Act, on the lifestyle of Balardong people during this period.

Under the 1905 Aborigines Protection Act, the Aborigines Department received the “status of a full government department” answerable to a Minister. Although, the administrative processes and procedures were not upgraded, the Department still heavily relied on “honorary protectors at the local level” (Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, P. 13). However, the Aboriginal Department’s power was increased to cover a wide range of enforcements. Haebich (1992), describes the role of the Aboriginal Department in 1905,
"It set up the necessary bureaucratic and legal mechanisms to control all (Aboriginal) contacts with the wider community, to enforce the assimilation of (Aboriginal) children and to determine the most personal aspects of (Aboriginal) lives". (cited in Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, P. 13).

In January 1908, Prinsep the first Chief Protector for Aboriginal people retired and Gale was appointed as the new Chief Protector. (Haebich, 1992, P. 96). Between 1908 and 1911, Gale tended to focus on the Aboriginal affairs in the North of Western Australia, his focus was influenced by his own pastoral interests, which started in the 1880’s. This meant that the “protective’ measures contained in the 1905 Act were only partially enforced in the south between 1906 and 1911” (Haebich, 1992, P. 110).

However, during Princep’s last two year’s as the Chief Protector (1906 and 1907), he concerned himself with three main Aboriginal issues in the South of the state; the interbreeding of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, access to alcohol and the presence of Aborigines in towns. This meant during the period of 1906 and 1911, that the local police of the towns in the south of Western Australia, under the influence of the local non-Aboriginal community, decided how the 1905 Aborigines Protection Act would be enforced.

Lets discuss the three main areas that the Chief Protector of the Aborigines Department placed his focus on;

1. Marriages
2. Alcohol
3. Aboriginal presence

1. Marriages.

After the invasion of the Swan River Colony, it can be stated that it was only natural that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people would become a couple or marry and have children. After all, weren’t the European and local Aboriginal people both human?
During settlement there were incidents where European men gave Aboriginal men alcohol and then after the Aboriginal man became intoxicated, the European man would take advantage of their woman. Other incidents involved many Aboriginal women being raped or raped and killed. In the 1840's, European settlers of the Swan River Colony were often “officially encouraged” to marry Aboriginal women who were mission-trained. According to Haebich (1992), “Reports of children of mixed descent date from the earliest years of European contact”. P. 48.

After the convicts arrived in the 1850's “there were reports of widespread immorality between Aborigines and whites, particularly in the more remote inland areas of the south” (Haebich, 1992). In addition, there was an influx of more non-Aboriginal men such as; black Americans, West Indians and Maoris (who all arrived on whaling ships). Then in the 1880's during the gold rush days Chinese, Indian and Afghan camel drivers arrived and they also married Aboriginal women (Haebich, 1992).

Of course, as a result, many ‘mixed descent’ children were born. Haebich (1992), describes how the colonists viewed the offspring,

“They were not considered to be ‘real’ Aborigines: it was widely believed that they knew little about Aboriginal traditions and that Aborigines of the full descent would have nothing to do with them” P. 49.

The 1905 Act, had definite plans for the ‘mixed descent’ children. They were to be assimilated by placing them into missions/institutions. What happened to the children in these places, resulted in the following; physical, emotional and mental responses,

- Oppression.
- Internalised oppression.
- Suffering.
- Confusion.
- Cultural genocide.
- Holistic trauma and stress.
Identity issues/crisis.
> Nothing was sacred anymore.
> Destruction of self-esteem and confidence.
> Indoctrination.
> Fears were instilled in the children (e.g. children were taught to even fear their own people).
> Transgenerational stress and trauma to name a few.
> Institutionalisation.
> Brutality.
> Sexual Abuse/Physical Abuse.

The 1905 Aborigines Act, prohibited non-Aboriginal people and Aboriginal people having casual affairs and Aboriginal and 'half-caste' women and non-Aboriginal men having long-term de-facto relationships. Although, later on the ruling only limited long-term de-facto relationships (Haebich, 1992).

In accordance with the abovementioned ruling of the 1905 Act, all couples had to apply to the Chief Protector of Aborigines for permission to marry or they faced prosecution. Police throughout the South West of Western Australia were instructed to advise couples of these requirements. Permission was automatically granted for applications received from couples who were aged and prior to the new Act, had lived together and had children.

Other applications from young non-Aboriginal men were rejected unless the couple protested through the support of the local police. This resulted in many couples being heart broken and a decrease in applications from non-Aboriginal men. Further to this, other interventions were put in place to prevent miscegenation. The department informed non-Aboriginal people that it was an offence to be found in places where 'half-haste' people were camped. However, if immigrant men applied the Chief Protector requested an amount of 50 pounds. The money was requested in case the man deserted his wife without making "adequate arrangements" and to assist the Department who then provided assistance for the man's family (Haebich, 1992).
In addition, Balardong oral stories tell how some couples (even couples with children) who applied for marriage were rejected on the darkness of a partner’s skin, especially if the other partner was considered ‘mixed descent’. The Chief Protector was more in favour of fairer skinned Noongar’s getting married.

Traditionally when a woman and man were promised to each other this was sacred lore and there were rules and regulations. However, after invasion due to the influence of the European way of thinking and Christianity, many Balardong oral stories regarding marriage were not handed down, as it was considered shame business to discuss such matters. Although, if couples shared stories with their families, the story tended to focus on the humour side rather than the moral aspect of the story.

2. Access to Alcohol

Prior to European invasion, Aboriginal Australians used certain plants such as the desert plant entitled Nicotiana ingulba and the natural flora plant from the central areas of Australia, to make a substance to drink during ceremonies which was mildly intoxicating (Reid & Trompf, 1994, p. 174). Likewise, other areas throughout Australia had local plants that made a similar substance for ceremony. In addition, other plants were used for medicinal reasons and are only referred to in contemporary times as drugs.

However, Aboriginal people controlled the use of these plants that held such substances. The monitoring system involved only certain members of the group being handed the knowledge of the whereabouts of the plants, how to prepare the substance and who was allowed to consume the substance; usually gender and age determined this factor. Watson (1987), supports this belief, “Aboriginal people themselves monitored production and distribution of the drugs, something that is not possible today” (cited in Reid & Trompf, 1994, P. 176).

After European invasion and during the colonisation period, intoxicating substances such as rum, were introduced to Aboriginal people by the first settlers. Alcohol was used to barter for Aboriginal women. The 1880 Wines Act, “prohibited the supply of
intoxicating beverages to Aborigines, excluding those of mixed descent” (Saggers & Gray, 1991, P. 87). Then later on the 1905 Aborigines Protection Act, extended the “prohibition to any Aborigine”. (Saggers & Gray, 1991, p. 87).

The rationale behind this section of the 1905 Act was that the government of the day believed that the ‘mixed descent’ Aboriginals’ excluded from the 1880’s Wines Act, were supplying alcohol to the prohibited Aboriginal people. The department in line with the 1911 Licensing Act increased the fine for supplying alcohol to Aborigines to 100 pounds or six months imprisonment and sometimes even both (Haebich, 1992). However, even though the 1905 Act attempted to prevent Aboriginal people obtaining alcohol, many non-Aboriginal people took a risk and supplied Aboriginal people through out the South West of Western Australia. According to a Balardong elder of the York area of Western Australia (1976),

"when we lived on the reserve, a couple of the Wyalgellas' (white people) were really good, one fulla use to bring a couple of chooks and a couple of bottles of beer for Sunday lunch”.

Some Noongars have stated that alcohol being one of the restrictions of the 1905 Act, can be compared to a little child being told that they can’t have a toy because it is too expensive. This doesn’t stop the child wanting the toy and the child will usually try everything to get the toy, whether saving for the toy or nagging the parents. However, once the child gets the toy they begin to wonder what was so special about the toy.

The same can be said about alcohol. It was pure resistance to the alcohol restrictions on some Noongars part, because they were not allowed to drink. Half of the challenge was to get the alcohol, because in the early 70’s when alcohol restrictions were removed, many Noongars gave alcohol up for good and have never touched a drop since. This is not to say that Aboriginal people don’t have problems with alcohol abuse today, but the fact of the matter is that not every Aboriginal person drank during the restriction period because they had a drinking problem.
3. **Presence of Aboriginal people in towns**

The control of Aboriginal people entering towns commenced in the 1840's in Western Australia, which was later incorporated into the 1880 and 1905 Aborigines Protection Act’s. (Haebich, 1992). The local police controlled who could stay in the town and who had to leave. Police throughout the State of Western Australia conducted regular checks for the Chief Protector. These checks kept the Protector up to date on the whereabouts of certain Noongars, their behaviour, any offences committed and whether they were employed or unemployed.

In 1915, Neville became the Chief Protector and he enforced the segregation component of the 1905 Act. Hence, the introduction of Reserves. Neville stated that reserves would be places where Aboriginal people would “settle down to a new life of peace, contentment and usefulness” (Aboriginal Legal Service of Western Australia, 1995, P. 15). The Reserves in line with the segregation component of the 1905 Act provided a central area for all Noongars to camp. It also assisted the Police in keeping an eye on the local Aboriginal people within the town.

According to Balardong oral stories, when reserves were introduced it became very difficult for many Noongar families because they were all thrown together. Some Noongars living on particular reserves did not traditionally come from that area, which caused trouble with the Noongars traditionally from the area. This resulted in many feuds and conflicts. In essence, Balardong people traditionally from the York area were defending their territory.

In most cases, the Chief Protector informed each family in writing that they had to get along or else he would have no other option but to remove each family to one of the Aboriginal settlements. One family would be sent to the Carrolup Settlement and the other family would be sent to the Moore River Settlement. After receiving this notice, one of the families would go and live in the bush for a period of time and return after the heat of the incident had died down or after the other family had moved elsewhere (Native Affairs File, 1945 – 1949).
Further enforcements of the 1905 Act.

Neville believed that the enforcement of the segregation aspect of the 1905 Act, would deal with the so called ‘half-caste’ and ‘full-blood’ problem. He hoped that the Aboriginal people (referred to as ‘half caste’) would become absorbed by the non-Aboriginal community and that Aboriginal people (referred to as ‘full blood’) would quickly die out (Aboriginal Legal Service, 1995).

The introduction of the reserve system, which certainly enforced segregation, became Neville’s pet project during his reign as Chief Protector. The introduction of Neville’s ‘reserve system’ was to have long lasting effects within Aboriginal Affairs. According to the Aboriginal Legal Service (1995), “Under Neville the reserves came to dominate Aboriginal policy during the mid-1900’s in Western Australia”. P. 14.

Balardong quiet resistance in York during 1905 – 1935 to the Assimilation Policy

In order to ‘survive’ some Balardong people succumb to policies and this is considered to be a ‘survival mechanism’. Many Balardong people were being told who they were, how they should act, how they should live, how they should dress, what they should believe, how they should raise their children and much more. In the end the people being constantly told these things began to believe that this was the right way and began to live the lifestyle. Hence, where the ‘white is right’ ideology came from, Balardong people began to believe it.

The quiet resisters to the Assimilation Policy use to ‘keep up appearances’ in public such as; always worrying about what Wyalgella’s (White people) thought; having clothes for church, the shop, for work and to wear around the house; always having shame for something; watching the way one acted in public and much more. However, behind closed doors the same Balardong families lived a very cultural lifestyle such as; going kangaroo hunting, telling oral stories, raising their children in their own way, doing art work, teaching each other, dancing and singing to name a
few. But to keep the peace and to make non-Aboriginal people think they were assimilating they acted out the role that non-Aboriginal perceived was appropriate.

In addition, some Balardong people were considered to be fence sitters. They chose to use both sides of the resistance to survive. They would ‘keep up appearances’ for the Wyalgella (white) people and then at the same time they wanted to please their Balardong family by joining them in their camps, for periods of time out in the bush. This is definitely not an attempt to put down the quiet resisters of Assimilation but rather to honour the role they played during a very difficult period of time.

Balardong untold resistance in York during 1905 – 1935 to the Assimilation Policy

The initial implementation of the 1905 Act did not immediately impact on the Balardong people of York. This was mainly due to the isolation of York during this period. However, when the 1905 Aborigines Protection Act was enforced throughout the District of York, some Balardong people were removed and placed in settlements. Oral stories describe how other Balardong families between the 1905 and 1935 period resisted being taken and placed in settlements. These families continued to live within the location of the Balardong people’s ‘Run’.

Discussion will focus on the 1905 to 1935 period, the discussion will cover the following areas:

- Balardong people’s lifestyle during these times.
- How Balardong people had strategies to avoid the full brunt of the enforcements of the 1905 Act.
- How some families had members that were considered to be resistance fighters; such as Yombich.
- How Balardong people survived.
- What Balardong ate during this period of time.
- Balardong housing.
- Balardong people’s movements.
- Education.
How did Balardong people cope during ‘The Great Depression’.
What happened with Balardong people during the 1st World War.
Traditions upheld such as; traditional ceremonies and burials.

**Ballaay (Look out!) Yombich.**

Yombich was a Balardong man who traditionally came from York, Western Australia. In 1905, Yombich was 41 years of age. He was what Non-Aboriginal people termed ‘full blood’. During the 1905 and 1915 period there was a division developing between Aboriginal people referred to as (half castes) and Aboriginal people referred to as (full-bloods) in York. The development of the division occurred over time, with the influence of non-Aboriginal ideologies and discourse. Noongars began to fear the Aboriginal people referred to as (full-bloods).

Local Noongars’ knew that Yombich was a clever fulla (a mabarn man). He was feared by most of the Noongars that lived throughout the York District. The reason why Noongars feared him was not only because he was a ‘full-blood, but the fact that he was very aggressive, old Noongars’ believed that his aggressiveness was due to him constantly defending his traditional territory and way of life.

Oral stories tell how over time some Wyalgella’s (white fullas) and Noongar’s went missing in the area, the Noongars use to put it down to the fact that ‘Yombich had fixed them’. Even though the Wyalgella’s and Noongars’ of York had a fair idea that it was Yombich they could not prove it.

Yombich maintained traditional ways for his family, one of these traditional ways were burial ceremonies. Yombich use to conduct these ceremonies and many Noongars attended them. One oral story describing a traditional burial was recorded in 1976. Remember that timing, actions and changes in tone of voice brings an oral story to life, so this story is considered dead in the written form. In this case, the whole story will not be told. However, part of the story describes the following,

“...one old Noongar woman who died. They buried her out near Greenhills (refer to map ?), that's
where there is a 'burial ground'. Years ago Noongars where sat up in a hole in the ground with their heads sticking out of the ground. The old woman jumped out of the ground. She was alive and all the Noongars took off running”.

Apparently this old woman had been in a coma and the old Noongar fullas’ thought that she was dead.

Usually the burial ritual did not finish after the person was placed in the ground, as there were other components of the ritual that needed to be conducted at a later date. As researcher the other aspects of the ritual will not be discussed in this thesis to maintain Balardong cultural security.

Further to this, Noongar people during this period were also conducting burials, as Yombich would have termed it, in a Wyalgella way (White fulla). Oral stories tell how Yombich was not particularly happy with Noongars resorting to Wyalgella ways. Many oral stories point out how he made this known to fellow Noongars’ in York by being present at the burials. If a Noongar was buried in the York cemetery, Yombich use to stand on Wongborel (Mt Brown) next to an old jam tree and he would watch the whole proceedings. The cemetery was located at the foot of Wongborel (Mt Brown) which meant that Yombich had a bird’s eye view. Old Noongars’ remembered standing around the gravesite and being told not to look up at Wongborel (Mt Brown) as they feared that they may be ‘fixed by Yombich’.

After being told one of these oral stories about the Noongar funerals that Yombich attended at a distance. It is quite difficult to describe the exhilarating feeling you experience, the feeling itself tends to be part of the message that lies within the oral story. Although, there is definitely more to the feeling experienced. The easiest way to describe it is one of ‘a lived experience’, you as a Balardong person experience the proudness, vigour and strength of this old ancestor named Yombich.

Even today Yombich’s presence is visible in York. In 1998, the researcher while gathering data for this research topic, visited the York cemetery with her oldest sister
and while standing at their mother's grave, they stood looking up at Wongborel (Mt Brown) discussing the old yarn about Yombich. Both sisters wondered where Yombich stood while he watched the funerals below. The researcher was looking at the different jam trees, when all of a sudden a big red Kangaroo jumped out of a jam tree and bounced down the side of Wongborel (Mt Brown). When the red Kangaroo reached the bottom of the hill, it vanished into thin air. The researcher's oldest sister stated, "that answered your question" and the researcher stood and smiled and thought it not only answered that question, it confirmed the Balardong past, present, future ideology.

According to oral stories, Yombich wanted Balardong people to continue with the traditional way of life and he fought very hard for this to happen. None of Yombich's children were taken away by the white man or given a Wyalgella (white fulla) education but were certainly provided with a Balardong education. Yombich and his family all continued to live within the Balardong 'run' (refer to Map 5). However, when Yombich's children became adults, three continued to live within the 'run' and one moved outside the 'run'. Yombich was disappointed with the son who lived outside their territory.
Oral stories tell of Yombich and his family moving from camp to camp (refer to Map 5). During Yombich’s time traditional camps were still available to utilise and this also meant that some of the traditional foods were still easily obtained. However, in Yombich’s sons’ time it became more and more difficult for his sons to continue camping within the traditional camping sites, as the non-Aboriginal people had begun to settle onto sections of ‘the run’. The traditional housing used in Yombich’s day was my-yas’ and later on the Aborigines Department supplied tents to his sons’.

Traditional food gathered by Yombich and his family, depended on the season and which traditional camping ground they occupied at the time. Because in some cases if a camping ground had already been settled by non-Aboriginal people, then Yombich had to improvise by camping near the traditional area.
Some traditional foods mentioned in oral stories include:

- Turtles in the York river were caught after the turtles had laid their eggs and even some of the eggs were eaten as well.
- Jilgees and certain fish out of the river.
- Bush plants such as yams, wild onions, bush berries and quandong fruit.
- Occasionally goannas or wild turkey were eaten.
- Echidnas, emus and kangaroos.

However, due to the 1905 segregation component of the Act being enforced in 1915, pressure was placed on all Balardong people to settle in one area or be removed to settlements at Carrolup or Moore River. Local farmers throughout the South West, eased some of the pressure as they “were not prepared to demand the total removal of Aborigines from the towns” (Haebich, 1992, P. 232). Farmers relied on local Aboriginal people to assist in working their farms. Another event that impacted on the workforce in the South of Western Australia was the 1st World War, which commenced in 1914. Approximately 12 Balardong men traditionally from York fought in the war. Five men fought in France with one being ‘Killed in Action’ (Haebich, 1992).

The segregation enforcements of the 1905 Act and World War I, did not initially affect Yombich and his family as they continued to move from camp to camp even within ‘The Run’. Then in 1919, Yombich died at the age of 55. Oral stories tell how he died of a broken heart and received a traditional burial. Yombich died at an early age due to the stress and trauma he suffered whilst trying to live a traditional lifestyle. However, it wasn’t so much living his traditional lifestyle, but factors contributing to that lifestyle such as;

- Living on the ‘edge’.
- Watching settlers near sacred sites.
- He developed no trust in anyone (Balardong or Wyalgella (white) people).
- He was angry about lack of resistance.
- He may have come to terms with non-resistance.
He may have recognised that the old ways were never going to be the same.
He realised that the settlers were not going to leave.
The things he valued most were breaking down i.e. sense of community, kinship and a sense of belonging.

In essence, Yombich had total resistance to the Wyalgella (white) way of life.

After Yombich’s death, one of his sons named Dooshon continued to move from camp to camp to avoid Wyalgella (white fulla) people. Between 1919 through to 1929, further settlements were established on other sections of ‘The Run’. Dooshon did not have much access to many traditional camps, like his father did and he use to mainly camp around Talbot Brook and near the Darkin River (refer to Map 5).

In 1929, whilst moving from camp to camp, Dooshon camped near one of the natural springs near the Perth road (refer to Map 5), an event occurred which was witnessed by Dooshon’s two son’s aged 8 and 10. The story is one that Dooshon’s sons would never forget (oral story passed on by Dooshon’s eldest son in 1976, now deceased),

“my dad was camped near a spring on the Perth road, and me and my brother were only young fullas. We were playing in the bush, a bit of a way from the camp, when two black fullas, they looked like they come from up north, were running through the bush trying to get away from the Wyalgella Monarch (White Police) on horses. Poor fullas they were kicked in the head with the stirrup irons and shot dead”.

Dooshon’s two sons hid in the bush while this particular incident occurred so the Wyalgella Monarch (White Police) did not know that this particular incident was actually witnessed. After the Monarch (Police) left, Dooshon’s two sons ran to tell him and they returned to the site and buried both men. During this period of time, black fullas from up north were still being transported to the Fremantle Gaol.
In addition, during this period an economic depression known today as ‘the Great Depression’ of the late 1920’s through to the early 1930’s, made it even more difficult for Dooshon and his family, and all Noongars’ in the South West. Fortunately, there was a rabbit plague in the South West and Dooshon and his family were able survive on rabbits. The family also ate Kangaroo and any other traditional food they could find.

An oral story describes an occasion when Dooshon and his little daughter went looking for traditional food. Dooshon and his daughter came across an Echidna. The story handed down by Dooshon’s daughter (a very respected Balardong Elder today) goes on to say,

"we come across an Echidna. They clever little things you know. When we found him (the Echidna) he stopped and rolled onto his back and with one of its paws it moved it up and down the middle of its belly. My dad told me that the Echidna was telling us that it was alright to kill him and eat him, because he had rolled onto his back and moved his paw up and down the middle of his belly. My dad said that if he (the Echidna) wasn't meant to be killed to eat then he (the Echidna) would have rolled up into a tight ball and we would not be allowed to eat him. I saw the Echidna roll into a tight ball another time".

However, because everyone within ‘The Run’ was also regularly looking for bush food, Dooshon and his family sometimes had difficulties finding enough food. This meant that to survive they had to eat boiled wheat and resort to stealing food such as; sheep, chooks and fruit.

In 1925, the traditional camp, which formed part of ‘The Run’, 3 miles out of York on the river, became a gazetted town reserve by the Aborigines Department. However, it was not proclaimed a reserve until 1936 (Haebich, 1992, P. 381). Further to this, in 1929, because of the difficulties associated with moving from camp to camp, finding traditional foods and avoiding being taken to one of the settlements. Dooshon had no
choice but to adapt to the current lifestyle to survive, he decided to permanently settle on the traditional campsite which formed part of ‘The Run’ known today as the ‘the old York Reserve’.

One can imagine the feelings and frustrations that Dooshon fought with to come to terms with this decision. He would have wanted to continue living the lifestyle that his father Yombich had taught him, yet it was becoming too difficult to live at the traditional camping sites within ‘The Run’. Common sense told Dooshon that if he wanted his family to survive they had to move back to the traditional site known today as the York Reserve.

During this period, many changes happened to Dooshon and his family. Dooshon gained employment throughout the District and held many positions such as; breaking in horses, rabbit trapping and clearing land. While Dooshon’s children influenced by their mother who was raised in New Norcia Mission, received a non-Aboriginal education through the Catholic Church. A separate school was set up for Aboriginal children along the river approximately 2 miles out of the township of York. The boys went to grade 3 and the girls were only allowed to go to grade 2. The children learnt the ABC and how to write and read their names.

Later on in life the children taught themselves how to read with the assistance of other Noongars’ who received more Wyalgella (white fulla) education. After the children completed their education the boys went to work and the girls helped their mother, until they too were forced by the Aborigines Department to work. In 1932, Dooshon’s oldest son at the age of 12 years, commenced work at a poultry farm in York. He received payment of chickens and eggs.

Since the move to the reserve Dooshon and his family not only adapted their lifestyle they received their fair share of illness. In 1930, the influenza referred to as ‘the black fever’ infected many of Dooshon’s family, ‘the black fever’ took approximately two to three weeks for a person to overcome (refer to photo on next page).
Even though Dooshon had moved his family to the reserve, it did not mean that traditional ceremonies were put aside. Rather traditional ceremonies were practised regularly by the Balardong people of York. Oral stories tell how some ceremonies were still being conducted in 1935. An oral story told by Doonshon’s eldest son, recorded in 1977, mentions the following:

"Out on the Beverley Road is a cave where the old Noodgars use to go and do ceremonies. There’s artwork in the cave in the shape of a dome. When the old fullas finished their ceremonies they would move on. One time
when I was about 15 my old grandfather (his grandfather’s brother) come back to the camp we had on the reserve. He (his grandfather’s brother) and these other old fullas, some of them I didn’t know. But they used to do coroborees. They used to dance around a big fire. Other Noongars used to get frightened”.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Balardong people of York between 1905 and 1935 were a group of people divided by the government policies and ideologies of the day. There were Balardong people who changed their lifestyle immediately after settlement and others who chose to continue living a traditional lifestyle. Either way this demonstrated Balardong resistance and survival. The 1905 Act influenced many Balardong lifestyles, which were reinforced by the numerous enforcements of the Act.

However, in the South West of Western Australia between 1906 and 1911 the Aborigines Department concentrated on three main issues; marriages, alcohol and Aboriginal presence in towns. Then in 1915, the segregation component of the 1905 Act was enforced. This meant that Balardong people had to settle down in one area within a town or they would face being sent to an Aboriginal settlement.

This chapter included a description of the lifestyle of Balardong people who chose to quietly resist the ‘Assimilation Policies’ and those who attempted to live traditional lifestyles. It also told the untold story of resistance lead by a powerful man named Yombich. It can be stated that resistance was maintained by many Balardong people in various manners, either traditionally or influenced by non-Aboriginal ways. Even though the physical resistance was brought to an abrupt end by further settlements and government Acts. The other holistic aspects of resistance continued on for both groups of Balardong people through to contemporary times. It can be suggested that the resistance demonstrated during this period certainly set the scene for future generations of Balardong people. In the voices of the old Noongar people lets shout the victory cry of ‘Yocki’. 
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APPENDICES


APPENDIX B: Model 1 - ‘Willy Willy’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impacts</th>
<th>Consequences</th>
<th>Relevant Literature</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Extended Invasion</td>
<td>Dispossession. Loss of access to land and sacred sites.</td>
<td>Balardong oral stories; Hallam, (1998),</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Garden (1979:49).</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perth Gazette 2/7/1836 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td>Govt. Gazette 22/7/1837 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td>Govt. Gazette 22/7/1837 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Bunbury &amp; Morrell, (1930) P. 59.</td>
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<td>Bunbury &amp; Morrell, (1930) P. 54.</td>
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<td>Swan River Guardian 15/12/1838 / Govt. Gazette 22/7/1837 (cited in Green, 1979). also Garden, 1979:49:00</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>CSO 488 No. 3145, Jan. 1837 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td>Swan River Guardian 20/7/1837.</td>
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<td>Perth Gazette 22/7/1837 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Bunbury, Book of odds and ends’ MSS (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Moore, P. 322 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Swan River Guardian 27/7/1837 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Moore, P. 326 (cited in Green, 1979).</td>
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</table>

- Jan, 1833 Several Aborigines killed at York.
- 1836 Bunbury ordered to make war upon Natives, York.
- Apr, 1836 Aborigine fatally shot at Solomon’s farm, York.
- Jun, 1836 Two Aborigines shot.
- Jun, 1836 Soldier speared at Lennard’s farm, York.
- Aug, 1836 Aborigines troublesome at York.
- Sept, 1836 Gallop kills Aborigine & wounds another, York.
- Sept, 1836 Knott speared by Aborigines, York.
- Dec, 1836 Heal & Banks attacked by Aborigines, York.
- Dec, 1836 Aborigine shot dead by Bland, York.
- Jan, 1837 Two Aborigines shot at York.
- May, 1837 Soldier mortally wounded by Aborigines, York.
- May, 1837 Settler wounded by Aborigines, York.
- Jun, 1837 York Aborigine prisoner killed en route to Perth by military escort.
- Jul, 1837 Jones & Chidlow fatally speared at York.
- 1836/1837 Bunbury records names of 11 Aborigines shot at York.
- Jul, 1837 Aborigine shot at York.
- Jul, 1837 Three Aborigines shot at York.
- Jul, 1837 Trimmer shoots dead Knott’s alleged killer (Aboriginal) at York.
- Aug, 1837 Massed Aboriginal attack on Waylen homestead.
- Aug, 1837 Wounded Aborigine tracked and fatally shot.
- Nov, 1837 Souper, an apprentice of Trimmer, shoots dead a
Aboriginal woman and wounds an Aboriginal man, York.

Nov, 1837. A servant of McKnight shoots an Aboriginal man.

Jul – Nov, 1837 Claim that the deaths of Jones and Chidlow has required 18 Aboriginal lives, York.

Dec, 1838 Aboriginal accidentally shot at York.

Dec, 1838 Two Aboriginal women speared at Dempster's farm.

Dempster and posse in pursuit shoot two Aboriginals, one dead, York.

Mar, 1839 Aboriginals aggressive, York.

May, 1839 Sarah Cook and infant daughter killed by Aboriginals, York.

July 1840 Two Aborigines executed at ruins of Cook homestead.

Nov, 1849 Aboriginals destroy crops, York.

1842 Venereal disease serious at York.

1848 Unspecified disease prevalent amongst Aborigines in York district.

1851 Influenza – amongst York Aborigines.

1852 Influenza – several Aboriginals dead at York.


Creation of Aboriginal Protection Board who supervised all matters affecting Balardong people.

Food ration system introduced. Justices of the Peace deemed who was Aboriginal. 'Annie's Story'

Non-Aboriginal disrespect for traditional Balardong lore.

Creation of Aborigines Department. Chief Protector appointed.

Balardong people along with fellow Aboriginal people not acknowledged as the traditional owners of the land in the Commonwealth Constitution.

Balardong people informed of Prohibited areas. Unemployment. Balardong people's traditional camp site on transit route in York made into a Reserve.

Alcohol prohibited.

Aboriginal definition widened – caste system introduced.

Further forced adaptation of traditional cultural ways. Oppression and subjugation. Prohibited areas. Unemployed were moved to reserves.

Holistic turmoil. Breakdown of traditional lora. Breakdown of skin group
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<tr>
<th>Date / Event / Legislation</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>References</th>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Aboriginal definition of civilised</td>
<td>Discourse influenced by Anthropologists, Church leaders and Government officials</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aboriginals viewed as a dying race.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aboriginal body parts trade</td>
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<td>1915 Protection Amended</td>
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<td>1916 Aboriginal Protection Board regulations</td>
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<td>introduced</td>
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<td>1915 - 1918 World War I</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918 Aboriginal Protection Act amended</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chief Protector guardian for Aboriginal children under 16.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Body snatchers known as grave robbers and murderers continue the trade in Aboriginal body parts in Western Australia.</td>
<td>Stanner (1979)</td>
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<tr>
<td>All children covered by the Act. Policeman empowered to remove children</td>
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<td>Parents required to find a foster family, or children placed in institutional care</td>
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<td>All Aboriginal people covered. Aboriginal Australia referred to the Aboriginal Protection Board as the 'Aboriginal Persecution.</td>
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