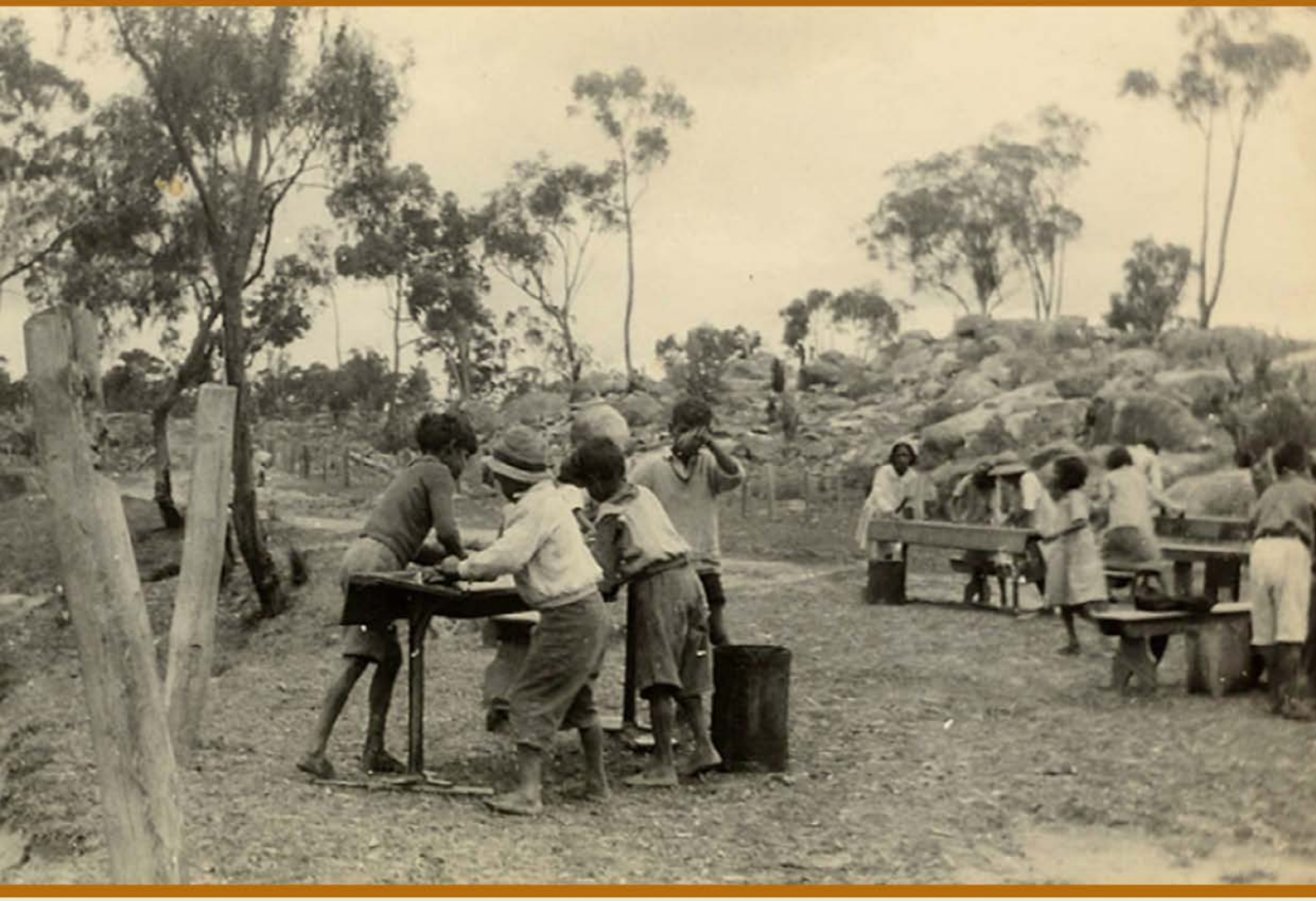
Bullcorronda
(Mount Yarrowyck)

Aboriginal Cultural Association with Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve



OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR
ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS ACT 1983 (NSW)

Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck)

Aboriginal Cultural Association with Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve

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11–13 Mansfield Street
Glebe, NSW 2037
Ph: (02) 9562 6327
Fax: (02) 9562 6350

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The Hon Leslie Williams MP
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs

Foreword

Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve, created in February 1983, the same year as the NSW Aboriginal Land Rights Act, is located north west of Armidale on the New England Tablelands.

Declaration of Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve has ensured the conservation of significant Aboriginal cultural sites as well as valuable natural bushland and geological features. Importantly the reserve's Aboriginal heritage values have been preserved, including the key registered cultural feature, the Mount Yarrowyck Art Site. It is critical for all Australians that these important cultural heritage values are respected and protected.

The *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NSW) makes provision for the return of land to registered Aboriginal owners. It also provides for joint management of those lands by the Mount Yarrowyck Aboriginal owners and the NSW Government ensuring cultural land management practices, reflective of local traditions, are integrated with western approaches to land conservation and management.

Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve is the seventh culturally significant conservation reserve to be returned to Aboriginal ownership in NSW since the hand back of Mutawintji National Park in the late 1990s.

This document is an important cultural and historic record of the life experiences of the Aboriginal owners of Mount Yarrowyck, documenting the culture and stories handed down to successive generations. It also provides insight into evolving settlement and the establishment of towns and industry in the region.

I am proud that NSW has taken significant leadership in respecting and recognising the important place of Aboriginal culture and language in contributing to the richness of our State. Reconciliation is a significant journey that successive NSW Governments have embraced. But there is more to do, including recognising the importance of 'healing' and the central role of connection to country and culture in the healing process.

Preservation of significant cultural sites, revitalisation of traditional languages, Aboriginal ownership and joint management of important cultural lands all contribute to healing and empowering Aboriginal people to determine their own social, economic and cultural futures.

The Hon. Leslie Williams MP
Minister for Aboriginal Affairs

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Abbreviations

AAM	Australian Aborigines Mission
AIM	Aborigines Inland Mission
ALRA	*Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW)
APB	Aborigines Protection Board
AWB	Aborigines Welfare Board
LALC	Local Aboriginal Land Council
LPI	Land and Property Information
NLA	National Library of Australia
NPWA	*National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NSW)
NPWS	National Parks and Wildlife Service
NSW	New South Wales
ORALRA	Office of the Registrar, *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983*
SLNSW	State Library of New South Wales
SRNSW	State Records of New South Wales
UAM	United Aboriginal Mission

Acknowledgements

Our thanks to all the Aboriginal community members who attended meetings, answered questions, asked questions, shared their stories, family trees, information and photographs, and gave feedback on the earlier versions of the report. It has been a pleasure to work with the community on this project.

Although oral history has not been a part of this project the stories and knowledge that people shared during the discussions, much of which is not recorded in this report as it was shared informally, has provided us with greatly valued glimpses of understanding of the history and life of Aboriginal people and communities in the New England region.

We would like to acknowledge Megan Mebberson of the Office of the Registrar, *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW) (ALRA), who managed this project with efficiency and unfailing patience.

We would like to acknowledge the valuable earlier work undertaken for this project by Wendy Beck, Natalie Kwok, Nic Peterson, and Inge Riebe.

Our thanks to the following for their assistance with this project:

- The Chief Executive Officers and Boards of the Amaroo, Armidale, Anaiwan, Guyra, and Glen Innes Local Aboriginal Land Councils, in particular Greg Livermore and Michael Brogan;
- Tom Briggs, New South Wales Aboriginal Land Council Councillor for the Northern Region;
- National Parks & Wildlife Service, Armidale office, in particular Maxine Walker, Glenn Cranfield and Mark Ingram;
- Paul King from the Linking Together Centre, Inverell, for assistance in coordinating information and registration meetings;
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- The staff of the State Library of Victoria, in particular Maxine Briggs, Koorie Liaison Librarian.

Kate Waters (Waters Consultancy) & the Office of the Registrar, ALRA.
2015

Notes

The name Bullcorronda

In an 1851 document the name Bullcorronda was recorded as that given by the Aboriginal people of the region to the mountain named Mount Yarrowyck by the early European settlers. Throughout this report the mountain is referred to as Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck).[1]

Offensive language

There are quotes in this report from documents written by Europeans in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In many of these quotes the language and attitudes of the writers can be offensive and distressing. They have been included despite this because of the information that is in them about Aboriginal people's lives.

Note also that original spellings have been retained in quotes without the use of [sic] to alert the reader.

Imperial measures

Australia used imperial rather than metric measures for most or all of the time period discussed in the historical analysis of this report. Distances were measured in miles and yards, area in acres and square miles, volume in gallons and pints. Similarly, Australia's pre-decimal currency was that of pounds, shillings and pence. These original measurements have been left unaltered in the quoted text.

Research project

Legislative context

The *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974* (NSW) (NPWA) and the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983* (NSW) (ALRA) provide the legislative framework for the involvement of Aboriginal people in the Aboriginal ownership and joint management of land in New South Wales that is recognised as being of Aboriginal cultural significance and high conservation value.

The joint management process was introduced into the NPWA and the ALRA in 1996 with the passage of the *National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal Ownership) Act 1996* (NSW) (the Joint Management Act). The majority of the amendments came into effect in May 1997. Since then, legal title to certain lands in NSW has been able to be transferred under Part 4A of the NPWA and the ALRA to local Aboriginal land councils (LALCs) for joint management with Aboriginal people. The central theme underlying the legislative changes is the recognition that certain lands in NSW are of cultural significance to Aboriginal people and have high conservation value.

The titles of these lands are held by the relevant LALCs on behalf of the registered Aboriginal owners. The land is then leased to the Minister administering the NPWA, currently the Minister for the Environment, making the land accessible to the public. Such land(s) are jointly managed under the NPWA.

Register of Aboriginal Owners

The Office of the Registrar of the *Aboriginal Land Rights Act* (hereafter the ORALRA) maintains the Register of Aboriginal Owners (the Register). The establishment of the Register is a separate but closely linked process to that whereby land(s) come under joint management. Aboriginal people may request that the ORALRA enter their name on the Register for particular lands; in this case, Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve. The ORALRA is required by the relevant legislation to give priority to registering Aboriginal people who have a cultural association with lands listed in Schedule 14 of the NPWA, of which the Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve is one.

Section 171(2) of the ALRA provides that the name of an Aboriginal person can only be on the Register of Aboriginal Owners for a particular area of land when that person:

- is directly descended from original Aboriginal inhabitants of the cultural area in which that land is situated; and
- has a cultural association with that land that derives from the traditions, observances, customs, beliefs or history of the original Aboriginal inhabitants of the cultural area in which that land is situated; and
- has agreed to have their name placed on the Register.

In order to assist in this process this project sought, on the basis of the available information, to determine:

- the extent of the cultural area associated with Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve;
- the original Aboriginal inhabitants; and
- the past and present cultural associations with Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve.

Aboriginal people who wish to have their name placed on the Register must provide the ORALRA with information about their family history, their cultural area and their cultural association with the land. The Register of Aboriginal Owners does not close, and people may request to have their name placed on it at any time.

The location

This report has been produced as an outcome of the process to establish joint management of the Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve. The focus of this report is Aboriginal people's cultural, familial and historical association with the cultural area of which Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is part. The relevant cultural area is discussed in Section 1 below and delineated on Map 1 (page 3).

Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is situated on the uppermost margin of the western slopes of the New England Tablelands of NSW and lies at the head of the Gwydir River valley. The mountain is a prominent granite outcrop rising to 1,206 metres.[2] The Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve consists of an area of 585 hectares and is managed by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service.

Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is located approximately 20 kilometres west of Armidale, 20 kilometres north of Uralla and 60 kilometres south of Tingha. The mountain is part of a significant cluster of sites in the region that have ceremonial or ritual meaning. The key recorded cultural feature of the nature reserve is the Mount Yarrowyck Art Site.

Methodology

This publication is based on a single report that was produced through the integration of three distinct reports:

1. *Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck): Assessment of its cultural area of association and cultural significance.*
2. *Aboriginal people and communities of the cultural area: A documentary history.*
3. *Original Aboriginal inhabitants and their descendants: A genealogical report.*

These reports, and the project on which they are based, have depended on the direction and assistance of Megan Mebberson, Adam Black and Stephen Wright (Registrar, *Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983*) of the ORALRA.

The first report, *Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck): Assessment of its cultural area of association and cultural significance*, was written by Kate Waters; a version of this report forms Section 1 of this publication. Important contributions were made to its development by a number of people. Nic Peterson and Wendy Beck contributed in advisory roles in the preliminary planning stages of this project. Natalie Kwok undertook anthropological work at the commencement of the project to produce a summary of the relevant anthropological literature. Inge Riebe undertook a detailed review of the anthropological validity of the cultural area as defined in this report. Her review contributed to the understanding of the cultural area and site meaning as discussed in this report. The report produced on Mount Yarrowyck for the NPWS by Wendy Beck, Margaret Somerville, John Duley and Ken Kippen provided a cultural significance assessment base that was utilised in this report.

The second report, *Aboriginal people and communities of the cultural area: A documentary history*, was written by Kate Waters; it forms Sections 2 and 3 of this publication. The report was based on extensive archival and historical research undertaken by Korey Moon and Kate Waters. This is an overview history, from the documents, of Aboriginal people in the region. It is important to note that, particularly for the twentieth century, the oral history of the Aboriginal people of the area has the capacity to contribute enormously to our understanding of the region's history. The documents provide some details of that history but they were almost all written by European people and they cannot voice what life was like for Aboriginal people.

The third report, *Original Aboriginal inhabitants and their descendants: A genealogical report*, was produced by Kate Waters and consists of a genealogical database and associated documentation. The Family Sheets, which form Section 4 of this publication, are based on this report. The ORALRA retains the associated genealogical data for the purposes of registering Aboriginal owners. The genealogical information was developed through a combination of births, deaths and marriage certificates, archival documents, and oral genealogies provided by community members. Kate Waters undertook the genealogical documentary research with the assistance of Korey Moon and the genealogical research with community members with the assistance of Megan Mebberson. In addition, Natalie Kwok undertook some preliminary research on families.

The three reports were combined into a single report for distribution to community members for comment. The community report was produced by Kate Waters with editorial assistance from Megan Mebberson, Korey Moon and Ella Moon. This publication is based on the finalised community report, with some genealogical detail removed.

Section 1
Cultural area of association

The cultural area

This discussion is concerned with the identification of the cultural area within which Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is located and whose members had, and have, a cultural association with the site as part of a wider ritual network. The term 'cultural area' refers to a geographical space defined in relation to one or more cultural characteristics; that is, social practices, associations and interactions, and shared cultural understandings. There are many different cultural criteria on the basis of which a cultural area may be defined. As such there are many different ways in which individuals and communities define their cultural identities.[3]

The definition of the cultural area with which Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is associated is an essential step in the Register of Aboriginal Owners process. In the context of this project, cultural association with Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is the basis of the definition of the cultural area. Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is regarded as a ceremonial meeting site by the present Aboriginal communities, an understanding supported by interpretations of the art site that forms the major known cultural feature of the mountain. The cultural area defines, on the basis of the available evidence, the geographic extent of the communities of people with a cultural association with Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck).

There is no clear evidence regarding the local cultural group within whose boundaries Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is located. The early documentary sources are both limited and contradictory at the level of local group formations and territories. The linguistic evidence is also based on limited historical source material, is contradictory, and is not conclusive in regard to cultural areas, as linguistic and social groupings are not congruent. Modern community opinions are also divergent and at times conflicting.[4] However:

> The key question is not the totemic ownership of the site or related sites, but the use and meaning attribution within a cultural system by a regional range of people. It makes sense to look at the wider net of association, as what is being delineated is not core residence, nor ownership of territory, but association that leads to the place having meaning to people.[5]

There is a common assumption evident in much of the early ethnohistorical material and subsequent ethnographic reconstructions that there existed some form of shared social organisation that embraced the groups who occupied the New England Tablelands and the western slopes. This grouping is at times explicitly described while in other instances it is discernible as an organising principle of the work without any explicit discussion.[6]

The amateur historian William Gardner, who lived in the New England region from 1842 until his death in 1860, grouped together as the 'New England tribes' three groups defined on linguistic grounds: the Ennewan speakers, whom he associated with the Tablelands; the Narbal

speakers, whom he linked to the Beardy Plains (Glen Innes) area; and the Eucumbal speakers, whom he associated with the Bundarra (Upper Gwydir) River area.[7]

On the basis of social organisation the anthropologist Radcliffe-Brown, writing in 1931, grouped together under the term 'Anewan Type' groups he referred to as the Amberu, Anewan, Kwiambal, Yukambal, Ngarabal and Bigambal.[8] The definition of the area covered by this conglomerate group is the "northern plateau of New South Wales and its western slopes".[9] He stated further that:

> The totemic system of these tribes differed from that of the tribes to the west (Kamilaroi, etc.), and also from that of the tribes to the east (Kumbaingeri, etc.).[10]

The core of the cultural area defined here broadly matches that described as the geographic area of the 'New England tribes' referred to by R.H. Mathews in an 1896 paper:

> . . . a strip of elevated country along the main dividing range, from about Moonbi to Ben Lomond, comprising what is called the 'Table Land' of New England. The territory of these tribes extended down the eastern side of this range perhaps as far as Walcha, Hillgrove and Oban. On the west of the main range they included Bendermeer, and reached almost to Bundarra and Inverell.[11]

The basis of his description for the 'New England tribes' was their joint participation in a Burbung initiation ceremony network distinct from that on the coastal and western plains.[12] In other works he also indicated their involvement, at a larger regional level, in the ceremonies on the lower falls country that also involved the coastal river groups.[13]

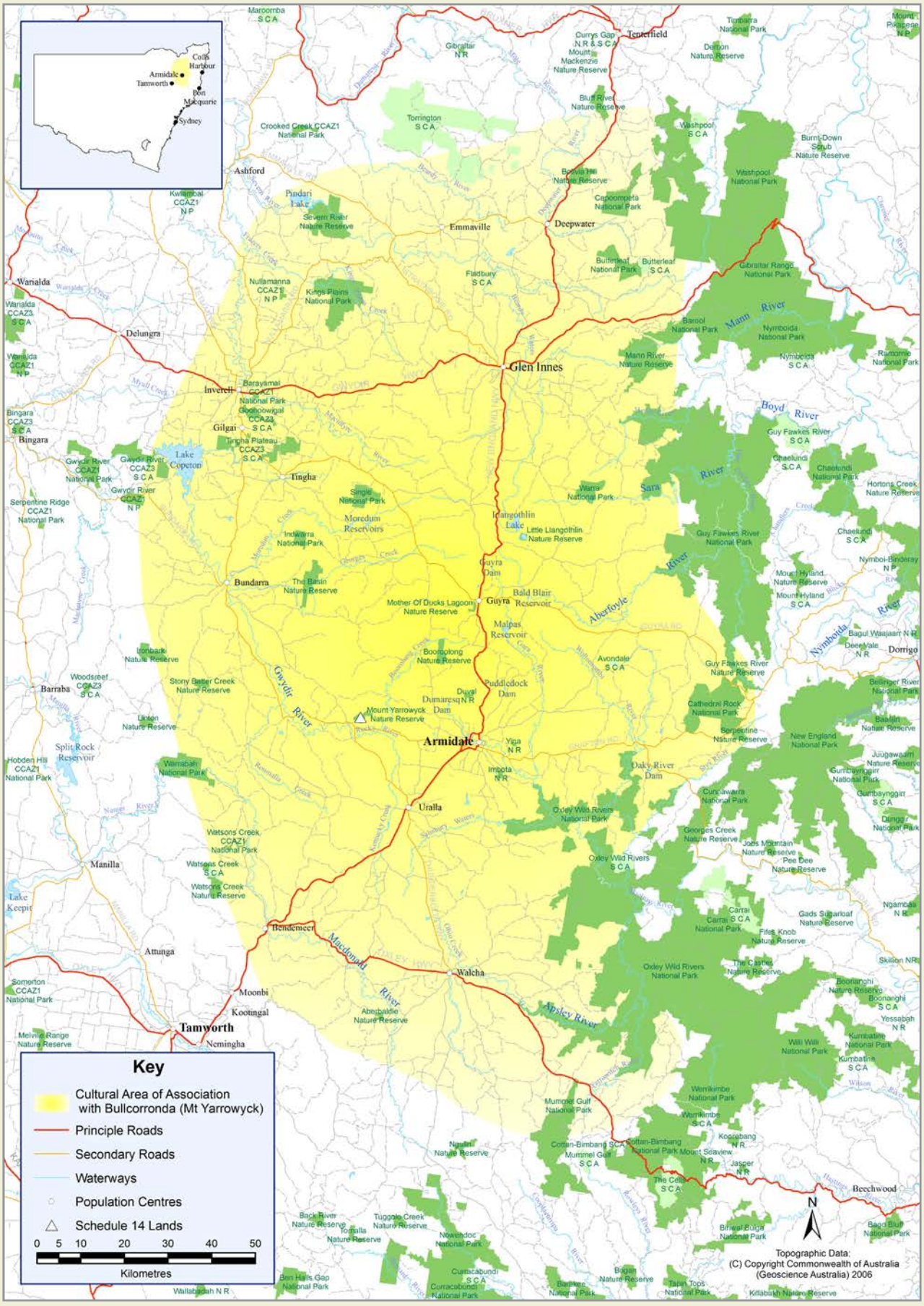
All of the ethnographic sources offer differing interpretations of groups and their boundaries within the region.[14] In so far as it is possible to determine the precise boundaries of the areas described[15], the whole or core of each of the respective group areas within which Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) would be located by these sources are included within the boundaries of the cultural area as shown on Map 1.[16]

Oral history of Bullcorronda's (Mount Yarrowyck) cultural meaning and values is limited in detail but there is a widespread awareness within the Tablelands communities of the site's existence. It is understood to be part of a ceremonial complex and is directly associated with nearby bora grounds including Strathroy and Abington as well as being linked by some individuals to a range of ceremonial and story sites in other parts of the Tablelands.[17] The area is known in the oral history as a place where 'tribes came together'. Though limited, the oral history presents a picture of Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) as part of a regionally significant ceremonial complex.[18]

The historical record and ethnographic interpretations provide sufficient data to delineate in broad brushstrokes a cultural area within which Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is situated. It is clear that within this broad cultural area there were distinct groups with their own identities. However, associations with ceremonial sites which were part of regional networks were maintained at the broader regional cultural level, linking localised kinship groups into a wider social organisation and identity through ritual activities. Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is a ceremonial site located within a wider regional network of ceremonial sites. As such it is at the broad regional level of cultural area that its association can be situated and its significance understood.

The interpretation of archaeological and linguistic data in relation to social groupings is inherently problematic as there is no direct correlation between either material culture or language/dialect and social identities.[19] The linguistic data for the region is limited, with no community of language speakers having been extant when serious linguistic research began.

Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is part of a significant cluster of sites in the New England region.[20] There are now 15 known archaeological sites in the Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve itself and 40 recorded sites within a 20 kilometre radius.[21] On the basis of Fife's model of ceremonial ground structure and existing archaeological knowledge of the area the authors of a 2003 significance assessment of



Map 1: Cultural area of association with Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck)

Mt Yarrowyck Nature Reserve (undertaken for the then National Parks & Wildlife Service) stated:

> One of these sites [located within a 20 kilometre radius of Mount Yarrowyck], prior to its destruction was a bora ring or earth circle located in the valley a kilometre or so to the west of the Yarrowyck art site . . . This earth circle setting, in the proximity of a mountain, accords with Fife's historical location model for ceremonial sites associated with the 'great initiation ceremonies'. Given the lack of systematic research in the area we can only speculate that the remaining sites are connected with the ceremonial ground or ceremonial precinct associated with this bora ground and that the Mt Yarrowyck art site itself may have been a node in the ritual circuit . . . We don't have enough archaeological evidence to say one way or the other.[22]

The cultural area delineated on Map 1 incorporates the ceremonial grouping of sites around Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) itself and those lying to the north-east and south-east associated with Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) in the oral history and the archaeological analysis. The area is also congruent with the geophysical bioregion and reflects known or likely geographical 'turning back' points. The term 'turning back' points refers to geophysical markers in the landscape, often associated with subtle shifts in the biophysical environment, that are identified by Aboriginal people as marking the extent of country.

A cultural area exists only in relation to the people present within it. In the 2003 significance assessment of Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve the authors referred to the geographic extent of the cultural networks of the Aboriginal community members spoken with:

> When asked about Mt Yarrowyck and other places that are important to them, the Aboriginal people interviewed revealed mental maps of cultural landscapes extending from the coast at Nambucca in the east, northwards to Glen Innes, south to Nowendoc and west to Bundarra . . . One group links the areas of Guyra, Tingha, Bingara, Kingstown, Bundarra and Walcha. Another links Ebor, Oban, Hillgrove, Wollomombi, and Armidale, and yet another, Walcha, Nowendoc, Hillgrove, and Uralla. These cycles of movement and connection overlap in the centre of the northern tablelands area. Today all of these groups are interconnected by marriage, often for several generations back.[23]

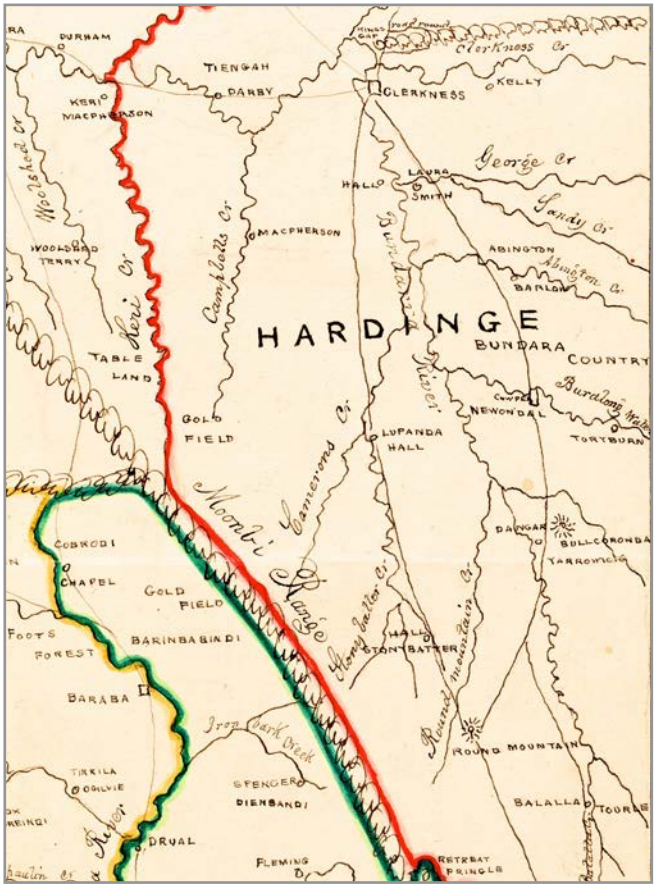
Within traditional (and continuing in contemporary) Aboriginal societies social identities and cultural groupings are multi-layered and fluid allowing for the complex adjustments necessary for successful utilisation of seasonal resources within a hunter-gatherer economic system. The cultural area within which Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is situated is defined here as that geographic region within which people were connected through shared ceremonial and kin networks into a loose social regional affiliation. Within this geographic area there were more localised groupings with their own social identities, as there were also ceremonial, kinship and economic links that extended beyond the area down to the coastal zone and west onto the plains.

Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck)

In his 1850s accounts of the New England region, William Gardner listed the local Aboriginal names for many stations and natural features. He stated that Yarrowyck Station was known to the Aboriginal people of the area as Bullcorronda, after Bullcorronda Mountain. The descriptions and map given by Gardner indicate that Bullcorronda Mountain is the same mountain named Mount Yarrowyck by early Europeans.[24]

Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is a prominent granite outcrop rising to 1,206 metres. It is situated on the uppermost margin of the western slopes of the New England Tablelands of NSW and lies at the head of the Gwydir River valley.[25] An area of 585 hectares on Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) forms the Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve; the reserve is managed by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service. The key recorded cultural feature of the nature reserve is the Mount Yarrowyck Art Site.[26]

This art site is not dateable but archaeological assessment based on tangential evidence and weathering patterns puts it within the last 500 years.[27] The art site is located on a granite boulder



Map 2: Bullcorronda Mountain, c.1850s[29]

beneath a low overhang which has to some extent protected it from weathering. The paintings consist of a series of bird (emu[28]) tracks, groups of dots, larger circles, grouped straight strokes, and two stick figures. The bird (emu) tracks are the dominant subject. The painting has been executed in red and red-orange ochre and has been over-painted and remarked. This is consistent with the art site having ritual meaning and usage over a considerable period of time.[30]

There are a number of other art sites in the vicinity, including the Harwood art site, 8 kilometres south-west, and Runnymede art site, 9 kilometres west. Mention is also made by community members of the existence of additional unregistered art sites on the other side of Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) from the registered art site.[31]

On Boorolong Station, adjacent to Yarrowyck Station on the north-east, there were carved trees. A photograph of one of these trees, which for a time was kept in the Armidale Museum, is reproduced here.

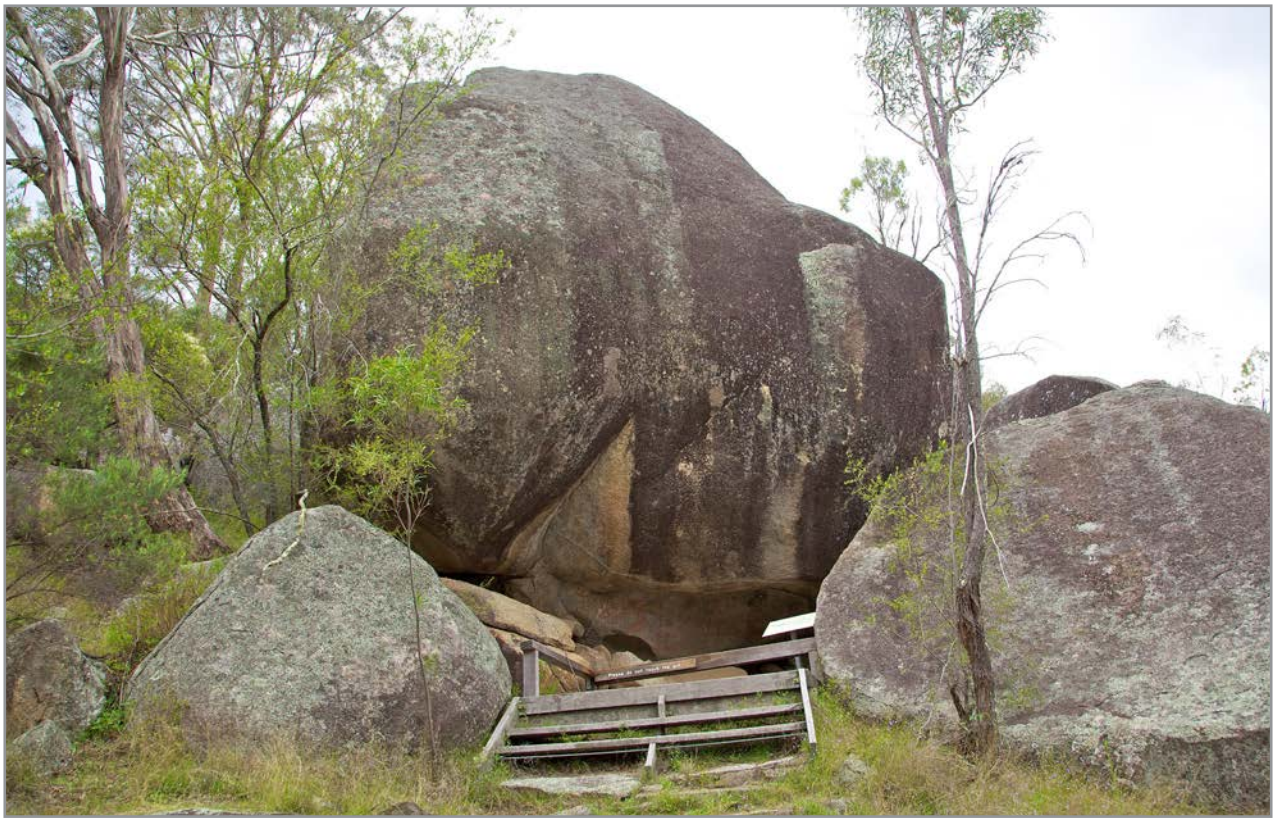


Image 1: Approach to Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve Art Site, 2011[32]

Image 2: Mount Yarrowyck Nature Reserve Art Site[33]

Image 3: Carved tree, Boorolong, 1962[34]

In the memoirs of Charles Blomfield, who lived at Boorolong from 1868 to 1888 while his father was the station manager, is the following distressing account of the disturbance in the 1880s of the grave of an Aboriginal man who had been buried at Boorolong in the 1860s. It is included here as this grave was associated by the author with the carved trees on the station:

> [A visitor] . . . wanted to get a skeleton to take with him to Edinburgh where he was studying dentistry. An old storekeeper at 'Boorolong', Jabex Smith, told us where the last of the tribe that used to roam over 'Boorolong' was buried 20 years before [in the 1860s]; we dug it up and got every bone, but unluckily some of the teeth were lost carrying it home . . . Arthur Cox presented that skeleton to the Edinburgh University and it was set up there . . . he was buried in aboriginal fashion; green hide was used to tie him up together, his legs bent and his knees up to his chin; it was on top of a hill, and there was no earth, just layers of sticks and stringy bark which looked just as fresh as if it had just been stripped off the tree, so not much water could have got into the hole.[35]

There were two earlier graves on 'Boorolong' if carvings on trees are indications that aboriginals

were buried there. I have heard that there are now people who doubt that these carved trees are where aboriginals were buried, but when I was young the early settlers had no doubt that aboriginals were buried near them; perhaps they were wrong, but I do know there was a carving on a tree where the one we dug up was buried.[36]

Edinburgh University is understood to have completed returning all identified Aboriginal remains to Australia in the year 2008.[37]

In a later addition to the original memoirs, Blomfield added a comment that on the basis of reading a pamphlet by Lindsay Black he understood the trees at Boorolong to be not burial trees but "ceremonial trees and have often been found on Bora Grounds".[38] Two specific carved trees are mentioned by Blomfield, who wrote that when he was young he:

> . . . came home from school [and] I noticed that Father was having the paddock, in which those two carved trees were situated, ringbarked and I said: 'Did you tell the contractor about the blackfellow trees?' He said: 'I forgot all about them'. We went up to have a look. It was too late, they were ringbarked, and later on an intelligent school teacher got an axe and spent a weekend cutting them down; that was the end of them.[39]

There are a number of bora grounds in the general vicinity of Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck). The closest is one that was first documented by Isabel McBryde in the 1970s as having been "reported by several local residents, but is now no longer visible. Apparently it was close to the Armidale-Bundarra Road about 2 miles west of Mount Yarrowyck".[40]

Further north is the Strathroy bora ground, which was registered as a site in 1978, long after its destruction:

> . . . by the Uralla Shire during road-making about 60 years ago according to information from local residents. It was investigated following its prominent appearance on the Yarrowyck 1:25,000 map, clearly marked as a Bora Ground . . . The remains of the site and possible associated container tree, are within a lightly timbered paddock surrounded to the north by granite boulders. A gravel pit used in the road-making is nearby. The exact location of the Bora Ground is now no longer visible. The possible container tree lies on its side, having been badly burnt and destroyed.[41]

The Tienga-Reach bora ground, registered in the 1970s, is also in the area. It lies about five kilometres north of Bundarra. At the time of its registration a bora ring within this ground was still easily discernible. The property owner stated

Image 4: Looking at Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck), 2008[42]

there was a second bora ground on the property but could not locate it.[43]

A bora ground on Abington Station was identified by Mrs. Munro of the Tingha community in the 1970s, though the exact location was not recorded. Abington Station lies further along the Bundarra Road.[44] A local history of Bundarra has the following story that refers to a Bora ceremony occurring at Abington, probably in the 1850s:

> Alexander Darby . . . [was] born at 'The Grove' in 1846 . . . seven years later than the youngest of his brothers . . . He naturally sought companionship amongst the aboriginal children of his own age who lived on 'Tiengah' [Tingha]. This association grew over the years until it finally became an embarrassment to both his family and the tribal elders, and culminated in an exploit which hastened his parents' decision to send him to England, where he entered the Sandhurst Military Academy.
>
> Sensing that the aborigines were restless, Alexander had followed one of the men when he left the property, trailing him to a bora ring on 'Abington' station where many men had gathered to perform an initiation ceremony. Not wishing to be seen, the lad climbed a leafy tree and hid until nightfall when the fires were lit, but as the corroboree commenced the elders became aware that they were being watched. A systematic search revealed young Darby hiding in his tree, which the aborigines stacked with wood and attempted to burn down. After much discussion the terrified fugitive was brought down, stripped of his clothes, and included in the initiation ceremony. In the words of one of the tribal elders: They kept him for six weeks and he went back a wreck. Alexander Darby carried the ceremonial scars on his arms for the rest of his life.[45]

Discussing Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) in the context of regional anthropological models of ritual and ceremony, Inge Riebe stated that:

> The role of high altitude sites in Aboriginal cultures on the eastern seaboard has been commented on from the earliest observations. LE Threlkeld noted high places were 'distinguished as sacred . . . by symbolical engravings on the rocks' and by the construction of stone arrangements . . . The cultural feature that we are dealing with here are initiations at various levels. In terms of landscape this involves paths and campsites along which initiates and Elders travelled, bora rings at which ceremonies were held and high altitude stone formations that were related to late stages of initiation and of importance to the entire spiritual framework of the initiation system . . . The form and placing of the Yarrowyck site, and the lack of detailed oral tradition as to the use and meaning is in keeping with its most probable significance as a high altitude stone site related to later stages of initiation.[46]

While much of the detailed knowledge of places, rituals and stories has been lost in the region it is impressive that despite the violence, the dispossession and the exclusion from country, Aboriginal people have maintained a strong sense of the importance of their country and of significant places within that country.

In a 1981 article on the NPWS sites of significance surveys Harold Creamer stated that:

> During several visits with local Aborigines to the picturesque art site at Mount Yarrowyck, the Survey team came to understand that cultural revival for Aborigines often involves giving aspects of the 'old' culture a contemporary value, a process which is being repeated constantly elsewhere as communities and individuals reaffirm their historical traditions. In this case, paintings which had lost their original relevance and fallen into disuse as the land around was farmed, have gained a new meaning. To use the Survey's terminology, it is now a site of contemporary significance to Aborigines.[47]

It is likely that some knowledge of the significance of Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck), if not specifically of the art site, was in fact retained in the communities of the area.[48] The process of reaffirming and rediscovering the cultural meaning and values of Mount Yarrowyck has clearly been going on for several decades now.

Section 2
Historicial overview

This section provides an overview history of Aboriginal people in the New England region since the first European intrusions. This is an illustrative rather than a definitive history and is based on the documentary record only.

First European intrusions

The first official recorded entry by European people into the region was a party led by the explorer John Oxley, which travelled from west to east across the southern edge of New England in 1818. Oxley entered the Peel River valley at the end of August 1818 having travelled from the Warrumbungles. At the time, Oxley had finished his expedition into the interior and was heading for the coast, eventually following the Hastings River down to Port Macquarie.[49]

At the top of the Moonbi Range, approximately 8 kilometres south of modern day Woolbrook[50], Oxley's party encountered a group of Aboriginal people:

> One of the men who had taken the dogs out after kangaroos fell in with a party of natives, among whom were some women and children. Two of the men accompanied him to the tent. It was evident from the whole tenor of their behaviour that they had previously heard of white people (most probably from the settlement at New Castle); their appearance was most miserable, their features approached deformity, and their persons were disgustingly filthy: their small attenuated limbs seemed scarcely able to support their bodies; and their entire person formed a marked contrast to the fine and manly figures of their brethren in the interior. We gave them a small turtle which we had just caught in the river, and they sat down to dress it instantly. In fact, their cooking was very simple; the fire soon separated the shell from the meat, which with the entrails was devoured in a few minutes. Some of the people went to visit their camp, where they found eight or ten men, but the women and children were sent away. The same jealousy of women exists throughout the interior. The great number of fallen trees was in some measure accounted for by the men observing about a dozen trees on fire near this camp, no doubt the more easily to expel the opossums, rats, and other vermin which inhabit their hollows.[51]

On the following day, just to the south of modern Walcha, Oxley recorded that the party:

> . . . halted in a fine and spacious valley, where art, so far as it is an auxiliary of beauty, would have been detrimental to the fresher and simpler garb of nature. This valley was watered by a fine brook, and at a distance of a mile we saw several fires, at which appeared many natives: upon discovering us, however, they immediately departed.[52]

Oxley continued with a description of the richness of the game to be found in the area:

> I think that the most fastidious sportsman would have derived ample amusement during our day's journey. He might without moving have seen the finest coursing, from the commencement of the chase to the death of the game: and when tired of killing kangaroos, he might have seen emus hunted with equal

> success. We numbered swans and ducks among our acquisitions, which in truth were caught without much exertion on our part, or deviating in the least from our course.[53]

There are traces of evidence that suggest cattle had been on the Tablelands in the 1820s; these may have been strays or possibly stock deliberately driven there by Europeans in search of temporary pasture.[54] The 1820s are also likely to have seen at least brief transits of the area by escaped convicts from Port Macquarie and Moreton Bay. One of the best known of the escaped convicts, Richard Craig, escaped from Moreton Bay in 1829 and is believed to have travelled over the Tablelands before heading to the north coast.[55]

Despite these possible incursions by Europeans and their stock, it was not until the 1830s that the Aboriginal people of the New England region were confronted by permanent pastoral occupation of their country.

Land and law

The 1820s saw a number of attempts by the colonial government to control the spread of European settlement. In 1826 Governor Darling established the 'limits of location' defining the area within which settlement was to be contained. In 1829 Governor Darling issued a detailed description of the boundary between the 'settled' area within the limits of location and the 'unsettled' districts, frequently referred to as 'beyond the boundaries'. The area within the limits of location was divided into 19 counties. In the area beyond the boundaries land could be neither sold nor leased and occupation, including pastoral occupation, was expressly prohibited. What was to become known as New England[56] was located well beyond the boundaries.[57]

Given the nature of the developing economy, with its hunger for land and pasture, the attempts to limit the expansion of the colony were doomed. The 1829 order had little effect on the actions of squatters, and overlanding parties continued to be sent out to take up new grazing lands outside the limits of location. In many regions the overlanding parties followed the trails of the government-sanctioned exploring parties sent out to map and catalogue the vast tracts of the colony unknown to the intruding Europeans.[58]

The expansion of squatting underwent rapid growth in the 1830s as squatters ran their stock over vast expanses of Crown land. The policy of containment and concentrated settlement was clearly a failure. The *Squatting Act* of 1836[59] was the first attempt to establish a system to regulate pastoral expansion beyond the limits of location. Annual licences, at a set fee of 10 Pounds per run, were established for the temporary pastoral occupancy of Crown lands beyond the boundaries. The Act also provided for the creation of 'Squatting Districts' in the areas beyond the limits of settlement and for a Commissioner for Crown Lands to be appointed to oversee each of these districts.[60]

In 1839 a further attempt was made to regulate squatting.[61] The Act was partly a response to the growing violence on the frontier between intruding pastoralists and the Indigenous inhabitants. It was aimed at providing the necessary funds to defray the costs of establishing and maintaining a 'Border Police' force, placed under the control of the local Commissioner for Crown Lands, and theoretically intended to prevent conflict on the frontier(s).[62] In 1839 George Macdonald was appointed as the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the newly created New England Pastoral District.[63] Armidale was so named by Commissioner Macdonald who established his headquarters there in 1839.[64] In 1841 Governor Gipps stated that one of the chief duties of the Commissioners was "to exercise a control over the very numerous grazing establishments . . . and to prevent collisions between the men in charge of such Establishments and the Aborigines of the Country".[65]

Pastoral expansion to the Tablelands

The 1820s saw squatters and their stock spread out from the Cumberland Plain to the Murrumbidgee in the south and the Hunter Valley in the north.[66] The route Oxley had taken across the Tableland in 1818, coming as it did from the west, was not suitable for the movement of stock

northwards from the settled areas that lay to the south. In 1823 the explorer Cunningham found an improved overland route from the Bathurst settlement to the Liverpool Plains and by the following year "cattlemen were using this route to bring their stock into the Liverpool Plains and [subsequently] to the New England plateau beyond".[67]

In 1824 the government surveyor Henry Dangar located a route from the Hunter Valley settlements to the Liverpool Plains. Although a difficult route it was estimated that by 1827 more than 10,000 cattle had moved through it onto the plains.[68]

In 1834 the Australian Agricultural Company was granted a vast area of land on the western side of the Peel River despite the existing prohibitions on individuals taking up land beyond the limits of location.[69] As a result the 20 or so squatters who had already illegally squatted there with their stock were evicted, "and some of them drove their flocks over the Moonbi Range to open up new pastures on the New England plateau south of Armidale".[70]

The severe drought of the 1830s that affected the Liverpool Plains also prompted the squatters' movement northwards.[71] The first permanent European presence in New England was the Wolcha (Walcha) sheep run taken up in 1832 by Hamilton Sempill.[72] Sempill brought his stock onto the Tablelands from the eastern side of the falls country:

> The earliest settlement formed in New England was at Walka . . . [it] was taken possession of by Mr Semple in 1832 . . . This gentleman had a station within the Boundaries at Niramin or Ellenston within a day & a half ride of Walcha & from this out Station the idea was suggested of occupying the beautiful run of Walcha.[73]

Soon after, the squatter Edward Gostwyck Cory, one of those displaced by the Australian Agricultural Company's land grants, went looking for new pasture and "blazed a trail to the Tableland over the Moonbi Ranges, along the route which later became the Great Northern Road and close to the route of the present New England Highway".[74] The path up through the Moonbis, new to Europeans, allowed for "the great northern line of road [to be] continued through Liverpool Plains & over these mountains onto the District of New England".[75]

As Gardner stated in his 1850s accounts of the region:

> The lower part of New England, say between Walcha and Armadale, began to be occupied between the years 1832 & 1835. From Armadale to Tenterfield including the Bundarra Country & Byron Plains between 1835 & 1840.[76]

On the eastern side of the Tablelands in 1835 the Macdougalls and Alexander Campbell explored northwards from the Moonbis. Gardner recorded that they were the first squatters to cross the:

> Maturundi or Macdonald river the principal source of the Namoi, the object of this expedition was to search out runs for the purpose of forming stations to the northward of that river they kept a due north course, & were in advance of Captain Dumaresqs drays, they saw his people take possession of Tilbuster Station, from that country they crossed the Guira [Guyra] river and now kept an easterly course, they reached the falls of New England . . . The result of this expedition on Mr. Campbell's part, was the formation of Guira [Guyra] Cattle Station, about ten miles from Armadale.[77]

Gardner recorded that on this party's return southwards:

> . . . they passed over the plains now occupied by the Township of Armadale. On this occasion they observed the signal fires of the natives during the day denoting the arrival of the whites, & on their advance found the remains of their fires, they however met with no interruption from the natives who kept out of sight or at a distance.[78]

On the western falls the Bundarra (or Clerkness) Run was taken up by Clerk and Rankin in 1835–36. Abington, originally called Lochiel, was taken up by Cameron in 1836, while Yarrowyck was taken up in 1837 by Judge Forbes.[79]

This area within which Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) is located was referred to by Gardner as 'Bundarra Country', a term he used for the western slopes of the Tablelands lying south of Inverell:

Map 3: Stations and towns of New England (from RB Walker)[80]

> This tract of country obtained the name of Pundarra from George Clerk Esq. from the immense number of Pundarra or Kangaroo he found every where in the country . . . Pundarra is the native name in this part of the country for Kangaroo. The large river which flows through this country he named the Pundarra[81] . . . In the course of a few years the name of the country was corrupted from Pundarra by the whites to Bundarra and as corruptions of a similar nature occur every year with many of the beautiful [indecipherable word] names of the natives I think proper to instance a few of these names with the corruptions.[82]

Within a few years pastoralists had moved up beyond modern Inverell. The first was Alexander Campbell who, from a station he already held on the Bundarra River, explored northwards as "he had been frequently importuned by the blacks to go to the northward. That there was a Carbone Kallie or great river meaning the Macintyre . . . Pointing in that direction & letting him [know] in their own language of large plains and plenty of good grass & water".[83] As a result, in late 1838 or early 1839 he travelled northward and took up Inverell and Waterloo Stations on what he termed the Byron Plains.[84]

Pastoral settlement had also moved further north in the central Tablelands zone. By 1840 Strathbogie had been taken up by a party which included Frederick Lamotte.[85] He wrote the following account to his sister of the journey north:

> We left Gorangolah [on the Hunter] . . . Drays, sheep, and ourselves, with three horses and eight men . . . After twenty days' travelling we reached the beginning of New England, but it is all taken up, so we pushed through it, and in a week crossed the Ben Lomond Range and entered the far-famed country of New Caledonia! On Ben Lomond our men got the first sight of the blacks, for a party of twenty came upon them; but, firing a shot, and

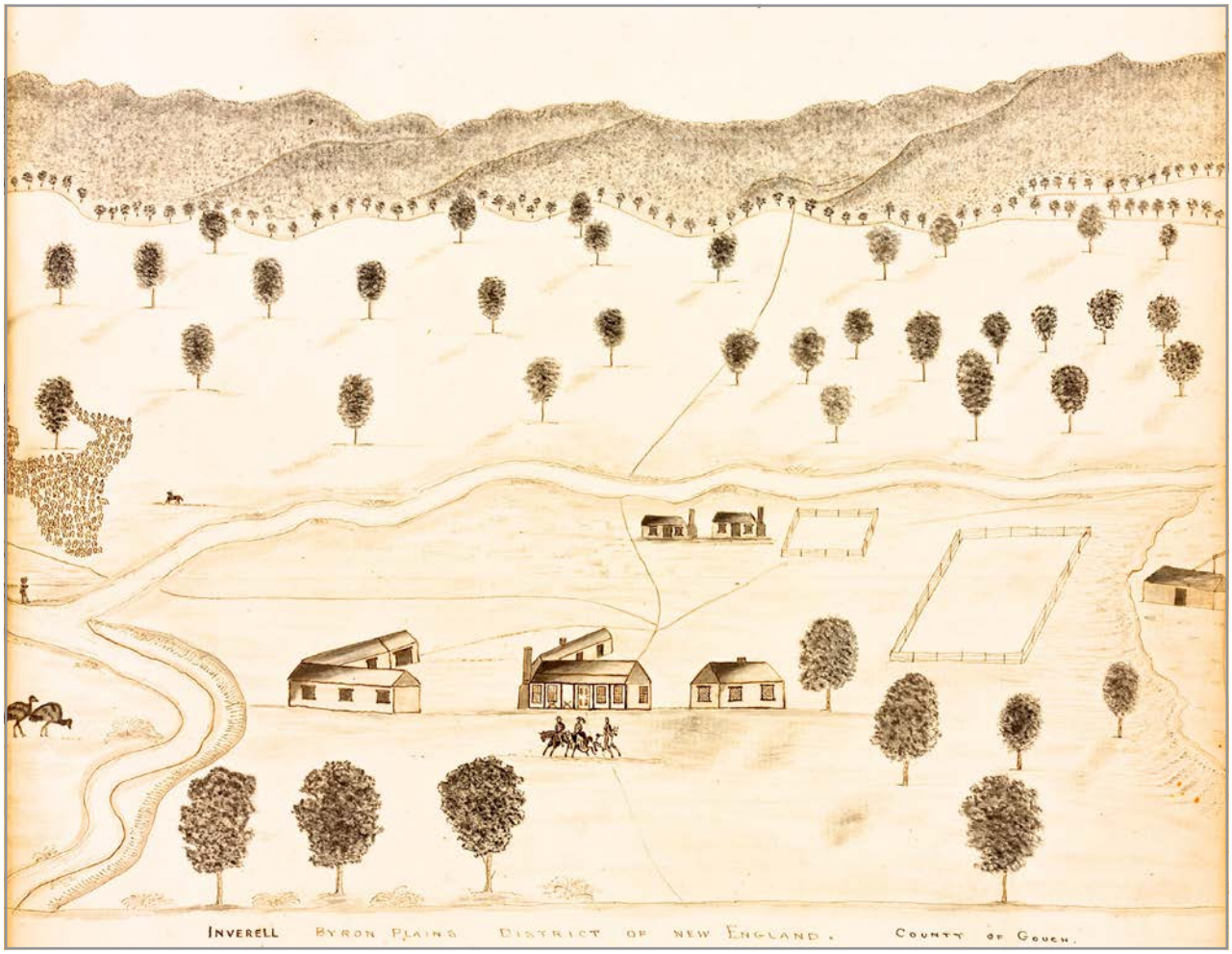


Image 5: Byron Plains Station, Inverell, c.1850s[86]

> showing them a few muskets, was enough, and they withdrew. At this time Gordon was three days' journey ahead looking out for a station. I was a few miles behind, and passed over the range alone and unarmed, but am happy to say that no blacks came near me.[87]

Lamotte continued by giving this description of the run:

> Our run is a good one, and capable of supporting more sheep than we shall ever have. We have fine open country, with small plains and beautiful ridges with abundance of water, having two miles of a fine river frontage with room to sail a yacht, also chains of waterholes in every direction. The river is called the 'Severn', so named by Bennett.[88] We are just above the falls, which are deep and wild-looking, and at flood time would present a magnificent appearance. I should suppose from being so near the falls that we are near the edge of the tableland, about four thousand feet above sea level, and to the north and westward of any other settlers in the country. Our nearest neighbour is Bennett, about sixteen miles to the east. Gordon has named this place 'Strathbogie'; we have also our 'Lochnagarr' just above the falls – highly romantic, is it not? I think that this is a favourite spot of the blacks, as we have come upon several of their fires, and some of them very recent; the trees all about are notched with their tomahawks as they have been catching opossums. There are plenty of kangaroos and emus . . . We have been on the station a fortnight to-day . . . My only companion is Gordon, and, if he leaves for a time, three or four discontented convicts are my only company! Beyond the reach of social intercourse here we live, in a wilderness with no possibility of assistance should the blacks prove troublesome. Since we have been on the ground we have cleared twelve acres of the trees, and have begun ploughing.[89]

His reference to Strathbogie being a "favourite spot of the blacks" may relate to the Mother of Ducks Lagoon[90], which is just off the Severn River on Strathbogie Station. This is now a registered site, about which oral tradition records that:

> . . . in the early 1800s, three tribes used the lagoon as their main food supply because of the abundance of wildlife that flocked to the area. These tribes were the Komilaroi, Banbai and Aniwan and would only kill game for food and not just for sport. The Aboriginal people believed the lagoon to be bottomless and to possess the power to protect the wild ducks and provide food for the people.[91]

The movement of Europeans and their stock into and over the Tablelands increased dramatically from around 1840. From this date pastoralists and their stock began to push up onto the New England as a staging post to go further north onto the Darling Downs and east down onto

Image 6: 'View of Oban Station', Gardner, c.1850s[92]

the Clarence. The path for the coast was known as Craig's Line after the ex-convict who, in 1839, was the first European to find an overland route to the Clarence River, which was via the Tablelands. Large numbers of stock congregated on the Tablelands before moving north and east:

> On the Falconer Plain, north of Armidale, if we had been present at the end of February 1840, we would have seen a stirring sight . . . Here, camped on the plain were assembled the graziers with their sheep and their cattle, their bullock waggons and supplies, their horses and men . . . all resting from the long journey from the south before pushing forward into unexplored country . . . Patrick and Walter Leslie started for the Downs with 4,000 breeding ewes in lamb, 100 ewe hoggets, 1,000 wedder hoggets, 100 rams, and 500 wedders. And his was only one part of that huge conglomeration of men and animals assembled on Falconer Plain in March 1840![93]

By 1842, with the development of tracks between the north coast and the Tablelands, people were travelling from Sydney to Grafton on the coastal steamers and then up to New England; wool was being sent by that same route down to Sydney from the northern part of the Tablelands.[94]

By 1841 in the New England Pastoral District it was recorded that the non-Indigenous population had grown to 1,003 men and 71 women.[95] In the second half of the 1840s the number of sheep and cattle stocking the Tablelands more than doubled, from an estimated 400,000 sheep and 37,000 cattle in 1844 to over 900,000 sheep and 90,000 cattle in 1851.[96]

In the late 1840s there were still areas, particularly to the north and on the rough falls country, that had not been taken up by Europeans. However, the following decade saw European pastoral occupation expand to cover the whole of the New England region.

Conflict and disease

Throughout Australia, as the two conflicting economic systems – of pastoralists and hunter-gatherers – collided, resource competition became the focus of conflict. Aboriginal resistance to the taking over of their land took the form primarily of attacks on stock but also of attacks on stockmen and shepherds. The response of the pastoralists to the actions of Aboriginal people frequently involved violent reprisals.

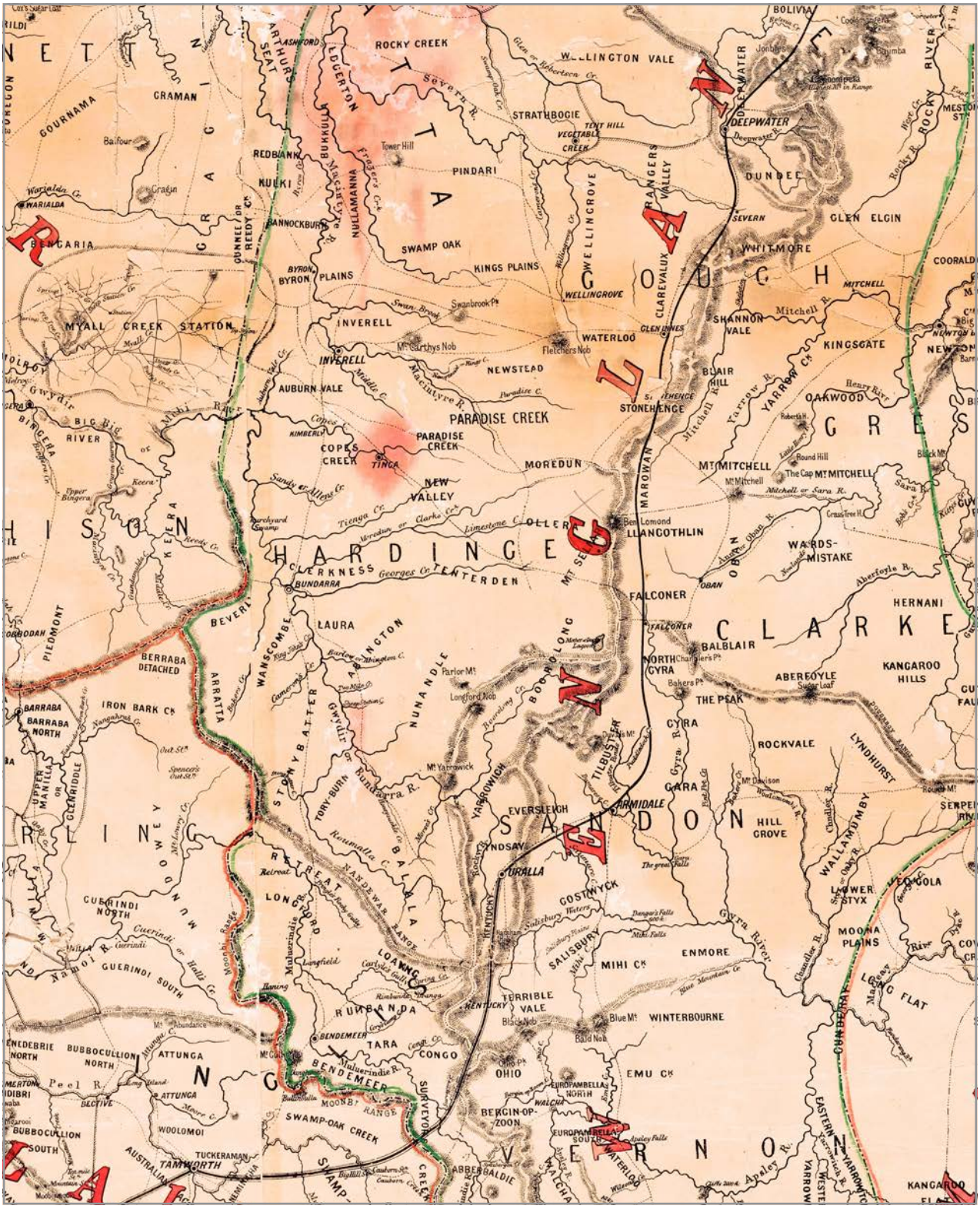
The first pastoralist to take up land in the New England region was Hamilton Semphill at Walcha in 1832. In his evidence before the Committee on the Crown Lands Bill in 1839 he stated:

> After a certain time, a person is as safe in the vicinity of the Aborigines as any where else; but on coming for the first time in contact with them, they are invariably hostile; that hostile feeling, however, wears off as soon as they become acquainted with White persons settling among them, and the power they possess.
>
> I have been often engaged in selecting and fixing on stations – perhaps as much as any one in the Colony – and have always found what I have just stated, with regard to the relations subsisting between the Whites and Natives, to be the case.[97]

The reference to the 'power they possess' is ambiguous but could be interpreted to refer to the guns of the Europeans.

Edward Cory was one of the earliest squatters on the Tablelands, taking up runs in the early 1830s. One of these was Terrible Vale in the vicinity of modern Uralla. A local history of Terrible Vale records that:

> . . . when Cory occupied the run, the head stockman at Terrible Valley was a man named Billy, who was a ruthless bully of the local Aborigines. He was known as Terrible Billy . . . [A] legend passed down through some of the people who worked on the station, was that a large number of Aborigines were killed near the creek on Terrible Vale in the early days of settlement. As the run had been first named in Cory's time of occupation, this theory would seem to fit in with the stories of Terrible Billy . . .[98]
>
> The buildings [at Terrible Vale] were all near to one another as a protection against the Aborigines whom new inhabitants at Terrible Vale did not trust. They were camped in bark gunyahs on the station, sometimes quite close to the homestead, so at night the Taylors always closed the wooden shutters of their primitive home.[99]



Map 4: Extract from *Map of the colony of NSW*, 1883[100]

The *Sydney Herald*, in January 1836, reported, "We hear that numerous outrages have been committed by the aborigines in the newly discovered country NE of Liverpool Plains".[101] These reports were quickly followed with reports of the shooting of Aboriginal people by the intruding Europeans.[102]

The mounted police, under the command of Major Nunn, were sent to the Namoi–Gwydir River area, to the west of the Tablelands, in early 1838 in response to the continuing Aboriginal resistance in that area. During that trip there were reports of a number of Europeans on the Tablelands having been killed by Aboriginal people. In response a detachment of mounted police, led by Major Nunn's second-in-command Lieutenant Cobban, was sent to the Tablelands to 'investigate':

> Cobban refused to account for his proceedings during his six-week expedition, though it seems that New England Aborigines thereby learned something of the extremities of European barbarity, imbibing a fear that lasted many years.[103]

The Myall Creek massacre occurred several months after the mounted police's expedition into the area. The violent actions of the mounted police may have contributed to a belief amongst the European population of the area that such violence was acceptable to the authorities.[104] The Myall Creek massacre has:

> . . . become one of the most infamous episodes in the British conquest of Australia, the stockmen rounded up at least 28 unarmed and unsuspecting elderly men, women and children, bound them together and led them a short distance to a clearing, where they were butchered with knives and swords. The bodies were piled together and set alight. The Myall Creek massacre was not a unique event, except that it was investigated by an unusually diligent Hunter Valley Police Magistrate, was prosecuted by a government under increasing pressure to assert its authority on the lawless frontier, and was thus singular in its repercussions – seven of the murderers were executed. The example made of these men did little to change the nature of frontier violence, except perhaps to encourage discretion. For all the freedom and opportunity an isolated frontier afforded, when it came to dealing with Aborigines, colonial frontiersman could not be relied on to behave with decency and honour.[105]

In his first report of 1839, Commissioner Macdonald – the newly appointed Crown Land Commissioner for the New England Pastoral District – referred to Tablelands Aboriginal people as having a 'pervading terror' of the mounted police:

> I regret to state that I have as yet been entirely unsuccessful in my efforts to effect a communication with the Tribes frequenting the district – and that they are undoubtedly withheld from coming forward through a general and pervading terror of the Mounted Police (and as such they consider the Border Police), a feeling instilled probably at some former period, and which it shall be my constant care to neutralise by every means in my power.[106]

Commissioner Macdonald also gave the following account in his first official report:

> . . . [the] murder of two shepherds by the aborigines in the Northern Stations – one at the establishment of Messrs. Kelso and Robertson, and the other at that of Mr. Vivers. The report of these atrocities reached me two and three weeks after their occurrence, when I immediately proceeded to enquire into the circumstances on the spot, and to take the necessary depositions, which have been duly forwarded to the Attorney-General. I was unable to elicit any probable cause for the perpetration of these outrages, neither did there appear any direct evidence against the parties concerned in them, except that the trail of a peculiarly-shaped or mal-formed foot was tracked from the body of Mr. Viver's shepherd, which corresponds with that of a black named 'Anti-Christ', from the 'Bundarra' or Big River, and who had been observed about the stations some time previous, but whom I have not yet succeeded in apprehending, although I had a party several days in pursuit – for it is at all times a matter of great difficulty to follow up a 'Nomadial Tribe', unless assisted in the search by some of their own people.[107]

Commissioner Macdonald then continued by stating that:

> Despite every vigilance and precaution on the part of the 'Border Police', I am led to anticipate the occasional perpetration of similar outrages by the aborigines, as the settlers extend their stations to the North, and encroach upon the

> hunting grounds of Tribes that have hitherto had little or no intercourse with Europeans.[108]

Commissioner Macdonald, in his annual report for 1841, stated that:

> . . . although during the past year some hostile attacks were made by the Aborigines, more especially on the Station . . . near the wild and mountainous country on the eastern falls of the Table Land . . . in which two Shepherds were slain, and a considerable number of sheep destroyed and driven off; yet, when it is considered that the District has extended its limits so rapidly to the Northward since the location of the large tract of Country adjacent to Moreton Bay, and that consequently the 'Squatters' have encroached upon the Hunting grounds of Tribes hitherto holding no communication or intercourse with Europeans, these aggressions appear to be much less extensive than might have been anticipated, and trivial when compared with those of previous years; and I am induced to attribute this in a great measure to the growth of a more just, humane and tolerant spirit, influencing the conduct and feeling of the Settlers in their intercourse with the Aboriginal sons of the Soil; and to the more general growth of this good feeling, I look forward as a foundation for future beneficial results.[109]

In his report for 1842 Commissioner Macdonald stated that there had been a decrease in "hostile feeling and outrage on the part of the Shepherds and Stockmen towards the Aborigines, and the comparative cessation of their attacks on the life and property of the Europeans".[110] He continued:

> [The] only instance of the contrary, that has come to my knowledge since my last report, having been an attack of three Natives upon three Labourers at the Station of a Mr. Nowland in March, 1842, in which two of the Labourers were killed and the third narrowly effected his escape . . . from its occurring on a newly formed and isolated Station, the probability is that these men were either looked upon by the Natives and treated as intruders and enemies, or that it was in retaliation of some old offence committed upon them in former years; for the Revenge of the Australian savage lives a life of long duration, and it is ever their custom to take that revenge whenever and wherever the opportunity may offer.[111]

The response of the squatters to the murders on Nowland's station remained unstated.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* gave the following account of a violent encounter in 1844:

> A poor fellow at Mr. Marsh's station, at New England, narrowly escaped with his life, a short time since, whilst tending a flock of sheep; the blacks surrounded him, and before he was aware they were in his vicinity, threw several spears at him, one of which entered his back, to the depth of several inches; fortunately he was armed with a double-barrelled gun, and shot the nearest black fellow, the others then drew off a short distance, which enabled the poor fellow to get behind a tree, and break the end of the spear off; the man asserts that he heard some one amongst the blacks say, in good English, when he was pretending to load again, 'Look out, he is going to fire'; – by the help of his dogs, he was ultimately enabled to head his sheep up to the head station, (a distance of six miles from his own hut, which was afterwards plundered) where the point of the spear was extracted.[112]

At this time there were two Mr. Marsh's holding runs in New England, including Salisbury, Boorolong and Guyra.[113] It is unclear which of these runs the article is referring to.

In 1842 the Irby brothers had arrived at the recently established Deepwater Station in New England, having travelled up from the Clarence River.[114] They subsequently took up Bolivia, immediately adjacent on the north.[115] Edward Irby, when still living on Deepwater Station, gave the following account in a letter to his father of a reprisal attack on Aboriginal people for an attack on the station's sheep. This murder of Aboriginal people by the Irbys and their workmen has come to be known as the 'Bluff Rock massacre':

> Last Wednesday week a watchman came in from one of the out-stations to give us the by no means pleasant intelligence that 205 were missing from one of the flocks . . . Collins, the overseer, immediately started out . . . [On Saturday] . . . We met Collins . . . He told us he had no clue to where the sheep had gone till just before he met us, when, searching about a rocky mountain near, he had found one dead between some rocks, so he was sure the natives had found them, or, rather, taken them . . . We immediately returned with Collins

> to get our men together and prepare for an early start after them the next morning. We had plenty to do the remainder of the evening making cartridges, &c . . . There were eight of us, five on horseback and the other three on foot . . . About five in the afternoon we came to a creek, where the natives had encamped and had two or three sheep for supper, but it was evident that they had been there two nights before us . . . we found the tracks along the top of the mountain; the ground was much worse than what we had already travelled over. About one we came upon another camp, and found 16 sheepskins . . . We were in good spirits, and expected to get in sight of them that night; but we were sadly disappointed . . . We passed the night very well, and were up as early as usual . . . About three-quarters of an hour after getting on the tracks, just on the brow of the hill, we heard the natives . . . The natives had chosen a capital place to retreat to, where they had encamped; there were two terribly steep ridges, really impossible for anyone to go down without breaking his neck. The range on the right broke off sooner than that on the left, and where it broke off, the Natives had their camp. The gully between these ridges, or, rather, range of mountains, is only about seven feet broad at the bottom, so that the trees on the base of either mountain overhang it, and so make it appear like a tunnel. The camp was about 60 feet above the gully, which was quite open there, and then up the right ridge, which gradually rose to their camp. There were about 100 of them. They of course took refuge in the deep gully, of which we had no idea till we got to the camp.[116]

Having provided considerable detail of the process of tracking the Aboriginal people to this location, Irby then made only the shortest of comments on what then occurred "We completely routed them and remained in possession of the camp and all their traps".[117]

Irby then gave a more detailed, if highly coloured, description of the camp and the destruction of the Aboriginal people's belongings:

> There were about 30 fires, and as many sheepskins; also the meat of about 16, cut up in small pieces, half roasted and covered with dirt; nets and baskets half filled with meat, which they were getting ready to take with them. We found three wedges, a pint and quart pot, a blanket, and a pair of trousers, which we have great reasons to suspect they took from a poor man whom they murdered near here about a fortnight ago . . . We made a large fire and burned everything belonging to them; we also found spears, skins of opossums, &c., &c. As soon as everything was burned we commenced our return . . . We got home safe at 4 p.m. the next day, well satisfied with our success.[118]

Mrs. Quinlan, the daughter of Richard Kelly Snr, was born on the Macleay River in the early 1900s; in an account of her life she spoke of the violence on the Tablelands where one of her grandmothers was killed 'over the bluffs':

> My father, he'd have belonged to the tribe around Walcha, I don't know, and my mother, she was Dhunguddi . . . My father and mother were the first half-caste kiddies – how could you put it – my grandmothers were all Aboriginal and then they had white fathers – so they were fair. When my father was little, that was the time of the killings – before I was born – it's a wonder how he escaped. They were killing everywhere, all through the area. The worst was a fella who lived on a big cattle station on the Macleay. Suppose he had a lot of others to help as well. I lost one grandmother over the bluffs near Armidale. They killed a lot of our people – pushing them over them bluffs – Wollomombi, you know. Then the other grandmother, I lost down on the Macleay on Pee Dee Creek. They used to herd them up and shoot them – go about shooting blacks like wallaby I suppose. They were only young women.[119]

A very different response to that of the Irbys to Aboriginal people's taking of stock is evident in the following account, by Commissioner Macdonald in 1845, regarding the Everetts of Ollera Station:

> That the Natives are themselves fully sensible of the Crime of Sheep and Cattle Stealing appears Evident from a circumstance that occurred lately in the Station of the Messrs. Everett; their Neighbour Mr. Wauchope having complained to those Gentlemen that some Sheep had been stolen out of his Folds by their Blacks, the Messrs. Everett immediately sent a Black named Williams to discover the Culprits, and in two days Williams returned and informed them that the Criminals were at a Camp close by, and that one of them was his own Brother; the Messrs. Everett accordingly proceeded to the Camp, where they were asked by the Blacks assembled, whether they wished the Criminals to be brought before

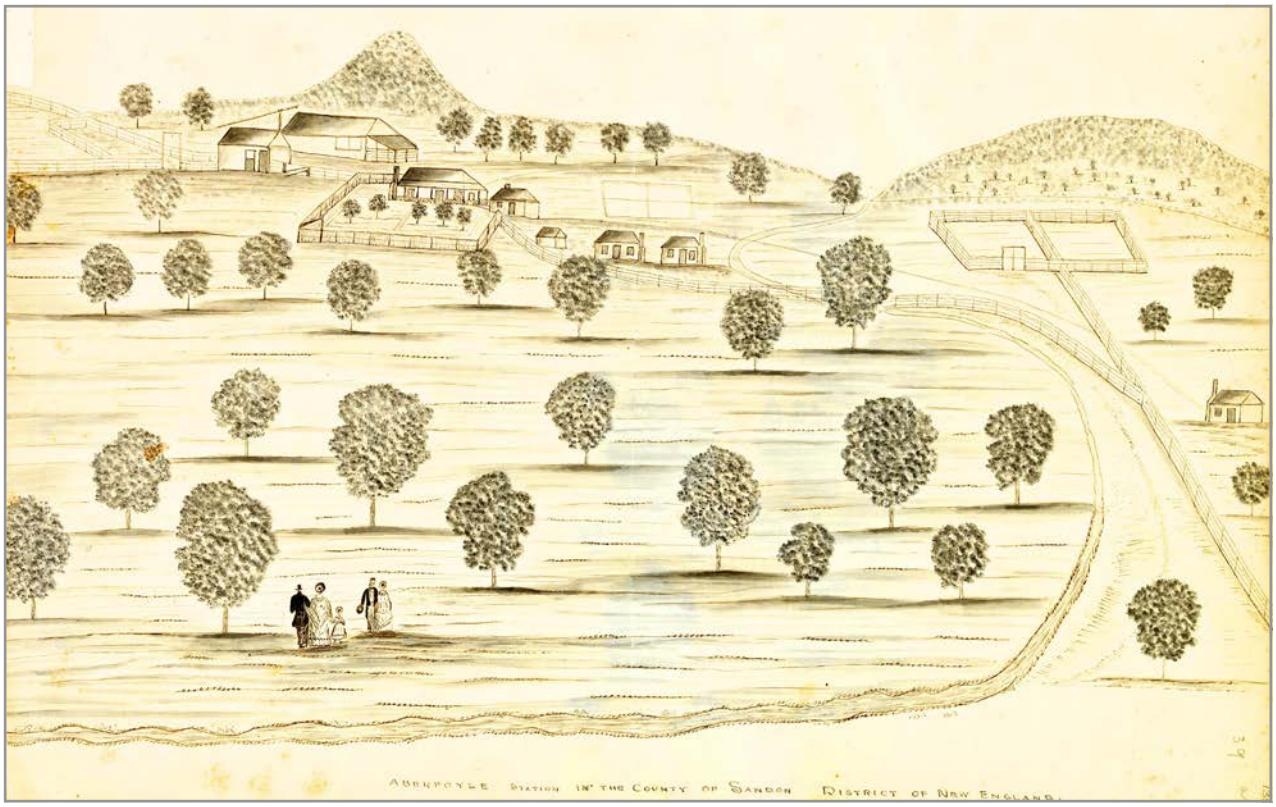


Image 7: Aberfoyle Station, c.1850s[120]

> the Commissioner, or whether they should punish them for the Offence after their own fashion, and the latter proposal was acceded to; the 3 Culprits were then brought forward, and made to kneel down within sight of the Camp, the Fathers and Mothers of two of the prisoners being present, and Williams and another Black then struck each of the Culprits two or three times on the head with a Wooden Battle Axe so severely that the blood streamed down their shoulders ; they then brought the prisoners before the Messrs. Everett and enquired whether they were satisfied with the punishment that had been inflicted and promised that the offence should never be committed again.[121]

In his report for 1845 Commissioner Macdonald referred to the murder of a shepherd on the Irby's station, Bolivia[122]:

> During the past Year only one Outrage of a serious nature has been committed by the Natives, which occurred in October on the Stations of the Messrs. Irby on the Northern limit of the District, where a Shepherd was barbarously Murdered and mangled by them; some Cattle and Sheep have also occasionally been stolen and slaughtered on the Eastern Falls of the Table Land, the precipitous and profound Ravines of which afford them safe harbour and secure retreat, where neither Man nor horse can follow.[123]

In a letter to his father Edward Irby gave an account of the same event, the killing of a shepherd, which included a description of the reprisal killings with which the Irbys responded. Edward Irby did not originally believe that Aboriginal people were involved in the disappearance of the shepherd because all of the shepherd's sheep had returned to the outstation:

> After some time we found the body floating on the water . . . The poor fellow had five spear wounds, four deep cuts from tomahawks on the temples, and the back of his head beaten in with a waddy; he had then been completely stripped and thrown in the river. Windeyer and I consulted a few minutes, and determined we would pursue the murderers . . . We started early on Wednesday morning, prepared for a week's trip, but with very little expectation of our finding them. There were only the four of us. About 12 o'clock the day we started, when on the top of a high range, we perceived smoke rising about twelve miles from us. We immediately steered for it; got there a short time before sunset; could see nothing of the

> Blacks, although it was evident that they had but just been there. Was soon as the sun was down we camped; rose at daylight the next morning. We had only got about a mile from our encampment when we suddenly observed a large spear on the ground, with a fire-stick lying by it. The Blacks had heard us coming, and hidden themselves among the rocks. One, in his hurry, dropped poor Robinson's coat, so we knew we were on the right tribe. If they had taken to their heels they might all have got off safe. Instead of doing so, however, they got their fighting men together to attack us, so we punished them severely, and proved our superiority to them. We got back the same day. I sat down directly I was off my horse and wrote the particulars to the Commissioner . . . He said I had no alternative but to act as I had done.[124]

The statement that the Aboriginal people had "got their fighting men together to attack us" appears to conflict with the account of the same event that Edward Irby recorded in his diary where he stated that:

> Windeyer soon caught sight of a Black . . . He was standing on a rock about three hundred yards off between us and the horses . . . We tried to sneak upon him. Windeyer got on a rock just above where he was standing, but, making a noise in getting his footing, he was only just in time to catch a glimpse of the rascal bolding down the rocks. He then motioned me to go round the rock he was standing on, which I did, and found myself in the middle of the natives' dogs . . . we went on to the farthest projecting rocks, and, looking underneath us, could see the Blacks in their hiding-places. Having now the means and will to punish them for the barbarous murder they had committed, we took advantage of the opportunity and gave it to them pretty severely.[125]

Edward Irby's diary gives a clear picture of a fairly constant state of conflict with Aboriginal people in the area in the 1840s. The picture that emerges is that on Bolivia the Irbys' aim was to keep Aboriginal people off the station through the use of violence. The Irbys regarded the station as their own and presumably saw their actions as 'legitimate' in protection of their economic assets. On the other hand for the Aboriginal people of this area, where less than a decade earlier there had been no European intruders, their experience was one of being harassed and attacked when travelling over their traditional country.

In his diary for August 1844, following the spearing of one of his bullocks, Irby recorded an encounter with a group of Aboriginal men, women and children stating that "We now perceived the men were surrounding us. It was very bad country, and, still thinking them Windeyer's Blacks, I didn't like to fire upon them".[126] Windeyer was the holder of the adjacent Deepwater run, the statement implies that if he hadn't believed these people to be associated with Windeyer, possibly as residents of a station camp and occasional workers, he would have used his guns to drive them away. Irby continued, "We took the spears and other weapons . . . The Blacks ran along on one side of us, but taking care to keep out of gun-shot".[127] The following day he recorded that:

> [Windeyer] . . . was certain they were not his Blacks, but believed they were from the Severn, and he, Kelso, and Gardiner promised to come over the following day and help me drive them off.[128]

After following the group of Aboriginal people by tracking burning patches of grass they had lit they decided that as:

> We were all very tired, and, as it was evident the Blacks were going right away, and impossible for us to track them, we determined to return home.[129]

In his report for 1847 Commissioner Macdonald stated:

> . . . no act of Atrocity or Aggression, that I am aware of, has been committed by the Aborigines on the Life or Property of the occupants of the Crown Lands during that period; neither has any case of ill treatment of the Natives by the Shepherds or Workmen of the Districts come within my knowledge.[130]

The extent to which this reflects the reality of life in the region is questionable. According to Gardner's 1850s accounts in the north-east of the New England region there was an increase in Aboriginal attacks on stock in the early 1850s:

> At Stations situated in sequestered and unfrequented parts of this district, the native Blacks take too much liberty with the

> cattle belonging to the Settlers, this is done regardless of the injury they are inflicting to the owners. In destroying cattle they seem to take the choice parts of the animal leaving the other parts for destruction, or what is of greater injury to the settler [indecipherable word] it as feed to the native dog. There are a few of the Native police stationed on the outskirts of the District in Clarence who are likely to scour out their haunts, & teach them that these practices cannot in future be done with impunity, in the meantime their inroads are very galling to the well disposed & peaceful inhabitants, their depredations have for many years been on the increase, & the murders they have committed on the whites of late years in the outskirts of the district, & lately within sixty or seventy miles of Armidale are not likely to be easily or soon forgotten, some of the guilty parties are at present at large, & engaged in these lawless bands who are scouring the out stations, and killing the cattle in greater numbers than ever they attempted to do on any former occasions. This month June 1854 a Lessee of a cattle run bordering on the adjoining district, or whose station is partly in Clarence, & in part of New England, found no less than twenty fat cattle speared & laying dead upon his run & in repeating this offense a few days after two others of his best cattle were found speared within a short distance of his head station.[131]

An insight into the world of Aboriginal people, surviving through the decades of violence and the threat of guns, is given in this song sung by Mrs. Hazel Vale. Mrs. Vale, the eldest daughter of Frank Archibald, was recorded in 1996 by the musicologist Barry McDonald singing this song that she had been taught by her father:

> This is the story I was told . . . Our people used to live in this little valley you know, and on each side the scrub was, and they used to have the boys or girls there lookin' out for the . . . white fellers comin' with their guns. And if they'd see them they'd cooee out . . . 'Ai! Yaaban! Yirrali!' That means 'white man'. And they'd look. 'Yir!' they'd say, tell 'em to run.

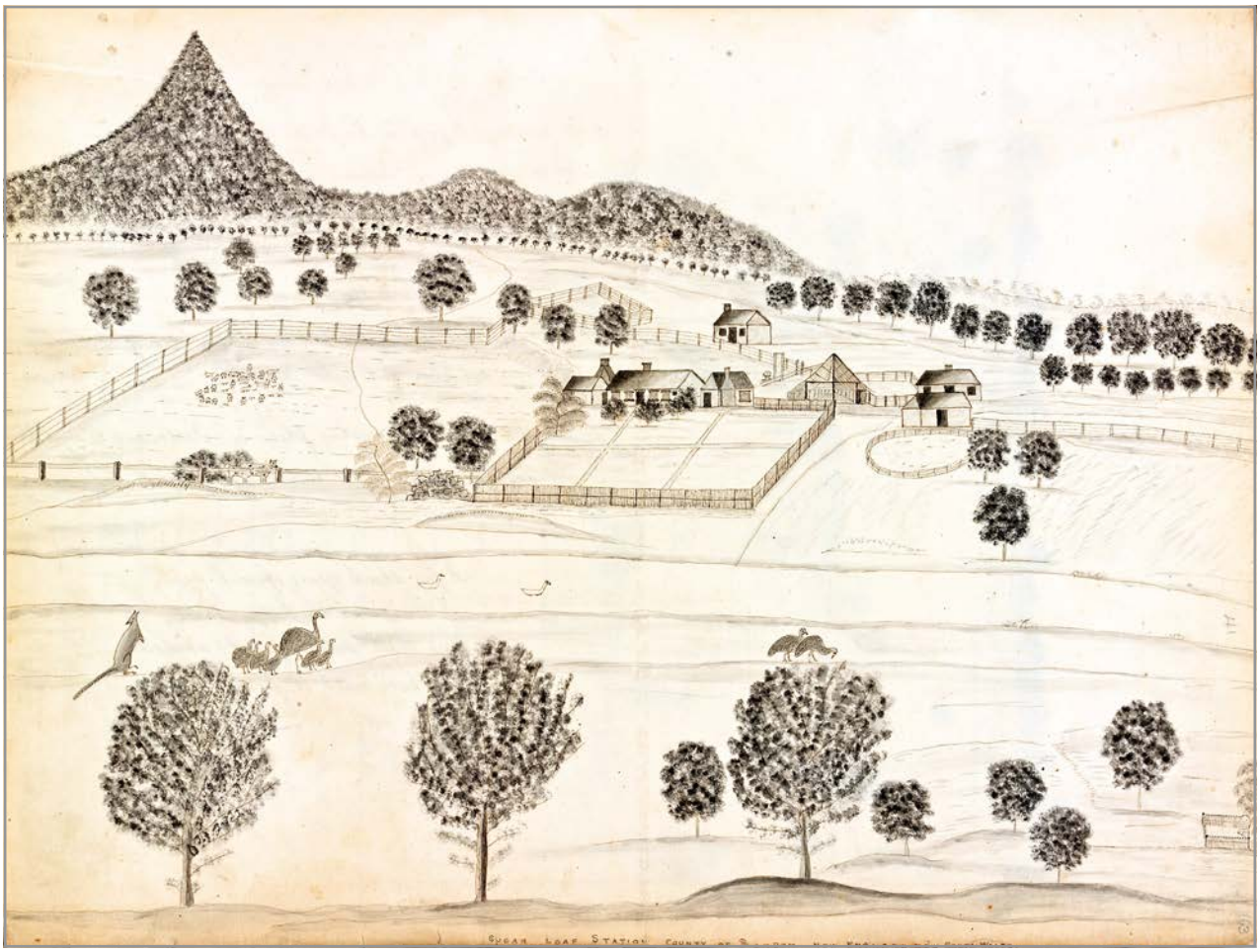


Image 8: Sugarloaf Station, c.1850s[132]

> They'd start runnin' with their spears and that and plant:
>
> *Bulagiri wambul-wambul double-barrel li gu djanaa-ya*
> *Bulagiri wambul-wambul double-barrel li gu djanaa-ya.*
>
> That means the white men comin' with their guns you know, and tellin' them, our people, to plant and get away from them. *Yir*, that means 'go, you wait for them'.[133]

Barry McDonald states that the language dialect is Baanbai and that a rough translation is believed to be "Go and tell that there are two white men coming with guns, take fright and go".[134]

There are indications in the records that in the 1860s there were links between conflict and forced movement, in both directions, between the Tablelands and the coast:

> . . . various issues of the *Armidale Express* for June 1860 discuss troubles on the eastern border of New England, caused by Aboriginal people from the Macleay River being driven there by the NSW Mounted Police. Current oral historical evidence links these troubles to stories of pitched battles between the Macleay River people and Tablelands tribes.[135]

In 1865 the *Sydney Morning Herald* reported that:

> . . . the blacks have been troublesome at Mr. Mark's station, Emu Creek, in the Walcha district. It appears that during one night lately a slab was removed from the store and a quantity of goods stolen. It was evident that the robbery had been committed by blacks, of whom a large number were in the vicinity, and subsequently they assumed a threatening appearance. On senior sergeant Du Vernet receiving the intelligence, he went out from Walcha. The property could not be found, but to prevent further depredations the sergeant put the blacks over the Falls, and it is understood that the police have a sharp eye upon their future movements.[136]

Image 9: Grave near Pindari, c.1848[137]

The phrase 'over the Falls' appears to refer to using force to push them down towards the coast.

Emma Macpherson, who lived on Keera Station from 1856 to 1857, argued that squatters had the right to defend their runs against the incursions of Aboriginal people. She made no comment on the rights of Aboriginal people to defend their country from the intruding Europeans. Interestingly though she based her argument on the fact that force was the basis of European settlement throughout Australia and that therefore the objections, from within European society, to the squatters' use of violence was hypocritical:

> There has often been a great deal said against this guerrilla warfare with the blacks, and no doubt at times and in certain districts horrible atrocities have been committed against them, which have brought well merited punishment on the heads of the perpetrators; but it must be remembered these atrocities are not confined to one side, and it is generally the aborigines who commence the warfare by spearing some unfortunate shepherd or stock-keeper, dispersing and driving off his sheep and cattle, thus drawing down on their heads the vengeance of the injured settler. If it be argued that we have no right to any portion of their land, this principle, if admitted anywhere, must for consistency's sake be carried out everywhere. Is there a foot of ground in the colony to which we have any right but that of the strong arm? The land on which Sydney itself is built, how did it become ours? Let our restitution be complete, let the remaining representative of the Sydney tribe (a poor old cripple who haunts the fashionable drive in the environs of the city) be installed in due state in Government House, and then, and not till then, can the squatter with any consistency be called on to give up the homestead he has formed with so much labour and at so much peril. If the interests of humanity and the cause of civilization and progress justified our taking possession of one acre of the soil, these justifications exist still, and the adventurous explorers and settlers of the present day are no more to be condemned than were those of a past generation.[138]

There is little evidence regarding the impacts of European intrusion on the population of the Aboriginal people of the area. As there are no reliable figures on the size of the population when Europeans first intruded it is not possible to tell how big a part of the population died as a result of the impacts of the European intrusion: the violence, the increase in diseases and the reduction in resources. There are no accounts of what impact the violence of the 1830s had on the Aboriginal population. In his report for 1842 Commissioner Macdonald stated that "In numbers, the Tribes do not appear to have suffered any diminution, either from the ravages of disease or War".[139] The following year, however, he stated that:

> . . . the population of the Tribes is, I should say, beginning to be sensibly on the decrease, and it may be predicted of the Natives of New Holland, as it has been Said of the Indians of America, that, judging of the future by the past, we cannot err in anticipating a progressive diminution of their numbers, and their eventual total extinction, unless our Border Should become fixed and Stationary and they be removed beyond it, or unless some radical change Should take place in the principals of our intercourse with them, which it is easier to hope for than to expect.[140]

The belief amongst Europeans that the Aboriginal population of a particular area, or of the country generally, was 'rapidly dying out' was a widespread one in the nineteenth century. This belief was closely associated with racial and racist theories and assumptions and continued to be held by Europeans well into the twentieth century, despite clear evidence that the Aboriginal population was no longer decreasing and had indeed begun to increase. Nonetheless in certain periods, and the early to mid-nineteenth century was one of them, it would appear that European commentators were reporting on a real and devastating population decrease amongst many Aboriginal peoples as a result of introduced diseases.

Diseases introduced by the intruding Europeans impacted on Aboriginal populations throughout Australia. The most widely discussed of these diseases are smallpox and venereal disease; however, recent analyses suggest that tuberculosis may have had a greater impact. The historian Judy Campbell, interpreting a range of historical sources using current

epidemiological knowledge, argues that smallpox was introduced to northern Australia from the Indonesian archipelago by Macassar fishermen in the early 1780s when there were a series of severe outbreaks in the archipelago. Campbell, in line with a number of earlier writers, such as Cleland,[141] argues that smallpox was first transmitted to eastern Australia overland from northern Australia, prior to the arrival of Europeans in 1788.[142]

There is little evidence directly relating to the introduction or presence of disease amongst the Aboriginal people of the New England region in the early decades of pastoral intrusion. However, there is evidence that smallpox was seen on the Liverpool Plains to the south and the Namoi River to the west in 1829–31; there are also indications that it was active in the Macleay Valley around 1835.[143] Given the connections between the Aboriginal communities in all these areas and those of the New England region it can reasonably be assumed that smallpox was also impacting there. This suggests that at the time of the initial European pastoral intrusion onto the Tablelands the Aboriginal people of the New England region were also grappling with active smallpox.

Records of daily and ceremonial life

There are limited documentary records relating to the cultural activities of the Aboriginal people of the region in the early decades of European settlement. There were only a few observers amongst the squatters and pastoral workers of this period who had both the literacy and leisure to record their observations and memories and considered such ethnographic detail worthy of record. Some of these accounts are quoted here to provide a glimpse into both the day-to-day and ceremonial life of the Aboriginal people of the region in the early decades of the European intrusion.

There are a number of references to Aboriginal people's burial grounds in the New England region. The most detailed is that by Emma Macpherson, describing a burial ground near Keera Station in the 1850s:

> They have a great dislike to hear death spoken of, or the names of their deceased friends mentioned. Not far from our station was one of their burial places, and as I was anxious to visit it, after one or two ineffectual attempts to find it by ourselves, we repaired to our friend 'King Sandy', and asked him to direct us to the spot. He shuddered and literally turned pale when we

Image 10: Burial ground near Keera Station, c.1856–57[144]

> broached the subject, and when we pressed it said in a low tone: 'No, no, too much dibil, dibil, sit down there'. On my husband's questioning him as to which of his former acquaintances were interred there, he at first refused to reply, and when at last induced to mention their names, did so in a whisper, scarcely above his breath, at the same time looking round fearfully, as though he expected to see some dark form hovering near him.
>
> We contrived at last with no little difficulty to find among the tribe one more valiant than the rest, to conduct us to the burial ground. We followed him for about half a mile, when he stopped abruptly, pointed with his hand to a very tall tree, some few yards off, and darted away like an arrow, unwilling to linger near the terrible spot. We walked on to the place indicated, and under the spreading branches of a monster cypress pine, the first of these graves met our view. It was a large mound made of gravel, surrounded and supported by branches of trees evidently lately placed there, and bore the appearance of being tended with no little care; so that it would appear that, however much they may dislike to name the dead or visit their last abodes, they do not allow the tombs of their friends to suffer from their neglect. There were three or four similar mounds within sight, and the trunks of the surrounding trees were carved with the hieroglyphics to which I have before alluded; rude representations of weapons, such as the boomerang, waddy, &c., and others supposed to delineate opossums and other kinds of game. I could not but remark the fitness with which they had chosen the site of their cemetery, under the shadow of the grey iron bark, and the sombre cypress pine – a spot that nature seemed to have planted for such a purpose.[145]

In 1857 an Englishman, Frederic de Brebant Cooper, published an account of his travels in eastern Australia. It included the following description of an encounter with a group of hospitable Aboriginal people in the New England region:

> Glancing round to see if the fire that I had left as a landmark was still discernible, I discovered another light flickering a short distance away from me, and being confused between the two, I scarcely knew which was the one kindled by me. However, it was no great matter if I made for the wrong one; possibly I might find a traveller like myself, and thus have company for the night, and so approaching that which seemed nearest I soon perceived another flame close to it, and another, until about a dozen fires clustered together were in view. The natives generally kindle a few sticks in front of each gunyie to keep away the *mowie*, or devil-devil, (an evil spirit in which they devoutly believe) and therefore I understood at once the signs of a dark-skins' encampment; but, doubtful whether they were at peace or war with the white man, hesitated to draw nearer. A few moments' consideration sufficiently proved that if at enmity with us they would not camp in the open timber and so near a track, and I therefore walked on towards them, and created some little surprise by stalking into the encampment. They seemed rather pleased at this proof of confidence, and invited me to join their repast; so, fraternising with a group that had gathered round the largest fire, I drew the ramrod from my carabine, and impaling some of the cat-fish offered me, roasted them and ate heartily, to the great delight of the jins, one of whom remarked in her broken English, 'I believe you bail (not) white fellow only altogether black fellow'. Another added, with a merry laugh, 'Me give it belonging to you black fellow name, "Changar"!'
>
> I learned from the warriors that they were on a fishing excursion, and had been pretty fortunate; and after remaining about an hour with the party, I distributed three or four figs of tobacco amongst them and started for my own camp. Contrary to my expectations my fire was burning up brightly, and fearing that the dry grass might catch, to the detriment of my saddle and accoutrements, I hastened to it, and found the camp in possession of an individual who coolly requested me to take a chair and make myself at home. He was traveling to Bingera and had seen my camp from the dray-track, and as his horse was knocked up he decided upon sitting down here for the night. Travelling together the next day, we met a heavily loaded dray with a team of ten bullocks – the driver (a rough-looking but well-built fellow, with a heavy black beard and moustache, and attired in a torn and soiled blue shirt) turned out to be an acquaintance of my companion's, and the Honourable Percy Clifford, owner of a run upon the Namoi. Bush life, however, had taken all traces of the exquisite out of him, and brought out more sterling qualities than the hot-house training of Europe could have produced.[146]

The fish that these people shared with Cooper were an important part of the resources of the Tablelands and falls country. Emma Macpherson wrote of how the Aboriginal people of the region were:

> . . . very expert also in fishing, every native is almost amphibious, and sometimes they dive under water armed with a light spear, feel in the holes for a fish and transfix it. Other tribes depend principally on the use of their nets. The rivers contain a very fair supply of fish . . . the best of these is a sort of fresh water cod, very much resembling in flavour its salt water congener. It attains a large size. At our station it was no unusual thing to catch one weighing eight-and-twenty or thirty pounds.
>
> There is another smaller fish not unlike the perch in flavour, and another known as the Jew fish or Cat fish, so called from the antennae or feelers which surround its mouth, bearing some sort of resemblance to a beard or to cats' whiskers. Besides these three species there are others whose names I do not know, and abundance of a small crawfish or prawn; so that, except in particular seasons of drought or flood, the river furnishes the natives with a tolerable supply of food.
>
> Their mode of cooking is very primitive: each family has a small fire burning in front of its guneyah, which it is the business of the 'gin' to keep alight; the game is cast with little preparation on the embers, and thus roasted.[147]

The traditional hunting drives by the Aboriginal people of the area were referred to by Gardner; he attributed the ending of these multi-group drives in part to the destruction of the large fixed nets by European shepherds:

> When New England was first settled by the Whites, they found the standing nets of the Blacks in many parts of the bush for the purpose of entrapping the wild animals – The tribes of Blacks met by appointment at these places at certain times driving from different directions their game before them, and this from a circle of many miles into these nets. The nets were made of the Kurryjong or Korachin as the blacks name it. These nets were very strong. The nets have long since been wantonly destroyed by the Shepherds, much to the discomfiture of the Blacks.[148]

Image 11: Sketch of an Aboriginal person on the Tablelands, c.1851[149]

The construction and use of nets to catch kangaroos was described by Emma Macpherson in the 1850s, though she may have been referring to smaller nets used by local groups rather than the larger nets for joint 'drives':

> The kangaroo they generally catch in nets, into which the animal is hunted, by aid of the mongrel cur which swarm at every bush encampment; though occasionally a more than usually expert hunter will stalk one much as sportsmen stalk the deer in our country, the 'waddy' or spear generally taking the place of the gun or rifle; although many of the more civilized natives are by no means unskilful in the use of the latter, when they can obtain the loan of them from the Europeans. But the more usual plan adopted by the native to procure Australian venison is either to lay a net across the trail of a single animal, or for a whole tribe, aided by the before-mentioned mongrel dogs, to form a cordon round a certain tract of country until the game is driven into the nets, which have been stretched across a narrow corner or some other convenient situation. These nets are the handiwork of the 'gins', as the native women are called, and are generally made of the fibres of the 'corryjong' tree, or of the bulrush and 'wongul' roots. These fibres are separated by maceration, and afterwards twisted together. The netting needle they use is a piece of hard smooth wood, and the string is wound round it. They work without a mesh, yet the regularity of the loops is quite astonishing.[150]

She also briefly described the use of the skins of kangaroos and possums to make cloaks or rugs:

> In the case of the kangaroo or opossum, the skin is generally carefully taken off and pegged out on a little board to dry.
>
> When a sufficient number of skins have been collected they are sewn together by the women, whose needles are wooden skewers, and their thread the sinews of some animal, or the fibres of some plant, and thus are formed the skin cloaks, the only native garment of the Australian black.[151]

In 1921 someone identified only as Jeanong wrote a letter to the *Sydney Morning Herald* describing the beauty of the skin rugs, or cloaks, that he saw in the New England region in the late 1860s:

> In 1869 the New England blacks had the art of incising most beautiful designs on the inside of their 'possum rugs. These rugs were as soft and pliable as kid. The designs appeared to be geometrically correct, and very intricate; and the dark-brown colour in which they were carried out contrasted well with the lighter tan of the 'possum skins. I have often wondered if there was a symbolic meaning in this art, for I found the blacks – with whom I was very friendly – unwilling to let me look and admire as much as I wished. They would put the rug away as quickly as possible; and by asking, I could not again be permitted to look at the treasure. For years I lost touch with the tribe, and when we renewed our friendship, only two or three remained – so quickly does the aborigine vanish before the white man and these few were degenerates. I fear these beautiful and symbolical designs are a lost art, for I never see anything approaching them on the many rugs I have since examined. I remember no particular references to this artistic gift by the authorities on the customs of the blacks.[152]

Emma Macpherson described the way in which possums, which she believed to be a more regularly eaten food than kangaroo, were caught:

> A more common article of food among the natives than the flesh of the kangaroo is that of the opossum. This little animal they obtain in a very curious manner. The hunter selects some tree which he imagines likely to be 'possum's' abiding place, and examines the bark carefully to see if there are any fresh marks of claws, indicating that one has recently gone 'up a gum tree'. This fact ascertained, he makes preparations for his ascent.
>
> As I think I have before remarked, it is one peculiarity of the full grown trees of Australia that they generally reach an immense height, frequently forty or fifty feet, before putting forth any branches, so that to the most practised of schoolboys the ascent would seem an utter impossibility. Not so, however, to the expert savage – with his stone hatchet he cuts notches in the bark for his toes, and quickly runs up the highest trees; or he makes a sort of belt or ring from some strong creeper, passes it round the trunk of the tree to be ascended and his own body, and by the alternate action of his hands and toes (which latter form the point of the angle his body makes with the tree), he contrives to jerk himself up to a great height, after a fashion

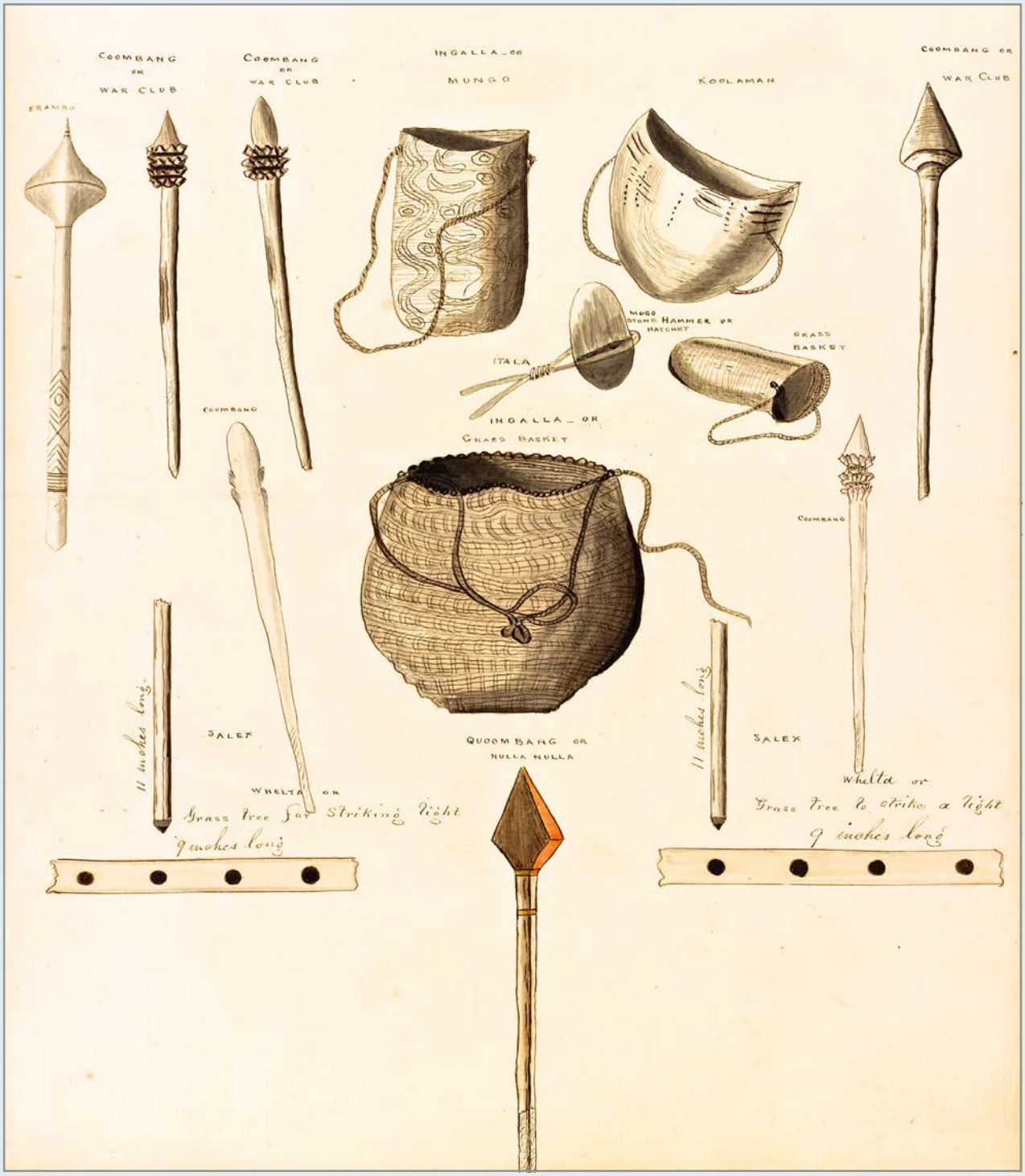


Image 12: Sketch of tools and bags on the Tablelands, c.1851[153]

> calculated to excite the admiration of an acrobat or slack rope dancer.
>
> The tree ascended, he strikes one or two of the hollow decayed branches, till he ascertains by hearing its movements in which of them his quarry has taken refuge. Soon he cuts into his retreat with his hatchet, seizes his victim by the tail, drags it out in spite of its most piteous cries and lamentations, and puts an end to its complainings and its existence.
>
> The common opossum is rather a pretty looking little creature, about the size of a rabbit, but with short ears and a fine bushy tail. There is another variety called the ring-tailed opossum from the power it has of curling its long slender tail round branches and holding on by it.
>
> It is smaller than the common species, but of the same dark grey colour, and with the same bright black eyes.[154]

Being curious she asked one of the Aboriginal people at Keera to catch a possum for her to taste:

> I was anxious to taste this Australian delicacy, and prevailed on one of our black friends to get me one. I had it stewed, after soaking it in salt and water all night, to take away the astringent flavour which its diet of gum leaves imparts to it, and really it made a very palatable dish; the flesh is very brown, but not unlike that of a rabbit in taste. There is another great delicacy of the aboriginal bill of fare, which I certainly never qualified myself to pass an opinion on, but which I have heard some gentlemen commend greatly. I allude to a large white grub which lives in trees, frequenting particularly the swamp oak and apple tree, and is regarded as a special *bonne bouche* by the natives.[155]

Vegetable foods were of course another important resource for Aboriginal people of the region. Gardner listed four different types of 'yams' that were eaten in the New England area:

> The Opia. This Yam is small & is shaped like a kidney potatoe . . . The blacks eat this Yam both roasted & raw & the taste when ripe is between that of a Spanish nut and a sweet potatoe. The Blacks procure this near to the roots of trees.
>
> The Randa. This Yam has a green top . . . with a yellow flower in the centre. It grows in swamps and marshy grounds. Its taste is similar to the kernel of a spanish-nut.
>
> The Thambanga . . . grows in swamps & is about the size of a marble or musket ball, its roots are forked similar to a carrot, this is a very nutritious Yam, is mealy & dry & is much sought after by the native blacks. Two Yams are found at each root.
>
> The Elonga or Elnonga. This Yam grows among the rocks in the hill country. The Elmonga branches from the roots, and are eaten raw. They are six inches long and one inch thick. Horses & cattle are very fond of the tops . . .[156]

The banksia, or honeysuckle as it was called by the early Europeans, was an important resource and large groups gathered to enjoy it in March when it ripened:

> The Banksia (native name Embianna & Lotcherra (Honey Suckle of the Colonist). There are two species of this tree. The Embianna, which is a bush & is to be found in the swamp or low country, and the Lotchurra which grows on high ground & ridges to a height of from 20 to 30 feet . . . The cob when ripe as also the bristle are of a bright . . . yellow Colour. The Cob contains a great deal of honey. Banksias are ripe in March, during this month the blacks assemble from all quarters to the [honey] suckle or as the blacks term it the sugar bag grounds where abundance [greets] them. The small native bee is found here in great numbers during this Season.[157]

The people of the Tablelands and western slopes were, and are, part of the ceremonial life of a broader region, stretching east to the coast and west towards the plains. The violence and dispossession of the 1830s, which continued in subsequent decades, affected the capacity of the Aboriginal communities of the region to undertake ceremonial activities. Nonetheless they did continue to hold large ceremonial gatherings in the region.

In addressing the question of the Aboriginal population of the region Commissioner Macdonald appears to refer, in 1841, to major ceremonies still happening in the region and involving hundreds of Aboriginal people:

> It is at all times a matter of much difficulty to determine the number of the Natives frequenting particular Districts of Country with any certainty in consequence of their wandering and unsettled habits of life, a Tribe

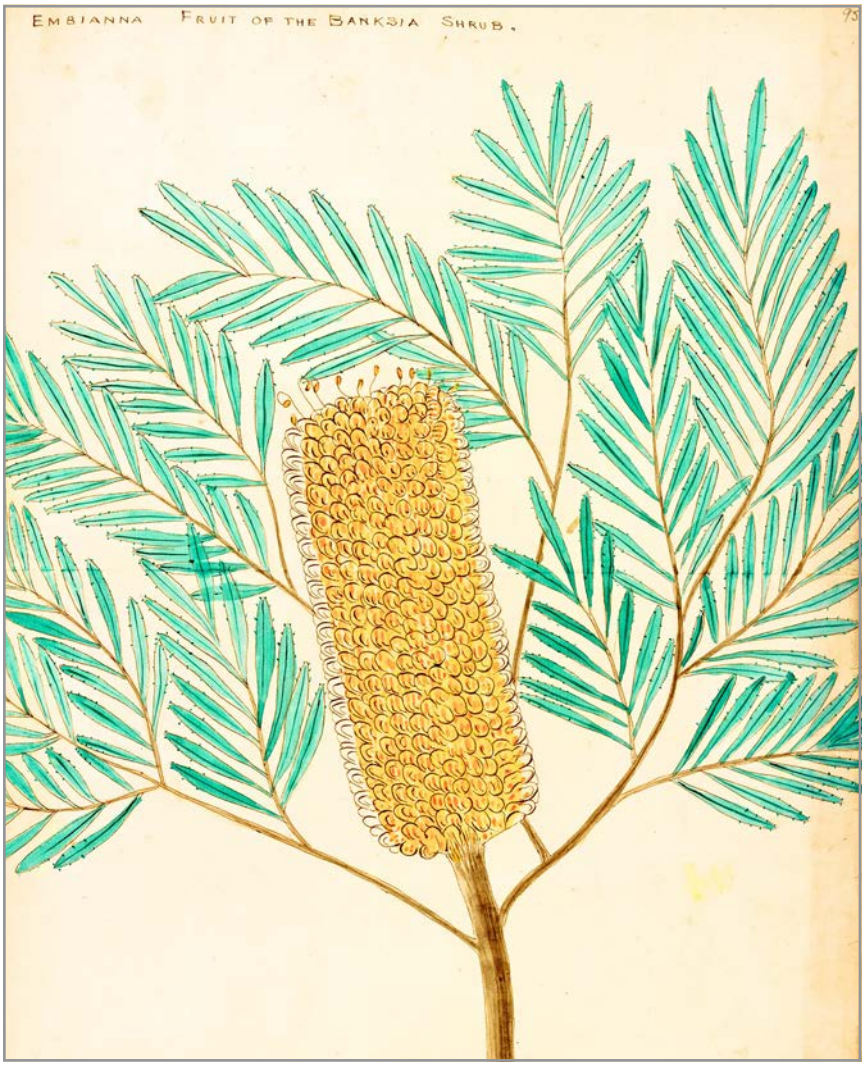


Image 13: Embianna, fruit of the banksia shrub, c.1851[158]

rarely remaining in any one encampment for more than a week or ten days at a time, except when they congregate in force at certain seasons of the year from different parts of the District, during the celebration of their Religious ceremony of the Kebarrah or Boro (that is, the initiation of the young men to the immunities and privileges of Manhood); and, from personal observation on these occasions and information gathered from the Police, it does not appear to me that their number in New England exceeds five or six hundred.[159]

The surveyor O'Sullivan White gave the following account of a large regional gathering that occurred in 1850 near Armidale; at the time he was a young man travelling with his father who was also a surveyor:

I will give one more account of a corroboree of a different character that I witnessed in New England in November, 1850, two miles this side of Armidale. There were some 600 in all, including the Macleay and Clarence River blacks, as well as those of New England. The plot, for so I must call it, was a singular one, and very laughable in its denouement. Picture to yourself this number of blacks massed in a body, all elaborately painted white and red before the large fires lighted for the occasion, forming a square within which you could not see. All at once, in time to their rude chant, opening out to the right and left into line with as much precision as soldiers on parade, an object coming into view which puzzled you to say what it was. At last you discover it to be a blackfellow all smeared over with honey, to which adhered the white down of birds, giving him a most grotesque appearance. According to them he represents the debil debil by hopping before them while they execute a war dance, their spears pointed towards him as if for throwing,

and their feet coming to the ground together, in time to the beat of the gins. They are excellent time keepers – they never make a mistake – when going through their performances, which they generally finish off about twelve o'clock.

The morning after the corroboree I was a spectator of, I imagine what few whites have witnessed, that is, the carrying out of a sentence passed upon an Aboriginal by his tribe for the stealing of a gin belonging to another tribe. The sentence was that he should have twelve spears thrown at him from a distance of twelve paces. The only protection allowed him to guard against the spears was a small shield, called by them a heileman, made of hard wood about four inches wide where the hand hold was, about fifteen inches long, pointed at both ends. Every spear was thrown by a different black, and with all the force of the thrower, and true to its mark. Every one he met with his heileman, and they glanced off, leaving him unharmed. His position while receiving them was sitting on his hams. I was close to him, and he never shrank. His nerve must have been great. After the punishment was over there was a general scrimmage. From what cause I did not learn. The coast blacks, that is, those of the Macleay and Clarence River, separated from the New England blacks, then one from each body stepped out in front, armed only with a boomerang. Then they commenced running up

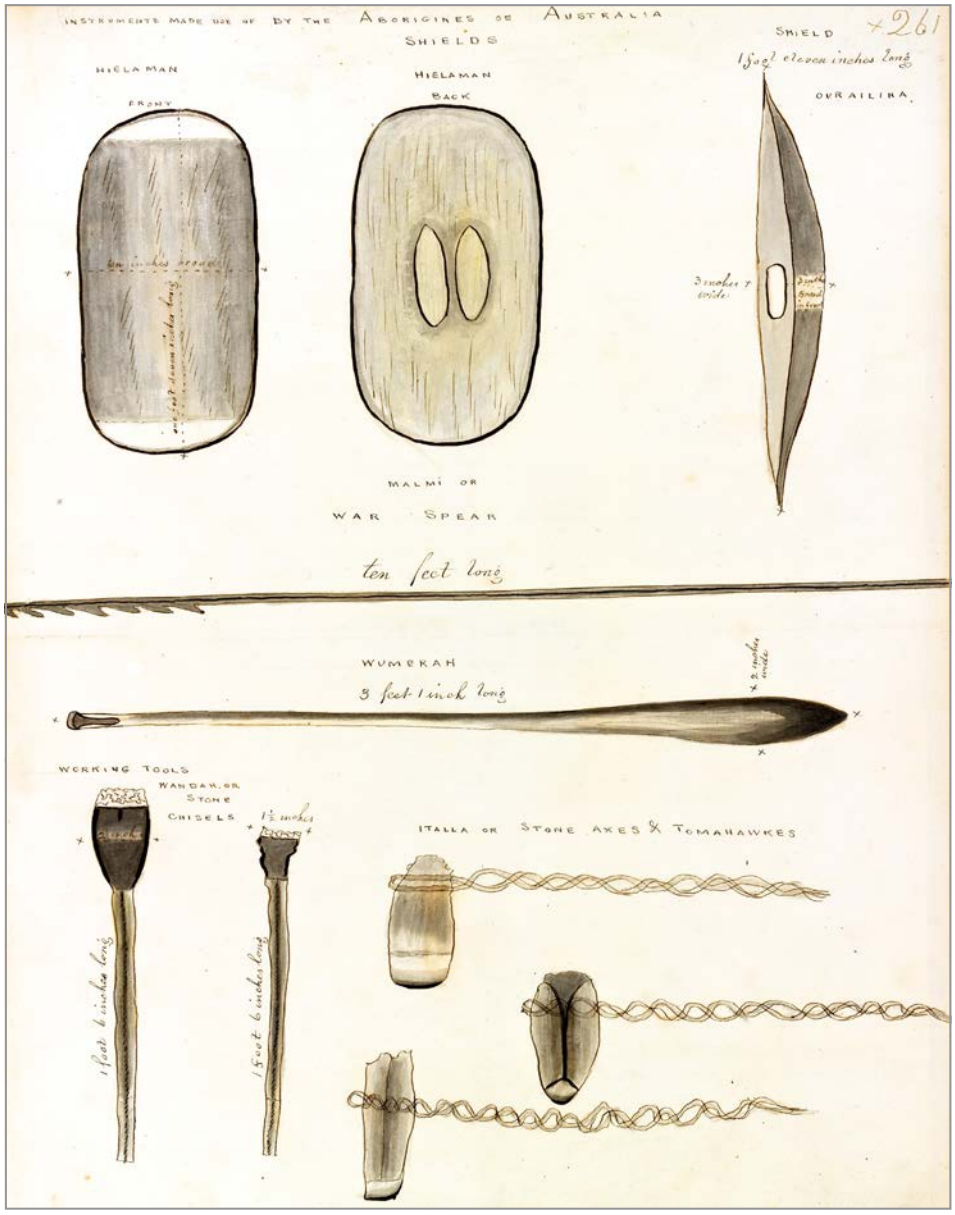


Image 14: Warfare and hunting tools, c.1851[160]

> and down, talking away, evidently abusing one another, and getting steam up, till it came to bursting point, when they each let a boomerang go along the ground in a vicious manner. This was the sequel of battle, and the fight became general. They used nothing but boomerangs and waddies. It was soon over, neither side as far as I could see getting the better of it. There were none killed; a few cut about the legs from the boomerangs, and some with bruised heads from the waddies were all the casualties. After it was over they seemed as friendly as ever. This was the only blacks' fight I ever witnessed, and a very harmless one it was.[161]

There are also references to ritual fights between Tableland and coastal river groups. In his reminiscences of Armidale, Joseph Scholes recalled a ritual fight between Tablelands and coastal river people that occurred around the late 1840s:

> The blacks used to visit Armidale in goodly numbers in those days . . . I remember vividly a big fight between the New England and the Macleay blacks. The battle was fought in the scrub where the railway engine-sheds now stand. When the battle was over, they sent for the late Dr. Markham to attend the victims of the conflict. The doctor extracted several inches of barbed spear from the leg of one of the sable warriors – he brought the ugly implement back to town and showed it to myself and others on his return.[162]

In the 1869 *Clarence & Richmond Examiner* & *New England Advertiser* there was the following note:

> A rumour has been prevalent for some few days past (says the *Macleay Herald*) that the Clarence, Bellinger, Macleay, and New England blacks are going to have a grand corroboree in the neighbourhood of Kempsey shortly, and that afterwards the Clarence and Bellinger tribes intend fighting the others.[163]

Emma Macpherson, on Keera Station from 1856 to 1857, wrote the following account of ceremonial activities she witnessed:

> A very curious sight is a corroboree or native dance, in which the men alone take part. One of these Australian realizations of Mr. Spurgeon's ideas of what a ball should be, was held in our paddock during our stay in the interior, and though the 'at home' was not very largely attended, as it was the only one I was likely to have an opportunity of witnessing, I walked down with my husband and looked on at a respectful distance. It was really a curious sight, those wild looking figures seen in the dark night by the red glow of the fires, performing all sorts of strange evolutions, their naturally savage appearance rendered still more striking by the streaks of red and white clay with which they were bedaubed, and the quantities of feathers and down with which they had covered their hair. The women sat round in an admiring circle, chanting in chorus a sort of wild recitation, all the singers beating time, and admirable time too, with their 'paddy melon' sticks on a sort of a drum made by a fold of their opossum skin cloaks, which was stretched between their knees, the monotony of the never-ending air being relieved by the shoutings and howlings of the dancers. It really hardly occurred to me that they were human beings, the whole picture in the lurid glare of their torches seemed so unreal, I could only compare it to a scene of *diablerie* from *Der Freischütz* or *Faust*. The continuation of sounds produced by this primitive orchestra was rarely loud enough to be disagreeable, and was not wanting in a sort of musical power well suited to the scene. Some experienced elder of the band marked the time by knocking together two sticks – not exactly after the fashion of M. Jullien, however, inasmuch as he only uses one.
>
> I do not think that the meaning of these 'Corroborees' has ever been exactly understood. I fancy myself that they are looked on partly as superstitious observances proper to be performed at certain seasons of the year, and during certain phases of the moon. There are other meetings they hold, known in our part of the country as 'Boroes', which they acknowledge are for the purpose of celebrating some superstitious rites practised when their youth arrive at years of manhood, but they are particularly jealous of the presence of Europeans at these rites and I never met with any one who had witnessed their celebration. The tribes assemble from great distances to be present at these gatherings, and as the call to a 'boroe' is as urgent and imperative as was that of the fiery cross in days of yore, it is, as may be imagined, a sound of fear to a poor squatter who has three or four of his flocks in the hands of native shepherds.[164]

Matthew Henry Marsh held the Crown lease on Salisbury and Boorolong stations from the 1840s. From 1845 to 1854 he and his wife lived

on Salisbury Station.[165] In his account of life in Australia, published in 1867, Marsh had little to say regarding the Aboriginal people of the area. He did though note that:

> They had occasionally great meetings to which tribes used to come some distance, perhaps from sixty to seventy miles, but there might not have been anything religious in these meetings.[166]

In 1897 an account of what is clearly an important ceremonial location at Moonbi was published. The area included a bora ground, rock art and carved trees:

> The trees of the Ka-burrow ground bear marks which are supposed to refer to certain aborigines who were made what was known as Ka-burrows. The markings of the eight of these trees are shown, but there are nine others, the markings of which were too overgrown for delineation. As there are seventeen figures as well as three moons and other objects represented on the painted rock, it is thought that each of the figures refers to a particular aborigine. The marked rock of the Tow-ari ground is about half a mile from the painted rock. Blacks will not venture near the Tow-ari ground, for it is supposed to be haunted by deceased aborigines, who light their fires and cook their food there.[167]

It is not known if ceremonial activities were still connected to this site but clearly the Aboriginal people of the area knew of it and treated it with respect. Indeed, it was still known in the 1940s when the amateur scientist WJ Enright recorded that he had shown the 1896 illustrations to:

> SK, a full-blooded Kumbangerai tribesman. He said that the *towrai* ground mentioned in the article was outside the bora ground proper and was the place where the chiefs met to decide which candidates would be selected for initiation. He pointed out the middle tree in the middle row and stated that his mark or brand was on that tree, meaning that it would be the first mark shown to him after the opossum skin rug was taken off his head during initiation and not that it was peculiar to him.[168]

Enright also noted that a Mr. Coulter of Attunga had searched for the trees and rocks shown in the 1896 illustrations but had been unable to find the trees:

Image 15: 'Ka-burrow Ground, marked trees at Moonbi', c.1896[169]

> Most of the trees standing in the district have been ring-barked and many other trees have been cut down. Mr. Coulter has found the rock, bearing paintings . . . at the head of Back Creek and approximately three miles west of Moonbi . . . mentioned in the [1897] article. The drawings are well preserved and are executed in pale red ochre on a granite face, on the back wall and the ceiling of the shelter. One of the drawings consists of a number of parallel straight lines enclosed by an oval line about fifteen inches long. SK has informed the writer that the lines were a warning to unauthorized people against visiting the spot. Nobody but a fully initiated man had any right to go there. Mr. Coulter has not been able to find the rock bearing the concentric circles, depicted in the [1896] sketch, but did find a carved tree, now in the Australian Museum, and a bora ring, since ploughed up, about five miles away from the drawings at Upper Moor Creek.[170]

Black Mountain, which lies just north of Armidale, also appears to have been a bora site. In a 1913 newspaper article describing a trip to New England from the coast the author stated that:

> Black Mountain derives its name from a hill with a saddle between the two ends. On this it is said there was once a sacred 'bora' tree and corrobberee ground of Aborigines, hence the name should have been Black's Mountain. But there are not wanting some who profess to be sceptical of the whole story, and declare that the curious marks on the tree were not of aboriginal design.[172]

In the earlier memoirs of Charles Blomfield, resident on Boorolong Station from 1868 to 1888, there is no doubt that Black Mountain is a ceremonial location:

> There is a big flat-topped basalt mountain quite close to where the railway line between Exmouth Platform and Black Mountain Station goes; this was the New England Aboriginal Bora Ground. (This is one of the largest Bora grounds in the Tablelands . . .) and in the early days was always known as 'The Blacks' Mountain'. It was afterwards changed to Black Mountain, hence the name of the Railway Station. This Blacks' Mountain has an unbroken view as far as the eye can see, north, east and west.[173]

A later notation to the memoirs by the Reverend McKie adds that:

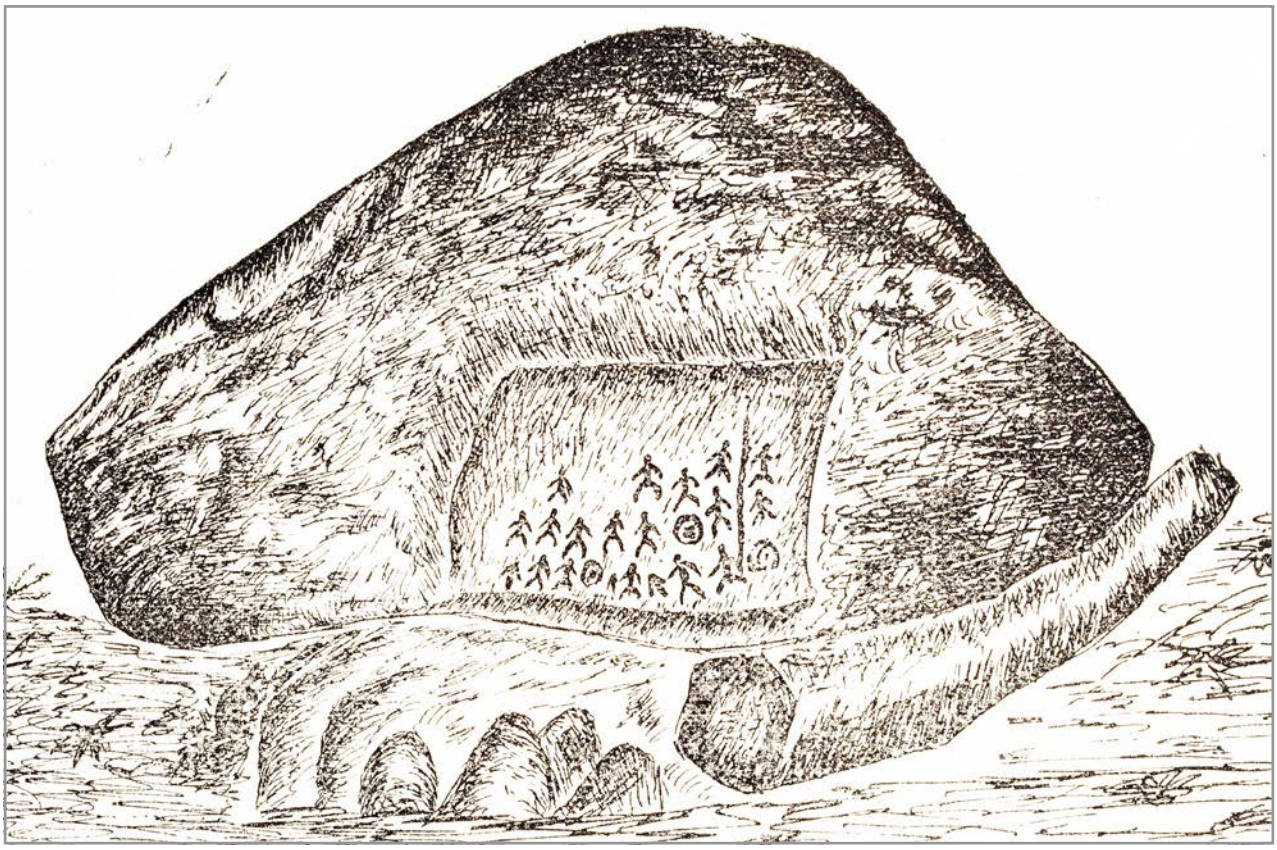


Image 16: 'Ka-burrow Ground . . . at Moonbi', rock art, c.1896[171]

> There is a concave depression between the two ends of the mountain. On the flat and up part of the side there are piled heaps of stones, apparently put there by the aboriginals, for in the rocks area no white would bother stacking the stones. The heaps of stones area arranged in a more or less circular outline; the rock is olivene basalt – olivene in fair sized crystals. It is just possible these stone heaps may have had something to do with the ceremonies of the natives . . . During 1945 the top was cleared and a trig cairn and sighting disc erected. Residents speak of a carved tree with aboriginal markings. I have searched for it but it has gone.[174]

Another important ceremonial area was in falls country east of Oban, in 1850 Paddy's Land Station was taken up there by Coventry. Gardner recorded of that station that it was:

> . . . encircled except on the north, by high falls from the tablelands – on the south, east & west. Several of the tribes of blacks yearly visited this unfrequented land, from the game it afforded, & here they held their Boras. The Cataracts over the great falls are remarkable, particularly during drooping or wet seasons . . . The blacks formerly named this land Yara Mericana. This country like ancient Petra in Arable Petra is encircled by rocks.[175]

In 1896 the surveyor and ethnographer R.H. Mathews wrote an account of bora or 'burbung' ceremonies on the New England, stating that it was based on "the result of my own observations, and from information obtained from the natives".[176] This is the most detailed account of ceremony on the New England, written by an observer with a genuine interest in Aboriginal ritual life and an ethnographic approach. The description is a long and detailed one, including how the various groups are notified and gathered together as well as details of the ceremony. Only limited extracts are included here.

Mathews described the main camp established for the ceremonies as being:

> . . . generally situated on a moderately level piece of ground, not far from water, and where plenty of wood for fuel is obtainable. It is also chosen in a part of the tribal territory where game is sufficiently abundant to afford a food supply for the people who are in attendance while the ceremonies last. The local tribe are the first to erect their quarters, and the other contingents who have been invited encamp around this as a datum point, each in the direction of the country from which they have come.[177]

Mathews continued with descriptions of the bora or burbung rings:

> Adjacent to the main camp, a slightly oval or circular space, called *urfanbang*, about thirty feet in diameter, is cleared of all timber and grass, and the loose soil scraped off the surface in making it level is used to form the raised earthen embankment which surrounds it. This embankment is about a foot high . . . A narrow pathway (*indyoona*) leads from this circle to another cleared space of somewhat smaller dimensions, about a quarter of a mile distant, in a secluded part of the forest . . . On approaching the farther ring . . . some tracks of an emu's foot cut in the ground, the outline of an iguana formed of raised earth, and some other figures. The bark on the boles of a number of trees around this ring are marked with various wavy, zigzag and oval patterns cut with a tomahawk . . . in close proximity to the marked trees, is the horizontal figure of a man, larger than life size, lying prone on the ground.[178]

Mathews described the way people came together from around the area for ceremony:

> When the time arrives to start for the appointed meeting-place, all the men, women and children are mustered up, and the journey is commenced towards the Burbung ground, dances and songs being indulged in at the various camping-places along the route.[179]

When the people first come together at the ceremony place Mathews described a series of processions that involve both men and women, though only the men approach the smaller of the rings. When the people arrive at the grounds:

> . . . the men approach the small ring in single file, their bodies being painted in squares and ovals in white and red colours. They generally arrive in the evening, but sometimes early in the morning. They enter the ring and go round in single file till they are all within it, and sit down on the embankment, with their faces towards the country from which they have come. One of them now sounds a bullroarer, and the men belonging to the ground, who may be called the 'hosts', then come along the track from the camp and also enter the ring and walk around,

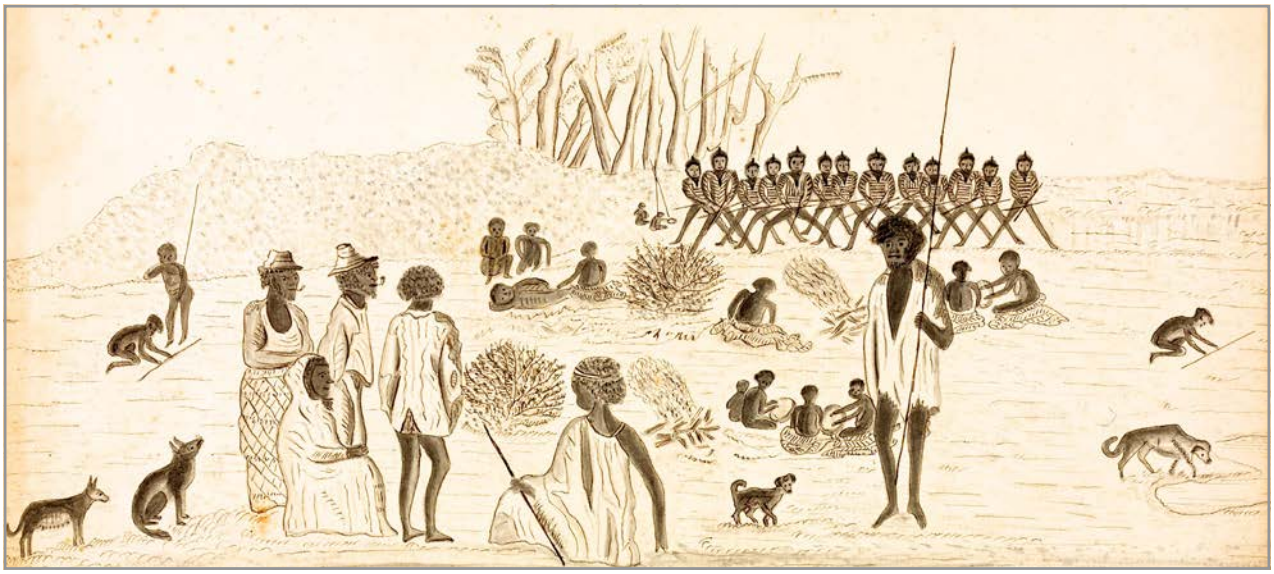


Image 17: 'Corrobora Dance . . . ', Tablelands, c.1851[180]

keeping inside the strange men who are sitting on the bank. Here they come to a stand, each man looking towards the big ring. The hosts know what district the new mob are from by the direction in which their faces are turned, and the new mob know the hosts are the people belonging to the ground, because they stand looking in that direction – but neither party speaks a word.

The new men then get up and walk round the hosts, and start away along the track towards the *urfanbang* [large ring]. Each man breaks two small boughs, one of which he carries in each hand, and sways them in the air at intervals as he walks along. Some of them may carry a boomerang in one hand, and a bush in the other. On arriving at the ring, they find the women of the hosts dancing within it, and the new men enter it and dance round the women. Everybody, men and women, then come out of the ring.

The women of the strangers, who had walked on to the larger ring when their men went to the small one, are sitting down outside the embankment, waiting. When the hosts' women come out, these new women, accompanied by the novices of their tribe, enter the ring. The men of the hosts, who have followed the other men from the small ring, and also carrying boughs in their hands, then march in round them. The strange women then come out, and their men go in. The men of both tribes, being now all in the ring, pull the leaves off their green boughs and throw them in the air, letting them fall on the ground, at the same time calling out the names of the principal places, Burbung grounds, etc., in their country. After this, all the men come out of the ring, and the new mob of men and women go and pitch their camp.[181]

This ritual of arrival is repeated with each of the new groups until all are gathered for the ceremony. Mathew's account continues with a description of the separation of the young men, some of the ceremonies of their initiation, and the actions of the remainder of the men and women at the main camp, including a brief mention of the women's and girls' ceremonial dancing during the period of the boys' removal, and then the return of the boys and the final group ceremonies.[182]

Dual occupation

In the initial decades of European intrusion the Aboriginal people of the New England area continued to follow their pre-existing patterns of existence and attempted to incorporate the European presence within this pattern. Nonetheless, from very early in the process of European intrusion Aboriginal people began to interact with and became part of the new European economy.

On some of the stations of the New England region a system of 'dual occupation' developed with the formation of station camps. While it is clear that Aboriginal people continued to move around their country in extended family groups these station camps emerged as important

residential bases as access to land and resources continued to decline in subsequent decades as a result of pastoral expansion. On some stations, rather than the accommodation of dual occupation, there appears to have been a more sustained effort by the Europeans to simply exclude, by force, Aboriginal people from the station run.

Nonetheless, the dominant picture that emerges from the patchy documentary sources is that in the first two decades of pastoral expansion there was a limited but increasing amount of non-violent interaction between pastoralists and Aboriginal people.

Individuals from within Aboriginal communities worked at a range of labouring, shepherding and domestic jobs, with larger groups participating in activities such as bark stripping. Bark, from stringybark and melaleuca trees in particular, was traditionally used by Aboriginal people throughout Australia to construct temporary and permanent houses. Wattle bark was also used for the tanning of hides. The architectural historian Miles Lewis states that:

> In Australia bark construction is one of the few forms [of housing] which might seriously be thought to have derived from the Aborigines, who had developed the techniques of stripping and curing bark, and who used it for dwellings, canoes and other purposes.[183]

Europeans adopted the use of bark for roofing and wall cladding throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. The techniques for stripping the bark were learnt from Aboriginal people, and it was commonly the Aboriginal people of the area who also undertook the work of stripping the bark for the Europeans.

The system of dual occupation was the product of the interaction between the limitations emerging on the traditional economic base of the Aboriginal people, the need of European pastoralists for labour, and the desire of Aboriginal people to maintain links with, and residence on, their traditional lands. The emergence of permanent station camps and ongoing associations between particular Aboriginal families and individual pastoralists are characteristic features of dual occupation. For pastoralists, station camps provided a readily available labour pool; for Aboriginal people, these camps allowed them to continue to reside within their traditional lands and maintain traditional economic and cultural practices.

This pattern of limited co-existence emerged throughout Australia at the corresponding period of pastoral expansion.[184] Speaking specifically in relation to the Queensland pastoral industry, but in a comment relevant to all areas of interaction between Aboriginal people and pastoralists, the historian Henry Reynolds has stated that:

> The blacks' camp provided station managers with a ready and reliable pool of labour. Young men were brought into the workforce at times of high demand, like mustering, and allowed to return to traditional food-gathering when station work slackened. But the Aboriginals saw advantages in the situation, too. They willingly remained on stations when European boundaries encompassed traditional territory. The seasonal nature of the work enabled young men and women to maintain links with their own traditions and to perform their spiritual and ceremonial duties.[185]

One of the earliest examples of dual occupation was on Ollera Station, about 20 kilometres to the north-west of modern Guyra.[186] Commissioner Macdonald, in his report for 1841, stated of the squatters Everett and Halked on Wandsworth [Ollera] Station that:

> . . . these gentlemen having succeeded by kindness and perseverance in inducing a small Tribe, frequenting the tract of Country contiguous to their Station of 'Wandsworth', to remain almost constantly upon it, the young men being employed in various capacities on the establishment, not only as stockmen and shepherds, but as Domestic Servants also in the house; and, although these gentlemen have settled nearly four years in the District, and Stations in their neighbourhood have been attacked on various occasions by the Natives, yet no outrage of any kind has ever been attempted on them. I would also beg further to instance these gentlemen as affording the only solitary example of any attempt having been made to Study and acquire the Aboriginal Dialects of the District.[187]

Interestingly the implication is that no women or older men worked on the station.

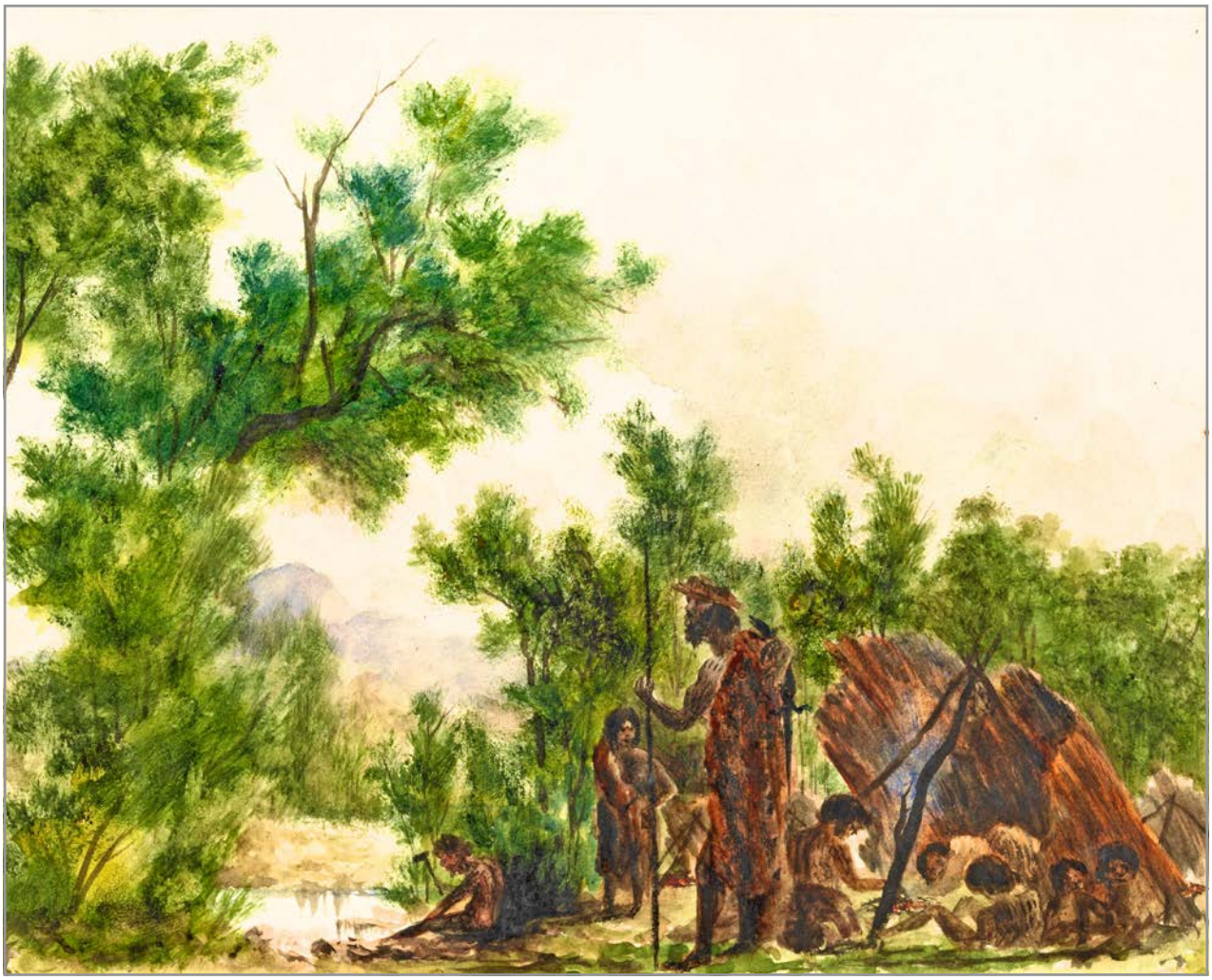


Image 18: Aboriginal people near Newton Boyd, c.1848[188]

In a letter from John Everett of Ollera Station to his sister, written in June 1840, there is considerable detail regarding the role of Aboriginal people in these very early days of European pastoral intrusion:

> The Blacks have lately paid us a long visit & have been grinding our wheat for us which is a great accommodation to us as we cannot keep a man for that alone, & the shepherds are out all day with their sheep. We give them about a couple of pounds of flour & some tobacco & they go to their camp quite happy & contented. They are now all gone to catch opossums except two boys who are left in our charge & live with us. The eldest boy is named William & the little fellow Jimmy. Their native names are [not transcribed] & Randgonbon. William I have taught to ride & he goes out after the cattle. The other day when the Blacks left us a pup of the Kangaroo breed which George gave me went with them. They would have taken the greatest care of her but I was afraid of its not having enough to eat & thereby impairing its growth. It was about two hours before sun down when I discovered the pup was missing. I called William & he told me the blacks had taken it with them, I then asked him how far off they were camped & he answered close up, by which he meant not very far. Being afraid of losing my pup, I mounted my horse, & taking him with me upon another determined to pursue after them. We started off at a canter after following a long narrow valley for a couple of miles we came to a place were [sic] the grass was on fire, & William informed me they had been smoking out some bushrats. We still followed on their tracks across a swamp and over some [words missing from transcription] . . . the black boy still in the direction of the camp & saying close up. We went for another mile over rough country when we came to a creek running through a steep stone gulley. We then saw smoke at a distance which William

said was the camp. I [words missing] to cooy to announce our approach if more because [words missing] and as my horses had no sh[. . .] I told him to jump down & run to the [camp] & bring the pup to me. I still slowly advanced towards the camp which was situated at the junction of two rocky gullies, a most dismal looking place but very secure from intruders. There was an immense stone or rather rock right in my path which hid the camp from [words missing] and presently I heard a cooy which I answered with a cooy & immediately there was a loud laugh, and almost at the same instant three men and some boys appeared from behind the rock the foremost whose name was Jackey carrying the pup in his arms. I made him understand that I was not afraid that he would steal the pup, but that some whitefellow would see it & take it from him. I took the pup on the horse & started off in the direction of our dray track, which I reached just as it was growing dark; a very narrow escape of passing a cold fasting night in the bush, which is by no means a pleasant thing. This I know by experience.[189]

The Everett brothers' approach to the Aboriginal people of the area, shown particularly in their efforts to learn the local language, is unusually

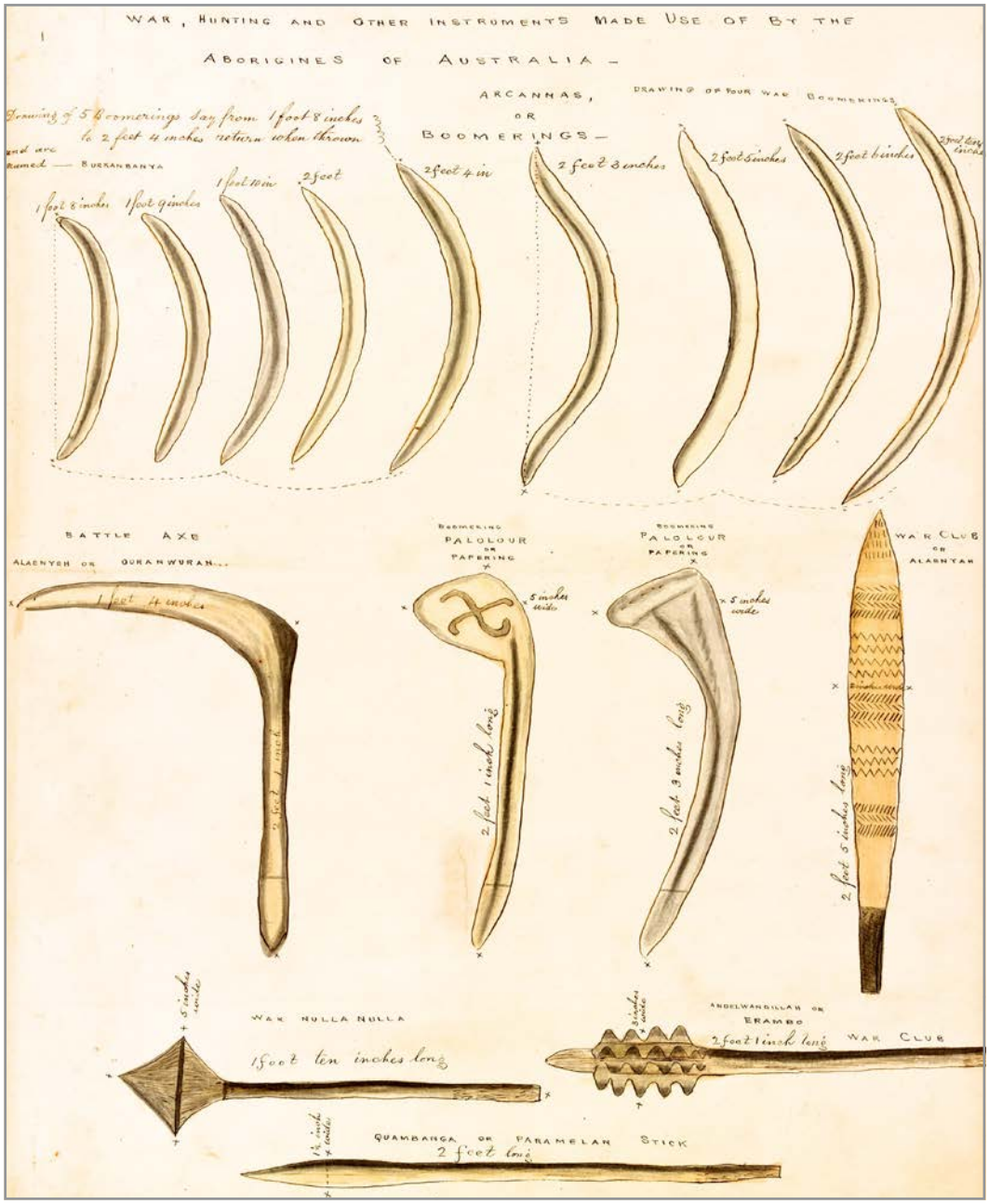


Image 19: 'War, Hunting and other Instruments', c.1850s[190]

benign. It is likely that as a result their station would have come to be seen by Aboriginal people as a place that was relatively safe from the threat of violence on so many other runs in the region. This would have been of direct benefit to the Everetts who, by their approach, ensured themselves access to a ready labour force while also reducing the chance of any Aboriginal resistance to the European intrusion, expressed in attacks on stock or men, being carried out against their property.

The 1840s show evidence that Aboriginal people were beginning to develop limited working relationships with the intruding pastoralists throughout the region. In his report for 1842, Commissioner Macdonald stated that:

> Their intercourse with the stock holders seems to be more frequent, and on a more trustful and friendly footing than formerly; indeed there are but few Stations in the District that have not now one or two Natives constantly on the establishment; and it has become common and constant practice with the Proprietors in their journies [sic] to take one with them as an attendant or servant; but, as labourers and shepherds, they are not, I regret to say, so generally or so advantageously employed as I think they might be.[191]

The following year, 1843, Commissioner Macdonald referred to his own employment of Aboriginal people as trackers with the Border Police:

> The Natives, whom I have attached to the Party of the Border Police under my charge, I find frequently of considerable assistance, more especially in communication through them with their own People, and also in employing them at times to follow up the trail of Prisoners of the Crown, who have Absconded; an instance of which may be here mentioned; a Runaway from a Government Surveying Party effected his Escape from durance a few days since through the negligence of the Policeman, to whose charge he was committed; and, although the prisoner had the advantage of more than a day's start in advance, the Native, whom I sent in pursuit with a Policeman, succeeded in tracking his footsteps through the forest until he came up with and captured him.[192]

By 1845, Commissioner Macdonald was stating that:

> . . . their intercourse with the Stockholders is growing daily more general, and their Relations with them more trustful, amicable and serviceable than ever; indeed there are but few of the establishments of the Licensed Locators of the Crown Lands, without one or more Aboriginal Natives employed as Shepherds, Stockmen and House Servants; and, in some few recent instances, I have known them to be under agreement for a specified time, and to be paid in Wages as other ordinary Servants, the common mode being merely to remunerate them with Rations and Clothing; the native, attached personally to myself, I have found of frequent and more essential service in influencing the more wild and distant Tribes, and neutralizing their natural hostility towards the European.[193]

Allan Macpherson held Keera Station in the 1840s; in 1847 he took up Mount Abundance in modern-day Queensland. In the following year he travelled between the two properties a number of times. His account of these travels, based on his journal, indicates the presence of Aboriginal people near the Keera homestead. His lack of comment on the Aboriginal people undertaking various jobs indicate that it was already a normal part of daily station life:

> Here is a memo of 'Tuesday, 18th January. By dint of violent exertions, bogging the whole way, got home to Keera i.e., I went first to Molroy, then followed the river (the Gwydir) up on the same side of Keera, left my horses, &c., (the &c., on this occasion including all my clothes), on the one side, and swam across, where I found dry clothes, &c., which the people from the cottage, in answer to my shoutings, had brought down. It was nine o'clock at night before I got up to the cottage. It rained all night.' I may observe that from the tremendous force of the current I had the narrowest squeak for my life up to that time I had ever had, and but for the aid of a number of kindly blacks (camped at the river) who helped me, I should not now be writing this narrative. It is quite one thing to swim an odd dozen or two of creeks – quite another to swim a great river like the 'Big River' in a flood, as it used familiarly to be called in that district.[194]

The following day he had noted in his journal, "Blacks got my saddle, etc., across the river".[195] On leaving on the return journey to Mount

Abundance a "Keera black called Jemmy" made the trip with him and he notes that "lost bullocks . . . [were] always tracked and recovered by Black Jemmy".[196]

Commissioner Macdonald, in 1842, referred to the squatters taking Aboriginal people with them on journeys; this was often because of their knowledge of country. An example of this comes from the taking up of Paddy's Land Station in 1850 by Coventry, who held Oban Station.[197] Paddy's Land Station was located on the falls country east of Oban:

> This Country was first visited by Mr Coventry, who laid out a Station capable of running ten thousand sheep, he found much difficulty in getting into it, having attempted this by a wrong spur. His party in order to regain the table land, were Compelled to hold on by the tails of their horses.
>
> In a Second attempt he was more fortunate he took a black fellow with him, who knew the country well, & who laughed at their first trip saying, 'White fellow don't know good way down'. He conducted the party by another spur which they had not thought of, by this spur a dray can with ease & safety go to the newly formed station, in the undulating country betwixt the falls, here the climate from that of the range country is greatly changed, a plentiful supply of green herbage & grass is found here in winter & during this season the Climate is Similar to that of Moreton Bay. There is a good road from Armadale & Falconer plains to the head station in Paddysland, & from this for travelling on horseback ten miles to Parrotts on the Sugarloaf river, & eighteen miles to Broadmeadow but as yet no dray road has been found from the head station to Grafton, a matter however of very considerable consequence . . . Mr Coventry named the Country Paddys land, after the Black fellow who took his party into it.[198]

In late 1851 gold was discovered at the Rocky River just west of modern day Uralla. It was the main New England goldfield, though never large by the standards of other regions. In 1855 the population at the Rocky River diggings hit its peak at around 4,500 people, declining as the surface gold ran out.[199] Other minor strikes were made around the region in the 1850s.[200] Throughout New South Wales the gold boom of the 1850s led to a sharp, though temporary, decline in the European labour force available to squatters as workers left their jobs to try their luck on the gold fields. Where the squatters were not yet established, such as in the far west, the lack of manpower enabled the Aboriginal people of those regions to more successfully resist the intrusion. However, in areas where squatters were already established, such as New England, the shortage

Image 20: Station Camp, Keera Station, c.1856–57[201]

of European labour encouraged the development of dual occupation, with its characteristic station camps. The importation of Chinese men as indentured labourers was a feature of this period, in addition to the considerable number of Chinese emigrants to the goldfields themselves. In 1852 John Everett wrote, "We have blacks and chinese shepherding and must depend upon the blacks to reap the wheat".[202]

Emma Macpherson, the wife of Allan Macpherson who held Keera Station, described the station camp there in the mid 1850s:

> One of the most interesting features of the landscape in the vicinity of our station was an encampment of aborigines, about a quarter of a mile from our cottage. When we first arrived it consisted only of some eight or ten individuals, men, women, and children, who belonged to that neighbourhood, or to use their own phrase looked on Keera as their ***tourai***, the little domain which belonged to them and they to it; but no sooner did the news of our coming spread among the neighbouring tribes or families than the size of the encampment greatly increased, and during the whole of our residence we had some thirty or forty of these poor creatures encamped in our immediate neighbourhood. My husband had always taken a great interest in them, and been perhaps a little too liberal to them, so directly they heard of his return they flocked to see him, and remained about the station until we left – a very lengthened residence; for they have in general a great dislike to remain so long in one place – a dislike partly arising, no doubt, from the game in the neighbourhood becoming quickly exhausted, but also founded on some superstitious reason which we could never understand. Even while they remained in our paddock they would change the site of their little bark huts or guneyahs every eight or ten days, sometimes encamping on one side of the creek, sometimes on the other, and sometimes not moving above twenty or thirty yards from their former situation, but always making some move, however slight. I was naturally very anxious to learn all I could about this strange race, and their encampment was a source of great interest to me. It used to be a very favourite resort of ours in the evenings, and my husband would get into conversation with some of the more sociable individuals, and try to extract from them all the information likely to interest me, but they were very chary in communicating anything touching their ways and customs.
>
> Nor is it quite easy to understand them, for although all those I ever came in contact with spoke a sort of English, it is so much of a jargon, consisting principally of a sort of prison slang not bearing much resemblance to the pure vernacular, that one requires to become familiar with it before it conveys much meaning for ears uninstructed. The original concocters of this singular gibberish, the universal medium of intercourse between Europeans and the aborigines, appear to have anticipated Mrs. Plornish's style of conversing with Calvallo (in Dickens's *Little Dorrit*) – the ludicrous result of which is, that the speakers on both sides are under the impression that the principal terms made use of are peculiar to the language of the other, whereas in reality they belong to neither, nor to any known language whatever.
>
> The actual native language, as spoken among themselves, appeared to me rather musical and pretty, from the frequent use of single and double vowels at the termination of the words.
>
> They have no written alphabet, nor indeed any means of recording past events. The nearest approach to hieroglyphics in use among them are the rude carvings on trees in the vicinity of their burial places.[203]

Matthew Marsh, who held Salisbury and Booroolong in the 1840s and 50s, had a somewhat different view of the Aboriginal people's command of English:

> They learn English very quickly and some of them talk it really well and fluently . . . The fact is, the blacks learn everything quickly: they soon ride very well, they are fond of horses and take care of them very fairly, they thus make themselves useful in long journeys. They are light-weights, and are very good hands at finding stray horses and cattle.[204]

In relation to Aboriginal people and station work he commented that:

> They sometimes will shepherd sheep for some weeks together, and for a few days will often work hard at sheep-washing or other things, but they do not like the same employment for a long time together.[205]

This widespread pattern of Aboriginal people preferring to engage only in seasonal pastoral labour allowed for the continuation of pre-existing

patterns of movement associated with traditional resource exploitation and ceremonial activity.

The lack of understanding by many Europeans of the reasons for Aboriginal people's preference for temporary or seasonal labour is evident in the account of Emma Macpherson:

> I really took a great interest in our black acquaintances – I had almost written friends – and they in turn were very fond of us, even condescending occasionally to work for us – a great stretch of good feeling, for they are by nature very lazy. They seem to hold to the opinion that the ***dolce far niente*** constitutes the summit of earthly happiness, and that nothing can really repay them for performing any labour beyond that necessary to procure them enough game to enable them to exist from day to day. They know quite well that there is no station in the interior where their services would not be acceptable and amply remunerated in clothes, food, and money, yet it is very rarely that they can be induced to work at all steadily, though when an occasional industrious fit seizes them they make good shepherds and stock-keepers.
>
> For some months during our residence in the bush my husband had three or four of his flocks tended by blacks, another served as a stock-keeper, and another as a sort of groom; while others, who were too idle to undertake any fixed employment, would come and work occasionally in the garden or vineyard, expecting merely food for their services.
>
> But they all looked on working for us as a personal favour, and gave us to understand as much, for it was only when my husband was unable to get European servants that he could induce them to shepherd for him; even then they always stipulated that in a certain number of days, weeks, or at the outside, 'moons', he would get 'white fellow' to relieve them of their uncongenial occupation. No doubt they like the white man's food well enough, yet they prefer trusting for their subsistence to the precarious gains of a hunter, rather than to the weekly 'ration cart' of an employer.
>
> Not that they are without a relish for beef and mutton, especially when taken or killed by themselves, but still they retain a partiality for their native delicacies, such as the flesh of the kangaroo, opossum, emu, native turkey, and

Image 21: Sketch of woman and child and older man, Tablelands, c.1850s[206]

> wild duck, which constitute the principal variety of game in the forests and plains of Australia.[207]

The ongoing preference for traditional food resources amongst Aboriginal people living on station camps in this period was also commented on by Frederick George Taylor. Taylor grew up on Terrible Vale Station, near Uralla, in the 1850s and 60s, and:

> . . . recalled how the Aborigines around Terrible Vale during his childhood were sometimes very useful. Many were content, however, to live on a couple of meals a day, peace and quietness and as little work as possible. They lived principally on possums and bandicoots, making cloaks for themselves out of possum skins. Later on some of them used to have a little flour, tea and sugar, given to them by William Tydd Taylor. Several Aborigines were known to be employed on Terrible Vale by the early 1860s.[208]

One of the Aboriginal men who worked on Terrible Vale was known as Mick:

> At Terrible Vale William Tydd Taylor employed an Aborigine referred to by the names Black Micky or Flash Mick, and on more formal occasions he was recorded as Michael Blackfellow. Micky was employed there during the 1850s and 1860s and he was remembered as a smart young fellow who was a great rider, delighting in riding as a buckjumper. On Sundays during the summer he used to come out in a clean white duck suit, cabbage tree hat and white puggaree, with tail hanging down behind.[209]

The station records show that:

> . . . several Aborigines were employed there in the early 'sixties. The stores book for 1861 lists under 'Blacks' the names Frank, Davy, Commissioner, Micky, Jeremy, each of whom purchased one shirt that year. For 1860 the stores book includes accounts for Black Jerry, Black Mary Ann and 'Blacks' in general.[210]

Keera Station was purchased by Donald Munro around 1860 and he moved there with his wife and children. In the 1940s it was still owned by one of his sons:[211]

> Keera in the 'sixties was a big place of about 500 square miles, amply watered by Big and Gwyder Rivers, and by natural springs. It was good sheep and cattle country, mountainous, healthy and fairly sweet.[212]

One of his sons, Ross Munro, who was born around 1850 and grew up at Keera, said of workers in those days that:

> No race, colour or creed had a monopoly of good sheepmen. Chinamen, aboriginals, Europeans of many nationalities – there were good and excellent shepherds among all of them . . . Then there were quite a number of aboriginal and half-caste head-stockmen among the cattle.[213]

Pastoralism and resource depletion

The stock animals introduced by the Europeans were in direct conflict with the environmental economy of the Aboriginal people. Cattle and sheep were destructive of water sources, decimated grasslands and competed with native animals for resources, all factors leading to a decline in available game.

Gardner, writing in the early 1850s, was already recording the impact of sheep and cattle on the swamps of the region:

> For some time after the runs were occupied the swamps retained their original appearance, they were more frequently covered with water than otherwise. In the most elevated part of this district swamps are found and are as numerous near to Benlomond Mountain as elsewhere where from the fallen and dead timber the creeks get choked up with other obstructions in many instances render the runs of less value for Sheep farming. The occupation of these runs have at this time now twelve years altered their appearance of country which at the early occupation was scarcely passable on horseback can now be passed over with heavily laden drays. I may mention from the almost impassable state in which they were first found will be long remembered, the roads in this country were frequently passed over between the great northern line of road, & the stations of the Settlers situated on either side of the northern range.
>
> At the early occupation Sheep could not graze on these swamps this was from their wet state. Consequently the flocks were in better

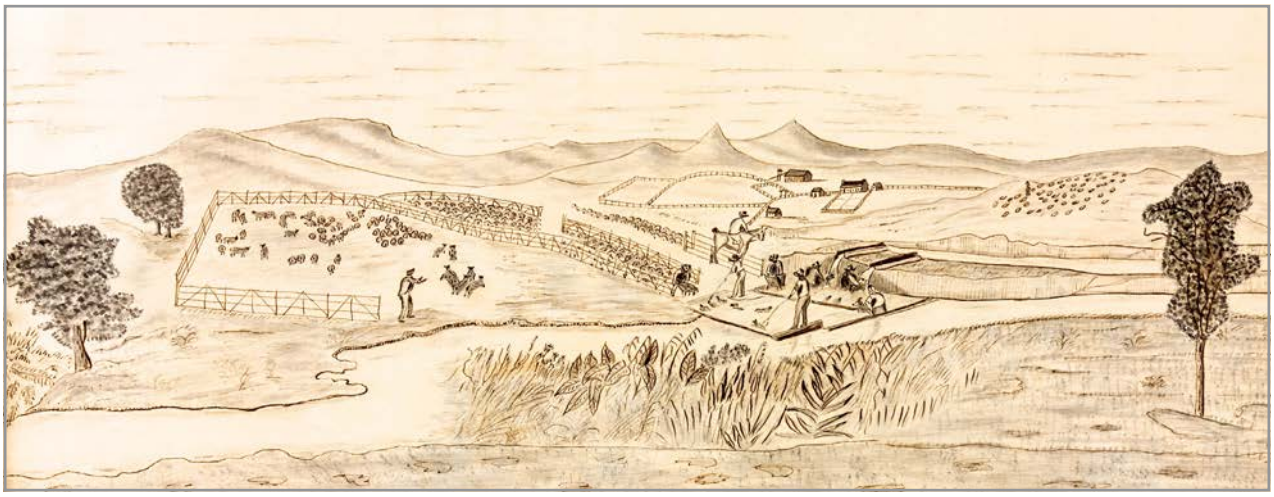


Image 22: Sheep wash, Tablelands, c.1850s[214]

> condition than they are at present at that time the sheep were grazed on the ridges. Since the swamps have been partially drained Careless & unexperienced Shepherds are in the habit of grazing on them. The drainage of the swamps has in a great measure been effected by Cattle grazing in them, they track in a line, these tracks have early formed a trough for the water to pass, & latterly a strong current set in through these tracks Cutting steep ruts, & clearing the water away during the wet, & drooping seasons.[215]

The impact recorded by Gardner only intensified in subsequent decades. In the four decades between 1860 and 1900 sheep numbers on the Tablelands quadrupled, while cattle numbers doubled.[216]

Image 23: Rocky River gold diggings, c.1856–57[217]

The Tablelands once had an extensive system of temporary wetlands that supported a wide range of birdlife and other wetland species; however, as stated above, these began to be drained within the first decades of European settlement.[218] This, along with other factors such as deforestation and foxes, led to a reduction in many bird species on the Tablelands, although some also increased as the change from forest to pasture benefited them. Some species, such as the emu, the curlew and the whistling kite, have disappeared.[219]

The wetlands and watercourses of the Tablelands all suffered a decline in quality, which continues to the present, as a result of sedimentation caused by erosion and land clearing:

> The initial impact of European settlement was obviously severe, because much of the wetlands sedimentation can be traced to that period, when large flocks of sheep were penned in small areas close to permanent water.[220]

The development of gold mining fields in the region in the 1850s, and later tin mining, also resulted in considerable environmental damage, particularly on waterways. Erosion, deforestation, and the silting up of waterways were aspects of this damage. Pollution also occurred as a result of the use of various chemicals in alluvial gold mining. One pollutant was mercury, which was recommended for use in sluice boxes in alluvial gold fields. The deforestation of areas near waterways resulted from the gold miners' heavy use of timber products located in the vicinity of the diggings. The contemporary journalist William Howitt described a creekbed digging as:

> . . . flooded with fetid water . . . the sides continually tumble in, and require to be cased with slabs or sheets of stringy-bark . . . These deep and unshapely abysses, are black with mud, in which lie beams and poles, and masses of stringy-bark.[221]

As one historian of mining has stated:

> Alluvial goldmining was a form of accelerated erosion, and many of the scars that it has left on the landscape are permanent and alarming. Many streams and rivers were worked along almost their entire length, not just once but several times, and often by different techniques.[222]

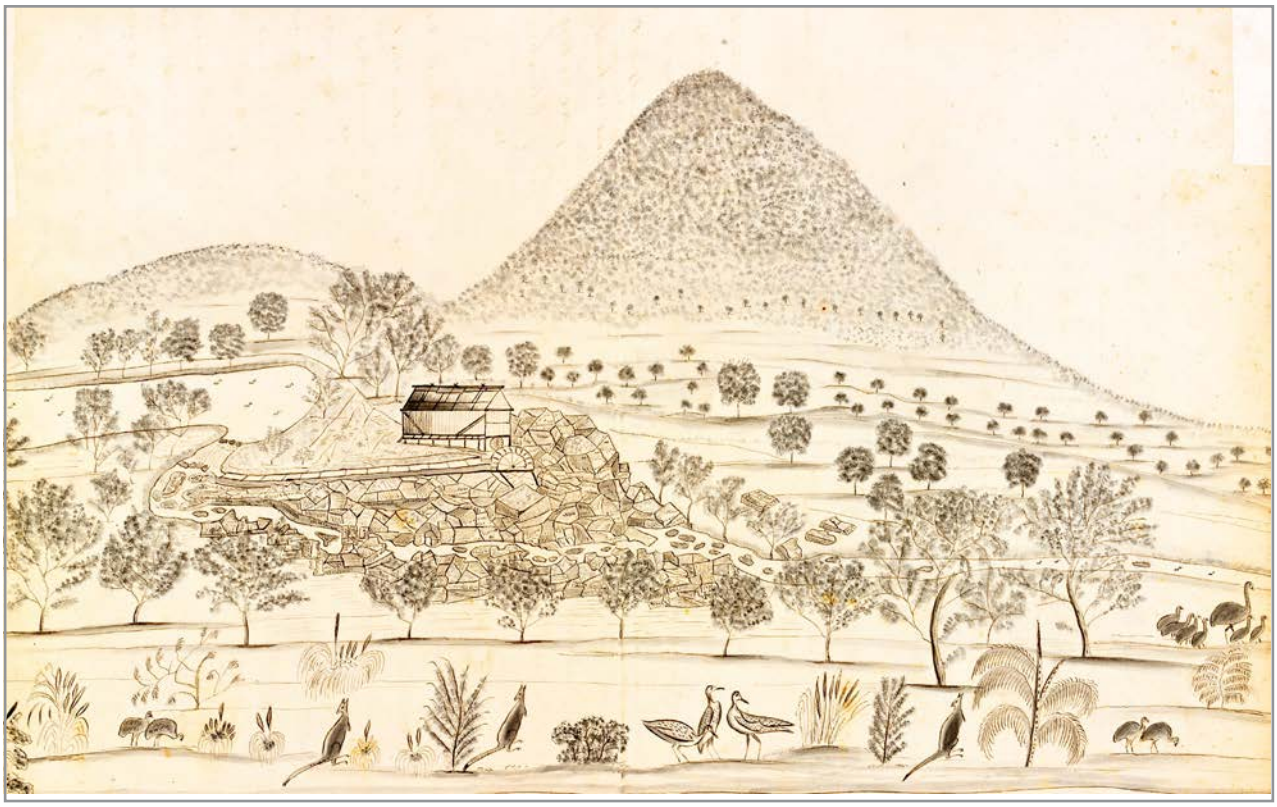


Image 24: Mill at Mount Mitchell, c.1850s[223]

The long-term impact of gold mining is dependent in part on the subsequent uses of an area. Where there is little subsequent disturbance for a long period regeneration does occur; however, where gold mining is followed by intensive grazing the pattern of erosion is reinforced and its extent increased.[224]

Erosion was exacerbated by the ringbarking and land clearing that was undertaken on a widespread basis across the New England region from the 1870s. This was linked to increasing land enclosure as pastoral settlement intensified and smaller holdings were managed more intensively. Ringbarking was practised extensively in the New England region throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century.[225]

Gardner, writing within the first two decades of European intrusion, also described the retreat of wildlife from the country occupied by pastoralists and their stock:

> Since the occupation of the Pundarra Country by the Sheep & Cattle Station of the Settlers, the Kangaroos have left the plains, and are not to be seen in droves as formerly they have retired to the unfrequented rock and ridge country, and to the mountains where great numbers may be seen particularly about Ebenountiba Creek in the Byron Plains Country, the Country here is rough and broken particularly near to the western falls or slopes of the highlands.
>
> Ebenountiba Creek is situated a few miles to the northward of Frasers Creek in Byron Plains, and is resorted to by the blacks from the great quantity of game they obtain among the rocks and mountains on this creek where these animals are found in great numbers.[226]

The term 'Byron Plains' refers to the country about Inverell. It is not clear from Gardner if the area he refers to as Ebenountiba Creek was a traditional high resource area or if, as the following paragraph suggests, this was a shift in the use of areas resulting from the impact of pastoralism:

> The Parra Mellan, a small animal like the Hare, and much prized in Sydney, are to be found in great numbers in the scrub on Ebenountiba Creek, also at Tantalinna on the Sovereign, or Dumerasq River. Since the Whites have occupied the Pundarra & Byron Plains Countries, the wild animals of every description have left the plains & frequented places occupied by civilized man, and have betaken to the mountains & unfrequented parts of Pundarrra, Byron Plains, & Tantalinna where the various tribes of Blacks visit by rotation at certain seasons on account of the game to be found there.[227]

In the first century of European settlement on the Tablelands platypus, wombats, koalas, possums and many small marsupials declined in number as a result of the combined effects of land clearing and forest fragmentation, competition from introduced animals (such as foxes and rabbits at the end of the nineteenth century) and, in some cases, active destruction by the settlers. One of the most notable instances of

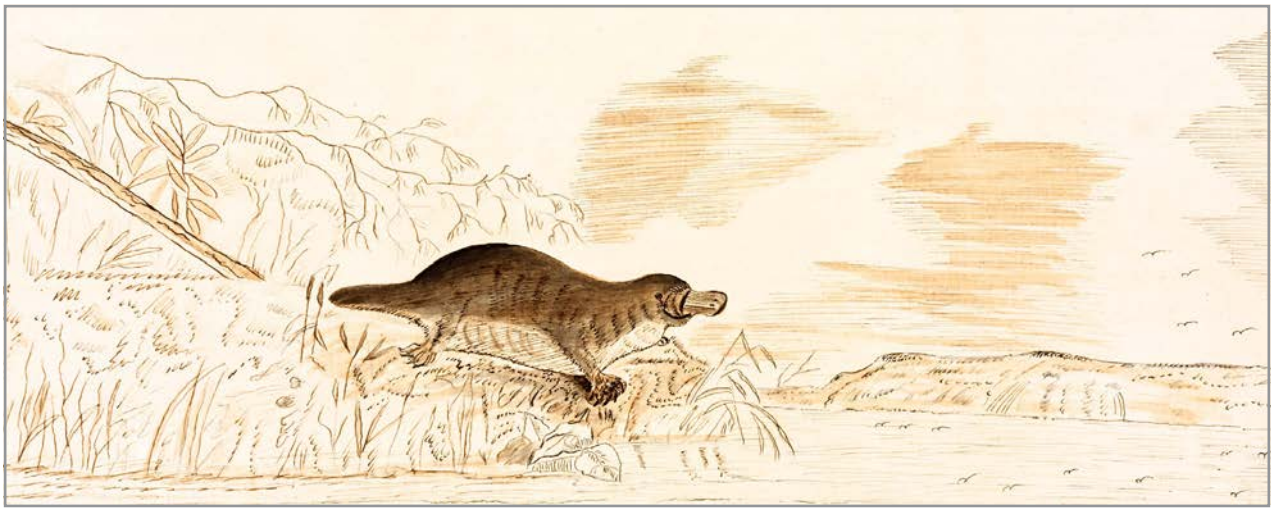


Image 25: '*Ornithorynchus Paradoxus* or Platipus', c.1850s[228]

active destruction was that of kangaroos. After the initial displacement by introduced stock the larger kangaroo populations multiplied in the 1870s, probably as a result of reduced hunting and increased open grass areas. As a result of pressure from pastoralists, by 1880 bounties had been introduced on animals classified as 'pests'. In the New England region the eastern grey kangaroo and the common wallaroo were both classed as 'pests' on the basis that they competed with sheep for pasture:[229]

> The impact on kangaroo populations was immediate. In the Tamworth district, 260,780 kangaroo scalps were paid for in 1884, but only 12,337 in 1892. On the Tableland the bountying of large kangaroos had largely ceased by the late 1890s. It had done its job, but also hunting for skins now paid as much as scalp bounties. On the other hand, from the mid-1890s the Tamworth [Pastures Protection] Board sometimes paid bounties on more than 100,000 wallaby scalps a year. Not surprisingly, in 1921 [Charles] Hoy remarked that the Eastern Grey Kangaroo was 'getting rather scarce' in the Ebor District. The Swamp Wallaby and Red-necked Wallaby, he said, were both 'very scarce'.[230]

Various other small mammals, including several species of rat-kangaroos and small wallabies, disappeared or became very rare within the first few decades of the twentieth century.[231] The American naturalist Charles Hoy, during his stay in Australia from 1919 to 1922, visited the Tablelands, camping at Ebor in 1921:

> The natives of that district tell me that the following animals have disappeared within the last few years: Tiger cat, bandicoot, Rufous rat-kangaroo, Brush-tailed Phascologale, and several others I was not able to identify by their description. These mammals, they tell me, were plentiful up to a few years ago, when they suddenly disappeared.[232]

Intensification of European settlement

The gold rushes of the 1850s led to an increase in population in the colony through immigration and a shift in population to goldfield areas. Previously, European occupation in these areas had been relatively sparse and primarily associated with pastoralism. In the New England region, as elsewhere, the gold and tin miners' need for goods and services led to the growth of towns and roads in the second half of the nineteenth century. These developments provided the infrastructure to support the extension of small-scale settlement in the region. The gold rushes also led to an increased demand for agricultural products in order to feed the dramatically increased population. These developments all contributed to increasing mobility within the area and to the growth of European settlement with its associated alienation of land from the Aboriginal people of the area. The 'locking out' of the local Aboriginal people from their land through the imposition of small-scale European land use patterns had begun.

As a result of the increases and shifts in European populations resulting from the gold rushes the issue of access to land rapidly came to dominate the political landscape of New South Wales. A strong popular demand to 'unlock the lands' emerged, demanding that small selectors be given access to the best tracts of land held under pastoral lease. For the legislature comparative government revenues were also an issue. Pastoralists continued to pay low assessment rates and it was believed that in opening the land up to small selectors government revenue would increase.[233]

In 1861 two Acts, colloquially known as the *Selectors' Acts* and *Robertson's Acts*, attempted to address this demand in New South Wales. These Acts provided that any person had the right to select an area, for the purpose of agricultural smallholdings, from 40 to 320 acres on any Crown lands, other than those areas reserved by the Crown or classified as town or suburban lands, including pastoral leases.[234]

The impact of these Acts on landholding patterns in the majority of the colony was limited because the squatters on the large pastoral leases developed a number of successful techniques to evade the intention of the Acts, in particular the practice of 'dummying'. The term refers to the practice of squatters getting other individuals to take up selections within the squatters' leaseholds, which they then sold

on to the squatter. Despite subsequent Acts attempting to control this practice it continued to be a widespread, though more clandestine, practice.[235]

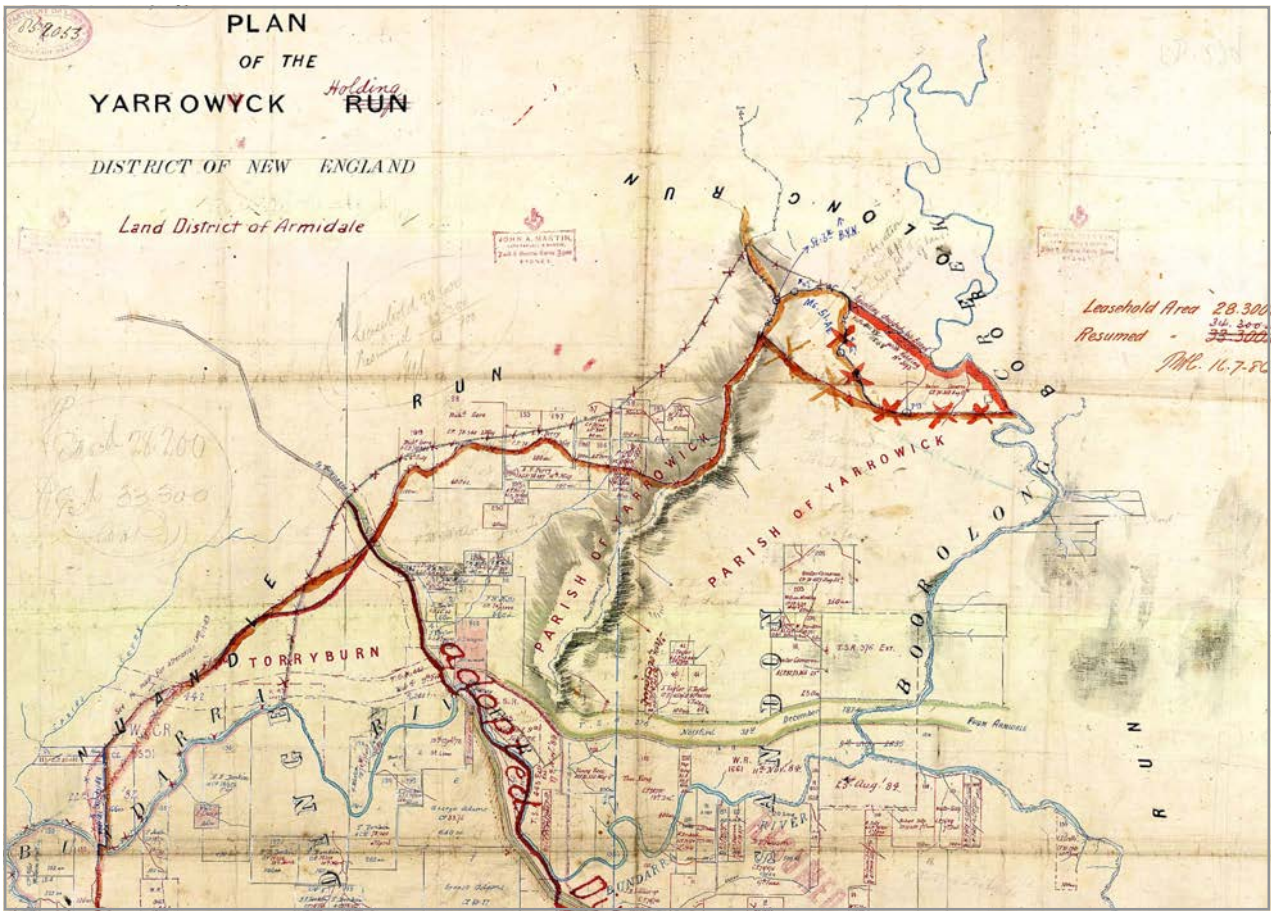
However, the New England region was one of the areas where the 1861 Acts did have some impact. It has been estimated that 60 to 70 per cent of selections taken up in the region were genuine attempts at settlement rather than dummying. Certainly by 1901 there had been an enormous, almost fourteen-fold, increase in the area of land under cultivation.[236]

By the start of the 1880s, following the impact of the 1861 Acts, the Tablelands saw:

> In place of the large leasehold stations . . . stations smaller in area and consisting both of leasehold and freehold . . . By 1879 the sheep stations generally had had their original area reduced to about half but the cattle stations, being in more remote areas unattractive to the free selector, by only 9 per cent.[237]

The 1884 *Crown Lands Act* was the next major legislative attempt to shift the nature of landholdings. This Act divided the state into three land divisions: the Eastern, Central and Western. The *Crown Lands Act* resumed half of all pastoral leases in the Eastern and Central districts and threw them open for settlement in blocks of up to 1,280 acres, encouraging the development of small-scale mixed farming. Both this Act and the following legislation that culminated in the *Closer Settlement Act* of 1905 were more effective in altering the nature of landholdings throughout New South Wales.[238]

The 1884 resumptions allowed for the creation of many smaller grazing properties in the region over the following 20 years. Selectors had been active throughout the region since the 1870s; with the passing of the 1884 Act the rate of selection increased. On Boorolong Station, adjacent to Yarrowyck, 32,000 acres was resumed and within the first 12 months 20,000 of those acres had



Map 5: Extract from plan of the Yarrowyck Holding, c.1884[239] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

Image 26: Yarrowyck Station, Bullcorronda in background, 2008[240]

been taken up as small selections. In the New England electoral district by 1891 there were 988 properties of under 1,000 acres, and 105 over 1,000 but less than 3,000 acres.[241]

In some instances, such as occurred on Yarrowyck Station, the selectors took up a series of holdings, creating small pastoral properties. Yarrowyck Station had been held by the Dangar family from 1850 to the 1880s; by 1884 it was held by the Manuel brothers, who were originally selectors. It was this family who, in the early 1870s, established a boarding house at the northern end of the station around which the township of Yarrowyck grew. In the 1884 Act more than 10,000 acres of Yarrowyck was resumed and open to selection. A selector, Josias Moffatt, who, in the 1870s, had already taken land at Saumarez Ponds and Boorolong, then began to take up a series of selection blocks on Yarrowyck. By 1890 he held over 5,000 acres and by 1900 he had 14,000 acres of the original run with 420 cattle and 16,200 sheep stocked on it. Yarrowyck was held by the Moffatt family up to the 1970s.[242]

The working relationships between Aboriginal people and European pastoralists that had begun in the 1850s continued to operate during the period from 1860 to 1900. Though limited, the existing documentary material clearly indicates Aboriginal people's ongoing participation in the pastoral economy. One example is Wongwibinda Station. This station was held by the Wrights, whose family history records a number of Aboriginal families resident there in the late 1880s and 90s with the men working as stockmen and at least one woman recalled as working in the homestead.[243] In his memoirs Phillip Wright, born around 1890, recalled seeing Aboriginal people:

> . . . on walkabout, the men leading the way and the women and piccaninnies following up the rear in single file. They had mostly discarded their native weapons, and carried only axes or tomahawks with which, together with blankets and in some cases rations, they were supplied by the Government . . . A few of the aborigine men worked as stockmen on the station, and were good riders and scrub-dashers, but they seldom stayed for long in one place.[244]

At Aberfoyle Station, on the north-east of Armidale, records from the second half of the 1880s show that Aboriginal people were still "assisting with cattle musters in the steep

escarpment country there".[245] However, in the late 1890s Aberfoyle, along with Ward's Mistake, were subsumed under Bald Blair Station by the White family, thereby producing a large pastoral holding. By 1926, as part of the closer settlement movement, 34,000 acres of the combined properties remaining leasehold was subdivided. The family kept only 5,200 acres of the original Bald Blair run.[246]

The records of the Aborigines Protection Board, formed in 1882, showed Aboriginal people engaged in a range of work within the pastoral economy. In its first report in 1882 the Board included population figures and accounts of the employment of Aboriginal people in regions throughout New South Wales, including the New England area. At Walcha it was reported that there was a population of 90 people of which:

> The young men are employed as stockmen on stations throughout the district, and the women are domestic assistants. The older portion travel about the district, no fixed occupation.[247]

At Inverell a population of 56 was listed; oddly, this included a number of children but no women, suggesting a failure in the recording of the information. It was stated that they were employed "Shepherding and bullock-driving occasionally".[248] At Glen Innes a population of 37 was given and it was stated that they were "Generally employed on stations and with farmers who find them rations, old and new clothing, in some cases money, for services rendered".[249]

At Bundarra a population of 15 were stated to be employed, "Droving and farming".[250] At Ben Lomond a population of 19 was given with the "Men chiefly employed on stations stock keeping".[251] At Armidale a population of 88 was given and it was stated that:

> Those that are willing to work are employed as shepherds, others stock-keeping, for Mr. Fletcher, of Wallammonbi, and Mr. Hargraves, of Hill Grove; those that are employed get rations, those that are not get rations the best way they can.[252]

In an additional note on the Armidale area the report writer, a local police officer, stated that:

> The aboriginals are dying very fast. The half-castes who are rather intelligent are

Image 27: Carved tree, Hillgrove, pre-1918[253]

> very anxious to get a grant of land from the Government, stating they are well able to manage it, but the general opinion is that they are better without it.[254]

The 'general opinion' presumably referring to that of the Europeans who continued to utilise Aboriginal people's labour to a considerable extent.

In 1890 the Board reported that in the Glen Innes District, which stretched west to include Inverell, there were 142 Aboriginal people and that some were:

> . . . employed on stations shepherding, &c.; others hunt opossums for their skins which they sell; a few earn a living fossicking for gold.[255]

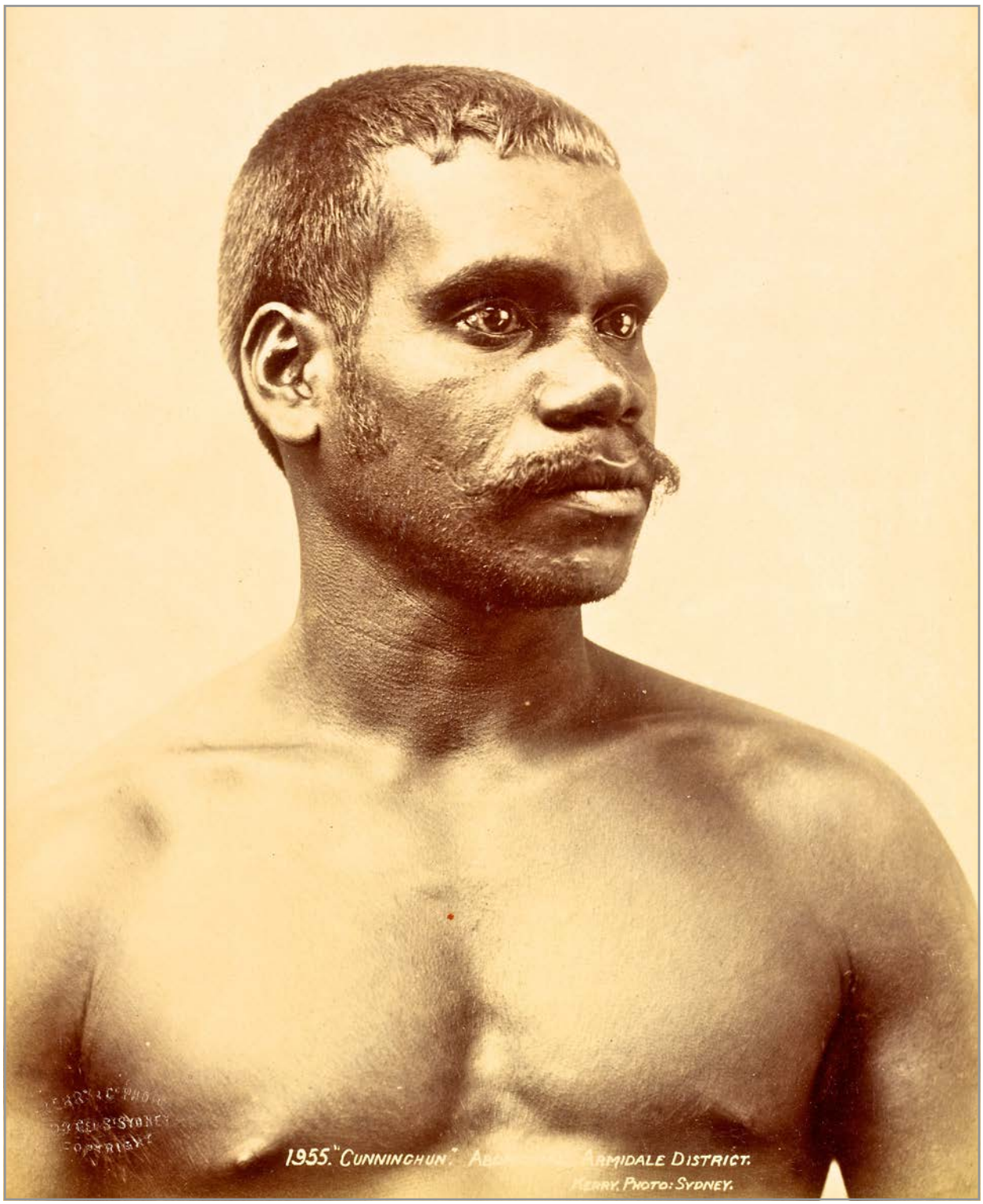


Image 28: 'Cunninghun', warrior, Armidale, c.1890s[256]

Of the Armidale District in 1890 the Board reported that:

> The majority live on sheep and cattle stations – the men as stockmen, &c., the women as domestic servants. Some earn good wages.[257]

As these reports show, across the New England region, as elsewhere in New South Wales, Aboriginal people continued to work and live on pastoral stations into the 1890s. However, the process that had begun with the gold rushes and the changing land laws in the middle of the century was having its effect. As the European population continued to grow, with the development of towns and the shift to smaller landholdings, and with mechanisation starting to affect the nature of pastoral labour, the system of dual occupation collapsed. The large stations were broken up and the pattern of Aboriginal life in the area was altered yet again.

The smaller pastoral and agricultural holdings that developed in the late 1800s in the New England region had no space for the station camps and much less need for the labour that the people in these camps provided. In addition, there was little scrub country left unused by Europeans where people could hunt for food, or for bounties, or collect plant foods to supplement their labour in the pastoral industry. The conditions under which the Aboriginal people of the region lived were changing, residence was shifting from station to town camps and reserves, and the nature of the dominant employment was shifting from station hands to casual and seasonal employment.

The Aborigines Protection Board

The Aborigines Protection Board emerged in the 1880s and soon developed into an agency of government control over the lives of Aboriginal people in New South Wales. The Board's role initially involved overseeing the distribution of blankets, rations and various other goods to 'destitute' Aboriginal people. In later years, the formation and management of reserves became a major part of the Board's functions.[258] From 1882 onwards the Aborigines Protection Board increasingly intruded into the lives of the Aboriginal communities of New South Wales, dramatically increasing the regulations and limitations governing Aboriginal people's lives.

In the early decades of the twentieth century the Aborigines Protection Board successfully pushed for legislative power to control the lives of Aboriginal people and, in particular, Aboriginal children. In 1909 the first protection legislation was enacted, the *Aborigines Protection Act*. The Act provided the Board with the first of its legislative powers with limited control over the place of residence of Aboriginal people and the lives of Aboriginal children.[259]

In the annual reports of the Aborigines Protection Board local Police officers or other Board staff intermittently provided information on specific communities. In addition to occurring irregularly these reports also vary greatly in the detail they provide. While they are useful sources of information, the prejudices and assumptions of the authors are frequently offensive.

For the period from 1882 to 1914 the reports of the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board generally provide an estimation of the Aboriginal population, as noted by the districts' police. The figures are listed under the names of towns but relate to the wider surrounding area.

While the population figures provided by the Board are of interest and give an idea of the population of Aboriginal people resident in an area and of movement between areas, it is only an indication. Particularly in the twentieth century the figures are generally referring only to those people who are either living on a reserve or are receiving some rations from the Board. Many Aboriginal people living and working on stations or on smallholdings are not represented in these figures.

An example of the variable accuracy of these figures, even as they relate to the Board's own records, is in the population figures for Wollomombi. Although there is no population listed for Wollomombi in the Board's report for 1908, that same report lists the provision of rations to one person at Wollomombi for the whole year.[260] In 1909 and 1910, two adults and two children are receiving rations at Wollomombi, although again it does not appear in the

Table 1: Aborigines Protection Board population figures, 1882–99[261]

District	1882	1889	1890	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1898	1899
Armidale	88	33	39	23	40	46	44	48	26	31
Ashford	3	38	33	36	40	41	46	43	47	34
Ben Lomond	19									
Bundarra	15	27	30	20	22	30	39	43	38	40
Glen Innes	37	58	59	65	53	74	12	12	10	11
Hillgrove				29	11	16	9	6	16	7
Inverell	56	19	20	9	4	3		1	1	
Moonbi		2	1	2		1	1	1	1	1
Nowendoc									6	5
Tingha	4			1	1	1	1	1	1	3
Uralla		6	7	16	28	34	62	40	28	29
Walcha	90	117	86	96	99	100	94	112	111	102
Walcha Road									9	

Table 2: Aborigines Protection Board population figures, 1900–14[262]

District	1900	1904	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1914
Armidale		18			22	23	21	22
Armidale & Rockvale			20	17				
Ashford		65	65				52	112
Bushfield (Tingha)			42	45			48	10
Bundarra		35				54		
Glen Innes							16	
Hillgrove			19	19	22	20	20	8
Kingstown			8	16		20	10	5
Moonbi		1	0	0				
Nowendoc		2	2	7		8		
Oban		27						
Pindari				63	64	55		
Tingha		1	1	1	1	1	8	14
Uralla	29	13	20	20	31	48	45	46
Walcha	99	90	98	93	97	84	106	47
Walcha Road		21	21	16	8	23		25
Wellingrove		23	18	15	15	16		18
Wollomombi		10						

population figures.[263] The last year that there are people listed as receiving rations at Wollomombi was 1915, when one adult and two children were listed.[264] After this date the Board no longer listed the provision of rations in their reports.[265]

The Board's power over Aboriginal children was increased dramatically in 1915 with amendments to the Act that vested in the Board powers to remove Aboriginal children from their families if it considered such removal to be in the child's interest. The removal of Aboriginal children from their families and communities occurred from the beginning of the European intrusion, with numerous instances of private individuals and missionaries and clergy taking children away. After the formation of the Board this removal of Aboriginal children from their families and communities became a systematic process. In some instances children were removed from a young age and placed in institutions around the state; in others they were removed as young teenagers and sent to work as domestic servants and labourers. The removal of so many children has caused lasting trauma to the individuals, the families and the communities involved. There would not be a single Aboriginal family in New South Wales who has not been affected at some point and in some way by the children being taken away.[266]

The Board's powers over the place of residence of Aboriginal people were increased in 1918 and again in 1936.[267] The legislation and increases in the Board's powers occurred in the context of an increasing Aboriginal population, rising European hysteria regarding miscegenation, and a rejuvenated closer settlement movement. The term 'miscegenation' refers to parents of different 'races' having children together. The concern with miscegenation in this period reflects European society's obsession with the concept of 'race' and with the classification and control of Indigenous people. The highly visible Aboriginal camps on the fringes of rural towns were a particular target of European hostility. The impact of increased regulation on the lives of Aboriginal people was considerable.

Image 29: Camp near Armidale, c.1890s[268]

With the intensification of European settlement and land use Aboriginal people's freedom of movement and residence was increasingly curtailed. The station camps of the nineteenth century had largely disappeared by the early decades of the twentieth century as a result of the breaking up of the large properties. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw the emergence of Aboriginal camps on reserve lands on the fringes of European settlements. Travelling stock and camping reserves, police paddock reserves, water reserves and areas specifically reserved for the use of Aboriginal people were all utilised. The reliance on these areas of remaining Crown land for residence reflects the extent to which Aboriginal people were now excluded from the majority of their country as European land use and alienation of land to private tenure intensified.

An important factor that led Aboriginal people to live within, or close to, reserve areas despite the resulting heightened European surveillance and interference, was the provision of schooling for their children. While technically Aboriginal children were eligible to attend the public schools created in the 1880s, in practice the opposition of European parents frequently led to their exclusion. This opposition from European parents appears to have increased in the early twentieth century with public schools that had previously included Aboriginal children moving to exclude them. In response, Aboriginal schools were established on reserves throughout New South Wales jointly by the Aborigines Protection Board and the Department of Public Instruction (later Education). As a result of the school situation many Aboriginal people made the decision to reside on to, or near, reserves in order to obtain an education for their children.[269]

Prior to 1884 the gazettal of reserves for Aboriginal people occurred in response to Aboriginal and missionary demands rather than as the result of any clear government policy. Following its formation in 1883 the Board largely took control of any existing reserves in addition to being instrumental in the creation of new reserves. The Board was also instrumental in the later revocation of many Aboriginal reserves. Throughout the reports of the Aborigines Protection Board there are very limited and scattered references to the reserves in the region. In the period from 1885 to 1894 there were 85 reserves created in New South Wales; 47 of these were in response to Aboriginal requests or pre-existing occupation.[270]

In its 1939 report the Board commented on the two types of settlements that came to varying degrees under their control – Stations and Reserves – and on the existence of town camps that were outside their control. The comments by the Board apply equally to earlier decades. In relation to Stations the report stated that:

> The Board has under its control twenty-one Aboriginal Stations, distributed throughout the State of New South Wales. The Stations are settlements – actually small villages – varying in population . . . each is under the supervision of a resident Manager and Matron. The Managers hold the dual position of teacher-manager . . . The aborigines residing on Stations are housed in dwellings provided by the Board, each family being provided with a two, three or four-roomed house and an allotment of land . . . Ration stores are maintained on each Station and weekly issues of rations are supplied to every necessitous family . . . Every able-bodied man is urged and assisted to obtain employment whenever and wherever possible. Families who are able to support themselves are not provided with rations . . . Most of the larger Stations possess a medical treatment room, and the matron, in many cases, is a trained nurse. [271]

Settlements that became managed stations had usually existed previously as unmanaged reserves. The only managed station on the Tablelands itself was Sevington (Pindari). At various times in the twentieth century there were other stations in the surrounding area, though substantially distant from the Tablelands. These included on the east Woodenbong (Muli Muli), Kyogle (Stony Gully/Runnymede), Cabbage Tree Island and Ulgundahi Island, Bellbrook and Burnt Bridge (Kempsey) and Purfleet (Taree); on the west Terry Hie Hie (Moree) and Toomelah (Boggabilla); and on the south Quirindi (Caroona). In addition, in the late nineteenth century there was briefly a managed station at Grafton.

In relation to reserves the report stated that:

> For the most part, however, Reserves are used as residential areas by aborigines who desire to live in a measure independently of the Board's control. Reserves are not supplied with resident managers, but, on the contrary, are under the supervision of the local police, who act as the Board's representatives . . . Local contracts for the supply of food and meat rations are arranged by the Government Stores Department, and the police exercise a general supervision in connection with these issues, as well as those of blankets and clothing.[272]

In relation to what they termed 'Uncontrolled Aboriginal Camps' the report stated:

> On the outskirts of many country towns throughout the State Aboriginal Camps are to be found. These camps are similar to the white unemployed relief worker's camps often to be seen in similar localities, and they constitute one of the problems which have to be handled by the Board. These camps are not under the jurisdiction of the Board, and are often situated on private land or council reserves. The Board, from time to time, has attempted to remove the people to Stations or Reserves, but the aborigines, in most instances, steadfastly refuse to remove, preferring to remain where they are handy to the town for employment and where they may participate in the amenities of town life.[273]

There are relatively few Aboriginal reserves in the documentary record for the New England region. It appears that in many instances Aboriginal people in the area lived on other forms of reserve land, such as recreation and camping reserves and travelling stock reserves.

In addition to settlements on Aboriginal reserves and on other forms of Crown lands it should not be lost sight of that Aboriginal people also lived as individual families and small extended families on farms and in towns throughout the region. Many places, individual homes, small camps and settlements, simply do not appear in the documentary record for this period, whilst others have only the most fleeting references to them.

Another source of documentary information on the reserve communities is the newsletters of the United Aborigines' Mission and the Aborigines' Inland Mission. The major

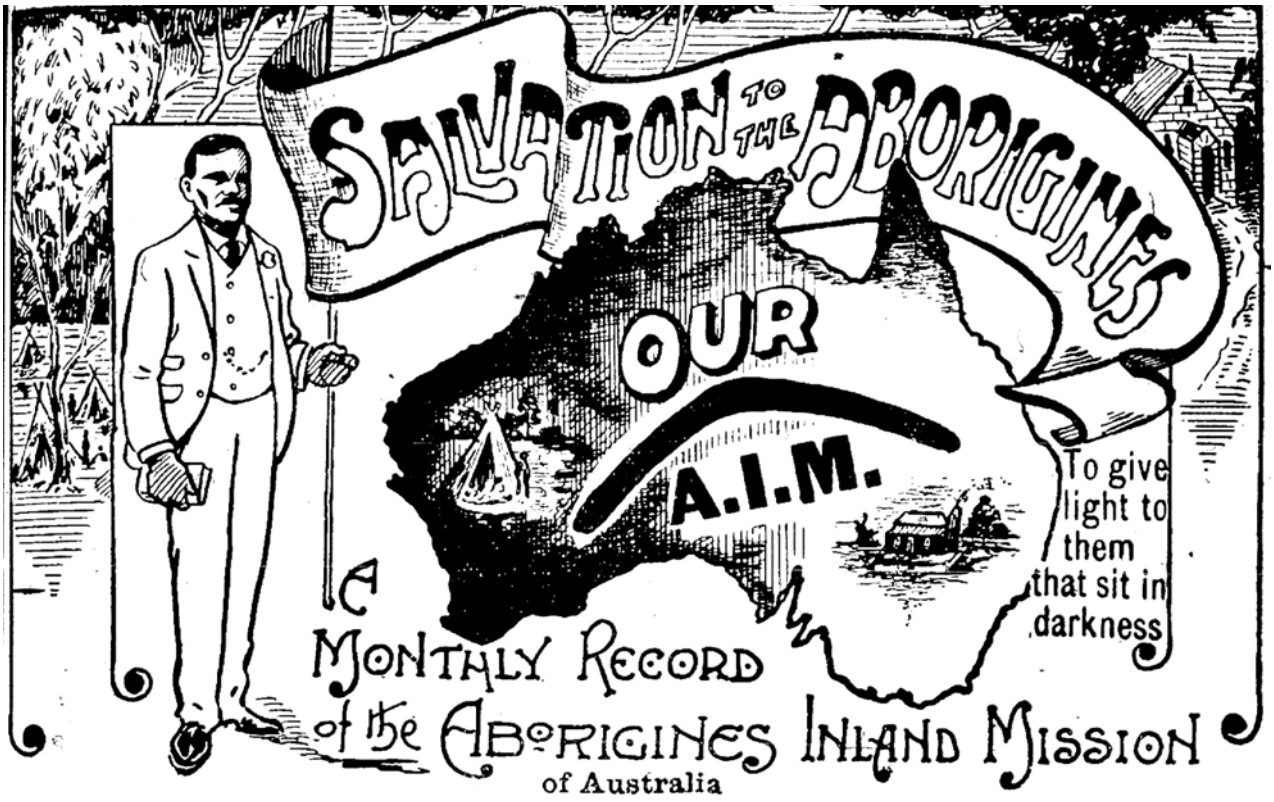


Image 30: Banner of the Aborigines Inland Mission[274]

churches were not active within the Aboriginal communities of the New England region. In the late 1890s and early 1900s two new missionary organisations, both concerned solely with missions to Aboriginal people, were established in New South Wales. These were the United Aborigines Mission (UAM), later known as the Australian Aborigines Mission (AAM), and the Aborigines Inland Mission (AIM).[275] They were both non-denominational but strongly conservative evangelical organisations.[276] These organisations were active throughout the New England region, with missionaries living on the reserves at Walcha, Tingha and Pindari at different times, with the permission of the Board. In one instance, at Pindari, the missionary subsequently took up the role of manager for the Board. These organisations were also active in surrounding communities, including Caroona, Terry Hie Hie, and Kempsey, with the movement of missionaries between communities helping to maintain and develop links between these communities.

The impact of these missions on Aboriginal communities has been termed "ambiguous, intricate and complex".[277] While many Aboriginal people were converted to Christianity by the missions, Aboriginal people and communities were also able to maintain their traditional beliefs and values.[278] Aboriginal people were important workers within these missions and increasingly took on both the organisation and evangelisation of the 'Native Churches'. Though the involvement of Aboriginal people as mission workers was initially encouraged, through actions such as the formation of bible training colleges, the increasing control of the churches by Aboriginal people with their own interpretations and views was later resisted by the organisations.[279]

An important element of these missions was the large-scale gatherings, named 'Native Conferences', organised and run by Aboriginal mission workers. The first of these occurred in 1930, one in Goolagong and one in Long Gully (Tingha); they became regular large-scale community events drawing together Aboriginal people from across the state.[280]

Section 3
Living places

This section includes brief accounts of some of the major Aboriginal settlements within the New England region in the period from the 1890s to around the 1940s. It is based solely on documentary sources, primarily the records of the Aborigines Protection Board, the Department of Education's Aboriginal school files and the publications of the Aborigines Inland Mission (AIM). There were many other places that Aboriginal people lived in the area in this period: fringe camps on various forms of Crown land, work camps on properties, in houses in town, and on selections they owned. The stories of these places need to be told through oral histories and cultural mapping, both of which are beyond the scope of this project. The history of Aboriginal people in the twentieth century is best told through the use of oral histories. The documents provide some details of that history but they were almost all written by European people, often government officials, and they cannot voice what life was like for Aboriginal people.

The Walcha area

There are three major settlements in the Walcha area in the documents in this period: a reserve near Walcha sometimes known as Summer Vale; a camp at Walcha Road; and Ingalba. In addition there are references to a camp at Woolbrook.

In the Board's report for 1900 it included this statement about the Aboriginal people in the Walcha area generally:

> The young men do general farm work and are occasionally employed by farmers; a few earn a livelihood by shooting marsupials and selling the skins. The old men and women receive Government rations. Twenty-five half-caste children attend the public schools; 15 at Summerville and 10 at Craighlea, near the Ingaeba [sic] Reserve. The Aborigines resident at the Camp are temperate in their habits. They reside in huts built by themselves, roofing iron having been provided by the Board. The two Reserves of 320 and 107 acres, respectively, are improved by small areas planted with wheat, oats, and potatoes.[281]

The activities of the AIM missionaries in the Walcha area appear to have begun in 1906.[282] In 1907 the Board stated that they were to be allowed to reside on the reserves:

> Applications for missionaries to be allowed access to the aborigines' reserves for the purpose of imparting religious and moral instruction have been gladly approved by the Board, and permission accorded to the missionaries to take up their residence on the reserves at Walcha.[283]

However, the AIM records suggest that this did not occur, possibly due to the original missionaries, a married couple Mr. and Mrs. Ruddell, being replaced by two single women, Miss Acland and Miss Dedman.

Walcha Road

Walcha Road is a railway station village located approximately 20 kilometres from Walcha itself. No record has been found of the gazettal of an Aboriginal reserve at Walcha

Road; however, there was a large Crown land camping reserve located adjacent to the railway and it is understood there was an Aboriginal settlement there. Walcha Road is located in what was previously the Congi pastoral station and this camp may have been associated with the previous pastoral station camp. The Board reports include population figures for the area between 1898 and 1914 and in the Board report for 1896 there is a reference to the existence of a reserve (possibly the camping reserve) on which Aboriginal people were living:

> The aborigines at Walcha Road placed 20 acres under wheat, oats, and potatoes last season. They have also greatly improved their reserve by fencing, ringbarking, &c.[284]

In 1912 the AIM missionary at Walcha reported on a visit to the camp at Walcha Road:

> The chief event of the month was a visit to Walcha Road and Woolbrook. Walcha Road is 15 miles from here, and Woolbrook four miles further on. Many times we had desired to visit our people at these places, and at length the opportunity came. On arriving at Walcha Road, we made our way to the camp, and were warmly welcomed by the people. We were surprised to find quite a number; they do not all reside there, some were only visiting. A meeting was arranged for the afternoon, and a number of women and children gathered in one of the houses, and all were very attentive. At the close of this meeting, nearly all present placed a small offering on the table, which amounted to 4/3. We were cheered by this act, because it was done of their own free will. After tea another meeting was held on the other side of the creek, and twenty-six crowded into a small room, while a number stood around the door outside. A happy time was spent. Next morning we left Walcha Road for Woolbrook. There are only a few families living there.[285]

Walcha Reserve (Summer Vale)

In 1882 a reserve of 320 acres was notified near Walcha, along Ohio Creek, about 3½ miles out of Walcha.[286] In the Board report for that year it is noted that the area is "Occupied by J. Burns, an aboriginal, and two half-caste families. One and a half acres under cultivation, and four acres enclosed with a fence".[287] The following year the Board recorded that:

> Reserve is situated about 3 miles from Walcha . . . 1½ acres under cultivation, sown with wheat. 4 acres enclosed with a bough and split fence. Occupied by Thomas Burns (Aboriginal) and 2

Image 31: AIM memorial van, Walcha, 1937[288] The following people have been identified by community. From left to right standing: three unknown, Cyril Archibald, Richard Archibald, Hazel Archibald, Ruby Archibald, Ethel Archibald, Maisie Archibald, three unknown, Ruby Wright nee Morris, Sarah Archibald nee Morris, 2 unknown. From left to right sitting: Frank Archibald, Robert Archibald, four unknown.

> half-caste families in all 10. Of late it has been permanently occupied by the Half Castes as a camping ground, while Burns occupies the 4 acres as his home.[289]

In 1886 the Board stated, "Reserve still occupied by Tommy Burns and 2 half-caste families. Tommy Burns owns about 200 sheep which he runs on it. At times other blacks camp on it for weeks".[290] However, in 1890 the Board stated that the reserve was "Seldom occupied by Aborigines. One slab hut covered with bark erected on it".[291]

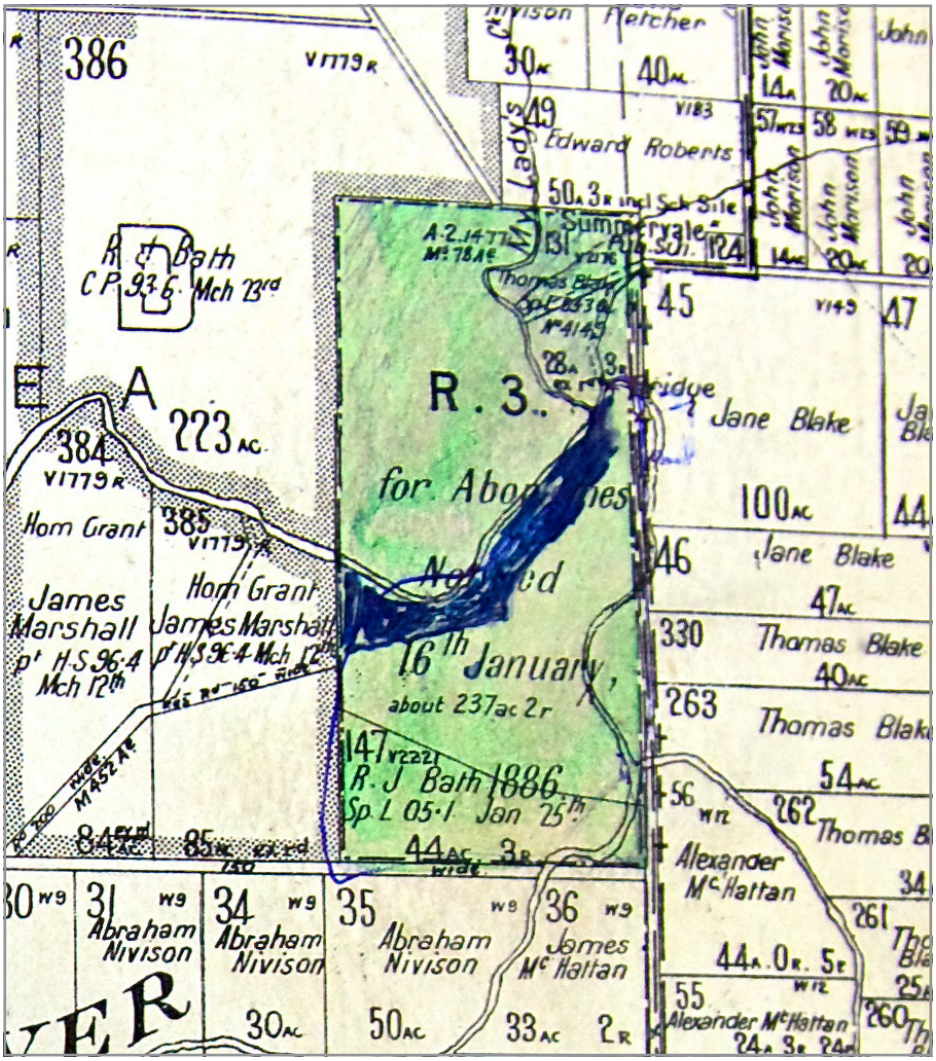
In 1912 the AIM missionaries reported that:

> Nearly all our people on the reserve are well, the children have had sore eyes, but they are getting better. There is much need for earnest prayer, as we realise that God is dealing with some of our people, and pray that they may be willing to submit to His holy and blessed will. Miss Dedman is making good progress with the zither-harp . . . I am sure by God's help it will prove a good attraction at the services, and also be a great help with the singing, as our people are fond of music.[292]

In 1915 the missionaries stated that there were "about 24 adults and 19 children now on Walcha Reserve. There are also men employed at Moona and Eurapambla Stations, who come in for week-ends".[293]

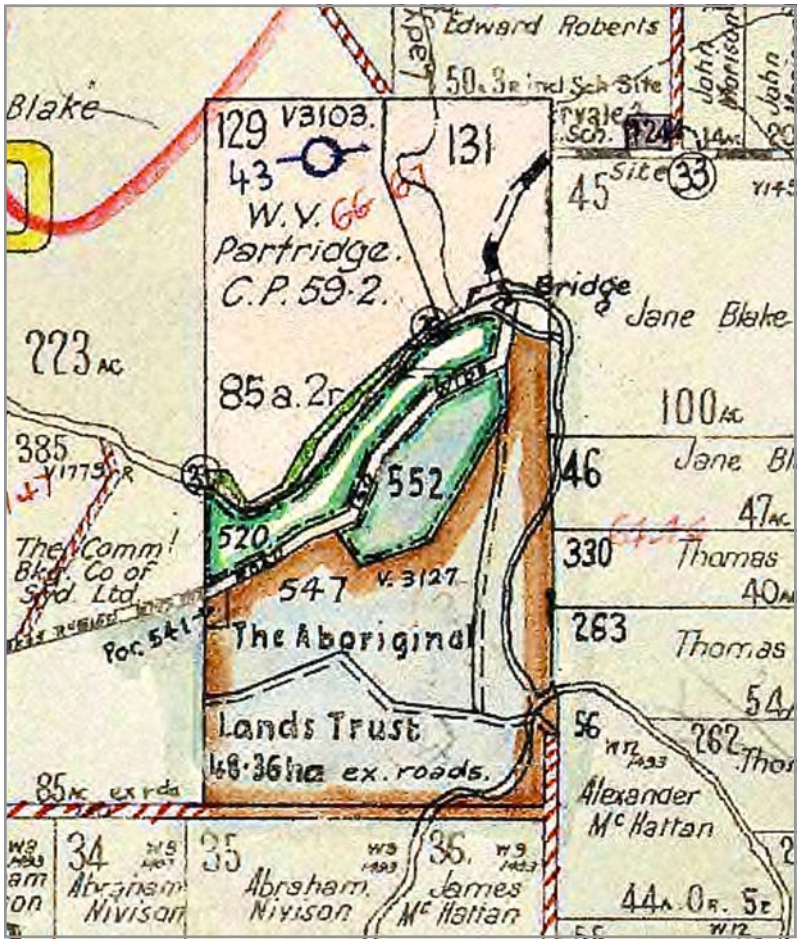
The Aboriginal School associated with this reserve was known as Summervale. It was not actually on the reserve but a quarter of a mile away, across the Ohio Creek.[294] The school was apparently initially run by the AIM missionaries, later becoming a department school.

In 1930 the Department of Education reported that:



Map 6: Walcha (Summervale) Reserve[295]

Image 32: Walcha Reserve, December 1935, AIM gathering[296] The following people have been identified by community. From left to right in back row: two unknown, Mr. Baker, three unknown, Tom Murray. In second from back row: Eva Morris, two unknown, Gladys Baker (Morris) holding baby, two unknown, Alice Henry, one unknown, Agnes Morris (Henry). In front row: lady in hat on far right: Jinny Daley.



Map 7: Walcha Reserve, Parish of Walcha, County of Vernon, 1960[297]

> The Aborigines' Protection Board recently requested the transfer of the Summer Vale Aborigines' School from the present building (a Church on the Aborigines' Reserve) to the department building. It is shown by the reports of the Board, and the local Inspector, that conditions are very unsatisfactory at present. Thirteen children are enrolled, and, of necessity, must endeavour to write on two desks. There is no press for the storage of materials, which are placed on the floor. No water is available at the Church.
>
> The children are said to be clean and tidy and a credit to their parents, who are respectable, and take a keen interest in the children and the school. The present conditions must be somewhat disheartening for them . . . It is recommended that the transfer of the Aborigines' School to the departmental building be approved.[298]

The School Inspector stated that he:

> . . . found [the] conditions under which children are working extremely unsatisfactory. Seating and desk accommodation are bad, no places exist for storing material, and one of the outhouses is in my opinion, in a dangerous condition . . . I recommend that the school be transferred to Summervale and that a limited number of the younger white children be admitted provided that vacancies exist.[299]

Although it was a substantial community, Walcha (Summervale) reserve never had a resident Board appointed manager. The reserve was partly revoked in 1955, with 198 acres of it being regazetted in 1959.[300] The registered Aboriginal burial ground was located in the revoked portion. Aboriginal people continued to live on the remaining reserve area; in 1982 there was a population of 63 people.[301] The remaining reserve had been revoked in 1974, the land later being held by the Walcha Local Aboriginal Land Council.[302]

Ingalba

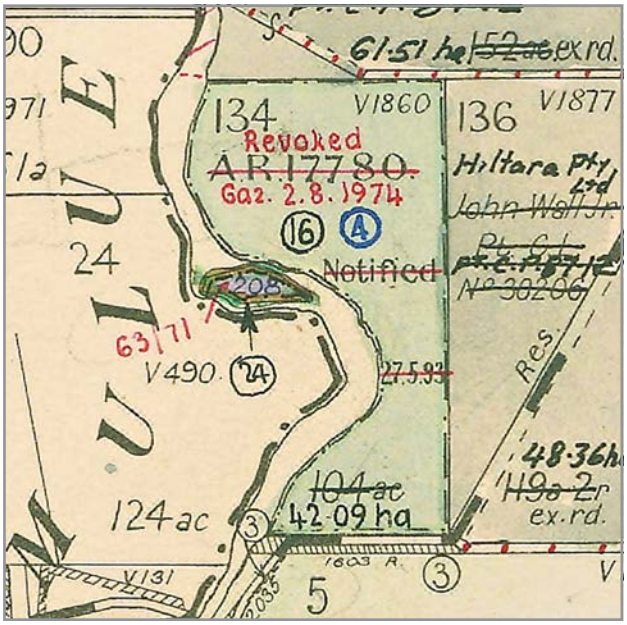
In 1893 an area of 107 acres was reserved in the Parish of Cobrabald, County of Vernon; it was known as Inglebar (Ingalba).[303] Ingalba lies about 30 kilometres south-west of Walcha. The Board report for 1893 noted the formation of the reserve of 107 acres at Ingalba. The notes indicate that the reserve area was already occupied by Aboriginal people:

> This reserve is the general camping-ground for the Aborigines of the Walcha district. As a rule there are from thirty to fifty residing upon it. They are improving it a good deal by clearing, ringbarking, fencing, and making vegetable-gardens. The land is of good quality, situated in a nice bend of the McDonald River, in which fish abound. They are all very well sheltered, having good slab huts.[304]

Prior to the reserve's creation the Aboriginal people had lived and worked on Ingalba Station and the reserve area was created from part of this run. In a 1902 newspaper account of the auction of the contents of the Ingalba homestead mention is made of the Aboriginal people of the reserve watching the auction, including 'Yarry' [Yarray Campbell], described as an old man.[305]

There are relatively few mentions of Ingalba in the AIM newsletters but missionaries did visit the settlement. In 1907 the AIM newsletter reported that "The Ingalba people are all away at work, and are getting on nicely in the new life. Some of them have taken a definite stand for Jesus in their homes".[306]

In 1918 the AIM missionaries reported on a visit to Ingalba:



Map 8: Ingalba Reserve, Parish of Cobrabald, County of Vernon, c.1893 (1866 map)[307] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

> Earlier the two workers drove out to Ingalba, 18½ miles from Walcha, to break the bread of life to the Aborigines living there. At one time this was a very large settlement, but our missionaries were as warmly received by the few who are left as they were some years ago by the larger number.[308]

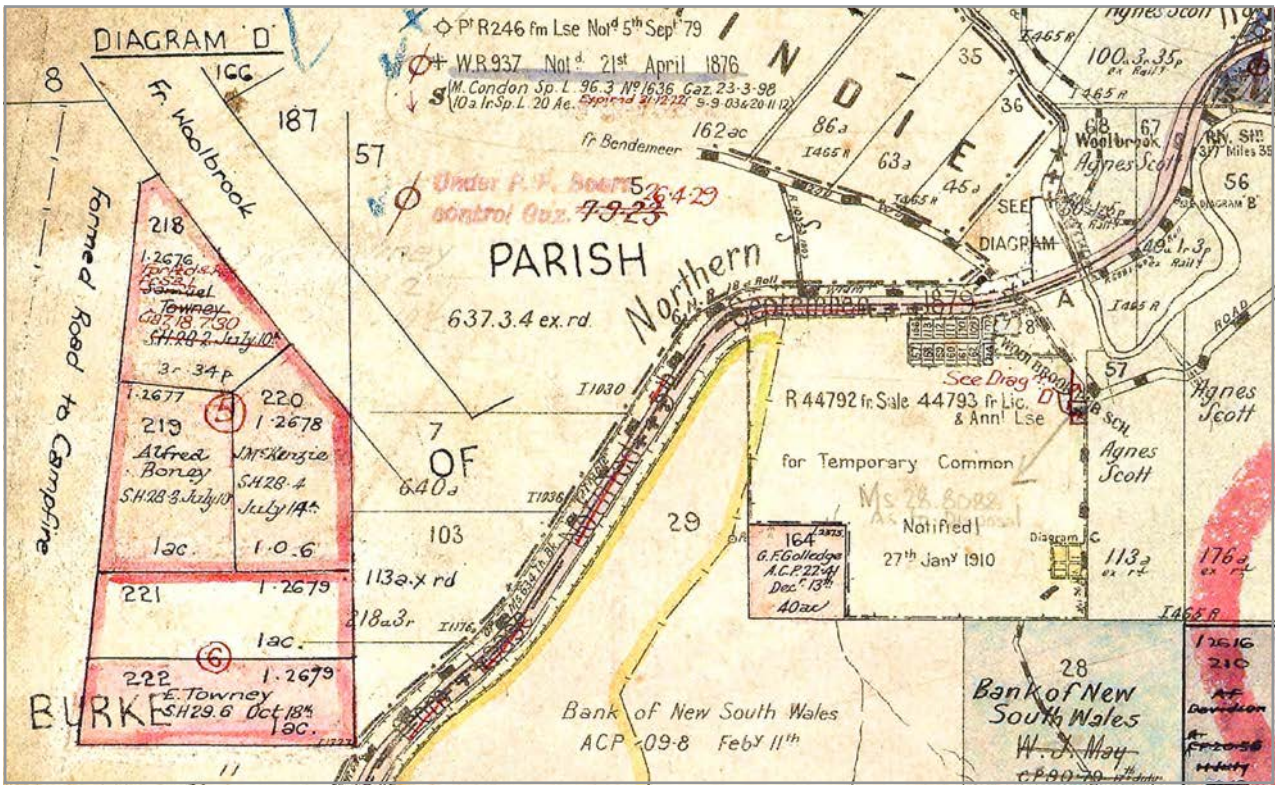
Woolbrook

There is no reserve recorded at Woolbrook; however, there is a large Temporary Common adjacent to the railway line. A small area of the common was leased out at some point in the early twentieth century; the leaseholders included J. McKenzie and Alfred Boney, both members of families associated with the cultural area.

The AIM missionaries mentioned a permanent camp of people at Woolbrook in the 1910s. In 1914 one of them wrote:

> Miss Acland and I had the pleasure of a trip to Woolbrook. There are usually a good number of our people camped at this place, and we often long to visit them regularly, but the journey, although but a short one, is expensive. We left Walcha at 6 o'clock in the morning, and at half-past nine we were safe at Woolbrook . . . We learnt that our people had moved their camp, consequent of the recent tragedy, and were now about three miles up the river. We called on the only family remaining in town, and after dinner we made our way up the river to the new camp. The people were very pleased to see us, and did not conceal their excitement. This specially noticeable amongst the children, for we had brought some Christmas toys with us, which we distributed amongst them, and then enjoyed games of rounders and cricket. When the men returned from work we gathered on the river bank, where all nature seemed to be praising God, and surrounded by such loveliness we told by word and song the blessed story of Jesus. There were about 16 in all in this little company, and it did us good to hear the hearty singing, particularly by the men. We stayed till it was almost dark before we turned our steps back to the town, and then we were accompanied by two of the people.[309]

The following year the missionaries stated that they had "visited Woolbrook, and have often seen the people from Swamp Oak".[310] A 1902 article in a local newspaper recorded that the Aboriginal language name for Swamp Oak was



Map 9: Woolbrook Common, c.1920s[311] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

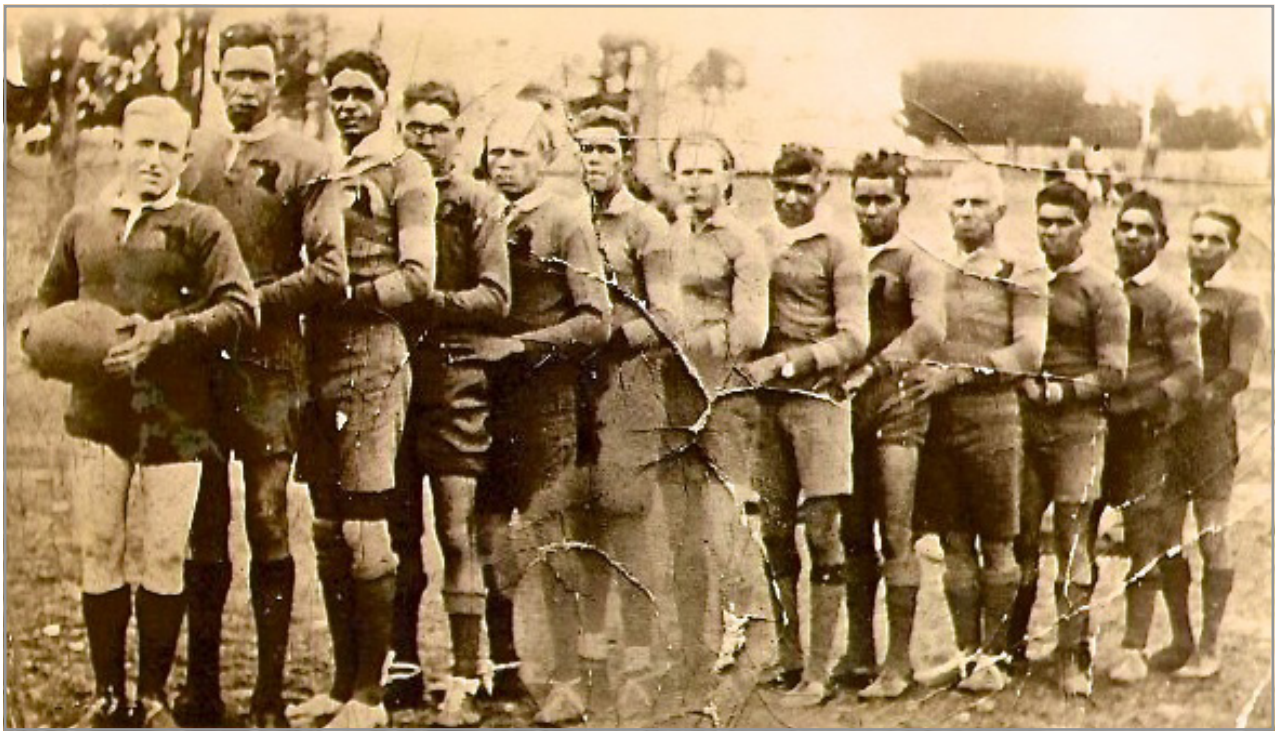


Image 33: Woolbrook Football Team, n.d.[312] The following people have been identified by community. From left to right: Ollie Sheridan, Alf Rudder, Richard Morris, Dick Morris, Dick McKenzie, Golly Dixon, Walter Smith, Clive (Billy Joe) McKenzie, Allan McKenzie, one unknown, Alf (Pop) Boney, George Dixon, one unknown.

'Rywung', which they translated as "a resting place".[313] The missionaries' account of 1915 continued:

> The Woolbrook people are migratory, and travel where their work takes them. Part of the Reserve has been leased to two of the men, whom we hope will make good use of it. One man has 70 acres, and the other 40. One of them through his industry has a very nice vegetable garden and has supplied us with vegetables several times. He put a fine exhibit of pumpkins, grammas, and squashes in the Show.[314]

In 1917 the missionary reported that:

> Some of our people had been obliged to vacate their camping-place and move to another spot. When one thinks of it, it does seem hard to be moved during this cold weather; of course, there is another reserve some miles away which they could go to, but it is not always convenient to go straight away, so either they must build quickly or be overcrowded. I found one poor old woman with just a temporary shelter made of poles, bark, and bags, and entirely open at the front, as she said to me, 'It is cold these nights when I have been used to my little house'. I could not build her a house, but I took the opportunity to point her to the mansions above, of which it speaks particularly in John 14, dwelling on 'I go to prepare a place for you'. You will agree she was in a position to understand what it means, and she seemed to have no doubt. I was telling another woman who had shared the same fate (but whose husband had managed to make another home), of the love of God. She was not so sure of God's love, so she said; this inconsideration on the part of a more privileged people makes it hard for us to give the message and hinders it from being received.[315]

The reason for the people having to move is not given. The reference to reserves may be to Aboriginal reserves but none have been identified in the records of the Board. It may also refer to other forms of Crown land reserve, such as commons or travelling stock reserves.

Nowendoc

Nowendoc lies about 70 kilometres to the south-east of Walcha. Although it lies just outside the cultural area families associated with the cultural area lived there in the early twentieth century. The only reserve identified at Nowendoc, an

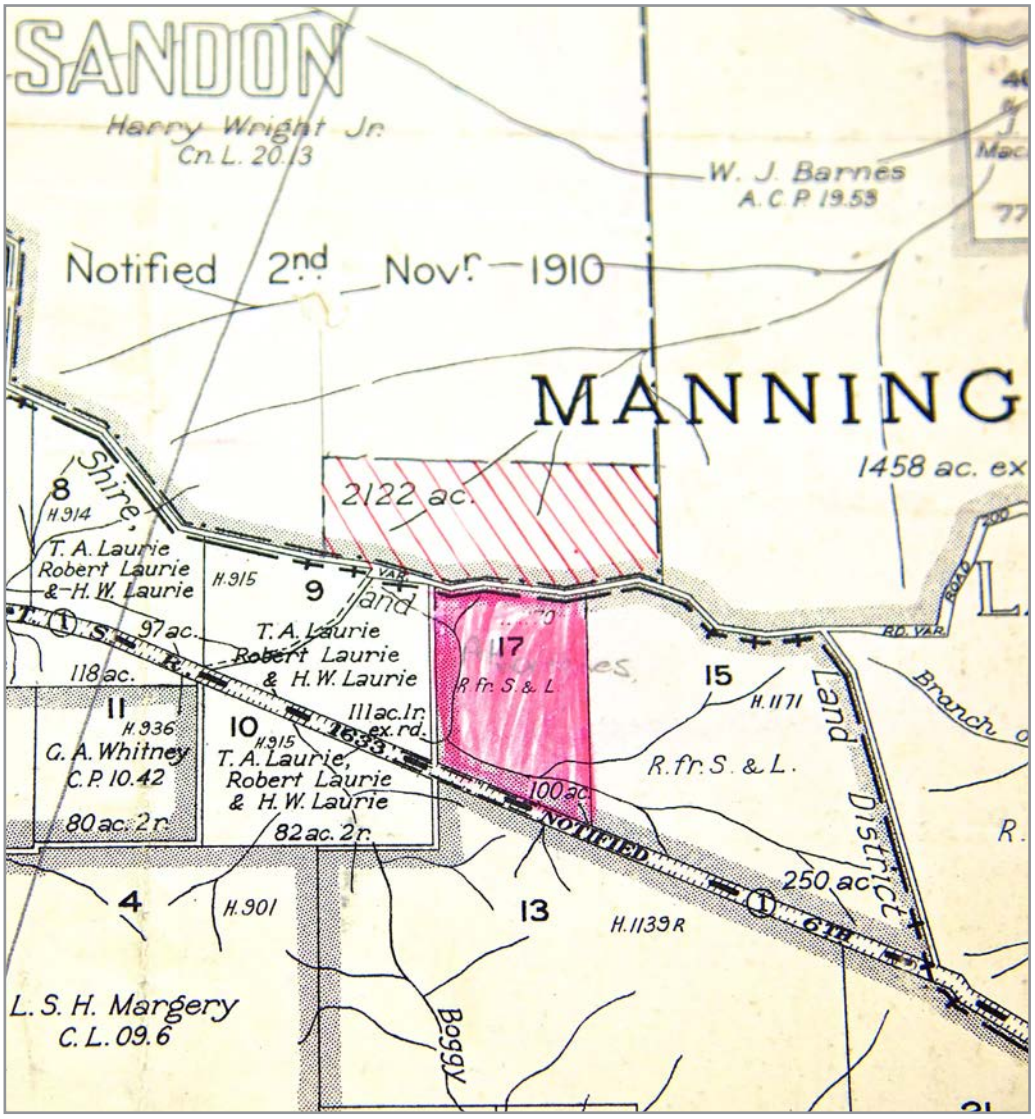
area of 100 acres, was created in 1939. No other information is given.[316]

Ten years previously, in 1929, there was a request to form an Aboriginal school at Nowendoc. This was in response to the Aboriginal children in the area having been excluded from the public school, that they had previously been attending, as a result of the objections of the European parents. Inspector Donaldson of the Aborigines Protection Board visited the area and reported that:

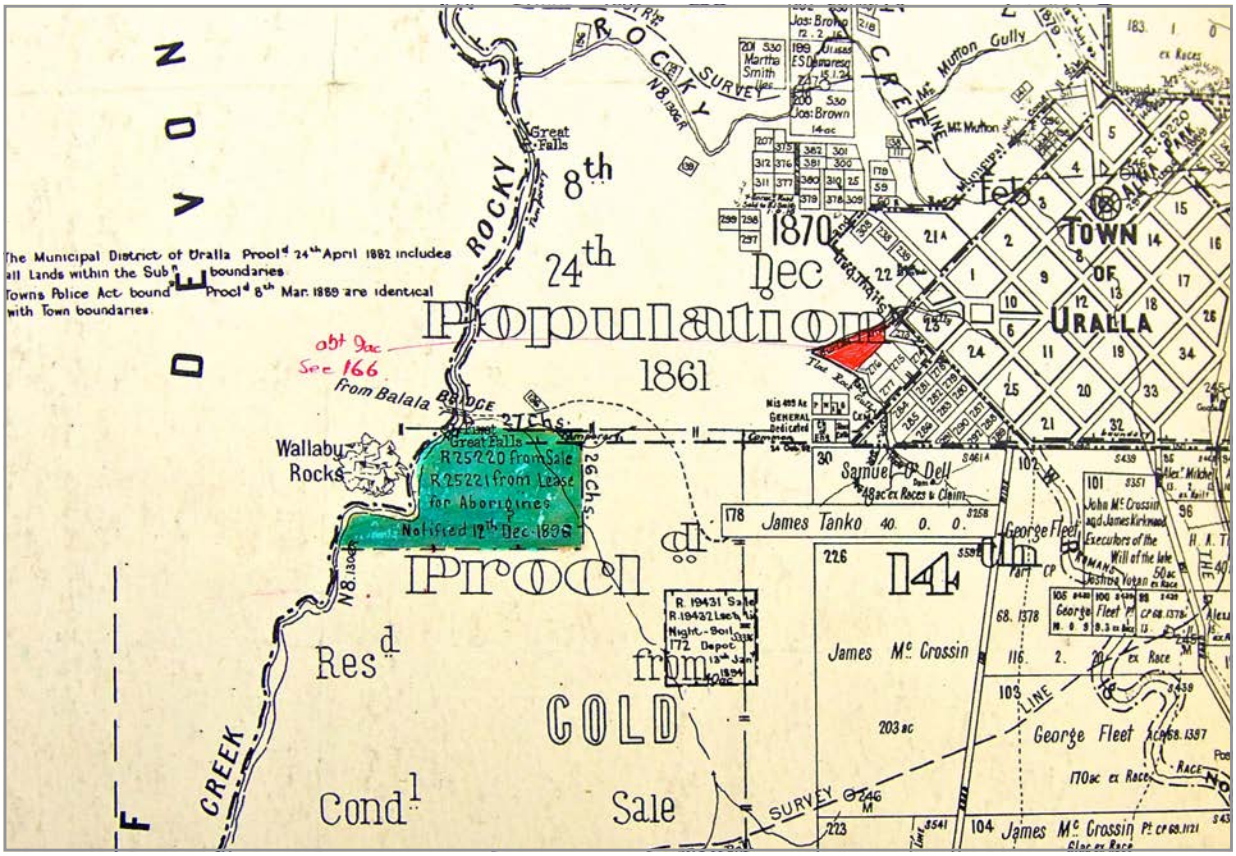
> Within 3½ miles [of Nowendoc] there are 5 families with an admixture of aborigine blood[317] . . . 3 of these are landowners – holding 3,000, 1,680 and 1,470 acres respectively. They rear some cattle and make big money in winter trapping rabbits . . . They have 18 children of school age. They are very anxious to have them educated. Owing to some unpleasantness – the School – there [was] a Subsidised one – was closed. The parents of the white pupils objection to the darker ones attending. This occurred about 2 years ago . . . Beside the coloured children there are 2 white families who will send their children . . . I recommend the appointment be made as early as possible [of a teacher] as the parents of the children are very anxious to have a start made. They have been waiting a couple of years for it.[318]

Uralla

The Board reported in 1896 on the creation of a new reserve at Uralla of 100 acres.[319] The reserve was on Kentucky Creek.[320] The Board report for 1899 stated that:



Map 10: Nowendoc Reserve (Portion 17), Land District of Walcha, Shire of Apsley, c.1939[321]



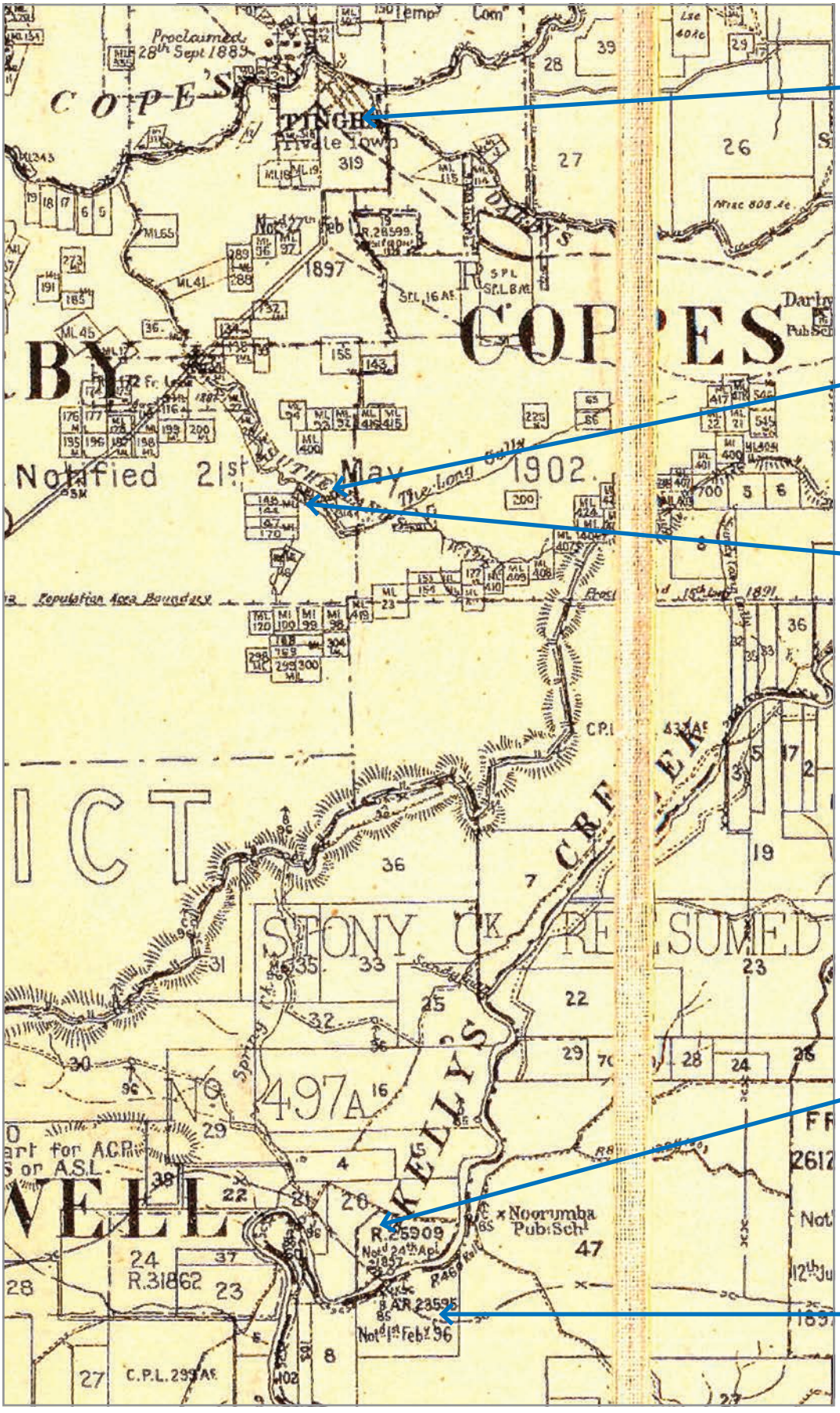
Map 11: Uralla Reserve (green) and Aboriginal cemetery (red)[322]

> Four families of Aborigines living on the reserve at Uralla have erected comfortable dwellings thereon, and have started cultivating vegetable gardens, which they have enclosed with fences. Some of the Aborigines make a comfortable living fossicking in the creek and old mines for gold.[323]

The following year the Board stated that at Uralla:

> The adult males earn their livelihood gold-mining, except the aged, who, with their children dependent upon them, receive Government rations. Four half-castes [sic] children attend regularly the local Public School. Two of the families are sheltered in fairly comfortable dwellings enclosed with fences on the Reserve. The others are located on the Town Common.[324]

Image 34: Uralla Reserve, n.d.[325]



Map 12: County of Hardinge, 1907[326] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

There are very few references to Uralla in the AIM missionaries newsletters; however, in 1918 they did report that they had, "visited Uralla, where they found a fine lot of people – there being at least 30 children".[327] The reserve was revoked in 1924. In 1938 an area of 9 acres was reserved as an Aboriginal cemetery, located on Burial Ground Gully.[328]

The Tingha area

There were a number of reserves and settlements in the Tingha area: these included a small reserve on which one family lived, the Bushfield (Stoney Creek) reserve; the Bassendean settlement; and the Long Gully settlement and associated Sutherland Waters reserve.

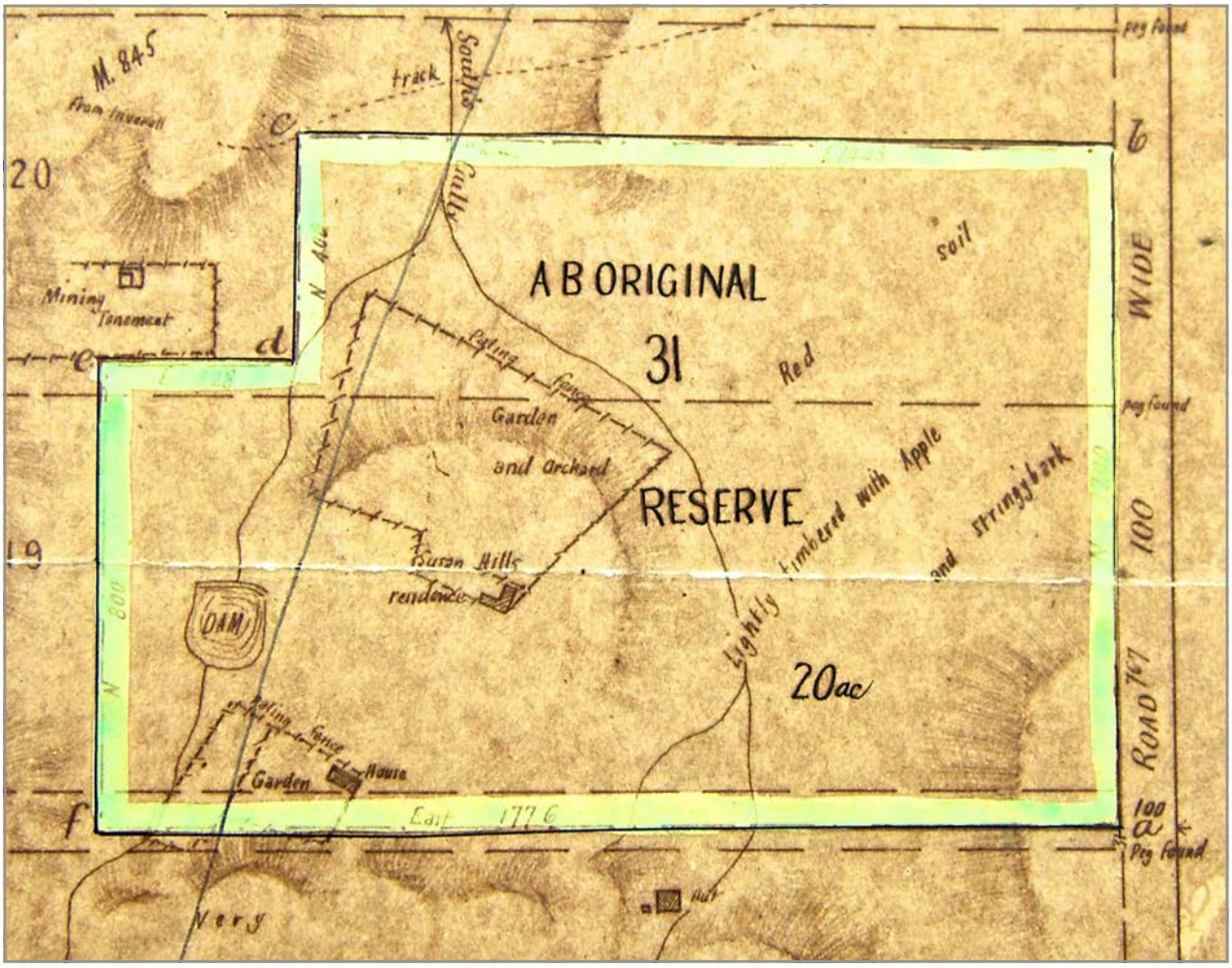
Tingha (Hill family)

In 1893 a small reserve of 20 acres was created east of Gilgai on Stannifer Road. This reserve was already being lived on by Mrs. Susan Hill and her children:

> This reserve is occupied by an old half-caste woman and some of her children. She has cattle of her own, keeps bees, &c., and with a little assistance from three of her daughters, who are out at service, is independent of Government aid.[329]

The plan of the reserve at its creation shows a house and a paling fence.[330] The Board report for 1900 reported that:

> There is only one female half-caste Aborigine residing on the Reserve at Tingha. She owns a few head of horses and cattle, and does a little



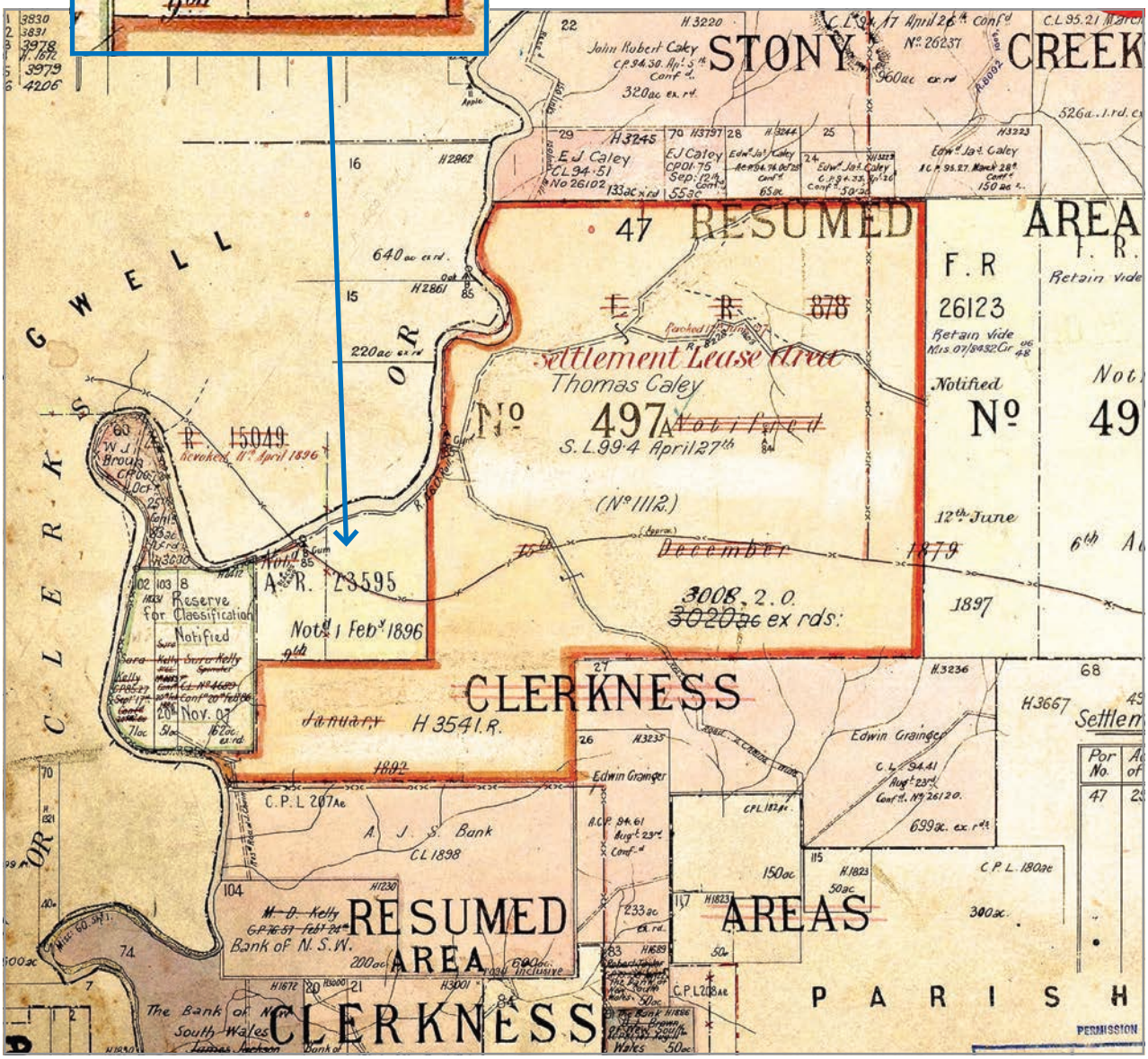
Map 13: Plan of Reserve (Hill family), 1893[331]

bee-farming, from which source, with a little assistance she receives from her daughters, who are in domestic service, she is able to support herself.[332]

Bushfield (Ngoorumba) and Bassendean

The Bushfield reserve was located on Moredun Creek, also known as Clerk's or Kelly's Creek. It was gazetted in two sections on either side of the creek, the first of 280 acres was reserved in 1896, the second of 168 acres was reserved the following year.[333] It was partly within Stoney Creek Station resumed area and partly within that of Clerkness.[334]

Stoney Creek Station was originally part of Clerkness Station. In 1846 it was taken up by Martin and Catherine Kelly. The Bushfield property was part of Stoney Creek Station and when Margaret Kelly, Catherine and Martin's daughter, married David Broun in 1877 they were given it by



Map 14: Bushfield Reserve, Parish of New Valley, County of Hardinge, 1896[337] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

her parents.[335] In 1889 Stoney Creek Station was foreclosed by the bank[336] and the remaining Kellys joined the Brouns on Bushfield; this family had a long connection with these settlements.

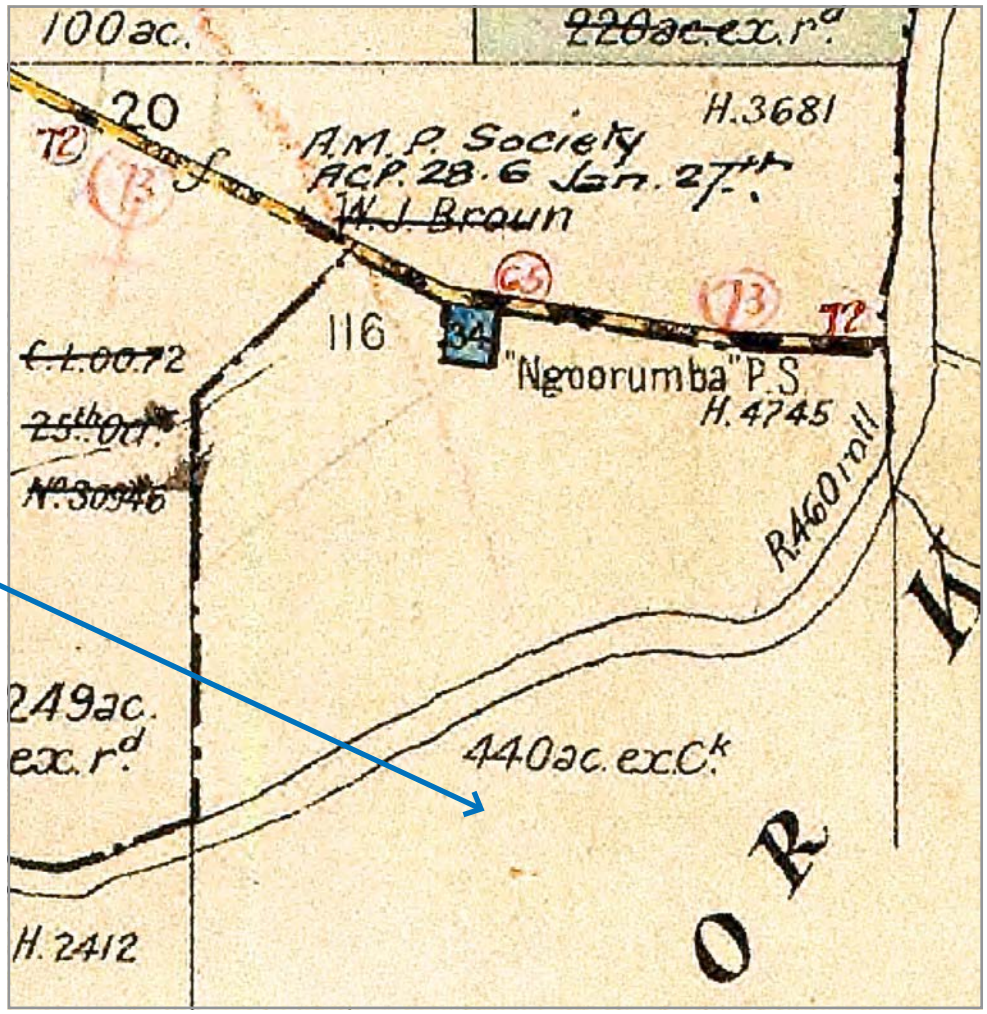
The reserve was created from an area of land that people were already living on. The 1896 parish map has a note stating 'Blacks Camp' on the creek in the area that was reserved. The Board, reporting on the creation of the reserve, stated that "The aborigines at Bushfield have erected dwellings for themselves, have fenced in vegetable gardens, and intend cultivating other portions of the land".[338]

In 1900 the Board reported on Bushfield that:

> All the Aborigines on the Bushfield Reserve are comfortable. The men able to work are principally employed on Stations droving, ringbarking, or stockkeeping. The women and children live with them, and all entitled thereto are provided with Government rations. There are 10 children of school age, but none of them are being educated, the nearest school being 12 miles distant. The Aborigines, with few exceptions, are addicted to habits of intemperance. They are nearly all housed in comfortable huts of their own construction on the Reserve, built of bark and slabs, and do not ask for any further assistance from the Board. The two Reserves, which adjoin each other, and comprise an area of 450 acres, are now entirely enclosed with a substantial fence. Five acres have been cleared for cultivation. The Board have provided them with farming and fencing implements, plough, harrow, cross-cut saw, hand saws, axes, wedges, spades, and a mattock.[339]

Ngoorumba Aboriginal School was originally associated with this reserve community, running for a brief period in the early twentieth century.

Location of reserve on Map 14



Map 15: 'Ngoorumba School', Parish of Chigwell, County of Hardinge, 1917[340] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

The school was located across the creek from the reserve, on the Broun family property 'Bassandean'. In 1908 the AIM newsletter reported on the establishment of a school at Bushfield, known by the local name Ngoorumba:

> Some eighteen months ago, at the invitation of one of the people, Mr Long went to Ngoorumba (Stoney Creek), and found a good number of Aborigines on the settlement. The reserve is close by, in fact adjoins 'Bassandean', the residence of Mrs Broun. This lady had for 27 years considered these original inhabitants of the land her special care, and had very much for them in many ways. Their education had occupied her thought. She had taught many of the older ones to read, and was now anxious to provide schooling for the rising generation. We promised to assist her by sending a missionary who would act as school teacher, and endeavoured to fulfil the promise, especially by prayer and supplication. But the months sped on, and seemingly no headway was made. In the meantime Mrs Broun persevered, and as a result of her efforts a school was erected and a teacher was appointed, and all unknown to us until Mr Watkinson's visit, our prayers were answered . . . As elsewhere stated, the teacher, Mr Coombs, is an earnest Christian young man. He was for a time in training in the Central Methodist Mission as an Evangelist, and later was employed as a Home Missionary in connection with the same denomination. When he received the telegram to go to Ngoorumba he was teaching in the West Maitland Public School . . . he has requested that he be regarded as our A.I.M. worker at that place.[341]

The Board report for 1908 stated of the school that:

> An attempt at gardening has been made, such work being new to the pupils. They have taken it up with great zest and interest, and some have laid out plots at their huts in the camp. The teacher is doing good work in the formation of habits of neatness, order, and cleanliness.[342]

In 1910 the Board reported that:

> [A] portion of the school enclosure has been turned into a vegetable garden, and same enclosed with wire-netting. The children appear to take a great interest in the gardening, which is quite new to them. In such subjects as give scope to their imitative faculties, they make fair progress.[343]

On 14 October 1911 the Ngoorumba teacher wrote to the Inspector of Schools stating that:

> . . . some short time ago an offer was made to the Aborigines on this settlement to be removed to Pindari Settlement, some 60 miles distant, where upwards of 3,000 acres of suitable land have been set apart for an Aboriginal Station. The Police Officer at Bundarra was instructed to visit this settlement and ascertain how many were willing to go. And quite a number decided to accept the advantages offered. Without waiting to be removed thither, several have already gone, and as a consequence the attendance at this School has fallen considerably, the average for the present week being only six. It is quite possible that at a very early date others will also leave for Pindari.[344]

Four days later the Department of Public Instruction recommended that the Ngoorumba school be closed, and this was done.[345]

In 1914, the two areas of the Bushfield reserves were both revoked.[346] In that year it was reported by the Board that two huts and a schoolhouse at Bushfield:

> . . . were pulled down and transferred to Sevington, where they will be re-erected for occupation by the Bushfield aborigines, who are taking up their residence on the station.[347]

In 1934 the school at Long Gully had its name changed to Ngoorumba at the suggestion of the AIM missionary at the camp who stated that some of the parents remembered this earlier school; as a result, the two locations are sometimes confused in the records.[348]

While some people moved to Pindari (Sevington)[349] others appear to have remained on the Bushfield property and on the adjacent Bassendean property. Bassendean was a small holding, in 1910 an area of 6,315 acres, that had originally been part of Stoney Creek Station. The Bassendean property was held by William Broun of Bushfield:

> There was a large aboriginal population living on 'Bassendean', estimated at one time to be as high as 140, with two Inland Missionaries also living on the property. Jim Broun, who was New England Champion pigeon shot for a number of years, was also a keen cricketer. He organised

Image 35: Aboriginal Reserve, Tingha, n.d.[350]

> an aboriginal cricket team which travelled over a large area playing matches.[351]

In 1923 an application to establish a school at Bassendean was made, the department's summary states:

> All the children are aboriginal and a number of them have been in attendance at aboriginal schools or others. They are living with their parents on the property of . . . Mr. W.J. Broun, the owner of Bassendean. He has built cottages there for them and receives in return the men's assistance on his place. The people are under the police protection [of] the officer in charge at Bundarra, and receive blankets from the AP Board. Questioned closely on the matter of their permanency of residence, [Mr] Broun assured me there was no doubt of that. From that point of view the case is satisfactory. There are now 16 children resident on the place who are of age, and others are likely to come once the school is opened . . . The parents are very anxious for their children to have a school . . . I recommend the establishment of the school at an early date.[352]

One of the very few mentions of Bassendean in the Board reports is in the 1926 report where it is stated that there had been "Improvements to housing accommodation, and erection of larger school premises".[353] This school does not appear to have operated for long. By 1929 AIM missionaries were running a school at the Long Gully camp and, in 1936, the Board was attempting to get the buildings on Bassendean transferred to Long Gully:

> Endeavour is being made to arrange the transfer of other school premises at present located on Mr. W.J. Broun's "Bassendean" property some miles distant. Mr Broun has been written to, but so far I have been unable to secure a reply from him. A further reminder is being sent.[354]

In an account of Bassendean that relies heavily on Broun family records and oral history it is stated that:

> The Bassendean 'haven' disappeared after the Australian Workers' Union unionised the Aboriginal men and took a test case to court which was heard in the NSW Industrial Commission . . . in 1928. It failed and costs were awarded against the AWU, but established union rules operated at Bassendean thereafter and informal daily wage employment ended.[355]

This would appear to support the view expressed by a regional historian who, in discussing the Bushfield (Ngoorumba) and Bassendean settlements and their association with the Brouns, commented that:

> From the evidence, it is difficult to determine what the motivation was of the Brouns. One suspects that it was more than just sympathy and desire to help the people. The availability of a large amount of cheap labour was also important.[356]

In a local history the following statement is made regarding the Kelly and Broun families' interaction with the Aboriginal people of the area:

> Catherine Kelly, Margaret Broun's mother, had always felt great sympathy for the aborigines and the example she set was carried on by her daughter and later her grandson, James (Jim) Broun.[357]

In a history of the Aboriginal people of Tingha, based in large part on Broun family records, it is stated of Jim Broun that:

> His diaries and ledgers show his extraordinary empathy towards the Aborigines, and how he endeavoured to create a 'haven' for them at Bassendean.[358]

However, the attitude of Jim Broun does not appear to have been as sympathetic as suggested by these quotes. A history of the wider Inverell area includes an account of a series of letters published in the *Inverell Times* in 1935. One of the writers was the Rev. Keeling, a Methodist clergyman; another was Jim Broun of Bassendean, although he originally published under the pseudonym 'Combo Jimmie'. Jim Broun:

> . . . described the Aboriginal people as lazy and said that far too much money had already been spent helping them. The writer complained that the government had been looking after them too well, allowing them to 'breed like rabbits'. He advocated that the boys should be sterilised at birth and that the girls should be 'put under more stringent control'.[359]

Katie Broun, Jim's sister[360], also engaged in this debate:

> She considered the older ones 'honest, capable men' but felt that the younger had been spoilt by the missionaries and had been given too much education. She expressed the typical 19th century station-owners' view that they should go back to the bush and that 'the boys and girls over fourteen should be trained in housework on farms and stations'.[361]

In response to the charge that Aboriginal people had had "too much education" a letter, stated to be by, Judy, an Aboriginal resident of Long Gully, commented:

> When we older ones look back on the past years, and think how, in some cases, the lack of education in us and our parents, have been taken advantage of to an extent almost amounting to slavery, then we all say, from the bottom of our hearts, 'Thank God for our missionaries and the chance of education for our children!' She regarded the suggestion that the Aboriginal people should go back to the bush as 'absurd' because no full-bloods are left, and 'we are as we are, not by our own choice'.[362]

Long Gully

Long Gully was a camp on privately held leasehold land in the 1920s, and possibly earlier. The AIM missionaries were active at the camp from around 1928.[363] In a letter written in 1935 the AIM missionary, Mr. Harris, stated that:

> Over six years ago we commenced our missionary work among the dark people of Long Gully . . . At this time there was trouble with the lessee . . . So to avoid further trouble the whole encampment was moved to its present position, where we have been for the past five and half years.[364]

It appears that the original camp was directly to the south of the reserve and around 1929 it was moved onto the area that was later reserved. The reserve was gazetted in 1934.[365]

The missionary, Mr. Harris, sent a letter protesting about the size of the reserve and the resulting overcrowding to the Association for the Protection of Native Races, who forwarded it to the Board:

> I enclose a rough sketch of land taken up by the Aborigines Protection Board at the commencement of this year as a Reserve for the dark people of this district. [Note: no sketch was found in the file.] You will see how entirely it is hemmed in between other leases, and how a large proportion is occupied by a dry creek bed, in places fifteen to twenty feet deep, and twice as wide. Also the only flat part where it is possible to grow grass for the horses has been nearly all cut off, leaving two of the homes outside the boundary. The area granted as a reserve is totally inadequate, and there is frequently friction between the holder of the surrounding leases and the people. The additional area applied for some four to six months ago is shown with red cross lines. This would include Spl lease 28.35, as well as other portions which at present do not seem to be put to very much use. In all it would be about from 200 to 250 acres. The approach to the present reserve is through the lease mentioned and the including of this in the extension would be a very welcome addition. It is

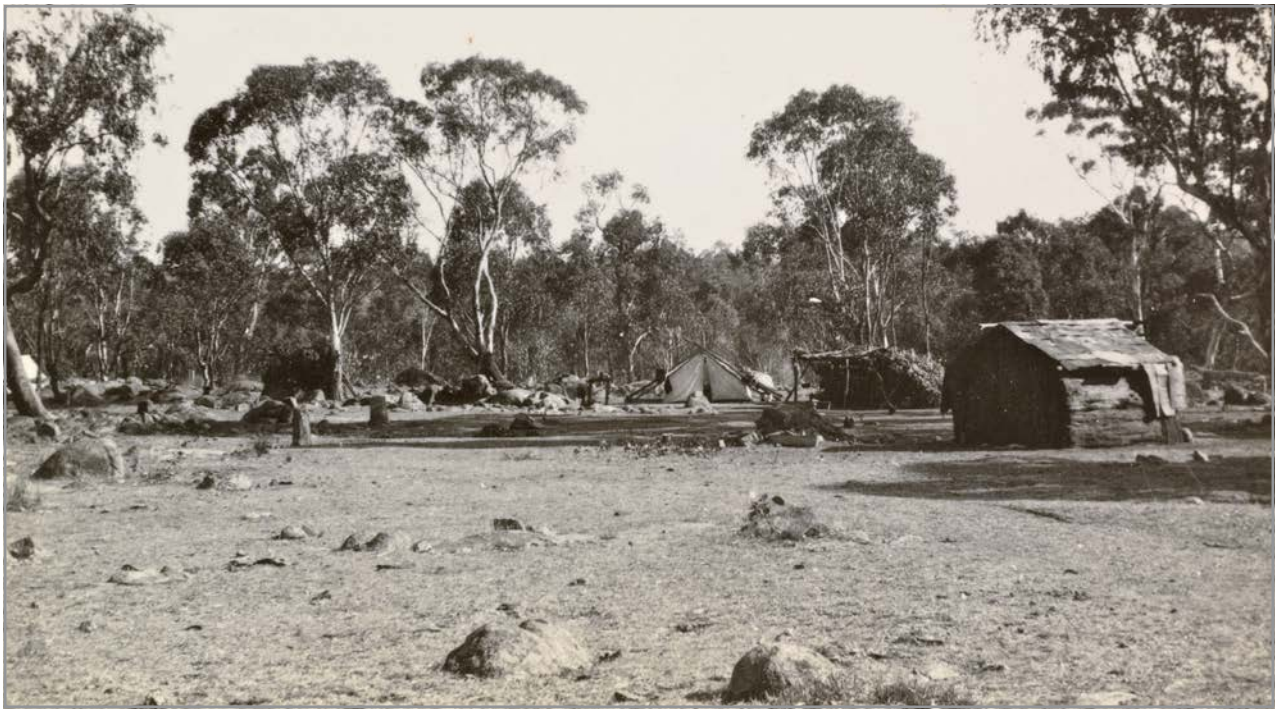


Image 36: Long Gully Camp, 1929[366]

> imperative that something be done to relieve the present unsatisfactory situation.[367]

The Board responded in 1936 stating:

> At Long Gully there is a reserve of about 16 acres which was recently set aside for the use of aborigines. On this about 100 aborigines are residing. The place is undoubtedly too small for requirements, but it was all that could be secured following urgent representations to the Department of Lands. A suggestion has now been made that an additional area of about 120 acres held under lease by an adjoining land owner be added, and this will receive the consideration of the Aborigines Protection Board at an early date.[368]

This does not seem to have occurred. Long Gully was the site of one of the first two Native Christian Conventions in 1930, run in association with the AIM and UAM missions:

> Over seventy people gathered from near and far. This was to be the first of many annual conventions to take place at Long Gully in the years to come.[369]

In 1932 the Long Gully missionaries applied to the Education Department and the Board to convert the school they were running to an Aboriginal Provisional School; this status would provide some funding support. A letter signed by two residents, Florrie Munro and J. Murray, supporting this proposal and the appointment of the existing missionary teacher, Miss Harris, as a paid Education Department teacher is in the school file. They state that:

> Long Gully is an Aboriginal Settlement where the people have gathered together on their own accord with the desire that they be left to the care of the missionaries working with them . . . The people are well satisfied with the present control by the police and missionaries and would much prefer not to have a manager or strange teacher sent here.[370]

The application was approved and in a 1933 letter the Board reported that:

> For some time, a Subsidised School for Aboriginal children has been conducted at Long Gully, via Tingha. The number of pupils has grown until, at the present time, there are between 20 and 30 enrolled. In response to a recent application by the Australian Inland Missionary at Tingha, and with the concurrence of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, approval was given to the establishment of an Aborigines' Provisional School to replace the Subsidised School . . . the Missionary urged the appointment of his daughter, Miss D.V. Harris. She has successfully conducted the Subsidised School, and there is every reason to believe that she has exerted a very favourable influence on

Image 37: AIM convention meeting, Long Gully, 1932[371]

> the children. Miss Harris is not a trained teacher, but holds the Intermediate Certificate . . . It appears to me that her qualifications would compare very favourably with those generally held by persons appointed as teachers of Aborigines' Schools. Miss Harris' appointment would be acceptable to the Board for the Protection of Aborigines.[372]

Writing to the Education Department in 1933 the AIM missionary, Mr. Harris, responded to a request for possible names for the school at Long Gully:

> . . . the best suggestion I can give for a new name for the Aboriginal School at Long Gully is Ngoorumba, meaning a Native Home. The pronunciation is as with a silent g and the u partly like oo. It is a name which was used years ago at a native school at Stoney Creek not many miles away from Long Gully and is remembered by some of the parents of the present scholars. If this is not suitable I would offer as an alternative Bethemek, meaning, house in the valley.[373]

The school was formally named Ngoorumba.[374] In 1936 the Board wrote to the Education Department regarding the Ngoorumba school at Long Gully:

> There are at present 44 children on the school roll. The school itself is a roughly built structure of the wattle and daub variety and has accommodation for about 30 children only, the balance being taught in a small detached building. Endeavour is being made to arrange the transfer of other school premises at present located on Mr. W.J. Broun's 'Bassendean' property some miles distant. Mr. Broun has been written to, but so far I have been unable to secure a reply from him. A further reminder is being sent.
>
> The supervision of the Settlement on behalf of the Board is in the hands of the local Police, but some years ago a family named Harris, who are connected with the Aborigines Inland Mission, took up their residence at Long Gully, the daughter voluntarily undertaking school duty. She was subsequently appointed by the Department as teacher and the school established as a Provisional one.[375]
>
> In view of the population of this place, I am inclined to think that it might be desirable for the father, Mr. Harris, to be given some sort of control, and I would suggest that the whole matter be left in the hands of my Board which will take action in this and the other matters above referred to.[376]

Image 38: 'Ngoorumba (Long Gully) School', Miss Harris with 1st and 2nd Class, 1933[377]

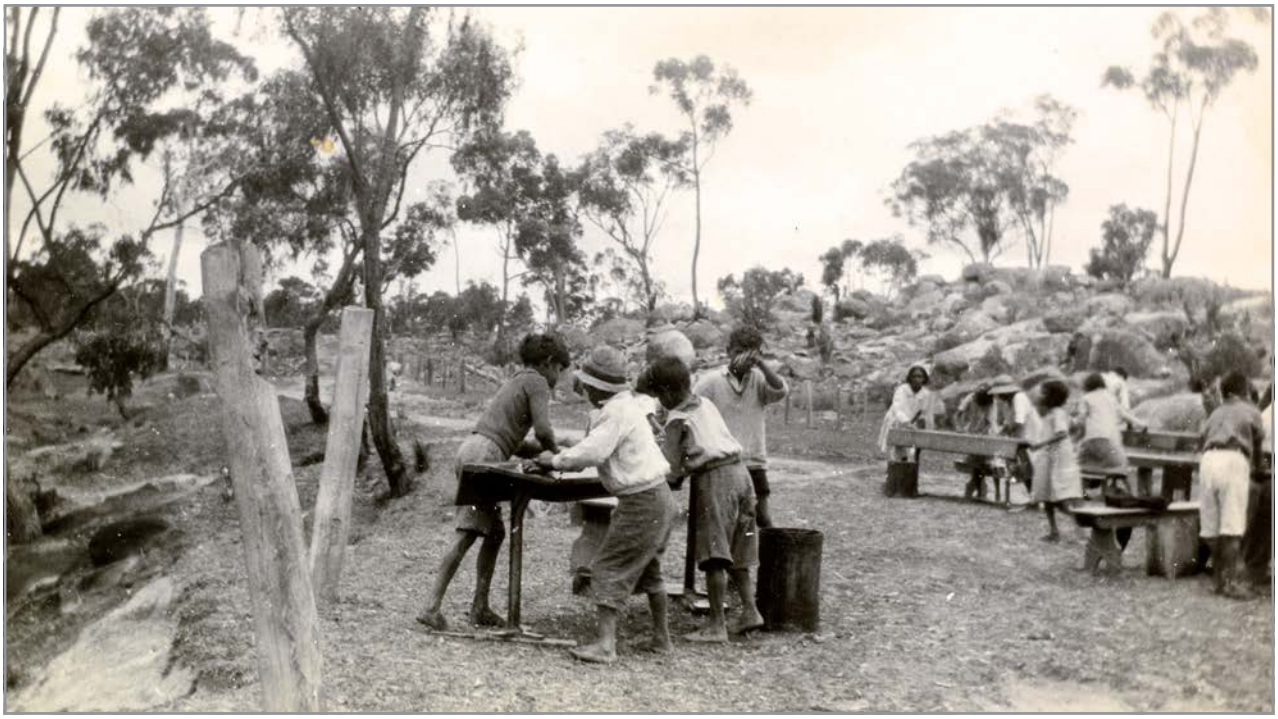


Image 39: 'Ngoorumba (Long Gully) School', cleaning up, 1936[378]

It is not known if Mr. Harris was given any form of formal control by the Board. The Ngoorumba school was closed in 1950.[379]

Sutherland Waters

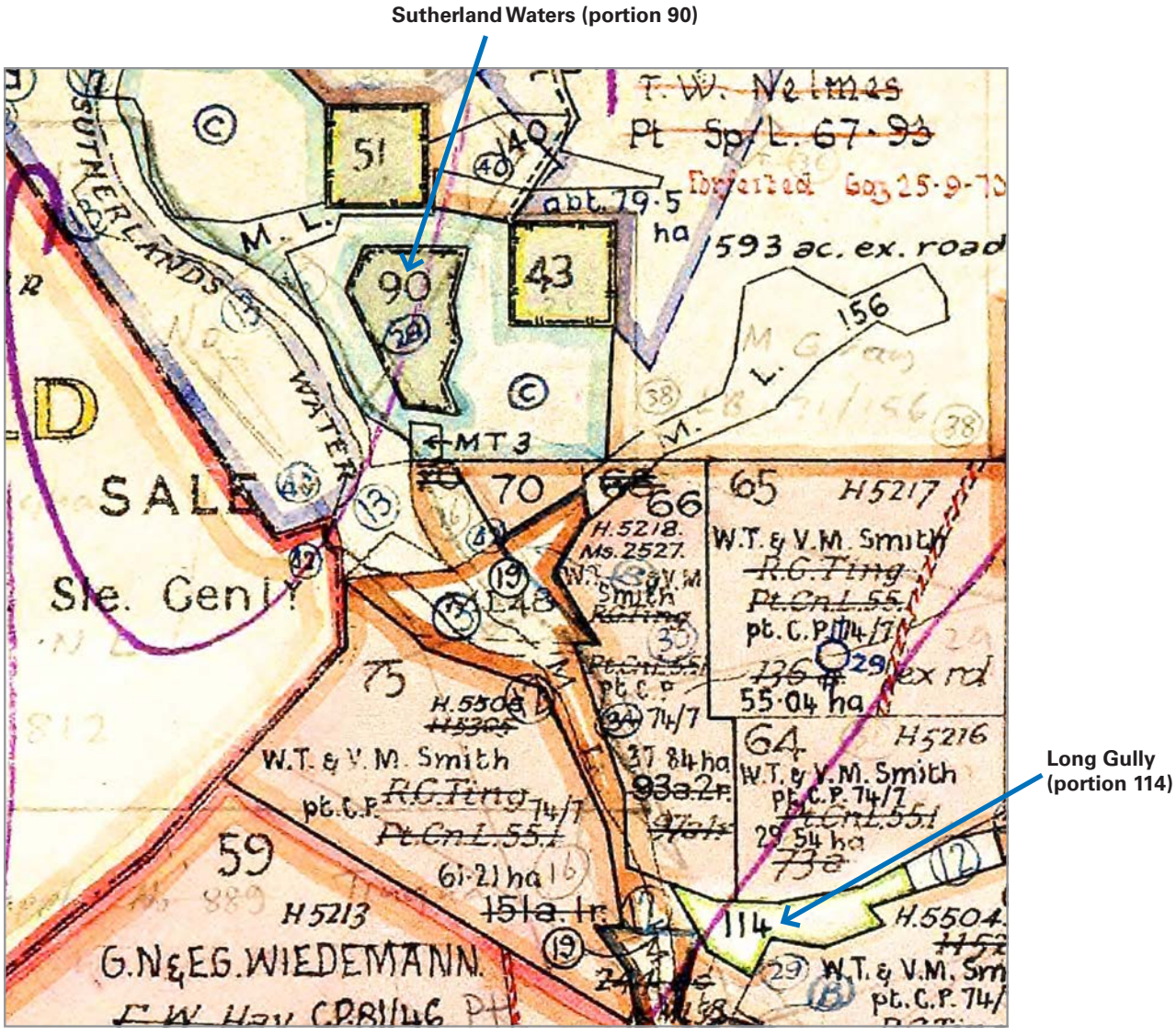
In 1954 an area of 25 acres was reserved at Tingha and named Sutherland Waters.[380] The Sutherland Waters reserve is located just to the north of the Long Gully settlement, and was notified in 1954. There are no details recorded regarding people's occupation of the area. At times the Long Gully camp is referred to as Sutherland Waters; it appears that this name was in use prior to the 1954 reserve creation.[381]

The Inverell area

The main settlement in the Inverell area in this period was at Pindari (Sevington). This settlement was the only reserve in the New England region that was turned into a station in 1910 with a manager being appointed by the Board.

Pindari (Sevington)

An area of 23 acres was reserved on Pindari Creek in 1893.[382] The area had previously been part of a traveling stock and camping reserve.[383] In the Board's report for 1907 it was recorded that they had provided "Fencing wire, tools, fruit trees, &c." to the people living at Pindari.[384]



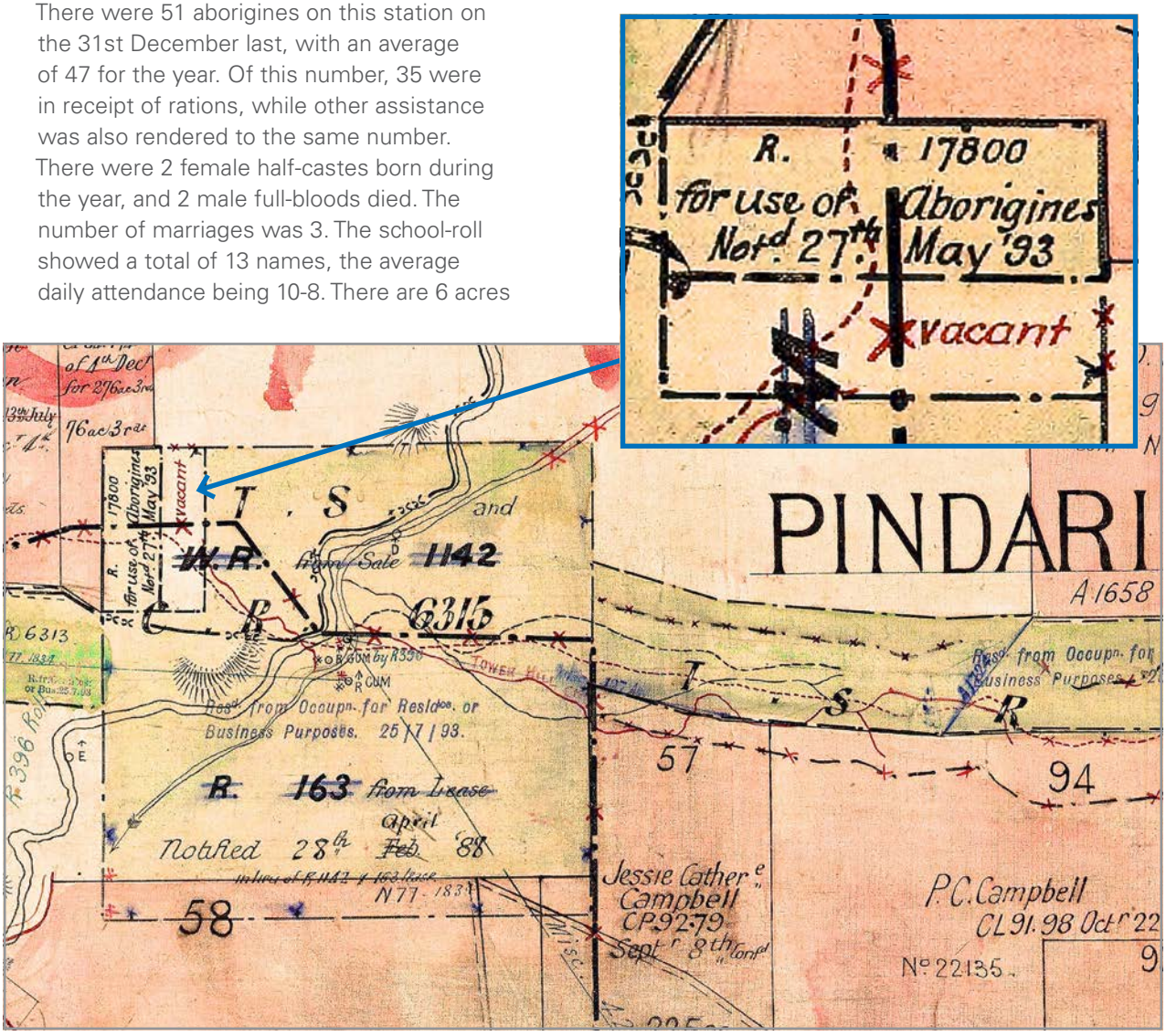
Map 16: Sutherland Waters and Long Gully, Parish of Darby, County of Hardinge, 1959[385]

It appears that the UAM, rather than the AIM, were active at Pindari. In the UAM newsletter for 1907 a Mr. Reeve reported on his arrival at Pindari:

> I found the people living in Mia Mias, built by stretching a blanket on a ridge pole, and without any tools except two tomahawks and an axe-head without a handle . . . We are writing for tools, for which we have applied, so that the men may be able to put up the frames of the houses, and the posts for the fence.[386]

In the report for 1910 the Board recorded that "a small allowance was made to Mr. A.W. Setchell, Missionary at Pindari (Inverell), to act in the capacity of Manager at that place".[387] The 1910 report included this more detailed report on Pindari, now classed as a station, with the appointment of a Board manager:

> There were 51 aborigines on this station on the 31st December last, with an average of 47 for the year. Of this number, 35 were in receipt of rations, while other assistance was also rendered to the same number. There were 2 female half-castes born during the year, and 2 male full-bloods died. The number of marriages was 3. The school-roll showed a total of 13 names, the average daily attendance being 10-8. There are 6 acres of land cultivated with corn, pumpkins, and potatoes, all looking well. In addition, there are 3 vegetable gardens, well kept and cultivated, attached to several of the residents' dwellings.
>
> The work done consisted of (inter alia) the erection of a cottage, which was built by the owner at his own expense, and in a very creditable fashion; 8 acres of land cultivated and enclosed with rabbit-proof netting; 2 garden plots enclosed with wire-netting; 2 wells for drinking water properly enclosed, &c.
>
> It is gratifying to report that several of the families on the reserve are taking a keen interest in vegetable growing, with very good results. The children at school excel in sewing and singing, and are progressing satisfactorily in reading and writing. The general health of



Map 17: Pindari Reserve, Parish of Nullamanna, County of Arrawatta, 1905[388] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

> the inhabitants has been excellent, while the conduct has been all that could be desired.[389]

The following year, 1911, the Board reported of Pindari Station that "The population of this station increased to some extent during 1911".[390] On the 31st December there were 90 people resident, the average for the year being 61.[391] The report continued:

> During the year the Board established a sale store on the station. This is a great convenience to the residents, who are thus enabled to obtain, at cost price, extras and small luxuries, and it precludes the possibility of the reckless expenditure of their money.[392]

This statement suggests the possibility that there may have been some control of Aboriginal people's incomes by the manager on Pindari, although it may simply refer to the decrease in visits to town as a result of the station store. The report also states that "The Board also approved of the erection of several additional cottages and a school-room on the Station, to be built by the aborigines under the direction of the Manager"[393], indicating the intention to establish a school on the station.

In 1912 the Board changed the name of Pindari Station to Sevington (Wellingrove) Station. Substantial building occurred there:

> The Board having decided to erect nine weatherboard huts and a school building, the whole of the necessary logs for the timber were felled on the reserve by the aborigines and drawn to the mill by the Station bullock team.[394]

In 1913, although the school building was complete, no teacher had been appointed.[395] In 1914 the school at Sevington was finally opened with 32 children on the roll.[396] The Board stated that:

> The school has been the means of retaining several of the residents on the station, and, indeed, several families took up their residence at Sevington, so that their children might have the benefit of schooling.[397]

In early 1914 the Sevington manager wrote to the Board reporting that:

> . . . 12 Aborigines arrived from Bushfield on 28th [March] to take up permanent residence on the Station. There are now 12 children of actual school age on the station, 4 more are due . . . The Aborigines from Bushfield are particularly anxious to get their children to school . . . The school is the only thing that hold those from Bushfield – if it is not opened as promised on April 20 they will certainly leave, & I think not again come back to Sevington.[398]

A letter from the teacher in 1916 argued for changing the name of the school:

> . . . there are 2 schools in Sevington, viz – the Aboriginal Provisional and the Subsidised School at Green Hills Sevington, and the mail of each is constantly being sent to the other. I would suggest that in future the Aboriginal School be called by the native name of the Station viz.– Noocoorilma.[399]

In 1917 Charles Burrage took up a position with the Aborigines Protection Board as teacher/manager of Sevington (Pindari) Station, and he and his wife Elsie Burrage and their two children moved up from Victoria. Prior to coming to Sevington they had had little or no interaction with Aboriginal people, as is clear in the letter Elsie Burrage wrote to her parents describing their arrival:

> Here we are at Sevington . . . This place seemed very lonely at first as far as the situation was concerned but we haven't been at all lonely so far. Have had two or three visitors each day. Miss Malcolm, the missionary, is living about 60 yards away at the church. The blacks' houses are in the hollow about ¼ mile off. They are not at all repulsive. I thought they would be. This morning I met Mrs Charlie Brown and Mrs Guy Brown & they talk just like we do. Said 'Good morning Mrs Burrage. How do you do?' & asked after the journey etc. . . . I was surprised at their speech, not broken English at all but just the same as ours.[400]

In a letter just over a week later she described attending a dance on the station:

> I went over to the School to look on at the dance. I was agreeably surprised. They dance very well, all of them and such order, not a bit of rowdiness like an ordinary dance. Some of the ladies had their hair decorated, one had a piece of fancy tinsel work round her neck & hanging about down to her waist. One girl had on an evening dress, looked like art muslin. It was bright scarlet, such a pretty shade & trimmed with silver trimming. That was Annie

> Lansborough. She happened to be home as the people she was working for had gone for a holiday. She's about 18, but the girls all have to go away to work when they are 14. So she was the only girl at the dance except little ones 12 & younger. All the married ladies dance, and most of the men are married, such young boys they look. They dance too. All the children & babies were there, & as good as gold. We were just coming away when one of them commenced a solo, so Charlie said I ought to recite, so I did. I said 'The Hat'. They seemed very amused & liked it.[401]

There were a considerable number of Elsie Burrage's letters published in a 1994 history, too numerous to reproduce here, that included accounts of life on the station and mentioned many people by name, and are added to with comments by her daughter who lived at Sevington as a young child.[402]

The Board report for 1919–20 recorded that:

> The drought was responsible for the temporary abandonment of Sevington Aboriginal Station, via Inverell, the residents being compelled to move to a spot near the river, owing to the failure of the station water supply. Fortunately, however, the recent rains filled all the dams and a number of wells, thus ensuring practically a permanent water supply.[403]

The following year the Board stated that:

> Very little cultivation is carried on, and considerable difficulty was experienced in securing a proper water supply. However, it is hoped that this trouble has now been overcome. Three good dams having been excavated, and a number of wells being filled by the heavy rains experienced towards the end of the winter.[404]

In 1922 the Burrages were sent to another APB station, Cummeragunja on the Murray River, apparently due to the closure of Sevington (Pindari) Station.[405]

In the 1977 National Parks & Wildlife Service site report on Nucoorilma the main informant was Mrs. Dolly Brown, at the time in her late 60s, who was born at the settlement:

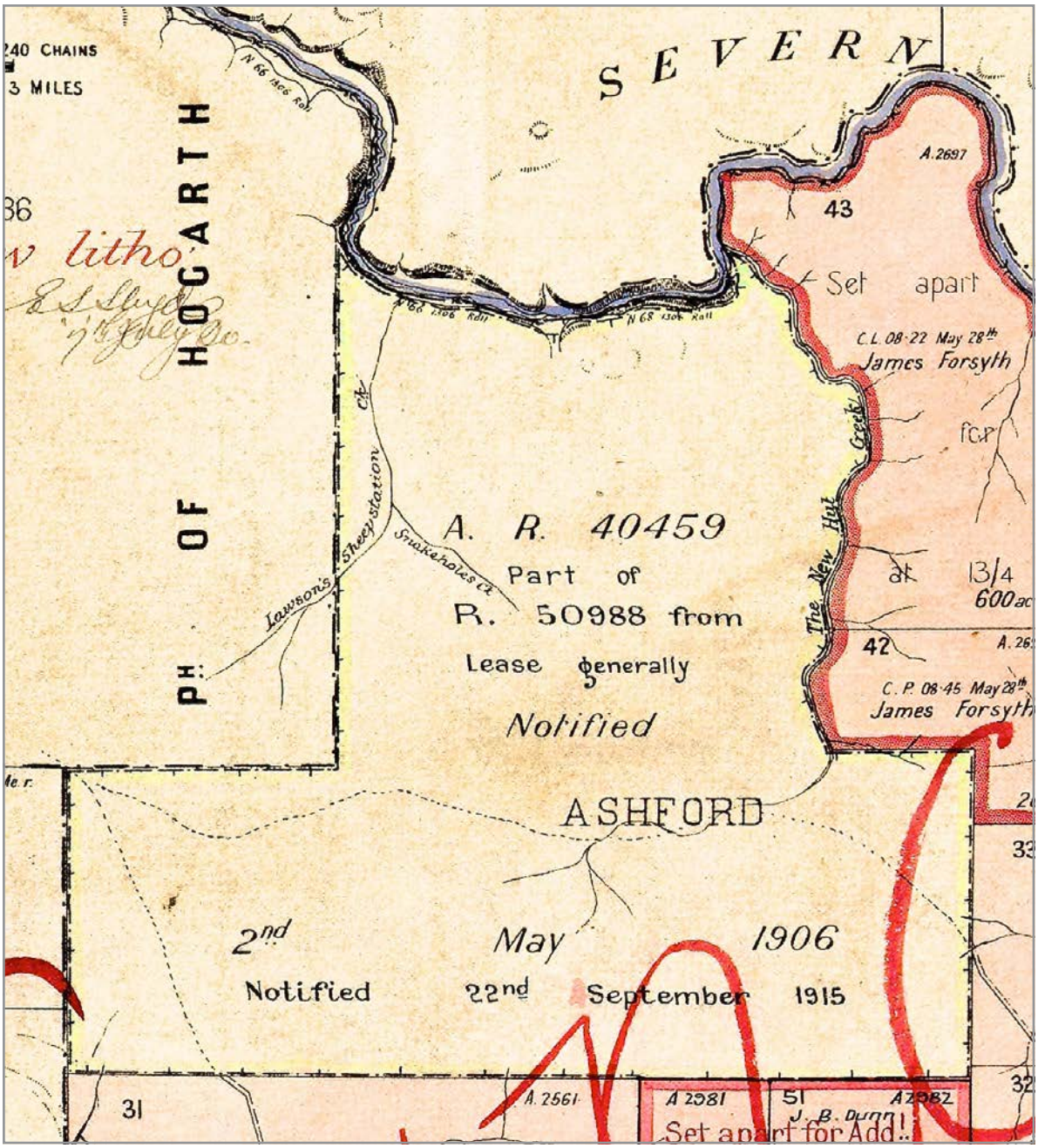
> According to Dolly, there were about 15 houses on the old mission and the families

Image 40: Children at Sevington (Pindari), c.1920s[406]

occupying the houses were Harrisons, Connors, Boneys, Perrys and Jackeys. The mission had a manager's house, small lockup for the policeman at Ashford, school house, small shop, a park, cemetery and sheep pens for drenching sheep. Dolly's uncle and aunt cleared and cultivated some land on the old mission and grew wheat, barley, corn and vegetables. They also grazed a few head of cattle and sheep. The old cemetery was last used in 1918 and by the late 1920s the whole mission was abandoned. Dolly can remember several Aboriginal people being buried in the old cemetery and they are:- Mr and Mrs Billy Green (her grandparents), Mrs Lucie Connors, Mr Perry and Mr Jackey (known as the old king).[407]

Although the Sevington settlement had been disbanded in the 1920s the reserve was not revoked until 1952.[408]

There was also a reserve of 2,750 acres that was gazetted in 1906 on the Severn River and then revoked in 1925.[409] The only notation in the Board's reserve file is a 1905 application to the Chief Secretary applying:



Map 18: Severn River Reserve, Parish of Blloonbah, County of Arrawatta, c.1906[410] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

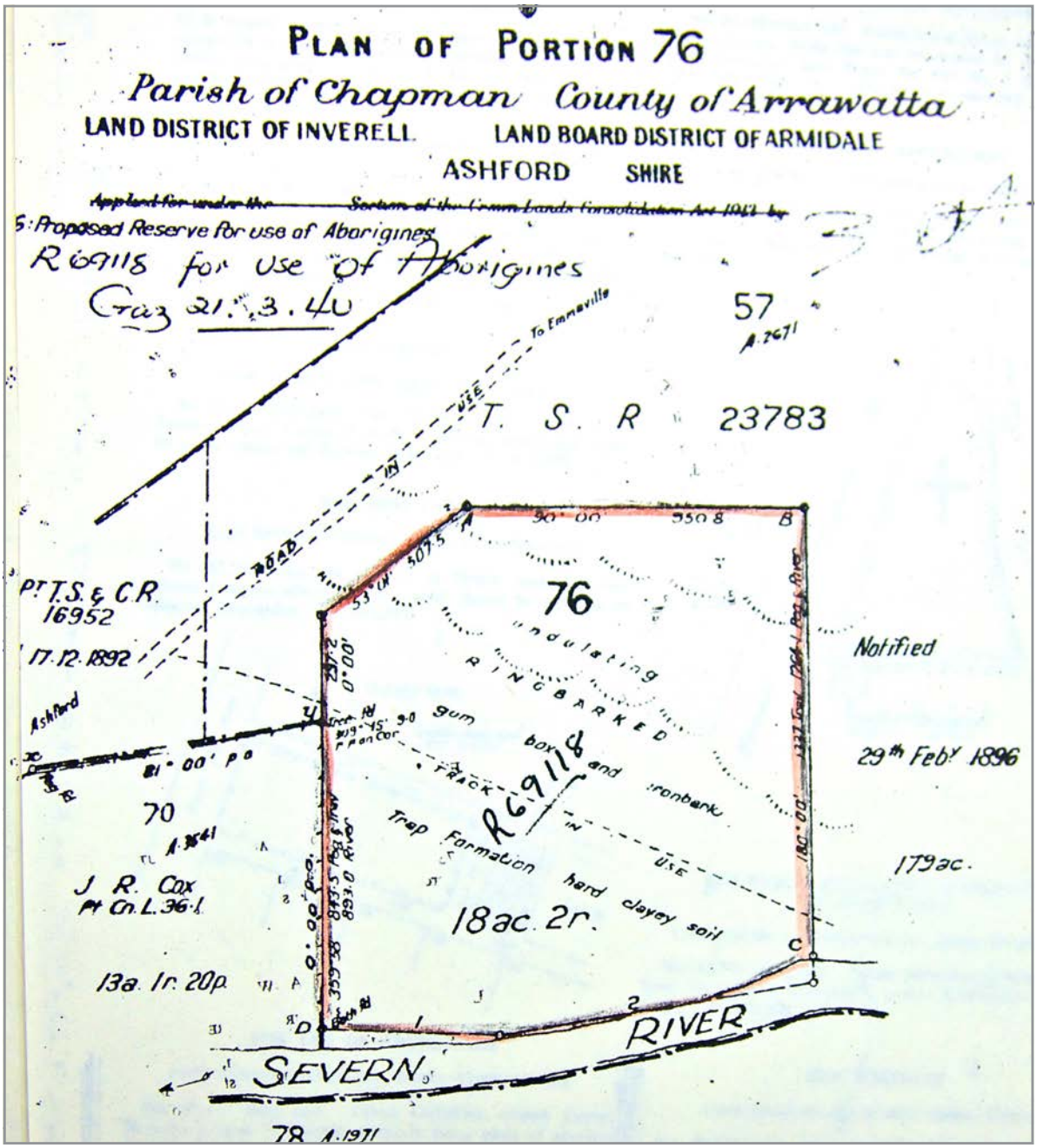
> . . . for portion of reserve of about 200 be set apart, frontage Severn River reported as being an exceptionally favourable locality having good land available for Cultivation and good fishing & hunting grounds & game in plenty.[411]

It is unclear who the application is on behalf of and there is no information concerning the use of the reserve.

Ashford Bridge Reserve and camps

When Pindari closed in the 1920s some of the people moved to the Severn River in Ashford.

A series of camps stretched out along the river from north of the Ashford bridge, near the Emmaville turnoff, to Tarrangower. There were also camps on the Emmaville Road at places known as The Grass Trees and Thunderbolt's Rock; some of these areas are now under the Pindari Dam. In 1940 an area of 18 acres, the Tarrangower Reserve, was gazetted; this appears to be part of the area that people had been living on for the previous 20 years or so.[412]



Map 19: Plan of Tarrangower Reserve, n.d.[413]

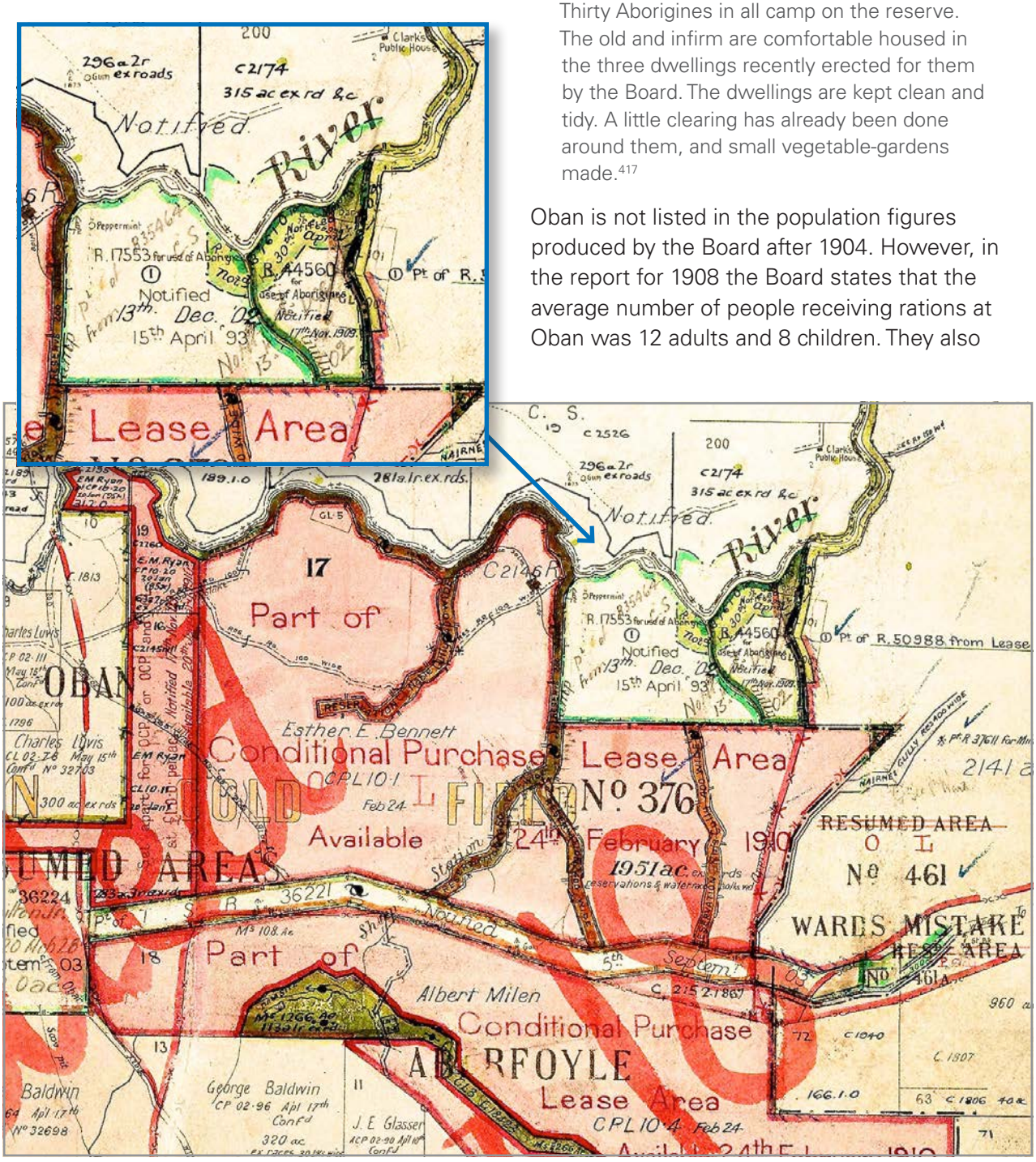
Oban

The major reserve settlement identified in the documents for this area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was at Oban. A reserve of 200 acres was gazetted within the original boundaries of Oban Station in April 1893.[414] In that same month the Glen Innes police recommended to the Board that they erect three huts, "for old and infirm Aborigines at Oban."[415] This was approved and the huts were completed in August. In November the Glen Innes police again wrote to the Board recommending that they purchase, "tools for use by the aborigines clearing, fencing, and gardening on their reserve at Oban; also 30 lines for eel-fishing in the Oban River".[416]

The Board report for 1893 noted the formation of the new reserve stating:

> Thirty Aborigines in all camp on the reserve. The old and infirm are comfortable housed in the three dwellings recently erected for them by the Board. The dwellings are kept clean and tidy. A little clearing has already been done around them, and small vegetable-gardens made.[417]

Oban is not listed in the population figures produced by the Board after 1904. However, in the report for 1908 the Board states that the average number of people receiving rations at Oban was 12 adults and 8 children. They also



Map 20: Plan of Oban Reserve, n.d.[418] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

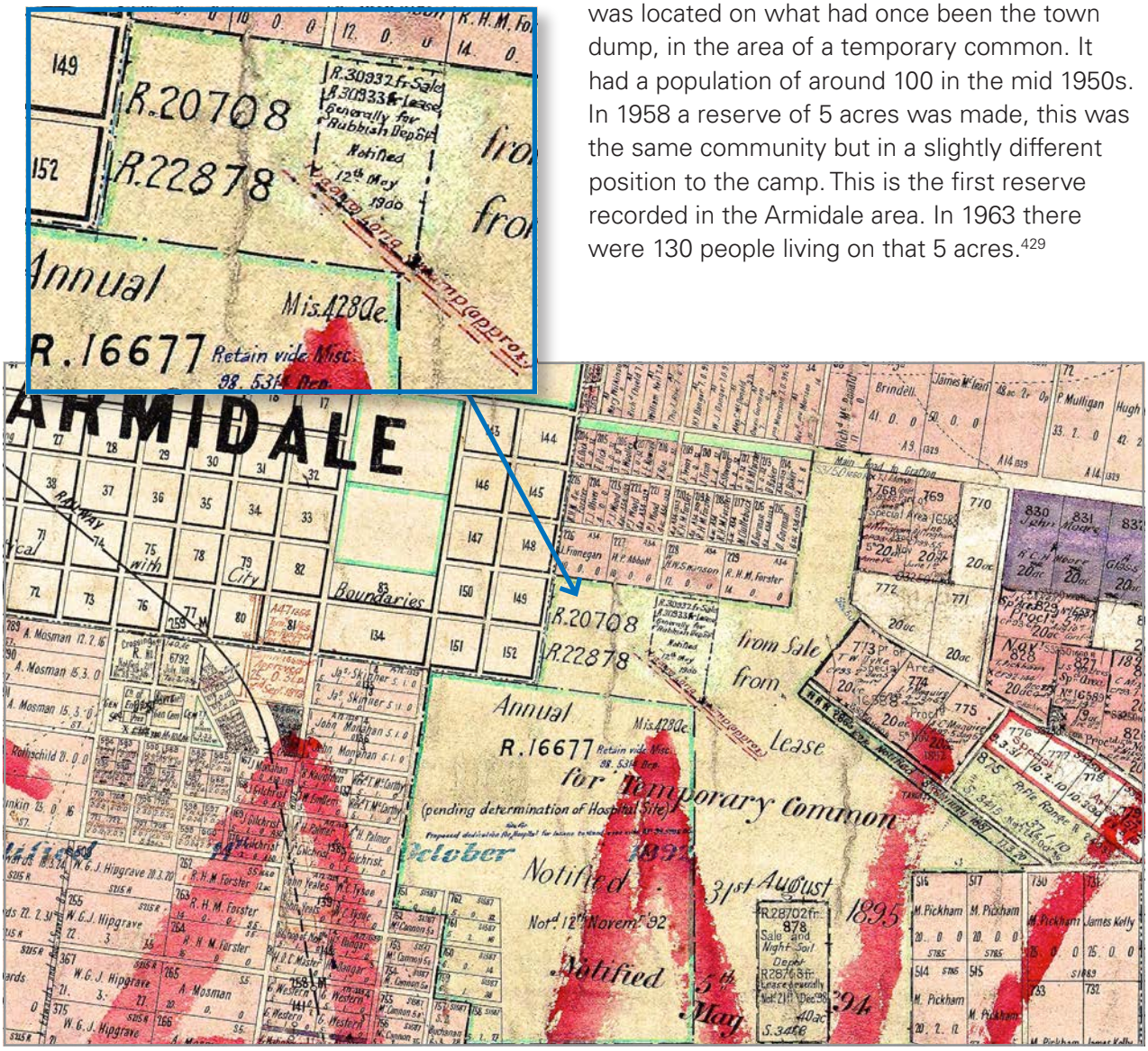
noted the provision of huts, probably referring to the provision of iron or other material for hut maintenance as no mention is made of the provision of new huts.[419] In the report for 1909 there are 12 adults and 11 children listed as receiving rations at Oban.[420]

In 1910 a total of 8 adults and 6 children received rations there.[421] In 1914 that number had reduced to 2 adults and 4 children receiving rations.[422] The last year that there are people listed as receiving rations at Oban was 1915, when 2 adults and 4 children were listed.[423] After this date the Board no longer listed the provision of rations in their reports.[424] In 1909 an additional area of 215 acres in the same area as the existing Oban reserve, and known as Tim's Gully, was gazetted.[425] In 1927 both the original 200 and the additional 215 acres were revoked.[426]

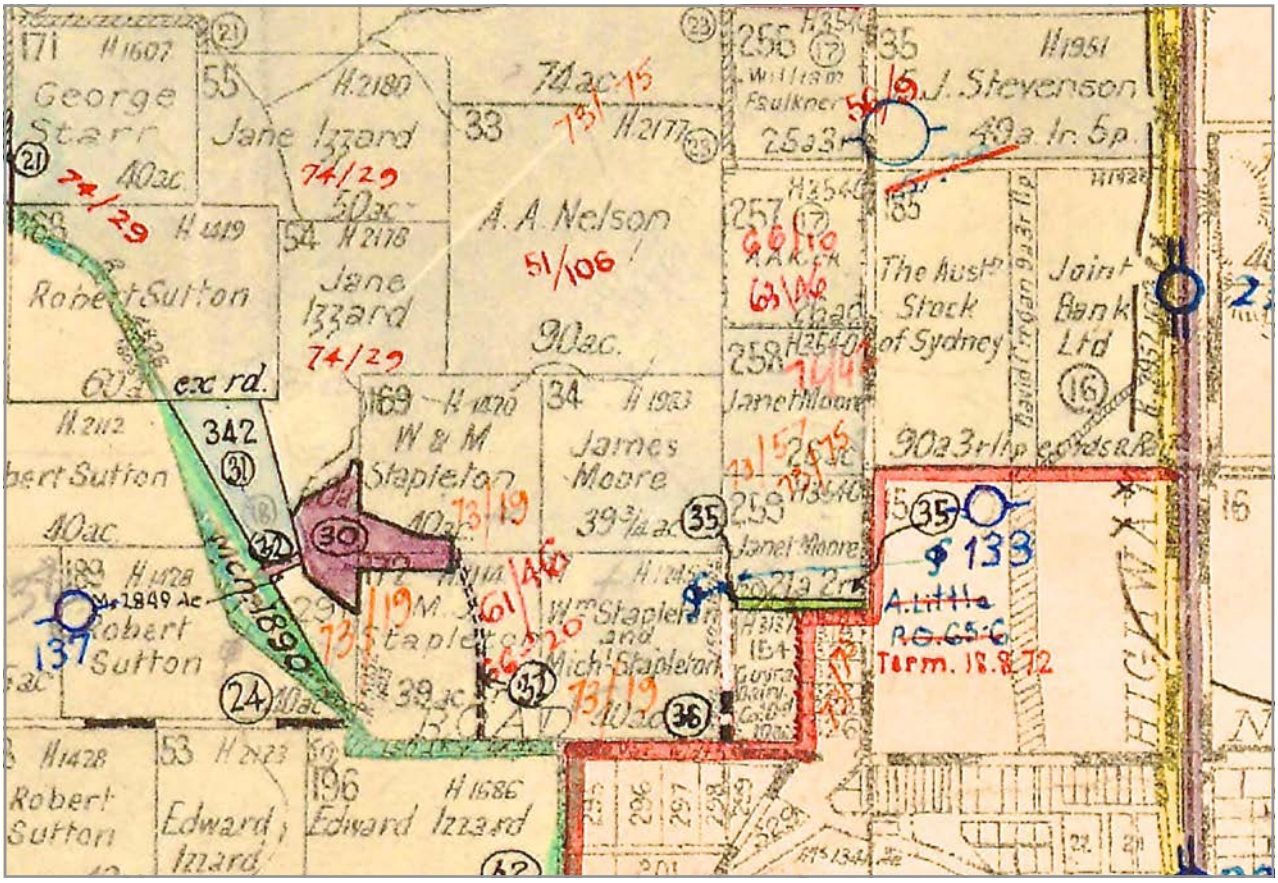
Armidale camps

There are three camps recorded in the documents for Armidale town in the early twentieth century: one where the suburb of North Hill now is; one where Narwon Village now is; and the other near the railway station.[427] There was a recreation reserve and a police reserve near the railway station; it is likely the camp was located on one of these. In the mid twentieth century there was a camp near where the driving school was in 1990.[428]

In the early 1950s the main camp in Armidale was located on what had once been the town dump, in the area of a temporary common. It had a population of around 100 in the mid 1950s. In 1958 a reserve of 5 acres was made, this was the same community but in a slightly different position to the camp. This is the first reserve recorded in the Armidale area. In 1963 there were 130 people living on that 5 acres.[429]



Map 21: Armidale, 1888 map[430] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.



Map 22: Guyra Reserve (portion 342), c.1950s[431] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

Image 41: Guyra Reserve, n.d.[432]

Guyra

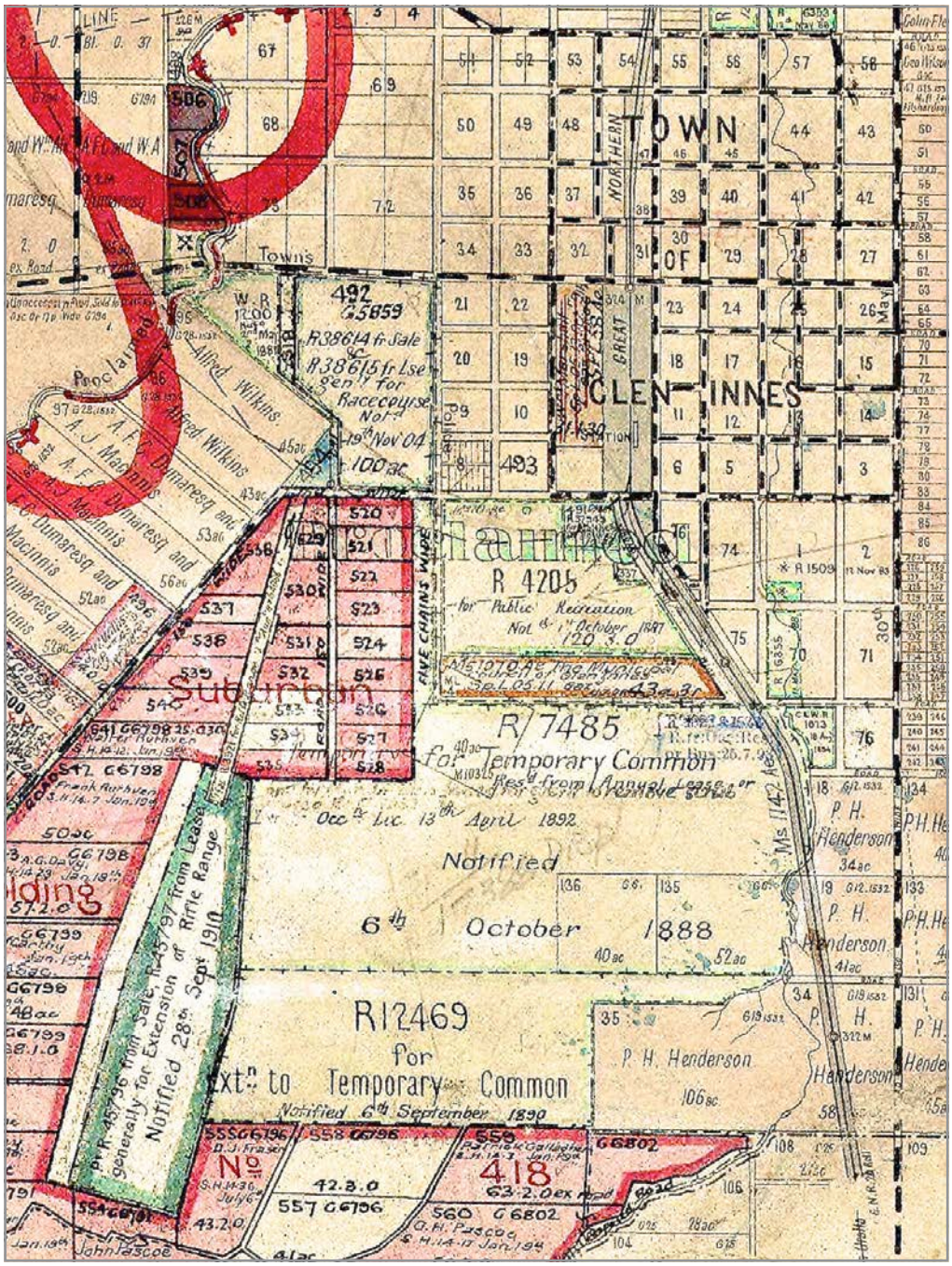
There are no reserves or camps recorded in the documents in Guyra until the second half of the twentieth century.[433] The first reserve was notified in 1953; it was an area of 11 acres and it is clear that people were already living there.[434]

In 1963 it was stated that there were 10 houses built there and 55 residents. In that same year the reserve was revoked.[435]

In a 1982 government survey of Aboriginal settlements there were two fringe camps mentioned for Guyra, one in south Guyra with a population of 23 people and another in north Guyra with a population of 45 people.[436]

Glen Innes

There do not seem to have been any reserves in the Glen Innes area until 1962 when an area of 1 acre was gazetted; this was a series of house lots.[437] There are however documentary records



Map 23: Glen Innes area, 1893[438] © Land and Property Information (a division of the Department of Finance and Services), 2012.

relating to a camp on the Glen Innes Common in the years after the Second World War. It is not clear if the camp had existed earlier. The local council demolished the houses on the common in the late 1960s.[439]

Concluding comment

This section has set out brief accounts, primarily from the official records, of Aboriginal settlements throughout the New England region. Section 2 mentioned some of the major station camps where Aboriginal people lived and worked in the nineteenth, and in some instances into the twentieth, century. There are many more places, ranging from large camps through to single-family homes, where Aboriginal people have lived and worked in the region. It has been almost 180 years since the first European pastoralists intruded into the New England region and rapidly began to change the physical and social landscape of the tablelands. Despite the increasing restrictions and limitations imposed by European land use and European attitudes Aboriginal people have continued to live, work and travel throughout the region.

Section 4
People and families

The term 'original Aboriginal inhabitant' is the term used in the ALRA[440] in relation to the Register of Aboriginal Owners process. It is used here to refer to those Aboriginal individuals who can be identified in the historical record as located within the Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) cultural area in the early decades of European settlement, or who can be reasonably understood to be immediate descendants of such individuals. These individuals are assumed to have been members of the Aboriginal communities who would have, at the time of European settlement, been associated with the Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) cultural area. Within the limitations set by the cultural protocols of their communities – of age, gender and knowledge – it is presumed that these individuals would have had rights and responsibilities in relation to various parts of the Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) cultural area. Direct descent from an 'original Aboriginal inhabitant' of the cultural area is a key element in determining eligibility for the Register of Aboriginal Owners under the ALRA.

We have attempted to identify the 'original Aboriginal inhabitants' that are represented in the historical record and who are known to have had descendants. The identification of the 'original Aboriginal inhabitants' of the cultural area and of their descendants has been produced through a combination of documentary records and the genealogical knowledge of the Aboriginal people of the region – the descendants of these original inhabitants. For their willingness to share their genealogical information we would like to thank all those people who contributed. A wide variety of documentary sources have been used, including births, deaths and marriage certificates and memoirs and accounts of early New England. Clearly there are many individuals who lived in that period who will not be represented in the historical record. It is only those who, for a variety of reasons, appear in the documentary records (almost all written by Europeans), or who still have kin in the area today who can speak for them, that we are able to identify. If additional people are later identified as having been original Aboriginal inhabitants the Registrar can be notified and they can be added. The Register of Aboriginal Owners does not close.

The historical records, while limited, do allow us to identify a range of individuals and families associated with particular geographic areas over a number of generations from the early decades of European settlement. These individuals and families can be reasonably understood to be the 'original Aboriginal inhabitants' of these areas.

The existing field and historical genealogical records demonstrate the continued presence within the cultural area of a number of the family groups whose descent can be traced back to identified 'original Aboriginal inhabitants' and evidence of a pattern of intermarriage between these families across the Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) cultural area. There are communities within the defined cultural area that have strong intermarriage links to other communities that lie outside the cultural area, both on the coast and on the western plains. However, overall there is

an increased density of intermarriages between families and communities located within the defined cultural area as compared to the density of intermarriages outside of the region.

While the majority of family lines are able to be traced back to the early decades of European intrusion, some family lines cannot be firmly traced beyond the late nineteenth century. However, the available information indicates that these families originate from within the cultural area. The inability to trace families back to the early decades of European settlement is not surprising given the patchy nature and general paucity of documentary recording of Aboriginal peoples' names and kin relations within the cultural area in the nineteenth century.

Original Aboriginal inhabitants: family sheets

This section includes a brief summary of genealogical and historical information on each of the families identified as being descended from an 'original Aboriginal inhabitant'. The summary is concerned only with the earliest known people in the family, generally those who were born before 1910, but this varies depending on how far back the family can be traced. The families are listed under the name of the person who has been identified as an 'original Aboriginal inhabitant' of the Bullcorronda (Mount Yarrowyck) cultural area. There are 31 individuals (forming 23 families) that have been identified as 'original Aboriginal inhabitants'. Listed alphabetically by surname (bolded) these families are:

- Sarah **Betts (Burton)**
- Henry 'Harry' **Boney**
- Alexander & 'Clary' Henry **Brown** (brothers)
- John Geoffrey **Connors**
- Catherine 'Kate' **Coventry**
- John 'Jack' **Dunn**
- William **Green (Edwards)**
- Bob **King (King Robert)**
- Patrick **Landsborough**
- Harry and Tom **Lowe**
- Alexander, William and Billy **McDougall**
- James **McKenzie** and Louisa **Wilson**
- Jessie **Mahoney (Marney)**
- James 'John' **Munro**
- William **Murray**
- William **Naylor**
- Mary Ann [**Quinn**]
- Kate 'Lena' **Robinson [Harrison]**
- Paddy **Ross**
- John, Ellen and William **Snow** (possibly siblings)
- Charles **Strong** and Mary Ann **Strann**
- Amy (Susan) **White [Harrison]**
- King **Yarrie-Campbell**

This section includes a family sheet with information on each of the identified original Aboriginal inhabitants and their immediate descendants. Many contemporary family names do not appear in the list of 'original Aboriginal inhabitants' as many surnames have appeared in families in the last few generations only, usually as a result of marriages. The family sheets include a list of key surnames present in the families who can trace descent back to that 'original Aboriginal inhabitant'. These lists of surnames are not complete and are constantly being added to as descendants marry into other families. The listing of a surname does not mean that all people with that surname are descendants, only that some descendants have that name. As there is a high level of intermarriage amongst families within the cultural area many of the surnames appear on multiple family sheets.

Names that appear in bold type in the following pages mean that person has been identified as 'an original Aboriginal inhabitant' and a family sheet is included for them. The use of round brackets ( ) indicates an alternative name for the individual, the use of square brackets [ ] indicates a woman's married name. The term 'married' is used for all recognised relationships. Additional names of Aboriginal individuals present in the cultural area in the early decades of European intrusion were identified in the course of this research. In many cases it has not been possible to trace any additional information beyond a single name. These individuals have been listed following the family sheets as 'Additional Individuals'.

Sarah Betts (Burton)

Sarah Betts was born around 1859 at Wollomombi. She married James Morris from Ingalba in about 1881 at Wollomombi. It is believed that James Morris may have been the child of **Mary Ann [Quinn]** who then took the surname Morris (a version of Maurice). Sarah died in 1929 in Armidale when she was about 70 years old.

It is possible that Sarah Betts and **Jessie Mahoney (Marney)** were sisters. Some accounts say that they were the daughters of an Aboriginal woman named Sarah who was from around Hillgrove Station. Their surnames are said to come from their European fathers. Sarah is usually referred to as Sarah Betts but she has also been listed in records as Sarah Burton and Sarah Clark.

Sarah Betts and James Morris had 10 known children. Their children included Sarah Morris, who married Frank Archibald at Nymboida. Frank Archibald was the grandson of **Bob King (King Robert)**.

Another daughter, Vera Morris, married Jack Widders around 1914 in Walcha. Jack Widders was the son of **Jessie Mahoney (Marney)**. Their other children were James, Joseph, Jane, Russell, Henry, Ruby, and Richard.

Descendants of **Sarah Betts (Burton)** include members of the Ahoy, Allen, Archibald, Barker, Betts (Burton), Clark, Cutmore, Davidson, Davis, Dixon, Donovan, Drew, Duval, Fuller, Gillon, Gordon, Green, Griffen, Griffiths, Kelly, Kirk, Kitchener, Landsborough, Marr, McKenzie, Moran, Morris, Murray, Naylor, Riley, Roberts, Sheridan, Smith, Snow, Tanner, Thorpe, Vale, Wallace, Widders and Wright families.

Image 42: Sarah Betts and James Morris[441]

Henry 'Harry' Boney

Henry 'Harry' Boney was born in the early 1840s. He was married at Armidale in 1880 to **Catherine 'Kate' Coventry**. Harry died in 1881 at Moonbi. At the time of his death he was working as a shepherd on Moonbi Station. One of their sons, James 'Jim' Patrick Boney, was well known as a tracker on the Tablelands and worked at Nymboida and Walcha. One of his sons, Jim Boney (Jnr), also worked as a tracker around Armidale.

In an article on Jim Boney (Jnr), James Boney (Snr) was mentioned:

> The elder Jim Boney was famous for his skill and intuition in tracking bushrangers and cattle thieves in the bad old days of New England's settlement. But "young" Jim Boney did not pick up the threads of his father's career until comparatively late in life. Born at Walcha, when his father was Police tracker in that town, he lived with his family on the old Summervale Aborigine Reserve outside Walcha when the reserve occupied both sides of the river.[442]

Image 43: Jim Boney (Jnr), c.1962[443]

Jim Boney (Jnr)'s sister, Katherine 'Kate' Boney, married Jim Briggs who worked as a tracker in the Nymboida area. Another son of Henry and Catherine, Arthur Ernest Boney, also worked as a tracker; at the time of his marriage in 1905 he was working as a police tracker at Kingstown.

Harry and Catherine had six known children: Arthur Ernest, James Patrick, Harry, Charles, Frederick and Fanny.

Arthur Ernest Boney married Bertha 'Tottie' Munro at Uralla in 1905; they were both living in Kingstown at the time. Bertha Munro was the grandchild of **James 'John' Munro** and **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**. Arthur Boney and Bertha Munro had five children. Following Bertha's death in 1906 Arthur married Lucy Connors in 1910. Lucy Connors was the child of **John Geoffrey Connors**.

James Patrick Boney married Susan Robinson in 1891 in Armidale and they had seven children. Nothing is known of the other four children of Harry and Catherine.

Descendants of **Henry 'Harry' Boney** include members of the Boney, Briggs, Campbell, Yarrie (Campbell) and Yarray families.

Image 44: Alfred 'Da' Boney, grandson of Henry 'Harry' Boney, Woolbrook[444]

Alexander and 'Clary' Henry Brown (brothers)

Alexander (Alec) Brown and 'Clary' Henry Brown were brothers; their parents names are not known. They are associated with the Guyra, Deepwater and Tingha areas from the late 1800s through to the mid twentieth century.

There are also documentary references to a Thomas Brown. It is probable that Thomas is a member of the same family as Alec and Clary Brown but of an older generation. Thomas Brown was listed regularly in the 1890s blanket returns for the Armidale district.[445] The 1890s blanket returns also listed at various times a Susan Brown, Emma Brown, John Brown, Charles Brown, Paddy Brown and a Liza Brown.[446] No further details are known of these individuals.

Alexander Brown married Emma Munro and they had one known child, Elizabeth Lily Brown, who was born at Bundarra. Elizabeth Brown married Walter Madden in 1924 in Manilla. Walter Madden was born on Borah Station, near Manilla. Elizabeth and Walter had eight known children.

Alexander Brown was also married to Elizabeth 'Lizzie' Daley. Elizabeth 'Lizzie' Daley was the grandchild of **Kate Robinson [Harrison]**. She also married Alexander's brother 'Clary'.

Alexander Brown was also married to Dolly Dunn and they had three known children. It is not known who Dolly Dunn's parents were but community understanding is that she was part of the same family as **John 'Jack' Dunn**. One of Alexander and Dolly's children, also named Alexander, died when he was only a few days old while they were living on Wellingrove Station. Alexander and Dolly then had two more children, Alec 'Dan' Brown and Fanny Brown.

Alec 'Dan' Brown married Mary Avery in 1931 in Guyra. Mary Avery was from the Lionsville (Baryugil) area. Fanny Brown married James 'Jim' Edwards and Billy Foote.

'Clary' Henry Brown was born in Tingha around 1879. In 1903 he married Elizabeth 'Lizzie' Daley at Wellingrove. Elizabeth 'Lizzie' Daley was the

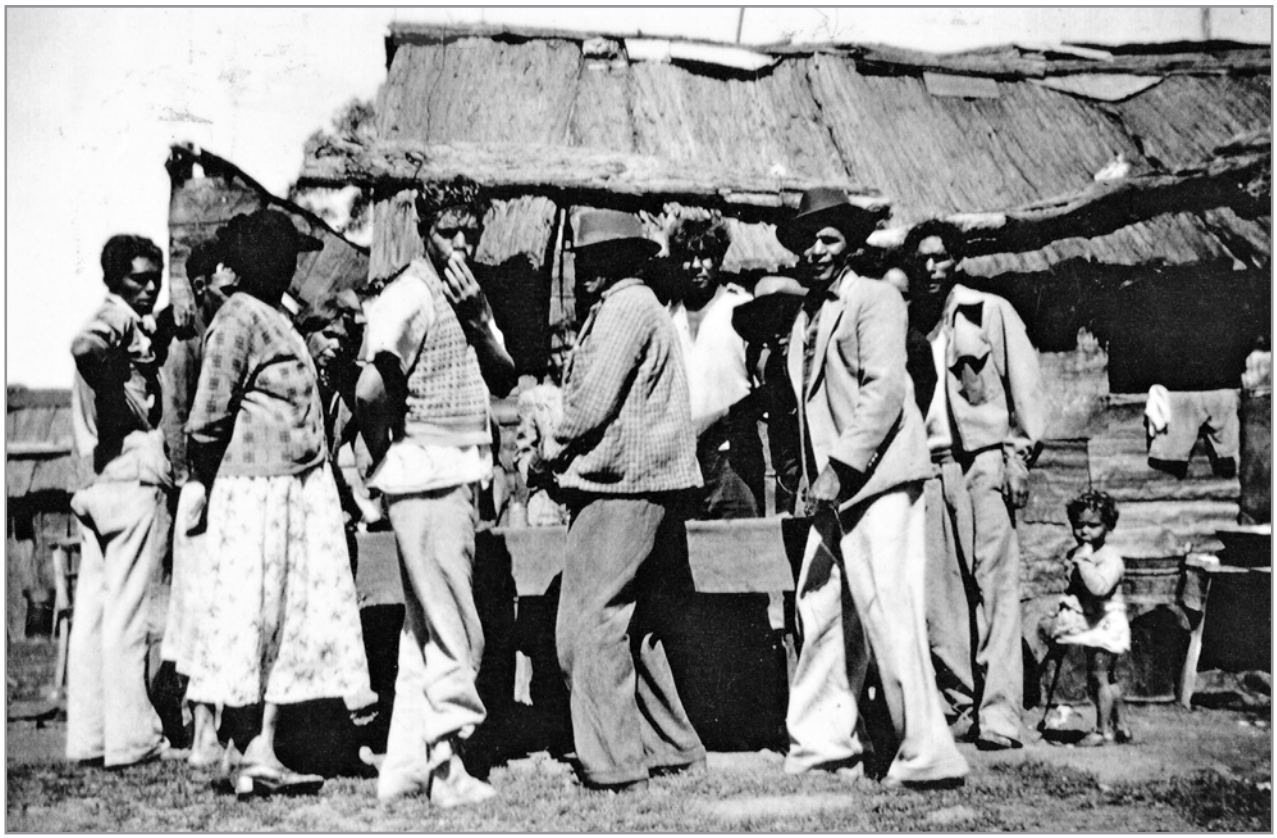


Image 45: 'One Mile', Guyra, c.1950[447] The following people have been identified by community. From left to right standing: Jim Baker, May Irving (nee Brown) [daughter of 'Clary' Henry Brown], Wilfred Madden, Colin Foote, Arthur Cross, Colin Connors, unknown child.

grandchild of **Kate Robinson [Harrison]**. Clary and Elizabeth had seven known children: Jack, Henry, William, Frank, Colin, May and Christina. Some people say that Jack Brown may have been the son of Elizabeth and Alexander Brown.

Jack Brown married Doreen Connors. Doreen Connors was the grandchild of **John Geoffrey Connors**. May Brown married Jack Irving from Grafton.

Thomas Brown was the father of John Brown who was born at Glen Elgin around 1883. John Brown married Annie Widders, the daughter of **Jessie Mahoney (Marney)**, in 1907.

The descendants of **Alexander** and **'Clary' Henry Brown** include members of the Binge, Blair, Brown, Campbell, Close, Connors, Davis, Edwards, Foote, Irving, Jerrard, Livermore, Madden, Walker, Wallace and Williams families.

John Geoffrey Connors

John Geoffrey Connors was born in the Inverell area, probably in the 1850s or 60s. He married Susan Marlow. Susan Marlow's family is believed to have been associated with Bonshaw, and subsequently with Cabbage Tree Island. The Connors family is associated with the Inverell area and also has connections into Queensland.

John Geoffrey Connors in his old age was employed as handyman on the Sevington (Pindari) APB Station in the 1910s. The wife of the teacher/manager, Elsie Burrage, wrote of him in 1917:

> He is our handy-man. The Govt. give him 10/- a week to be handy-man on the station. So he chops wood, milks, and rounds up horses, cows & bullocks, goes messages, in fact does everything . . . very dry, very slow, but very dependable. Just the sort of old man to have about the place. He has 15 children, all grown up & nearly all married & hosts of grandchildren.[448]

Elsie's daughter, Winifred Burrage, who lived on the station as a young child, wrote of John Geoffrey Connors that:

> 'Connors' was very much part of our life there. That's what we called him – we never heard his given name as far as I can remember, and I only learnt what it was very recently – Geoffrey . . . I remember that he used to drive the dray and would cart water with his bullocks. He had a big whip for driving the bullocks but he actually drove them so quietly and easily, with hardly a word. They were known as 'Connors' bullocks' – of course they were really the Government's but they were thought of as Connors'.
>
> I can remember him coming up one morning and asking my father, 'What that fella want?

Image 46: John Geoffrey Connors, Sevington (Pindari) Station, c.1919[449] John Geoffrey Connors is the man on the right with the bullocks, the man in the middle is his son, Jack Connors; the other man may be Joe Phillips.[450]

Image 47: Mr. and Mrs. Donald Connors and family, Long Gully, Tingha, 1932[451]

> What that policemen fella want?', and Dad saying, 'How did you know he'd come?' You see, the constable had come late at night and only stayed very briefly. 'Oh, the tracks', Connors replied. The police horses were apparently shod differently from any other horses, and Connors could recognize the tracks of individual horses.[452]

John Geoffrey Connors and Susan Marlow had four known children. These were Jack, Lucy, Donald and Nancy. The children were all born on stations in Queensland when the Connors were working there.

Jack Connors married Lucy Green at Inverell in 1903. Lucy Green was the daughter of **William Green (Edwards)**. Jack and Lucy lived at Pindari Mission and some of their children were born there.

John and Susan's second child, Lucy Connors, married Arthur Ernest Boney in 1910 at Nucoorilma Mission Station. Arthur Ernest Boney was the son of **Henry 'Harry' Boney** and **Catherine 'Kate' Coventry**. After Arthur's death in 1916 Lucy married Donald Strong at Nucoorilma Mission Station in 1917. Donald Strong was the child of **Charlie Strong** and **Mary Ann Strann**.

Donald Connors, John and Susan's third child, married Mary Landsborough at Nucoorilma Mission Station in 1916. Mary Landsborough was the child of **Patrick Landsborough** and on her mother's side was the granddaughter of **William Green (Edwards)**.

John and Susan's fourth child was Nancy Connors, she married Hughie 'Thunderbolt' Green. Hughie Green was the son of **William Green (Edwards)**.

The descendants of **John Geoffrey Connors** include members of the Baker, Binge, Blair, Boney, Brown, Campbell, Clarke, Connors, Duncan, Evans, Foote, Green, Irving, Jerrard, Livermore, Loy, Potter, Saunders, Strong, Talbot, Wallace and Williams families.

Catherine 'Kate' Coventry

Catherine 'Kate' Coventry was the daughter of an Aboriginal woman, whose name is not known, and the European squatter William Coventry. William Coventry held Oban Station and the nearby Paddy's Land Station on the eastern edge of the Tablelands. Catherine was born around 1845 in Armidale. She married **Henry 'Harry' Boney**, John Blair and Charles Murray. Charles Murray was associated with Kentucky Station, near Uralla; it is not known if they had any children. It is probable that Charles is related to **William Murray** but it is not known how they were related. In the blanket returns for the Armidale district Kate Murray was listed in 1897 as the "wife of Charles Murray late Kentucky Station". In 1899 she was listed again at Uralla.[453] Catherine 'Kate' died in 1900 in Tamworth Hospital.

Catherine 'Kate' Coventry married **Henry 'Harry' Boney** in Armidale in 1880; they already had a number of children. Harry and Catherine had six known children: Arthur Ernest, James Patrick, Harry, Charles, Frederick and Fanny.

Arthur Ernest Boney married Bertha 'Tottie' Munro at Uralla in 1905; they were both living in Kingstown at the time. Bertha Munro was the grandchild of **James 'John' Munro** and **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**. Following Bertha's death in 1906 Arthur married Lucy Connors in 1910. Lucy Connors was the child of **John Geoffrey Connors**.

James Patrick Boney married Susan Robinson in 1891 in Armidale. Nothing is known of the other four children of Harry and Catherine.

Following the death of Henry 'Harry' Boney in 1881, Catherine 'Kate' Coventry married John Blair. John Blair is believed to have been from Caroona (Quirindi). Catherine and John had one child, Frederick Blair.

Image 48: Walter Munro and Stella Blair wedding party, Long Gully, Tingha, 1935.[454] Stella is the granddaughter of Catherine 'Kate' Coventry'.

Frederick Blair married Kathaleen Munro at Stoney Creek Mission, Tingha, in 1911. Kathaleen Munro was the granddaughter of **James 'John' Munro** and **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**. Kathaleen and Frederick Blair had two children, Kathaleen died in 1915. In 1927 Frederick Blair married Ella May Graham in Tingha. Ella May Graham was from Terry Hie Hie. Frederick and Ella May had thirteen known children.

The descendants of **Catherine 'Kate' Coventry** include members of the Alcorn, Banfield, Blair, Boney, Bradshaw, Briggs, Brown, Campbell, Clarke, Edwards, Hart, Hunter, Jerrard, Madden, Munro, Potter, Saunders, Smith, Williams and Yarrie (Campbell) families.

John 'Jack' Dunn

There is little known of this family as no direct descendants have been found during the project. However, Jack Dunn was presented with a 'king plate' in 1909 which read, "Jack Dunn, King of Cundagin Cumbathan Itthan Oban and New England Generally".

The 'king plate' was presented by a J.S. Drew, apparently at Oban Homestead.[455] It is believed that this is the same Jack Dunn who was married to Fanny (maiden name unknown). Jack Dunn was listed as the head of a household of eight Aboriginal people in the 1891 census.[456] In that same year Jack and Fanny Dunn were listed in the blanket returns for Uralla, along with some of their children.[457] A Dolly Dunn married **Alexander 'Alec' Brown** and had three children. Community understanding is that she is part of the same family and is probably a descendant of John 'Jack' Dunn, but the exact relationship is unknown. The Dunn family were also associated with the Georges Creek area and Kunderang Station on the eastern falls country near Walcha.[458]

John 'Jack' Dunn was married to Fanny; nothing is known of her family. Jack and Fanny are believed to have had 10 children: Albert, Jack Jnr, Ellen, Henry, Walter, David, Fred, Sissy, Jane and Julia. Albert Dunn married Jubilee Daley, a descendant of **Kate Robinson [Harrison]**.

In the 1890s blanket returns for the Armidale district there were various Dunns listed, including Dooley Dunn, Katy Dunn, Lucy Dunn, Frank Dunn, Harry Dunn, Albert Dunn and Jack and Fanny Dunn. Frank Dunn was stated to be from Oban, while Harry Dunn was listed as living at Guy Fawkes.[459]

Jack Dunn Jnr married Esther Ritchie in Kempsey in 1901. It appears that her father initially objected to the marriage and, as a result, Jack Dunn Jnr was arrested and charged with Esther's abduction. However, Esther is reported to have told the Crown Prosecutor that she had abducted Jack rather than the other way around. Jack stated that they were married traditionally and were willing to also marry under European law, which they did on his release. The case was reported in the newspapers of the time:

> A case, unique in the history of crime in this district, was heard at the police court on

Image 49: 'King plate' presented to Jack Dunn, 1909[460]

> Thursday, when Jack Dunn, a full-blooded aboriginal, was charged with abducting a half-caste girl named Esther Ritchie, aged 17 years. The accused was arrested at Hillgrove, on a warrant applied for by the girl's father. Dunn denied the abduction of the girl, and said he had married her in the aboriginal way. When asked what was the aboriginal way he said, 'She come with me, and live with me'. Dunn was at one time a police tracker, and Esther was employed at the police inspector's residence. They had been together for over twelve months. Dunn was, however, committed for trial.[461]

It was later reported that:

> . . . the Crown Prosecutor, said the Crown would offer no evidence. He had seen the girl, and she told him it was she who had abducted the prisoner. Dunn also said he considered that he had married the girl, according to aboriginal custom, and was willing to marry her according to law. The accused was discharged in company with a trooper, who took him and the girl to the Church of England clergyman to get married.[462]

Esther Ritchie was from Kempsey and it is likely that she is part of the same family that produced the famous boxers, the Sands brothers, from Burnt Bridge. The name Sands was used for boxing, their original family name was Ritchie.[463] It is stated that between them the six brothers had "605 fights, 249 knockout wins, one Commonwealth (Empire) title, one Australasian, four Australian, and three state titles".[464]

Descendants of **John 'Jack' Dunn** include members of the Brown, Connors, Dunn, Dunne and Edwards families.

William Green (Edwards)

William Green (Edwards) was known by both surnames. His children mostly took the Green surname. William was born in the 1850s at Kings Plain, Glen Innes. He married Sarah Wright in Ashford in 1871. William died in 1918 at the Pindari (Nucoorilma) Aboriginal Station. One account of how the family came to be known as Green that was told by community members was that William Green (Edwards) rode regularly as a jockey for a station owner whose racing colours were green and because of that he became known as William Green.

William Green (Edwards) married Sarah Wright in 1871 at Ashford. It is not known where Sarah Wright came from or who her parents were. William and Sarah had 12 children, two of these we do not know the name of, the other 10 were: Susan Green (Edwards), Kate Green (Edwards), Lucy Green, Sarah Green (Edwards), Amos Green (Edwards), Ethel Green (Edwards), Archie Green (Edwards), Hughie 'Thunderbolt' Green, Jane Green, and Mary Green.

Lucy Green married Jack Connors around 1903 in Inverell. Jack Connors was the son of **John Geoffrey Connors**.

Hughie 'Thunderbolt' Green married Nancy Louisa Connors. Nancy Connors was also the child of **John Geoffrey Connors**.

Jane Green married **Patrick Landsborough**.

Mary Green married Charles McDougall in 1917 at Nucoorilma Mission Station. Charles McDougall was the son of **William McDougall**; Charles was born at Waroo in Queensland.

The descendants of **William Green (Edwards)** include members of the Baker, Boney, Brown, Campbell, Clarke, Connors, Cross, Dahlstrom, Duncan, Evans, Foote, Green, Green (Edwards), Irving, Jerrard, Landsborough, Livermore, Loy, McDougall, Munro, Potter, Saunders and Talbot families.

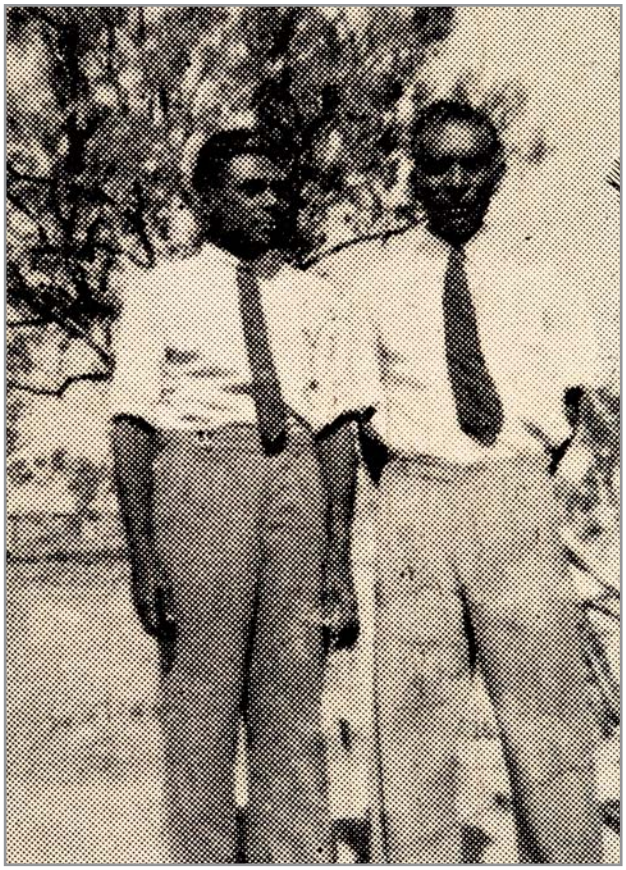


Image 50: Wallace Brown and Amos Green, c.1957[465]

Bob King (King Robert)

It is not known when Bob King (King Robert) was born but he was a young man in the early days of European intrusion onto the Tablelands. He was strongly associated with the Oban and Armidale areas. He was also strongly linked with the coastal areas down the falls country from Oban. He was married to Fanny Taylor, who is believed to have been from the coast. Some people say that he had other wives as well, but nothing is known of them.

In an article in 1962 it is said that:

> . . . at the turn of the [twentieth] century three distinct camps of natives were to be found on the outskirts of the town [of Armidale]. Travellers from the Oban tribe were camped on the north hill, aborigines from Walcha congregated on the south side while wanderers from the Coastal tribes and Kempsey sat down on the East side. The Oban tribe in those days owed allegiance to a majestic old leader, King Robert – 6 ft. 3 in tall and weighing about 15 stone . . . [He] lived to be about 102 and when he was more than 80 years was still working and prospecting for minerals in that district. There is a record of King Robert cutting and laying the bark walls of the then brand new Richardson Emporium . . . in Armidale . . . [in] 1845.[466]

Bob King's grandson, Frank Archibald, was an important figure in the Armidale Aboriginal community. Frank Archibald's granddaughter remembers that he told her how they used to walk on a track from Armidale to Oban and then through Wards Mistake to Nymboida and back.[467]

Bob King's son, Jack Cohen, worked on Wongwibinda and the associated Dyamberin Station from the late 1800s through to the First World War. A member of the family who held the station recalled in his account of life there that:

Image 51: 'Robert, King of Cumbathagano, and unnamed woman'[468]

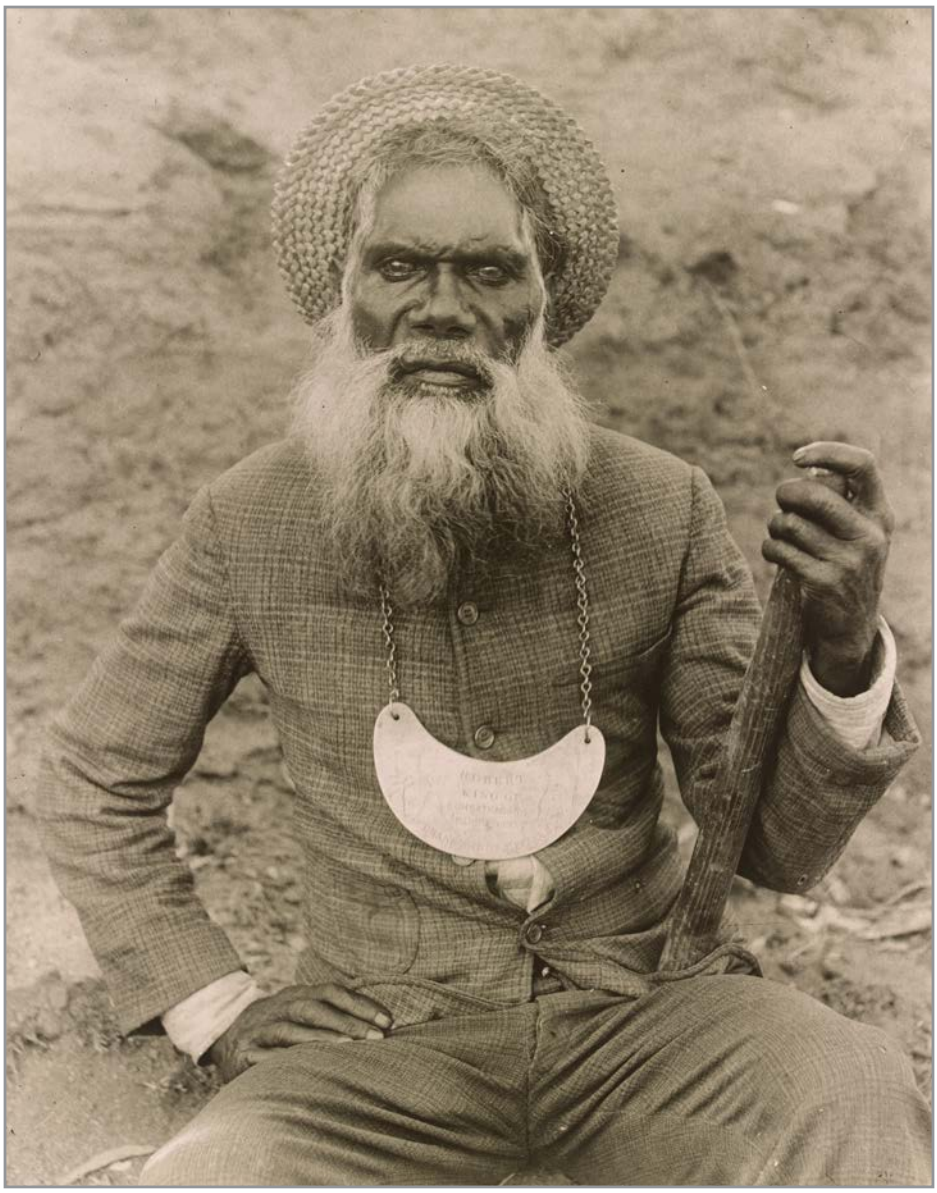


Image 52: 'Robert, King of Cumbathagano'[469]

> 'Old' Jack, as we used to call him, (he would not have liked to be called 'Jacky') was a wild and fearless rider in steep country or through thick timber, more at home on a horse than off one and a great character and teller of anecdotes, of whom we thought a great deal when we were young. He worked as a stockman for my father at Dyamberin intermittently over a period of about forty years.[470]

Jack later worked on Kunderang Station in the eastern falls country for many years, as did his sons, who are strongly associated with that area.[471]

Bob King (King Robert) and Fanny Taylor had two known children. They had a son, Jack Cohen, who was born around 1866 at Dalmorton. He married Sarah Jane Widders in the late 1890s in Wollomombi. Sarah Jane Widders was the daughter of **Jessie Mahoney (Marney)**. Jack and Sarah were both working on Kunderang Station when they met. Bob King and Fanny also had a daughter, Emily (Emma) King, who was born around 1867.

Emily (Emma) King had two children with Bill Archibald, a European man from Guyra. Emily (Emma) King died in 1896 in Armidale Hospital

in childbirth; the baby also died. Emily (Emma) King and Bill's children were Frank Archibald and Dick Archibald. Frank was born under a tree at the camp near the Armidale railway station.

Frank Archibald married Sarah Elizabeth Morris in 1913 at Nymboida where he was working as a tracker. Sarah Elizabeth Morris was the daughter of **Sarah Betts (Burton)**. Dick Archibald married Violet Walker from the south coast of New South Wales.

In the blanket returns for the Armidale district members of this family appear under both the Robert and King surnames. In 1895 an Emily King was listed, the following year Emma King and Gracie King were listed. In the 1897 return there is a listing for "King Bob's boy Frank" and "King Bob's boy Jimmy" as well as a Robert, Emily, Grace, and Walter King. In 1900 Frank Archibald is listed along with 'King' Billie and Mrs. Emily 'King' and Grace 'King'. In 1901 a Gracie, King, Emily, Frank and Alfred Roberts are listed. In 1902 Emily Roberts (King), Gracy King and Dulan Dunn were listed with a note saying 'same family'.[472]

Descendants of **Bob King (King Robert)** include members of the Ahoy, Archibald, Clark, Cohen, Cutmore, Davidson, Davis, Donovan, Gardiner, Gordon, Green, Griffen, Kelly, King, Lockwood, Marr, McKenzie, Moran, Riley, Scott, Smith, Vale and Widders families.

Patrick Landsborough

Patrick 'Paddy' Landsborough was born in the late 1860s, probably in the Emmaville area. He married Jane Green, the daughter of **William Green (Edwards)**. Patrick worked as a police tracker in Ashford and other areas. Patrick and Jane lived on the Pindari (Nucoorilma) Station and many of their children were born there.

Patrick Landsborough and Jane Green had five known children: Mary, Thomas, Grace, Bertha and Annie.

Mary Landsborough married Donald Connors at Nucoorilma in 1916. Donald Connors was the son of **John Geoffrey Connors**.

Thomas Landsborough married Amy Emily Connors at Nucoorilma around 1919. They had three known children. It is not known who Amy Emily Connors parents were; it is likely she is a descendant of **John Geoffrey Connors**.

Thomas married Jessie Munro at Bassendean in 1926; they had eight known children. Jessie Munro was the granddaughter of both **James 'John' Munro** and **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**.

Patrick and Jane's third child, Grace Landsborough, married Alexander 'Sandy' Munro in Tingha around 1922, they had four known children. Alexander 'Sandy' Munro was the grandson of both **James 'John' Munro** and **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**.

Bertha Landsborough, Patrick and Jane's fourth child, married Peter Cross and Jack Williams. Peter Cross was the child of Nellie Sullivan who was the daughter of **John 'Jack' Munro**; Jack Williams was a European man.

Annie Landsborough, Patrick and Jane's youngest child, married Ernest Dahlstrom, a non-Aboriginal man, in Emmaville around 1921.

The descendants of **Patrick Landsborough** include members of the Binge, Blair, Brown, Connors, Cross, Dahlstrom, Foote, Irving, Jerrard, Landsborough, Livermore, Munro and Williams families.

Image 53: Judith and Mavis Landsborough, granddaughters of Patrick Landsborough, at Ollera, c.1957[473]

Harry and Tom Lowe

There is little known of this family as no direct descendants were found during the project. It is not known what the exact relationship between Harry Lowe and Tom Lowe was; they are of approximately the same generation and may have been brothers. Harry Lowe was associated with Guyra and the eastern falls of the Tablelands. Tom Lowe was born in 1863 and, "was a stockman and horse-breaker, who had spent all his life on the eastern fall of the Tablelands".[474] He is recorded as having worked from the late 1880s, along with other Aboriginal men, for F.J. White on Aberfoyle Station mustering cattle in the steep falls country.[475]

Harry Lowe married Susan White, though nothing is known of where she came from. They had two known children, Alice and John 'Jack' Henry. Alice Lowe was born around 1890 at Oban and married William 'Bill' Edwards, a descendant of **Ann (Susan) White [Harrison]**, at Nucoorilma in 1914. Alice and William had at least three children.

John Henry Lowe was born around 1884 in Oban and married Susan Livermore, a descendant of **John Snow**, at Bassendean (Tingha) in 1924. It is believed that they had no children.

It is not known who Tom Lowe married. He is known to have had at least one child, Bill Lowe, who lived in the Uralla area. In the 1895 blanket returns for the Armidale district there were four Low[e]s listed: Susan Low, Ada Low, Alice Low and John Low.[476]

The descendants of **Harry** and **Tom Lowe** include members of the Low, Lowe and Edwards families.

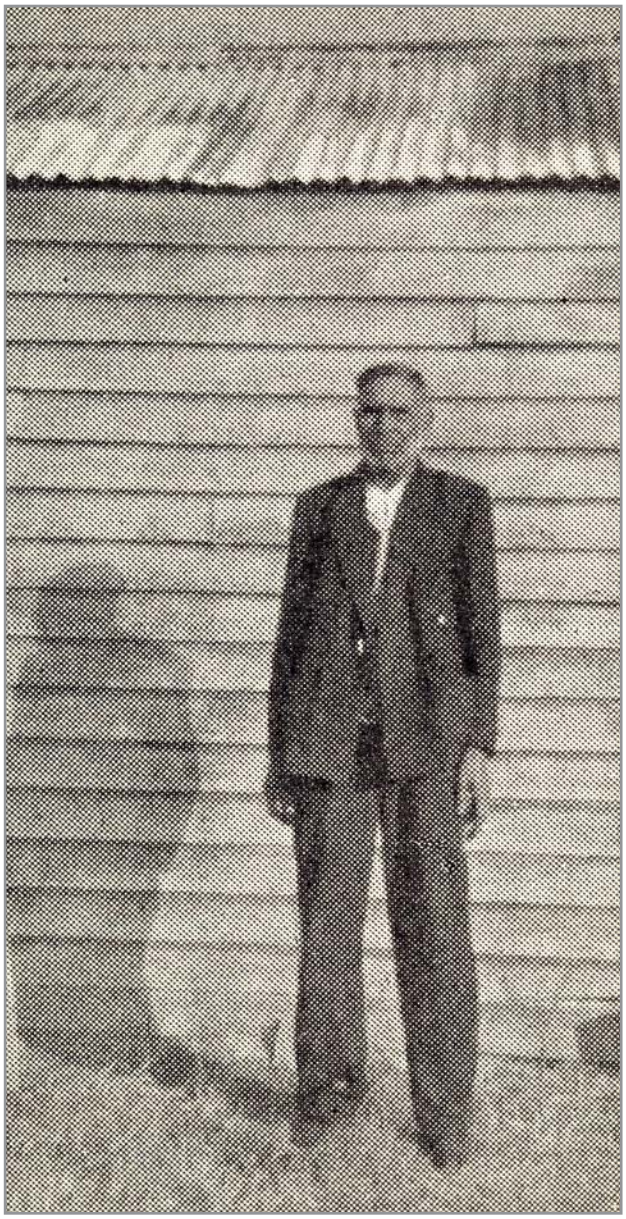


Image 54: John Lowe, of Tingha, c.1957[477]

Alexander, William and Billy McDougall

There is little known of this family as no direct descendants have been found during the project. The exact relationship between Alexander, William and Billy McDougall is not known but they are understood by community members to have been closely related, either brothers or first cousins. Given that Billy is a short version of the name William it is more likely that these two men were cousins than brothers. The family is associated with the northern Tablelands area.

Alexander 'Alec' McDougall married Nellie Rose; she was the daughter of either **Charles Strong** or his wife **Mary Ann Strann** but was raised by both of them. Alec and Nellie had one daughter, Celia Margaret McDougall, who was born at Emmaville around 1919.

Celia Margaret McDougall married 'Web' Brown and they had one son, Alex McDougall. It is not known if **'Web' Brown** was related to **Alexander** and **'Clary' Henry Brown**. Celia also married Harold Connors, a descendant of **John Geoffrey Connors** and **William Green (Edwards)**, and they had an unknown number of children.

Billy McDougall married Emma Harrison, the daughter of **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**. They lived at Kings Plains Station near Glen Innes. They had one known son, Mick McDougall.[478] Emma Harrison subsequently married William Munro, a descendant of **James 'John' Munro**.

William McDougall married Maria Bell; it is not known where she came from. They are known to have had at least one son, Charles McDougall, who was born about 1888 at Waroo Station in southern Queensland. Charles McDougall married Mary Green, a descendant of **William Green (Edwards)** at Nucoorilma, Inverell in 1917. It is not known how many children they had.

It is believed that William and Maria also had a son, Billy McDougall, who was born about 1874. Billy was married to a Kitty (her surname is not known) and they lived for a time on Sevington (Pindari) Station; they had no children. The manager's wife at Sevington (Pindari) Station recorded that Billy McDougall died at Emmaville in 1917:

> [We] have had a rather sad time . . . word came from Emmaville that Billy McDougall . . . had died. He used to live here, but had been away living for some time, & came back again for the Empire Day sports & then stayed living here with his wife Kitty. They have no children . . . He'd been ill for 3 or 4 days . . . the Dr. sent him straight to hospital . . . he died Friday morning (pneumonia). And oh, the worry over the funeral. They have a cemetery here, but we thought he might be buried at Emmaville. Kitty said she couldn't do anything but would leave all to Charlie McDougall (his brother) who is at Pindari . . . The funeral was at 3 in the afternoon, & every man, woman & child on the place went. First to the house, where they followed in procession to the Church where we had a short service & then to the cemetery about ½ mile away in the bush. It reminds you of that picture in the Geelong Gallery, 'The Bush Burial'. The order was perfect. There was hardly a word spoken all the time, not even by the children. The cemetery is right in the bush, & somehow seems such a suitable spot.[479]

The descendants of **Alexander**, **William** and **Billy McDougall** include members of the Brown, Connors, Livermore and McDougall families.

James McKenzie and Louisa Wilson

James 'Old Jimmy' McKenzie was born in the 1850s; it is not known where he was born but he is associated with the Walcha area. He married Louisa Wilson, she was born around 1861; she is believed to be from the Emmaville area and may also have links to Texas (Queensland). James died in 1941 in Armidale and Louisa died in Armidale in 1956. Louisa's death certificate lists her as Louisa McKenzie and Louisa McDougall. It is not known why she had the McDougall name.

Jimmy McKenzie and Louisa Wilson had eight known children: Emily, Richard, Bessie, Phyllis, Robert, Andy, Charley and Jimmy 'Da' McKenzie.

Emily McKenzie was born at Ingalba and married George Widders in Inverell in 1911. George Widders was the son of **Jessie Mahoney (Marney)**.

Jimmy 'Da' McKenzie was born in Armidale. His marriage certificate lists his mother as Annie Woods, which contradicts other sources who list him as Louisa Wilson's child. Nothing is known of Annie Woods; the only other Woods in the early records are Joe and Charlotte Woods, also from the Walcha area; they are understood to have had no children. Jimmy 'Da' McKenzie married Mary Dixon in 1931 in Woolbrook and they had five known children. Mary Dixon was the grandchild of **Mary Ann [Quinn]**. Jimmy 'Da' McKenzie also married a woman named Smith; nothing further is known of her, but they had three children.

The descendants of **James McKenzie** and **Louisa Wilson** include members of the Ahoy, Archibald, Briggs, Cutmore, Dixon, Donovan, Duke, Green, Hampton, Kelly, McKenzie, Olsen, Perry, Roberts, Smith, Tighe and Widders families.

Image 55: Jimmy 'Da' McKenzie, son of James McKenzie, Woolbrook[480]

Jessie Mahoney (Marney)

Jessie Mahoney (Marney) was born in the 1850s in the Walcha area. She died in 1935 in Armidale. Jessie married Albert Widders. Albert had previously had a family with his first wife, a European woman, in the Singleton area. Albert Widders is generally understood to not be from the Tablelands area and to have come from further south. However, his death certificate and his first marriage certificate both list his place of birth as Wellingrove, so it is possible that he may have Tablelands connections.

It is possible that Jessie Mahoney (Marney) and **Sarah Betts (Burton)** were sisters. Some accounts say that they were the daughters of an Aboriginal woman named Sarah who was from around Hillgrove Station. Their surnames are said to come from their European fathers.

Jessie Mahoney (Marney) and Albert Widders had 10 known children: Jack, George, Annie, John, Ellen, James, Arthur, Andrew, Charles and Sarah Jane.

Jack Widders married Vera Morris in Walcha around 1914. Vera Morris is the daughter of **Sarah Betts (Burton)**.

George Widders married Emily McKenzie in Inverell in 1911. Emily McKenzie is the daughter of **James McKenzie** and **Louisa Wilson**.

Annie Widders married John (Robert) Brown at Hillgrove in 1907. John (Robert) Brown was born at Glen Elgin, north east of Glen Innes. He was the son of Thomas Brown. Nothing further is known of this family, but it is probable that they are connected to **Alec** and **'Clary' Henry Brown**.

Sarah Jane Widders married Jack Cohen around 1897 in Wollomombi. Jack Cohen is the son of **Bob King (King Robert)**. There are a number of individuals with the surname Mahoney (and Maloney) listed in the blanket returns in the 1890s, it is not known if they have any connection to this family.

The descendants of **Jessie Mahoney (Marney)** include members of the Ahoy, Brown, Cohen, Cutmore, Davidson, Duke, Duval, Gardiner, Griffiths, Landsborough, Lockwood, Mahoney, McKenzie, Scott, Smith, Smoker, Tighe and Widders families.

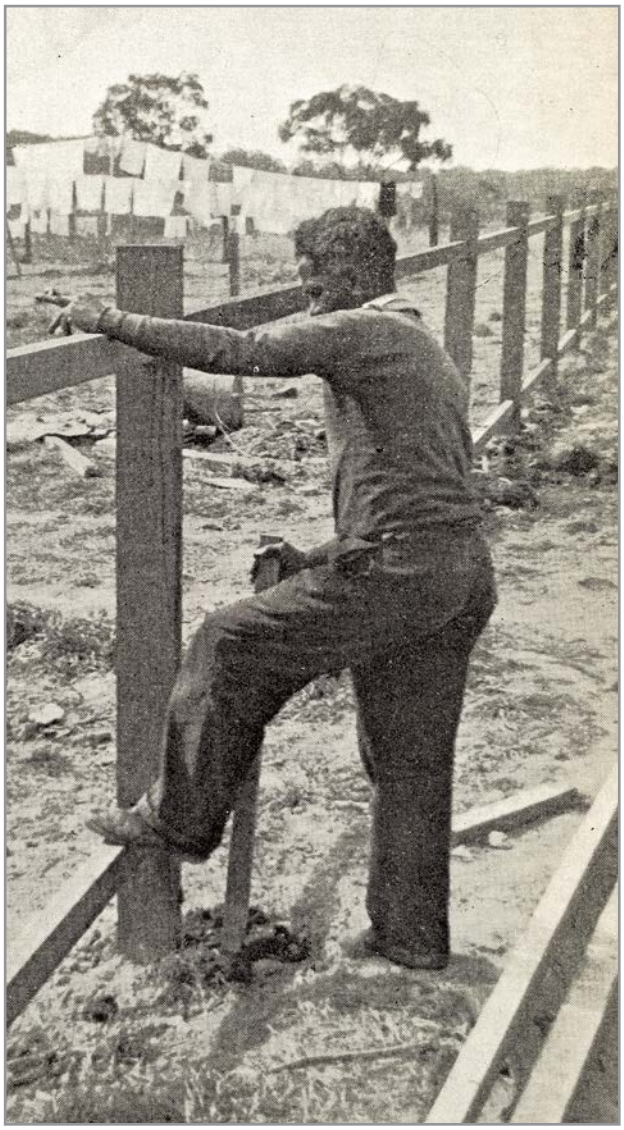


Image 56: Jim Widders, grandson of Jessie Mahoney (Marney), Armidale, c.1964[481]

James 'John' Munro

James 'John' Munro was from the Bundarra area and was probably born around the 1830s. The Munro family lived and worked on Keera Station and it is believed that their surname comes from the name of the European property owner who held the station from 1860. James 'John' Munro was known as a skilled stockman. He married Mary Ann Hammond, who was originally from the Liverpool Plains. James and Mary Ann were living on Abington Station when they married. It is not known when James Munro died. Mary Ann also married Charles Sullivan from Walgett and was known in later life as Queen Mary Ann Sullivan. James 'John' Munro and Mary Ann Sullivan were both important figures in the communities of Tingha and surrounding areas.

James and Mary Ann's son, John 'Jack' Munro, used to work and camp out on Mount Yarrowyck Station. His grandson, Earl Munro, remembered that when he was only a little boy he went out to Mount Yarrowyck with his father:

> As they went up there my father said, 'You have to stay with your Grandfather till I go over there,' to get this fella that was working there. So I stayed there and Grandfather had a little bush humpy there on the rocks at Mount Yarrowyck. When we got there Grandfather was sitting on a rock waiting for us – he knew we were coming – we couldn't tell him 'cause we were way over here [Tingha] and he was way over there. But he knew. He said, 'Sit on the rock here with me and behave yourself'.[482]

James 'John' Munro and Mary Ann Hammond had six known children. One of these, Nellie, is listed in records as the child of both James 'John' Munro and Charles Sullivan and is known as Nellie Sullivan in documents but as a Munro family member by the community. This is probably the result of one of these men being her biological father and the other having raised her. The six known children of James and Mary Ann were: John 'Jack', Annie, William, Nellie, James 'Jim' and Alexander.

Image 57: Mr and Mrs John 'Jack' Munro and family, Bundarra, 1932[483]

John 'Jack' Munro was born at Abington Station and married Annie (Elizabeth) White [Harrison] around 1887 in Wellingrove; they had three children. Annie White was the daughter of **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**. After Annie's death John 'Jack' Munro married her sister, Sarah Harrison, and they had eight known children. Sarah Harrison was also the daughter of **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**.

James 'John' Munro and Mary's second child, Annie Munro, married James 'Bullocky' Harrison around 1881 in Glen Innes. They raised one adoptive daughter, Sissy Harrison. James 'Bullocky' Harrison was the son of **Kate Robinson [Harrison]**.

William Munro married Emma (Emily Amy) Harrison; they had two children. Emma (Emily Amy) Harrison is the daughter of **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]**.

Nellie Sullivan married Arthur Cross in 1931 at Tingha. Arthur Cross is not believed to be from the Tablelands.

James 'John' Munro and Mary Ann's fifth child, James 'Jim' Munro, married Margaret Collins, they had nine known children. It is not known who Margaret Collins' parents were but it is believed that she is from the Wellingrove area.

The last child of James and Mary Ann was Alexander (Alec) Munro; he married Matilda Scott, who is believed to be from the coast. They moved to Bellbrook.

The descendants of **James 'John' Munro** include members of the Beveridge, Blair, Boney, Bowden, Byrne, Campbell, Connors, Cross, Daley, Duncan, Ellis, Gardiner, Harrison, Jerrard, Landsborough, Levy, Livermore, Loy, Madden, Marshall, McAul, Munro, Nean, Riley, Saunders, Strong, Sullivan and Williams families.

William Murray

William Murray was from the Kingstown area. It is not known when he was born but it was sometime before 1860. In 1882 he married Elizabeth Clark at Bendemeer; at the time he was working as a shepherd at Longford, near Bendemeer. Elizabeth Clark was from Nundle, south of Tamworth. His great grandson, Les Townsend, remembers his mother telling him about her grandfather, William Murray, that he used to work out around Yarrowyck Station. He had been raised out that way and then worked trapping and hunting in the area. **Catherine 'Kate' Coventry** married a Charles Murray following the death of her previous husband, **Harry Boney**. It is not known if they had any children. Charles Murray was associated with Kentucky Station, near Uralla. It is not known how he is connected to William Murray but it is probable that they were related.

William Murray and Elizabeth Clark had seven known children: Jane, William, John (Jack), Annie, Bridget, Nell and Selina.

There is a Tom Murray, who married Margaret Livermore (granddaughter of **John Snow**); it is not known how he is connected but it is considered highly likely that he is a member of this family.

Jane Murray was born in Uralla around 1887; she married Herbert Henry in Uralla in 1908. Herbert Henry is probably a descendant of **Ellen Snow** through the Lovelocks.

William Murray married Millie Snow; she is also probably a descendant of one of the **Snows**.

John (Jack) Murray, married a Miller from the Hunter Valley; it is not known if they had any children. John (Jack) Murray also married Amy Rudder at Walcha in 1931 and they had several

Image 58: Mr. and Mrs. Tom Murray and Mrs. E. Blair, Long Gully, Tingha, 1937[484]

children. Amy Rudder was the great grandchild of **Mary Ann [Quinn]**.

Annie Murray married John Fuller in Uralla in 1895. Bridget Murray married a Faulkner. Nell Murray married a European man, Alf Adams.

Selina Murray, the last of William and Elizabeth's children, married a Madden and Percy James Davis. The Madden she married is believed to be from Sydney. Percy James Davis may be a descendent of **Ellen Snow** through the Lovelocks.

The descendants of **William Murray** include members of the Adams, Campbell, Faulkner, Fuller, Henry, Hunt, Madden, Marshell, Morris, Murray, Thorne and Townsend families.

William Naylor

There is little known of this family as no direct descendants have been found during the project. William Naylor was born around the mid 1800s. The Naylors are associated with the Walcha area and the eastern falls country. In an 1876 newspaper there was a reference to the death of a Jenny Naillor (Naylor) at Hillgrove; it is likely that she is part of the same family:

> On the morning of Friday last a female aborigine named Jenny Naillor was found, in the Black Camp in the rear of Mr C Moore's paddock [at Hillgrove], in an unconscious state, and was brought in to the Hospital by the police, where, despite the remedial measures that were applied, she expired the same afternoon.[485]

William Naylor married Emily Mason around 1873; Emily was born in the Hunter River district. In the late 1890s William Naylor and his wife and children were living at Rockvale.[486] The blanket returns for the Armidale district list the Naylor family a number of times from 1897 to 1904; in each case they are listed as resident at Rockvale. Family members listed include William Naylor, Mrs. M. Naylor, John Naylor, Georgina Naylor, William Naylor (Jnr?), Emily Naylor, Jack Naylor, Herbert Naylor, Hugh Naylor, and Maudey Naylor.[487]

In the period from 1887 until 1893, and possibly longer, a William Naylor and his wife Minnie worked on Wongwibinda Station. It is believed this is William Naylor Jnr. A history of the station by a member of the European Wright family who held the station recalled that:

> . . . Aborigines who played important roles on the place in those days were William Naylor and his wife Minnie. The latter, I believe, acted as a part time nurse for Phillip and did the washing at the homestead and she probably cooked for Paddy and Jack as well, while her husband worked as a stockman . . . a responsible job.[488]

In 1910 William was recorded by the Aborigines Protection Board as having received some form of land grant at Georges Creek[489], on the eastern falls country just outside the cultural area. In the early part of the twentieth century there was a substantial Aboriginal community at Georges Creek with people from the coast, in particular

Image 59: Hugh Naylor and son Bill Naylor, c.1958[490]

Grafton, as well as from the Tablelands eastern falls country and Bellbrook.[491] In the twentieth century many of the families who lived at Georges Creek worked on the nearby Kunderang Station, including members of the Naylor family.

William Naylor and Emily Mason had two daughters, Minnie and Georgina, and seven sons, John 'Jack', Herbert, William, Hugh, and three whose names are unknown. The only one of their children for whom descendants have been recorded in this project is Hugh.

Hugh Naylor was born about 1893 in Armidale and married Madelaine Griffen in Armidale in 1932. Madelaine was born in Walcha but the community understanding is that her family came from the coast. Hugh and Madelaine had 14 children, eight sons and six daughters.

The descendants of **William Naylor** include members of the Ahoy, Crawford, Davison, McKenzie, Naylor and Shillingsworth families.

Mary Ann [Quinn]

Mary Ann was an Aboriginal woman who had children with Maurice Quinn, a European man. She was from the Walcha area. It is not known when Mary Ann was born but it was probably in the 1820s or early 1830s. Nothing further is known of her other than that she had at least four, and probably six, children. Maurice Quinn died at Rimbanda, near Armidale, in 1869.

Mary Ann and Maurice Quinn had at least four children: Mary, Bodella 'Jessie', Maria and another girl whose name is not known.

Mary Quinn married James Duval in 1862 in Walcha. James Duval was a European man.

Bodella 'Jessie' Quinn married a Jack Cook, whose origin is unknown. The other daughter, whose name is not known, is believed to have married a Ridgeway from Taree.

The youngest of the children was Maria Quinn, she married Walter 'James' Dixon and they had six children. Maria also married Michael Harris; it is not known if they had any children.

It is believed that Elizabeth Quinn (Morris) and James Morris may also have been children of Mary Ann and Maurice Quinn. Elizabeth Quinn (Morris) married **King Yarrie-Campbell**. James Morris married **Sarah Betts (Burton)**.

Image 60: Mary Duval, nee Quinn[492]

Mary Quinn and James Duval had 12 children; two of these were Frank and John 'Jack' Duval who were well known jockeys and horse trainers:

> Frank and Jack Duvall were both exceptional and accomplished horsemen, who made a mark on international racing. It has been said that they rode all their life and they rode everywhere . . . Jack Duvall had established himself as a rider overseas, especially in Asia. He never returned to Australia, remaining in south-east Asia until he died . . . When Frank Duvall ventured overseas Jack had retired as a rider and was training big teams of horses. Frank and his brother proved a successful combination. Frank won a Penang Cup on a horse called Silver Hampton, and he also won important races in South Africa. He rode in India for four years and in Africa for two years. Elder brother Jack trained for several Maharajahs in India and Frank Duvall got to know them very well. He found them good patrons, generous and considerate.[493]

Frank later returned to the Walcha area where he was a respected racehorse trainer. On his death the local paper reported that:

> . . . on Friday last, Walcha Cup day, what could be termed a fashionable and well-to-do race crowd stood in respectful silence, heads bowed, before the field for the first race was sent out on to the track. Even the horses themselves, with racing officials and jacketed jockeys standing among them, seemed to sense that someone, on the course amplifiers, had just been saying something about old Frank Duval.[494]

Descendants of **Mary Ann [Quinn]** include some members of the Ahoy, Bartholemew, Bettison, Briggs, Bristow, Cook, Dixon, Duval, Farrell, Griffin, Griffen, Harris, Kelly, McKenzie, Murray, Olsen, Quinn, Reid, Ridgeway, Rudder, Schmutter, Seymour, Smith and Towney families.

Kate Robinson [Harrison]

Kate Robinson, also known as Lena, was from the Wellingrove Strathbogie area. She was probably born in the late 1820s or 30s. Her descendants describe her as having been a 'tribal woman'. She was married to Henry Harrison, a European man, and had at least three children with him. Henry Harrison was also married to **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]** and had several children with her.

Kate Robinson and Henry Harrison had three known children: Ellen, Kate and James 'Bullocky' Harrison.

Kate and Henry's first child, Ellen Harrison, was born in Wellingrove in the 1840s or 50s. Ellen married Peter 'Paddy' Daley, a European miner from the Grafton area; they had seven known children. Ellen Harrison then married Harry 'Waroo' Perry (sometimes known as Frank Perry or John Perry) in Glen Innes; they had five known children. Harry 'Waroo' Perry was an Aboriginal man who lived in the Tablelands area but is believed to have come from the north coast.

Kate and Henry's second child was Katherine (Kate) Harrison, she was born at Kings Plain in the late 1850s or '60s. Katherine married Peter Cutmore in Glen Innes; he was from Tycannah (Moree). Katherine and Peter had at least five children; they were all born at Terry Hie Hie where the family lived.

James 'Bullocky' Harrison was born in the early 1860s; he married Annie Munro in Glen Innes around 1881. Annie Munro was the daughter of **James 'John' Munro**. They raised one adopted child, Sissy Harrison. James Harrison was known as 'Bullocky' because he had worked as a bullock driver carting wool down the falls country to the coast. He was also known as Big Uncle.

The descendants of **Kate Robinson [Harrison]** include members of the Beveridge, Brown, Byrne, Cutmore, Daley, Draper, Duncan, Harrison, Irving, McAul, McDougall, Munro, Perry and Spearim families.

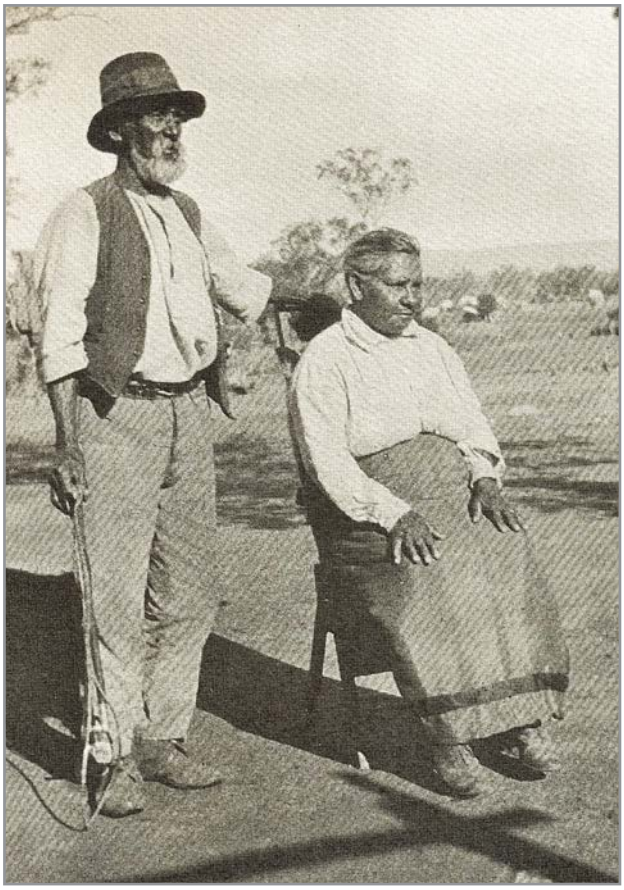


Image 61: Peter Cutmore and Kate Harrison, Terry Hie Hie, n.d.[495]

Paddy Ross

There is little known of this family as no direct descendants have been found during the project. Paddy Ross was associated with the Oban and Wongwibinda areas. He went from Coventry's station at Oban to Wongwibinda Station in 1887 and remained working there for many years. He had, "a great reputation as a rough rider".[496] In the memoirs of a member of the European Wright family, who held Wongwibinda, is the following account of Paddy:

> Paddy Ross . . .. was a full-blood, of stocky build and an eternal sense of humour. In many ways he was my father's, and afterwards my mother's, right-hand man, and was quite an institution at Wongwibinda. When I was very small, I had as a nursemaid, one Minnie, an aboriginal girl whom I loved very much. After being with my mother for several years, she married Paddy, and they lived in a slab bark hut and reared quite a sizeable family of boys, who later became proficient cricketers. From Paddy I learned something of aboriginal ways, including that of finding wild bees' nests.[497]

Paddy Ross married a woman named Minnie; it is not known where she came from. Paddy Ross and a Mrs. Ross were listed in the Armidale district blanket returns in 1899. At various points in the 1890s the returns also listed a Tom Ross, Miss Ross, 'Baby' Ross, Willie Ross and William Ross.[498] It is known that Paddy and Minnie Ross had a number of children but nothing further is known of them.

John, Ellen and William Snow

There are three Snows that have been identified who would have been born in the period around the 1840 and 50s: John Snow, Ellen Snow and William Snow. They may be brothers and sister but it is not possible to be sure. They are all associated with the Moonbi and Walcha areas.

John Snow worked as a shepherd and was born in the 1840s. Ellen Snow was living in Moonbi in 1875 when she married George Thorp[e]. William Snow was born in the 1850s and lived in the Moonbi and Walcha areas.

John Snow had one daughter, Francis 'Fanny' Snow; her mother is not known. Francis 'Fanny' Snow was born in the Tamworth area, possibly at Moonbi, in the early 1860s. She married John Henry Livermore in the late 1870s in Walcha. John Livermore is believed to have been a European man of French descent who came from the Walgett area. Fanny and John had six known children: Susan, John, Mary, Richard 'Dick', Margaret and Claude Livermore.

Ellen Snow married a George Thorp[e] at Moonbi in 1875. It is not known where he was from or who his parents were. Ellen and George had two known children, Fanny Thorpe and Eva May Thorpe.

Fanny Thorpe was born at Moonbi around 1869 and married George Henry Lovelock at Walcha in 1898. Community understanding is that the Lovelock family came to Walcha from the coast. Fanny Thorpe and George Lovelock had nine known children.

Image 62: Mr. and Mrs. Dick Livermore, Long Gully, Tingha, 1932[499]

Eva May Thorpe was born in Walcha around 1894; she married Henry (Harry) Morris. Henry (Harry) Morris was the son of **Sarah Betts (Burton)**. It is not known how many children they had.

William Snow married Mary Ann Caffrey; it is not known where she came from. They had two known children, Rosey Snow and Lionel Snow.

Rosey Snow was born in Moonbi around 1878. She married Alexander Tolmie at Quirindi in 1896; he was from the Shoalhaven area.

Lionel Snow was born in Walcha around 1901 and married Dorothy Wright in Walcha in 1931. Dorothy Wright was the granddaughter of **Sarah Betts (Burton)**.

The descendants of **John**, **Ellen** and **William Snow** include members of the Blair, Chapman, Connors, Edwards, Green, Livermore, Lovelock, Lowe, Loy, Morris, Snow, Strong, Thorp (Thorpe) and Tolmie families.

Charles Strong and Mary Ann Strann

Charles Strong and Mary Ann Strann were a married couple who were associated with the Emmaville, Strathbogie area. It is not known when they were born but it is likely to have been sometime in the 1860s or earlier. They both died before 1917 but it is not known exactly when. They raised four children together.

Charles Strong and Mary Ann Strann had four children: Joe, William, Donald and Nellie Rose. It is believed that Nellie Rose was the biological child of either Mary Ann Strann with an unknown man or Charles Strong with an unknown woman. Charles Strong and Mary Ann Strann raised her with their other three children.

Joe Strong married Susan Livermore and they had three known children. Susan Livermore was the granddaughter of **John Snow**.

William Strong was another of Charles and Mary Ann's children, but nothing is known of him.

Donald Strong, married Lucy Connors in 1917 at Nucoorilma. Lucy Connors was the daughter of **John Geoffrey Connors**.

Nellie Rose married **Alexander 'Alec' McDougall** and they had one daughter, Celia Margaret McDougall.

The descendants of **Charles Strong** and **Mary Ann Strann** include members of the Brown, Livermore, McDougall, Rose, Strong and Williams families.

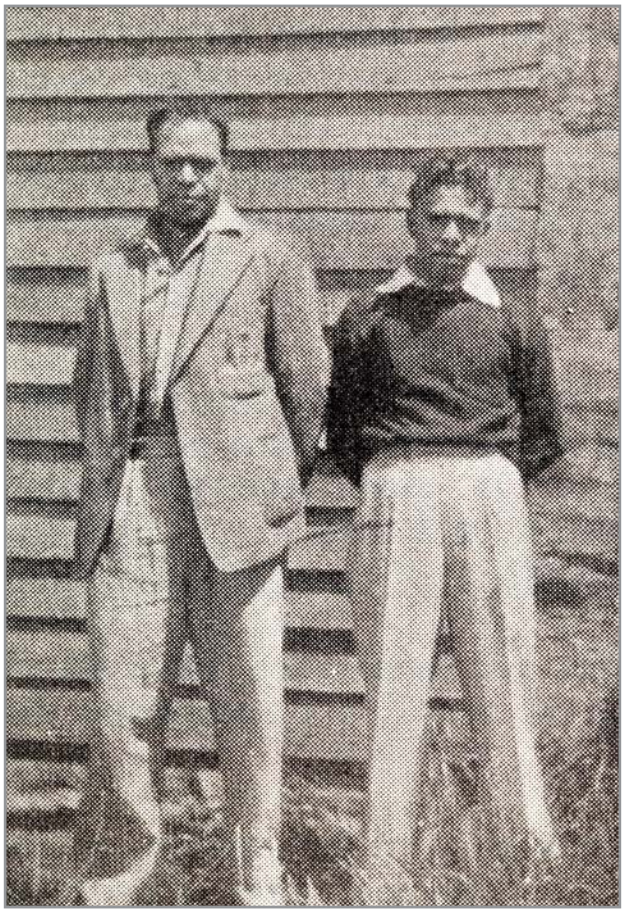


Image 63: Eric Strong and Les Gardiner, of Tingha, c.1956[500]

Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]

Amy White [Harrison] was also known as Susan. She was from the Wellingrove, Strathbogie area. She was probably born in the late 1830s or 1840s. Her descendants describe her as having been a 'tribal woman'. She was married to Henry Harrison, a European man, and had at least three children with him. Henry Harrison was also married to **Kate Robinson [Harrison]** and had several children with her.

Amy White and Henry Harrison had four children: Emma (Emily Amy), Annie (also known as Annie White and Elizabeth Harrison), Sarah and Henry (Harry) Harrison.

Emma Harrison married John 'Jock' Doherty. It is not known whether John Doherty was Aboriginal or European; they had no known children. Emma also married **Billy McDougall** and they had one known son, Mick McDougall. Emma (Emily Amy)

Image 64: Mrs. William Munro (nee Emma Harrison), Long Gully, 1941[501]

Harrison then married William Munro and they had two known children. William Munro was the son of **James 'John' Munro**.

Annie Harrison married John 'Jack' Munro at Wellingrove around 1887; they had three known children. John 'Jack' Munro was the son of **James 'John' Munro**.

Sarah Harrison was married to Harvey (Alfred) Edwards and they had three children. It is not known where Harvey Edwards came from; he may be related to **William Green (Edwards)**. Sarah Harrison was later married to John 'Jack' Munro, the son of **James 'John' Munro**, following the death of her sister Annie Harrison. Sarah and John had eight known children.

Henry (Harry) Harrison married Elizabeth Graham and they had one known child. Elizabeth Graham was from Terry Hie Hie.

The descendants of **Amy (Susan) White [Harrison]** include members of the Blair, Boney, Bowden, Brown, Byrne, Campbell, Connors, Daley, Dunn, Edwards, Ellis, Gardiner, Harrison, Irving, Jerrard, Landsborough, Livermore, Loy, Madden, McDougall, Moreton, Morris, Munro, Perry, Riley, Strong, White and Williams families.

King Yarrie Campbell

King Yarrie Campbell was born in the early decades of European intrusion. He died at Walcha in 1907. He was an important member of the Walcha community. King Yarrie Campbell was married to Elizabeth Quinn (Morris). It is likely that Elizabeth was a descendant of **Mary Ann (Quinn)**.

In 1902 a reporter for the local Walcha newspaper described meeting King Yarrie Campbell at Ingalba:

> One day last week the furniture at Ingalba station house was sold . . . Messrs Jamieson and Connal were the joint owners of Walcha station; their sheep grazed where our children now play, and blacks moved about on the surrounding hills in hundreds . . . The blacks . . . and little ones look over the fence and view the scene as each article is brought forward and disposed of beneath the auctioneer's hammer. In the midst of them is old 'Yarry', a fine stamp of aborigines, well dressed, with the exception of boots, which he does not wear. Yarry's grey locks cover a jet black skin, and his large mouth shows a complete set of serviceable teeth. His expansive nostrils tell of youthful ambition in the hunting and battle fields, and his sturdy frame still gives evidence of great strength.
>
> 'Do you miss Mr Connal?' asked our representative.
>
> 'Yarry lost without him; he was a good man. Make Yarry's heart ache all this,' and the heartfelt sigh bore out his expression.
>
> Yarry was called 'Old Yarry' when Mr W Connal was a boy, and although Yarry has no idea of the date of his birth he must be a very old man.
>
> Yarry says Ingalba is not a native name; and no one appears to know the meaning of it. 'Niangala' we know means 'eclipse of the moon', and 'Rywung', better known as Swamp Oak, 'a resting place'.[502]

King Yarrie Campbell and Elizabeth Quinn (Morris) had at least four known children, two daughters and two sons. Some of their descendants chose to use the surname Campbell, while others used Yarrie.

One of King Yarrie Campbell and Elizabeth's daughters, whose name is not known, married a Miller and died in 1908 in Walcha. Another

Photos. by "Mail's" Special.
AN INTERVIEW WITH KING YARRY, OF INGLEBAR, AND SUITE.

Image 65: King Yarrie-Campbell at the Armidale Show, 1903.[503]

daughter was Jessie Campbell; she was born around 1893 and died in 1908 in Walcha. One son was Richard 'Dick' Yarrie; he was born around 1886 at Ingalba and died in 1909 in the same area.[504]

Another son was James 'Jim' Yarray Campbell. He was born around 1898 at Ingalba and married Girlie Ada Boney in 1935 in Walcha. Girlie Ada Boney was a descendant of **Henry 'Harry' Boney** and **Catherine 'Kate' Coventry**. James Yarray Campbell and Girlie Ada Boney had at least five children. There were four boys, Robert, Cyril, Ray and Alec Yarrie and one known daughter, Kathaleen Campbell.

The descendants of **King Yarrie Campbell** include members of the Campbell, Cutmore, Ingram, Jerrard, Livermore, Madden, Miller and Yarrie families.

Additional individuals from the documents

The listing below is of named individuals who can be identified in the documentary records as having been adults within the cultural area prior to the 1880s. No further information has been located for these individuals and it is not known if they had any descendants. This list is not comprehensive as there may be potential documentary sources that have not been accessed. Individuals whose names were listed in blanket returns for the period from 1890 to 1904, and for whom nothing else is known, have been listed in a table at the end of this section.

There are four individuals whose names are known from the existence of 'king plates' or references to king plates. There are no clear dates but they probably date from the second half of the 1800s.

Jemmy Vincent (King of Dogingorogram) is known only from the existence of a king plate donated to the Australian Museum by Sir William Dixon and labelled as "Vincent, New England, Tingha".[505]

Davy, King of New England is known only from the existence of a king plate, collected by J.F. Hyson c.1920 on the Moonbi Ranges Road.[506]

Wombail Oouthenang, Chief of Shannon Vielle is known only from the existence of a king plate. Shannon Vale was a pastoral station located east of Glen Innes.[507]

Jerry, King of Nowla, is mentioned in the memoirs of Mrs. Susan Bundarra Young, daughter of Edward Clerk, who took up Clerkness, later known as Bundarra Station, in 1836. Mrs. Young wrote, "Old Combo (blackfellow) has now the plate which belongs to Jerry, late king of 'Nowla', the aboriginal's name of 'Abington', Mr. J.P. Morse's station".[508]

In the records of the Broun (Kelly) family, who held stations in the Bundarra/Tingha area, there is another reference to Old Combo, also known as King Jimmy. One of the Broun (Kelly) family wrote a poem about him, probably around the 1870s or 1880s, which included the following lines:

> A sage old king, who well, I trow
> Can conjugate the verb 'to know'

Image 66: Jemmy Vincent, 'king plate', n.d.[509]

Image 67: Davy, 'king plate', n.d.[510]

Image 68: Wombail Oouthenang, 'king plate', n.d.[511]

> Far better than celestial wight
> Who deems that phrase his own, by right . . .
>
> The mystic 'Boro's' secret rite
> Is still the dream of his delight
> Though youngsters of the camp scarce claim
> Acquaintance with its hollow name . . .[512]

There are very limited station records available in public archives from Tablelands stations in the 1800s; it is likely that some do survive but are still held by the stations or in private collections by descendants. However, local histories include some references to Aboriginal workers in the mid 1800s.

Micky 'Flash Mick' worked on Terrible Vale Station at Uralla in the 1850s and 60s. He was referred to in the station records as Flash Mick, Black Micky and Michael Blackfellow. A history of Terrible Vale records that:

> . . . he was remembered as a smart young fellow who was a great rider, delighting in riding as a buckjumper. On Sundays during the summer he used to come out in a clean white duck suit, cabbage tree hat and white puggaree, with tail hanging down behind.

Also listed as working on Terrible Vale Station in the 1860s were **Black Jerry, Black Mary Ann**, **Commissioner**, **Davy**, **Frank** and **Jeremy**.[513]

Jack Duval worked on Bukkulla Station, north of Inverell in the 1860s. Nothing else is known of him but he does not appear to be related to the Duvals from Walcha, whose name originates from a European man named Jack Duval from the same period.[514]

Tinker was associated with Keera Station at some point after 1858 when the Munro family took up the station. A local history records that "Mrs. Munro was sitting alone, when suddenly the door was pushed open and Tinker, a black fellow, burst in roaring drunk and brandishing a *nulla nulla*. Somehow he had got hold of some spirits and was almost crazy".[515]

William and **Jimmy** were two boys associated with Ollera Station, near Guyra. In the 1840s Ollera Station was known as Wandsworth and was held by Everetts and Halheads. A local history records that William and Jimmy were two Aboriginal boys who were taken to live on the station by a group of Aboriginal people; there were a number of large camps in the area.[516]

A number of other individuals have been identified from documentary sources.

May Yarrowyck was associated with the Tingha area. May was the child of a young Aboriginal woman **Peg**, who had been raised by the Kelly family at Stoney Creek (Bassendean), and one of the Kelly family sons. Peg is remembered in Kelly (Broun) family oral history as the child of a woman from the "Yarrowyck blacks"; Peg died shortly after May's birth. May was raised in the Kelly (Broun) household and then went to Sydney where she trained at St Vincent's Hospital in Darlinghurst as a general nurse and then at Crown Street Women's Hospital, where she graduated as a midwife in 1907. The Crown Street records include a memo dated 28 May 1906, "From Matron re pupil Nurse Yarrowick it was decided that the fact of her being a half caste was not a valid ground for refusing to train her as a nurse, a separate room would however be provided for her".[517]

May appears to have worked as a private nurse both at Bassendean and in other areas. She is recorded on the Australasian Trained Nurses Association Register of Members (General Nursing and Midwifery) as undertaking private nursing in Inverell in 1908, in Tingha in 1909, at Cudgen on the Tweed River in 1910 and 1911, and in 1912 to 1914 back at Tingha.[518] In 1919, 1921–23 and 1940 she is recorded as having worked as a nurse on Bassendean Station, Tingha, which was held by the Kelly (Broun) family.[519] It is not known where she worked in the intervening years.

May is credited with having saved the life of Miriam Broun in the early twentieth century when Miriam:

> . . . haemorrhaged after childbirth. Although May was quite elderly she knelt on the bed with one hand inside the womb and the other exerting pressure on the abdomen and held the rupture until it healed. It was a very hot day and May insisted that Miriam Broun's brow and hers be bathed as they sweated through the crisis.[520]

May Yarrowick died in 1949 in Tingha.[521]

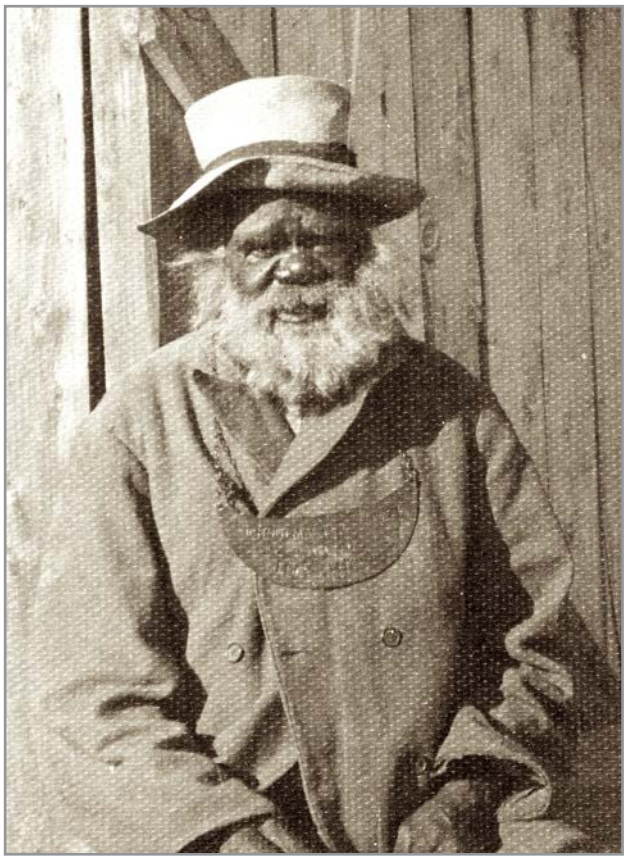


Image 69: Jack Schoolie[522]

Jack Schoolie was also known as 'King Jacky of Pindari', 'Mr. Jackey', and 'Schoolmaster Jackie'. He was associated primarily with Pindari. The wife of the Sevington (PIndari) Aboriginal Station teacher/manager, Elsie Burrage, wrote in 1917 that her husband Charlie, "and old King Schoolie went fishing, 10 miles away, caught a dozen fish and had a good day".[523] The Burrage's daughter, Winifred Burrage, stated that:

> This man Schoolie, or Schoolmaster Jack as he was sometimes called (because he wore a schoolmaster's coat), was the recognised Aboriginal leader, and I can remember my father showing us once the crescent-shaped neck plate that said Schoolie was the king of the district.[524]

He died in 1921 and on his death it was reported that:

> King Jacky of Pindari, of Glen Innes, better known as Jack Schoolie, an aboriginal, has died at the age of 101. Schoolie was one of the good old sorts of full-blooded aboriginals who in the early days of rough-riding and rough living linked themselves to the white man and his cattle stations.[525]

Kangaroo Jack was associated with the Pindari and Wallangra region. He is said to have been

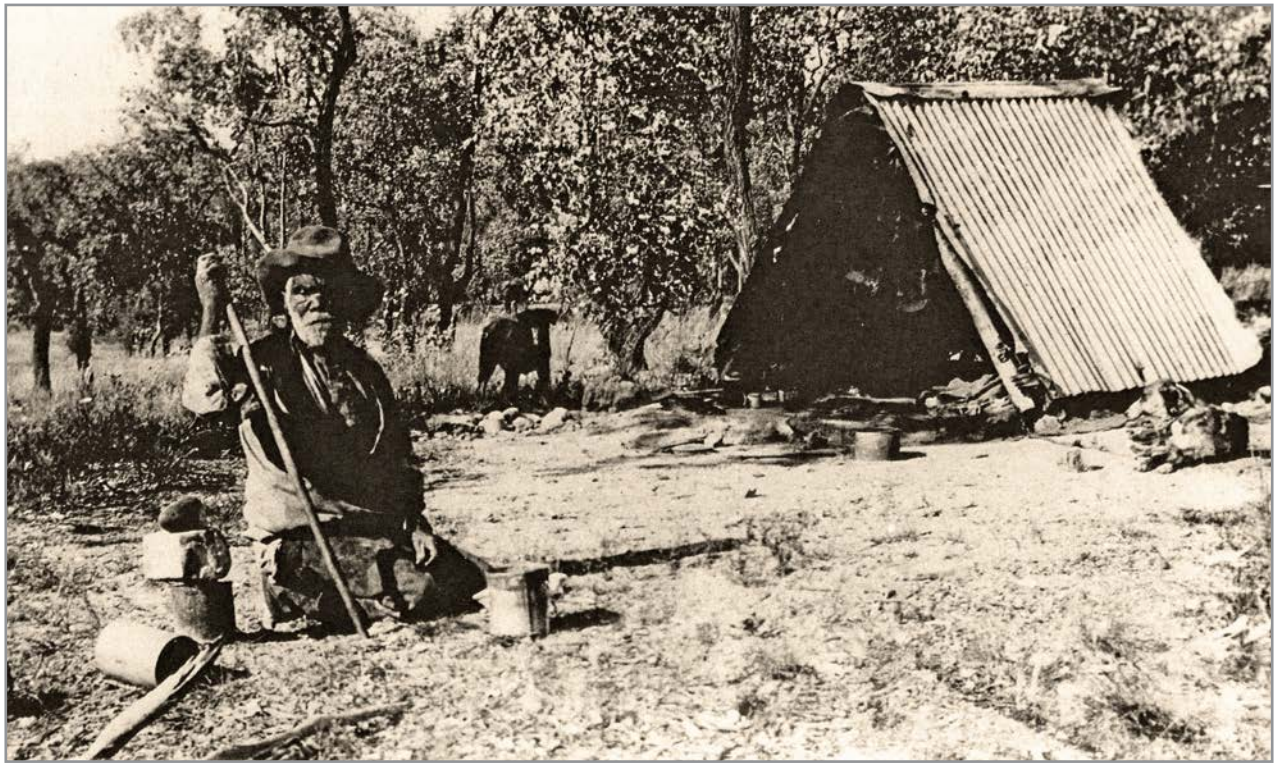


Image 70: Wallangra George, c.1904[526]

Image 71: Joe Woods with the Widders children, c.1920s[527]

born in the Pindari region around 1810 and died at Wallangra in 1890. As an old man he is remembered as having moved between Ashford and Wallangra, where he used to catch fish, which he supplied to some of the European families.[528]

Wallangra George was associated with Wallangra near Ashford, where he is said to have been born in the 1820s and died in 1908.[529] A local history included the photograph at left from a private collection and stated:

> 'Wallangra George', last of the full-blood Aborigines of the Wallangra district (near Ashford), where he was born about 1828. This photograph was taken by a wool-classer, William Frederick Baldwin, about four years before George died on 5 December 1908.[530]

Joe and **Charlotte Woods** were associated with Walcha. Joe and Charlotte Woods were a married couple; they are understood to have had no children. Joe Woods is well remembered in the local Aboriginal community as an important man. Charlotte Woods passed away in 1912 in Walcha, while Joe Woods passed away in Armidale in 1933. The *Daily Examiner* (Grafton) reported:

> The death occurred in Armidale Hospital on May 31, of Mr Joseph ('Joe') Woods, who was the 'king' of the Walcha aboriginals. 'Joe', as he was known to everyone, was a native of Hillgrove Station, and about 80 years of age. He had spent most of his life in the district, and was respected for his clean living and honourable disposition.[531]

Joe Woods was a 'clever fella' or doctor and, as was common for 'clever men', kept a number of dogs. One community member from Walcha recalled her mother telling her that whenever Uncle Joe Woods visited he would have his two white dogs with him, and whenever anybody was sick he would come.

Anti-Christ was associated with the Bundarra area. In 1839 the Commissioner of Crown Lands stated that he was responsible for the murder of a shepherd. The man referred to as Anti-Christ had one clubfoot and the murder accusation was based on distinctive footprints at the scene.[532] In an 1839 letter to the *Sydney Herald* the station holder on the Beardy Plains (Glen Innes), Mr. W. Vivers, wrote of the same event:

> Having received notice that my station at Beardy Plains had been attacked by the blacks, and one of my shepherds murdered, I immediately proceeded there, and on my arrival found it but too true; the poor fellow had four spears run through him, and six cuts with a tomahawk on his head . . . One of the blacks named Antichrist, of the New England tribe, is a well known character for spearing cattle, and is remarkable in having a deformed foot; he can be identified by respectable witnesses.[533]

The field notebooks of the ethnographer R.H. Mathews, who collected information on the Tablelands in the 1880s, names two individuals as informants.

> **Billy Barlow**, who Mathews identified as coming from near Walcha, and **Jack Steel** who he appeared to associate with the eastern falls country. Steel may have been associated with the Oban camp as the facing page in the notebook has directions on how to get to the 'black's camp at Oban'.[534]

The amateur ethnologist John MacPherson wrote on place names on the northern Tablelands in the late 1890s and named one informant from the region.

> **Dicky Nelson**, of whom MacPherson stated that, 'Nelson was an aged native of the Enneewing tribe, living at Oban'.[535]

The reports of the Government Medical Superintendent for the New England District have survived for the years 1851 and 1854 and in these he recorded the names of Aboriginal people that he treated.

> **Bobby & Kitty** A married couple who were recorded in 1851 along with another married couple **Mary Anne & Sandz**. Also recorded in 1851 were **Commpines Jacky**, **King Sandy**, **Little Polly**, **Old Nuariz**, and **Mickey** who died soon after. In 1854 six people were recorded as receiving medical treatment, **Billy Keera**, **Kourbo**, **Micky Hargrave**, **Nanny Moggy**, **Old Fellow Joe** and **Tommy Tommy**.[536]

Government blankets were issued annually to Aboriginal people throughout the state from the 1820s through to the early 1900s. The only blanket returns that include individuals' names that have been identified for the Tablelands are those taken at Uralla between 1890 and 1904.[537] This appears to have been a central distribution point for blankets as mention is specifically made of people from Oban, Rockvale, and Wollomombi, as well as Uralla itself, collecting blankets. In addition, members of one family are listed who are stated to be associated with Kempsey but who are presumably residing in the Uralla area at the time. These blanket returns are from a period many decades after the disruption and trauma caused by the arrival of Europeans and the resulting movement of people in response to economic need or social pressures layered over the pre-existing patterns of movement and intermarriage to the west and east. As a result it is not known if these individuals were associated with the Tablelands traditionally, had married into the area, or were simply temporarily residing in the area. Those people listed in the blanket returns who are already represented in the family trees of the original Aboriginal inhabitants in the family sheets have not been included in this table.

Table 3: Individuals listed in Blanket Returns, Uralla, 1890–1904

Name	Date listed	Notes
Alice	1892	
Biddy	1895	
Big Lips Jimmie	1890	
Billy	1893	
Bobby	1892	
Dick	1893	
Dickie	1890	
Emily	1893	
George	1893	
Gracy	1895	
Jack and Mrs. Jack	1890	
Jacky	1903	Noted as 'care of Mrs. Coventry, Lyndhurst'. Note that Coventrys associated with Oban Station.
Jenny	1892, 1893	
John [unreadable surname]	1892	
Lucy	1892	
Malone	1892	
Mary	1892, 1893	
Mary Ann and Dick	1890	Identified with Bundarra in blanket returns.
Molley	1892	
Nelson	1897	
Paddy [unreadable surname]	1891, 1892	
Paddy	1892	
Roberts	1893	
Tommy	1892, 1893	
Willie	1892	
Lizzy Allen	1892	
William B [unreadable surname]	1896	
Ida B [unreadable surname]	1896	
Jimmie Baker	1890	
William Bamberry and Mrs. William Bamberry	1892	
Albert Barlow	1899	
Isaac Bloomfield	1894	
James Boyden	1890	
Ellen (Helen) Callaghan	1890, 1892	
Ethel Callaghan	1892	
Harry Callaghan	1890, 1892	
Jenny Callaghan	1892	
Jessie Callaghan	1896	
Jimmy Callaghan	1890	
Lucy Callaghan	1892	
Ralph Callaghan	1890, 1892, 1896	

Table 3 continued: Individuals listed in Blanket Returns, Uralla, 1890–1904

Name	Date listed	Notes
Richie Callaghan	1892	
Susan Callaghan	1890	
Dick Carver	1900	
Eliza Cleveland	1890	
Harry Cleveland	1890	
George Cooper	1897	
Adelaide Crawford	1898	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Annie Crawford	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Arnold Crawford	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Billy Crawford	1898	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Charlot Crawford	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Clara Crawford (Crowford)	1896	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
George Crawford (Crowford)	1891, 1896, 1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Mrs. G. Crawford	1897	
Hannah Crawford	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Jimmy Crawford	1898	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Sarah Crawford (Crofford)	1892, 1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
William Crawford	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Willie Crawford	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Kempsey District.
Adelaide Cross or Croft	1890	
Bernie Cross or Croft	1890	
Joe Cross or Croft	1892	
Harry Dangar	1898	
Billy Diamond	1892	
Dicky Dower	1901	
John Duncan	1890	Note that Duncan family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
Ted Gargan	1898	
Clara Gordon	1897, 1899, 1904	Note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
Hester Gordon	1893	Note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
Jack Gordon	1897,1899, 1904	Note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
Jackie Gordon	1898	Note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
Jane Gordon	1893, 1897, 1899	Note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
John Gordon	1893	Note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
Julia Gordon	1893	Note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
Mrs. S. Gordon	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Gundah Station. Unknown if same station but there is a Gundah Station near Baryugil; note that Gordon family associated with Baryugil/Ramornie/Washpool area.
Annie Graham	1892	Note that Graham family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
Arthur Graham	1895, 1897, 1901	Note that Graham family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
Biddy Graham	1897	Note that Graham family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
Jack Graham	1897	Note that Graham family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
James Graham	1895	Note that Graham family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.

Table 3 continued: Individuals listed in Blanket Returns, Uralla, 1890–1904

Name	Date listed	Notes
Kate Graham	1904	Note that Graham family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
Lucy Graham	1895, 1901	Note that Graham family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
Edie Gray	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Rockvale.
Edward Gray	1898, 1900	Associated with Rockvale in blanket returns.
Edward G. Gray	1898	Associated with Uralla itself in blanket returns.
Emily Gray	1898	Associated with Rockvale in blanket returns.
Oscar Gray	1894	
William Gray	1897, 1898, 1900	Associated in blanket returns with Rockvale.
William H. Gray	1898	Associated with Uralla itself in blanket returns.
Jack Hughes	1890	
Ada Jarrett	1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1902	
Alice Jarrett	1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899	
Charles Jarrett	1895	
Rose Jarrett	1894, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1901, 1902	
Mary Jarrett	1898, 1899, 1901, 1902	
Minnie Jarrett	1896, 1897, 1898, 1899	
Thomas Jarrett	1899, 1901, 1902	
William Jarrett	1898, 1899, 1901, 1902	
Charles 'Charley' Johnson	1891, 1893	
Mary Jane Johnson	1891, 1892, 1893	
Donald Johnson	1893	
Frederick Johnson	1893	
George Johnson	1893	
Jane Johnson	1893	
John Johnson	1893	
William Johnson	1891, 1892, 1893	
Caroline Jones	1893	Associated to Wollomombi in blanket returns.
Richard Jones	1890, 1893	Associated to Wollomombi in blanket returns.
R. 'Dick' Jones	1891, 1892	Probable same individual as above.
Carry Jones	1891, 1892	
Eliza Jones	1890	
George Jones	1891	
Thomas Jones	1895	
Jimmie Kangaroo	1890	
Mary Kangaroo	1890	
Jack Kelly	1895	
Nelly Kelly	1895	
R. Kelly	1892	

Table 3 continued: Individuals listed in Blanket Returns, Uralla, 1890–1904

Name	Date listed	Notes
Edward L [unreadable surname]	1899	
Jimmy Lazy	1892	
Tommy Lind	1895	
Billie Ludlow	1890	
Millie Ludlow	1890	
Emily McCullan	1899	
Duncan McKay	1894, 1899	
Rose McKay	1894	
Queen McKay	1899	
Dick [McKellar]	1895	
Lucy [McKellar]	1895	
Emily [McKellar]	1895	
Emma [McKellar]]	1895	
Katy [McKellar]	1895	
Ted McKellar	1895	
Mundy McPherson	1890	
Kate McShane	1899	
Emily Mahony	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Rockvale.
Emma Mahony	1898	Associated with Uralla itself in blanket returns.
James Mahoney and Mrs. Dolly Mahoney	1895	
John Mahony	1897	Associated in blanket returns with Rockvale.
P. Mahoney	1898	Associated with Uralla itself in blanket returns.
Sissy Mahoney	1895	
Paddy Malone	1890, 1892,1893, 1897, 1898, 1901, 1902	
Dolly Maloney	1892	
John Maloney	1892	
Paddy Maloney	1895	
Billy Merry	1893	
Andrew Miles	1899, 1903	
Andrew Miller	1896, 1898, 1900, 1902	
Andy Miller	1901	
Bellora Miller	1898	
Kate Miller	1896, 1898	
Mrs. Miller	1901	
Rose Miller	1890, 1892	Note that a Miller married an unnamed daughter of King Yarrie Campbell in Walcha.
Susan Miller	1890, 1892, 1896, 1899, 1900, 1902, 1903, 1904	Note that a Miller married an unnamed daughter of King Yarrie Campbell in Walcha.
Emily Moffatt	1899, 1900	Associated with Uralla itself in blanket returns.
Jane Mulligan	1901, 1904	

Table 3 continued: Individuals listed in Blanket Returns, Uralla, 1890–1904

Name	Date listed	Notes
Jack Nelson	1898, 1900	Associated with Uralla itself in blanket returns.
James Nelson	1890, 1893, 1895, 1902, 1903, 1904	
James Nelson and Mrs. Nelson	1894	
Jane Nelson	1890, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1899, 1900, 1902	Associated with Uralla itself in blanket returns.
Jim Nelson	1896	
Jimmy Nelson	1897	
John Nelson	1890	
Steve O'Brian	1897	
Ellen Olive	1902	
Fred Oltry	1892	
Ronald Oltry	1892	
Lucy Prince	1896	
Tom Prince	1892	
Mrs. Prince	1901	
Cissy Quarry	1892	
Biddy Roberts	1904	
Lucy Roberts	1904	
Rubin Rose	1895, 1897	
William S [unreadable surname]	1899	
Jack Scott and Mrs. Caroline Scott	1890, 1892	
Willie Simon and Mrs. Simon	1890	
Florri Starr	1898	
Nellie [Starr]	1898	
Mary Ann Swan	1890	Note that Swan family associated with Terry Hie Hie/Moree.
Billy Tamworth	1897	
Alick Thompson	1892	
Harry Thompson	1898	
W Thompson and Mrs. Thompson	1894	
Ida Tommy	1890	
Oban Tommy	1890, 1891, 1892	
George Trooper	1895	
Thomas Wallace	1890	Note that Wallace family associated with Narrabri area.
Lucy White	1900	
Sam White	1900	
Biddie Wilkins	1901	
Willie Wilkins	1901	
Dulcie Williams	1900, 1901, 1902	
Kenneth 'Kenny' Williams	1900, 1902	
Sarah Williams	1900, 1901, 1902, 1903	
Willie Wilroy	1892	

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8 Radcliffe-Brown, op.cit., 1931, pp. 33, 60.

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13 This article includes a description of a ceremony at the Nymboi River that included a contingent from Armidale and indicates the broader networks of ritual within which the tablelands were involved (as indicated in a range of other sources as well). Mathews, op.cit., 1898, passim.

14 In addition to the attempts by Mathews and Radcliffe-Brown to clearly delineate an area of shared social organisation there are a range of ethnohistorical sources and ethnographic reconstructions relevant to this region as discussed in the review by Natalie Kwok for this project. The key additional sources identified by Kwok are MacPherson, Gardner, Fraser, Wyndham, and Tindale (see bibliography for details). See Kwok, op.cit., passim.

15 The descriptions of the areas ascribed to particular groups are in some instances only broadly delineated and have not been mapped by the authors; this is the case in relation to Gardner and Wyndham.

16 That is the Inuwon (MacPherson), Eucumbal or Ennewan (Gardner), Yuggai (Fraser), probably Ucumble (Wyndham), and Anaiwan (Tindale).

17 Specific mention having been made of Flaggy Mountain Bora near Woolbrook and the Petroi and Serpentine complexes in the Ebor district.

18 Based on statements made by community members during field trips for this project and Wendy Beck et al., op.cit., 2003, pp. 52–56; See also: Howard Creamer, *'Strathroy' destroyed Bora Ground NPWS Site Registration Form (20-3-13)*, National Parks & Wildlife Service (NPWS), Sydney, 1978; Howard Creamer, *NSW Aboriginal Sites of Significance Survey Form: Flaggy Mountain Bora Ground, Woolbrook*, National Parks & Wildlife Service (NSW), Sydney, 1987; Howard Creamer, *Mythical and Religious Sites in New South Wales*, AIATSIS, Canberra, pMs2908, 1977, pp. 5–6; Sandra Bowdler, 'A study of Indigenous ceremonial ("Bora") sites in eastern Australia', Conference Paper, *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place & Communities*, Southern Cross University, Lismore, November, 1999, p. 27.

19 In addition while substantial archaeological work has been undertaken in the region it displays the lack of systematic survey evident in much of Australia with recent work being driven largely by development proposals rather than regional research methodologies.

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OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR
ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS ACT 1983 (NSW)

Office of the Registrar, Aboriginal Land Rights Act 1983 (NSW)
11–13 Mansfield Street
Glebe NSW 2037
Ph: (02) 9562 6327