Mountain Beings

Relationships with land in the Oberon district, 1800-1900

Philippa Gemmell-Smith

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Certificate of original authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as part of the collaborative doctoral degree and/or fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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In memory of my parents

Margot née McKenzie 1921-2013

and

Gavin (Snape) Gemmell-Smith 1916-1979

Contents

Maps and Illustrations

Abstract

Oberon is a local government area and small town on a plateau running west of the Great Dividing Range, in New South Wales. As it was on the first road to Bathurst, the north of the district was one of the earliest areas of inland New South Wales to be invaded/settled, from at least 1820. Despite this its early colonial history is obscure for reasons explored in this thesis, which traces the course of Aboriginal and European relationships with land throughout the nineteenth century. It suggests that these relationships reflect the manifold nature of land.

The thesis employs the post-colonial genre of a conversation of consciousnesses, understanding *conversation* in the wider sense as *interactions*. The central tenet of the thesis challenges the contemporary academic understanding of land as culturally constructed. It argues that many Aboriginal relationships recognise the inherently spiritual nature of the land, rather than imposing meaning onto it. As some compensation for the fact that Aborigines rarely represent themselves in the sources of this period, it reads 'against the grain' accounts of conversations between Aborigines and colonists, particularly explorer journals.

Since the rejection of social progressionism, no effective alternative approach to cross-cultural studies has emerged. Rather than understanding consciousness in the post-colonial model of the colonised and the coloniser, the thesis adopts the paradigm of structures of consciousness of phenomenologist Jean Gebser. This schema understands that the ways people experience phenomena are multiple, and universal. It recognises the losses as well as the gains in shifts of consciousness, enabling an approach that is wholistic and inclusive, uniting subject and object. Well-known material is thus re-read in the thesis, and complex interpretations of new and old material are made in its exploration of experiences of land. An insight into the nature of the land of the broader Oberon district across the nineteenth century accumulates over the course of the work.

Introduction

> *[I]n the far past times, which they call the gun-yungga-lung, all the present animals were men … These legendary personages are spoken of as the Burringilling… it would appear that the Burringilling folk were much cleverer than people at the present time. They could make rivers and other geographical features, cleave rocks and perform many similar Herculean labours.*[1]

The *Gunyunggalung,* one of the many Dreamings across the continent, records the sacred dramas of the Gundungurra people of the Blue Mountains and westward, in which the Burringilling shaped and brought to life the physical terrain and all living things. In Aboriginal ontologies, Dreaming beings continue as immanent presences to maintain country, nurtured by ceremony.[2] By 1900 in the Oberon district this experience of country had been overlaid by very different ways of relating to land.

This thesis is an exploration of the different forms of relationships with land in the district in the era of invasion/settlement. It is a response to questions arising from my process, through a quarter of a century, of living here, and writing a thematic history of the district.[3] The first question arose early from the contradiction of finding an Aboriginal axe but being told, repeatedly, that Aborigines did not live here, or that they just visited in summer. Research for the thematic history confirmed that Aborigines inhabited the district extensively, but that the

[1] Told to R. H. Mathews, ethnologist, by Gundungurra people in the Burragorang Valley, 1900-1901. Dianne Johnson in collaboration with the residents of the Gully and their descendants, *Sacred Waters: The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners,* (Broadway, NSW: Halstead Press, 2007), 172.
[2] The Dreamings are complex phenomena. For a deeper understanding see: Dianne Johnson et al., *Sacred Waters*, 29-30; Marcia Langton, "Sacred Geography: Western Desert Traditions of Landscape Art", in *Papunya Tula: Genesis and Genius,* ed. Hetti Perkins and Hannah Fink, (Sydney: Art Gallery of New South Wales in conjunction with Papunya Tula artists, 2000), 260-261; T. G. H. Strehlow, *Central Australian Religion: Personal Monototemism in a Polytotemic Community,* (Bedford Park, S.A.: Australian Association for the Study of Religions, 1978), 39; W. E. H. Stanner, "The Dreaming", in *The Dreaming and Other Essays,* with an introduction by Robert Manne, (Collingwood, Vic.: Black Inc. Agenda, 2010), especially 61; Deborah Bird Rose, *Nourishing Terrains: Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness,* Canberra: Australian Heritage Commission, revised edition, 1996), 26-27,35-38,44; Fred R. Myers, *Pintupi Country, Pintupi Self: Sentiment, Place, and Politics among Western Desert Aborigines,* (Canberra : Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies ; Washington and London : Smithsonian Institution Press, - Smithsonian series in ethnographic inquiry, 1986), 47-70; Diana James, "Kinship with Country: Acts of Translation in the Cross-Cultural Performance Space: A case study on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara lands of Central Australia", (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2005), 276.
[3] P. Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire,* (Oberon, NSW: Oberon Council, May 2003). It was commissioned by the Oberon Council and the New South Wales Heritage Office.

idea that they did not live here was prevalent as early as 1878.[4] This thesis addresses the issues of what happened to Aborigines for their presence here to be denied so early, and why this denial persisted in the face of material evidence to the contrary.[5] Silence about the effects of colonisation on Aborigines has been a well-recognised phenomenon since W. E. H. Stanner coined the phrase "the great Australian silence," in the 1968 Boyer lectures.[6] Denial of their ever being in Oberon may be an extreme form of this silence.

The second question, related to the first, emerged from the thematic history. Like other Oberon histories, it has a dearth of information on the 1820s and 1830s.[7] The plateau's meagre historiography has been largely a history of land ownership. It still bears the stamp of Watson A. Steel, Rockley landholder and historian, who traced the few local early grantees.[8] He omitted, however, the more numerous ticket of occupation holders of the 1820s, and local convicts who stayed in the district, some becoming landholders. The early settlement was largely abandoned as the district proved disastrous for sheep, but what impact did the temporary settlement of the 1820s have on the district? The early settlement histories of

[4] Justice to All [pseud.], "Tickled with a Hoe, it will Smile with a Harvest", *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 30 November 1878, 17.

[5] The 1911 Aborigines Protection Board Report lists two men and one woman "full-bloods", all aged between 20 and 40, receiving rations at Oberon I 910. (Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly, Joint Parliamentary Papers, 19). Many local (and no longer local) people have artefacts in drawers or sheds. The Australian Museum has 59 stone artefacts from Oberon among its collection, some very rare and probably very sacred objects. Australian Museum, Locality Reference Report, 23 November 2010; The Oberon Museum also has a collection. Alex Payne, pers. comm. 5 May 2014 and Peter Hammond, pers. comm. 1 April 2014 both found artefacts in 2014 in the district. Indicators of substantial Aboriginal presence continue to be found. Melanie Pearce, "Rock Art Conservation: Volunteers Uncover Past of Aboriginal Axe Head Grinding Grooves", ABC Central West, accessed 28 May 2017. http://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-05-25/volunteers-help-conserve-rock-art/8554874 .

[6] W. E. H. Stanner, "The Boyer Lectures: After the Dreaming", in *The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 172-224. Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1982) pioneered the exposure of frontier violence. Tom Griffiths has identified many forms of silence that frame our national story, "Past Silences: Aborigines and Convicts in out History-Making", in *Pastiche 1: Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Australia,* ed. Penny Russell and Richard White, 7-23. (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1994). Most recently Paul Irish, *Hidden in Plain View; The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney,* (Sydney: New South Book; University of New South Wales Press, 2017) has shown how European's re-definition of Aboriginality led to the prevalent belief that Aborigines had died out in Sydney from about the 1850s.

[7] Joy Wheeler and Blue Garland, *Oberon-Jenolan District: Historical Notebook,* (Oberon: The Oberon Shire, 1998, originally published by Wendy Rene, 1969); Alan L. Brown, "Alan Brown's Historical Note", weekly column, *Oberon Review,* 18 January 1984 - 27 July 1994; P. Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire,* (Oberon: Oberon Council, 2004).

[8] Watson A. Steel, "Oberon and District: An Historical Retrospect", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 3 April 1926, 7; "Swatchfield: Its Early Settlement", *National Advocate,* 3 June 1932; "Glimpses of Country Life: The Early Days of Oberon", *Sydney Mail,* 25 March 1936, 2. Steel was a member of the Australian Historical Society. Tickets of occupation can only be searched by knowing the name of the ticket holder, and the land often only identified by cross referencing snippets of information with the knowledge of the terrain.

surrounding areas, Bathurst, Mudgee, Taralga, Goulburn, provide a contrast of more progressive development.

More personally, and with wider implications, this thesis is about relationships with the land. How does a non-Aboriginal person find belonging with a place with which she has no prior connection? Over the last 26 years I have been mindful of my predecessors whose lives are embedded on my small farm near Oberon, wondering how they experienced living here. Their traces draw attention to them, like the stone axe, or the small pile of rocks marking the chimney of the first house on the property. Writing the thematic history brought me a greater sense of connection with the district. I understood its people better. I loved experiencing its past in the present: recognising surnames on the school rolls; knowing the past incarnations of the DVD shop; and realising that a pine tree is a remnant of a police station, home of a black tracker.[9] But I knew little of how my Aboriginal predecessors had experienced this district. This thesis is the culmination of my attempt to understand this district in a way respectful to both my Aboriginal and European antecedents.

Among my early readings for the thesis were anthropological works about Aboriginal experiences of the "sacredness of place".[10] "[T]he spiritual essence … imbues the relationship of people to their country with meaning," Marcia Langton explained of the Pintupi/Luritja people of the Western Desert.[11] Struck by the difference between this experience of the world and most western ways of experiencing it, I wanted to explore both, as reflecting realities of land. To bring these realities into relationship with each other, validating both, this thesis takes the form of a "conversation of states of consciousness" about land, an approach adopted from postcolonial studies.[12] It thus uses the term *conversation* in the broad sense of interactions.

Postcolonial studies, brought to prominence by Edward Said's *Orientalism*, challenge western presumptions of superiority, and Eurocentric cultural representations of previously colonised

[9] The tracker at Glencoe (Porters Retreat) from 1904-07 was Jack Cave, born in the Bathurst district about 1865. "Pathfinders: The History of NSW Aboriginal Trackers", accessed 29 May 2017, http://pathfindersnsw.org.au/placemarks/jack-cave/ .
[10] Langton, "Sacred Geography", 260. Stanner, *The Dreaming and Other Essays,*
[11] Ibid.
[12] Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, c2007), 218; Ofelia Schutte, "Continental Philosophy and Post Colonial Subjects", *Philosophy Today* 44, (2000): 8-17.

or non-western people.[13] They are conceived as a conversation between those "who know what it is to be colonised" and westerners, on the understanding that consciousness is not "stable, consistent and unified".[14] They generally understand consciousness as a cultural construction, as in class consciousness, often as a duality.[15] This thesis, however, addresses consciousness through the ways that phenomena, in this case land, are experienced. It adopts Jean Gebser's phenomenology of consciousness, which understands consciousness as universal, multiple, and a spiritual phenomenon. [16]

The thesis title, "Mountain Beings," draws attention to differing ways of being, and of experiencing land in this mountain district. It hints at non-human as well as human life forms in the mountains, alluding to the Aboriginal concept that human life is not privileged over other life forms. It also invokes non-incarnate beings, as another benefit of this Gebserian approach is that it validates spiritual experience. This thesis argues that human relationships with land reflect its manifold nature. Drawing from conversations of consciousness in this district, it characterises three realities of land: as intimately known sentient country, spiritually inseparable from its people; as the district of farms that settler families shaped and invested themselves in, and as an area divided into productive commodities, understandable by measurement and analysis.

The Oberon district

Oberon is a small town of about 2700 people, in the Central Tablelands due west of Sydney. It lies on an undulating plateau running west from the Great Dividing Range, watered by narrow, mountain rivers. Snow falls most winters, and at other less predictable times. To the southeast of the town lies the subterranean realm of Jenolan Caves, one of the oldest karst

[13] Gillen and Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity,* 88-89; Edward Said, *Orientalism,* (London: Penguin, c1995).
[14] Gillen and Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity,* 218.
[15] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6; Andrew Sayer, "Essentialism, Social Constructionism, and Beyond", 455. Duality - for example in Antonio Gramsci's notion of a dual consciousness of oppressed people, one enslaved and complicit with the masters, and one the person's own "lived reality" which can develop into resistance. This is an elaboration of Karl Marx's concept of the duality of consciousness and false consciousness. Gillen and Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, 135; Gayatri Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography", in Jonathon D. Culler ed., *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts of Literary and Cultural Studies* 4, (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 228.
[16] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin (Ursprung und Gegenwart),* transl. Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985), 134-35; Georg Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness: The Genius of Jean Gebser,* (Santa Rosa, CA: Integral Publishing, 2002), 42.

systems in the world, which provided Oberon with a tourist industry from its inception.[17] From Kanangra Walls the Oberon plateau plummets into rugged mountain country, now the Kanangra-Boyd National Park. Until the 1960s, when connecting roads were sealed, Oberon's small community was isolated in spite of being relatively close to Sydney, yet the north of the district, along Cox's Road, was the earliest place settled in inland Australia.

The area that is the subject of the thesis shifts with the subject from Aboriginal to European, from the Blue Mountains to the shire of Oberon, and also to the Mudgee district. Various stories and fragments of history suggest that at least some of the Oberon district was Gundungurra-speaking country (see Appendix 1), although a number of maps appear to include it in Wiradjuri country. [18] It is not the role of this thesis to determine how Gundungurra and their neighbours, Wiradjuri speakers to the west and Darug to the north, organised their adjacent lands. It is clear (Chapter 4), however that Gundungurra people were performing ceremonies on the Oberon plateau. The district can be seen as an early stage of the dynamic that Bain Attwood calls the "making of the Aborigines," when traditional groups were so devastated by white dispossession, violence and diseases that they lost their original locative identities and coalesced to become generally "Aborigines".[19] This process was happening from the early 1820s in the Bathurst area. Consequently I refer to "Aborigines" in the Oberon district, unless I know a more specific identification.

Oberon was not proclaimed a village until 1863 and the settlement had previously been known as Bullock Flat, or, more generally, Fish River Creek.[20] In the early 1820s the Oberon plateau was not generally distinguished by colonists from "Bathurst," or "the new country". This thesis uses the term "the Oberon district" anachronistically as there was no documented prior term for the area that roughly encompassed the shire of Oberon (declared in 1906). The shire is mostly defined by the Fish, Cox's, Kowmung, Abercrombie and Campbells Rivers (see map inside back cover). It straddled parts of the counties of Westmoreland and Georgiana (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). Much of the thesis concerns the Oberon plateau and the lower Fish River.

[17] "Jenolan Caves" website, accessed 1 June 2017, http://www.jenolancaves.org.au
[18] Dianne Johnson, "Report to the Gundungurra Tribal Council concerning Gundungurra Native Title Claim", Federal Court File No. NG 606/98, 2004, 17. Johnson observed that defining Gundungurra lands at the time of first contact is problematic; David Horton map, *Aboriginal Australia*, (Acton, ACT: AIATSIS, 2000).
[19] Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines*, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1989); Deborah Bird Rose, "Common Property Regimes in Aboriginal Australia: Totemism Revisited", in ed. Peter Larmour, *The Governance of Common Property in the Pacific,* (ANU E Press, 2013), 127-143, 130.
[20] *NSW Government Gazette* 130*,* "Site for a Village", 7 July 1863, 4 July 1863, 1474.

For clarification, I include the current name in brackets after an obsolete name. Names are a source of confusion in this district, as many have been changed, often indicating, changing relationships (see Chapter 5).

The time-frame of the thesis is the nineteenth century, with the greatest focus on the first half of that period. This century saw the Aboriginal dispossession/European settlement of the area, and the inception of often conflicting relationships with land. I use both terms "invasion" and "settlement" as a reflection of Aboriginal and European experiences.

The history of Oberon is a largely unexplored area in academic literature. The cold climate, the district's unsuitability for sheep and high Methodist population appear as blips on the radar of Bathurst histories.[21] Clearly this thesis is handicapped by the fact that Aborigines do not represent themselves directly in the literature, and mention of them is often incidental. Early fragments of conversation of and about Aborigines of the district can be gleaned from journals of explorers and surveyors, especially Francis Barrallier, Thomas Mitchell and William Lawson (in the Mudgee district), which offer indirect reports of Aboriginal relationships with land. [22] I read these against the grain, a technique developed in subaltern studies for exposing viewpoints and experiences of the historically unrepresented.[23] To do this I have approached reports of the actions, speech or songs of Aborigines with the assumption that they are intelligent and purposeful, and likely to make sense within a reality whose concepts and values may be opaque to western culture.

I have heeded Heather Goodall's observation that such early ethnographic works "are only useful if read in relation to the large body of recent work that has arisen in northern and

[21] R. N. C. Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", in *The Story of Bathurst*, ed. Bernard Greaves, ([Sydney]: Angus and Robertson, 1976), 84-97, 86-87; and the strong contingent of Methodists there: Theo Barker, *A History of Bathurst: The Early Settlement to 1862,* 1, (Bathurst: Crawford House, 1992), 153.
[22] Thomas Mitchell, "Field, note and sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", ML C42; Lachlan Macquarie, "Tour to the New discovered Country" in April 1815, 25 April 1815 - 19 May 1815, in George Evans, "Two Journals of Early Exploration in New South Wales", *HRA* (Commonwealth of Australia, 1916), http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks13/1300271h.html, accessed 2 March 15; John Price, "Journey into the Interior of the Country New South Wales", ML A78-2; Francis Barrallier, "Journal of the Expedition into the Interior of New South Wales 1802", Appendix A in *HRNSW* 5, ed. Frank Bladen (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, government printer, 1892-1901) 749 – 825; George Caley, unnamed journal, ML C118; Charles Throsby, "A Journal on a Tour to Bathurst Through the Cowpastures Commencing April 25th 1819", SANSW 9/2743, 77-114; William Lawson, "Journal of a Tour into the Country North of Bathurst 30 November 1821", ML C120(1); "Journal of an Expedition from Bathurst to the Liverpool Plains", 9 January 1822-24 January 1822, 11 January 1822 ML; and "Journal of a tour from Bathurst to Liverpool Plains 24 November – 14 December 1822", SANSW SZ995, 1-25.
[23] Tamsin Kerr, "Who Speaks Land Stories? Inexpert Voicings of Place", *Limina: A Journal of Historical and Cultural Studies* 12, (2006): 40-51, 40.

central Australia".[24] Works by anthropologists including W. E. H. Stanner, Deborah Bird Rose and Veronica Strang about Aboriginal relationships with land thus inform my work.[25] In addition to general anthropological work, I am indebted to the late Dianne Johnson, anthropologist, and to Jim Smith, historian, for their meticulous local work on the history of the Gundungurra people of the Blue Mountains and the now-inundated Burragorang Valley, based on both the ethnography of R. H. Mathews and information from contemporary Gundungurra people.[26]

Histories are at best partial and contingent, especially when gleaned from paltry sources. A combination of the lack of self-representation of Aborigines in the source material, the paucity of the European ones, and the culture of "forgetting" about Aborigines have presented considerable handicaps for this thesis. This, in addition to the fact that I am a non-Aboriginal Australian, means that my interpretations of what country has meant to the original people of this district may be skewed. As some counter to those problems, Gebser's universal structures of consciousness encourage the possibility of everyone experiencing some version of all realities of land. This is not a recommendation to appropriate Aboriginal relationships with land, but an acknowledgement that we all have some capacity to experience the spiritual nature of land. Within the above limitations, this thesis will identify and explore conversations of consciousness about land which reflect its multi-layered nature within both white and black cultures in the Oberon district over the nineteenth century.

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[24] Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2008), 4.

[25] W. E. H. Stanner, "The Appreciation of Difference", from the Boyer Lectures, "After the Dreaming", 1968, in *W. E. H. Stanner: The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 193-204, 195.

[26] Also Johnson, "Report to the Gundungurra Tribal Council", Dianne Johnson, *Lighting the Way: Reconciliation Stories,* (Leichhardt, Sydney, The Federation Press, 2002); Dianne Johnson, "Interpretations of the Pleiades in Australian Aboriginal Astronomies", *Proceedings of the International Astronomical Union*, 7:S278, (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 291-297; Jim Smith, *The Aboriginal People of the Burragorang Valley: "if we left the valley our hearts would break"* ([Lawson, NSW]: Blue Mountains Education and Research Trust, 2016); Jim Smith, *Wywandy and Therabulat: The Aborigines of the Upper Cox's River and their Association with Hartley and Lithgow*, (Lithgow: Lithgow District Historical Society, 1990); Jim Smith, *Aborigines of the Goulburn District,* (Goulburn: Goulburn District Historical Society, 1992); R. H. Mathews, *Some Mythology and Folklore of the Gundungurra Tribe*, ed. Jim Smith, (Wentworth Falls, Den Fenella Press, 2003); Ivy Brookman & Jim Smith, *Gungarlook: The Story of the Aboriginal Riley Family of the Burragorang Valley*, (Wentworth Falls: Den Fenella Press, 2010); Jim Smith & Paul Jennings, "The Petroglyphs of Gundungurra Country", *Rock Art Research: The Journal of the Australian Rock Art Research Association* 28, no.2 (2011): 241-249; Jim Smith, "New Insights into Gundungurra Place Naming", in Harold Koch and Luise Hercus ed., *Aboriginal Place Names: Naming and Renaming the Australian Landscape*, ed. Harold James Koch and Luise Anna Hercus, 87-114. (Canberra: ANU E Press, Aboriginal History Monograph Series, 19, 2009).

Jean Gebser

This thesis draws heavily on the work of Jean Gebser (1905-1973), a somewhat obscure figure in contemporary scholarship. Originally Hans Gebser, he left Germany in 1931 in rejection of the growing militarism, living in Madrid and then Paris, before finding refuge in Switzerland.[27] During those years of turmoil, Gebser befriended poet Federico García Lorca, moved in same intellectual circle as Pablo Picasso in Paris, and later became a friend of seminal psychologist, Carl Jung. He wrote independently, but was finally acknowledged by the academy with his appointment to a new professorial chair in Comparative Civilisations at the University of Salzburg in 1967.

Drawing from visual art, etymology, mythology, philosophy, science, and literature, Gebser identified five structures of consciousness: archaic, magic, mythic, mental and the currently emerging integral structure.[28] These structures, he contends, are and always have been at least latent in everyone.[29] This thesis is mainly concerned with magic, mythic and mental consciousnesses. Gebser's particular interest, and the focus of his major work, *The Ever-Present Origin,* is integral consciousness. His structures of consciousness schema has the benefit of allowing for complex, contradictory and changing attitudes and behaviours within individuals and cultures.

Gebser's structures of consciousness, are not duplications of reality, but are theoretical types derived from empirical reality, explains Georg Feuerstein in his lucid introduction to Gebser's work.[30] Gebser rejected both the positivist notion of the ineluctable progress of civilisations, and the relativist criticism that historical philosophising is ideological, and thus disconnected from reality.[31] He acknowledged that his framework may be incomplete - there may be a couple of intermediary sub-structures between archaic and magical. [32] Gebser's approach is not merely a construct of abstract thinking. As it encompasses different intensities of the

[27] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 21-32.
[28] Ibid., 6-7,29.
[29] Ibid., 6,37,155.
[30] Ibid., 193-96.
[31] Ibid., 193-94.
[32] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 45; Feuerstein disputes Gebser's timing of the emergence of mythic structure, - Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 76.

spiritual experience of phenomena, and includes the observer (thus both object and subject), his approach, he argues, is a reflection of a manifestation of reality.[33]

Gebser locates indigenous peoples before their encounters with western peoples in magic consciousness. Aboriginal consciousnesses of 1788, however, are probably more accurately located as magic/mythic. Agriculture is a hallmark of mythic consciousness. Rupert Gerritsen, Bill Gammage and Bruce Pascoe, however, have all demonstrated widespread agricultural and acquacultural practices of Aborigines.[34] Gammage explains the distinction between farming as an activity and as a lifestyle - Aborigines "farmed in 1788, but were not farmers".[35] It seems clear that Aborigines did not measure, quantify or analyse land according to isolated categories, as do mental consciousness approaches to land.

For each structure Gebser identifies an efficient and a deficient manifestation. The following is a brief outline his conception of magic; mythic and mental consciousnesses. Magic consciousness is timeless. [36] It is characterised by its awareness of the natural world and its spiritual power, (Gebser uses the Pacific Islander word *mana*).[37] The human body is highly tuned as an instrument of perception, especially hearing, and engages capacities not usually recognised by Western people, such as telepathy and telesthesia (perception of the faint radiation of the aura, which is depicted in some rock art).[38] The primary somatic sites of experience are the viscera and the ear.[39] Whereas the archaic consciousness of original humanity identified fully with the world, magic consciousness has awoken its latent consciousness which it experiences "resting in the world".[40] All phenomena are experienced as interrelated. Magic exploits the equivalence of a part with the whole - blood, for example, actually *is* the creature it came from, and can be used to control it.[41] Songs, drawings and symbols, through ritual, actually become what they represent. People merge with

[33] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 197-201.
[34] Rupert Gerritsen, *Australia and the Origins of Agriculture,* (Oxford: Archaeopress, BAR International Series 1874, 2008); Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011); Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu, Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident,* (Broome, WA: Magabala Books, 2014).
[35] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth,* 281, 303-4.
[36] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 121.
[37] Ibid., 61,194.
[38] Ibid., 131-132,202. Many of the well known rock art figures in northern Australia such as the Wandjinas, the Quinkins, the Mimis and the Gwion Gwion figures do not have mouths, and at least some have auras - Ursula Frederick and Sue O'Connor, "Wandjina, Graffiti and Heritage: The Power and Politics of Enduring Imagery", *Humanities Research* xv, no. 2 (2009).
[39] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin* 144.
[40] Ibid., 46.
[41] Ibid., 46-47.

phenomena, which have "a vital magic knowledge of their own".[42] This understanding of the material efficacy of magic has confirmation in the recent anthropological work of Koen Stroeken.[43] In the western contemporary world, magic consciousness is practised in the Catholic Mass, when the bread and wine actually become the body and blood of Christ through consecration. Spell casting is the efficient manifestation of magic consciousness, and sorcery its deficiency.[44]

Mythic consciousness experiences time as circular, determined by natural cycles such as day and night, or the phases of the moon.[45] Its consciousness of self is more intense than that of magic experience, but less numinous, or its numinosity less realistic.[46] Spiritual power is generalised into divinities in human form (as opposed to the inherent spiritual power of natural phenomena), initially the Great Mother. Thinking is "oceanic" or circular, a kind of musing. Gebser cites the example of the beginning of the Gospel of St John, "In the beginning was the *logos* [word], and the *logos* was with God, and the *logos* was God".[47] Imagination and feeling characterise this consciousness. The dominant organ of experience is the heart - in the ancient world the heart was widely recognised as the seat of consciousness and the emotions.[48] Mythic consciousness explores the psyche through myth, through speech and contemplation - *mouth* is etymologically related to *myth*.[49] Whereas symbols in magic consciousness actually became what they represent through ritual, they remain symbols for mythic consciousness and symbolism is developed through imagination.[50] Recurring images of consciousness, like the voyage, or the mirror, reflect its increasing emergence. The cosmos is experienced as circular, rotating on a pole, symbolising the complementary pairs such as life/death, light/dark, which need to be kept in balance.[51] Mythic consciousness is predominantly matriarchal, and associated with the advent of agriculture and settled life.[52] The practices of enhancing fertility and birth often involve balancing their polar opposite,

[42] Ibid., 49.
[43] Koen Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthesia' in Sukuma Healing", *Ethnos* 73, no. 3 (2008).
[44] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin*, 74.
[45] Ibid., 66.
[46] Ibid., 202.
[47] Ibid., 253.
[48] Miguel A. Faria, "A Fascinating Look at Primitive and Ancient Medicine by Medical Historian and Classical Scholar Plinio Prioreschi", *Surgical Neurology International* 6, (2015), doi 10.4103/2152-7806.157623 accessed 11 November 2016.
[49] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin* 61-73,144.
[50] Ibid., 63,67.
[51] Ibid., 166,254.
[52] Ibid., 149,305.

death, through sacrifice - sometimes human.[53] Agriculture is associated with the birth of religion. All of life has a sacred context, and religion involves "careful observance".[54] The efficient manifestation of mythic structure is imagination and primal myth, its deficiency excessive fantasy, multitudinous myths and superstitions.[55]

Mental consciousness, the dominant consciousness of western cultures, has often been treated as the gold standard against which other consciousnessess were measured as backward.[56] It relates to the world through cerebration - its gift and efficient phase is causal, directed, discursive thinking, characterised by dualism.[57] It conceives of time as linear, consistent and measureable – time as chronology becomes the discipline of history.[58] The concept of objective research emerges and the world is understood through measuring, categorisation and abstract thought.[59] This consciousness masters the objectified world of space. It is future-oriented and patriarchal, and sees the rise of monotheistic religions.[60] These emphasise personal responsibility, in which God and man are opposites (not complements as in mythical thinking).[61] Consciousness is more intense and numinosity weaker again than in mythic structure. The deficient manifestation, or "mental-rational" consciousness, is excessive abstraction, rationality and narrowness of focus.[62]

Integral consciousness Gebser identified as a cultural and spiritual transformation emerging from early in the twentieth century, beginning to supercede the dominant western consciousness of rationality and causal thinking.[63] It was heralded by Albert Einstein's discovery of time as the fourth dimension, where time is represented mathematically as the irrational number √-1.[64] This non-rational recognition of a non-dimensional quality as a dimension of reality (as having unity with space), opened the way, Gebser suggests, to the inclusion of "an invisibly efficacious component" in our way of experiencing the world.[65]

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[53] Ibid., 305; Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 89-92.
[54] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 63,91; Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 86-89.
[55] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 141-42, 451-52.
[56] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference,* (Princeton, N.J. and Oxford : Princeton University Press, c2008); Stanner, "The Dreaming",, 57-72, 62.
[57] Ibid., 73-97.
[58] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin*, 86-89,100.
[59] Ibid., 37, 131.
[60] Ibid., 149.
[61] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 95.
[62] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 88-89,142.
[63] Ibid., 342,383; Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 128.
[64] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin*, 341,354;
[65] Ibid., 341

Integral consciousness tolerates paradox. Dualisms such as subject and object, spirituality and science, immanence and transcendence are superceded.[66] Past and future are brought into the present through the "concretion of time".[67] The new sensibility has been preoccupied with time as a quality rather than quantity.[68] Although the content of this thesis mainly concerns magic, mythic and mental consciousness structures, in taking multiple perspectives it attempts to employ the aperspectivity of integral methodology.

Gebser's integral consciousness has resonance with contemporary scholarship, such as Dipesh Chakrabarty's *Provincialising Europe,* which reinterprets capitalist modernity to include non-secular India.[69] Chakrabarty too advocates the capacity of holding paradoxical truths, exemplifying the father of poet A.K. Ramanujan who was both an astronomer and an astrologer.[70] To acknowledge this capacity, Chakrabarty calls for "the plurality that inheres in the 'now.'"[71] Such plurality is fundamental to my argument, which sees such ways of experiencing reality as indications of different consciousnesses. The advantage of Gebser's work for my thesis is that his understanding of consciousness includes the consciousness that experiences land having agency and immanence (magic), whereas Chakrabarty's work addresses only two consciousnesses (mythic and mental, in Gebser's terms). Chakrabarty too uses the word "integral" in a similar sense to Gebser, indicating a concept of time that history should embrace: "Historical time is not integral, it is out of joint with itself".[72] For Gebser chronological (historical) time, the time of mental consciousness, is superseded by integral time. Integral time emerges by integrating the experiences of time of magic, mythic and mental consciousnesses.[73] This thesis aspires to lay the ground for integral consciousness experience of the Oberon district.

For Gebser, in company with esoteric and eastern traditions, consciousness is a spiritual phenomenon. His preface begins thus,

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[66] Ibid., 411,529,543. Integral consciousness perceives "the transcendent in the immanent".
[67] Ibid., 26-28,98,277,385.
[68] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 28, 160. This was a preoccupation of much modernist literature. The supercession of chronological time can be seen, for example, in the work of Picasso and the Cubists who reassemble bodies and objects so "the whole" (which Gebser regarded as a spiritual quality) is accessible simultaneously.
[69] Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe,* 16-17; Gillen and Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, 142,147-48,219.
[70] Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe,,* 253.
[71] Ibid., 243.
[72] Ibid., 16. Gebser's thesis involves an analysis of concepts time in each consciousness structure, but as this thesis concerns land, that aspect is outside its focus.
[73] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 356.

> Origin is ever-present. It is not a beginning, since all beginning is linked with time. And the present is not just the "now," today, the moment or unit of time. It is ever-originating …[74]

With time as a dimension of reality, the validity of the spiritual can be experienced in a new way. The widespread mental-rational consciousness cannot conceive the non-rational, generally agreeing with Nietzsche that God is dead. It projects its own reality onto other consciousnesses, for example Gammage's statement, "All religions attempt two things: to explain existence, and to regulate behaviour".[75] Explaining, however, is a mental consciousness approach to the world. This thesis is predicated on the assumption that spiritual and religious experiences reflect realities inaccessible to rationalisation.

A current resurgence of interest in the spiritual suggests that Gebser's understanding of reality may become more widely adopted. Post-secularism is burgeoning in many different directions, including the desire for re-enchantment, morality as the new spirituality, and recognition of the enduring influence of Islam.[76] This thesis locates itself as part of the post-secular movement.

Various scholars from diverse fields (education, art, psychology) have applied Gebser's model of human consciousness structures.[77] It seems these have accepted the basic premise of these structures. His schema has the benefit of validating the realities of both western and non-Western cultures, and also acknowledging the universality of consciousness structures. It thus recognises the experiences of land that Aboriginal people have been trying to communicate for two hundred years. It also invites integration of experiences of sentient land that is the

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[74] Ibid., xxvii.

[75] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth,* 123.

[76] R. Ahdar, I. Leigh, "Post-Secularism and the European Court of Human Rights: Or How God Never Really Went Away", *The Modern Law Review* 75, no.6 (2012); Jolyon Agar, *Post-Secularism, Realism and Utopia: Transcendence and Immanence from Hegel to Bloch*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2014); Peter Nynäs, Mika Lassander, and Terhi Utriainen ed., *Post-Secular Society*, (new Brunswick and London, Transaction Publishers, 2012); Peter Read, *Haunted Earth,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003); David Tacey, *Edge of the Sacred,* (North Blackburn, Vic.: Harper Collins, 1995).

[77] Gidley, "The Evolution of Consciousness as a Planetary Imperative: An Integration of Integral views", *Integral Review: A Transdisciplinary and Transcultural Journal for New Thought, Research and Praxis,* 5 (2007) 4-226; Elizabeth A. Behnke, "The Study Project in the Phenomenology of the Body", *The Humanistic Psychologist* 22, no. 3 (1994): 296-317; Michael W. Purdy, "Listening, Culture and Structures of Consciousness: Ways of Studying Listening", *International Journal of Listening* 14, no.1 (2000): 47-68; Zachary Brown, "Art and the Evolution of Consciousness: A Look at the Work of Owen Barfield, Jean Gebser and Gottfried Richter", *Journal of Consciousnesss Evolution*, 12 (2015-2016), accessed 1 May 2016. http://cejournal.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Art-and-the-Evolution-of-Consciousness.pdf; Louise Chawla (environmental psychologist), *In the First Country of Places,* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994).

organising principle of life, with more anthropocentric relationships with land. His insight of the continuing relevance of the past in the present is distinctive in models of human consciousness.[78]

Evolution, essentialism and universalism

Gebser's work is obscure in the academic world, and can be seen, superficially, as exemplifying concepts rejected by postmodernism - the related concepts of essentialism and universalism, and even the oft-reviled progressivist models of human development.[79] Criticisms of the triumphalism of these models are valid, but as Rupert Gerritsen observed no "effective alternative approach" has been framed.[80] This thesis argues that Gebser's structures of consciousness provide an effective alternative to purely progressionist theories. Gebser's work considers the losses as well as the gains of increasing intensiveness of consciousness. The theory of evolution deals "merely with one part of reality … i.e. only the visible and conclusive," he maintained.[81] The gains of evolution are accompanied by loss of "involution," "an impoverishment because of the increasing remoteness from origin".[82] This signifies losing the apprehension of a world in which humanity and all phenomena are connected, and all participate in life.[83] For most of the past and for many people in the contemporary world, western secularity must seem an impoverished way of being.

Consciousness has been observed by followers of Gebser to unfold in non-progressive ways, as well as following the more widely recognised chronological evolutionary trajectory. Macro-historical evolutionary development is only the product of mental consciousness structure. Georg Feuerstein observes that "the Indian spiritual genius has in fact achieved an authentic

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[78] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 192.

[79] Gerritsen, *Australia and the Origins of Agriculture,* 164; Cornelia Klinger, "Essentialism, Universalism, and Feminist Politics", *Constellations* 5, no. 3 (1998),339. The concept of an evolution of consciousness is attributed initially to Johann Gottfried von Herder in the late 18th century, followed and developed by other German Idealists and Romantics, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling, all before Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* was published in 1859. In the early 20th century it was developed in different directions by Austrian philosopher and founder of anthroposophy Rudolf Steiner; western educated Indian philosopher and political activist, Aurobindo Ghose; Jean Gebser; Jungian psychologist, Erich Neumann; and French Jesuit priest, philosopher and paleontologist, Teilhard de Chardin. - Jennifer Gidley, "The Evolution of Consciousness as a Planetary Imperative", 16-17.

[80] Gerritsen, *Australia and the Origins of Agriculture,* 164

[81] Gidley, "The Evolution of Consciousness as a Planetary Imperative", 171.

[82] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 41; for involution see Sri Aurobindo http://readtiger.com/wkp/en/Collected_works_of_Sri_Aurobindo, accessed 31 July 2013.

[83] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 34 n.54.

breakthrough into the arational, apersonal [integral] structure of consciousness" in "the phenomenon of sahaji-samādhi, the condition of permanent enlightenment," apparently without proceeding through mental consciousness.[84] Similarly "true" shamans "jumped forward into the destiny of humankind" and "awakened to the higher states of consciousness," Ken Wilber observes.[85] It may be that Aboriginal people "of high degree" have been for millennia accessing integral states of consciousness. This thesis is concerned mostly with magic, mythic and mental consciousnesses, and concentrates rather on the losses than the well-known gains of the increasing intensification of consciousness.[86]

Gebser conceived all people having the same latent consciousnesses. The evolving of consciousness is an unfolding rather than continuous development. Although his model is presented in roughly chronological form, he rejected the linear (mental consciousness) concept of evolution as an exclusive validity.[87] Gebser characterised his work as the "phenomenology of essence".[88] Phenomenology is "pre-eminently a qualitative theory of essence," he observed.[89] Essentialism - the philosophical doctrine that holds that entities have essential properties that define them - has become a term of abuse which "short-circuits argument, being irredeemably tainted by association with racism and sexism".[90] Universalism is associated with powerful subjects, such a men or Westerners, who perceive themselves as universal and essentialise the Other, such as women, or "the Orient".[91] Universalism has been regarded as reductive and artificial by postmodern scholarship since the middle of last century.[92] In its inclusion of the observer, Gebser's universalism integrates subject-object divisions, rather than operating in the dualistic othering mode.[93] His structures of

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[84] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 172.
[85] Ken Wilber, *Up from Eden: A Transpersonal View of Human Evolution,* (Wheaton, Illinois: Quest Books, Theosophical Publishing House, 1996, f.p.1981), 75,119.
Integral Life Inc., 2012 http://integrallife.com/contributors/ken-wilber, accessed 22 August 2013.
Wilber otherwise has a generally mental consciousness, progressivist, temporal view of the metamorphosis of consciousness as a one-way process.
[86] For the gains of evolution see, for example, Tim Flannery, *Here on Earth: An Argument for Hope,* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2010).
[87] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 58.
[88] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 384
[89] Ibid., 403.
[90] Andrew Sayer, "Essentialism, Social Constructionism, and Beyond", *Sociological Review,* 45, no. 3 (1997): 453-87, 453.
[91] Klinger, "Essentialism, Universalism", 339.
[92] Stephen Muecke, "Boxer Deconstructionist", in *Ancient and Modern: Time, Culture and Indigenous Philosophy,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2004),120-131, 122; Graeme Davison, "Narrating the Nation in Australia", The Menzies Lecture, 2009, (King's College, London: Menzies Centre for Australian Studies, 2010), 3.
[93] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 197-98.

consciousness concept has essentialist characteristics (although also acknowledging the operation of social influences).[94] Extreme anti-essentialist statements such as, "There are no unchanging 'essential' characteristics of sex, gender, or nature," are succinctly challenged by feminist Elizabeth Grosz: "If we are not justified in taking women as a category, then what political grounding does feminism have?"[95]

Essentialism and universalism have recently been rehabilitated in more plural, less deterministic and ultimate forms by a number of scholars.[96] Chakrabarty explains his sustained use of the abstract universalisms of Marx in *Provincialising Europe*: "We need universals to produce critical readings of social injustices".[97] More broadly it could be said that we need universals to provide frameworks to work within and against. Historian Graeme Davison, drawing on the work of philosopher Charles Taylor, makes the point more forcefully - that master narratives are essential to our thinking and are used even by those who repudiate them.[98] While Gebser's framework of consciousness may not be ultimate, I have not found in other contemporary approaches the same capacity to encompass either the pluralism and unity of human consciousness, or the recognition of the spiritual as reality.

Land in scholarship

Land, or 'place' in scholarship is conceived largely within the bounds of western mental-rational consciousness. Under the influence of Isaac Newton and Rene Descartes, place became an aspect of space.[99] Place was a "part" of occupied space; it was little more than position; later it became "known space," a definition it still bears at least in geography.[100]

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[94] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 44.
[95] Carolyn Merchant, Preface [1989] to *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution,* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990), xvi; Elizabeth Grosz, "A Note on Essentialism and Difference", *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct,* ed. Sneja Gunew, (London, New York, 1990), 224, quoted in Klinger, "Essentialism, Universalism", 334.
[96] For example, Klinger, "Essentialism, Universalism"; Joe O'Mahoney, "Embracing Essentialism: A Realist Critique of Resistance to Discursive Power", *Organization* 19, no. 6 (2011), especially 737; Sayer, "Essentialism, Social Constructionism, and Beyond".
[97] Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 254.
[98] Davison, "Narrating the Nation in Australia", 3-4. Stephen Muecke seems to demonstrate just that in "Boxer Deconstructionist".
[99] Edward S. Casey, *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History,* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press: 1997), 133,152-153,157 etc; Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience,* (Mineapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 6 ; John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape,* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1984), 28.
[100] Casey, *The Fate of Place,* 157,162; Tuan, *Space and Place*, 6; Val Plumwood, "The Concept of a Cultural Landscape: Nature, Culture and Agency of the Land", *Ethics and the Environment* 11, no.2 (2006): 115-150.

"Place, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning in the context of power," geographer Tim Cresswell writes.[101] This thoroughly cerebral understanding of place has lost touch with its physical, not to mention its spiritual, nature. Across many academic disciplines over the last half-century, the conventional understanding of land is that it is a cultural construction, deriving from a 1925 essay by Carl Sauer, "The Morphology of Landscape".[102] Land, in this counter-intuitive theory, has no inherent meaning, as meaning is imbued by human cultures. In extreme versions land has no existence until it is culturally "created". "[L]and cannot exist before it is culturally assimilated," Simon Ryan tells us in *The Cartographic Eye*.[103] The extreme anthropocentrism and abstraction of such concepts are hallmarks of mental-rational or deficient mental consciousness in Gebser's terms. They deny magic consciousness's *experience* of land having meaning. The cultural construction approach has produced some fine Australian work, and some scholars, such as Veronica Strang, offer critiques from within its bounds – culturally specific meaning precludes exploring cross-cultural issues, such as environmental ones, she acknowledges.[104] Gebser's structures of consciousness allow for more inclusive understandings of land, as they are universal. They recognise that reality is experienced differently according to which structure is being accessed, and that all people have the potential of accessing all consciousness structures.

The field of memory studies, in relation to land, is aligned with the cultural construction position.[105] Simon Schama's popular study, *Landscape and Memory*, tells us that humans turn "raw matter" into landscape in the process of enculturation.[106] Historian Alexandra Walsham

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[101] Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction,* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 12.
[102] Plumwood, "The Concept of a Cultural Landscape", 121; a sample of vast literature: T. Cresswell, D. DeLyser and J. Wylie ed., *Cultural Geographies*, http://intl-cgj.sagepub.com accessed 11 February 2015; Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996); I. Cook, D. Crouch, S. Naylor and J. Ryan ed., *Cultural Turns/ Geographical Turns,* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); P. Cloke and J. Little ed., *Contested Cultures: Otherness, Marginalization and Rurality,* (London: Routledge, 1997); Kent C .Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing and the Sense of Place,* (Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 1993); Kenneth T. Olwig, *Landscape, Nature and the Body Politic: From Britain's Renaissance to America's New World,* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002).
[103] Simon Ryan in *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia,* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 17; Setha M. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zúñiga ed., *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, (Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub., 2003), 17.
[104] Good examples of cultural construction work are Rodney Harrison, *Shared Landscapes: Archaeologies of Attachment and the Pastoral Industry in New South Wales* 3, (Sydney: UNSW Press, Studies in the Cultural Construction of Open Space, Department of Environment and Conservation, 2004). ; Strang, *Uncommon Ground:*; Ryan in *The Cartographic Eye;* Veronica Strang, "Common Senses: Water, Sensory Experience and the Generation of Meaning", *Journal of Material Culture* 10:1 (2005), 92-120, 93-94. Post colonialism also challenges the orthodoxy of cultural relativism - Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthesia'", 470-72.
[105] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 9-10.
[106] Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 10.

reiterates Schama's idea that "landscape is the work of the mind" in *The Reformation of the Landscape*, which traces changing relationships with place caused by the Reformation in Britain. [107] She acknowledges, however, that the cultural constructionist view of land is an academic phase rather than an ultimate truth: "Now … the landscape is conventionally understood as a cultural construction".[108] Both Walsham and Schama seem constrained by cultural construction's view of land as an inert surface for "a form of iconography". [109] She, inconsistently, intuits "powerful latent presences" behind the continuing attraction of particular sites, and asserts that sites are "agents of change".[110] While such non-rational experiences of land defy cultural constructionism, they nevertheless influence the way land is interpreted. It is notions of land, not land itself, which are culturally constructed.

Some Australian scholars have awoken their magic consciousness through the teachings of Aboriginal mentors. Stephen Muecke and Deborah Bird Rose present 'new' understandings of land which are rooted in experience of country in northern Australia, and a dramatic shift from culture theory and generally secular views of land. In 1984 Stephen Muecke was "attempt[ing] to construct a theory of place" in *Reading the Country,* his semiotic commentary of responses to Roebuck Plains. [111] Despite input from his Aboriginal collaborator, Paddy Roe, Muecke tells us that, "Roebuck Plains does not have inherent meaning ... Rather, the meanings of the Plains are constructed in language".[112] He was in the uncomfortable position of being a passionate and sensitive student of Aboriginal cultures, yet attempting to frame his understanding of their sentient, animated country through an entirely abstract, and thus ungrounded, theory.[113] Although he saw the Dreaming as "a way of talking, of seeing, of knowing, and a set of practices, which is as obtuse, as mysterious and as beautiful as any poetry," his commentary ran counter to Aboriginal understandings that land has meaning, presence and agency. [114]

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[107] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 4,564.
[108]Ibid., 6.
[109] Simon Schama, Landscape and Memory, 14,17-19, 578-579. Schama also has a sense of the sacredness of nature, "What I have tried to show in *Landscape in Memory* is that the cultural habits of humanity have always made room for the sacredness of nature", 18.
[110] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 4.
[111] K. Benterrak, S. Muecke, P. Roe; with R. Keogh, Butcher Joe (Nangan), E. M. Lohe, *Reading the Country: Introduction to Nomadology,* Freemantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, 1984.
[112] Ibid., 16.
[113] Jennifer Rutherford, Introduction to "*Kairos* for a Wounded Country", in ed. Jennifer Rutherford and Barbara Holloway, *Halfway House: the Poetics of Australian Spaces,* (UWA Publishing, Crawley, WA, 2010).
[114] Benterrak, et al., *Reading the Country*, 19; Matthew Dhulumburrk of Milingimbi in Rose, *Nourishing Terrains,* 8; Hobbles Danaiyarri, of Yarralin, in Rose, *Nourishing Terrains,* 9.

Muecke's subsequent work reflects a radical development in his ideas about the nature of land. *Textual Spaces,* shows a shift towards land having meaning: "Even the country ["landscape"] can be read as a text, but only if it is treated with an intensity that assumes meaning can be derived from it".[115] Writing, in 2001, about the effect of the death of his Aboriginal teacher and friend, Paddy Roe, Muecke reflects, "things and people are mutually transformative … the place ...(is) defined not just by its form, but through the potentialities introduced in the intervals in its territory".[116] Mutual transformation acknowledges the agency of the land. While the "potentialities introduced in the intervals in its territory" does not seem to mean the land is animated, the meanings of place are apparently no longer entirely "constructed in language". The understanding that people and place are mutually transformative, a proposition informing much Romantic poetry, and held by a number of people from widely different intellectual traditions, also informs this thesis.[117] Carl Jung expressed it as, "The foreign land assimilates its conqueror".[118] By the time *Ancient and Modern* was published in 2004, the land, for Muecke, had become responsive and meaningful.[119] In 2014, he writes of being "magically captured" by the Goolarabooloo mob (of north western Australia) and being "possessed by country as much as by its custodians".[120] He calls it, aptly, "The Land of Metamorphoses". It seems his magic consciousness has awoken.

Anthropologist Deborah Bird Rose has consciously integrated the transformation in her relationship with Aboriginal people and lands into her scholarship. In "Recursive Epistemologies and an Ethics of Attention," an article also prompted by the death of one of her Aboriginal teachers, Jessie Wirrpa, she tells of the unexpected awareness of a "listening

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[115] Stephen Muecke, *Textual Spaces: Aboriginality and Cultural Studies,* (Curtin, WA: API Network, Australian Research Institute, 2005, originally published 1992).
[116] Stephen Muecke, "Devastation", in *UTS Review: Cultural Studies and New Writing* 7, no.2 (2001) 123-143, 127.
[117] They Include D.H. Lawrence, "The Spirit of Place", *Studies in Classic American Literature*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971, originally published 1924), 7-14; Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 4,36; James, "Kinship with Country", 12; Edward Casey, *Getting Back into Place*: *Toward a Re-Newed Understanding of the Place-World,* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), xiii.
[118] C. G. Jung, "Mind and Earth", (1927/1931), in *Collected Works* 10, 49, quoted in Tacey, *Edge of the Sacred,* 134.
[119] Hector Wartpiyarri quoted from Rose, *Dingo Makes Us Human: Life and Land in an Aboriginal Australian Culture,* (Cambridge, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 73; Muecke, *Ancient and* Modern, 60. It will "respond benevolently" to Victoria River man, Hector Wartpiyarri, calling out to country asking for goanna and other foods to feed the children.
[120] Stephen Muecke, "Turning into a Gardiya", in *Ngapartji, Ngarpartji: In Turn, In Turn: Ego-histoire, Europe and Indigenous Australia,* ed. Vanessa Castejon, Anna Cole, Oliver Haag and Karen Hughes, (Canberra, ANU Press, 2014), 259-270, 268.

presence," and finding a voice to address Jessie in a way which she knew to be appropriate.[121] "Recursive Epistemologies" refers to the openness to allow relationships and experiences to change fundamental concepts of, in this case, the anthropologist's discursive approach of social analysis.[122] Through Jessie Wirrpa, Rose learnt to notice and respond to sentience in the land.[123] She understands the process in terms of faith, in both its secular and non-secular senses.[124] Rose directly challenges Schama's concept that land is shaped from "raw matter" by human perceptions, imagining Jessie Wirrpa's indignation at such an idea.[125] Rose and Muecke are models of westerners developing awareness of their magic consciousness, glimpsing the experiences of country that Indigenous peoples have.

Australian ecofeminist, the late Val Plumwood, challenges culture theory directly in her article "The Concept of a Cultural Landscape".[126] As the title suggests, she argues for the recognition of the agency of natural systems, either as a single system as in James Lovelock's Gaia hypothesis, or as a complex of systems.[127] She developed a worldview she called "philosophical animism," which her colleague and friend, Deborah Bird Rose endorses.[128] Rose sees this worldview as independent of, but consonant with Aboriginal understandings.[129] There is a growing movement of bringing into relationship Indigenous and western ways of behaving towards land.[130] Gebser's structures of consciousness encompass such multiple experiences of land.

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[121] Deborah Bird Rose, "Recursive Epistemologies and an Ethics of Attention", in *Extraordinary Anthropology: Transformations in the Field,* ed. Jean-Guy A. Goulet and Bruce G. Miller with a preface by Johannes Fabian, 88-102, (University of Nebraska, 2007).
[122] Rose, "Recursive Epistemologies", 91-95.
[123] The land is sentient in itself and is also alive with the spirits of the recently dead and Dreaming spirits. Strang, *Uncommon Ground*, 254.
[124] Rose, "Recursive Epistemologies", 98.
[125] Deborah Bird Rose, "Fitting into Country: Ecology and Economics in Indigenous Australia", *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 19, no.3 (2008): 118-122.
[126] Val Plumwood, "The Concept of a Cultural Landscape", 115-150.
[127] Ibid., 116-117.
[128] Deborah Rose Bird, "Val Plumwood's Philosophical Animism: Attentive Interactions in the Sentient World", *Environmental Humanities*, 3 (2013): 93-109.
[129] Ibid., 95-96.
[130] Peter Jordan calls for world views to be studied in archaeology, especially the nature of reality of hunter-gatherers, as a complement to the "adaptive paradigm". In Paul Irish, *Hidden in Plain View;* James, "Kinship with Country"; Jessica K. Weir, *Murray River Country: An Ecological Dialogue with Traditional Owners,* (Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2009); Richard Howitt and Sandra Suchet-Pearson, "Rethinking the Building Blocks: Ontological Pluralism and the Idea of Management", *Geografiska Annaler: Series B*, 88, 3 (2006), 323-335; Lisa Palmer, "'Nature', Place and the Recognition of Indigenous Polities", *Australian Geographer* 37, no.1 (2006): 33-43.

The application of the structures of consciousness to relationships with land will emerge through the course of this thesis. Briefly, however, I interpret magic consciousness as experiencing land as kin, animated and sentient; mythic relationships as humans working land, as in farming or gardening, as sacred practice; and mental relationships understand land through measurement and analysis and, in their deficient phase, through commodification. Although people and cultures generally operate in one dominant paradigm, we will see instances of all consciousness structures in western and Aboriginal people. All are valid aspects of land, aspects of its manifold nature.

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This thesis is roughly, though not exclusively, chronological. This is partly a function of the fact that it deals with simultaneous events, with different chapters reflecting different realities. Chapters 1 and 3, however, take a partly thematic approach, moving between the local and the general. Chapter 1 describes the dominant ontologies of land of Aborigines and colonists, drawing from a journal of Surveyor General Major Thomas Mitchell of 1828, and earlier exploring journals. More broadly it considers the history of the colonial commodifying consciousness, tracing it to the Renaissance discovery of perspective. It establishes the major consciousnesses of land that are the subject of this thesis, and demonstrates an individual expressing multiple consciousnesses. Chapter 2 also introduces the theme that local Aborigines' interactions with colonists suggest their enduring intention of maintaining connection with their land.

Chapter 2 steps back in time, and continues the conversation between Aboriginal and European realities of land, particularly with the exploration of the Blue Mountains. Reading against the grain of explorer journals, the chapter suggests that Aboriginal people were trying to communicate their expectations of the behaviour of visitors or new arrivals in their country. It argues that Aborigines attempted to inhibit exploration of these mountains, using the magic consciousness technique of trickery. This interpretation runs a counter to the popular understanding that Aborigines were helpful in this endeavour.[131]

[131] Martin Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon: Imaging the Blue Mountains,* (Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2003), 143. Those arguing Aboriginal assistance: especially R. Else Mitchell, "George Caley: His Life and Work", *JRAHS* 25, 6, (1939): 437-542, 483; Chris Cunningham, *The Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1996), 41-42, 154; R. H. Cambage, "Barrallier's Blue Mountain Exploration in 1802", *JRAHS*, 3 (1910):11-25; Joanna Armour Richards, *Blaxland-Lawson-Wentworth 1813,* (Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1979), 21.

The first inland New South Wales acquisitions of land by colonists were along Cox's Road, through the north of the Oberon district. Chapter 3 conceives land acquisition there as a cross-cultural re-enactment of the English enclosure movement, which occurred roughly in tandem with the spread of perspectival viewing. It exemplifies the observation of Robert Marzec, scholar of post-colonial studies and literature, that the enclosure movement is the basis of our modern unconscious understanding of land as a privately-held, inert commodity.[132] Here we see the beginning of extrinsic relationships with land overlaying the Indigenous intrinsic relationships.

Following the failure of Aboriginal resistance to the spread of the colony over the Blue Mountains, a new approach to the settlers is evident, traced in Chapter 4. It employs the argument of Tony Swain, that Aborigines across the country, and notably in south-east Australia, consciously sought ways to incorporate the newcomers into their cosmology, and thus their social networks.[133] This cross-cultural conversation here, read against the grain from the journals of Charles Throsby, John Oxley and William Lawson, seems to be an Aboriginal attempt at sharing the land through the kinship structure. This conversation apparently ended with the violence of martial law in 1824, a turning point in black/white relationships. It was followed by a smallpox epidemic, 1830-31 decimating Aboriginal communities in the Central West. This period of death and disruption to clan structures impacted Aboriginal relations with their own land, beginning the process of the "making of the Aborigines" to adopt Bain Attwood's term[134] This chapter reflects an Aboriginal vision of coexistence on country not understood by Europeans at the time, and little recognised since.

The conversation of Chapter 5 concerns the extrinsic factor of title to land on the Oberon plateau. Land on the plateau was undesirable once it was demonstrated unsuitable for sheep, and the impermanence of many land titles in the district led to the abandonment of much early settlement in the 1820s. Names bestowed in this period are some of few voices from that temporary settlement enunciating land relationships. The chapter finds placenames reflecting various relationships with land across cultures, especially within colonial culture.

[132] Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 25; Robert P. Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome: A Genealogy of Land in a Global Context", *Boundary* 2, (2002), 129-156, 130.
[133] Swain, *A Place for Strangers,* 114-158,284.
[134] Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines*, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1989).

Aborigines in the Central West can be seen making some radical responses to adjust to the circumstances of invasion. Chapter 6 argues that Aboriginal adaptations in work, lifestyle and spirituality made in the decades after the 1820s, were motivated primarily by the desire to maintain their responsibilities to significant sites. The life of one of few Aborigines in the district identified by name - Michael Walker or "Black Mick" - a devout and influential preacher, demonstrates that successful imitation of European mental consciousness by blacks was not sufficient to gain admission into white institutions. He reveals the anomalous position that educated Aborigines had in society and with the land.

The final two chapters examine the nature of relationships with land introduced by the permanent European settlers, who came after the late 1830s. Chapter 7 finds the district being culturally constructed as their home by importing extended family and religion, creating Protestant and Catholic areas. Although Aborigines were said not to live in the district, some were living discretely among the settlers. Marriages facilitated cross-cultural exchanges of various combinations. Family and spirituality connote home in all consciousnesses, but here they were imposed on land rather than being intrinsic to it as in magic consciousness.

The last chapter examines ways settlers interrelated with the land, especially as farmers, bringing their old-country experience and ideas, and adapting them as the land rejected or accepted them. Commodifying concerns were invariably a major aspect of their relationships with land, but emotional mythic consciousness relationships with the Oberon district can be glimpsed, especially in poetry written about childhood. The chapter also finds indications of the settlers accessing their atrophied magic consciousnesses in holiday activities - visits to Jenolan Caves and Kanangra Walls. At the end of the century some important sites still had Aboriginal guardians. Multiple relationships with land interwove in the district.

Over the course of eight chapters this thesis explores magic relationships with land in which it is kin; mythic relationships of loved home and devoted agricultural practice; mental consciousness relationships of analysis and measurement, and its deficient phase, commodification, which sees land as inert resource. Gebser's paradigm allows for the complex and, at times, apparently inconsistent attitudes to land, which are to be found in the Oberon district, as elsewhere. The conversations of consciousness reveal these relationships as layers within individuals and within and across cultures. Together they contribute to a rounded experience of the nature of the Oberon district.

Chapter 1 Mountain Beings

Morudá yerrabá tundaj kmara,
Morudá yerrabá tundaj kmara,
(Road goes creaking long shoes)
Morudá yerrabá meniyonging white man la,
Morudá yerrabá meniyonging white man la.
(Road goes uncle and brother white man see.)[1]

To Gundungurra people the road, like wearing shoes, muffled contact with the living earth. This song, attributed to Billy of Yerramagang, was transcribed by Surveyor General Major Thomas Mitchell in 1828 early in the field work for his ambitious map of the settled districts of the colony. He was working in the Southern Highlands, part of Gundungurra-speaking country.[2] Mitchell, the person most instrumental in the appropriation of Aboriginal land, was projecting the new cerebral view of the earth as inert onto some of the most inaccessible country in New South Wales - the area north of Mittagong and Marulan. He had numerous Aboriginal guides on that trip. The glimpse of Aboriginal responses to him that can be gleaned from his notebook reveal complex and ambiguous attitudes of curiosity, cordiality, bewilderment and veiled disapproval. The song above indicates bemusement at Europeans' cumbersome way of travelling.[3] Combined with a practical joke played on Mitchell a few weeks later, we can detect a Gundungurra critique of European ways of relating to country.[4]

In the muddled conversation between two consciousnesses that had such profoundly different realities, each projected its own understandings of reality onto the other. This song assumes the purpose of European road-use is social and familial, whereas early colonists generally associated roads with commerce. Similarly Mitchell and others interpreted what they termed

[1] Attributed to Billy of Yerramagang, Thomas Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", ML C42, 31 May 1828. Mitchell was appointed Surveyor General on 28 May 1828. It is unclear where this song was transcribed. It appears immediately below another transcribed song, about a kangaroo, that Mitchell referred to on 16 June 1828 while working at Mt Towrang. The road song is not mentioned in the journal, and the same notebook contains a journal of a survey of the road to Newcastle. The word *yerrabá* however is probably a version of Gundungurra *yer'-ra,* meaning 'go'.
[2] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830".
[3] John Meredith, *The Last Kooradgie: Moyengully, Chief Man of the Gundungurra People,* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1989), 18.
[4] Similarly Lawrence Struilby recorded songs of Aboriginal people near Wellington Valley which ridiculed white man's ignorance of bush life. John Graham (ed.), *Lawrence Struilby or, Observations and experiences during twenty-five years of bush-life in Australia,* (London: The Book Society, 1863), 125.

"the ploughed ground" near the junction of the Wollondilly and Paddys Rivers, which "closely resembles furrows," as a natural occurrence.[5] These furrows, found also in the Hunter Valley, may be among the many examples of Aboriginal farming found around the country.[6] Aboriginal farming practices went largely unrecognised for some 200 years.[7]

Due to a lack of systematic maps there was widespread confusion over the boundaries of farms and grants in the colony.[8] Mitchell was beginning a trigonometric survey for a coherent scale map of the colony, which involved clearing nearly all the trees from the summits of prominent hills, starting with Mt Jellore near Mittagong. Ten axemen were set to work on Mt Jellore, leaving just seven trees and opening a clear line of sight to the lighthouse in Sydney, Mt Tomah in the Blue Mountains, Mount Warrawolong 170 kilometres north (near Newcastle), and other prominent spots in all directions.[9] After Mitchell had shaved and triangulated from Pianeng (Mt Penang), Nundialla, Toureng (Mt Towrang), Mulindroba, Terrilmuno, Kingambulan and others he was subjected to a memorable dramatisation of Aboriginal skill in orientation, which, this chapter suggests, was a challenge to European map-making.

Ways of being in country and the nature of consciousness structures are mutually revealing. The predominant consciousness structures of Aborigines and Europeans, the magic-mythic and mental-rational, can be seen "conversing" in Gundungurra country through Mitchell's "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 1828-1830". As well as songs Mitchell recorded interactions and comments by his Aboriginal guides and visitors. This chapter sets the consciousnesses reflected in Mitchell's field book in wider contexts. The Aboriginal magic-mythic relationships with land revealed here are interpreted in the light of a wealth of anthropological work, mostly from Central and northern Australia, as well as commentaries of Aboriginal people from those

[5] Thomas Mitchell, "Journey in Search of the Kindur, in 1831 and 1832", November 28, in *Three Expeditions into the Interior of New South Wales* 1, (London: T. & W. Boone, 1839); James Raymond compiler, *The New South Wales Calendar and Post Office Directory,* (Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1832), 101.
[6] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011).
[7] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth* 281, 303-04; Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu: Black Seeds; Agriculture or Accident?* (Broome, WA: Magabala Books); Rupert Gerritsen, *Australia and the Origins of Agriculture,* (Oxford: Archaeopress, BAR International Series 1874, 2008).
[8] D. W. A. Baker, *The Civilised Surveyor: Thomas Mitchell and the Australian Aborigines,* (South Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1997), 27; Alan E. J. Andrews, *Major Mitchell's Map: The Saga of the Survey of the Nineteen Counties,* (Sandy Bay, Tas.: Blubber Head Press, 1992), 3.
[9] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", 14 June 1828; Baker, *The Civilised Surveyor,* 29; Andrews, *Major Mitchell's Map,* 16.

areas.[10] While cultural practices vary across the country, it is possible to make generalisations about the primacy of place in Aboriginal cultures. The chapter is also informed by the local work of ethnographer R. H. Mathews, anthropologist Dianne Johnson, and historian Jim Smith.[11] Collectively these sources reveal an Aboriginal experience of union or identification with particular sites, which are experienced as spiritually inseparable from them. This way of experiencing land and the colonial concept of land as a commodity are mutually almost incomprehensible, so the conversation here is tangential.

The dominant colonial way of relating to land as a commodity to which Europeans have ownership rights, reflected in Mitchell's field book, is examined here in the context of the discovery of linear perspective. This chapter follows the concept initiated by Erwin Panofsky, that perspective was more than a technique of painting, and was in fact a "symbolic form," a metaphor for a widespread way of seeing and knowing, which is widely assumed to be visual reality.[12] Panofsky's work has been developed by diverse scholars such as cultural philosopher Jean Gebser, art historian Samuel Edgerton, metabletic psychologist Robert Romanyshyn, and scholar of sustainability studies, Philipp Lepenies, who all contribute to this chapter.[13] Gebser

[10] Diana James, "Kinship with Country: Acts of Translation in the Cross-Cultural Performance Space: A Case Study on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of Central Australia" (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2005); Rose, *Dingo Makes Us Human*; Deborah Bird Rose, *Nourishing Terrains: Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness,* (Canberra: Australian Heritage Commission, 1996); Tony Swain, *A Place for Strangers: Towards a History of Australian Aboriginal Being*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 4; Veronica Strang, *Uncommon Ground: Cultural Landscapes and Environmental Value,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997); T. G. H. Strehlow, "Geography and the Totemic Landscape in Central Australia: a Fundamental Study in Australian Aboriginal Anthropology", in *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology: Modern Studies in the Social Anthropology of the Australian Aborigines*, ed. R. M. Berndt, (Nedlands, W.A.: West Australian University Press, 1970), 92-140, 95; W. E. H. Stanner, *The Dreaming and Other Essays/ W E H Stanner,* Robert Manne ed., (Collingwood, Vic: Black Inc, Agenda, 2010).

[11] Dianne Johnson in collaboration with the residents of the Gully and their descendants, *Sacred Waters: The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners,* (Broadway, NSW: Halstead Press, 2007); R. H. Mathews, *Some Mythology and Folklore of the Gundungurra Tribe: by R. H. Mathews; edited with commentary and essay on the work of Mathews by Jim Smith*, (Wentworth Falls, Den Fenella Press, 2003).

[12] Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form,* transl. Christopher S. Wood, (New York: Zone Books; Cambridge, Mass.: distributed by MIT Press, 1991); S.Y. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 153.

[13] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin, t*ranslated by Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985; S. Y. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective*; Robert D. Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye: An Illustration of Metabletic Phenomenology and its Implications", *Janus Head* 10, no.2 (2008): 505-527; Philipp Lepenies, *Art, Politics, and Development: How Linear Perspective Shaped Policies in the Western World,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014). Metabletics is a theory of the changing nature of human existence, a branch of phenomenology developed by Dutch psychiatrist Jan Hendrick van den Berg. It is the psychology of history, and challenges the assumption at the basis of psychology (and most disciplines) that humans do not change. While van den Berg has this sense of change in common with Gebser and other evolution of consciousness theorist, van den Berg has a far more postmodern approach. He cautions of the dangers

argues that linear perspective was concomitant with the discovery of space as external to humans. Clearly this resulted in a new way of relating to land. For Gebser this is the apotheosis of western (mental) culture, shortly followed by its decline into its deficient stage, the consciousness of commodification, which he called the mental-rational.[14] Romanyshyn understands perspective as a shift in the way of seeing, from one which is involved with the world, to one which is disincarnated, at times in the sky, objectifying the world.[15] This shift can also be seen as moving from receptive to intrusive.[16] Edgerton explains that the perspectival perception of visual reality is a precise geometric-optical illusion of what the fixed eye sees phenomenally.[17] Representing it is, however, a learnt skill – it never automatically appears in art.[18] This way of perceiving visual reality had become accepted in western Europe as "a universal, natural truth" by 1700. Lepenies argues that this perspectival replication of visual truth conceived the world as rational and calculable, and, as converging parallel lines suggest, progressing towards the single destiny – the perfection of the human mind.[19] It confirmed Europeans' underlying belief in racial superiority, and, in the Enlightenment, endowed them with both the right to the land of those less "advanced" and the burden of "civilising" them in the European model.[20] The surveyors' craft of cartography applied this consciousness to land. It was one of European imperialism's major tools for interpreting, appropriating and controlling a colony.[21] Seen in the context of the history of perspectival viewing, the widely experienced western sense of visual reality is clearly only a relative, partial reality.

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of essentialism, and historical and cultural universalism and disclaims metabletics as a universally valid approach to human phenomena. J. H. van den Berg, Preface to *The Changing Nature of Man: Introduction to Historical Psychology,* online, accessed 20 June 2015 http://www.arvindguptatoys.com/arvindgupta/changingman.pdf; Max van Manen, 'van den Berg, J H' in *Phenomenologyonline: a resource for phenomenological inquiry,* online, accessed 20 June 2015 http://www.phenomenologyonline.com/scholars/van-den-berg-j-h/).

[14] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin*, 2,19,20. Georg Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness: The Genius of Jean Gebser,* (Santa Rosa, CA.: Integral Publishing, 2002), 131.

[15] Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye", 509.

[16] Koen Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthetics' in Sukuma Healing", *Ethnos*, 73, no. 4 (2008): 466-484, 467.

[17] Samuel Y. Edgerton, *The Mirror, the Window, and the Telescope: How Renaissance Linear Perspective Changed Our Vision of the Universe,* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 6.

[18] Edgerton, *The Mirror, the Window, and the Telescope,* 3-4,6.

[19] Lepenies, *Art, Politics, and Development*, 62,102.

[20] Ibid., 95-98.

[21] Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia.* (Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 20,103-105,123-125; J. B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe", in *Imago Mundi: The International Journal for the History of Cartography,* 40, no.1 (1988): 57-76, 58,59; Mark Koch, "Ruling the World: The Cartographic Gaze in Elizabethan Accounts of the New World", *Early Modern Literary Studies,* 4, no.2 Special Issue 3, (1998), http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-2/kochruli.htm>, accessed 23 June 2014.

Commodification was the official and dominant, but not sole way, colonists related to the land of New South Wales. Gebser stresses that all consciousness structures are latent in all people, and in this chapter we glimpse multiple consciousness structures within Mitchell. The dominant Aboriginal consciousness was of land as sentient, defining the identity of its people. The range of Aboriginal consciousnesses is difficult to detect because their experience is filtering largely through European eyes. It is clear, however, that Aboriginal students at the Native Institution were readily accessing their mental consciousness, contemporaneously to Mitchell's work in Gundungurra country. As we will see in subsequent chapters, western education did not lead them to abandon their original relationships with land.

This chapter focuses mostly on describing and illustrating magic and mental-rational consciousness structures. (Mythic consciousness is examined more fully in Chapters 7 and 8.) The ways land is experienced through the various consciousness structures are illustrated here through an examination of ways mountains or elevations are experienced, and through various ways maps are conceived. The examination of magic consciousness introduces the voice of the land into the conversation. This voice was understood by Aboriginal people. Awareness of the ramifications of perspective in western experiences of visual reality, in particular of land, reveals that perspectival reality is not an exclusive truth, but a function of our dominant consciousness structure. As well as revealing the partial nature of this truth, this chapter validates the experiences of land of magic and mythic consciousness.

Aboriginal orientation

Mitchell's lesson in the remarkable sophistication of Aboriginal orientation was delivered by one of his Gundungurra guides, Billy of Kerrawary, on the Wollondilly River, in the rugged country near its junction with the Cookbundoon River.[22] It took the form of what seems a practical joke on Mitchell. Mitchell himself gives a cursory account of the events, but it is told with relish by William Romaine Govett, who was working out of the same base camp north-east of Goulburn in July 1828.[23] Accompanied by two of his men and Billy of Kerrawary, Mitchell headed for a mountain about fifteen miles (Govett says six miles) from the base camp

[22] Karrawary rivulet was the second branch of the Cookbundoon River, according to Mitchell's field book, 15 July 1828.
[23] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830" ; William Romaine Govett, notebook, rough drafts of articles, copies of letters, notes etc, 1828-1837, ML B187.

through very inaccessible country. [24] After a long day's work it was almost dark by the time they headed for camp. They followed their guide "up one hill, down another, crossing ravines, thick scrubs and rocky places".[25] Eventually they came to a steep mountain which Mitchell was not convinced they had previously traversed. He remonstrated with Billy, but was told they would "sit down tent directly". Up the mountain they went "puffing and blowing … and damning the Black for walking so fast". Finally after walking for nearly three hours they found to their astonishment and fury that they were back where they had started from.

> The burst of Mitchell's anger was prevented by the Black jumping and capering, crying out – "Me got him! Me got him! … Budgery pipe, oh murry budgery pipe!" And shewing at the same time a little black, filthy pipe about 3 inches long – for which, when the Black found he had left it behind, he brought Mitchell and his men all the way back by a different route.
>
> "Now," said the Black, "Me make map and you go tent directly".[26]

Govett, Mitchell, and scholars have read this incident simply as "how much the Black values a broken tobacco pipe".[27] The assumption that Aborigines were so simple that they were incapable of deception, irony or subtle humour is challenged in Chapter 2. It is probable, however, that this incident was a practical joke with a serious message. As Tony Swain observes, Aborigines have long been applying their own hermeneutic approach to encounters with strangers.[28] Mitchell's map of the settled districts of the colony would enable colonists to find their way around the colony, as well as locate property boundaries and generally assist Aboriginal dispossession. It seems Billy knew that Mitchell's laborious taking of angles were intended for Europeans to locate themselves within his land. His actions dramatised, with a punitive flourish, how Aborigines can find their way through precipitous country even in the dark, without denuding hills of trees, taking angles or building cumbersome roads. It seems that at one level Mitchell got the point.

> These people seem to have an instinctive knowledge of the ground and a recollection or *Wea*, as true as the magnet, of the direction in which every spot within their

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[24] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", He says 15 miles. This may be the distance they covered under Billy of Kerraway's "guidance".
[25] Govett, notebook, 1828-1837, ML B187.
[26] Assistant Surveyor W.R. Govett's manuscript notebook, 1828–1837 reprinted in John Meredith, *The Last Kooradgie: Moyengully, Chief Man of the Gundungurra People,* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1989), 20-22.
[27] Meredith, *The Last Kooradgie,* 20; Baker, *The Civilised Surveyor Aborigines,* 35; Govett, notebook 1828-1837; Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830",
[28] Tony Swain, *A Place for Strangers*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993), 4.

> knowledge lies … Without search a native follows the proper slope and direction, never failing by night or day to guide, either by the best or the most direct road.[29]

The Gundungurra language has its own word, *wea*, meaning intimate knowledge of country. Mitchell lauds the skill as equal to technology, the magnet. In reading against the grain about Aboriginal behaviour towards Europeans it is more useful to look at the effect the behaviour has, rather than the contemporaneous European understanding of it. Many Aborigines appear to have been consummate actors. For example, Lawrence Struilby observed Dick, son of Nimagauley, drop a possum onto the head of a "new chum," (near Wellington). [30] Dick was abjectly apologetic, but Struilby was convinced this display masked a deliberate ploy. (The next chapter discusses in more detail the Aboriginal use of trickery.) While Mitchell's fieldbook indicates that this performative form of conversation was largely outside his range of conscious understanding, it was nevertheless successful in drawing his attention to Aboriginal techniques of orientation.

Magic/visceral experience of country

Billy of Kerrawary drew Mitchell's attention to the physical affinity of Aborigines with their country. It was intimately known through the senses. Walking, living and sleeping on the ground allow visceral experience of the power of the earth lost by wearing shoes and sitting and sleeping elevated above the ground. One Aboriginal description of the effect of wearing shoes was "blindfolding my feet".[31] Walking barefooted is literally grounding. It is tactile earth experience: gleaning information about the quality of vegetation, compaction from usage, soil and rock textures, soil moisture, shaded places. Recent scholarship examines corporeal ways of relating to the land, and barefooted walking is now seen as a healing therapy: the earth's weak negative charge balancing the body's natural bioelectric status, reducing blood viscosity and red blood cell aggregation.[32] As the introduction to this thesis reported, Aborigines (and other people) experience energy coursing through their feet and up their legs in particular

[29] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", 6 July, 1828. My italics.
[30] John Graham ed., *Lawrence Struilby or, Observations and Experiences during Twenty-Five Years of Bush-Life in Australia,* (London: The Book Society, 1863), 87.
[31] Pers. comm. Harry Wynter, 10 August 2014.
[32] Gaétan Chevalier et. al., "Earthing (Grounding) the Human Body Reduces Blood Viscosity—a Major Factor in Cardiovascular Disease", *The Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine* 19, no.2 (2013): 102–110, accessed 21 April 15, Inc. DOI: 10.1089/acm.2011.0820; Clinton Ober, S. T. Sinatra, Martin Zucker, *Earthing: The Most Important Health Discovery Ever,* (Basic Health Publications Inc., 2014); Pawel Sokal, Karol Sokal, "The Neuromodulative Role of Earthing", *Medical Hypotheses* 77, no. 5 (2011): 824–826.

places.[33] This suggests they may be sensitised to subtle variations in the earth's electrical charge that shod people, as Major Mitchell would have been, miss.

From the beginning of the colony commentators remarked on the superior acuity of Aboriginal senses.[34] Numerous Aboriginal languages have words for proprioception, or internal feeling as opposed to external touch.[35] This may indicate a sixth sensory modality recognised by Aborigines, perhaps employed by Billy of Kerrawary.[36] Connection with country and with totems is often described in terms of feeling: "You can feel it in yourself, you belong there," and "You see the birds, you see the country, and your senses come back to you. You know what to do and where to go".[37]

Other indigenous peoples also have highly developed skills of orienting themselves largely through their bodies. The Puluwat of the Caroline Islands in Micronesia sense subtle information for navigating open ocean through multiple senses: visually, observing ocean currents, flotsam, character of the spray that hits their canoes, changes in water colour, closely observing constellations of stars on clear nights; kinaesthetically and auditorally from the feeling and sound of the waves and currents under the canoe; smelling the water and tasting for salinity, feeling it for temperature.[38] Sensory experience is generally determined by social and cultural patterns (as are the patterns of accessing consciousness structures).[39] Recent anthropological work on sensory modalities suggests non-western people gain information from additional bodily sensations, through the stomach, oesophagus and intestines.[40] It is

[33] Anon., "Aboriginal Land Claims to the Mungkan Kandju National Park and Unallocated State Land near Lochinvar Pastoral Holding: Report of the Land Tribunal established under the Aboriginal Land Act 1991 to the Honorable The Minister for Natural Resources and Mines", (Brisbane, 2001), 279, in Benjamin Smith, "More Than Love"; Cameo Dalley, "Love and the Stranger: Intimate Relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal People in a Very Remote Aboriginal Town, North Australia", *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 26, no. 1 (2015): 38-54.
[34] David Collins, appendix 2 of *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales,* (A. H. & A. W. Reed in assoc. with the Australian Historical Society, 1975, originally published London: T. Cadell jn and W. Davis, 1798), 1:456-459, 459.
[35] Nicholas Evans and David Wilkins, "In the Mind's Ear: The Semantic Extensions of Perception Verbs in Australian Languages", *Language* 76, no. 3 (2000): 546-592, 554.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Rose, *Nourishing Terrains,* 29.
[38] Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Towards a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World,* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 26-28. They also use an imaginary reference island over the horizon that shifts in relation to the goal island as they move on the sea, which seems a mythic consciousness technique.
[39] Elisabeth Hsu, "The Senses and the Social: An Introduction", *Ethnos* 73, no.4 (2008): 433-443.
[40] Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthetics' in Sukuma Healing", 468.

possible that Billy of Kerrawary was making use of systems of orientation long forgotten, or never known, by Europeans.

Aboriginal people communicate with their country and experience mutuality in communication. In northern Australia, they introduce newcomers to the ancestors, sometimes with water rituals such as pouring water over their heads or rubbing sweat from people belonging to that country onto them, so the ancestors will recognise them.[41] In Arnhem Land, Paddy Fordham Wainburranga explained that people sing out to country so they don't get lost.[42] The language of the country is understood by close attention to it –"you look carefully at country, so you could see the signs".[43] Trees, birds and other phenomena talk. Wainburranga again, "I talked to the birds this morning, … All the birds were really happy and sang out: "Oh! That's a relation of ours!"[44] Surveyor John Mann, recalled walking in dark mountain ravines perhaps near Jenolan Caves with a reluctant Aboriginal companion. He reported, "Every leaf is supposed to be a tongue and when the tree is agitated by the breeze the rustling … is said to be the voice … of a malignant spirit".[45] Mann's scepticism is representative of the gulf in realities that made meaningful conversation between them so difficult.

Although Aboriginal cultures are widely understood as primarily aural knowledge cultures, the language of the land is not just perceived aurally.[46] Simultaneity of events is another form of the language of the country. On the South Coast of New South Wales Aboriginal people know that when the sallee wattle blooms the whaling season begins.[47] Yorta Yorta people know that when the duckweed comes down the Murray River, the swans' eggs are ready to collect from the Barmah-Millewa Lakes.[48] In the Victoria River Valley, Northern Territory, people know when the March flies bite the crocodiles are laying their eggs; when the cicadas sing the river

[41] Veronica Strang, "Common Senses: Water, Sensory Experience and the Generation of Meaning", *Journal of Material Culture* 10, no.1 (2005): 92-120, 110.
[42] Rose, *Nourishing Terrains,* 13-14.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] John F. Mann, "Jenolan", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 28 October 1903, 5.
[46] James, "Kinship with Country", 48; Nicholas Evans and David Wilkins, "In the Mind's Ear"; Catherine Ellis, *Aboriginal Music: Education for Living,* (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 68.
[47] Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point: An Australian History of Place,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005), 21.
[48] Jessica K. Weir, *Murray River Country: An Ecological Dialogue with Traditional Owners,* (Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press, 2009), 57.

figs are ripe and the turtles are fat and coming onto land to lay their eggs.[49] These associations are called "tellings" by Victoria River people - country tells them.[50] Most of this language, holding its vast knowledge of the web of relationships between living things, has been lost in early-settled Australia, including the Oberon district, with the destruction of Aboriginal cultures.

Aboriginal land is cared for through ritual performance. Landforms, artefacts, and totems are all the manifestations of the Dreaming, awoken through ceremony.[51] In skilful performances dancers actually manifest particular ancestors of the place as they "share a common spiritual essence".[52] It has been observed that participants experience "exceptionally intense forces" in ceremony, indicated in some Aranda speakers' use of the word "power" in place of "Dreaming".[53] Perhaps the "intense forces" or the power intensified through ritual are the experience of immanence. Some anthropologists now recognise a "mutuality between social relations and the material world".[54] Koen Stroeken found that the magic and ritual of Sukuma healers of northwestern Tanzania "make meaning material" in the bodies of their clients.[55] This seems just a step away from acknowledging immanence in the land, a concept not generally recognised by western consciousness.

Aboriginal belonging with land

Contemporary Aborigines, such as Galarrwuy Yunupingu, member of the Gumatj clan of the Yolgnu people, speak of their land as part of their bodies - "land is my backbone".[56] Similarly anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner observed, "The Aboriginal would speak of 'earth' and use the word in a richly symbolic way to mean his 'shoulder' or his 'side.'"[57] Children are born of country as well as of woman, and among some groups are placed on the ground or rubbed

[49] Deborah Bird Rose, "An Indigenous Philosophical Ecology: Situating the Human", *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 16 no.3, (2005): 294-305, 297.
[50] Rose, "An Indigenous Philosophical Ecology", 299-300.
[51] Lynne Hume, "Accessing the Eternal: Dreaming, The Dreaming and Ceremonial Performance", *Zygon* 39, no.1 (2004): 237-258,250.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Hsu, "The Senses and the Social: An Introduction", 246.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthetics'", 467.
[56] Veronica Strang, "Not so Black and White: The Effects of Aboriginal Law on Australian Legislation", in *Land, Law and Environment: Mythical Land, Legal Boundaries*, eds Allen Abramson and Dimitrios Theodossopoulos, (London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2000), 100.
[57] W. E. H. Stanner, "After the Dreaming", Boyer lecture in *The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 206.

with earth immediately after birth to make that connection tangible.[58] This identification with land is reflected in at least one language. In Gathang, language of the country between the Hunter and Macleay Rivers in New South Wales, the personal subjective pronoun, rather than the possessive, is used for land and water, thus *I-country*.[59] The 2017 Archibald Prize for portraiture at the Art Gallery of NSW had an entry which challenges western conceptions of the self as a discrete body. Tjungkara Kenn, artist from the Anangu-Pitjantjara-Yankunytjatjara lands of Central Australia, painted her spiritual identity with the constellation of the Pleiades in "kungkarangkalpa tjukurpa (Seven Sisters dreaming)".[60] She drew attention to the indistinguishable nature of dreaming and self. Other artists from the APY lands, such as Betty Kuntiwa Pumani, Mona Mitakiki, Naomi Kantjuriny, and Barbara Mbitjana Moore entered paintings of dreamings in the 2017 Wynne Prize for landscapes. The categories of portraiture and landscape are irrelevant to magic consciousness, such paintings loosen traditional western categorisation of art.

The names of some language groups, such as Wiradjuri, derive from their word for "no".[61] One's country is "the place in which I do not have to ask," and conversely where one has the right to refuse entry to others.[62] Whereas European land ownership is defined in terms of the outer linear boundaries, Aboriginal magic connections with land are often defined in terms of its core, or of a series of individual and group sites held through rights and obligations.[63] Aborigines did not fight over land, the property rights of each site and feature were clear to each local group, yet rights to places were not uniform within groups.[64] Territories of groups sometimes melded into one another – access could be exclusive for sacred purposes and

[58] Rose, *Dingo Makes Us Human,* 59-64.
[59] pers. comm. Jonathan Lilley, Gathang man, 8 June 2016. This applies in the singular, dual or plural.
[60] Art Gallery of NSW, "2017 Archibald Prize, Wynne and Sulman Prizes", catalogue of entries.
[61] Michael Powell and Rex Hesline "Making Tribes?" 130-31; Norman B. Tindale, "Some Ecological Bases for Australian Tribal Boundaries", in Nicolas Peterson ed., *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia,* (Canberra: AIAS, 1976), 12-29, 18.
[62] Bruce Chatwin, *Songlines,* (London: Jonathon Cape, 1987), 56, quoted in Diana James, *Kinship with Country*, 276.
[63] Michael Pearson, "Bathurst Plains and Beyond: European Colonisation and Aboriginal Resistance", *Aboriginal History* vol. 8, 1-2 (Canberra: Aboriginal History Inc., 1984) 63-79, 64; Peterson, Introduction to *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*, 8; Powell and Hesline, "Making Tribes? Constructing Aboriginal Tribal Entities in Sydney and Coastal NSW from the Early Colonial Period to the Present", *JRAHS* 96, no. 2 (2010): 115-148.
[64] T. G. H. Strehlow, *Comments on the Journals of John McDouall Stuart,* (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1967), 10; W. E. H. Stanner, "The Dreaming", in *The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 57-72, 72; Ann Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri: A History from the Records of Aboriginal Families in the Canberra-Queanbeyan district and surrounds 1820-1927 and Historical Overview 1928-2001,* (Canberra: Aboriginal History, Aboriginal History Monograph 8, 2001), xxiii.

shared for others, such as food-gathering, and could alter seasonally. [65] In times of great need, such as droughts, people would have the right to access the country of their neighbours temporarily, but could not enter uninvited.[66]

Australia is a "totemic landscape" in the words of T.G.H. Strehlow, an anthropologist who grew up with and worked with the Arrente (or Aranda) people in Central Australia. [67] Totems link all people with the supernatural creators who are slumbering at the sacred centres. "A man born along the track of … the wallaby, might say, when seeing a wallaby, 'that is me, that wallaby, that is me," Bill Gammage quotes.[68] People's identity is also closely tied to sacred places: Aranda local groups always referred to themselves by the appellation of their major totemic centre. Features such as rocks, inanimate to western people, are not merely sentient within magic consciousness but may be relatives. "This rock is my grandfather," Kunmara, an Uluru Traditional Owner explained.[69] Country is kin and self. "Removed from our land we are literally removed from ourselves," Mick Dodson explains.[70] The dismay of Frank Gurrmanamana, Gidgingali man from the Northern Territory, at visiting Canberra, is described by Rhys Jones,

> Here was a land empty of religious affiliations; there were no wells, no names of the totemic ancestors, no immutable links between land, people and the rest of the natural and supernatural worlds. Here was just a *tabula rasa,* cauterised of meaning….Gurrmanamana said… "this country bin lose 'im Dreaming".[71]

In reading against the grain descriptions of Aboriginal responses to colonisation, it is important to bear in mind that experiencing the land as inseparable from themselves, and awareness of the spiritual power of totems and land were central Aboriginal realities. Mitchell and other colonists, blinkered by their commodifying view of land, unsurprisingly grasped little of the

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[65] Gaynor M. MacDonald, "The Concept of Boundaries in Relation to the Wiradjuri People of Inland New South Wales: An Assessment of intergroup relations at the time of European conquest", (report prepared on behalf of the Wiradjuri Land Council with a grant provided by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, January 1983), 1-37", 12, 13; Michael Powell and Rex Hesline, "Making Tribes?" 131.

[66] Strehlow, "Geography and the Totemic Landscape", 93-94; Strehlow, *Comments on the Journals of John McDouall Stuart,* 10-11.

[67] Strehlow, "Geography and the Totemic landscape", 95.

[68] M. de Graaf, "Nintirringu: The Role of Knowledge in Traditional Aboriginal Australia", ms 1984, 34, cited in Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth,* 127-28.

[69] James, "Kinship with Country", 57.

[70] Mick Dodson, "My People and Place. Why Does Place Matter?" (paper presented at the "Strengthening Communities – Peoples, Places, Partnership", conference, Sydney, 29 April 2003).

[71] R. Jones, "Ordering the Landscape" quoted in I. Donaldson and T. Donaldson, *Seeing the First Australians,* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), 181-209, 207 in Rose *Nourishing Terrains,* 39.

way Gundungurra people experienced their country, so this conversation about the nature of land failed to develop.

Western consciousness, linear perspective and the commodification of land

Western consciousness, which emerged from about 500 BCE in Greece, developed causal thinking, monotheism, dualistic thinking – in particular the separation of God and man – and such mental abstractions as philosophy, science, a legal system, and, significantly for relationships with land, geometry – literally earth measuring.[72] Man (the patriarch) became "the measure of all things," and what he learnt through measurement was of the material world.[73] New aspects of land were understood through measurement and analysis. This new knowledge, confined to the educated, coexisted with earlier ways of knowing. The Romans had a universal term for a locative spirit – *genius loci* – determiner and protector of the character and essence of a place. Coming into felicitous relationship with this spirit was recognised as vital.[74]

Mythic and even magic consciousnesses continued in Europe for centuries. Moving phenomena, for example, were understood even by scholars before the seventeenth century, to be animated. Astronomer and astrologer, Johannes Kepler, thought of the stars as animated, and of the world as a single animal, a leviathan that roared in caverns and breathed in ocean tides.[75] William Gilbert, another sixteenth century astronomer, held that magnets had souls.[76] Even into the late Middle Ages in Europe people experienced the world in an attenuated form of the "so-called primitive people['s]" consciousness, according to British philologist, poet and anthroposophist, Owen Barfield.[77] The term he used was "participation" from the phrase coined by the French scholar, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, "participation mystique," meaning "mystical relations between things".[78] It is also described as "the presence, or the

[72] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 73-77,84,85.
[73] Ibid.,76-77.
[74] Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci – Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture*, (New York: Rizzolli, 1980), 18.
[75] Julian Jaynes, "The Problem of Animate Motion in the Seventeenth Century", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 31, no.2 (1970): 219-34, 219,224.
[76] Ibid., 219.
[77] Owen Barfield, *Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry,* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2nd edition 1988), 45.
[78] Ibid., 40; Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, "Letter to E. E. Evans-Pritchard", *British Journal of Sociology* 3, no. 2 June (1952): 117 – 123, 121.

participation, of transcendent phenomena in mundane phenomena, and visa versa".[79] Barfield, who obliquely reconstructs the experience of participation from medieval literature and philosophy, describes the experience as people feeling "themselves, the objects around them and the words that expressed those objects immersing them like a clear lake".[80] The experience of phenomena that most western people have today as discrete, separate from themselves and from each other, is not universal, and in fact is relatively recent in human history.

The fifteenth century discovery of linear perspective was to have profound implications for the relationship between Western people and land – the world was newly experienced from the *point of view* of the individual. As Panofsky observed perspective represented a shift from medieval theocentrism to modern anthropocentrism.[81] The Renaissance came to be characterised as the age of the individual. Perspective has become a psychology of seeing which "places us in a world which we gaze upon as an object," metabletic psychologist Robert Romanyshyn explains.[82] It implies that the world can best be known by removing oneself from it, seeing from a detached, fixed eye, rather than the pre-perspectival eyes whose art represents what it *feels* like to be *in* the world.[83] Pre-perspectival paintings were not executed from a fixed point, and were two-dimensional. Relative sizes of objects gave a sense of relative significance rather than the illusion of depth.[84] Medieval paintings were depictions of faith, reflecting the interior, the psyche, rather than exterior experience.[85] Because objects were painted from inconsistent angles, paintings give a sense of immersion rather than removal. Landscape was not the subject of painting until the fifteenth century, when it was pioneered by Italian Renaissance painters using perspectival techniques. In medieval art, landscape had been depicted only as background and was largely symbolic rather than representational.[86] As the perspectival way of experiencing the world coincided with the development of the printing press, the beginning of mass media, perspectival images came to reach viewers across a vast spectrum.[87]

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[79] S. A. Mousalimas, "The Concept of Participation in Lévy-Bruhl's, 'Primitive Mentality'", *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 21, no.1, (1990): 33-46, 36.
[80] Barfield, *Saving the Appearances,* 75,95.
[81] Ibid., 31; Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*.
[82] Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye", 516.
[83] Ibid., 507,512
[84] Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye, 511-12; Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 12-15.
[85] Lepenies, *Art, Politics, and Development,* 13.
[86] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 12-15.
[87] Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,* 164.

Linear perspective employs the vanishing point, the point at which receding parallel lines, if continued, appear to converge, usually on the horizon.[88] To map the three-dimensional world onto a two-dimensional plane, this perspectival form of art involves the artist imaging he/she is painting onto a gridded glass window exactly what he/she sees through it from a single point.[89] This technique separates the viewer from the viewed. The eye, always single, is detached from the viewer and the world, sometimes high above the ground.[90] Thus the world is conceived in terms of the spatial relations between things, interpreted from the perspective of single individuals by the eye alone.[91] Space is experienced as uniform, homogenous, infinite and external to humans.[92] This "innate geometry for our eyes that has permeated the world" infiltrated scientific method.[93] Its mathematically-validated view of the world led to the Enlightenment confidence that the world was scientifically comprehendible.

Mental consciousness fell into its deficient phase soon after this climax, according to Gebser.[94] He characterises this deficiency as an excess of rationality (from *ratio,* to reckon), sectorising, and an obsession with technology.[95] Unbridled measuring divided the world into the valid – measureable, demonstrable, rational components of science, – and the invalid – the non-measureable and irrational.[96] With the assumption of the disembodied eye, western people usurped the position of God.[97] The spirit of place, *genius loci,* adopted into eighteenth century English for use in terms of rural and garden landscapes, lost its spiritual quality and now denoted merely the quality of the environment of a place.[98] Increasingly science sought answers in purely rational, material terms, with no place for earlier ways of knowing that were not physically demonstrable. The body was a machine.[99] The earth a commodity. The

[88] C. T. Onions ed., *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles,* prepared by William Little, H. W. Fowler and Jessie Coulson*,* vol.2, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 2451.
[89] Robert Romanyshyn, "Technology: Alienation and Homecoming", *Existential Analysis,* 23:2, (2012), 200-211, 204.
[90] Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye", 507; Michel de Certeau, *On the Practice of Everyday Life,* trans. Steve F. Rendall, Berkeley: University of California, 1984), 36 in Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye,* 6, also Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye,* 54-86*.*
[91] Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye", 510.
[92] S. Y. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,* 161; Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin*, 2,19,20. Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 131.
[93] Romanyshyn, "Technology: Alienation and Homecoming", 204; Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye", 509.
[94] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin* 93-96.
[95] Ibid., 74,93.
[96] Ibid.,284-85.
[97] Ibid., 393,424-25; Georg Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 116-17.
[98] Gunila Jiv'n and Peter J Larkham, "A Sense of Place, Authenticity and Character: A Commentary", *Journal of Urban Design* 8, no. 1 (2003): 67-81.
[99] Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution,* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1990), 193.

immaterial world became increasingly marginalised and religion was set in dualistic opposition to knowledge.[100] Gebser sees Galileo's maxim, "To measure everything measureable, and to make everything measureable that is not yet measurable", as the central motif of the perspectival age.[101]

As the world became an object, man (more than woman) became the subject. This disembodied objectification is the gaze of "othering", a relationship with the world so widely critiqued in late twentieth century scholarship.[102] Nature and the human body were regarded as machines. Perspective offered a visualisation of a linear path of progress.[103] Differences between peoples were seen as spatial positions on the path to a specific goal with Europeans at the forefront.[104] They understood what the "others" needed. The teaching of perspective was recognised as a requirement for becoming like Europeans, and was, for example, part of the British colonial curriculum in India.[105]

The scientific process of atomisation – dividing, measuring and subdividing – was also applied to land. Understanding of land was mediated by tools and technology: the surveyor's theodolite, circumferenter and chain, rather than the human body.[106] It was conceived in blocks, often based on formal geometric shapes rather than those defined by landforms. As Robert Marzec observes, once land becomes valued as a commodity it is "deterritorialised" – what was once intrinsic to it: its unique cultural practices – is erased.[107] Ancient relationships with land in Europe, as we will see in Chapter 3, were overridden by the enclosures. The tree-felling and angle taking of Major Mitchell and the surveyors imprinted this new consciousness on the sentient land.

Mountain beings

Aboriginal and European dominant consciousness structures, outlined in the previous sections, can be exemplified by the different ways they experience mountains, or elevations. Looking at

[100] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 85.
[101] Ibid., 88,284.
[102] Notably applied by Jacques Lacan, Jacques Derrida, Edward Said and Simone de Beauvoir.
[103] Lepenies, *Art, Politics, and Development,* 5.
[104] Ibid., 102.
[105] Ibid., 99.
[106] A good description of the use of these tools can be found in Alan J. Andrews, *Major Mitchell's Map,* 357-60.
[107] Robert Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome: A Genealogy of Land in a Global Context", *Boundary,* 2 (2002): 129-156, 151-52.

the Simpson Desert from the low rise of Akar' Intjota, a European, claims anthropologist Theodore Strehlow, would see "desolation in the treeless plain … the mean and broken rubbly hills, in the circular-horizoned landscape around him".[108] In contrast the Lower Southern Aranda man would see the country animated with totemic figures: native cat travellers from Port Augusta, a great casuarina tree rising to link the sky and earth, two eagle brothers rushing to avenge themselves against those who had cut down the tree. Strehlow, grew up with Aranda people at the Hermannsburg mission west of Alice Springs and although never initiated was entrusted with much secret-sacred knowledge. [109] He was in a unique position to experience both consciousness structures.

Only a few hundred years ago Europeans too did not see an objective scene separate from themselves when they looked from elevations.[110] In fact they rarely climbed mountains, as this was a dangerous activity likely to arouse the wrath of the dragons, gnomes or other supernatural beings who lived there.[111] Gebser analyses a famous letter of the Italian poet Petrarch, describing his ascent of Mt Ventoux in France in 1336, as an early example of the shift from pre-perspectival viewing to Renaissance perspectival viewing: the struggle within a man between the dawning awareness of landscape and space, and the medieval Christian ethic of eschewing the mundane, material world which distracts from the soul.[112] The Italian poet Dante, for example, had recently conceived climbing a mountain, Mt Purgatory, as an allegory of the Christian penitent life of suffering and spiritual growth, crowned by the rejection of earthly paradise in *The Divine Comedy.* Ignoring the protestations of a shepherd alarmed at this bizarre mountain ascent, Petrarch had a sense of the momentousness of his climb as he toiled upwards, "what I experienced today will surely benefit myself as well as many others who desire the blessed life".[113] To Petrarch's astonishment it was landscape he experienced at the summit – "the Rhône itself lay beneath our gaze," as well as the Mediterranean Sea, the Pyrenees – rather than the medieval expectation of proximity to God.[114] This discovery both amazed him and filled him with guilt and dread.

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[108] Strehlow, "Geography and the Totemic Landscape", 134.
[109] Philip Jones, "Strehlow, Theodor George Henry (Ted) (1908-1978)", *ADB,* online accessed 25 November 2016.
[110] Ibid., 11-13.
[111] W. W. Hyde, "The Development of the Appreciation of Mountain Scenery in Modern Times", *Geographical Review* 3, no.2 (1917): 107-118, 108-109; Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 336.
[112] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 12-15.
[113]Francesco Petrarca, *Le Familiari,* critical edition edited by Vittorio Rossi vol.1, (Florence: Sansoni, 1933),153-161, in Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 14, translation by Jean Gebser.
[114] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 14.

Mountain climbing for aesthetic purposes, or other individual motives, such as exercise or scientific discovery, was pioneered by scholars and clerics in the sixteenth century.[115] Naturalist Conrad Gesner walked up Mons Pilatus, near Lucerne to dispel the belief that the ghost of Pontius Pilate lived in the lake near the summit and created havoc with the weather.[116] Mythic consciousness experiences of nature in symbolic terms as a reflection of the psyche were gradually replaced by experiencing it as a reflection of the grandeur of God.[117] Over time, with the assumption of the disembodied eye, western people usurped the position of God.[118] Mountains became for many inert matter.

Figure 1-1, Sir Thomas Mitchell, Part of New South Wales from the summit of Jellore

The mountains of Gundungurra country were experienced differently by Aborigines. At Mt Towrang (near Goulburn), Primbrubna, "a very intelligent native," helped Major Mitchell transcribe a "Kangaroo Song" which seems to suggest a mountain songline running from Mt Werong (in the Great Dividing Range at the eastern edge of the Oberon plateau) and including Mt Marulan.[119] The details are sketchy but the kangaroo's internal organs are apparently

[115] Hyde, "The Development of the Appreciation of Mountain Scenery", 107-112.
[116] Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 430; Hyde, "The Development of the Appreciation", 112.
[117] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 10; Schama, *Landscape and Memory,* 436-441.
[118] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 393,424-25; Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 116-17.
[119] (A Gundungurra word for a pademelon (small kangaroo species) is 'warong', and it may be the same word as the name of that mountain.)

connected with mountains "Worrong, Marulan and other mountains".[120] Mitchell's interest in the song, which he repeated back to Primbrubna, drew the compliment, "Bal (not) stupid fellow you like other white fellows".[121] This remark appears to reflect Primbrubna's relief to find a European who appears to engage with Aboriginal consciousness.

In spite of his interest in Aboriginal ways, Major Mitchell's primary consciousness was perspectival, commodifying the land for colonisation. Figure 1.1 is his northward panorama from Mt Jellore, painstakingly drawn on a grid over four days, a fine example of linear perspectival technique. The Aboriginal figure in the foreground occupies the conventional role of the viewer, often incorporated into landscape paintings.[122] There is no indication whether this is a real person or a representative figure, but there is some irony in placing this Aboriginal man in a position usually occupied by a European viewer in the convention of landscape painting.[123] Mitchell, however, has not given him the commanding posture often depicted in Europeans at the top of elevations.[124] In 1828 any Gundungurra person on the summit of Mt Jellore was unlikely to be looking at the view as a landscape. Like Aranda people, he may have been experiencing the country as animated by its ancestral stories, exercising receptive rather than intrusive vision.[125] The river valleys carved in that expansive topography include the Wollondilly and Coxs Rivers, created by the chase of the giant fish/eel, Gurangatch, by Mirragan, the tiger quoll, in the Gundungurra epic".[126]

The visual advantage afforded by elevation meant mountains were materially important for commodifying and analysing consciousness. For mythic consciousness they had largely symbolic significance of closeness to God or the heavens. For Aboriginal magic-mythic consciousness the significance would probably have been unique for each mountain. Aboriginal ontologies do not universalise.[127] Walter Ong has suggested that oral cultures experience the world as event rather than an object-world.[128] In Mitchell's field book we see glimpses of all three consciousnesses, particularly the mental and magic, indicating different,

[120] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", 19 June 1828.
[121] Ibid.
[122] Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon*, 4; Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye,* 97.
[123] Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon,* 7-8.
[124] For example S. T. Gill's "Country NW of tableland, Aug. 22", c. 1846, National Library of Australia R347; some of the figures in "The Blue Mountains Pioneers", *Sydney Mail*, Christmas Supplement, 1880. Engraving, SLNSW DL X8/1-3.
[125] Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthetics'", 466-484, 467.
[126] Johnson et al., *Sacred Waters*, 172-74.
[127] Rose, *Nourishing Terrains*, 32
[128] Walter J. Ong, "World as View and World as Event", *American Anthropologist* 71, no.4 (1969): 634-647, 637.

and inconsistent, ways of experiencing the land. These consciousnesses reflect his experience of the manifold nature of land.

The consciousnesses of maps

Aboriginal stories often function on one level as maps. They may sound fanciful to western audiences but they operate on many levels, holding information that westerners may categorise into unrelated groups, such as species distribution and history.[129] Songs and stories may have a "false front" for an uninitiated audience, and deeper layers of meaning as revealed with increasing initiation.[130] Stories of the travels of the red kangaroo in Central Australia, for example, at one level map kangaroo distribution.[131] Places where the kangaroo travels on the ground coincide with grassland habitat suited to it. Where it travels supernaturally – underground or via a big wind – the habitat is not suited to it. The Gurangatch story may indicate a practice of Gundungurra people carrying eels or elvers from the eastern flowing waters near Jenolan Caves into the western flowing waters of the Oberon plateau (elaborated in Chapter 4).

Gurangatch, a giant eel-like creature, part reptile, part fish, whose eye shines "like a star through the water," inhabited a lagoon at the (now) junction of the Wollondilly and Wingeecaribbee Rivers.[132] He is pursued by Mirragan, tiger quoll and "renowned fisherman". In the ensuing battle Gurangatch creates the Wollondilly River, the Coxs River and a number of creeks – as a great magician he can make water flow uphill. In his journey to escape Mirragan he visits Wombeyan and Jenolan Caves, and finds his relations at the latter. They carry him up over the range to a deep waterhole called Joolundoo in the Duckmaloi River on the Oberon plateau. Mirragan, still in pursuit, enlists the help of four diving birds, but only the shag is able to dive deep enough reach Gurangatch. He pulls a piece of flesh from the back of Gurangatch, and Mirragan and his friends have a great feast. Many of the waterholes in the Coxs and Wollondilly Rivers are said to be inhabited by Gurangatch's descendants today.[133] This story, which names and describes many waterholes and creeks is, amongst many other things, a

[129] Ronald M. Berndt and Catherine H. Berndt, *The Speaking Land: Myth and Story in Aboriginal Australia,* (Ringwood, Vic: Penguin Books, 1998), 1-3.
[130] Ellis, *Aboriginal Music*, 62-68; James, "Kinship with Country, 47.
[131] A. E. Newsome, "The Eco-Mythology of the Red Kangaroo", *Mankind* 12, no. 4 (1980): 327-333.
[132] Johnson et al., *Sacred Waters,* 172-174.
[133] Ibid., 174

detailed map of Gundungurra country.[134] Aboriginal maps, embedded in story, in body painting, and in performance, such as song and ritual, operating on many levels, some secret and restricted, were intended for maintaining the power of particular places. [135] They were not intended for people unconnected with country to find their way around.[136]

Medieval maps, with their monsters and mythical creatures, reflect a combination of mythic and mental consciousnesses. They employ some geographically factual techniques but, especially in the world maps, these are often a context for understanding Christian life.[137] They are intended as illustrated histories and Christian narratives more than geographical realities.[138] Maps of mythic consciousness can be seen as geographies of the soul, visual equivalents in intention to Dante's *The Divine Comedy.*

"The eye carries man to different parts of the world," observed Leonardo da Vinci, final architect of linear perspective. "It has created … perspective. … It has discovered navigation".[139] Perspective allowed the development of scale maps, viewed from a single point at a particular distance from the earth and widely held to represent reality.[140] They in fact merely represent the reality of a consciousness which believes that only the material and measureable is real. Their universalising form of representing the world has no sense of the uniqueness of location. [141] It tends to commodify and dehumanise the territories it represents, ignoring social significance and thus easing colonising consciences.[142] The colonisation of both the United States and Australia was underpinned by Enlightenment principles which championed scientific understanding as a means to improvement.[143] "The 'humane' age, notably the era beginning with perspectivity, is most likely the least human, and the most

[134] Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon*, 86.
[135] Strang, *Uncommon Ground*, 222,224.
[136] Ibid., 222.
[137] E. A. Ciobanu, "European Maps of the Mind: Medieval and Modern Cartography between the Mythical and the Rational", *University of Bucharest Review* 2 (2006): 17-24; David Woodward, "Reality, Symbolism, Time, and Space in Medieval World Maps", *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 75, no. 4 (1985): 510-521, 510-11.
[138] Woodward, "Reality, Symbolism, Time", 510.
[139] Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,* 15.
[140] Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye,*102; Romanyshyn, "The Despotic Eye", 518.
[141] Strang, *Uncommon Ground*, 226,231.
[142] J. B. Harley, "Maps, Knowledge and Power", in Denis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels ed. *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 277-312, 303.
[143] John Gascoigne with the assistance of Patricia Curthoys, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 2,3,7.

inhumane ever," wrote Gebser of the Enlightenment.[144] It was the dominant consciousness of colonisation, but it was not the only consciousness of colonisers.

Moving between consciousnesses

It is likely that sustained interactions between Aborigines and colonists prompted changes, if only subtle, in the consciousnesses of both. While Major Mitchell was performing one of the defining acts of colonisation, his journal reveals that during his field work he accessed other consciousness structures than scientific rationalism. Surveying the Wollondilly River he camped with his convict servant, Bates, and "Billy the native" (which Billy is unclear). He wrote lyrically in his notebook of the craggy rocks, gilded in the sun and purple in the shade, the dark clear stream shaded by river oaks.[145] Simon Ryan argues that Australian explorers employed the cultural conventions of the picturesque and mimetic art in their descriptions and illustrations of the country they discovered, and that these self-servingly view the land as tailor-made for colonisation.[146] This attitude is an aspect of Mitchell's relationship with the land, but there is a less avaricious sense in his descriptions of beauty, more in line with Immanuel Kant's later argument that natural beauty arouses feelings of gratitude and ultimately love.[147] This is an aspect of mythic consciousness.

Mitchell slept comfortably on a bed of boughs softened with twigs and leaves constructed by Bates, his feet warmed by the fire.

> The fragrance of the gum leaves dangling in my face added a charm to this bower, the spontaneous handwork of a robber and a savage my only companions, while the murmur of the waters of the Wollondilly lulled me asleep.[148]

Engaging with this campsite through his senses, especially aural, he experiences a magic sense of the river's animation, in its murmuring and lulling him to sleep. Martin Thomas, in *The Artificial Horizon,* considers the lithograph of Mitchell's panorama from Mt Jellore (see Figure 1.1) and suggests that through this Aboriginal figure Mitchell may be registering his ambiguity

[144] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 150.
[145] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", 30 July 1828; Baker, *The Civilised Surveyor,* 34.
[146] Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye,* 54-100.
[147] Ibid., 59,64-66,79; Bradley Murray, "Beauty and Love", in *The Possibility of Culture: Pleasure and Moral Development in Kant's Aesthetics,* 31-45, (Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons, 2015), 32-33.
[148] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", 30 July 1828.

about the process of dispossession. [149] The above section of the journal lends weight to this theory. Mitchell, though, does not allow personal feelings to interfere with his professional role as a surveyor. "[A] surveyor cannot afford time for the contemplation of scenery however," he writes on another occasion, abruptly pulling himself out of a reverie about the solitude of the place.[150] This dominant commodifying mode of relating to land overrides his magic and mythic experiences of it.

The colonies of indigenous peoples gave Europeans an opportunity to awaken their magic consciousness. Numerous Britons from Captain Cook on, Mitchell among them, observed that Aborigines were remarkably happy peoples.[151] Disrupting the social code of the time Mitchell takes pleasure in the company of "a robber and a savage". Lawrence Struilby found a boat trip with Aborigines near Wellington the most joyous excursion of his life.[152] *The Letters of Rachel Henning* traces her transformation from disdain at the ugliness of the colony to a love of its beauty, and joy in the adventurous life of the settler.[153] Colonists glimpsed and often appreciated their magic consciousness, especially in the company of Aborigines, but as a society they were unable to integrate it, or the Aboriginal people, with their dominant consciousness.

As the nineteenth century descriptions of Aboriginal people are written in the third person, and by Europeans, it is more difficult to discern their shifts in consciousness. At the Parramatta Native Institution, founded in 1814, however, the Aboriginal children were clearly accessing their mental consciousnesses, "making equal progress in their studies with European children of the same age" by 1817, and were reading the Bible. [154] In 1819 Maria (Colebee's sister) took out the major award in the school examinations, competing against local European children.[155] The school was regarded a failure not because the children failed to learn, but

[149] Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon*, 8.
[150] Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketchbook, 21 May 1828-3 August 1830", 5 July 1828.
[151] James Cook, *The Journals of Captain Cook* 1, *The Voyage of the* Endeavour *1768-1771*, ed. J. C. Beaglehole, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 54; Mitchell, Field, Note and Sketchbook, 1828-1830, 31 May 1828; . John Graham ed., *Lawrence Struilby or, Observations and Experiences During Twenty-Five Years of Bush-Life in Australia/ Edited [sic] by Reverend John Graham,* (London: The Book Society, 1863),, 85.
[152] Graham, *Lawrence Struilby or, Observations and Experiences,* 119.
[153] Rachel Henning, *The Letters of Rachel Henning,* ed. David Adams, (Sydney, London, Melbourne, Wellington: Angus & Robertson, Sirius Books, 1963).
[154] J. Brook and J. L. Kohen, *The Parramatta Native Institution and the Blacktown,* (Kensington, NSW: University of New South Wales Press, 1991), 74, 79.
[155] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Sydney", 17 April 1819, 2.

because they kept returning to their families.[156] It seems they were not prepared to embrace mental consciousness exclusively. In Chapter 6 we will see Aboriginal people employing multiple consciousnesses in their relationships with land. The universality of these ways of experiencing land can be seen as indicating the multiple realities of land.

Conclusion

The two predominant consciousness structures that conversed in Gundungurra country as Major Mitchell began his map of the settled districts expressed almost mutually incomprehensible realities of land in fundamentally different modes. Aborigines can be seen conversing through song and performative trickery as well as speech. Attuned to performance, they interpreted European relationships with land through their wearing of shoes, their road building, and chopping down of trees on mountains. Mitchell conversed through speech, through writing in his field book and, probably largely unconsciously, through his actions. Mitchell's field book reveals multiple modes of his relationship with land, including a sense of its animation, perhaps enhanced by his sustained company with Aborigines.

This chapter has built on diverse scholarship – post-colonialism, anthropology, phenomenology and Jean Gebser's cultural philosophy, to interpret these conversations, and to provide a conceptual basis for this thesis. It has argued that the commodifying consciousness towards foreign lands, which characterised colonialism, had its roots in the Renaissance advent of perspective. The recognition by Panofsky, Gebser, Edgerton, Romanyshyn and Lepenies of the broad implications of perspective as a blueprint for a western way of seeing and knowing, often taken for visual reality, reveals that the widespread, western understanding of land as an inert, privately-owned commodity is a recent phenomenon. A few centuries ago most western people experienced land as animated and immersive, more in common with Aboriginal land relationships.[157] This understanding of the role of perspective provides a historical background to western individualism and to the gaze often referred to as 'othering', equivalent to anthropologists' concept of a shift from receptive to intrusive vision.[158] The chasm between the realities highlighted in this chapter explains why the conversation between them was so difficult.

[156] Ibid., 179.
[157] Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,* 153.
[158] Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthetics'", 466-484, 467.

Anthropology's focus on sensory perception recognises that there are subtleties and techniques of perception now largely lost to western people. Mitchell, however, attributed Billy of Kerrawary's night orientation skills merely to instinct. His Aboriginal companions can be seen trying, with limited success, to educate him in their ontology. The recent anthropological recognition of "mutuality between social relations and the material world" may be a step closer to a recognition of spirit immanent in matter.[159] On the basis of the understanding of magic and mental-rational consciousnesses elicited here, Chapter 2 steps back in time, offering an interpretation of the conversation of consciousnesses between Aboriginal people of the Blue Mountains and explorers attempting to cross them.

[159] Ibid.

Chapter 2 Gammoning the Explorers: resistance to settlement across the Blue Mountains

While Major Mitchell was camped near the site of Mittagong on his 1828 field trip, he "learned that the king of Nattai had 'sat down' near [Mitchell's] encampment, and in the evening [Mitchell] went to his fires".[1] Moyengully, the "king," was indicating through this non-invasive custom of "sitting down" with a small fire on approaching a camp that he wished to open a conversation with someone there.[2] Europeans, unwittingly, consistently flouted Aboriginal protocols of entry into the territory of others. Rather than waiting patiently at a suitable distance, they intruded with a lack of the "restraint in movement and speech the Aboriginal code required".[3]

From early in the colonial encounter Aborigines had been trying to instruct Europeans of their protocols of land and social relationships. When Governor Arthur Phillip's expedition of April 1791 to the Hawkesbury River, crossed that river into Boorooberongal country, his Cadigal companions, Colbee and Boladaree, were clearly agitated.[4] They showed incomprehension as to why the party had come there when they could remain at home "with a sufficiency of food".[5] Colbee seems to have been trying to explain Aboriginal protocol, but his audience hearing his indirect way of imparting information from their mental consciousnesses failed to realise this. When that line of reasoning failed the Cadigal men adopted the colonists' Cartesian habit of dividing things into good and bad.[6] This place was *wee-ree* (bad) and Rose Hill (Government House) *bud ye ree* (good), with the same explanation: "At Rose Hill are

[1] Thomas Mitchell, "Field, Note and Sketch Book, 1828-1830", MLC42, 31 May, 1828.
[2] Martin Thomas, *The Many Worlds of R. H. Mathews: In Search of an Australian Anthropologist,* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2012), 83.

[3] Sylvia Hallam, "A View from the Other Side of the Frontier: Or 'I Met a Man Who Wasn't There'", *Aboriginal History* 7, no. 2 (1983): 134-156, 142; D. W. A. Baker, "Exploring with Aborigines: Thomas Mitchell and His Aboriginal Guides", *Aboriginal History* 22 (1998), 42.
[4] Watkin Tench, *1788:* comprising *A Narrative of the Expedition to Botany Bay* and *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*, ed. and introduced by Tim Flannery, (Melbourne: Text, 1996), originally pub. 1789, 188-192,198.
[5]Ibid., 188. Phillip assumed they wanted to go home because they were disappointed to find this was not a hunting expedition. (Arthur Phillip, "Phillip's Journal", in John Hunter, An Historical Journal of Events at Sydney and at Sea 1787-1792, [1793], ed. John Bach, (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1968), 299-376, 344.
[6] Tench, *1788,* 192, note on 195.

potatoes, cabbages, pumpkins, turnips, fish and wine: here are nothing but rocks and water".[7] They apparently felt they were talking to a very simple-minded audience. As well as trying to explain their protocol, Colbee and Boladaree tried to subvert the expedition's invasion of Boorooberongal country by refusing to cooperate with the enterprise. They pretended to be lost, and refused to contribute to camp duties. Watkin Tench and Phillip, who recorded these interactions, were exasperated but failed to grasp the intent of the communication. Historian Inga Clendinnen observes them as examples of mutual incomprehension of "ways of understanding the world," and as indicative of the "strict territoriality" of Aborigines, but also reads their statements at face value.[8] Thus Colbee and Boladaree were not "accomplished campers," were "hopelessly lost [in Boorooberongal country], and if asked for 'Rose Hill' would unerringly point in the wrong direction".[9] The Aboriginal orienteering skill we saw in the previous chapter suggests that such navigational confusion was highly unlikely. These interpretations underscore the hermeneutic benefit of reading the conversation in the light of some understanding of these two consciousness structures. Rather than wanting to go back to Rose Hill for food and comfort, Colbee seems to be saying that one of the few justifiable reasons for entering another people's territory uninvited, and with no social purpose, was duress of hunger. This interpretation seems to be supported by records of almost the same words said to explorers or early settlers across the continent, which also fell on deaf ears. "What for do you who have plenty to eat and much money, walk so far away in the bush? ….why did you not stop at home," demanded Imbat, a west Australian Aboriginal man of starving explorer George Grey.[10]

Equally Europeans were frustrated in trying to explain their consciousness. Tench comments on the "impossibility" of the "Indians" understanding "curiosity" as a motive for the expedition.[11] Explorer George Grey, like Tench, merely assumed the "natives" lacking in

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[7] Ibid.,119.
[8] Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers,* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003), 202-08.
[9] Ibid., 202-3.
[10] George Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia* vol. 2, (1841), online, accessed 25 February 14. http://books.google.com.au/books?id=7fGQch1UK7YC&pg=PT108&lpg=PT108&dq=George+Grey+%2B+Imbat&source=bl&ots=RHOGQjSu9O&sig=x09PQk-Y6tHyERNjaVe-SnIrlrE&hl=en&sa=X&ei=8pwKU5jZH62ciAfts4DYDg&ved=0CEIQ6AEwBQ#v=onepage&q=George%20Grey%20%2B%20Imbat&f=false.
Similarly, "White fellows full, full, come along caleen [over the sea], want more, more", said 'Old Eaglehawk' Nimagauley, north west of Bathurst in the 1830s". John Graham (ed.), *Lawrence Struilby; or, Observations and Experiences During Twenty-Five Years of Bush-life in Australia,* (London: The Book Society, 1863), 83.
[11] Tench, *1788,* 188.

comprehension for not understanding "our love of travel".[12] Curiosity was an esteemed Enlightenment value, and was understood in general by Enlightenment people as the motive for travel.[13] Curiosity was, however, regarded by many Aboriginal peoples as rudeness, or "uncivilized" behaviour.[14] Colbee and Boladeree both refused the prompting of Governor Phillip's party to ask the Borooberongal whether they practiced extraction of the front tooth (an initiatory practice of some Aboriginal peoples) and "shewed every desire to waive the subject".[15] Left to their own martial traditions for an explanation the Europeans interpreted from the Aborigines' uneasiness that tooth avulsion was a "mark of subjection imposed by the … Cameragal … on the weaker tribes around them".[16] The absurdity of this interpretation highlights the chasm in consciousness between colonists and Aborigines. For Tench, colonists' travel had purpose, but "[t]o comprehend the reasons which induce an Indian … to wander amidst these dreary wilds baffles penetration".[17] The gulf between the realities of the two cultures, and the European sense of superiority, set the scene for encounters where Aboriginal resistance to the spread of settlement went unnoticed.

As colonial explorers searched for a way across the Blue Mountains Aborigines seem to have exploited European ignorance to try to contain the colony to the coastal plain. The official crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813 opened the way for settlement of the Bathurst and Oberon districts. It had taken the colony an astonishing 25 years to effect what Chris Cunningham points out is not a particularly difficult feat.[18] Governor Lachlan Macquarie regarded the delay as a subject of "astonishment and regret".[19] This chapter amplifies suggestions of two scholars to argue that the consistent use of subtle forms of Aboriginal resistance was a deliberate factor in the delay of this European achievement. Martin Thomas remarks in *The Artificial Horizon,* his musing on the role of imagination and myth in European

[12] Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery.*
[13] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550-1800,* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 1995); Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetic of Travel Writing,* (Oxford: OUP, 2004); Axel Gelfert, "Hume on Curiosity", *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 21, no. 4 (2013); Paul Martin Opdal, "Curiosity, Wonder and Education seen as Perspective Development", *Studies in Philosophy and Education* 20, no. 4 (2001), 331-344.
[14] Henry Reynolds *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia,* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1982), 26; Diana James "Kinship with Country: Acts of Translation in the Cross-Cultural Performance Space: A case study on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of Central Australia", PhD dissertation ANU, (2005), 65- 66.
[15] Tench, *1788,* 194.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., 191.
[18] Not a remarkable feat - Chris Cunningham, *The Blue Mountains Rediscovered: Beyond the Myths of Early Australian* Explorers, (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1996), 59, 154–155.
[19] J. T. Campbell, "Government and General Orders", *The Sydney Gazette*, 10 June 1815, 1.

relationships with the Blue Mountains, that the overwhelming intention of Aboriginal engagement with Blue Mountains explorers was to inhibit exploration.[20] And Henry Reynolds' contention that the Aboriginal response to white invasion was "more complex and more varied than anyone
has hitherto suggested," similarly establishes an important starting point for understandings Aboriginal actions in the Oberon district.[21] Since the publication of Reynolds' ground-breaking *The Other Side of the Frontier,* violent resistance has been widely documented.[22] Other forms of resistance, such as sorcery and trickery, however, have received little attention.[23]

A cumulative reading against the grain of journals of early explorers into the Blue Mountains seems to reveal a variety of methods the Gundungurra and their allies used to minimise intrusion into their lands. The conversations they appear to record include numerous forms of trickery - rumour mongering, dissembling, distraction, practical jokes – and became increasingly intimidatory. Europeans were easy to trick because of their widespread belief that Aborigines were simple-minded.[24] Many of the strategies were inventive, often subtle, at times very witty, and less likely to cause a punitive response. Sorcery, like trickery, a magic consciousness practice, was probably a widespread strategy against European dispossessors, and some evidence of it is found in this chapter.[25] Using the journals of the expeditions of John Wilson, Francis Barrallier, George Caley, Gregory Blaxland and George Evans, which include encounters and conversations with Aboriginal groups, this chapter contends that the cumulative record supports the impression that Aborigines were in fact manipulating the colonists.[26] The "mountains" Aborigines involved in this resistance were, it seems,

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[20] Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon*, 143.
[21] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier*, 2.
[22] Peter Read, *A Hundred Years' War: The Wiradjuri People and the State,* (Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1988); Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney,* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 448-516; Peter Turbet, *First Frontier: The Occupation of the Sydney Region, 1788-1814*, (Dural, NSW: Rosenberg, 2011).
[23] Neil Gunson, "An Interview with David Unaipon", conducted by Horace Leaf, *Aboriginal History,* 23, (1999): 111-116, 115. Phillip O'Neill, "Putting the English in Drag: Bungaree's Theatre of Mimicry as a Response to Colonialism", *Cross Cultures* 28 (1996), identifies Bungaree's mimicry of Governor's Darling and Brisbane as resistance in; Barry Morris, *Domesticating Resistance: The Dhangadi Aborigines and the Australian State,* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 1987); Other commentators mention it in passing, e.g., Heather Goodall, and Allison Cadzow, *Rivers and Resilience Aboriginal People on Sydney's Georges River* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2009), 44; Martin Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon: Imagining the Blue Mountains* (Carlton, Vic: University of Melbourne Press 2003), 143.
[24] Lachlan Macquarie, for example believed them, "honestly Inclined, and perfectly devoid of … designing Trick and Treachery", Macquarie to Bathurst, 8 October1814, *HRA* 8, 368.
[25] Gunson, "An Interview with David Unaipon", 111-116, 115.
[26] John Price, "Journey into the interior of the Country New South Wales", ML A78-2, and in Ross Brownscombe ed., *On Suspect Terrain: Journals of Exploration in the Blue Mountains, 1795-1820,*

predominantly Gundungurra-speaking people, the same people who appear from fragmentary records to have been the traditional owners of at least part of the Oberon plateau (see Appendix 1).[27]

A number of scholars have suggested that Aborigines assisted the European Blue Mountains exploration, and this has found its way into popular opinion.[28] It is undeniable that they gave Caley help with the direction of the flow of rivers; that John Wilson, who reached the Goulburn area on his second and little-known expedition, gained his bush skills from living with Aborigines; that Barrallier's ambiguous guide, Gogy, assisted him, mostly in hunting, translation and the building of shelters; and John Burne, guide to Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth, may well have learned the route to the area of later Springwood from Aboriginal people. These are, however, largely indirect or unintended contributions. Understanding something of the reality of land experienced by Aborigines clarifies the nature of the conversation between the colonisers and the Aborigines of the region.

Six months after the crossing of Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth, Assistant Surveyor George Evans marked a road to the site of Bathurst with the conspicuous chain-measuring procedure in 1814.[29] The implication of impending invasion would probably have been clear to the

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([Brighton East, Vic.]: Forever Wild Press, 2004), 59-68; Francis Barrallier, "Journal of the expedition, undertaken by order of His Excellency Governor King, into the interior of New South Wales, by F. Barrallier, ensign in the New South Wales Corps", *HRNSW* Appendix A 5, (1805), 749-825; George Caley, unnamed journal MLC118; Gregory Blaxland to John Oxley Parker, 10 February 1823 in Joanna Armour Richards ed., *Blaxland - Lawson – Wentworth 1813* (Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1979), 64-66. While William Dawes, Watkin Tench, William Paterson, Henry Hacking, Matthew Everingham, and George Bass all made attempts to cross the mountains, they mostly left no direct record of them and apparently had little or no contact with Aborigines - Ross Brownscombe ed., *On Suspect Terrain*, 33-38,54-55; Chris Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 15; Watkin Tench, *1788,* 111-113,116; David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales,* (Sydney: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1975, originally published 1802) 1:73,262,322, 2:75-76; Valerie Ross, *The Everingham Letterbook: Letters of a First Fleet Convict* (Wamberal, NSW: Anvil Press with the Royal Australian Historical Society, 1985), 49 -58.

[27] This thesis makes no claim to define Aboriginal boundaries, but notes that at least two Gundungurra song-lines end or begin on Oberon plateau (see Appendix 1).

[28] Grace Karskens, "The Blue Mountains Crossings: New Histories from the Old Legends", *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 16, (2014):197-225; Chris Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 41-42, 154; especially R. Else Mitchell, "George Caley: His Life and Work", *JRAHS* 25, no.6, (1939), 483; Cambage, "Barrallier's Blue Mountain Exploration in 1802", *Surveyor* 23:8, 145; J Richards, *Blaxland-Lawson-Wentworth 1813,* 21; Warren Brown 'Across the Great Divide 1813 – 2003 with Warren Brown, "Crossing the Great Divide – surveying an ancient land", in *The Daily Telegraph,* 7 March 2013, 21; "Australian Stories", collection managed by the Office for the Arts, on the *Register for Online Services* website http://australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/crossing-the-great-dividing-range accessed 19 March 2013

[29] G. W. Evans, "Assistant-Surveyor Evan's Journal, 1813-1814", in *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841,* ed. George Mackaness, (Sydney: Horwitz-Grahame, 1965), 32.

mountain people. Evans' return journey through the mountains was hampered by fire. Stephen Pyne has shown fire was another Aboriginal resistance strategy, as well as a domestic and land management tool.[30] Within a month the mountain people's resistance became violent. The 1814-1816 War on the Cumberland Plain has not previously been linked with Evans' road marking because it has been viewed from Sydney, rather than from the reality of the mountain people. Its causes mystified colonists, and perplexed scholars, but when looking at the implications of the road for the mountain people, the connection is compelling.[31] The initial raids on farms near the Nepean River were many kilometres from Evans' Blue Mountains track so it is not surprising the settlers did not link the Cowpastures attacks with the opening of the road over the Blue Mountains, but the Nepean and the Cowpastures were the main front of the mountains Aborigines with the colony. While it is impossible to make definitive interpretations of the intentions of mountains people in their interactions with explorers, it is most useful to look at the results of those interactions, and not to take what was said too literally. As Robert Kenny wisely suggests in *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming,* "the symbolic is a more useful way of reading Aboriginal Australian action," it "seeks to express the otherwise inexpressible".[32] This is useful advice in reading against the grain. Gebser's consciousness structures facilitate interpreting the conversation between mountains Aborigines and explorers that came from mutually incomprehensible realities. This chapter argues that the realities revealed here, reflect something of the complex nature of land.

The first expedition of John Wilson and John Price

Two of the earliest expeditions through the mountains that ringed Sydney were led by John Wilson, an emancipist who had lived with Aborigines near the Hawkesbury for about five years, and claimed to have travelled 100 miles in all directions around Sydney.[33] In 1798 Governor Richard Hunter enlisted his skills, hoping to disprove the rumour circulating among

[30] Stephen J. Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia,* (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), 139,186-191.
[31] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Sydney",14 May 1814, 2; Carol Liston, "The Dharawal and Gandangara in Colonial Campbelltown, New South Wales, 1788-1830", *Aboriginal History,* 12, (1988), 49-62, 50; Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney,* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 492; Peter Turbet, *First Frontier: The Occupation of the Sydney Region, 1788-1814* (Dural, NSW: Rosenberg, 2011) 198.
[32] Robert Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World.* (Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2007), 173.
[33] Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 74-76; David Colllins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* vol. 2, (A.H & A.W. Reed P/L and the Royal Australian Historical Society, 1975, originally pub. T. Cadell and W. Davies, London, 1802), 214.

convicts of a route "to China or … some other colony where they expect every comfort".[34] The source of the rumour was apparently "a strange and unintelligible account which one of these men [apparently not Wilson] … who had resided for some time with the natives, had collected from the mountain savages".[35] Hunter dispatched four of the strongest of the convicts who were apparently intending to escape to "this fancied paradise, or to China," with four soldiers in a party led by Wilson. Just beyond the Nepean however, three of the four convicts elected to return with the soldiers. [36] Wilson continued with John Price, Governor Hunter's servant who recorded the journey, and a convict called Roe.[37] The day after they left they met a party of Aborigines

> which gave a very good account of the place we were in search of ….. [and said] that there was a great deal of Corn and Potatoes, and that the people were very friendly, we hearkened to their advice we altered our course according to their direction, one of them promised that he would take us to a party of Natives which had been there, but he not coming according to his promise, we proceeded on our journey as he had directed us.[38]

This "advice" stopped the progress of the trio and directed them to spend the next day and a half struggling through "ground very rocky and bushey so that we could scarce pass" and a river also almost impassable due to its vertical banks. They were probably between the Nepean and Bargo Rivers south west of today's Picton in what became known, notoriously, as the "Bargo Brush".[39] One informant claims the word *Bargo* is "Aboriginal" for cripple.[40] Most of the outward journey of this expedition, which probably reached past today's Bowral, was through difficult terrain.[41] Chris Cunningham suggests in *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* that the "friendly natives" could have been playing a joke, steering them away from sacred sites or

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[34] Ross Brownscombe ed., *On Suspect Terrain: Journals of Exploration in the Blue Mountains,* 59,62; Andy Macqueen, *Blue Mountains to Bridgetown: The Life and Journeys of Barrallier 1773-1853,* (Springwood, NSW self published, 1993) 67.
[35] Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* 2:55.
[36] Ibid., 54-56.
[37] Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 78-79.
[38] John Price, "Journey into the Interior"; also quoted in R. H. Cambage, "Exploration Beyond the Upper Nepean in 1798", *JRAHS* 6, no.1 (1920), 3-4.
[39] Brownscombe, ed., *On Suspect Terrain,* 63-64. Governor Macquarie described it as a "very long Barren Scrubby Brush of 9 miles extent", in "Journal of a Tour of Inspection of the Western and Southern Countries some time since discovered by Chas Throsby Esqr. In Octr and Novr 1820", 17 October 1820, online, accessed 20 January 2017, http://www.mq.edu.au/macquarie-archive/lema/1820/1820oct.html.
[40] Geographical Names Board of New South Wales, entry 2704, for Bargo, online, accessed 9 July 2015, http://www.gnb.nsw.gov.au/place_naming/placename_search/extract?id=MajtWyWA.
[41] Brownscombe ed., *On Suspect Terrain,* note page 67.

from other white men living in the bush.[42] This direction plus the alluring details of the corn and potatoes and the friendly people suggest that whatever other purposes this exchange may have had, the Aborigines were not in fact being helpful, and Cunningham seems right about a joke being made at the colonisers' expense. In directing the explorers on a most torturous route, they were probably intending not only to mislead, but to discourage further incursion into their country.

Rumour, trickery and humour: techniques of covert resistance

The role of the Aboriginal inhabitants of Sydney in rumour mongering was noted by Judge Barron Field, who described them as "the carriers of news and fish; the gossips of the town".[43] Aboriginal people were associated with the source of some rumours that may be seen as likely to discourage official exploration, and to encourage convict absconders. François Peron, naturalist and anthropologist on Nicolas Baudin's expedition 1880-1804, reported:

> (the natives) all agree in the impossibility of passing that western barrier; and what they relate of the countries which they suppose to exist on the other side, clearly proves that those countries were totally unknown to them. They assert that there is an immense lake, on the banks of which live white people like the English, who dress in the same manner, and have large towns built of stone[44]

As Thomas points out, it is unclear whether the white settlement idea came first from Aborigines or convicts, however it is highly unlikely Aborigines generally believed the mountains impenetrable.[45] Charles Throsby met "a large tribe of Natives" south of (present) Oberon in 1819, and recognised several from the Cowpastures, demonstrating that they had crossed the Blue Mountains and the Great Dividing Range.[46] He noted that "the Natives in the interior Travel great distances at particular Seasons".[47] It is also improbable Aborigines believed the white town furphy. Such stories have been seen as evidence that Aborigines would say what they thought was wanted.[48] This was not, however, a mindless response, but

[42] Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 79.
[43] Barron Field, "Journal of an Excursion Across the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, October, 1822", in., *Fourteen Journeys,* ed. Mackaness, 118-142,127.
[44] M. F. Peron, *A Voyage of Discovery to the Southern Hemisphere, Performed by Order of the Emperor Napoleon during the years 1801, 1802 and 1804,* (translated from the French, London: B. Macmillan, 1809), 290.
[45] Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon,* 131,142.
[46] Charles Throsby, "A Journal on a Tour to Bathurst through the Cowpastures", 25 April – 11 May 1819, SANSW 9/2743, 115-118.
[47] Throsby, "Journal of a Tour to Bathurst", 7 May 1819.
[48] Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 73; Cambage, "Exploration Beyond the Upper Nepean", 4.

a way of dealing with questions which they did not want to answer.[49] Taken in the context of the remarkably long time (twenty-five years) it took for Europeans to cross the Blue Mountains, and the conversation examined in this chapter, it is possible to see a pattern of deliberate misinformation by Aborigines. Governor Hunter certainly felt that the rumour of the colony over the mountains where life was easy was having a subversive effect.[50] This may not have been the intention but Aborigines would easily have identified the split between convicts and the free, and may at times have exploited it.

Trickery or gammoning was also an Aboriginal practice, widely experienced by Europeans.[51] The word *gammon* was used in "nineteenth century Australian pidgin English, and is used in Aboriginal English" still.[52] Examples of trickery from around the country include: Colbee and Bennelong foiling the posses searching for Pemulwuy by "skilful distraction"; "wild blacks" approaching settlers in Queensland apparently unarmed but dragging spears through the grass by their big toes; in the days before martial law of 1824 in Bathurst, Aborigines were killing cattle for food, but making a hole in the carcass the size of a musket hole to avoid punishment.[53] Trickery is also a motif in Aboriginal stories. In many of the stories of the origin of fire, for example, from across the country, trickery is a key element.[54] It is also an important strategy in Gundungurra stories. In the Gundungurra "Origin of Fire" the black snake and the blue-tongued lizard kept the only fire hidden in an ants' nest. To throw others off the scent they would head to and from their camp in misleading directions, or cook some of their meat in the sun and pretend that was how all of it was cooked.[55] In another of numerous Gundungurra examples of gammoning, the bat and the peewee tricked through lying and using

[49] John Meredith, *The Last Kooradgie: Moyengully, Chief Man of the Gundungurra* (Kenthurst, NSW: Kangaroo Press, 1989) 31-32; Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon,* 141.
[50] Collins, *An Account of the English Colony,* 2:55.
[51] *Gammon* was first used in eighteenth century slang. Judy Pearsall, *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 583.
[52] Bruce Moore ed., *Australian Concise Oxford Dictionary,* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 4th edition, 2004).
[53] Heather Goodall, and Allison Cadzow, *Rivers and Resilience,* 44; W. E. H. Stanner, "A History of Indifference Thus Begins", in *The Dreaming and Other Essays* (Collingwood, Vic.: Black inc. Agenda, 2010), 111-112; Graham ed., *Lawrence Struilby,* 87; *The Sydney Gazette*, "Magistrate for the Ensuing Week", 8 January 1824, 2; Charles H. Holmes, *We Find Australia,* (London: Hutchinson, 1933), 144; also see Richard Sadleir, *Aborigines of Australia,* (Sydney: T. Richards, Government Printer, 1883), 15,19.
[54] Kenneth Maddock, "Myths of the Acquisition of Fire in Northern and Eastern Australia", in R. M. Berndt ed., *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology: Modern Studies in the Social Anthropology of the Australian Aborigines,* (Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies: University of Western Australia Press, 1979), 174-199.
[55] R. H. Mathews, *Some Mythology and Folklore of the Gundungurra Tribe*; edited with commentary and essay on the work of Mathews by Jim Smith, (Wentworth Falls: Den Fenella Press, 2003), 17.

scare tactics in "The Origin of Water".[56] It is significant that Aboriginal people adopted a number of nineteenth century synonyms for trickery like *gammon* and *humbug* and maintained their usage after they lost currency in standard English.[57] It seems they had cultural resonance. By its nature trickery is often difficult to detect, but it seems to have been a strategy of the Gundungurra to subvert colonial exploration in the Burragorang Valley.

Francis Barrallier, Gogy and Goondel

The Gundungurra were in the position of being able to learn of the initial impact the colony had on their neighbours in the first decade of the nineteenth century, while largely immune from its direct effects. Their mountain location largely protected them from the intrusions that their neighbours of the Cowpastures experienced, resulting in little record about them until the expedition of French engineer and explorer Francis Barrallier, who was employed in the New South Wales Corps between 1800 and 1803. Barrallier is one of few people to record the names of Gundungurra people. In 1802 he made three excursions through the Burragorang Valley (now Lake Burragorang, inundated by Warragamba Dam to form Sydney's major water supply) from a depot near the site of Oakdale. He too was seeking to cross the mountains to prove that there was not a white settlement on the other side, though as explorer, George Caley said, "I believe his object [from the governor] was to penetrate into the country westward".[58] Bushwalking historians and geographers have pondered since R. H. Cambage in 1910 on the exact route Barrallier took, especially the terminal point of his expedition but it is widely recognized that he came within a day's walk of the western side of the Great Dividing Range and the gentle terrain of the Oberon plateau.[59] The expedition terminated at a cliff between two Aboriginal pathways to that plateau: that over Kanangra Walls and that over Mt Werong, the Colong Stock route.[60] Barrallier's detailed journal, published in 1805, leaves a record of conversations between his party and the people of the Burragorang Valley and surrounds.

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[56] Ibid., 20.
[57] For example Stanner quotes the use of *humbug* in "Aboriginal Humour", in *W.E.H. Stanner: The Dreaming and Other Essays* ,271.
[58] Macqueen, *Blue Mountains to Bridgetown,* 70.
[59] Ibid., 82,84,86,151-152; Jim Barrett, *Kowmung River,* (Glenbrook, NSW: self published, 1993), 6-15; A. E. J. Andrews, "Barrallier and Caley: The Evidence of their Burragorang Maps 1802 and 1806", *JRAHS,* 82:1, (1996) 60-72; R. H. Cambage, "Barrallier's Blue Mountain Exploration in 180", *JRAHS* 3, no.1 (1915): 11-25.
[60] Barrett, *Kowmung River,* 2.

Barrallier was accompanied by Gogy, a Cowpastures (or Georges River) man, who was to have a long and ambiguous history of relationships with Europeans. [61] Barrallier also collected a number of other Aboriginal companions on the way to his depot. On his first expedition from the depot into the Burragorang Valley, Barrallier encountered a Gundungurra group, whose leader was Goondel. Aspects of the conversation with Goondel's people echoed Wilson's expedition. Aborigines in both encouraged the idea of the rumoured white settlement beyond the ranges. Gogy told Barrallier he had learned that only Mootik, "could give me any information about the new settlement, which, he had heard, was on the other side of the mountains". The intimidating Mootik, however, refused to answer Gogy's questions. Secondly Goondel used the ploy of raising expectations of a meeting, then leaving the Europeans to wait in vain. He sent messengers to announce that he was coming to meet Barrallier, on the second expedition. The latter felt "rather pleased about it," and waited in vain with dinner until 4 pm. It is hard to believe that this tactic was not a means of taking power in the conversation, and discouraging advancement in exploration.

It seems that Goondel regarded Barrallier's Aboriginal companions as the expedition's main threat. The relative incompetence of Europeans in the bush was obvious to Aboriginal people, and a source of amusement. Colbee and Boladeree had taken delight in mimicking the "misfortunes" of Governor Phillip's party in "tumbling amidst nettles, and sliding down precipices". [62] Gogy had told Barrallier that he had lived with the Burragorang people when his own people were angry with him, so he may well have known the way to the Oberon plateau. Goondel and Mootik terrified and insulted Gogy in spite of the fact that he was holding Barrallier's gun. They largely ignored him, except to throw "terrible glances at him, biting their lips which … made him aware of the danger he was running among them". [63] They then refused to share their meal of possum with him, at which he took great affront. Gogy's terror of Goondel caused the termination of the first expedition. After this meeting he insisted on returning to the depot, for fear of his life. He was absent from the second expedition, and departed early from the third. His most positive contributions to the expeditions seem to have been interpreting and the building of huts along the way. If Goondel had regarded Gogy's assistance to Barrallier as a threat, he managed to defuse it.

[61] Goodall and Cadzow, *Rivers and Resilience,* 52; Field, "Journal of an Excursion Across the Blue Mountains, 1824", 118-142,129.
[62] Tench, *1788*, 192.
[63] Barrallier, "Journal of the Expedition into the Interior", 771.

Aboriginal people who lived in settled areas were under pressure from two cultures. In stable circumstances some negotiated this split with consummate success.[64] This could not be said for Gogy in Goondel's country. It is apparent from his persistent presence with Barrallier, and from Judge-Advocate Barron Field's reminiscences, that he enjoyed and encouraged the company of Europeans, but as an Aborigine his relationship with his country and people defined his being.[65] Neighbouring tribal groups, though at times enemies, also had strong connections with one another, and Europeans often regarded them simplistically as mutual enemies.[66] Gogy's people were already significantly impacted by colonisation. His ambiguous role in the colonial conversation may reflect his own ambivalence and divided loyalties between the newcomers whose friendship could provide much-needed benefits, and his own people. It seems he was operating with a dual consciousness, such as noted by Ann McGrath and Marie Fels of stock workers and Aboriginal police.[67]

Goondel had a different tactic with Barrallier's other companions. To Bungin, who came from the south, he offered the incentive of his young daughter, Wheengeewhungee, in marriage, apparently to keep Bungin with his people. Bungin explained this to Barrallier, when the first expedition was turning back at Gogy's insistence, and he (Bungin) remained with Goondel's people. The next morning, however, he caught up with Barrallier, saying Wheengeewhungee had run away, and offering to show Barrallier a shortcut back to the depot over a mountain. It was an offer Barrallier regretted accepting:

> It appeared to me so steep, nearly perpendicular, that my courage failed me when thinking of undertaking its ascension … I started climbing up. Bungin was by my side and supported me every time I slipped or when the stones to which I was holding gave way. (This climbing was one of the most trying I ever attempted) … I arrived at about 12 fathoms from the summit, exhausted with fatigue, and without the slightest hope of reaching it. The rock with which it was formed being perpendicular…he made me go round the mountain, passing over precipices of a frightful depth, and led me to an opening into the rock, through which he made me pass, crawling on my stomach, an in an instant I found myself on the summit[68]

[64] Tim Rowse, "'Were You Ever Savages?' Aboriginal Insiders and Pastoral Patronage", *Oceania* 58, no. 1 (1987): 81-99.
[65] Field, "Journal of an Excursion Across the Blue Mountains, 1824", 129.
[66] Karskens, *The Colony,* 484.
[67] Ann McGrath, *Born in the Cattle: Aborigines in Cattle Country*, (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1987), and Marie H. Fels, "'Good Men and True': The Aboriginal Police of the Port Phillip District", PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, quoted in Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines,* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1989), 138.
[68] Barrallier, "Journal of the Expedition into the Interior", 777.

Then he had to descend "several hills and another range of mountains" to get back to his depot, which he did in the dark. Barrallier never used that shortcut again, detouring round it in both subsequent trips. This incident has been taken as an example of Aboriginal helpfulness, and it may be.[69] It is tempting, however, to see it as Bungin playing a punitive and distracting trick on Barrallier, which he camouflaged with solicitousness. It is reminiscent of the trick played on John Wilson's party, when they were directed into almost impenetrable scrub, and Billy of Kerrawary's leading Mitchell on a three hour nighttime hike back to where he had started from. It is even possible that the ruse was Goondel's idea.

Chris Cunningham has suggested it was a ruse of a different nature: Goondel was chasing the escaping Wheengeewhungee "along the Wollondilly River" so Bungin "determining that it was diplomatic to avoid, rather than to encounter, the king's [Goondel's] party led the retinue on a 'shortcut.'"[70] Actually the text, in translation, says that Goondel was proposing to go "up the river". The original French is *"Goondel et sa bande se proposoient de remonter aujourd'hui la rivière".* [71] Going up the river was in the opposite direction to that Barrallier was taking.[72] There would thus have been no likelihood of Barrallier encountering Goondel's group while returning to the depot.

Goondel had an offering of food for two other young Aborigines travelling with Barrallier, one from the Cowpastures called Badbury. With Mootik and another he intercepted the second expedition at the junction of the Wollondilly and Cox's Rivers and presented them with a leg, a rib and another piece of kangaroo. Again this seems have been an action designed to align their loyalties with Goondel and company, rather than Barrallier. Certainly, although the second expedition was the most successful, it failed to find "a passage to the west" that Barrallier sought. If Cowpastures Badbury or the other young man knew the way, they kept their counsel.

On the third expedition it seems that Goondel was using fire to direct Barrallier's route. A fire blazed in the north-east, it was November and incredibly hot. This was Goondel hunting, Gogy

[69] Brownscombe ed., *On Suspect Terrain,* note page 110-111.
[70] Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 102.
[71] "G. and his (or her) group/band/troop/gang were considering going (back) up the river today". Definitely Upstream. (Maybe but probably not BACK upstream.)' translation by Georgia Allen, 26 September 2012.
[72] Barrallier, "Journal of the Expedition into the Interior", 776.

said, and "we must not disturb him".[73] The party headed up the Wollondilly River, which led, according to Gogy, to the country of "cannibals" and they "ought not to try and mix with them, because they would play [them] some nasty trick".[74] Gogy's acknowledgement of trickery as a likely Aboriginal strategy is a clue, alerting us to recognising it in reading against the grain. The next day more fires were burning to the west and west north west, which was the most direct route over the mountains. Barrallier wondered if one were a volcano. He turned back at Bonnum Pic, and found their huts had been burnt, which appears to have been a sign that their presence was no longer welcome. In spite of three attempts, it appears Goondel's people succeeded in deterring Barrallier from reaching the nearby Oberon plateau.

These sorts of behaviours could be taken as examples of the subversive behaviour that characterises oppressed peoples.[75] There may however be a distinction to be drawn between traditional Aboriginal cultural practices, which are often less direct than European ones, and the passive resistance of the powerless. Most Aboriginal people soon enough became oppressed in this country and doubtless have practised many subaltern techniques. For example Henry Reynolds reports several references to the Aboriginal practice of spitting on the ground when a white person passed or was mentioned as a sign of odium.[76] He also warns that because fear of white people's firearms preceded them, and parties of Europeans were unlikely to be undetected in any new district, explorers may not have been observing traditional practices.[77] Barrallier's journal, however, gives the impression that in this brief window of time the power balance is, if not in Goondel's favour, not against him either, although certainly Barrallier is accompanied by a small number of soldiers. The conversation of Goondel and his people in words and deeds seems to reflect techniques that were at least close to traditional strategies to discourage, resist and most of all direct the intruders as a means of protecting their land. Their methods, by their indirect nature, were well suited to be continued and adapted as subaltern techniques by dispossessed Aboriginal people.

[73] Ibid, 819.
[74] Ibid., 819.
[75] Gayatri Spivak, "Subaltern Studies: Deconstructing Historiography", in Jonathon D. Culler ed., *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts of Literary and Cultural Studies* 4,(New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 233.
[76] Henry Reynolds, "Aboriginal-European Contact History: Problems and Issues", in *Pastiche 1: Reflections on 19th century Australia,* Penny Russell and Richard White ed., (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin 1994), 47-65, 60.
[77] Ibid., 48-50.

George Caley and Cannaboygal, Gregory Blaxland

George Caley, botanist and collector of specimens for Sir Joseph Banks, made a number of expeditions to the south-west and west of Sydney, one in particular documented as being directed by Aborigines. In February 1804 he set out to define the limits of the Cowpastures, on the western side of the Nepean.[78] He was approached by an Aboriginal messenger who took him to meet a party that included the "greatly reverenced and feared" Cannaboygal, from the south. Caley shot a bird, a statement which he hoped would impress the party with the ferocity of European firearms, but this hope was disappointed. Declining to share his bread with the 27 Aborigines, as Cannaboygal had suggested, he almost certainly caused offence, as Gogy's reaction to being denied a share of the possum shows. Realising his "absence was more wished for than [his] company" Caley was directed by the local Aborigines out of his intended course. He reverted to it, however, once out of sight. That night he and his offsider could hear merriment from an Aboriginal camp which was alarmingly close and spent a tense night with guns loaded, worried that the deviation from the course they had been sent on would be seen as the "breach of fidelity" that it was. The next morning he tried to offer bread to Cannaboygal, who avoided him. He was escorted from the area by some of the local Aboriginal people. To say that he got "useful topographical information" from the Aborigines is only part of the story.[79] The Aborigines initiated the conversation and dictated its terms, controlled his movements by formal request, and, when he strayed from that direction, by intimidating him with their noisy presence, and with an escort on his direction home. Here again it seems the course of a European exploratory expedition in the Blue Mountains or their vicinity was directed by Aborigines.

Gregory Blaxland chose not to take Aboriginal guides on the celebrated 1813 expedition, because of his experience on a previous expedition about 1810 west from the Nepean, attempting to cross the Blue Mountains from the Cowpastures. Accompanied by two unnamed "Natives" he had followed a river, but it led south by east.[80] "The natives proved but of little use, which determines me not to take them again on any more distant expeditions. Very little information can be obtained from any tribe out of their own district, which is seldom

[78] Caley, George unnamed journal ML C118.
[79] R. Else-Mitchell, "George Caley: His Life and Work", *JRAHS* 25, no. 6 (1939): 437-542, 482.
[80] G. Blaxland, *Gregory Blaxland's "Narrative", Submitted to Mr Commissioner John T. Bigge, 1819,* in, *Fourteen Journeys,* ed. Mackaness 14.

more than thirty miles square," he wrote.[81] As there is abundant evidence that Aboriginal people around the Sydney district travelled frequently far further than within 30 square miles, Blaxland's guides seem to have been withholding information from him.[82] On the 1813 expedition they not only had no Aboriginal guide, but according to William Charles Wentworth they had "made determination to avoid all intercourse with (Aborigines)".[83] They may well have been correct that native guides would have been of little use on the 1813 expedition – to him, and past practices suggest that they may in fact have been a hindrance.

A warning for Surveyor George Evans

The mountains had been breached, but it seems the mountains Aborigines made a last attempt to discourage the spread of settlement into the interior. Six months after the successful crossing of the Blue Mountains, in November 1813, Governor Macquarie sent an expedition led by Assistant Surveyor George Evans to confirm and extend the discoveries of the previous party.[84] The expedition was under Aboriginal surveillance. Like many explorers, Evans was conscious of being watched.[85] Several times he mentions unseen Aboriginal presences nearby, suggesting he felt uncomfortable about it.[86] On the trip home the surveying party, like Barrallier's, experienced a different Aboriginal voice: fire. At the western foot of the Blue Mountains the natives were "numerous" and were lighting fires quite close around them.[87] But five days later,

> The Mountains have been fired; had we been on them we could not have escaped; the Flames rage with violence through thick underwood … The Marks in the Trees are burnt out, therefore I am obliged to go over them again. Our horses now want Grass …[88]

[81] Gregory Blaxland to John Oxley Parker, 10 February 1823, in Joanna Armour Richards ed., *Blaxland – Lawson- Wentworth 1813,* 64-66, 65.
[82] Paul Irish, *Hidden in Plain Sight: The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney,* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, 2017), 33-34; Throsby noted a man he had seen at the Cowpastures when he was near present day Black Springs, south of Oberon in 1819 in "Journal of a Tour to Bathurst", 7 May 1819; John Wilson maintained that while living with the Hawkesbury River Aboriginal people he had travelled for 100 miles within every direction of Sydney, in Chris Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 74-76.
[83] Richards ed., *Blaxland-Lawson-Wentworth,* 114.
[84] Evans, "Assistant-Surveyor Evan's Journal", 17-32,18, 32.
[85] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier,* 22, 101.
[86] Evans, "Assistant-Surveyor Evan's Journal", 20,23,27.
[87] Ibid., 29.
[88] Ibid., 30.

The next day the Mountains were "fired in all directions," the smoke so thick he could see nothing to the east. Chris Cunningham believes this was a bushfire.[89] That is possible, though Evans' language "have been fired" suggests he believed it was intentional. The fires were so hot they burnt the leaves at the top of the tallest trees. The usual technique of burning in the Blue Mountains apparently opened up the forest beneath the green shade of the trees "without the trunk being in any way damaged by it and without injuring the vegetation of their tops," according to a description by a traveller through the Blue Mountains in 1819.[90] This managed burning appears to have been a widely practised strategy.[91] Bill Gammage in *The Biggest Estate on Earth* stresses that Aboriginal knowledge of fire was so expert that fires were rarely out of control.[92] The fire Evans encountered seems a fire to intimidate, an interpretation supported by explorer Charles Sturt's observation of a fire at the southern end of the Macquarie Marshes, "we knew that the natives never made such extensive conflagration, unless they had some mischievous object in view".[93]

Stephen Pyne has amassed numerous examples of explorers or surveyors who experienced or acknowledged Aboriginal fire as a weapon, starting from Captain Cook, whose men were driven by fire back onto the ship at the site of Cooktown.[94] Peter Sutton found a number of instances of bushfires being deliberately lit to have an impact on Europeans in first contact situations, and Grace Karskens observed that around Prospect in western Sydney fire was an offensive tactic, targeting buildings and crops.[95] To this list I would add William Lawson, on his second expedition to Mudgee in 1821, and Surveyor J. B. Richards on the Oberon plateau north of the Abercrombie River in 1829, whose experiences with fire will be elaborated on in

[89] Cunningham, *Blue Mountains Rediscovered,* 144.
[90] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia,* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011), 158.
[91] Ibid., 163,169; Deborah Bird Rose with Nancy Daiyi, Kathy Deveraux, Margaret Daiyi, Linda Ford and April Bright, *Country of the Heart: An Indigenous Homeland* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2002), 22.
[92] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011).
[93] Captain Charles Sturt, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia,*Vol.1 (London, 1833), quoted in Stephen J. Pyne, *Burning Bush: A Fire History of Australia,* (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), 189-190.
[94] Such as William Hovell, John Oxley, Surveyor McLaren in South Australia, Thomas Mitchell, Governor Phillip, Augustus Gregory, Ernest Giles and E. B. Kennedy. (Stephen J. Pyne, *Burning Bush*, 139,186-191).
[95] Peter Sutton, "Stories about Feeling", in *Strangers on the Shore: Early Coastal Contacts in Australia*, ed. Peter Veth, Peter Sutton and Margo Neale, (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2008), 35-59,50; Grace Karskens, *The Colony,* 457; Gammage acknowledges that "enemies could start conflagrations", Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth,* 158.

Chapter 3.[96] It is difficult to say conclusively whether individual situations were instances of Aboriginal land management, or a technique for making orientation difficult and repelling unwanted visitors.[97] Considered cumulatively the latter is convincing. Thomas Mitchell, for example, was engulfed in smoke past the Namoi River for days so he "could never obtain a distinct view of the horizon".[98] William Giles described fires "starting up … around us in fresh and narrowing circles".[99] The fire Evans met obliterated his surveying marks, starved his pack animals and made him extremely uncomfortable. There was one advantage for Evans however: the clearing of the undergrowth made it possible for him to measure distance with his chain.[100] If the inferno were meant as a warning, it was not heeded by the colony.

The mountain people resort to violence

Just one month after George Evans returned from marking out the road, there was an outbreak of Aboriginal violence against farms along the Nepean River around Wallacia, on the western perimeter of the settlement. A series of furious and wantonly destructive crop raids was made over February 1814, answered by killings and reprisals.[101] After six years of peace colonists were puzzled.[102] Historians have suggested the cause of the 1814 outbreak, was "the oncoming drought".[103] Peter Turbet and others have pointed out that earlier dry times had not resulted in clashes, and attributes the attacks to the loss of land to settlement adding, "one thing is for sure, though: … Gandangara people from the mountains and the Southern Highlands had arrived in Dharawal country to take advantage of the harvest, possibly forcing the traditional owners out".[104] Turbet is probably right that the central issue was dispossession, but from the enormous numbers of Aboriginal people marshalling and raiding - 400 in one raid - it seems that neighbouring groups were cooperating rather than

[96] William Lawson, "Journal of an Expedition from Bathurst to the Liverpool Plains, 9-24 January 1822", ML C120 (-2), 18th, 21st, 24th January; letter J. B. Richards to Major Mitchell, 17 February 1829, SANSW 2/1572.
[97] Matthew Colloff, *Flooded Forest and Desert Creek: Ecology and History of the River Red Gum,* (Collingwood, Vic.: CSIRO, 2014), 104.
[98] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth,* 158.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Evans, "Assistant-Surveyor Evan's Journal", 31.
[101] Turbet, *First Frontier,* 194-199,224.
[102] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Sydney", 14 May 1814, 2.
[103] Carol Liston, "The Dharawal and Gandangara in Colonial Campbelltown", 49-62, 50; R. H. W. Reece, *Aborigines and Colonists: Aborigines and Colonial Society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s,* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974), 109; Karskens, *The Colony,* 492; Turbet, *First Frontier*, 198; "Sydney", *The Sydney Gazette* 16 March 1816, 2.
[104] Turbet, *First Frontier*, 198.

competing.[105] The issue, I contend, was the prospect of Aboriginal dispossession through and over the mountains.

Outbreaks of violence on the periphery of the colony had nearly always started with Aborigines raiding crops and seizing foodstuffs.[106] That, however, can be seen as enforced sharing. Dharuk people in 1798 carried off corn "with blankets and nets".[107] The 1814 raids were making a different statement. In one of the earliest ones at Wallacia: "His gardens had been ransacked. His pumpkins and melons had been cut and destroyed, vines and potatoes torn up and corn was scattered on the ground".[108] Several pigs were killed but only the largest was taken away. The fury of these raids suggests that they were more than food procuring, perhaps a warning of how Aborigines could subvert white settlement.

In June 1814 *The Sydney Gazette* reported rumours that the "mountain tribes" combined with the aggressive people of Jervis Bay (the Dharawal) were planning to attack the Cowpastures "when the moon shall become as large as the sun".[109] Women and children were evacuated from farms. The attack never happened but the unsettling effect was powerful.[110]

Grace Karskens has identified the "terror of uncertainty," the stress of the unpredictability of the attacks, as a weapon in the war waged by Pemulwuy. These warriors seem to have been employing the same tactic. The situation escalated into the "War on the Cumberland Plain," to use Karskens' term. This hostile conversation was terminated on the coastal plain with shocking deaths of at least 14 Aborigines, including women, children, and the mighty Cannaboygal, driven over a cliff at Appin.[111]

As settlement spread over the mountains it opened new fronts with the mountains people. In January 1815, Cox's Road was finished and mobs of cattle started to head over the mountains. Government and privately owned cattle were pastured at Coxs River (near Hartley), numbering in the hundreds, others were taken to Bathurst.[112] John Oxley sent cattle to the Berrima

[105] Ibid., 199,224,238.
[106] Karskens, *The Colony,* 456-492; Collins *An Account of the English Colony* 1:28-29,31,304-305.
[107] Collins, *An Account of the English Colony,* 1:348.
[108] Turbet, *First Frontier*, 195.
[109] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Sydney", 4 June 1814, 2.
[110] Karskens, *The Colony,* 492.
[111] Turbet, *First Frontier*, 239-242.
[112] Merryll Hope, *Hassalls & Marsdens of Early Bathurst and O'Connell* (self published, Bathurst, 2010), 28; Instructions to the commander of a detachment of the 46th regiment SANSW 4/1798, 34.

area.[113] The impact of hundreds of hard-hoofed herbivores - on the rivers, swamps, pastures and plant colonies that were direct and indirect Aboriginal food sources, is incalculable. Within a couple of weeks the Coxs River depot had been plundered by "hostile natives who had crossed the mountains from the east and the stockmen driven away".[114] Soldiers sent to protect the depot recognised Gundungurra man Murrah from incursions at the Cowpastures.[115] The same month, mountain Aborigines robbed a government cart on its way to Bathurst with provisions, and John Oxley's stockmen were driven from their huts in the Southern Highlands.[116] Although to the colony these statements may have seemed unrelated, it seems likely that the mountain people were protesting against its westward spread.

Sorcery

Sorcery, Henry Reynolds notes, has been underestimated by historians and was probably at least as significant a means of resistance "in the Aboriginal mind" as physical confrontation.[117] He cites numerous examples of anti-European sorcery manifested through song, dance and ceremony. Various colonists reported the efficacy of Aboriginal magic practices. On a boat expedition up the Warragamba River in 1818, Aboriginal Gilderoy warned Jamison's party, with great agitation, against burning myrtle wood, as it would cause rain. He was ignored and it "rained much".[118] Similarly Aborigines warned coastal settlers that there would be no wind [for sailing] if they roasted shellfish. When they proceeded, the wind did turn against them.[119] Secular rationalism would dismiss such occurrences as coincidence, and it may be, but in looking at a culture with radically different premises from one's own, it is arrogant to dismiss its central tenets as nonsense because one's own reality has no place for them. As we saw in the introduction, recent anthropological work has found material efficacy in magic.[120]

It can be inferred that one of the responses to the Appin massacre involved sorcery. After that killing, the location of the fighting shifted to Kurrajong in the lower Blue Mountains, Dharuk

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[113] Turbet, *First Frontier*, 198.,
[114] A. M. Roberson, *The Rockley Manner,* (Rockley, NSW: self published, 1989), 1.
[115] Turbet, *First Frontier*, 249.
[116] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Sydney", 16 March 1816, 2; Turbet, *First Frontier*, 198.
[117] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier,* 86-87.
[118] In spite of Gilderoy chanting into the night "to charm away the spell of the myrtle". John Jamison, "A Journal of a Tour Performed up the Rivers Nepean and Warragamba in November 1818 by Sir John Jamison Knt, KGVMD and Physician to His Majesty's Fleet", in *On Suspect Terrain,* ed. Brownscombe, 269-282, 18 November 1818, 278.
[119] Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans* 1*,* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 182.
[120] Koen Stroeken, "Sensory Shifts and 'Synaesthesia' in Sukuma Healing", *Ethnos* 73, no. 3 (2008), 466-84.

country. Two Kurrajong settlers were killed. Most of the other farms "in that line of farms" were abandoned, and a couple of weeks later the last remaining settler was also speared to death.[121] Then in August a shepherd was murdered at Mulgoa and his flock of about 200 '"very fine sheep" was killed. Most thrown down "an immense precipice and the rest about 50 killed," their eyes gouged out with spears. This, of course, is an echo of the fate of the Aboriginal people forced over the cliff to their deaths at Appin. Robert Kenny in *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming* throws an interesting light on these sort of killings of the settlers' animals. Just as settlers made assumptions about Aborigines based on their own cultural practices, like the wearing of clothes, building of houses, so Aboriginal Australians made cultural assumptions about the settlers relative to their own spirituality.[122] Kenny argues that Aboriginal people believed that sheep were the totems of the white people. [123] Perhaps all the animals Europeans brought with them were seen as totems. We saw last chapter that magic consciousness identifies a part with the whole: that a symbol in body paint, or a totem actually becomes the place and its Dreaming through ritual. Given the identification of Christ as the lamb of God, which at least some Aborigines with associations among the colonists could have known, the concept of sheep as totems is quite compelling. At an even larger sheep massacre in Victoria in 1841, some were cut open and fat and meat were mixed with "fine sand" or ochre. Kenny suggests it was a ceremonial rite: sorcery invoked against the invaders through their totem.[124] Similarly the Mulgoa massacre of sheep seems to have been more than revenge. It may be significant that it was the eyes that they chose to destroy, given the very visual nature of colonial consciousness. This incident hints at a more widespread use of sorcery to protect Aboriginal country from the invasion of a new and unsympathetic reality.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that early in the conversation between Aborigines and colonists, Aborigines tried to explain their protocols of entering the territory of others. The gulf in consciousnesses, manifested in ways of communicating as well as the content of

[121] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Sydney", 13 July 1816, 2; Turbet, *First Frontier,* 256.
[122] Governor Macquarie having identified a St George Cross "as regularly formed … as could be made" carved on the skin of an Aboriginal possum-skin cloak at Bathurst wondered if it could imply that Aborigines had religious ceremonies. J. T. Campbell, "Government and General Orders", *The Sydney Gazette,* 8 July 1815, 1S.
[123] Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming,* 173-176.
[124] Gebser proposes that indigenous magic attunements fell into their deficient stage of witchcraft as opposed to spellcasting after contact with Western mental consciousness. Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* translated by Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985), 141.

communication, meant that the teachings were largely misinterpreted. Reading against the grain the journals of early Blue Mountains explorers, the chapter has found the cumulative evidence strongly suggests that the mountains Aborigines were deliberately frustrating exploration. They apparently exploited European ignorance of the rugged nature of the terrain, giving false directions, distracting, intimidating, confusing and otherwise tricking as a means of safeguarding their country from European intrusion. In the encounters described in the explorer journals, the mountain people usually had the upper hand. They clearly mostly knew where the Europeans were and controlled meetings; sometimes they set up meetings which they failed to attend. They generally outnumbered the exploring parties, and although they doubtless knew of the lethal capacity of firearms, few gave any sign of being intimidated by white people. The tactics they used were consonant with their cultural practices. Had they wanted to be helpful, the European crossing of the Blue Mountains could have occurred long before 1813. These strategies of resistance apparently went unnoticed by Price, Barrallier, Caley and Blaxland who recorded them, and have had little attention from scholars.

Successful trickery is difficult to identify, and it is impossible to be definitive about these interpretations. Looking at the result, rather than what is said, is a helpful technique in reading against the grain. The chapter has argued that the marking of the road through the mountains to Bathurst was a turning point for the mountains Aborigines. They used intimidating fire to discourage Evans and obliterate the blazes he had made on trees, and then began a desperate, and hopeless, campaign of violence against settlers on the western fringes of the coastal plain, it would seem in an attempt to drive them back and prevent the spread of settlement across the mountains. At least part of that campaign, and probably much more, seems to have included the use of sorcery.

Finally, the chapter has set the scene for the white invasion of the Oberon district, showing that resistance was probably widespread and cooperative, but subtle, among mountain Aborigines. It contributes to the theme that as land defined Aboriginal people, protecting it and their relationship with it was one and the same, and was the primary motivation for their responses to the invasion across the nineteenth century. Cox's Road to Bathurst was built, and small numbers of settlers, and huge numbers of sheep and cattle began to pour over the mountains. Communally held, animated country, kin to its people, whose spirits had been carefully tended was soon to be defined by a new consciousness, which experienced land as separate from itself, as we will see in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 Enclosures along Cox's Road

> The Fish River Hill is the worst hill from Sydney to Bathurst. We began to ascend immediately we left the ford; and never having been at Bathurst before I could not help saying to myself *"this Bathurst ought to be a fine place to come all this dreadful way to see it!"* … The sight of a four-rail fence, in Sidmouth Valley, after this weary hill, was the first symptom of humanity, for nearly *ninety* miles, and gave me unfeigned pleasure. [1]

The Bathurst district was the earliest inland white settlement in Australia. For early European travellers the trip there, following Cox's Road over the "dreaded" Blue Mountains, was commonly an alarming experience, as this anonymous writer, "XYZ," implied in 1827.[2] His discomfort came from a sense of that country as wild and uncivilised. For the dominant colonial consciousness, man and nature were separate, and "wild" nature needed to be controlled and cultivated".[3] Having climbed the "weary" Fish River Hill (today in Oberon shire), XYZ would have been opposite the remarkable granite tors of Evans Crown, an eminent Aboriginal cultural site.[4] To XYZ it lacked "humanity". For local Aboriginal people, this site would have been potent with the interconnection of people, spirit and place. A few miles further along the road, to his palpable relief, XYZ found in the farm of Robert Lowe at Sidmouth Valley a place which "spoke" English. The fence was particularly eloquent. It spoke of containment, definition, private property, and this four-rail model announced some affluence. Above all, as we will see, fences were a peculiarly English symbol of

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[1] Anonymous ("XYZ"), "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827", in George Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841,* (Sydney: Horwitz-Grahame, 1965)*,* 166-195, 182-183. The account was published first as six letters in the *Sydney Gazette* beginning 13 March 1827, 2*,* under the nom de plume, "XYZ", which I use here. Ward Havard had identified XYZ as Thomas Horton James. (W. L. Havard, "Who was 'X.Y.Z' of 'A Ride to Bathurst, 1827'?" *JRAHS*, 39, (1953), 275-77, but George Mackaness believed him to be William Dumaresq, brother-in-law of Governor Ralph Darling.

[2] Elizabeth Hawkins, "Journey from Sydney to Bathurst in 1822", in George Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys,* 113-114, 106; James Backhouse, "Account of a Journey from Parramatta Across the Blue Mountains to Wellington, 1835". 197-225, 197; M. M. Jean René Constant Quoy, Charles Gaudichaud and Alphonse Pellion, "Excursion to the Town of Bathurst, 1819", 91-101, 100; Judge Barron Field, "Journal of an Excursion across the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, October, 1822", 118-142, 124; Louisa Anne Meredith, "A Lady's Journey to Bathurst in 1839", -254, 239. All in Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys,*

[3] Carolyn Merchant, *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution,* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 2-3,169; Robert P. Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome: A Genealogy of Land in a Global Context", *Boundary,* 2, (2002), 129-156, 130-31.

[4] Evans Crown site card 44-6-19, Aboriginal Heritage Information Management System, NSW Office of Heritage and Environment.

colonial possession.[5] This chapter traces the arrival of the colonial consciousness of land in the Oberon district, along with the historical background to that consciousness.

The foundations of the attitudes to land voiced by XYZ can be found in the relatively recent English enclosures. A number of commentators, including Heather Goodall, Denis Byrne and Barbara Bender, have remarked the connection between the enclosures and colonial land acquisition.[6] Robert Marzec, postcolonial and environmental scholar, has developed this argument partly through analyses of English literature, and his work underpins this chapter.[7] He contends that the enclosure movement brought about a radical change in the way land, humanity and the self were understood.[8] It initiated the modern, unconscious view of land - as an inert, privately-owned, quantifiable commodity, widely held now as the self-evident truth.[9] In England this replaced the previous customary right of inhabitancy from time immemorial.[10] This chapter argues that the land acquisitions along Cox's Road (the first land privately acquired in the Oberon district) were an imperial re-enactment of the enclosures movement – with an important distinction observed by archaeologist, Denis Byrne. Customary relationships with land were completely erased in Australia, whereas in Britain enclosures built on earlier intrinsic relationships.[11]

In particular, this chapter considers the influence of two of Governors, Lachlan Macquarie and Thomas Brisbane, over land relationships in the Bathurst district. A significant aspect of the commodifying consciousness, as Marzec emphasises, is the central role of government in regulating relationships with land.[12] The government conception of land erases its local significance by generalising it as a commodity.[13] As Patricia Seed has demonstrated in *Ceremonies of Possession*,

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[5] Affluence compared with the two rail plus sod mound fences of "the smaller settlers". "XYZ", "A Ride to Bathurst', 189.

[6] Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2006), 25; Denis R. Byrne, "Nervous Landscapes: Race and Place in Australia", *Journal of Social Archeology* 3, no.2 (2003), 178-179; Barbara Bender, "Introduction", to *Contested Landscapes: Movement, Exile and Place*, ed. Barbara Bender and Margot Winer, (Oxford: Berg, 2001), 1-18, 14; Sybil Jack, Ian Keese, "Baiami and the Bible: Religious encounters in early colonial Australia", in Gretchen Poiner and Sybil Jack, *Limits of Location: Creating a Colony*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2007), 152-167, 161.

[7] Robert P. Marzec, "Empire, the Question of Representation, and Erasure of Inhabitancy", in Silvia Nagy-Zekmi and Chantal Zabus, *Colonisation or Globalisation: Post-colonial Explorations of Imperial Expansion,* (Plymouth: Lexington, 2010), 3-12; Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome" ;

[8] Marzec, "Empire, the Question of Representation", 6-7.

[9] Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome", 150.

[10] Ibid., 130,141,150.

[11] Byrne, "Nervous Landscapes", 156-57,172.

[12] Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome", 141-42; "Empire, the Question of Representation", 4-5

[13] Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome", 150,152.

the enclosures gave fences a particular status, apparent in XYZ's extravagant encomium of the one in Sidmouth Valley. [14] In a more positive vein, government had an important role curbing excessive personal self-interest in the new reality.

This chapter also reflects on the role of government in relationships with Aborigines in the Bathurst district. Governor Macquarie's report of his 1815 tour to Bathurst, read against the grain, reveals him modelling silence about Aborigines, probably unconsciously. The voices in this conversation are exclusively European, reflecting the implication of English property law that Aborigines did not exist.[15] As XYZ implied, Aborigines were even excluded from the notion of "humanity".[16] Australia was the only country colonised by Britain in which it was not considered necessary to involve Aborigines in land seizure or distribution.[17] These observations provide a background to the events of 1824, that are taken up in the next chapter.

Finally this chapter examines the relationships of land-owners along Cox's Road with their land, particularly for indications of them developing a deeper connection than commodification. With a high prevalence of absentee owners, and a change in the district's status as Cox's Road fell into disuse, the development of mythic, emotional connections seems to have been largely delayed. The conversation of this chapter reveals attitudes and actions that are the foundations of the settlement of the district.

Enclosures in England: common land becomes private land

The view of land that Britain exported to its colonies was born out of the enclosure movement, a development which changed the nature of English society as well as relationships with land.[18] Over about four centuries, but especially between 1700 and 1840, communal land shared by villagers - open field farm land, common land and "waste" land - was converted to privately owned land through various parliamentary acts.[19] Communal land became individually owned by legal title.

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[14] Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492-1640,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 23-24.
[15] Stuart Banner, "Why *Terra Nullius?* Anthropology and Property Law in Early Australia", *Law and History Review* 23, no. 1 (2005): 95-131, 112.
[16] Marzec, "Empire, the Question of Representation", 6.
[17] Ibid.,95-96.
[18] Ibid., 3-11; Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome", 129-156, 131,150; J. M. Neeson, *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England, 1700-1820,* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993).
[19] Jerry L. Anderson, "Britain's Rights to Roam: Landowners' Bundles of Sticks", *The Georgetown International Environmental Law Review,* 19, (2007), 375-435, 383.

Land took on the new aspect of a commodity, and rights to live on it, work it or use its products were no longer assured by having a traditional connection with it. The legitimacy of this new land relationship had been established by Gateward's case of 1603, where the court decided to cease recognising the traditional claim to use-rights of common land by landless cottagers on the grounds of inhabitancy "from time immemorial".[20] Now people could be sued for trespass on land they had accessed all their lives. Houses were torn down, villages desolated, in places "decent husbandmen (were turned) into a mob of beggars and thieves".[21] In some cases they were turned into convicts transported to the Australian colonies.[22]

Under the commons system, villagers had had complex and varied rights to use common land: to graze a certain number of animals, to take wood from the forests for heat and house repairs, to cut turf, to take rock and gravel.[23] Commoners could also walk or ride freely over the common lands, or "wastelands" of the lord of the manor.[24] Even a landless labourer who rented a cottage could keep a cow, and a pig and collect firewood by a right attached to the cottage.[25] It was an intricate system with various types of common land - arable land, divided into strips; meadowland; and waste land; and various classes of rights including freeholders, copyholders, tenant farmers, cottagers, squatters and farm servants.[26] Decisions on cultivation were not individual but made by a jury of the local manor court: what seed would be planted in which field, when the fields would be opened and closed to pasture, what rotation system would be used.[27]

The enclosures dismantled this communal system and destroyed the village economy and the English peasantry (small landholders who used only family labour).[28] Many small landholders were suddenly landless, labourers lost their means of subsistence, their independence, and became entirely dependent on wage labour. Predictably the acts provoked resistance, notably the

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[20] Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome", 141; Andrea C. Loux, "The Persistence of the Ancien Regime: Custom, Utility, and the Common Law in the Nineteenth Century", *Cornell Law Review* 79, no.183 (1993): 183-218, 191-92,214.
[21] Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation, The Political and Economic Origins of our Time,* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971, f.p. 1944), 35.
[22] Bruce W. Brown, "The Machine Breaker Convicts from the *Proteus* and the *Eliza*", M. A. thesis, University of Tasmania, 2004, 9; David Kent, Norma Townsend ed., *Joseph Mason: Assigned Convict 1831-1837,* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1992).
[23] Anderson, "Britain's Rights to Roam: Landowners' Bundles of Sticks", 383; J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer,* (London: Longman, 1978), 4.
[24] Anderson, "Britain's Rights to Roam: Landowners' Bundles of Sticks", 383.
[25] Hammond and Hammond, *The Village Labourer,* 60.
[26] Ibid., 2.
[27] Ibid., 4.
[28] Neeson , *Commoners: Common Right, Enclosure and Social Change in England;* J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond, *The Village Labourer,* xxxv, 61-62,176.

destruction of fences, but also of agricultural machinery, hayricks and buildings, the seizing and redistributing of food, riots and court battles.[29] Protest was also registered in songs and verse, such as :

> The fault is great in man or woman
> Who steals a goose from off a common,
> But what can plead that man's excuse
> Who steals a common from a goose?[30]

The question asked of Governor Phillip's party by Colbee and Boladaree in the Hawkesbury area (see Chapter 2), - why had they come into other people's territory when they had plenty to eat at home? - articulates a similar sense of injustice.

There is a ready parallel between the landless commoners and Aborigines, both as "inhabitants from time immemorial" whose land rights are extinguished. Colonial relations with land are extrinsic to the land, and fundamentally different from cadastral relationships with land in the traditional societies that the immigrants came from, which built on earlier intrinsic relationships.[31] In spite of the enclosures many of the historical "spatial conventions" of land use - existing boundaries, ancient pathways and hereditary titles - were preserved in Britain. Settler lands on the other hand were treated as virgin and customary Aboriginal usage was completely erased.[32] In Europe magic-mythic consciousness experiences of land as identity, and as the communal source of life, underlay the concept of land as commodity. In Australia a cadastral grid was imposed upon land with no reference to, understanding of, or even awareness of a prior organisation of human-land relationships.[33] Today Australia's land rights legislation is a somewhat labyrinthine counter movement, recognising the rights of some "inhabitants" through ancient connection, but determined through western ontology.[34]

Parliament officially became the administrator of the enclosure system, replacing private acts of enclosure in 1666.[35] Land was thus brought into a state-controlled system of regulation, surveyed,

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[29] Hammond and Hammond, *The Village Labourer,* 42,76-77,179.
[30] Anonymous, published in *The Tickler Magazine*, 1 February, 1821. It was one of a number of versions of eighteenth century protest songs.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), 28-29.
[33] Byrne, "Nervous Landscapes", 172.
[34] Aileen Moreton-Robinson, "The Possessive Logic of Patriarchal White Sovereignty: The High Court and the Yorta Yorta Decision", *Borderlands* ejournal 3, no.2 (2004).
[35] Marzec, "Empire, the Question of Representation", 5.

mapped and codified.[36] Land outside this system was "waste" land, uncultivated and uncivilised, as XYZ experienced the Blue Mountains.[37] This concept was to be critical in colonialism. The people who inhabited waste land - gypsies, vagabonds or displaced farmers in the Old World, or indigenous people in the colonised world - were likewise deemed "uncivilised".[38] Relationships with land shifted from inhabitancy of land that sustains life to sovereign subjection and mastery of land.[39] Efficiency of production and "improvement" were justifications for enclosures - private ownership of land was a pre-condition for capitalism.[40]

The enclosures, of course, had some positive aspects. Individually owned land was more efficient to manage, both physically and in decision-making processes. Instead of farmers having strips scattered about a field, and sometimes across numerous fields, their land was concentrated in blocks.[41] Enclosed land allowed for a greater variety of crops, higher grain yields, an increase in meat and animal products, which in turn provided more manure for fertiliser.[42] Less land lay fallow, instead it was planted with fodder crops like turnips or leguminous grasses, and so remained in production as pasture.[43] Stock could be improved by controlled breeding, and stock health by the quarantining of sick animals.[44] As Michael Turner points out, many of these improvements were not inconsistent with the open field system, but as open field farmers were innately conservative, and had to reach consensus before changes could be made, they happened far more slowly.[45]

Robert Marzec argues that the conception of land that is the legacy of the enclosure movement - inert, individually owned, improved by development, has become "a new ontological ground plan for human existence".[46] Land ceased to be experienced as nourisher of its "inhabitants," and

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[36] Ibid., 4.
[37] The Act which legitimised squatting in New South Wales by granting leases, was termed the Imperial Waste Lands Occupation Act of 1846. C. J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales, part 1: The Sequence of Land Laws*, (Sydney: Division of Marketing and Agricultural Economics, NSW Department of Agriculture, 1957), 54.
[38] Marzec, "Empire, the Question of Representation", 5.
[39] Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome", 130,142.
[40] Ibid., 144. "Energy Security", 84.
[41] Michael Turner, "English Open Fields and Enclosures: Retardation or Productivity Improvements", *The Journal of Economic History* 46, no.3 (1986): 669-692, 671-672.
[42] Turner, "English Open Fields and Enclosures", 674,687.
[43] Ibid. 670-71.
[44] John Gascoigne with the assistance of Patricia Curthoys, *The Enlightenment and the Origins of European Australia,* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002), 69-70.
[45] Turner, "English Open Fields and Enclosures", 671,672,674,687.
[46] Marzec, "Empire, the Question of Representation", 3-4; "Energy Security: The Planetary Fulfillment of the Enclosure Movement", *Radical History Review* 109 (2011): 83-99, 84; "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome", 150.

became a raw material in requiring improvement, and became subject to "improvement," efficiency and the maximisation of production.[47] (Marzec adds that similar deterritorialisation and dispossession are still taking place at the hands of transnational companies.[48]) The enclosure movement occurred more or less in tandem with the embrace of perspective. This thesis argues that in the same way that Panofsky, Gebser, Edgerton, Lepenies and Romanyshyn conceive perspective as a "symbolic form" of what is widely understood as the sole reality of viewing (as the last chapter outlined), so enclosure is a symbolic form of the western relationship with land.

Communal land also was transformed into individually held entities on the European continent. The destruction of the landless peasant class, however, was a feature of Britain - in a number of other European countries landless labourers fared better.[49] In the late eighteenth century milieu of the French Revolution French peasants became landowners of the land they had leased and their obligations to the lord were cancelled.[50] The powerful Danish monarchy was careful to protect the poorer peasants and cottagers, and the latter were compensated for the loss of their pasture rights with a secure tenure to a plot large enough for a cow and pigs.[51] Rights of access to private property are also not consistent across Europe. In England the common rights of access were widely extinguished. Numerous rights of way were maintained, formalised in the enclosure acts, but many other access ways were not.[52] Private property is not enshrined with the same exclusiveness in northern Europe where the Right to Roam (*Allemannsretten* or *Betretungsrecht*) over private property is recognised in law or by custom. [53] It is generally a right to walk in privately owned forest land, and pick berries and mushrooms, with various conditions.[54] These examples demonstrate that land relationships could be modernised while retaining some important traditional rights.

The assumption of the owner's exclusive rights to the property, widely held in the English-speaking world is not universal, but is the outcome of a government-controlled process of modernising agriculture that favoured some and excluded others. With this background land ownership was a

[47] Marzec, "Energy Security", 84.
[48] Ibid., 152.
[49] Hammond and Hammond, *The Village Labourer,* xxxiv.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., xxxiv-xxxxv. In Prussia the situation was closer to England, but in Bavaria closer to France.
[52] Anderson, "Britain's Rights to Roam: Landowners' Bundles of Sticks", 383,390.
[53] Cathal Buckley, Stephen Hynes, Tom M. van Rensburg, "Comparisons between Ireland and other Developed Nations on the Provision of Public Access to Countryside for Walking: Are there Lessons?" *Working Paper series 8 WP-RE-03,* The Rural Economy Research Centre, 2008, online, accessed 1 July 2015, http://www.agresearch.teagasc.ie/rerc/downloads/ working papers/08wpre03.pdf ; Jerry L. Anderson, "Britain's Rights to Roam: Landowners' Bundles of Sticks", 383,390.
[54]Ibid..

compelling means of security for the British who came to New South Wales. This was the consciousness in which land was taken up along Cox's Road, displacing customary rights to land, land-use practices and a consciousness that recognised the land as animated.

Fences

The English had a particular focus on boundaries and fences as symbols of possession, according to Patricia Seed, whose book *Ceremonies of Possession* contrasts the cultural constructions of ownership of five European powers. As a corollary to boundaries, surveys were employed far more extensively by the British than by other colonial powers.[55] Just as perspectival viewing now framed pieces of landscape, pieces of land were now framed by lines on a map and by fences on the ground.[56] Fences were often a condition of land ownership in enclosures in England, and later Scotland.[57] Unfenced land was waste land. There was clearly a considerable degree of convenience in the interpretation of what constituted waste land. The fact that Native Americans did not fence their plots, in spite of the fact that these were cultivated areas, was exploited by the British to decide that this did not amount to possession.[58] Similarly it seems colonists of Australia overlooked evidence of permanent or semi-permanent Aboriginal settlement, as it may have challenged the basis of colonial dispossession.[59] From the time of the enclosure movement fences had been referred to as "improvements," and still are in Australian rural real estate parlance, along with houses, sheds, special crops and so on. *Improve* was used to mean occupy or claim for one's own.[60] One sixteenth century meaning of *to manure*, like *improve*, was to own.[61] The enclosure movement is thus endorsed linguistically as improvement. The visible presence of the fence in a "new" landscape, like Sidmouth Valley, conveyed English sovereignty and land relationships.

Fences were powerful symbols as well as practical constructions for the English colonists. Thomas Mitchell noted fences with approval as symbols of culture: "the symmetrical appearance of their stock-yard fence, when it first caught my eye, so long accustomed to the wavy lines of simple nature, looked quite charming as a work of art".[62] Symbols of ownership are in fact *equated*

[55] Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492-1640,* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 23-24.
[56] Hammond and Hammond, *The Village Labourer,* (London: Longman, 1978), 40-41,58,255,260,265,271.
[57] John Beckett, "enclosures" in John Cannon ed., *The Oxford Companion to British History,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997, 2002), 346.
[58] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* 28.
[59] Rupert Gerritsen, *Australia and the Origins of Agriculture,* (Oxford: BAR International Series 1874, 2008).
[60] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession,* 24-25.
[61] Ibid., 30,32.
[62] Mitchell, "Three Expeditions" in Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye,* 81.

linguistically with symbols of culture. Other powerful symbols of British possession - gardening and agricultural practices like planting, manuring and keeping domestic animals - were understood to be "bestowing culture" or cultivation.[63] Types of fences were much discussed and damaging fences was not taken lightly.[64] George Cox explained in a warning to trespassers that he had a two rail fence at the back of White Rock near Bathurst, and a four rail fence half way along the front. Thoroughfare was only permitted through the north and south gates.[65] This communication also demonstrates the way land was suddenly given a new extrinsic orientation – a front and a back – created usually by its relationship with the road or other infrastructure. Travel through previously open land was now directed and restricted by fences and roads.[66] Disputes over fencing and trespass of livestock were common from the early days of the colony.[67] Government orders and acts were passed requiring fencing.[68] Fences physically alienated Aboriginal land, and symbolised the new relationship with it that colonisation introduced.

The role of early governors in land relationships along Cox's Road

Land relationships in the colony were mediated by government - apart from the illegal squatting area outside the Nineteen Counties. The varying policies of individual governors thus had a considerable impact on the way colonists related to land. Governor Macquarie kept a tight rein on the settlement of the inland. He gave few grants of land there and anyone travelling into the "interior" required his signed permission. He took an active interest the district, travelling Cox's Road with a large entourage soon after its completion in 1815. Figure 3.1, by the expedition's official illustrator, John Lewin, depicts their campsite, Sidmouth Valley.

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[63] Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession* 29-31,38.

[64] James Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales,* (London: J Cross, 1826), 91-94; Anon., "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827" 182,189; J. T. Campbell, "Government Orders", *Sydney Gazette,* 5 October 1811, 1; George Cox*,* "Notice to Trespassers", *The Sydney Herald,* 20 December 1832, 1.

[65] Cox*,* "Notice to Trespassers", *The Sydney Herald,* 20 December 1832, 1.

[66] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Essay in Spatial History,* (London and Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987), 168.

[67] J. Pickard, "Trespass, common law, government, fences in colonial New South Wales, 1788-1828", *JRAHS* 84, no.2, (1998):130-139, 130,132-135.

[68] Governors King and Macquarie made proclamations that wandering livestock should be fenced *out* of cultivated areas.[68] This position contravened English common law under which landowners were not expected to protect their property from trespass.[68] It reflected, however, the practical difficulty for a settler population of fencing large areas to contain stock, and also the recognition of the widespread importance accorded to pastoralism and pastoralists in New South Wales. In 1828 An Act to Regulate the Dividing Fences of Adjoining Lands was passed by the Legislative Council. Neighbours were now expected to share the cost of boundary fencing, which could be prohibitive. H. Gamble, P Byrne, R Sackville, 'Report 59 (1988) – Community Law Reform Program: Dividing Fences', (New South Wales Law Reform Commission, 1988), 9.

Figure 3-1, J.W. Lewin, Sydmouth Valley, 1815, ML PXE888

One man to receive a grant along Cox's Road was his much-favoured emancipist sergeant-at-arms, Charles Whalan. (This grant, as we will see, led to the foundation of Oberon). Whalan received 500 acres, a huge grant for an emancipist, but smaller than the grants allowed the "gentlemen": 2,000 acres near Bathurst (White Rock) for William Cox in recognition of his road building efforts, 1000 acres (Macquarie) for the explorer, William Lawson, 1000 acres also for Robert Lowe at Sidmouth Valley, and two lots of 800 acres for the Hassall family.[69] Samuel Marsden too was allowed to take cattle to Bathurst as a permissive occupancy.[70] Some 340,000 acres were granted but not formalised during Macquarie's encumbency, including the above grants around Bathurst.[71]

[69] Edna Hickson, "Cox, William (1764-1837)", *ADB,* online, accessed 7 February 2017; E. W. Dunlop, "Lawson, William (1774-1850)", *ADB,* online, accessed 7 February 2017. It seems Roland Hassall, Superintendent of Government Stock, shared 800 acres with three of his sons at O'Connell Plains, and the fourth, Samuel, who had been his assistant also received 800 acres (Milford) on the north side of the river "Government Notice", *The Sydney Gazette,* 24 January 1818, 1; "Memorial", Thomas Hassall to Frederick Goulburn, Colonial Secretary's Papers, 21 January 1823, SANSW 4/1834B No. 129, 789.

[70] Colonial Secretary to Rev. Samuel Marsden, 27 April 1822, SANSW4/3505, 210.

[71] J. D. Heydon, "Brisbane, Sir Thomas Makdougall (1773-1860)", *ADB,* online, accessed 7 February 2017.

Without clearly defined, surveyed boundaries the few grantees in the Bathurst district were understandably reluctant to build permanent structures, plant gardens, and fence cultivation. None of them lived there and they built only the most rudimentary structures.[72] Few Europeans had engaged with the district with any commitment before 1822. Bathurst had remained largely a government outpost and outstation for stock. The exception would have been ten families of "the middling class of Free People," some of them emancipists, to whom Macquarie granted 50 acres each on the right bank of Macquarie River.[73] Macquarie's vision for the colony was development through agriculture. This was partly for food independence, but agriculture was also seen in Enlightenment philosophy as a higher stage of civil development than pastoralism.[74]

Pastoralism, especially of cattle, Macquarie regarded as lazy.[75] He had no affection for the "great graziers" as he called the more prominent of them, a feeling that was largely mutual.[76] In this view, however, he was swimming against the tide of colonial momentum, for the period from 1813 to the gold rushes was one of pastoral development.[77] Stock were more profitable than agriculture, less labour intensive, and live animals or wool were easier to get to markets than agricultural products, especially from Bathurst.[78] Macquarie could control the rate of development there - by 1821 there were only 287 people in the Bathurst area - but he could not control its direction.[79] Pastoralism is a magic consciousness activity, according to Jean Gebser.[80] Its popularity in the colony may not have

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[72] G. A. Templeton, "Growing Pains: 1821-1849", in Bernard Greaves ed., *The Story of Bathurst,* 16-29, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1976), 17; Robert Lowe had only a hut and stockyards - Vivienne Parsons, "Lowe, Robert (1783-1832)", *ADB,* online, 1 August 2015; http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lowe-robert-2375/text3123; MacBrien, Fieldbook 205, 1823, "Traverse of Road from Emu Plains to Bathurst; Survey of portion of Macquarie and Fish Rivers 1823", SANSW 2/4847.

[73] Barker, *A History of Bathurst,* 1:39-40; Karskens, "Cox's Way: Historical and Archeological Study of Cox's Road", 41.

[74] T. M. Perry, "The Spread of Rural Settlement in New South Wales, 1788-1826", *Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand* 6, no. 24, (1955): 377-395, 382; C. J. King, *The First Fifty Years of Agriculture in New South Wales: Review of Marketing and Agricultural Economics,* (Sydney: Department of Agriculture, 1950), 362-430, 363; Dixon, *The Course of Empire,* 2.

[75] Macquarie to Liverpool, 17 November 1812, in Stephen H Roberts, *History of Australian Land Settlement, 1788-1920,* (Abingdon, Oxon.: Frank Cass, 1969, [1924]), 20-21.

[76] Hope, *Hassalls and Marsdens,*17; Lachlan Macquarie, "Governor Macquarie, Copy of a Report … to Earl Bathurst, dated 27 July 1822", *The Sydney Monitor,* 6 May 1835, 4. Of the three only Lawson lived on Cox's Road/ Fish River, though Cox was nearby, closer to Bathurst.

[77] King, *The First Fifty Years of Agriculture in New South Wales,* 363.

[78] Jeans, *An Historical Geography of New South Wales* 123.

[79] C. J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales: Part 1, The Sequence of Land Laws 1788-1956,* (Sydney: Department of Agriculture NSW, c1957) 20,27, 28; "X.Y.Z"., "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827", in *Fourteen Journeys,*ed. Mackaness ., 192; T. M. Perry, "The Spread of Rural Settlement in New South Wales", 381; Department of Environment, "Macquarie Homestead Group (draft)", online, http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5061724, accessed 3 August 2015.

[80] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* translated by Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985), 305.

been only pecuniary. It may be an example of the land and its people exerting an influence over the newcomers, conquering the conquerors, in Carl Jung's terms.[81] Coming to the colony provided an opportunity for Europeans to express their magic consciousness selves, in an activity that involved little active change of the land.

The arrival of colonists and their stock under Macquarie must have had a monumental impact on the Bathurst district and its traditional inhabitants, but the invasion was relatively controlled. This changed with the incumbency of Governor Brisbane (1821-1825). His policies were based on instructions derived from Commissioner John Bigge's report, which was highly, and often unfairly, critical of Macquarie's policies.[82] Brisbane removed the restrictions on settlement west of the Blue Mountains, and stopped land grants to convicts on release.[83] With an already huge back-log, the surveyors could not keep pace with the clamour for land, so Brisbane deployed a system of temporary licences for land use, Tickets of Occupation (examined in Chapter 5).[84] Pastoralism flourished, with surveys long-term building of private farms began, and the inland population grew exponentially. The flood of settlers soon rendered traditional Aboriginal land relationships in the Bathurst area largely untenable.

In 1823, Brisbane made numerous grants in the north of the Oberon district and increased the size of some of Macquarie's grants. Along with the grants came the opportunity to acquire a convict workforce, a circumstance peculiar to a penal colony.[85] Convicts were allocated to land-holders on the basis of their land size, and capacity to support them, rather than working on public projects.[86] Captain Thomas Raine and his brother Robert both said in their applications for land in 1823 that they could support twenty convicts [until the end of their sentences]. They each received grants of 2,000 acres grant on Cox's Road, and six convicts.[87] Grants to the four Hassall brothers were increased in 1822 to 800 acres *each* at O'Connell Plains. Combined with their farms in the Sydney

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[81] C. G. Jung, "Mind and Earth", (1927/1931), in *Collected Works* 10, 49, quoted in David J. Tacey, *Edge of the Sacred,* 134.
[82] J. M. Bennett, "Bigge, John Thomas (1780-1843)", *ADB,* online, accessed 8 February 2017.
[83] Anthony Hewison, *The Macquarie Decade,* (Melbourne: Cassell Australia, 1972) 186,199.
[84] Barker, *A History of Bathurst* 1, 56; King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales,* 25.
[85] Enid Campbell, "Conditional Grants by the Crown", *University of Tasmania Law Review* 25, no.1, (2006): 44-60, 46.
[86] J. M. Bennett, "Bigge, John Thomas (1780-1843)".
[87] Margaret de Salis, *Captain Thomas Raine: An Early Colonist,* (Vaucluse, NSW: self-published, 1969), 79; SANSW CSIL, Thomas Raine, 12, 17 March 1823, SANSW 4/3507, 439,472. Thomas Raine's grant Raineville, was west of Sydmouth Valley, his brother Robert was located a little to the east at Raine's Farm, beside Charles Whalan at Emu Valley.

basin, they were maintaining 100 "government men" off stores.[88] This government policy, too, shaped relationships with land.

The surveyor had a central role in land acquisition as the representative of government on the ground. Surveyor James McBrien was sent to Bathurst in 1823 to measure grants made by Macquarie and Brisbane. The arrival of his team was the talk of the district and beyond. "The surveyor is not yet begun to measure the farms out … Mr Iceley and Mr Rankin has got their land below Bathurst and I think your brother Samuel will have a fair prospect to get his where his station is [Milford, O'Connell Plains, north of the Fish River]," Reverend Thomas Hassall was informed.[89] Surveyors juggled competing interests. They were expected to ensure resources such as access to water were available to as many as possible. Settlers, on the other hand, wanted their grants to include their stockyards and any buildings they had erected, the best land, and as much river frontage as possible.[90] Explorer William Lawson, was one who felt he should have more river frontage, a request that left Surveyor-General John Oxley unmoved.[91] There was a formula for determining such things.

Private ownership could be at odds with the embryonic communal practices of the European public as well as with Aboriginal rights. The greater value placed on individual property rights over communal customary rights is clear in Fish River Creek (Oberon). Before roads were surveyed the unofficial road to Bathurst changed every time a new block on its route was acquired, forcing "bullock drivers and such to take to the bush in a zigzag direction".[92]

From 1824 land could be bought for the first time.[93] Capitalism began to replace the semi-feudal system of grants by the governor, which continued until 1831 when crown leases were introduced.[94] The Cox's Road landholders built up their estates by a combination of government policies. William Lawson added to his 1,000 acre grant, buying 1,300 acres adjoining Macquarie in 1834, and another 1840 acres in 1836 nearby.[95] Thomas Raine was refused permission to lease 2,000 acres adjoining Raineville on account of his insolvency, however he managed to purchase

[88] James Hassall to Colonial Secretary, Memorial, 1822, SANSW, 4/1830, No. 155.
[89] James Everett [probably Hassall's overseer at O'Connell Plains] to Thomas Hassall, 25 February 1823, Hassall Correspondence, ML A1677-3, 1359-61.
[90] Surveyor General John Oxley to Surveyor James McBrien, 21 April 1823, SANSW 4/6911.
[91] Ibid..
[92] "District News: Fish River Creek", *Bathurst Free Press,* 30 April 1856, 2.
[93] King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales,* 27,33.
[94] Campbell, "Conditional Grants by the Crown", 48. Surveyed land was sold at auction at a minimum ('upset') price of five shillings an acre.
[95] Department of Environment, "Macquarie Homestead Group (draft)".

1,221 acres there instead.[96] Through government regulations and surveys we can see government had a major role in land relationships along Cox's Road. Governors initialy controlled land distribution. Government policy provided some brake on individual self-interest, at least for the European public good. Government control of land also distanced settlers from the immediate responsibility of dispossessing Aboriginal people. The change of policies between Macquarie and Brisbane had a cataclysmic effect on Aborigines in the Bathurst area, as we will see next chapter.

Macquarie's relationships with Aborigines in the Bathurst district

Macquarie's report of the 1815 tour to Bathurst, published in *The Sydney Gazette***,** is remarkable for its omission of any mention of Aborigines.[97] A month later, however, he published "some particulars" about the tour that were "accidentally omitted".[98] These nearly all concerned the Aborigines of Bathurst and their frequent and harmonious interactions with his party. Macquarie's omission seems to be an example of the self-censorship by "forgetfulness" identified by anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner.[99] Although Macquarie later corrected the record, he had mentally separated the local people from their context. Macquarie was not the originator of the code of unconscious silence, which dates from the very early years of the colony. Governor Phillip's correspondence shifted from interest and ethnographic observations, to the increasing difficulties of maintaining peace, and then a "prolonged silence" about the original people.[100] The example set by the governors did not encourage discussion with or about Aborigines and their rights to land.

As we saw in Chapter 2, both colonists and Aborigines made assumptions about each other based on their own cultures. At Bathurst, Macquarie was intrigued by a St George Cross "as regularly formed … as could be made" among the "curious devices" carved on the skin side of one of the cloaks which inland Aboriginal people wore.[101] He "could not connect that circumstance with any other which might lead to the assigning it to a religious ceremony". Macquarie was limited by the lens of his own culture in recognizing different cultural practices. It was only the coincidental symbol of Christianity and of St George, patron saint of England, that suggested to him that perhaps

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[96] de Salis, *Captain Thomas Raine: An Early Colonist,* 79.
[97] [Macquarie], "Government and General Orders", *The Sydney Gazette,* 10 June 1815, 1.
[98] [Macquarie], "Government and General Orders", *The Sydney Gazette,* 8 July 1815, 1S.
[99] Stanner, After the Dreaming", Boyer lectures, 1968, In *The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 182; Tom Griffiths, "Past Silences: Aborigines and Convicts in our History-Making", in Penny Russell and Richard White ed., *Pastiche 1,* (Allen & Unwin, St Leonards, NSW 1994), 7-23, 11.
[100] James Warden, "The Conciliation of Strangers", 2008, in *Strangers on the Shore: Early Coastal Contacts in Australia,* ed. Peter Veth, Peter Sutton and Margot Neale, (Canberra: National Museum of Australia, 2008), 209.
[101] [Macquarie], "Government and General Orders", *The Sydney Gazette,* 10 June 1815, 1.

Aboriginal people had a religion. We learn from Antill, not Macquarie, that he exchanged one of these intricately made cloaks for "a piece of yellow cloth," an exchange that can also be seen as emblematic in its monumental inequality.[102]

Riding through the Bathurst Plains Macquarie mused:

> It is impossible to behold this grand scene without a feeling of admiration and surprise, whilst the silence and solitude which reign in a space of such extent and beauty as seems designed by Nature for the occupancy and comfort of Man, create a degree of melancholy in the mind which may be more easily imagined than described.[103]

It is a sad irony that the landscape that Macquarie so admired as "designed by Nature for the occupancy of Man," was in fact "civilised" by its Aboriginal occupants, for humans and other life forms. It was through the ignorance of the colonists in assuming Aboriginal people to be incapable of shaping their own environment, that they justified refusing recognition of Aboriginal land ownership. Here we find Macquarie responding to the land from his mythic consciousness. He reveals a sense of awe and reverence for Nature verging on spiritual. Contemplating this place he feels melancholy. We cannot know why, and Macquarie himself seems not to know, but it is tempting to conjecture that in this consciousness he is aware that this silence and beauty are about to be erased by the spread of the colony. Like Major Mitchell's in Chapter 1, we see Macquarie's dominant commodifying consciousness quickly suppress spiritual and otherwise errant responses. It is likely that many colonists had these responses but nearly all sublimated them to the dominant, official and self-serving consciousness.

Relationships with the Fish River district

For grantees in this district land was initially a commodity. Creating a farm, however, involves investing at least creative effort into the land, conceiving it as a new entity, and often invokes a relationship beyond commodification. The development of an emotional bond with the land is an aspect of mythic consciousness relationship, examined more closely in Chapters 7 and 8. For various reasons this process was largely delayed in the early settlement days of Fish River district, with a few exceptions. The first pastoral grantees did not actually want to live at far-western Bathurst. They were comfortably established on their farms on the Cumberland Plain. A few actually did live at Bathurst temporarily, because of positions they held. William Lawson was there

[102] Henry Colden Antill, "Journal of an Excursion over the Blue or Western Mountains of New South Wales to Visit a Tract of New Discovered Country, in Company with His Excellency Governor and Mrs Macquarie and a party of Gentlemen", in George Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys,* 74-90, 81-82.
[103] Macquarie, "Government and General Orders", *The Sydney Gazette,* 10 June 1815, 1.

from 1819 until the end of 1823, while he was Commandant.[104] Reverend Thomas Hassall lived on his grant at O'Connell Plains, Llambeda, in 1826, while he was relieving chaplain to the parish of Bathurst, an appointment he felt as a punishment by the church hierarchy.[105] Thomas Raine and family lived on their grant, Raineville beside Sidmouth Valley (see Figure 3.2) for a few years after he became temporarily insolvent in 1829, before moving close to Bathurst.[106] It was often the sons of the early grantees who ran their Bathurst establishments, and some of them, like James Lowe at Sidmouth Valley, lived there. Charles Whalan remained living at Prospect, but his eldest son James later lived on the Emu Valley grant, and all four surviving Whalan sons were to play a major role in the settlement of the Oberon plateau. William Lawson's eldest son, William junior, lived at Macquarie from 1832 until 1850, when his father died and he moved to the family home, Veteran Hall at Prospect.[107] Macquarie was later leased out and finally sold in 1889.[108] For the grantees, their Bathurst land was to be a step towards a pastoral dynasty.

The Fish River district (and the Bathurst area in general) was also a springboard for land acquisition further afield. William Lawson made three trips towards the Liverpool Plains in 1821 and 1822, "discovering" Mudgee. "It has everything man could desire the best of land limestone wood and grass with a fine little River … abounding with Fish," he enthused in his journal.[109] He took up land there followed by his Fish River neighbours, the Lowe, Cox, Rouse, Bowman, and Hayes families. For many Mudgee became their principal holding.[110] Many of these families are still there. A number of the early grantees also acquired additional land as squatters outside the Limits of Location, thus gaining it outside the strictures of government regulations, hence the acreages were huge.[111] Thomas Raine, had a licence to depasture stock at Boree

[104] His house at Macquarie was not finished until 1824, and he probably lived in Bathurst "Macquarie Homestead Group (draft)".
[105] Anne Hassall to Thomas Hassall, 28 April 1826, Hassall Correspondence ML A1677-2, 1443-1447
[106] H. E. Maude, "Raine, Thomas, (1793-1860)", *ADB*, online, accessed 22.July 2016.
[107] "Macquarie Homestead Group (draft)".
[108] Sale notice "Lawson's Estate, Macquarie Plains, Bathurst", online, accessed 19 June 16, nla.gov.au/nla.obj-230094879.
[109] "Journal of an expedition, 9 January 1822-24 January 1822", 14 January 1822
[110] William Lawson, "Journal of a tour into the country North of Bathurst", 30 November 1821 – 25 December 1821ML C120 (1). Cox's farm *Hereford* was not on Cox's Road, but was very close to Bathurst, and to Lawson's *Macquarie.*
[111] Protos, "The Wilbertree Durham Herd", *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser,* 18 February 1882, 262. William Suttor of Brucedale had amassed over 600 000 acres along inland rivers in New South Wales by 1865. – Ruth Teale, "Suttor, William Henry, 1805-1877", *ADB*, (1976).

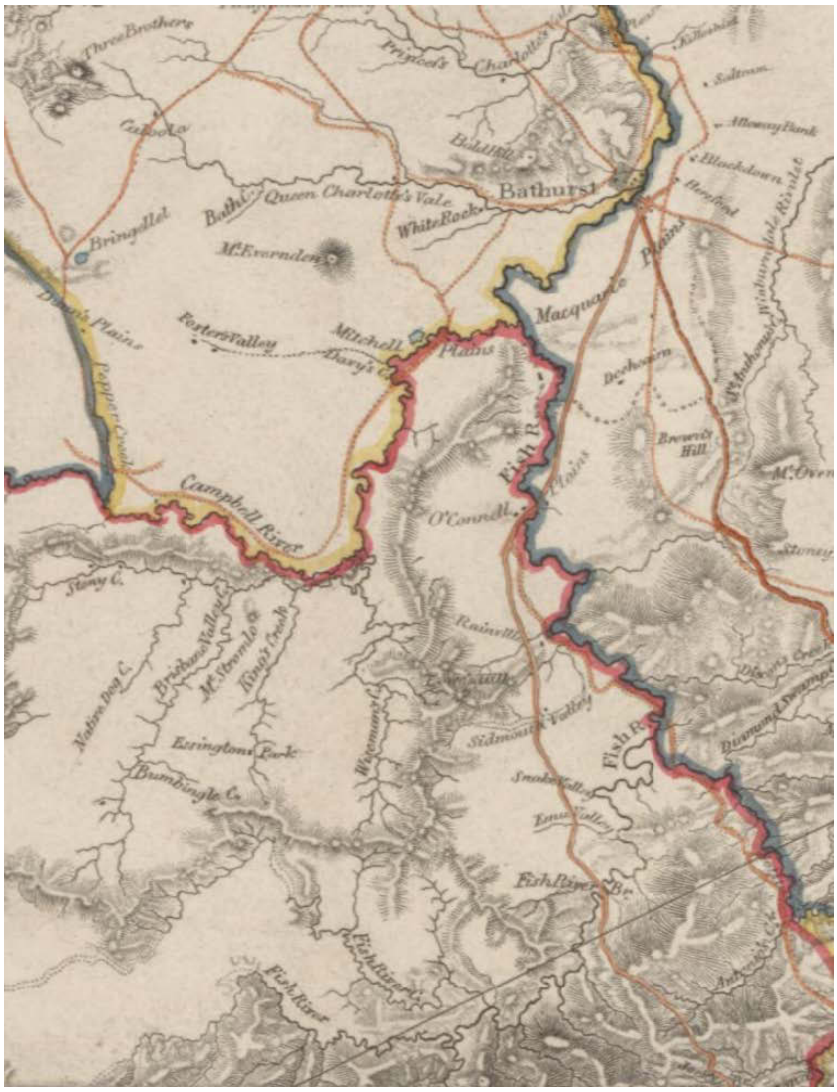

Figure 3-2, Sir Thomas Mitchell, Portion of "Map of the Colony of New South Wales, drawn by Sir Thomas Mitchell, Surveyor General, 1834".

(near Orange) "beyond the Boundaries of the colony" in 1838, when he sold Raineville.[112] William Lawson owned more than 85,000 acres by the time he died in 1850.[113] The Fish River district was not a destination for most of the original grantees.

With formalised land ownership, and abundant convict labour, however, landholders suddenly engaged with their land and building started apace. The policy of assigning convicts directly to them resulted in a golden age of building in the district between 1823 and the mid 1830s. As well as Robert Lowe's "beautiful new cottage, substantial barns, outhouses" at Sidmouth Valley, the homesteads of Raineville and Macquarie along Cox's Road, and Lowther Park, (south of Cox's Road

[112] de Salis, *Captain Thomas Raine: An Early Colonist,* 79-80.
[113] "William Lawson", in "Macquarie Homestead Group (draft)", NSW Office of Environment & Heritage.

between Hartley and Fish River), some of the oldest buildings in New South Wales, were built in the period.[114] These substantial cottages all had cellars beneath them for convict gaol accommodation.[115] They were a stark contrast to the impoverished buildings that characterised most settler housing in the Oberon district in later decades, as we will see in subsequent chapters.

XYZ found other grants of the graziers along Cox's Road showing satisfying "improvement".[116] He was impressed by Raineville, belonging to "respectable Sydney merchant" Captain Thomas Raine, then by the farms of the Hassalls, William Cox, William Lawson, and Mssrs Street, Mackenzie and West.[117] Bathurst itself was another matter. It was a "government establishment" and "the wretchedest place in New South Wales," but, "if given out in allotments to settlers, it might soon become one of the finest".[118] This reveals a belief in private ownership as the optimal means of "improvement".

Commodification and emotional bonds with land were often at odds. Farms could be homes, repositories of family memories and cultural practice, as well as workplaces and the accumulation of achievement. All this could be lost through bankruptcy - one outcome of mortgaging land. Robert Lowe's son, James Willard Lowe, made Sidmouth Valley his home from about 1828 but bankruptcy forced its sale in 1870.[119] Thomas Raine, after building a "very large commodious cottage" in which he lived, took out a £1200 mortgage on Raineville in 1833 which may have been the reason for its sale.[120] Some pieces of land in the Fish River district appear to have remained little more than a tradeable commodity to their owners for many years. Edward Gostwyck Cory was granted 2,000 acres west of Raineville, the property River View.[121] His focus was mostly on his

[114] "XYZ", "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827",
[115] Department of Environment, "Macquarie Homestead Group (draft)". Raineville also had a convict cellar but that house no longer exists. Macquarie also has a two-storey brick barn, older than the house, believed to have been built as a convict barracks.
[116] "XYZ", "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827", in George Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys,* 182.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid., 183-85. While Sidmouth Valley, Raineville and William Lawson's Macquarie all had substantial brick cottages, Bathurst consisted of "nine or ten low thatched huts or cottages".
[119] William Lawson junior lived at Macquarie, ("Macquarie Homestead Group (draft)", accessed 3 August 2015; James Lowe was living at Sidmouth Valley by 1828, ("Female School of Industry", *The Sydney Gazette,* 9 June 1828, 3; Protos, "The Wilbertree Durham Herd", *The Sydney Mail and New South Wales Advertiser,* 18 February 1882, 262). James Lowe subsequently moved to Molong, (*The Sydney Morning Herald,* 25 August 1870, 6; *Molong Express and Western District Advertiser,* 7 July 1888, 2).
[120] By this time they were living at Rainham in Bathurst. Quote from "XYZ", "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827", in., *Fourteen Journeys*, 182; *The Sydney Herald,* 8 April 1833, 2; *The Sydney Herald*, 28 September 1840, 1.
[121] Jocelyn Lloyd email to author, 24 July 2015; Jocelyn Lloyd, "The Corys of Paterson's Plains",' http://www.thomasl.com/cory/family.html accessed 23 July 2015.

other properties, in the Hunter Valley, and there is no record of his involvement with the Fish River district. At his death in 1869 title passed to the mortgagor in England.[122]

Some of the convicts employed on farms in the Fish River district made the momentous step of becoming landholders there after emancipation. James and Leonard Cheetham, who had both been assigned to Robert Lowe at Sidmouth Valley, managed to buy 300 acres of land, still known as Cheetham's Flat, north of Cox's Road (between Rydal and Hampton).[123] There they ran a farm and had an inn, "for the entertainment of wayfarers".[124] It is probably here that Quaker travellers, James Backhouse and his companion George Washington Walker, were refreshed "with milk and damper, by a man formerly a prisoner".[125] The Cheethams also had a store near the convict stockade at Bowen's Hollow (near Lithgow).[126] For James too the Fish River district was to be a stepping stone to greater landholdings inland. Leonard died young, but James became a squatter at Gilgandra and acquired a considerable fortune from wool.[127]

The people who developed the most enduring relationships with the Fish River district were often those employed there who actually made contact with the soil. The major landholders today of the Sidmouth Valley-Tarana area, the Webb and related families, are descendants of Ann and William Webb who emigrated from Cornwall in 1840 to join her brother Richard Mutton. Mutton had initially worked at Sidmouth Valley and the Webbs found employment next door on David Ramsay's Kierston. When William Webb died in an accident in 1852, Ann and her children continued to run Kierston, until they built a store beside their house at Mutton Falls about 1864.[128] Ann gradually accumulated small pieces of land, and the family finally acquired Kierston and Sidmouth Valley, both of which are still held by descendants.

Living on the land, however, was no guarantee of forming an emotional bond with it. Early grantees in the Fish River area, in 1823, who actually did live on their land were recent Cornish immigrants, two brothers and sisters William "Parson" Tom, his wife Ann, née Lane, her brother, William Lane and his wife Catherine, née Tom. They apparently came to the district as overseers

[122] Jocelyn Lloyd email to author, 29 July 2015.
[123] Wendy Robinson, (Cheetham family researcher), email to the author, 23 July 2015.
[124] *The Sydney Gazette,* 25 February 1832.
[125] James Backhouse, "Account of a Journey from Parramatta Across the Blue Mountains to Wellington, 1835", in George Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys,* 197-225, 220.
[126] R. v Mills and other [1838], NSWSup C 78.
[127] Wendy Robinson email to the author, 29 July 2015. .
[128] R. W. Webb, "Tarana Pioneers of the Bathurst District"; Ken Muggleston, "William and Ann Webb", unpublished manuscript, (1990), copy held by the author, 4.

for the Hassall properties at O'Connell Plains.[129] William Tom had built a house for his growing family on Blenheim, his 500 acre grant at Sidmouth Valley, but it burnt down the day after it was finished.[130] They moved to a hut on the Lane's Tarannah, on the north bank of the Fish River, and built another house (at Mutton Falls) before moving to a grant at Byng (near Orange) in about 1830.[131] Shortly after being granted Tarannah, William Lane admitted to the Colonial Secretary that it had been a hasty choice, was "poor and Barren," and he requested, fruitlessly, a swap for a grant on Hunters River.[132] The Lanes later moved to Orton Park, just outside Bathurst. Of the grantee families in the early 1820s it seems only James Whalan, James Lowe and William Walker were living in the district after 1850, although a number of the families retained ownership. For numerous reasons the process of making a home and developing some intimacy with the land was often delayed in this area, the oldest white settlement in inland Australia.

Landholders and visitors did appreciate the beauty of the more arable, "English-looking" country along Cox's Road.[133] Reverend William Walker, the first Missionary to the Aborigines, found O'Connell Plains a "lovely spot," "paradise" after the "dreary mountains" in 1822.[134] The following year he married Eliza Hassall and was granted 2,000 acres there, alongside his four brothers-in-law. Val Plumwood has observed the process that colonists understood of connecting with land was by committing effort and/or expenditure to it.[135] Of the extended Hassall family with land at O'Connell/Macquarie Plains, the Walkers were the only ones to live there permanently, moving to their farm, Brisbane Valley, about 1827. By that year Walker had apparently spent £6,000 on buildings and stockyards.[136] He had a two storey rammed earth house constructed with numerous outbuildings, and planted an extensive orchard, a vineyard and briar hedging.[137] The early enthusiasm for developing the property, however, was not sustained. Eliza Walker died in childbirth 1835, and William in 1855. When the property was sold in 1866 it was in some disrepair

[129] William Tom to Col. Sec., "Memorial", December 1824, 22 July 1825, SANSW 4/1839B, No. 989, 1251-54; "Supreme Court of Criminal Jurisdiction", *The Sydney Gazette,* 12 August 1824, 2.
[130] Tom, SANSW, NRS 907, 2/7990, 4 February 1828. Gavin Long, "Tom, William (1791-1883)", *ADB* online, accessed 9 August 2015.
[131] They sold the second house to William Mutton in 1829. Gavin Long, "Tom, William (1791-1883)", *ADB;* "The Late Mr William Tom", *The Bathurst Post,* 15 October 1883, 1.
[132] William Lane to Governor Brisbane, 24 July 1824, SANSW, 4/1838A, No. 554, 279-282.
[133] Barron Field, "Journal of an Excursion Across the Blue Mountains to Wellington, 1835", in George Mackaness ed. *Fourteen Journeys,* 118-142, 130-31.
[134] William Walker to Rev. R. Watson, 21 October 1822, ML BT 4, 1184-85.
[135] Val Plumwood, "Belonging, Naming and Decolonisation", in *Habitus: A Sense of Place,* 381.
[136] Walker, "Memorial", *HRA* 13, 10 June 1827, 714-15.
[137] Ruth[?] Spicer, unpublished undated manuscript in the archive of Peg Savage, copy held by author. John Spicer bought Brisbane Grove in 1866. The house was demolished in the 1980s.

and the briars had spread rampantly through the paddocks.[138] Mythic bonding with land involves ongoing acts of devotion.

Cox's Road was the gateway to the west, and brought prominence to the Fish River district. Governors Macquarie, Brisbane, Darling and Bourke travelled along it – Macquarie camping at Sidmouth Valley in 1815 and Sir Richard Bourke staying with the Raines at Raineville in 1832.[139] In 1828 Cox's Road in the Fish River district, with its much complained-of hill, swamps at Emu and Sidmouth Valleys, and moreover bushrangers between the Fish and Cox's Rivers, was superseded by principal Surveyor of Roads and Bridges, Major Edmund Lockyer's line of road.[140] Lockyer's road was within the Fish River district, but in 1832 the area was bypassed altogether. Thomas Mitchell's line of road was built between 1832 and 1836 on higher country further north, approximately the route of the Great Western Highway today.[141] Lockyer's road (Mutton Falls Road) remained in use by locals and teamsters, some of whom lived on small farms in the Rydal area.[142] Cox's Road fell into disuse west of Mt York and is no longer a through-road, blocked on the western flank of the Great Dividing Range.[143] Much of its length in the Fish River district is now known as the Carlwood Road and, as an indication of its lack of traffic, has never been sealed. The Fish River district became a backwater. European relationships with land were often determined by extrinsic factors such as government regulations, financial situations, economic potential or infrastructure, displacing Aboriginal intrinsic relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that the powerful desire to own land that the British brought to New South Wales, and the particular view of land ownership, were legacies of the enclosure movement. Further it conceives the enclosures as the manifestation of perspectival viewing in land

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[138] Ruth? Spicer, unpublished, undated manuscript in the archive of Peg Savage.
[139] Richard Bourke jnr, "Hasty Notes of a Journey to Bathurst", 343-349, in W. L. Havard, "Along the Road to Bathurst in 1832", *JRAHS* 26 (1940): 341-351, 348.
[140] "Great Western Road", *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory 1832*, [compiled by James Raymond], (Sydney: The Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales – The William Dixson Foundation, publication no. 7, facsimile edition 1966),110; Lockyer's road, only a few kilometres north of Cox's Road, approximated by the present Mutton Falls, Sodwalls and Magpie Hollow Roads, and was also almost parallel but closer to the river.
[141] Mitchell, perhaps to justify the expenditure on yet another road, had a map drawn up in 1830 annotating Lockyer's road as "cleared by mistake". Grace Karskens, "Cox's Way: Historical and Archeological Study of Cox's Road", (Sydney: Crown Lands Office, Bicentennial Proj ect, 1988), 50, Figure 37.
[142] Robin Wills, "A History of Tarana, 1814-1900", unpublished assignment response, (Bathurst: Mitchell College of Advanced Education, c1979), 3,4.
[143] Frank Walker, "Australia's First Road-Maker", *Sydney Mail,* 21 May 1913, 12; Leigh Mitchel-Hodges, "The Great Western Highway is Interesting Story", *Lithgow Mercury,* 12 January 1950, 5.

relationships. As Robert Marzec has demonstrated, post-enclosure land ownership, understood as exclusive, individually-owned, inert commodity, fenced, surveyed and recognised by government, has become our unconscious concept of land rights today. This unconscious understanding of land has been highlighted in this chapter by a comparison with customary rights, and the approaches of different continental powers to the modernisation of land.

This chapter also begins the exploration of mythic consciousness relationships with land in the Fish River/Cox's Road district and immediate surrounds of Bathurst. These were the earliest lands west of the Blue Mountains to be converted to private property from communally held Aboriginal land. Commodification was not the only way Europeans related to land, but the bonds of deep affection take time, intimacy and proximity to develop. The development of these bonds seems to have been disrupted, or never begun in much of the European-held property of the Fish River district, for reasons mostly extrinsic to the land itself. Colonists' connection with land was influenced by government regulations, financial situations and infrastructure. Many of the families that made a long-term commitment to the district, and in fact the Oberon district in general, were people who physically worked the land, often employees or convict servants.

The conversation of consciousnesses in this chapter is entirely European and largely from its dominant mental-rational consciousness structure, heavily influenced by government regulation. Having established the background to colonial relationships with land we have seen that grantees along Cox's Road, in the north of the Oberon district, did not engage with their land until it had been surveyed and formalised. A high proportion of the early grants became springboards to land further afield, first at Mudgee and later outside the "Limits of Location" where it was acquired without government restrictions. We have seen the appropriation of land along Cox's Road was sudden, without engagement with Aboriginal people, strongly controlled by government, granted to largely absentee owners, and largely within the mental-rational consciousness which experienced it as a commodity. The identity of the district changed from being the gateway to the west to a backwater when a new road to Bathurst was built. This chapter has demonstrated that with the new commodifying reality, human land relationships in the Cox's Road district became more complex, and land took on a new dimension. In the next chapter we will find that at least some Aborigines in the Central West seem to have attempted to address this potentially explosive situation by integrating the new arrivals into their land relationships.

Chapter 4 Aboriginal Offers of Sharing

The peaceful sharing of resources is a central feature of Aboriginal cultures, reflected in many stories.[1] Stories of the origin of fire, for example, frequently hinge around it.[2] In a Gundungurra version, fire is released for all to use after the black snake and the blue-tongued lizard refuse to share theirs, keeping it hidden in an ants nest.[3] Sharing is also a motif in another Gundungurra story, Gurangatch and Mirragan (mentioned in Chapter 1), collected by surveyor turned ethnographer, Roberts Mathews.[4] Gurangatch, the giant fish/reptile, creates the Wollondilly and Coxs Rivers while burrowing to escape Mirragan the tiger quoll.[5] He reaches his relations at Binnoomur (Jenolan Caves), who carry him over the Great Dividing Range and drop him into Joolundoo, a deep waterhole in the Duckmaloi River. Mirragan enlists the help of four waterbirds, and Billagoola, the shag, finally spears a piece of flesh from the back of Gurangatch. The giant "fish" survives and Mirragan and his friends have a feast. This mutual benefit is a form of sharing.

Mathews' telling of Gurangatch and Mirragan, recorded about 1900, ends, "Many of the waterholes [in the Coxs and Wollondilly Rivers] … are believed by the old natives to be inhabited by present day descendants of Gurangatch".[6] Gundungurra descendants of the Burragorang informants of the story were often told that Gurangatch had the form of a giant eel.[7] Anthropologist Dianne Johnson takes Gurangatch to be "the ancestral incarnation" of Australia's long finned freshwater eel, *Anguilla reinhardtii*.

This chapter explores early cross-cultural interactions in the Oberon and the Central West around the theme of sharing. An encounter of surveyor James MacBrien with a "monster" in the Fish River can be seen as both an emblematic meeting of European acquisitiveness and Aboriginal sharing and

[1] David Mowaljarlai, Jutta Malnic, *Yorro Yorro: Everything Standing Up Alive: Spirit of the Kimberley*, (Broome, WA: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 1993), 143. Kenneth Maddock, "Myths of the Acquisition of Fire in Northern and Eastern Australia", in *Australian Aboriginal Anthropology: Modern Studies in the Social Anthropology of Australian Aborigines,* ed. R. M. Berndt, 174-199 (Redlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press for Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1970).
[2] Maddock, "Myths of the Acquisition of Fire", in R. M. Berndt ed.
[3] R. H. Mathews, *Some Mythology and Folklore of the Gundungurra Tribe,* edited and with commentary and essay on the work of Mathews by Jim Smith, (Wentworth Falls, NSW: Den Fenella Press, 2003), 17.
[4] Mathews, *Some Mythology and Folklore of the Gundungurra,* 17-18,20-21,27.
[5] According to the story R. H. Mathews recorded from Gundungurra people in the Burragorang Valley, reprinted in Dianne Johnson in collaboration with the residents of the Gully and their descendants, *Sacred Waters: The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners,* (Broadway, NSW: Halstead Press, 2007).
[6] Ibid., 174
[7] Ibid., 203.

evidence of an Aboriginal aquacultural practice. Reading against the grain the exploration journals of Charles Throsby and John Oxley seems to bear out a strategy, identified by Henry Reynolds and Nancy Munn, of Aboriginal guides being helpful to explorers while still protecting particularly significant areas.[8] Using R. H. Cambage's map of the expeditions, my local topographical knowledge, and information from a previous landholder, one can interpret the routes of Throsby's and Oxley's expeditions as bypassing a significant Aboriginal area.[9] The chapter also suggests selective guiding which preferences Throsby over Oxley. The journals of William Lawson's exploration in the Central West can be read as revealing ways Aborigines sought both to maintain their traditional connection with their land and incorporate the newcomers. This interpretation is based on the argument mounted by Tony Swain in *A Place for Strangers* - that Aboriginal people's response to invasion by outsiders was to incorporate them into their ontology.[10] In south-eastern Australia this was through their kinship system. It is likely similar offers were repeated around the country. Due to the disparity of their Aboriginal and explorer realities, it seems none of these explorers had any awareness of the sharing strategies.

Finally this chapter suggests that Aboriginal attempts at sharing country with Europeans on Aboriginal terms in the Bathurst district ceased with martial law in 1824. It understands the decimation of Aboriginal lives and social structures both from martial law killings and the even more devastating small pox epidemic, 1830-31, as a turning point in Aboriginal relationships with their land.[11] It can be assumed that some clans merged, and the process of losing their unique identities and land connections and becoming simply "Aborigines" took hold in this period.[12] The clans in the Oberon district were probably among the worst affected by martial law, and small pox was recorded in the area.[13] Prior to martial law, Aboriginal initiatives to come to terms with the

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[8] Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australia*, (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1982), 24-25. Nancy Munn made a similar point. Nancy D. Munn, "Excluded Spaces: The Figure in the Australian Aboriginal Landscape", *Critical Inquiry,* 22 (1992), 451-52.

[9] R. H. Cambage, "Exploration between the Wingecarribee, Shoalhaven, Macquarie and Murrumbidgee Rivers", *JRAHS* 7, no.5 (1921): 217-288, 218. A 1932 article by local landholder Watson Steel, claims that Oxley's party camped at this site, however from the description Oxley gives of his camp that night 19 October 1820 it is extremely unlikely. (Watson A. Steel, "Swatchfield: Its early settlement", *National Advocate,* 3 June 1932, 4.

[10] Tony Swain, *A Place for Strangers: Towards a History of Aboriginal Being,* (Cambridge, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[11] Hilary M. Carey and David Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna of Wellington Valley, New South Wales, 1829-1840: The earliest nativist movement in Aboriginal Australia", *Ethnohistory* 49, no.4 (2002): 821-869, 826-29.

[12] Exemplifying the argument of Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines,* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1989).

[13] At Sydmouth Valley - *The Bathurst Post,* "The Late Mr William Tom", 15 October 1883, 1; Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and Other Disease in Aboriginal Australia, 1780-1880*, (Carlton Sth, Vic.:

colonisation of the Bathurst district by sharing form a more complex conversation about land in this period than has been previously recognised. [14]

MacBrien and the monster

When surveyor James MacBrien arrived to survey grants in the Bathurst district in 1823 he had an encounter with a mountain being, reported in *The Sydney Gazette*:[15]

> In our *Gazette* of the 6th we mentioned the circumstance of a **monster** having actually been seen in the new country. Four or five weeks since Mr **O'Brien** [later corrected to MacBrien] was bathing in a lake (part of the Fish River) about 40 miles this side of Bathurst; and he had providentially just gained the shore, when he saw a monstrous animal making a plunge towards him, - one moment more would have decided his fate. Mr O'B. describes the animal to be of prodigious length, about three feet round the head, which is long; the mouth, from the entrance towards the neck about 18 inches. … The depth of the pond in which this animal was, is about 44 feet. In another part of the river, many miles distant from this spot, another animal of the same species has been seen, but much smaller, and supposed therefore to be younger … [16]

MacBrien's "monster" bears a remarkable resemblance to a landlocked eel (Figure 4.1). The eel in that photograph is a different species, but illustrates the fearsomeness of such huge eels. Freshwater eels are found only in eastern flowing water in eastern Australia, and not in the western flowing Duckmaloi River (tributary of the Fish River). They breed only once - in the Coral Sea and do not return.[17] The western flowing Duckmaloi and Fish Rivers drain to the sea thousands of miles away in South Australia. Eels in these rivers would be essentially landlocked. Landlocked long-finned eels may live to great ages and grow to prodigious sizes. They have been recorded at 3 metres - about a metre longer than those with access to the sea - and 22 kilograms, and may perhaps grow even bigger.[18] *The Sydney Gazette's* report prompted an account of monsters in Lake Bathurst (near Goulburn). One about five feet long had "the head of a bulldog," the head of

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Melbourne University Press, 2004), 140. Campbell mistakenly locates Sidmouth Valley near Orange, where the Toms shortly after moved.

[14] It was observed by some at Brucedale (see next section) but not as a general ontological strategy. Peter Read, *A Hundred Years' War: The Wiradjuri People and the State,* (Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1988); David Roberts, "Bells Falls Massacre and Bathurst's History of Violence: Local Tradition and Australian Historiography", *Australian Historical Studies* 26, no. 105 (1995), 619; Michael Pearson, "Bathurst Plains and Beyond: European Colonisation and Aboriginal Resistance", *Aboriginal History* 8 (1984).

[15] "Magistrate for the Week, E. Wollstonecraft, Esq"., *The Sydney Gazette,* 3 April 1823, 2.

[16] "Magistrate for the Week – James Bowman", *The Sydney Gazette,* 20 March 1823, 2. Original emphasis. "Magistrate for the Week, E. Wollstonecraft, Esq"., *The Sydney Gazette,* 3 April 1823, 2.

[17] Johnson, et al., *Sacred Waters,*175.

[18] Mark McGrouther, "Animal Species: Longfin Eel, *Anguilla reinhardtii* Steindacher, 1867", Australian Museum, 15 March 2016, online, accessed 18 February 2017, https://australianmuseum.net.au/longfin-eel-anguilla-reinhardtii.

another was smaller than the neck and "surrounded with black flaps".[19] These "monsters" may all have been gurangatches.

Figure 4-1, A giant pike eel washed ashore at Lake Macquarie, NSW, in 2016.[20]

These accounts seem important validations of the Gurangatch and Mirragan story as a record of cultural practice. This story, like many Aboriginal stories, operates on many levels, some doubtless available only to the initiated; and the version given to Mathews may not be the full version. It may be, amongst other things, a story about a Gundungurra acquacultural practice of carrying elvers or small eels over the Great Dividing Range and releasing them in western flowing waters, or lakes as a food source. In the story Mirragan's friends west of the Great Dividing Range eat roasted eels, and Goolagwangwan, the diver, could not reach Gurangatch but brought up a "young or small Gurangatch". O'Brien's "monster" experience understood in the light of this story seems to record eels being present in these western flowing waters, implying a acquacultural practice that defied the notion on which settlement was predicated: that Aborigines did not farm.

Further support for this interpretation seems to come from the first European owners of the land beside the Joolundoo waterhole, Gurangatch's final sanctuary. They referred to it as "the bunyip's

[19] E. S. Hall, "To the Editor of the *Sydney Gazette*", *The Sydney Gazette,* 20 March 1823, 2.
[20] Tim Connell, "Odd Creature Washed Up at Swansea Identified as Pike Eel", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 16 February 2016, accessed 27 March 2017. Photo: Ethan Tippa, Facebook. http://www.smh.com.au/environment/animals/odd-creature-washed-up-at-swansea-identified-as-pike-eel-20160216-gmv8po.html

pool," suggesting some awareness of its mythic association.[21] Exceptionally large animals, including eels, snakes and tortoises, were understood by the Mullanpara people of Tully in North Queensland (and perhaps more broadly) to have exceptional powers and had a different name, indicating a qualitative difference from other animals of that species. [22]

Formal recognition of this acquacultural practice has emerged only from European observations. Speaking of the archaeological work that shows Aboriginal people building canals and eel farming in Victoria, Ken Saunders, Gunditjmara man, thus explained: " Well you couldn't have a blackfella telling that story. So to prove it we had to have a white person doing the scientific research to say this is real".[23] Though *The Sydney Gazette* considered the otherwise rational surveyor a "respectable source," it discouraged his monster interpretation and hoped one such creature could be caught to "gratify the enquiring mind". With their bias for scientific rational consciousness, Europeans excluded themselves from this sort of information held in myth and, as we will see, from much that Aborigines tried to communicate to them.

Of course MacBrien, who had just arrived in the district when this encounter happened, could not have known what the gurangatch was.[24] Terrified and in unfamiliar territory, he resorted to his own mythic consciousness to interpret his experience, setting it in British water monster tradition.[25] On a mythic consciousness, symbolic level, it is significant that MacBrien, a man who had come to formalise the alienation of Aboriginal land, was menaced by a creature which embodied the Aboriginal principle of sharing resources.

Offers of sharing with Europeans

Aboriginal societies are inclusive, with provisions for incorporating outsiders into their kinship systems. Colonisation promoted exclusive, perspectival land ownership. It based its right to the

[21] Joan Cosgrove, letter to author, 10 August 2007. These first owners were not the first Europeans in this location.
[22] Lucien Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mythology: The Mythic World of the Australian and Papuan Natives* tranls. Brian Elliott. (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 1983, originally published 1935), 75.
[23] Anna Saleh, "Aborigines May Have Farmed Eels, Built Huts", ABC Science, 13 March 2003, online, accessed 18 February 2017, http://www.abc.net.au/science/articles/2003/03/13/806276.htm.
[24] MacBrien crossed the Blue Mountains and arrived at the Fish River on 10 February 1823. James MacBrien Fieldbook 205, SANSW NRS 905, 2/4847. The incident occurred four or five weeks before the report in *The Sydney Gazette* of 20 March 1823.
[25] In addition to local, the Loch Ness Monster and the Welsh Afanc, medieval and Renaissance maps of distant seas were illustrated with creatures, largely fictitious, but based on reports from sailors, in the lesser known oceans. Hannah Waters, "The Enchanting Sea Monsters on Medieval Maps", online 15 October 2013, accessed 18 February 2017. http://www.smithsonianmag.com/science-nature/the-enchanting-sea-monsters-on-medieval-maps-1805646/

lands of others on the superiority of its land-use: thus it was in its interests to find ignorance rather than intelligence. Western knowledge systems, based on classification and categorisation, could not readily recognise ontologies held in story and song, with layers of meaning revealed on the basis of initiation. [26] Such fundamental differences impeded the conversation of sharing that Aborigines initiated.

Once Aboriginal resistance to settlement across the Blue Mountains had been crushed in the 1816 Appin massacre, the new strategy of sharing or co-existence can be seen among the mountain Aborigines. This was not indiscriminate assistance. Robert Sills was appointed overseer of the south road from Picton in 1819, but realising the Aborigines recognised him as one of their pursuers in 1816, he relinquished his position.[27] Gundungurra people started to share their knowledge of their country with select Europeans who they had good relations with, notably Hamilton Hume and Charles Throsby, who had protected them in 1816. Sharing with white explorers, however, was problematic as they were not necessarily exploring for themselves, but as representatives of an impersonal crown. This was a fundamental difference in white and black realities. It was probably inconceivable to Gundungurra people that the ultimate authority for their land now rested in people who lived thousands of miles away and had never been to the colony. This difference in the relationships with land sabotaged the conversation from the start.

This Gundungurra strategy of offering coexistence to select Europeans may reflect a phenomenon repeated around the country. Near Barnawatha, Victoria in 1837 "Jimmy" tried unsuccessfully to persuade Alexander Mollison to "make my station on his ground".[28] Local Bathurst people showed George Suttor and family the property, (near Peel), in 1823.[29] The Suttors kept the faith entrusted in them - young William Suttor learned Wiradjuri and had close friendships with some Aborigines who lived permanently there; groups of up to 150 Aborigines camped at Brucedale; and George (or

[26] Diana James, "Kinship with Country: Acts of Translation in the Cross-Cultural Performance Space; A case study on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara lands of Central Australia", (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2005)", 52-53.
[27] He was replaced by his assistant, Charles Throsby's servant Joseph Wild, who would be part of the expedition guided by Burra Burra man Coocoogong in 1819, which was the first known European presence on the Oberon plateau. Vivienne Parsons, "Wild, Joseph (1773–1847)", *ADB*, online, accessed 17 December 2013. The road went to Goulburn. It was originally intended to follow Charles Throsby's footsteps to Bathurst.
[28] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen& Unwin, 2011), 307.
[29] Dianne Johnson, "Protecting the Warrior's Spirit", in *Lighting the Way: Reconciliation Stories*, 48-60, (Sydney: The Federation Press, 2002), 51.

son William) wrote a substantial obituary for Windradyne, published in two Sydney newspapers.[30] The Suttors are still on Brucedale six generations later. When I met anthropologist Dianne Johnson in 2004, she suggested that the reason for the stability of the Suttor's tenure there is that the enterprise started with the sanction of the Wiradjuri people, and proceeded with good relationships. Perhaps Aboriginal relationships with land exert more influence than is generally recognised.

Coocoogong reveals and conceals

Charles Throsby, who had supported Aborigines during the 1816 conflict, was guided by Coocoogong on his expedition from the Cowpastures to Bathurst. They were the first Europeans known to cross the Oberon plateau. Throsby's motive for the expedition, however, was not personal. He was commissioned by Governor Macquarie to find an alternative to the arduous route to Bathurst over the Blue Mountains.[31] The party travelled via the Southern Highlands and the Taralga district, and across the Abercrombie River and around the head of the Campbells River (see Figure 4.2).[32] Coocoogong, whom Throsby found, "ever correct, in information very intelligent and faithfull [sic.]," and translators, Dual and Bian were rewarded for this sharing of country with brass plates, Coocoogong's reading "Chief of the Burrahburrah Tribe".[33] King plates did not recognise Aboriginal sovereignty, or rights to land, merely clan identity.

Coocoogong's actions seem to have exemplified the practice referred to by Reynolds of guides being helpful to explorers while still protecting particularly significant areas.[34] A day's travel north of the junction of the Wollondilly and Paddy's Rivers, a thick fog and rain descended at 10 am, and it was reported that Coocoogong "mistook the Range he intended to have gone".[35] He urged Throsby to retrace their steps but Throsby determined to correct their path "in a straight direction," a decision he regretted as it took them into "a rather broken Country". Presumably even

[30] Ibid.; "Colo" [George or Wiiliam Suttor], "Letter to the Editor", *The Australian,* 14 October 1826, 3; "Colo", "To the Editor of The Monitor", *The Sydney Monitor,* 18 April 1829, 2; "Colo", "Aboriginal Biography", *The Sydney Gazette,* 21 April 1929, 3.
[31] Ross Brownscombe ed., *On Suspect Terrain: Journals of Exploration in the Blue Mountains 1795-1820,* ([Brighton East, Vic.]: Forever Wild Press, 2004), 298. A reward for the discovery of a more convenient route, avoiding Mounts York and Blaxland, was later offered in *The Australian* 22 August 1827, 2.
[32] Charles Throsby, "A Journal on a Tour to Bathurst Through the Cowpastures Commencing April 25th 1819", SANSW 9/2743, 115-118.
[33] Ibid., 4 May 1819; 11 May 1819.
[34] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier,* 24-25; Munn, "Excluded Spaces", 451-52.
[35] Cambage, "Exploration between the Wingecarribee, Shoalhaven", 239; Throsby, "A Journal on a Tour to Bathurst", 2 May 1819.

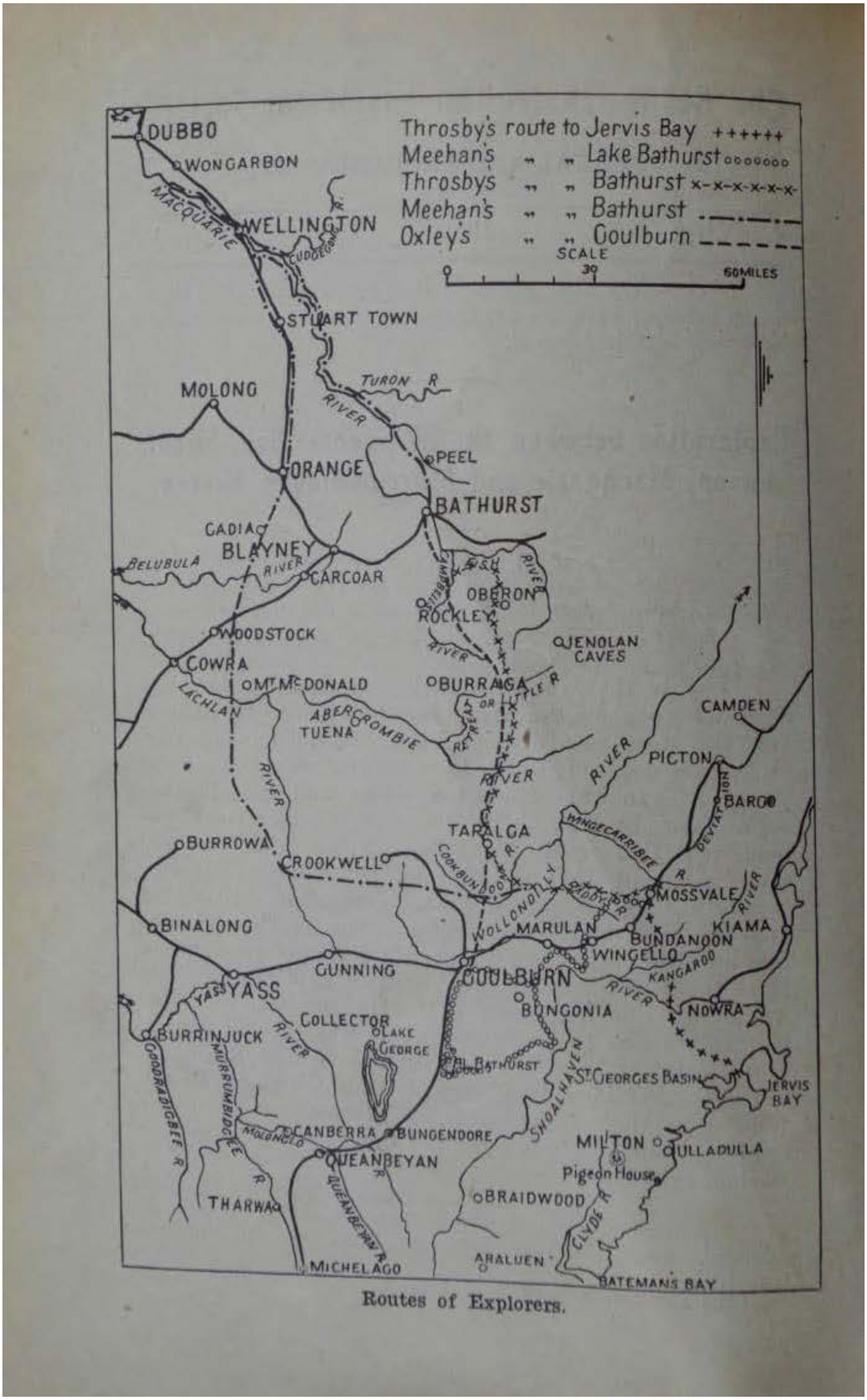

Figure 4-2, R. H. Cambage, Routes of Explorers, from "Exploration between the … Rivers".

Aborigines in familiar territory make occasional mistakes, but in the light of Mitchell's nighttime experience with Billy of Kerrawary (Chapter 1) it seems more likely that this was a ruse: Coocoogong took advantage of the fog to mislead the party;. he suggested retracing their steps knowing that Throsby was unlikely to agree to that. Thus the expedition detoured "the country to the Southward and the Westward," called Cookbundoon, which Throsby saw regretfully in the distance the following day as "very clear," "level and good," when they regained the correct range. This country was clearly familiar territory to Coocoogong - the following year Governor Macquarie met Coocoogong's family in that area, near the Cookbundoon Range.[36] He thus had good reason for wanting to keep it out of the paths of Europeans.

Two days north of the Abercrombie River, Throsby's party had a significant encounter with "a large tribe of natives".[37] They were in an "indifferent Stony and Gravely forest" which Throsby later described as a "mixed good and bad forest".[38] What is more significant is where Coocoogong did not take the party. They clearly did not go through nearby Beemarang, later called Swatchfield. Swatchfield is now an iconic property in the Oberon district, consisting of rich alluvial flats, gentle slopes. It is well watered by the upper reaches of the Campbell's River and its tributaries. Europeans were initially "charmed" by it, but came to regret taking it up, as we will see in the next chapter. It was almost certainly a highly significant Aboriginal site. Its wetlands would have been an abundant source of food. William Kater, whose family owned the property for about 70 years from 1936, confirmed that numerous "axes and grinding things" had been found along the banks of the Campbells River on the property.[39] This suggests a favoured camp site. References to a paddock named "Blackfellows" in a 1937 station diary from Swatchfield suggests an ongoing campsite there during the nineteenth century. [40] William Kater confirmed that there was a

[36] Lachlan Macquarie, "Journal of A Tour of Inspection to the Western and Southern Countries, some time since discovered by Chas. Throsby Esqr. In Octr and Novr. 1820", 23 October 1820, online, accessed 25 February 2017, http://www.mq.edu.au/macquarie-archive/journeys/1820/1820.html .
[37] Throsby, "A Journal on a Tour to Bathurst", 7 May 1819. As this meeting occurred in May it is clear that in spite of the extreme climate Aboriginal people were living on the plateau, and at one of the highest parts, most, if not all year round. As Throsby recognized several from the Cowpastures, and one who had been to his house, it is also clear that these people freely crossed the Blue Mountains and Great Dividing Range.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Pers. comm. with William Kater, 11 May 2012. Ray McMahon, a spraying contractor in the Oberon district for many years, and a passionate collector of Aboriginal artefacts, many of which are in the Oberon Museum, adds that stone artefacts could be found all over Swatchfield until the paddocks were cleared of stone by a bulldozer, (pers. comm. 8 February 2014).
[40] Page reproduced in Paddy Grady Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story,* (Sylvania, NSW: self-published, 1987), 39.

paddock called “Blackfellows” on Swatchfield when his father bought the place in 1936.[41] This is another location that it seems Coocoogong did not wish to share.

Throsby’s approximate route has been plotted by surveyor and botanist, Richard Cambage, who locates him passing “east of Swatchfield” on this day.[42] When John Oxley took a group in the reverse direction from Bathurst to the Goulburn area in 1820 to assess the country Throsby had explored, his unnamed Aboriginal guides took a slightly different route, but also east of Swatchfield (see Figures 4.2 and 4.3).[43] A route via Swatchfield, which the high voltage power lines take today, is quite level and the little Campbells River easily crossable. It seems the guide or guides, were deliberately keeping Europeans on poorer country, away from this prime location. Such detours are examples of “a pervasive type of Aboriginal act,” with various purposes including “avoiding certain people or ritual processes”.[44]

It was not only Swatchfield that Oxley’s guides avoided. While Throsby had recorded Aboriginal placenames and had a good relationship with his guides, Oxley did neither, referring only to “the native”. He gained a very poor opinion of the Oberon plateau, much of which, especially the basalt areas, is highly regarded as farming and grazing country today. North of Swatchfield his map states “hills & vallies tops of hills poor & Stony,” and below Swatchfield, “[e]levated Ridge of Mts very barren and Rocky”.[45] His journal is littered with negative assessments such as “soil indifferent,” “the country bad”.[46] Throsby, who had assiduously recorded Aboriginal names for all their campsites and some other features, had been enthusiastic about the country. Oxley’s negativity

[41] Pers. comm. 11 May 2012. It is south-east of the present Swatchfield, which was subdivided after World War 11 for soldier settlement blocks.

[42] Cambage, “Exploration between the Wingecarribee, Shoalhaven”, 241. Throsby provides key Gundungurra names for the areas where he camps and some that he passes through. He met the “large tribe” between Barroning and Burnmaring. Ten years later Surveyor J. B. Richards recorded the Aboriginal name for Swatchfield as “Beemerang”. Burnmaring and Beemerang may be the same word. J. B. Richards, SANSW map 1775, held in the Lands Department, LD C2 584.

[43] R. H. Cambage, “Routes of Explorers”, in “Exploration between the … Rivers”, 218.

[44] Munn, “Excluded Spaces”, 451-52. The significance of the Beemarang district to Aboriginal people is further suggested by its being a few miles from Corrobee Hill and Corrobee Creek. This name seems like a corruption of “corroboree”. Corrobee Hill is a flat topped hill similar to Corroboree Hill at Taralga further south across the Abercrombie River, which was named about 1830 for ‘the famous gathering of blacks’ held there. - Thomas Taylor, quoted in F. F. Wheaton, “The Discovery and early Settlement of the Taralga District”, *JRAHS* 9, no.1 (1923): 1-17.

[45] John Oxley, “A Chart of part of the interior of New South Wales, by John Oxley, Surveyor-General”, 1822, ML M3 810/1822/1.

[46] John Oxley, “Remarks on the Country between Bathurst and Lake George including the Country South West of the Cowpastures 1820”, 18 October 1820, ML A801. There may have been political motivation pre-disposing Oxley to be unimpressed by the district Macquarie was so excited about. Neither Oxley nor his companion Comissioner Bigge were admirers of Governor Macquarie, however Oxley was not fabricating observations.

thus suggests a different route. The guide seems to have deliberately confined Oxley to the poorest country. The strategy of selective guiding could not succeed for long, but it gave Aborigines control of European movement in the short term.

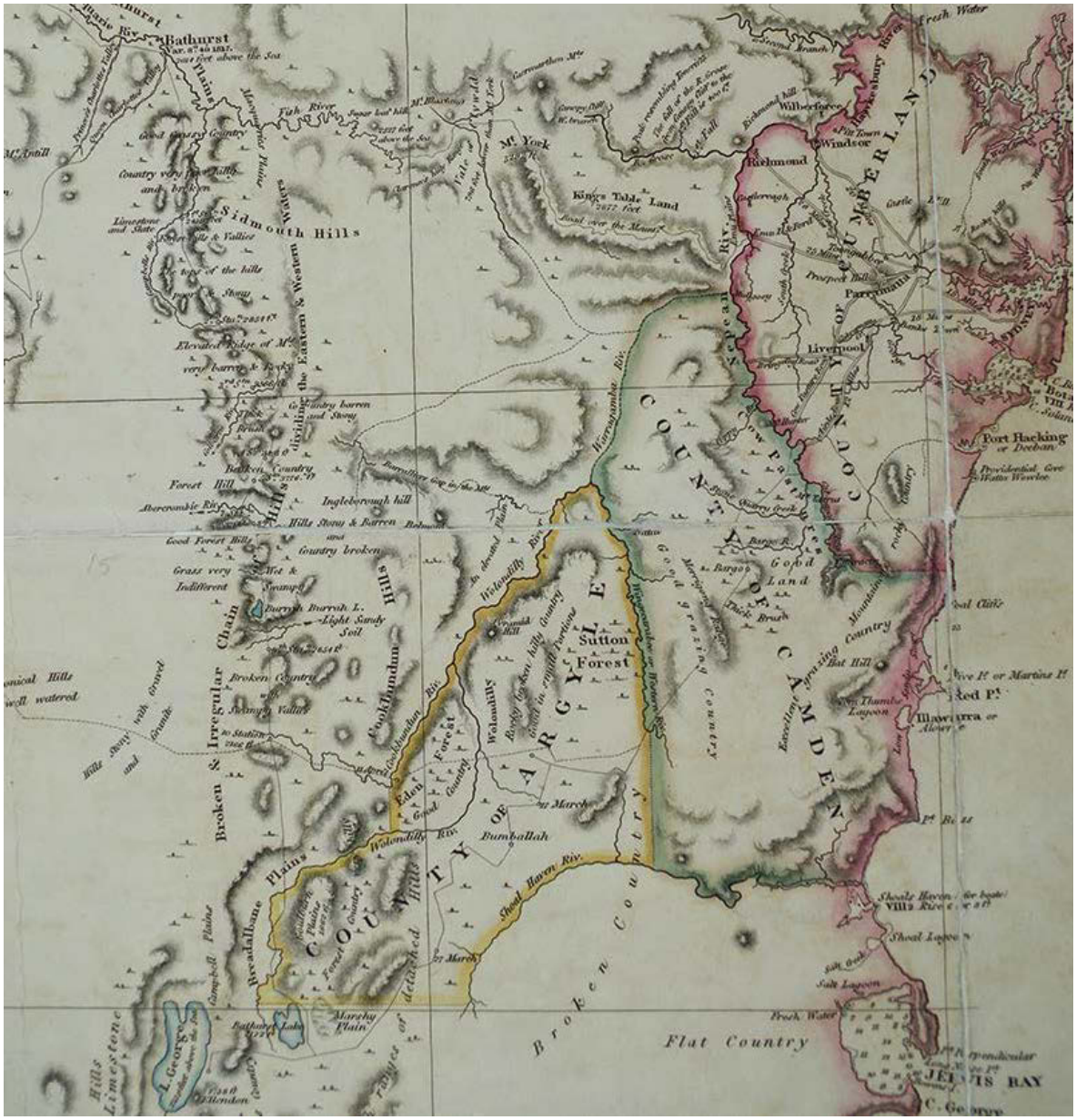

Figure 4-3, John Oxley, portion of "A Chart of part of the interior of New South Wales by John Oxley Surveyor-General," ML M3 810/1822/1

Aboriginal attempt at coexistence at Mudgee

Although Mudgee is some 170 kilometres by road north of Oberon, William Lawson's encounters with Aborigines in that area offer an unusually sustained insight into early relationships in the

Central West.[47] The advantage of Aboriginal guidance for explorations is convincingly illustrated by Lawson's four attempts to reach the Liverpool Plains from Bathurst. The first trip, without a guide, made only 30 miles from Bathurst. The subsequent three, all with different Aboriginal guides, reached the Mudgee district and beyond. The guide on the third expedition was apparently a man "which belongs to a Tribe at the head of the Campbells River" (in the Oberon district).[48] His people may well have been the "large tribe" that Throsby encountered near Swatchfield.

It was probably clear to the people of Mudgee and surrounds that invasion was on its way to their country by Lawson's third expedition in late 1821. James Blackman had reached the Cogegam (Cudgegong River, in the Rylstone district), before Lawson, and Lawson had now come to Mudgee a second time.[49] The behaviour of the Mudgee people, as recorded by Lawson, seems to suggest that they were planning a ceremonial occasion with him, perhaps with a view of establishing coexistence. Social entertaining and great ceremonial gatherings were a feature of Aboriginal cultures, according to W. E. H. Stanner, and social relationships are the "dominant mode of Aboriginal thinking".[50] If so Lawson's journal indicates that it was a form of social interaction that he did not understand.

Past the Turon River (Sofala district) on the third expedition, the party was joined by eight "Natives who seemed to have a wish to go with us". After lunch the following day five of them "shook hands and left us, but promised to meet me on my return at Muggee with all the natives they could collect, as they had a desire to see me". Shaking hands can be seen as the deliberate adoption of the formal European cultural gesture, perhaps to underline the ceremonial nature of the arrangement. The other three continued to escort the party. They all camped at "Muggee" and the following day one of the Aboriginal men left the party and returned with about 20 men and boys, and soon after the women and children were sent for. This was clearly a significant gesture on the part of the Mudgee people as explorers usually did not encounter women and children.[51] To emphasise the import to Lawson, "One of the Natives held my horse by the Bridle to prevent me

[47] Mudgee is held to be Wiradjuri country today, "Mudgee District History", http://www.mudgeehistory.com.au/wiradjuri/wiradjuri_p1.html , accessed 26 February 2017. Wales", 17.
[48] William Lawson, "Journal of a tour into the country North of Bathurst", 30 November 1821 – 25 December 1821ML C120 (1). This man was a substitute for another from "about twenty miles north of Bathurst", for whom Lawson waited a week in vain. We do not learn about this man's location until sixth day of the expedition, when he was the only one with Lawson.
[49] H. Selkirk and W. Maconochie, "The Discovery of Mudgee", *JRAHS* 6, no.6 (1920), 284,287. On his final expedition Lawson ran into Alan Cunningham at Mudgee. (Willam Lawson, "Journal of a Tour from Bathurst to the Liverpool Plains", 24 November – 14 December 1822, SANSW SZ995, 1-25, 26 November 1822).
[50] W. E. H. Stanner, "The Dreaming", in *The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 172-224. 66-67,70.
[51] Sandra Bloodworth, "Gender Relations in Aboriginal Society: What Can We Glean from Early Explorers' Accounts?" (online) accessed 7 July 2016. http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/interventions/gender.htm

from going". About a dozen women and children arrived and sat about 100 yards away. Lawson had some awareness that the presence of women and children was significant, ordering his men not to go near them "fearing some misunderstanding". He failed, however, to appreciate that this gesture was probably one of trust. He "wish'd them goodbuy and left them and was very glad to get off". We can only conjecture the purpose of this gathering, but the presence of women and children suggest it was not threatening, and Lawson's abrupt departure may well have been experienced as rude.

Two days later, on 14 January, Lawson's party camped on the Paterbutta (Talbragar) River, north of Mudgee. Two of their escorts were leaving them, but wanted to know how far and where Lawson was going. He pointed north-west and north saying, "Ten Nangris" which, he tell us, means ten nights. This plan met with discouragement: the black men there were described as "Cooler" [angry] and the country was "all rock and scrub and no water". Again the meeting at Mudgee was stressed at this parting.[52] Three days later Lawson did indeed run into "forbidding country" and turned back. The next day the grass was "on fire in every direction". This may be another example of the use of Aboriginal fire to direct the movement or usefulness of explorers' progress as suggested in Chapter 2. The following day Lawson determined to go north again for six days but after 13 miles the man from the head of Campbells River "took sick with a bowel complaint", rolling on the ground in pain. Lawson camped the night there but the next day the patient (if he actually were sick) refused to go any further. Lawson turned back and arrived at Mudgee on the morning of 23rd. Here, as promised, was a great gathering of Aborigines, over a hundred men and women from "several Tribes," the men "all armed but appeared very Friendly". This would seem like a ceremonial occasion of some importance.[53] Lawson, however, twice interpreted the purpose of this assembly merely as the people wanting to "*see* us".[54] He "stopd about an hour with them," then said goodbye, shook hands and invited them to see him at Bathurst. This abrupt departure is emblematic of the relationship between colonised and coloniser: a conversation replete with rejections of Aboriginal ways of being.

[52] William Lawson, "Journal of an expedition from Bathurst to the Liverpool Plains", 9 January1822-24 January 1822, 14 January 1822.
[53] Large gatherings of 'tribes' often lasted for several days or even weeks, one lasting days about 1837 at Capertee is described by Annabella Boswell. It finished with a "grand Coroberee". Annabella Boswell, *Recollections of Some Australian Blacks: Bathurst District, 1835-40, Port Macquarie, 1844, Hunter's River, 1850*, (J. A. Ferguson Australia, c.1890), 8.
[54] My emphasis.

The Mudgee people may have been planning to provide the exploring party with sexual partners, as was done for some other exploring parties.[55] Offers of sexual relationships with women were encumbered with intricate kinship relationships and expectations of continuing obligations to some of the women's kin.[56] They would also have been a means of bringing the newcomers into appropriate relationships with country, that is, with specific places. Swain's *A Place for Strangers* demonstrates that Aborigines around the country actively employed social and spiritual strategies to incorporate outsiders.[57] It can perhaps be applied to Mudgee to suggest that the people intended to find a way to bring Lawson and party into their worldview. This interpretation reveals sexual relations of Aboriginal women with colonists as more than isolated encounters, but part of a broader and more important pattern of exchange in the context of Aborigines trying to maintain connection with their land.

The failure of communication about sharing at Mudgee may be illustrated more clearly in an interaction between missionary Lancelot Threlkeld and his companion and translator Biraban, an Awakabal man (Newcastle region). Threlkeld had been invited to a ceremony in which senior men presented the long bones used for the tooth avulsion ceremony, which they kept in their stomachs. When Threlkeld scoffed at this notion Biraban showed great frustration, "Well Massa, you no believe, what for you so stupid?" he asked. "You come and see, then you know all about it".[58] For Biraban it seemed obvious that attending the corroboree would give Threlkeld an understanding of the magic nature of the ceremony. Threlkeld went, but of course remained sceptical. What is obvious within one structure of consciousness is often opaque to another. Even if Lawson had stayed he might not have understood the Mudgee people's intention.

In 1822 Lawson and the Coxes took up land in the fertile Mudgee district joined, as we saw in Chapter 3, by numerous other Fish River landholders. Like Throsby, Lawson employed the colonial method of rewarding or "pacifying the natives". He wrote later that year for five brass plates for:

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[55] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier,* 70-71.
[56] Ibid., 70-72; Ann McGrath, *"Born in the Cattle": Aborigines in Cattle Countr*y, Sydney, London, Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987, 3,10,68-94.
[57] Swain in *A Place for Strangers* shows that the Cape York people used intermarriage and a mythological development - the Cape York Hero cults - as a means of incorporating Melanesians (91-93). The hero stories laid down a new order, giving Melanesians a connection with country within the law. On the Northern Territory coast, intermarriage with the Macassan traders was perhaps not an option, as they did not bring their women, but their All-Mother cult was adopted as a means of including those strangers (164-5,184). In south-east Australia, a transcendent spirituality emerged in the 1830s, (see Chapter 6), at the Wellington mission, to accommodate the dispossession and death that had decimated the existing locative ontology.
[58] Neil Gunson, ed., *Australian Reminiscences and Papers of L.E. Threlkeld,* 1, (Canberra: Australian Aboriginal Studies no.40, AIAS, 1974), 52.

> Tuerum – chief of Carrigurra
> Warragurra – chief of Mugee
> Ering – chief of Tabalburro
> Canbinary[59]

Frustratingly the scribe has only copied four of the five names and three of the locations.[60] These names are precious as so few names of the clan groups and of Aboriginal people of the Bathurst district have survived. It was not long before they were being known as Billy and Jacky, or "Magpie" in the case of the Mudgee "chief," and located at Fish River, or other European placenames.[61] The brass plates could not have compensated for the unwitting rejection of their offer of sharing. The conversation about sharing failed and the ancient social structure was decimated in the wider Bathurst region over the following decades. Even if colonists had understood offers of this nature, it is unlikely many would have given up their own reality to accept them.

Martial Law 1824 and the smallpox epidemic 1830-31

The Macquarie era of settlement around Bathurst, finishing at the end of 1821, is often seen as peaceful.[62] This assessment is Eurocentric and only relatively accurate. Before then conflict was apparently not reported. The Aboriginal people whom Charles Throsby and party met on the Oberon plateau in 1819 had a different impression:

> the people at Bathurst was very cooler (angry) with the Blacks, that they would set their Dogs on him, shoot him etc and that four black people had been killed and more wounded[63]

These deaths, however, had no official European record. Before 1820, Aboriginal violence against outlying settlers had been recognised as the exercise of indigenous customary law.[64] In 1820,

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[59] Colonial Secretary to William Lawson, 6 August 1822, SANSW 4/3506. Ering, was Lawson's guide on his fourth expedition, and the only one he named in his journals. Tabalburro is probably the same place as "Tablebucco … a very pretty place" on the northeastern side of the Turon River where Lawson had lunch on the third day from Bathurst on the third expedition.[59] The Turon (Tuerum) River, between Mudgee and Bathurst, was also known as the Carrigurra River.

[60] William Lawson also spells Turon, the river, as 'Chooron'.

[61] "Colo", [George Suttor]",To the Editors of The Australian", *The Australian*, 14 October 1826, 3-4, 4.

[62] Pearson, "Bathurst Plains and Beyond", 69; David Roberts, "Bells Falls Massacre and Bathurst's history of Violence: Local Tradition and Australian Historiography", *Australian Historical Studies* 26, no. 105 (1995): 615-633, 619; Peter Read, *A Hundred Years War: The Wiradjuri People and the State,* (Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1988), 9; T. Salisbury and P.J. Gresser, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri: Martial Law at Bathurst in 1824,* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, Studies in Australian and Pacific History 4, 1971), 16.

[63] Throsby, "A Journal on a Tour to Bathurst", 7 May 1819.

however, Indigenous theft and violence were defined as crimes, implying Aborigines were British subjects.[65] This shift was still a contentious notion in the government, and certainly not recognised by Aborigines who continued to practice customary law.[66] In the pragmatic clime of the frontier, the issue of sovereignty was not a concern. Settlers generally did not see themselves as invaders. Alan Atkinson has observed that for the founding generations "the elephantine fact of conquest" was difficult even to contemplate.[67] Aborigines were effectively treated both as having sovereignty when they were victims, and as coming under British jurisdiction when they were perpetrators – a convenient paradox for colonists.[68] The people who were responsible for the plight of Aborigines largely avoided responsibility for it: many landowners did not live in the district; and the ultimate coloniser was the distant British government. The principles of the colonisation of New South Wales were a work in progress, but in the meantime convenience for colonial interracial relationships seems often the guiding principle.

Aboriginal responses to early white settlement were complex. Peter Read suggests that the settlement may have been regarded an advantage because of the access it gave to desirable white goods.[69] There had been efforts at establishing good relations on the European part. Early in 1816, when the settlement was in its infancy, the government storekeeper at Bathurst sent a boat across the Macquarie River to collect 147 Aboriginal men, women and children from the north side of the Macquarie, then "feasted" them with "beef etc.," when they paid the settlement a rare visit.[70] Certainly before 1822 there were few European reports of Aboriginal crimes: some thefts, mostly of tomahawks, and a brood mare of William Lawson was speared in 1819.[71] Inquests into the deaths of stockmen suggest quite a degree of contact between them and local Aborigines, with visits to

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[64] Lisa Ford, *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836,* (Cambridge, Mass. And London, England: Harvard University Press – Harvard Historical Studies, 2010), 81.
[65] Plurality was eroded by conceiving jurisdiction over space rather than subjects. Ibid., 2, 174
[66] Ibid., 55,209.
[67] Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia* 1, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 196.
[68] The common-law status of Aborigines in Australia was determined by a court case in 1836. On the basis of territory, Aborigines came under the British sovereignty and jurisdiction. They were, however, neither aliens nor subjects of Britain. They "had received the rights of perpetual residence" but as "inferior" citizens could not participate "in all [Society's] advantages". Ibid., 202.
[69] Read, *A Hundred Years War,* 9.
[70] "Sydney", *The Sydney Gazette,* 3 February 1816, 2.
[71] Barron Field, "Journal of an Excursion Across the Blue Mountains of New South Wales, October 1822", in *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841,* ed. George Mackaness, 118-142 (Sydney: Horwitz-Grahame, 1965), 135; Pearson, "Bathurst Plains and Beyond", 71.

huts no unusual occurrence.[72] Some of this early contact must have been mutually enjoyable, as Inga Clendinnen has shown of early Sydney.[73]

In 1819, there were 24 flocks of sheep, about 12,000, and 1,400 head of government cattle on the Bathurst Plains.[74] They would have been eating, very roughly, as much grass as 60,000 kangaroos.[75] Alienated land at Bathurst is recorded as only 2,520 acres in 1821, but this statistic is misleading. [76] Many thousands more acres were occupied under Tickets of Occupation. William "Merchant" Browne, for example, held four Tickets of Occupation in 1820 officially totalling about 12,000 acres, but probably far exceeding that in practice.[77] To compound the problem of food supply for Aborigines, Europeans heedlessly hunted their game, often just for sport. European dogs wreaked carnage on native animals. [78] One of William Lawson's sons, for instance, spent a week hunting kangaroo, emu and wild turkey in the Bathurst district in 1822 with a man and seven or eight dogs.[79]

The 'mountains' Aborigines of the Oberon district seem to have been the earliest to react aggressively to the newcomers, and much of the conflict that has been recorded was in the Oberon area. They were some of the earliest affected: the stock animals of William Lawson and Robert Lowe were in their country from 1816. Stock holdings soon spread along the Fish River and up the Campbells River, so much of the most fertile, lower and warmer river land was alienated, heavily restricting traditional food sources. Following the Bigge report, Governor Brisbane allowed many more access to land over the Blue Mountains and conflict is on record.[80] In 1823, as the number of Europeans and their animals in the Bathurst district soared, Aborigines' violence against stock and stockmen correspondingly increased.

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[72] John Read, acting Coroner, "Coroner's Inquest", NRS 905SANSW 4/1819, 449-454; Thomas Hawkins, "Inquest on the body of the late hut keeper of Mr Lee at Clear Creek", SANSW 4/1798A, 2 September 1823, 261-262.
[73] Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing with Strangers,* (Melbourne: Text Publishing, 2003).
[74] C. J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales, part 1: The Sequence of Land Laws*, (Sydney: Division of Marketing and Agricultural Economics, NSW Department of Agriculture, 1957), 27.
[75] Penny Olsen and Tim Low, "Update on Current State of Scientific Knowledge on Kangaroos in the Environment, Including Ecological and Economic Impact and Effect of Culling", prepared for the Kangaroo Management Advisory Panel, March 2006, online http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/nature/SituationAnalysisFinal.pdf, accessed 18 September 2014. I have adjusted for much smaller size of domestic animals in the 1820s, assuming 50% of today's sizes.
[76] Pearson, "Bathurst Plains and Beyond", 71. It must reflect only officially granted land.
[77] William Browne to Colonial Secretary, 13 October 1823, SANSW 4/1834A, no.44, 253-270.
[78] Gilmore, *Old Days, Old Ways,* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1963), 119.
[79] Elizabeth Hawkins, "Journey from Sydney to Bathurst in 1822", in Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys*, 116.
[80] Europeans numbered only 287 by 1821, whereas by 1823 there were 708. C. J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement* 1, 28.

Seven of William Lawson's men were killed in a number of different attacks. One employee of his neighbour, Henry O'Brien, was decapitated and his arms cut off. [81] Mutilation was not uncommon, probably an intimidatory statement, and perhaps an indication of sorcery (see Chapter 2).[82] Raids happened frequently. At the Swallow Creek government stock station, Aborigines stripped the stockmen naked and took away their clothes.[83] They probably understood Europeans felt vulnerable without clothes. When Elizabeth Hassall's station, Brisbane Valley, was raided the overseer, William Lane, armed the employees.[84] Soon after, three Aboriginal women, one old, were discovered killed not far away near Raineville.[85] The men were tried but exonerated on the grounds of self-defence, maintaining the unconvincing story that they had been attacked by a group of 30 Aborigines, and these women were the only ones that had been killed. Evidence was not taken from Aborigines in law courts because they were regarded as not competent to take an oath.[86] British law silenced Aborigines, giving subtle official encouragement to ignore their perspective.

The stockmen were in an invidious position. As convicts, many had little choice about being there. Often living in isolated huts, at the mercy of a people who knew the terrain intimately, whose presence was often undetectable, and whose culture most of them understood very little, they doubtless felt very vulnerable. The first reported killing of a European was William Maybrow, a hutkeeper of William Lawson's at his Ticket of Occupation, Dirty Swamp, on the east bank of the Campbell's River in March 1822. The killing had a planned, targeted, and even a ritual element to it. Four armed Aborigines came to the hut one afternoon, placing eight spears against a wall in the hut, according to stockman Charles Hatt, who arrived later.[87] When Maybrow went out to bring in

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[81] "Magistrate for the Week - Richard Brooks, Esq"., *The Sydney Gazette,* 6 February 1823, 2.
[82] Two of Samuel Marsden's men were also mutilated in 1823. J. Wylde, SA 4/1798-01, 19 November 1823; S. J. Wilks, SA4/1798-01, 31 May 1824; John Maxwell to F. Goulburn, 25 November 1823, SANSW NRS 899, 4/179-01A, 315-317.
[83] J. Morisset, 2 April 1824, SANSW 4/1800, 91,103, 107-27; The name of one prisoner, Columbummero, suggests he was associated with Bummeroo, the ford over the Abercrombie River at the south of the Oberon plateau. Two Aborigines were killed, three taken prisoner in retaliation for this.
[84] "Supreme Court of Criminal Jurisdiction", *The Sydney Gazette*, 12 August 1824, 2-3.
[85] Ibid.
[86] "Aboriginal Customary Laws and Anglo-Australian Law after 1788", *Recognition of Aboriginal Customary Laws*, ALRC Report 31:4, Australian Law Reform Commission, Australian Government, online, last modified July 2014, accessed 9 July 2014.
http://www.alrc.gov.au/publications/4.%20Aboriginal%20Customary%20Laws%20and%20Anglo-Australian%20Law%20After%201788/australian-law-applied
[87] John Read, acting Coroner, "Proceedings of Coroner's Inquest", 30 March 1822, NRS 1024, SANSW 4/1819, 449-454; Charles Hatt transcript, NRS 905 SANSW 4/1819, 449. One was called Gullett/Guyett. It is possible he was connected with Bringellett, which surveyors identified as the Aboriginal name for Captain John Brown's Brownlea (near Rockley, just west of Dirty Swamp) in 1828. Bringellett survives, in its latter form as the parish name.)

the milking cows, two Aborigines followed him with waddies. Hatt went out to check his sheep, and when he returned was knocked unconscious. Maybrow was found with his skull broken. William Lawson, Commandant of Bathurst, believed "there must have been some provocation on the part of the white men," and did not retaliate.[88] Lawson proved an important ally of Aboriginal people during the initial part of this conflict, but he did not stay in Bathurst to see the conflict out. Like so many of the powerful allies of Aboriginal people throughout the colony, their policies did not outlast their time in office.[89]

The provocation for Maybrow's death is unknowable, but one of the main grievances of Aboriginal people against settlers was their exploitation of Aboriginal women.[90] As we have seen, women were a means of incorporating the almost exclusively male European population around Bathurst into the web of Aboriginal kinship relations. Obligations of providing food and sharing of goods such as tobacco, incurred through sexual relationships, could lead to "excessive demands" on frontier workers.[91] This problem reflects the disparities in Aboriginal and European understandings around both food and sex. Europeans on the frontier had to store food as they were resupplied with basic foodstuffs only infrequently.[92] For Aborigines, an abundance of food was to be shared, and failure to do this offended their understandings of reciprocal obligations.[93] For Europeans, a people accustomed to a social ideal of monogamy, Aboriginal attitudes to sex must have seemed promiscuous and casual.[94] A number of commentators described or alluded to black women as temptresses, suggesting Aboriginal women initiated relationships with European men.[95] By the mid 1830s, and probably earlier, it seems that most Aborigines around Bathurst had given up their expectations of incorporating the Europeans into their kinship structure, and, in line with the

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[88] William Lawson to Colonial Secretary Goulburn, 10 April 1822, SANSW 4/1798, 135.
[89] Similarly Governor Macquarie announced to Lord Bathurst his intention of setting aside 10 000 acres in the "New Country" recently discovered by Throsby 24 February 1820, *HRA* 10, 263. This apparently was not achieved before he left. Macquarie to Bathurst, in R. H. W. Reece, *Aborigines & Colonists: Aborigines and Colonial Society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s,* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974), 110.
[90] Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier,* 70-72.
[91] Ibid.
[92] This is implied in - James Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Grazing in New South Wales,* (Holborn, England: J. Cross, 1826), 65.
[93] McGrath, "*Born in the Cattle",* 76,81.
[94] Ibid., 69-70.
[95] "Colo" (George, or his son William Henry, Suttor), "Letter to the Editor", *The Australian,* 14 October 1826, 3 (implied rather than stated); John Graham (ed.), *Lawrence Struilby… Bush-life in Australia*, 91*;* Alexander Harris, *Settlers and Convicts: Recollections of Sixteen Years' Labours in the Australian Backwoods,* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1969, orig. pub. London, 1847), 150 (also implied); Rev. J.S. Handt, *Journal* 1*,* 15 February 1835 in Hilary M. Carey and David A. Roberts (eds.) *The Wellington Valley Project. Papers Relating to the Church Missionary Society Mission to Wellington Valley, New South Wales 1830-1842*. A Critical Electronic Edition, (2002).

European idea of prostitution, sex had become a commodity exchanged for goods such as food or tobacco.[96]

While William Lawson was Commandant of Bathurst, Aboriginal groups apparently came freely into the settlement.[97] His sustained experiences with Aborigines in the district seem to have resulted in sympathy, if not understanding, for their position (not shared by many, not even his son, Nelson).[98] Lawson attempted to de-escalate conflict, generally taking the side of the Aborigines, but with the narrow view that the tension was caused by the stockkeepers, rather than by rampant colonisation itself.[99] When an Aboriginal man called Jingler (Aboriginal name Morall) was implicated in roasting some cattle at Swallow Creek, south west of Bathurst, Lawson wrote to say he was sending four soldiers and a party of convicts and instructing, "If you fall in with Jingler's tribe you are not to fire upon them – only in case of self-defence".[100] Perhaps Lawson knew Jingler and was protecting him.[101] Soon afterwards two men employed by Reverend Samuel Marsden were killed and mutilated. Four soldiers were sent to his station also near Swallow Creek and the men from the government station there brought their herds into Bathurst for protection.[102] At the same time, 19 November 1823, however, Lawson resigned his post as Commandant of Bathurst, and returned to Veteran Hall at Prospect.[103] He was succeeded by Major James Morisset, who showed little understanding of the position of Aborigines, or interest in conciliation. Aborigines apparently no longer felt comfortable coming into the settlement.[104] The tenor of the conversation changed with the personnel, rendering dealings with Europeans unpredictable.

Over three days in May 1824 seven European employees were killed, three at Millah Murrah, where, according to Aboriginal oral tradition, a hut was built on a ceremonial ground.[105] Here again unwitting stockmen were bearing the brunt of the expansion of the colony. *The Sydney Gazette* of

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[96] Handt, *Journal* 9*,* 15 February 1835, 1-53; McGrath, *Born in the Cattle,* 76.
[97] William Lawson Jnr to Nelson Lawson in England, 14 June 1824 in *Old Ironbark: Some Unpublished Correspondence (1817-1824) from and to William Lawson, Explorer and Pioneer of Veteran Hall, NSW,* ed. William Beard, (Sydney: The Wentworth Press, 1967)*,* 37.
[98] Nelson Lawson to brother John, 14 June 1824, in *Old Ironbark,* ed. Beard, 38.
[99] William Lawson to F. Goulburn, SANSW 4/1798A, 27 November 1823, 319.
[100] William Lawson to Andrew Dunn, SANSW 4/1798A, 12 October 1823, 337. Charles Booth, on oath before William Lawson J.P., SANSW 4/1798A, 9 October 1823, 339-340.
[101] Pearson, "Bathurst Plains and Beyond", 75.
[102] John Maxwell to F. Goulburn, 25 November 1823, SANSW 4/1798A, 315-317.
[103] E. W. Dunlop, "Lawson, William (1774 -1850)", *ADB* online accessed 15 October 2015.
[104] William Lawson Jnr to Nelson Lawson in England, 14 June 1824, in *Old Ironbark,* ed. Beard, 37.
[105] S. J. Wilks, assistant surgeon, deposition before J. T. Morisset, J. P., 27 May 1824, SANSW 4/1799; also statement before Morisset, 29 May 1824; and statement before Morisset, 29 June 1824; Mary Coe, *Windradyne, a Wiradjuri Koori, with Paintings by Isabell Coe*, (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, rev. ed., 1989); Read, *A Hundred Years War,* 8.

5 August 1824 reported a change in the nature of Aboriginal attacks at Bathurst, from demonstrations of their right to eat European animals, to attempts at destruction of some stations.[106] Two hundred and fifty sheep of a man who was "proverbially kind to them" had been killed. A sense of grievance was clearly felt on both sides. It was widely recognised that Aborigines were deprived of their livelihood, but the systemic cause, the refusal to share resources, was never officially addressed.[107]

Violence was a form of Aboriginal conversation that Europeans understood. In response martial law was declared against Aborigines west of Mt York (near Mt Victoria) for "rebellion against their rightful government" on 14 August 1824. [108] Civil law was suspended, magistrates were empowered to administer summary justice and troops at Bathurst were augmented by 75.[109] Troops and vigilante groups ranged far from Bathurst and apparently killed many Aborigines sheltering in the rugged country of the Capertee Valley.[110] According to official sources Aboriginal deaths were minimal, but they were not recorded.[111] Informal sources tell a different story. *The Sydney Gazette* reported at the time that "Bathurst, with its surrounding vicinity, is engaged in an exterminating war," which was echoed retrospectively by George Suttor's grandson.[112] Reverend Lancelot Threlkeld heard of a massacre after which 45 skulls were boiled down and taken to England by Morisset.[113] Reverend William Walker estimated "from the most satisfactory sources" that over 100 men, women and children had been "butchered".[114]

There is no specific mention of military or civilian operations in the Oberon district but given its proximity to Bathurst and the fact that much of the unrest had occurred around the Fish River,

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[106] *The Sydney Gazette,* 5 August 1824, 2; "Philanthropus", letter to the Editor, *The Sydney Gazette,* 5 August 1824, 4.
[107] Thomas Hassall to Attorney General, "About the Natives at Bathurst", undated copy, ML Hassall Correspondence, A1677-2, 1351-57; Philanthropus, "To the Editor of the Sydney Gazette", *The Sydney Gazette,* 5 August 1824, 4.
[108] Hence it asserted Aborigines were British subjects - Ford, *Settler Sovereignty,* 173. It was one of only two occasions martial law was used to deal with interracial violence in the colonies of Australia. - Hilary M. Carey and David Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna of Wellington Valley, New South Wales, 1829-1840: The earliest nativist movement in Aboriginal Australia", *Ethnohistory* 49, no.4 (2002): 821-869, 826.
[109] Ford, *Settler Sovereignty,* 45,173; Roberts, "Bells Falls Massacre", 622.
[110] "Colo", [probably George Suttor]", To the Editors of The Australian", *The Australian*, 14 October 1826, 3-4, 4.
[111] Gunson ed., *Australian Reminiscences and Papers of L.E. Threlkeld* 1, 49.
[112] "Supreme Court, Saturday, October 10", *The Sydney Gazette,* 14 October 1824, 2; Roberts, "The Bells Falls Massacre", 623.
[113] Gunson ed., *Australian Reminiscences and Papers of L.E. Threlkeld* 1, 45.
[114] William Walker to Methodist Missionary Society, 14 September 1824, ML BT53, 408:1433.

O'Connell Plains and Brisbane Valley, it is likely the area was targeted.[115] The model of state-sponsored violence tacitly sanctioned aggression against Aborigines as a means of resolving conflict. Aboriginal people started coming into Bathurst to surrender to the government and Martial Law ceased on 11 December 1824. Hopes of a co-existence with Europeans, which would allow them continuing traditional relationships with their land also seem to have died in this period.

We know also that smallpox occurred in Sydmouth Valley about July or August 1830, as William Tom's younger children, who were not vaccinated, contracted it but apparently survived.[116] As very few Europeans suffered smallpox in this epidemic, it is likely they caught it from local Aborigines, perhaps other children.[117] Aborigines at Wallerawang and Hartley also contracted the disease, but John Grant of Moyne Farm, Little Hartley, was one of few Europeans who had vaccinated local Aborigines: "about ten of Miles' and Camberrang's tribes" who "were soon restored to good health.[118] Again we cannot be sure of the damage incurred in numerical terms, but it has been estimated to have affected between 16 and 33 per cent of the Aboriginal population.[119] This would have had a devastating impact on Aboriginal relationships with land.

Some of the implications for Aborigines of such a huge death toll in the space of seven years can be illustrated by an axe quarry north west of the present town of Oberon between Raineville and Brisbane Valley.[120] Extrapolating from a Wurundjeri axe quarry at Mt William, Victoria, to the Oberon one, It is likely that only certain members of the local group had the right to mine the stone on behalf of members of the 'tribe'.[121] There were strict conventions controlling the Victorian quarry, whose last custodian, Billi-billeri, died in 1846.[122] If the people holding responsibility for this site died, the correct ceremonial procedure for requesting the quarry for axe blanks may have died with them.[123] This would have been true of each ceremonial process. The Oberon quarry is an

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[115] William Lawson and Robert Lowe were recommended by a group of Bathurst landholders to implement "conciliatory measures", before martial law was declared, they suggested because of their experience with Aborigines. W. Cox, et. al., 16 July 1824, SANSW 4/1799, 73-77.

[116] J. Mair, "Observations on the Eruptive Febrile disease which prevailed among several tribes of Aborigines in New South Wales during the Years 1830 and 1831", 10 December 1831, AONSW, CSIL 4/2130. *The Bathurst Post,* "The Late Mr William Tom," 15 October 1883, 1; Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders,* 140. Campbell mistakenly locates Sidmouth Valley near Orange, where the Toms shortly after moved.

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[118] Mair, "Observations on the Eruptive Febrile disease". Miles was a leader of the Wallerawang Aborigines.

[119] Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna, " 827,829.

[120] Identified by P. J. Gresser, "Aborigines of the Bathurst District", AIATSIS MS 21/2, 152-158, 152-155.

[121] Alfred Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia,* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 1996, f.p.1904), 311.

[122] Ibid. It was near Lancefield.

[123] Diana James, "Kinship with Country: Acts of Translation in the Cross-Cultural Performance Space: A Case Study on the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Lands of Central Australia" (PhD thesis., Australian National University, 2005), 65-66.

outcrop of andesite, a hard dense blue igneous stone "which fades to a greenish tint".[124] Few andesite axeheads have been found north and west of Bathurst, but in the Blue Mountains axes of "hard green stone … [which was] never … found in the mountains" were noticed by Gundungurra man, Billy Lynch who assumed they were from "far inland".[125] Admittedly by the 1820s many Aboriginal people would have been using European axes, but the principle of the loss of specialised custodianship remains. With the deaths of so many people over such a wide area by 1831, much cultural knowledge was probably lost irretrievably. Some clan groups may no longer have been viable, and as Bain Attwood argues, clans merged, losing their unique identity and land connections, and became simply Aborigines.[126]

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that in the first decade of settlement in the Bathurst district, Aborigines tried a number of sharing strategies in order to incorporate Europeans into their land relationships. It observed that sharing is an important principle in Aboriginal cultures, an issue in many stories, for example, the Gundungurra epic, Gurangatch and Mirragan. Reading against the grain the journals of Charles Throsby and John Oxley, the chapter found sharing through selective guiding in the Oberon and Taralga districts. Aborigines led Europeans through their country but bypassed important Aboriginal sites such as Beemarang (Swatchfield). Willliam Lawson's journals of Mudgee exploration seem to reveal the intention of the Mudgee people to enter a sharing arrangement with his party, perhaps through sexual relationships with women.

The chapter found the conversation failing on the one hand because kinship relations with land were foreign to western notions of land ownership. On the other hand the fact that exploring parties were representatives of a distant and impersonal crown was beyond the parameters of Aboriginal experience. The social and political structure of the colony meant that the colonists who saw the Aboriginal plight did not take direct responsibility for it. The conversation failed to bridge the different realities and Aboriginal relationships with land were increasingly jeopardised.

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[124] P. J. Gresser, "Aborigine Quarry", handwritten version, in "Aborigines of the Bathurst District". Blank and rejected axes have been found around large, worn 'anvil' outcrops and nearby campsites.
[125] Ibid.; E. D. H. [E. D. Hobden, pers. comm. Jim Smith], "Round about the Mountains", *The Sydney Mail,* 12 December 1896, 1250. The pattern of axe distribution also supports the claim that Oberon was Gundungurra country.
[126] Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines,* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1989).

The chapter has demonstrated, by comparing Surveyor MacBrien's encounter with the "monster" and the Gurangatch and Mirragan story, that Aboriginal stories and song are repositories of layers of information. The acquacultural practice it interpreted belies the foundational fiction at the basis of the colony - that Aborigines did not farm. This wholistic form of conveying information was so foreign to western knowledge systems that it has been little recognised, especially in the nineteenth century. In addition Aboriginal knowledge was often secret. That cultural reality probably compounded the European presumption that Aborigines were ignorant of agriculture (and in other ways). It was easy for Europeans not to recognise Aboriginal intelligence, so all conspired to frustrate the conversation about land.

The status of Aboriginal sovereignty was unclear in the martial law period, and on the frontier was treated as suited the colonists. This chapter argues that the deaths of so many Aborigines of the wider Bathurst district under martial law and from smallpox seem to have been a turning point in Aboriginal relationships with land. The network of people affiliated with individual sites that sustained the land through physical and ceremonial practices must have been catastrophically eroded. The loss of life and physical dislocation probably decimated the clan system, and as people regrouped many sites were given up, and clan identities lost. The European form of relationships with land established itself through force as the dominant voice in the conversation. Next chapter we will see how European experiences at Swatchfield and other holdings set the course of relationships with land on the Oberon plateau on different course from most of the rest of the colony.

Chapter 5 Ghost settlement

Grazing sheep was the most lucrative rural business in the colony. So, when they died in their thousands in the Oberon district, the area's reputation as a settlement location was blighted. Its notoriety lasted for over a century.[1] Pastoralist Henry O'Brien was one who lost heavily in the ovine disaster. In 1831 he conducted British naturalist, Dr George Bennett, over the Blue Mountains to his run at Yass, via the Bathurst district and Goulburn Plains.[2] Rather than taking the usual route from Bathurst to Goulburn west of the Campbells River, O'Brien and Bennett travelled over the Oberon plateau, from "the neat farm and residence of Mr Lowe," Sidmouth Valley, up to

> a place called "Squashfield," and never was a more appropriate name bestowed upon a locality … This place … an extensive range of swampy flats, of fertile … even beautiful … appearance, … charmed many into severe losses; … numerous flocks were placed upon it, and the result was … the loss of the whole from rot.[3]

Bennett here voices O'Brien's sentiments, and O'Brien speaks from bitter experience. O'Brien and his uncle William "Merchant" Browne had both had tickets of occupation nearby (at Porters Retreat), and a relation by marriage Captain John Brown had held "Squashfield" (Swatchfield, see Figures 5.1, 5.2) in the particularly wet summer of 1826.[4] They were apparently among the "many" who had been "charmed … into severe losses" of thousands of sheep. That summer had provided ideal conditions for liver fluke, and the winter brought the

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[1] Return from sheep – James Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Agriculture in New South Wales,* (facsimile edition, 2014, f.p. London: J Cross, 1826), 80. Discussion of deaths, John Macarthur to John Macarthur jnr, quoted in R. N. C. Stacy, "The Pastoral Story, in *The Story of Bathurst*, ed. Bernard Greaves, ([Sydney]: Angus and Robertson, 1976, 84-97), 86-87; anon., *Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser*, 22 September 1826, 2; XYZ [pseud.], "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827" in George Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841,* (Sydney: Horwitz-Grahame, 1965), 193-194. Liver fluke only live in high rainfall areas as they require a water snail, found in marshy areas, as host in their life cycle. (P. G. Stevens *Sheep: Part 1: Sheep Husbandry,* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1960, f.p.1958), 122-123).

[2] George Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir coast, Singapore, and China: being the journal of a naturalist in those countries, during 1832, 1833, and 1834,* vol.1 (facsimile ed., Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1967, f.p. London: R. Bentley, 1834), 135.

[3] Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales,* 134-135.

[4] Henry O'Brien, Memorial, SANSW 17 January 1824, 4/1836B, No. 109, 599; Thomas Scott Townsend's 1837 survey map in Brian Johnstone, *Cecily Cosgrove A Bush Pioneer: A History of the Cosgrove family of Porter Retreat N.S.W.* (Belfield, NSW: self-published, 1983), 37,62 refers to "merchant Browne's old station, Gurnang".

associated "black disease," *infectious necrotic hepatitis*, called 'the rot' by the settlers.[5] Sheep losses in the Campbells River district were estimated at 12,000 to 15,000.[6] Sheep were to be similarly unsuccessful in the wet mountain country of Victoria, leading to the observation that "green grass country and bad country are pretty generally synonymous terms".[7] Colonists consequently directed their attention to browner pastures even if they were further afield. From 1826 the Oberon district took a different trajectory from Bathurst and most of inland New South Wales. Large areas of the district were abandoned shortly after being taken up, and there was still plenty of fertile unsettled land there relatively close to Sydney for many decades.

This chapter addresses a gap in Oberon's European historiography – the period before the permanent settlers arrived in the late 1830s. The plateau's early settlement historiography has been skewed by a focus on land ownership.[8] It still bears the stamp of Watson A. Steel, Rockley landholder and historian, who traced local grantees but made no mention of the numerous ticket of occupation holders.[9] (Tickets of occupation can only be searched by knowing the name of the ticket holder, and the land often only identified by cross-referencing snippets of information with the knowledge of the terrain). This chapter focuses on these temporary landholders and their relationships with land. It argues that tickets of occupation created different relationships with land from ownership or landlessness, and that these had a long-term influence on the district's reputation as an undesirable settlement location, well after the ticket holders were forgotten. This continues the theme of government influence on relationships with land, introduced in Chapter 3. Discontinuity of settlement on the Oberon plateau contrasts with other rural districts, such as Bathurst, Mudgee, and Taralga.

Henry O'Brien's intense dislike of the district, filtered through Dr Bennett's travelogue above, is perhaps the only explicit record of the attitudes of the earliest landholders on the Oberon

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[5] Anon. "XYZ" [probably William Dumaresq], "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827", in *Fourteen Journeys,* ed. Mackaness, *…,* 193-194; Stevens *Sheep* 1*,* 122-123; Stacy, "The Pastoral Story",, 87.
[6] *Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser*, 22 September 1826, 2.
[7] E. M. Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria,* (Melbourne, 1965), 161, quoted in Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*, (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1987), 256.
[8] Local publications – Joy Wheeler and Blue Garland, *Oberon-Jenolan District: Historical Notebook,* (Oberon: The Oberon Shire, 2nd edition 1998); P. Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire,* (Oberon: Oberon Council, 2003).
[9] Watson A. Steel, "Oberon and District: An Historical Retrospect", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 3 April 1926, 7; "Swatchfield: Its Early Settlement", *National Advocate,* 3 June 1932; "Glimpses of Country Life: The Early Days of Oberon", *Sydney Mail,* 25 March 1936, 2. Steel was a member of the Australian Historical Society.

plateau.[10] The only other voices from that time survive in placenames, which are more revealing than may be expected. The second part of this chapter analyses these as encapsulations of attitudes to the land. Paul Carter in *The Road to Botany Bay* argues that explorers' and settlers' naming spatially constructed the "new" country.[11] His "spatial history," which rejects the predetermined model of western order replacing non-western chaos, or "imperial history," is compatible with conversations of consciousness. This thesis, however, diverges from Carter's argument that spatial history "begins and ends in language," and that the "new country was a rhetorical construction, a product of language and the intentional gaze".[12] It finds physical realities, such as Oberon's mountain climate, to be compelling determinants of relationships with land, and that language follows rather than initiates.

"The early travellers," Carter argues, "invented places rather than found them. This is what naming means".[13] This thesis argues that while this may sometimes be true, naming operates differently in different consciousness structures, reflecting different relationships with places. Name changes in the second half of the nineteenth century reflect settlers' changing attitudes to the district of Oberon and surrounds. Tracing the fate of some Aboriginal names in the district, we find echoes of wider colonial relationships with land, a version of silence about Aborigines. Naming thus reflects social and cultural patterns and, in the absence of more extensive sources, provides a useful window to the early years of Oberon's settlement.

Relationships with land of the Grantees

Before the sheep disaster of 1826, land had been granted along the Fish River, as we saw in Chapter 3, and also along the east bank of the lower Campbells River.[14] There were only two grants on the Oberon plateau - Captain Phillip Parker King's Essington Park and William Davis's Swatchfield.[15] There is no indication that the grants on the plateau were ever more than commodities to their owners. None of the plateau's grantees ever lived there, or built substantial homesteads, as some of the Fish River proprietors did. A few colonists who tried to

[10] Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales*, 134.
[11] Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration of Landscape and History*, (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1987), xxi,36,98.
[12] Ibid., xxiii,36.
[13] Ibid., 51.
[14] Watson Steel, "Legends of Bathurst", *National Advocate,* 19 August 1927, 3. Henry Perrier, Joseph Pye, William and Nelson Lawson, Thomas Arkell and Robert Redfern were had grants. Arkell and Redfern were resident grant-holders. The Government Stock Reserve occupied the west or left bank.
[15] John and Sarah Brown were living on Swatchfield when it was theoretically granted to Davis, but the grant was not surveyed or formalised until 1837.

acquire land on the plateau were refused by the government on the grounds that the land was not surveyed.[16] The plateau was a low priority for the Surveyor-Generals.

Although there is evidence that King visited the station at least once, about 1833, it seems on that trip he was more engaged in scientific pursuits. He rode from Emu Valley on Cox's Road over the plateau to "Mr Hassal's house at Bolong" (Figure 5.1) south of the Abercrombie River, measuring the heights of hills.[17] A letter to the Surveyor General, Sir Thomas Mitchell, with the results of his calculations reveals his great Enlightenment enthusiasm for this project.[18] He spent ten days at his grant, Mobrin, (which he later named Essington Park) taking 24 barometric readings, and then visited his ticket of occupation, Paling Yards north of the Abercrombie River, but there is no record of his impressions of either. When the 'rot' hit in 1826, King lost almost all his 2700 sheep.[19] His overseer William Hayes apparently re-conceived Mobrin/Essington Park as primarily a cattle station.[20] King's widow, Harriet, retained Essington Park until her death in 1874, but the Kings never built a homestead there.[21]

A third grant, of 2560 acres near Essington Park, was given on the Oberon plateau in 1827. This was John Larking Scarvell's Arundel Park that Dr Bennett described as a cattle station, or rather "swamp".[22] The grantee and family lived near Windsor from 1828 and Arundel Park was run by overseers.[23] It was advertised for sale in 1842 with apparently few 'improvements' as it was described only as a "parcel of land," and had a debt attached.[24] John Scarvell had gifted the grant to his son, Henry Ramsay Scarvell, who had taken out a mortgage against it and failed to pay even the interest on it.[25] As we saw in Chapter 3, using land as security for

[16] Michael Henderson, agent for Archibald Hood, SANSW NRS907, 2/7882, 4 April 1828; Richard Hill to Rev T. Hassall, 15 October 1825, ML A1677-2 Hassall Papers, 687-689. Rev. Richard Hill had accompanied John Oxley on his 1820 trip from Bathurst to Goulburn via the Oberon plateau.
[17] Captain Phillip Parker King, "Table Containing the Height above the Sea of some of the principal points of the Old Bathurst Road from Emu Ford [Emu Plains] to Sidmouth Valley; and thence, Southerly, towards Burrah Burrah Lake, over the Dividing Range, ascertained by Barometrical Measurement, in March 1833", *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory 1834*, (Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1834), 29-31.
[18] Phillip Parker King to Sir Thomas Mitchell, 17 April 1833, MLCYA292, Papers of Sir Thomas Mitchell, 3, 1830-39, 167.
[19] "The Monitor", *The Monitor*, 18 August 1826, 4; letter from John Macarthur quoted in Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", 87.
[20] Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales*, 134.
[21] Robert M. Rawlings, *A Brief History of Essington Park,* (Oberon, NSW: self-published, 1974).
[22] Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales*, 134.
[23] Biographical note, Portrait of John Larking Scarvell, 1855 by Richard Noble, ML 1250; Overseers – "Advertising", *The Sydney Herald,* 19 December 1838, 3.
[24] "Advertising", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 2 December 1842, 4.
[25] *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "Insolvency Business", 5 October 1842, 2.

money endangered emotional connections with it, and, and mortgaging a piece of land to spend the money elsewhere was to commodify it.

Figure 5-1, George Bishop, Georgiana, from "Atlas of the Settled Counties of New South Wales," Sydney: Basch and Co., 1872

Some of the early records of land holdings in this unsurveyed district are confusing. The inconsistencies, however, offer unique insights into changing attitudes to the landholdings. Two landholders appear to have initially intended to take up land on the Oberon plateau as grants, then decided not to proceed. One was James Hassall, who had a station called Brisbane Valley (Figure 5.2) in 1824.[26] This station also suffered catastrophic sheep losses at a similar rate to Captain King's nearby Essington Park.[27] Brisbane Valley was apparently abandoned - it was largely unowned land when emancipist Patrick Grady began to acquire small blocks there in 1844.[28] The other colonist who changed his mind about the plateau county was Captain John Brown. He and his second wife, Sarah Studd, were unusual in that it seems they were actually living on their station, Swatchfield in 1825.[29]

[26] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Supreme Court of Criminal Jurisdiction", 12 August 1824, 2. Or perhaps he ran it for his mother. There is no mention of it in the Colonial Secretary's records. It seems this station was held by James Hassall, but grazed by the flocks of his mother, Elizabeth. It may be that after this disaster Hassall decided to take up his grant elsewhere. He also had land at Burrowa - Merryll Hope, *Hassalls & Marsdens of Early Bathurst and O'Connell,* (Bathurst: self published, 2010), 49. It was probably James Hassall who introduced Captain King to the district. His father Rowland Hassall had been manager of King's mother's estate, and the Hassalls owned most of nearby O'Connell Plains in the 1820s.

[27] *The Monitor*, "The Monitor", 18 August 1826, 4; Watson A. Steel, "Swatchfield: Its Early Settlement", *National Advocate*, 3 June 1932, 2.

[28] Patrick Grady obtained a 640 acre lease there in 1844. Lucy Price, *Brisbane Valley Battlers,* (Green Point, NSW: self published, n.d.), 1. He later bought several small blocks on Brisbane Valley Creek at what was probably the location of the Hassall holding. He had purchased land there by 1855. On the earliest parish map, of 1884, the extended Grady family had been the first registered owners of 13 little blocks in close proximity, a total of 446 acres. (1884 map 11318701.jp2, Parish of Crete, online, accessed 24 July 2016. http://images.maps.nsw.gov.au/pixel.htm

[29] Captain John Brown only had a ticket of occupation for Swatchfield. (A. M. Roberson, compiler, *The Rockley Manner*, 72. Brown had a 1000 acre grant promised in 1824). On 3 May 1825 1000 acres at "Beemarang or Swatchfield" was granted as a permissive purchase to William Davis, a successful and respected Catholic emancipist of Sydney. (Thora Hogan, *And All the Proud Shall Be: The Story of the Hogan Family and their Struggle for Survival in the 1800s,* Crookwell, NSW: self published, 2007, 25; Watson Steel, "Legends of Bathurst", *National Advocate,* 19 August 1927, 3). Davis apparently did not use the land at Swatchfield even in absentia, and leased it to Dr Alexander Imlay of the Army Medical Corp, Parramatta by 1831 – (Margaret Stevenson, *The Stevenson Family 1832-2003: The Story of the Stevenson Family from Cathcart, Renfrewshire in Scotland to Oberon and Geurie in New South Wales, Australia,* Guerie, NSW: self-published, 2005, 113). Davis wanted land in Argyle, where he was repeatedly stymied in what appears sectarian prejudice (see Chapter 7).

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Figure 5-2, George Bishop, Westmoreland, from "Atlas of the Settled Counties of New South Wales," Sydney: Basch and Co., 1872

This remote station, 1200 metres above sea level which so appalled George Bennett (at the beginning of this chapter) must have been a far cry from India where Sarah was living when

she married Brown in 1823.[30] It was held by ticket of occupation but their residing there suggests they intended to make Swatchfield a permanent and primary home, naming it after her original home in England, Swattersfield Hall.[31] Bushranger attack impelled them to move to Bathurst in 1826, however.[32] Soon afterwards their sheep were dying en masse at Swatchfield, as Henry O'Brien related to Dr Bennett. [33]

Occupation with only temporary title allowed landholders the flexibility of rejecting land that did not suit them. Although ownership did not necessarily inspire appreciation of land, it did inspire commitment to deal with problems – choosing appropriate stock for the climate, struggling with bureaucracy for title. This was not the case, as we will see, for much of the occupied land on the plateau, which was held under ticket of occupation.

Relationships with land of the Ticket of Occupation holders

The ticket of occupation was an unsurveyed, temporary right to graze land, usually "two geographical miles around your stockyard" in a location nominated and described by the ticket holder. The holdings were staffed generally by convict servants, accommodated in bark huts.[34] Governor Macquarie had given a few such permissive occupancies in the Bathurst region and his successor Governor Brisbane issued these licences readily. Doing so met Commissioner Bigge's recommendations for opening up the west to settlement, yet did not place further burdens on the Surveyor General's overworked staff.[35] These tickets continued until government leases replaced them in 1831.[36] James Atkinson, in his 1826 handbook of agriculture and grazing in the colony, acknowledges their benefit of "use of natural pasturage" for a trifling fee, but lists their disadvantages as long toilsome journeys; absence from the

[30] (http://australianroyalty.net.au/individual.php?pid=I54577&ged=purnellmccord.ged, accessed 17 September 2015); A. M. Roberson compiler, *The Rockley Manner*, (Rockley: NSW, self-published, 1989), 72. Swatchfield was only a few miles from Henry O'Brien and Merchant Browne's tickets of occupation, and the three were connected as John Brown's first wife had been Ann Browne, daughter of Merchant Browne and cousin of O'Brien. She had died in childbirth in 1821.
[31] Roberson comp., *The Rockley Manner*, 72. Brown had a 1000 acre grant promised in 1824.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid. 72-73. After leaving Swatchfield, Brown applied for a grant of 1920 acres which he took up at Rockley, calling it Brownlea. The Ribbon Gang dismantled their house in 1831, rendering it unliveable. They moved back to Brownlea (Aboriginal name was Bringellett) however, remaining there until retirement.
[34] Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Agriculture,* 66.
[35] Theo Barker, *A History of Bathurst* 1, (Bathurst: Crawford House Press, 1992), 56.
[36] C. J. King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement in New South Wales,* 1*: The Sequence of Land Laws,* (Sydney: Division of Marketing and Agricultural Economics, Dept of Agriculture, NSW, 1957), 41.

"principal concerns"; discomfort, expense and uncertainty.[37] Young male relations were often charged with running these enterprises, and their impetuosity met with tragic results for at least two in the district. William Hayes' nephew, James, drowned trying to swim his horse across the Nepean River after "visiting a herd of cattle at the Fish River," rather than waiting for the ferry.[38] And Henry O'Brien's older brother, Thomas, while riding through the Blue Mountains to his uncle "Merchant" Browne's tickets of occupation, was apparently killed by bushrangers at Springwood, in spite of warnings by soldiers to wait there overnight.[39] The litany of unfortunate experiences associated with tickets of occupation at Oberon militated against commitment to the district.

More land was held under ticket of occupation than by grant on the Oberon plateau before the 'rot' epidemic. These areas appear to have been largely abandoned whereas in other districts tickets of occupation were readily converted into permanent title.[40] Captain King held two tickets of occupation on the Oberon plateau, as was mentioned earlier. Paling Yards (Figure 5.1), taken up by Hayes on King's behalf in 1825, was high above the Abercrombie River in the south of the district.[41] The other holding roughly straddled the site of the town of Oberon and provided the village with its original name: Bullock Flat (Figure 5.2), from a flat on the Fish River apparently favoured by King's cattle.[42] Clearly King was not moved to convert either to a

[37] Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Agriculture,* 65.
[38] *The Sydney Gazette*, "Sydney", 18 March 1820, 4.
[39] H. O'Brien, "To the Editor of the Sydney Gazette", *The Sydney Gazette,* 11 September 1823, 4.
[40] Near Goulburn Dr Robert Townson's ticket of occupation Tiranna, was sought by a number of applicants as a grant immediately after his death in 1827. (W. L. Havard, "Historic Tirranna", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 30 July 1935, 3). At Mudgee tickets of occupation of William Cox and William Lawson on the Cudgegong River were held from 1822 until the land was surveyed, about 1832, and then converted into purchases. "Classified Advertising", *The Sydney Gazette,* 4 February 1832, 1; "History of Mudgee", *Magical Mudgee,* The Property Shop Mudgee, 2011, accessed 22 July 2016. http://www.mudgee.net.au/history.php.
[41] William Hayes to Captain Fennell, Commandant [of Bathurst], 29 March 1825, Sir Thomas Brisbane's Letterbook, 1, ML A1559-1, 226-27; F. Goulburn to William Hayes, 13 June 1825, King Family Papers, 1, 1799-1829,ML A1976, 331-2. King refers to it as "Captain King's Station Paling Yards", in "Table Containing the Height above the Sea", 51.
[42] Crown Plan of Charles Whalan's original purchase, Department of Lands, CP 00434-0691; Captain Fennell to Captain Stirling, Sir Thomas Brisbane's Letterbook 1, ML A1559-1, 15 September 1825, 225-26. Nearby was his stockyard, nominally the centre of a ticket of occupation, still identified by the name King's Stockyard Creek. There is no further reference to his tickets of occupation at Oberon after 1825. The system was disbanded in 1831.

purchase.[43] It is unclear when he relinquished his Bullock Flat ticket of occupation, but there is no mention of it after 1825. He held Paling Yards until at least 1833.[44]

The Meadows, Gingkin, Wren's Nest, Gurnang (Figure 5.1), Brisbane Valley, Tillsbury (near Black Springs), Chain of Ponds and Native Dog - now sites of some of the plateau's well-known farms - were also taken up under ticket of occupation in or before 1825.[45] Bingham, a desirable property on lower country just west of the plateau, was also originally a ticket of occupation.[46] These records reveal a longer and more intense European occupation of the plateau than previously realised.[47] It also, of course, has ramifications for Aborigines' relationships with land in the 1820s.

Descriptions of tickets of occupation were often vague as there were few landmarks known to Europeans. For example:

> (name unknown) about 45 miles South South East from Bathurst bounded on the North by a thick brush country and stony hills, on the South by a River, on the East by broken hilly country and brush [?] and on the West by thick Brushy Baren country with steep creeks.[48]

[43] 640 acres "at Walangriva on Paling Yards" was for auction on 12 December1838. It had previously been offered for sale but not sold as it had not been surveyed, (*The Sydney Monitor,* 23 November 1838, 2). I have found no further reference to Paling Yards under King's occupation.
[44] King, "Table Containing the Height above the Sea", 31. Paling Yards is far better drained than Brisbane Valley.
[45] The Meadows - SANSW: NRS 897 [4/1840A, 213-16] no.1043, 9 January 1820; Gingkin – George Palmer to Major F. Goulburn, 2 December 1824, SANSW 4/1838B, No.738, 1251-54, Michael Henderson agent for Archibald Hood, SANSW 2/7882, 4 April 1828, Ward L. Havard, "The Romance of Jenolan Caves*", JRAHS*, 20, no. 1 (1934), 18- 65, 19; Wren's Nest - Henry O'Brien, Memorial SANSW 17 January 1824, 4/1836B, No. 109, 599 includes quote; Memorial 1 August 1825 4/1834B, No.618, 951-952; Gurnang –Townsend's "Survey of part of the Little River", 1837, mentions "William 'Merchant' Browne's Old Station 'Gurnang'", in Johnston, *Cecily Cosgrove",* 43,79; Oberon town area – Captain Fennell to Captain Stirling, Sir Thomas Brisbane's Letterbook 1, ML A1559-1, 15 September 1825, 225-26, c.f. location of King's Stockyard Creek on the north-eastern edge of Oberon town; Tillsbury – J. Morisset to Major Goulburn, 3 July 1824, SANSW 4/1839A, No. 798, 235-36; Paling Yards - William Hayes to Captain Fennell, Commandant [of Bathurst], 29 March 1825, Sir Thomas Brisbane's Letterbook, 1, ML A1559, 226-27; F. Goulburn to William Hayes, 13 June 1825, ML A1976, King Family Papers, 1, 1799-1829, 331-2. King refers to it as "Captain King's Station Paling Yards", ("Table Containing the Height above the Sea", *New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory 1834*, 31).
[46] William Walker and James Hassall, Memorial, NRS 899, SANSW 4/1844C, No. 829, 1111-22, 12 July 1825.
[47] Wheeler and Garland, *Oberon-Jenolan District*; Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon*.
[48] Henry O'Brien, Memorial SANSW NRS 899 4/1836B, 17 January 1824, No. 109, 599 includes quote; Memorial 1 August 1825 4/1834B, No.618, 951-952.

This was Henry O'Brien's ticket of occupation a few miles from Swatchhfield. It was probably the property Wren's Nest at Porters Retreat, on the Little (or Retreat) River.[49] His uncle, William "Merchant" Browne, who had brought up Henry and his brothers, had a run called Gurnang on the opposite side of the river.[50] Both runs were apparently abandoned probably soon after the winter of 1826.[51]

Tickets of occupation had an uncertain tenure as the Surveyor-General could resume the land with six months' notice if it were wanted for sale. Bingha (later Bingham) was Reverend William Walker's Ticket of Occupation near the junction of the Isabella and Abercrombie Rivers, west of Swatchfield, run jointly with his brother-in-law, James Hassall.[52] It was resumed in 1825 after a year of their occupation.[53] Walker and Hassall complained, unsuccessfully, on the grounds of need, expenditure and, exemplifying their individualistic perspectival view, that they were "the first individuals who located the land".[54] The land was allocated to Edmund Redmond, who, like William Davis, was an Irish rebel of 1798 and successful emancipist in Sydney.[55] Redmond's Bingham, his son-in-law John Scarvell's Arundel Park, and Davis'

[49] This is the author's supposition, supported by the late Alan Hoolihan, owner of Wren's Nest. The name "Wren's Nest" pre-dated the first land owner of the property. It may date from O'Brien's occupation. The first reference I have found to it was J. B. Richards 1829 map LD C.3.584/SANSW Map no. 1776, which marks "Wrens Nest swamp".

[50] Merchant Browne had settled in New South Wales in 1816 with £20 000, making him one of the richest men in the colony. - John Spurway ed., *Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record*, series 1, 1788-1841, with series 2 supplement, 1842-1899, (Sydney: A.B.G.R. in association with the Society of Australian Genealogists, 1992). Governor Macquarie had informally allowed him four permissive occupancies in the Bathurst district, a benefit he accorded to very few. William Lawson and Robert Lowe were two others. (William Browne to Governor Brisbane, 20 February 1823 SANSW 4/1834An No.44, 253-270; *The Monitor*, "The Monitor", 18 August 1826, 4). Browne held these from 1820 until 1825 when they were revoked. He initially deputised his son John and his nephew Thomas O'Brien to take charge of the Bathurst tickets of occupation. (William Browne to Colonial Secretary, SANSW 4/1744, 26 May 1820, 341). Thomas died in 1823. After Thomas's death, Henry O'Brien took over. (Henry O'Brien, Memorial, SANSW 4/1835A, No. 242, 17 January 1824, 493-512; H. O'Brien, "To the Editor of The Sydney Gazette", *The Sydney Gazette,* 11 September 1823, 4).

[51] This is implied in the comments of Dr George Bennett about Swatchfield at the beginning of this chapter. Surveyor Townsend calls it "Merchant Brown's Old Station", Townsend's 1837 survey map reproduced in Johnstone, *Cecily Cosgrove,* 62.

[52] It was also spelt *Binga* and *Binger.* Major Morisset, Bathurst, to Colonial Secretary Goulburn, SANSW 4/1804A, no.1015, 23. January 1824, 65-66; Colonial Secretary Goulburn to William Walker, SANSW 4/3510, 4 February 1824, 273; Surveyor General Oxley to James Hassall, SANSW 4/1844C, No.829, 24 June 1825, 1115; Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales,* 137 identifies the location of the Bingham River; William Walker and James Hassall to Governor Brisbane, SANSW 4/1844C, no.829, 1111-1122

[53] Surveyor General Oxley to William Walker, 24 June 1825, SANSW 4/1844C, No.829, 1115; Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Agriculture and* 64-65.

[54] Surveyor General Oxley to James Hassall, SANSW 4/1844C, No.829, 24 June 1825, 1115; William Walker and James Hassall to Governor Brisbane, SANSW 4/1844C, No.829, 1111-112SR.

[55] Vivienne Parsons, "Redmond, Edward (1766–1840)", ADB, accessed 24 October 2015; Thora Hogan, *And All the Proud Shall be: The Story of the Hogan Family and their Struggle for Survival in the 1800s,* (Crookwell, NSW: self published, 2007), 27.

Swatchfield set the scene for the south of the Oberon district as a Catholic stronghold, as we will see in Chapter 7. This fleeting nature of the first landholdings meant that there was little cumulative relationship building, either with the land or its original inhabitants.

South of the junction of Native Dog Creek and Sewells Creek (referred to as "the New River") were the tickets of occupation of Thomas Arkell, Superintendant of Government Stock until 1820 and owner of Charlton on the Campbells River; Andrew Nash, emancipist, tanner, publican, butcher and partner with Arkell in a property at Bringelly; and Robert Armstrong, publican and a neighbour of William Lawson's at Prospect.[56] All these had "hardly a sheep left" by the end of 1826.[57] It seems that Arkell's holding was the site of the property still known as Chain of Ponds, one of the other two may be Native Dog Station.[58] It is unclear what happened to these holdings. The three all took up land later on the Campbells River.[59] Other tickets of occupation that were affected by the 'rot' and apparently abandoned included George Druitt's and Maurice O'Connell's runs at Gingkin, and Robert Raine's run at the head of Native Dog Creek (near Black Springs), now known as Tillsbury.[60] In contrast a ticket of occupation stocked only with cattle, The Meadows (near Hazelgrove), held by emancipists Charles Whalan and Nicholas Delaney, was not affected by the 'rot' and not abandoned.[61] It was later converted into private property by their descendants. Oberon was not considered suitable for sheep until the advent of carbon tetrachloride as sheep drench in the twentieth century.

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[56] Arkell - Major Morisset to Colonial Secretary Goulburn, SANSW 4/1836A, No.11A, 10 January 1824, 35; Armstrong - Keith Robert Binney, *Horsemen of the First Frontier,* 141*,* J. Morisset to F.Goulburn, 25 February 1825 (or 4), SANSW 4/1836A, No.11A, 37-44; Nash –SANSW 4/1843B, No. 598, 845-46.

[57] Major Morisset to Colonial Secretary Goulburn, SANSW 4/1836A, No.11A, 25 February 1824, 37-40; *The Sydney Gazette,* "Classified Advertising", 11 February 1826, 1. Armstrong's ticket of occupation was at 'Reedy Swamp', two miles from Arkell's. His overseer, Charles Kable Warby, also a neighbour from Prospect, later took up Walbrook; Raine's run was probably about the location of Hillsbury, later called Tilsbury; J. Morisset to Colonial Secretary Goulburn, SANSW 4/1836A, No.11A, 25. February 1824, 37-40.

[58] Arkell - Major Morisset to Colonial Secretary Goulburn, SANSW 4/1836A, No.11A, 10 January 1824, 35.

[59] Thomas Arkell to Colonial Secretary,16 December 1833; *The Sydney Gazette,* "Classified Advertising", 18 October 1832, 2.

[60] Thomas Palmer (agent for O'Connell) to Col. Sec. Goulburn 2 December 1824, SANSW 4/1838B, No.738, 1251-1254. The Crown Plan of Beung at Gingkin which James Hassall bought in 1841 showed old fence lines at a different orientation from the block. There is no mention of Raine's ticket of occupation after his application for it in 1824, SANSW 4/1836A, No.11A, 25 February 1824, 37-40. *Sydney Gazette,* 12 August 1824, 2 identifies Brisbane Valley as James Hassall's run. There is no record of it as a ticket of occupation, but Hassall says that he was providing for his mother who, in 1826, lost "£5000 worth of Ewes, in consequence of being obliged to feed them on Crown lands, adapted for nothing but horned cattle". James Hassall, Memorial, 9 June 1827, *HRA* 13, 715-17. This was almost certainly Brisbane Valley.

[61] SANSW: NRS 897 [4/1840A, 213-16] no.1043, 9 January 1820.

While the Oberon district was being abandoned, Bathurst and other settlements were flourishing. The commercial town developed on the right bank of the Macquarie River from about 1823, on the basis of the success of farms developed from generous grants, coinciding with Governor Brisbane's opening up of the west to settlers from 1822.[62] Landholders such as the Hawkins, of Blackdown, Rankens of Kelloshiel, the Iceleys of Saltram, and the Pipers of Alloway Bank (Figure 3.2) formed the Bathurst establishment, entertaining lavishly and, briefly, running a hunt club, complete with scarlet livery, hunting dingoes.[63] Most of the 50 acre Macquarie grantees of the "middling class" were making also good, particularly Thomas Kite and William Lee.[64]

South-east of Bathurst, the Macarthur family had taken up a series of core grants called Richlands in the district of Taralga by 1823.[65] These were expanded over 20 years to a 38,000 acre holding run as a group of estates with emancipist overseers.[66] The canny Macarthurs, recognising that that country was not suitable for sheep, founded it as a cattle station.[67] Taralga (98 kilometres south of Oberon) was a developing village by 1843.[68] It had a school with 16 pupils in 1857, whereas Oberon's school opened in 1872.[69] Oberon was gazetted in 1863 and had a population of 30 in 1866, compared with Taralga's 110 in 1863.[70] Mudgee grew to service the establishments of the Lawsons, Lowes, Rouses, Coxes and Hayes from Fish River, and others. A police station and lock-up were established on George Cox's Menah in 1833, the village of Mudgee was gazetted in 1838 and by 1841 had three hotels, a hospital, post office, two stores and a church.[71]

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[62] Barker, *A History of Bathurst* 1, 89.
[63] Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", 85-86; Barker, *A History of Bathurst,* 58; "XYZ", "A Ride to Bathurst, 1827", 186.
[64] Barker, *A History of Bathurst,* 89,174,178; Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", 28,53,92.
[65] Timothea and Clement, "Historical Background", Richlands- Facts and News, 2011, online accessed 22 July 2016, http://richlands.vpweb.com.au/About-Us.html
[66] Stephen Horn and Audrey Twynam Horn, "Richlands Homestead", Our House: Histories of Australian Homes, Australian Heritage Commission, 2001, online, accessed 22 July 2016, https://www.environment.gov.au/resource/our-house-histories-australian-homes-13
[67] "A Snaphot of Taralga's History", Upper Lachlan Shire Council, 2017, accessed 25 March 2017. http://www.upperlachlan.nsw.gov.au/snapshot-taralgas-history
[68] "Brief History of Taralga", Taralga Historical Society, online, accessed 22 July 2016,
[69] Ibid.; Gemmell-Smith *Thematic History of Oberon,* 84.
[70] Robert P. Whitworth, *Bailliere's New South Wales Gazetteer and Road Guide,* (Sydney: F. F. Bailliere, 1866), 433; "Brief History of Taralga". Oberon town's population is about 2700 compared with about 300 in Taralga. http://taralgahistoricalsociety.com.au/taralga.htm
[71] "History of Mudgee", *Magical Mudgee,* The Property Shop Mudgee, 2011, online, accessed 22 July 2016. http://www.mudgee.net.au/history.php

Settlers beyond the "limits of location," outside the Nineteen Counties, were squatters, many of whom ran sheep on vast acreages.[72] Most of the Campbells River grantees became squatters – Henry O'Brien at Yass, Robert Redfern and Thomas Arkell on the Lachlan River, for example.[73] The fortunes of inland districts were propelled by pastoralism, to a significant extent by wool sales.[74] Where wool had an established overseas market, the demand for cattle was purely local.[75] Rural settlements progressed where pastoralism was successful. Unsuitable for sheep, plagued by bushrangers, and not on a through-road, ticket of occupation holders regarded the land of the Oberon plateau as a largely undesirable commodity. The district lost a group who knew its early settlement history, and it lost a social class of relatively wealthy graziers who had large holdings. The abandonment may have been a short term advantage for the Aborigines who survived martial law, but they would have to deal with new settlers many of whom had less understanding of them.

Relationships with land of convicts and landless employees

As we saw in Chapter 3, most of the few Europeans who stayed in the Oberon district from the 1820s on a permanent basis were employees, usually convict or emancipist, who worked the grants and tickets of occupation. When the system of leasing government land was introduced in 1831 people with minimal capital had the opportunity of becoming pastoralists. Joseph Sewell had arrived in 1817 in New South Wales and was assigned to Anna King, widow of Governor Phillip Gidley King. He obtained his freedom in 1823 and came to the Oberon district, apparently employed by Captain Phillip Parker King, son of Anna, at Essington Park.[76] By the 1828 census he was a shepherd for Thomas Arkell at Charlton on the Campbell's River. In 1833 he was leasing two 1280 acre blocks on Davis's (later Sewell's) Creek, east of Charlton, and by 1837 he had applied to buy land there.[77] Another King employee who stayed in the district was Hamilton Murray, who received his certificate of freedom in 1827.[78] Murray was working at Paling Yards in 1825.[79] His residence in the district continued, punctuated by two

[72] King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement,* 33-39.
[73] Steel, "Legends of Bathurst", *National Advocate*. O'Brien moved to Yass.
[74] Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", 87,89,94; Atkinson, *An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing,* 80; John Ferry, Colonial Armidale, (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 15,21,50-57,85-86.
[75] King, *An Outline of Closer Settlement,* 26.
[76] Carol J. Baxter ed., *General Muster and Land and Stock Musters of New South Wales 1822*, ([Sydney]: Australian Biographical and Genealogical Record with the Society of Australian Genealogicts, 1988).
[77] *The Sydney Gazette* "Yearly Leases of Land"*,* 3 January 1833, 1; Surveyor J. B. Richards, SANSW 2/5073, Field Book 456, 1836-1842, 17 July 1837. Sewell's descendants still own the original property, Claremont, now Thane. - Pers. comm. Mrs Lurline Bell, 1 November 2015.
[78] SANSW 4/4291, No.27/1042, 6 November 1827.
[79] William Hayes to F. Goulburn, 13 June 1825, King Family Papers, 1, 1799-1829, ML A1976.

more convictions in 1833 and 1842.[80] It seems his wife Cecilia and children kept him in the district. [81]

It is significant that these men both had wives. Connection with place, contends Gillian Rose, has a strong relationship with the feminine.[82] It was largely women who transformed pioneer settlements into homes. This metamorphosis was not just an issue of housekeeping. Having children helped anchor people to a place, as we will see in Chapter 8, and the story growing between residents and place took new directions. [83] For the next generation that place was unquestionably home, no matter how basic and comfortless. Joseph Sewell was certainly anchored to the district through children. He had thirteen with two wives, Frances Green and Sarah Green - apparently unrelated.[84] His descendants still own the original property, Claremont (now called Thane).[85]

Another group of landless, mostly convict, inhabitants of the Oberon district were bushrangers. The area offered both open land for pastoralists and rugged, 'wild' places where bushrangers could disappear. The steep country south of Cox's Road near Sidmouth Valley, and the rugged country in the southwest and southeast of the shire were their known haunts.[86] Newspapers frequently reported raids, stock thefts, murders and hold-ups.[87] Captain King's Essington Park was held up a number of times and some residents of the nearby Rockley district received considerable attention from bushrangers.[88] Bushrangers embraced the land as it was, perhaps a debased form of Aboriginal magic consciousness relationships with land. Their status, however, somewhat militated against long-term residence, and their presence contributed to the district's lack of appeal to settlers.

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[80] *The Sydney Monitor,* "Domestic Intelligence", 25 May 1833, 2.
[81] Roberson comp., *The Rockley Manner,* 103.
[82] Gillian Rose, "Some Notes towards Thinking about Spaces of the Future", in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, online, 2012, f.p. 1993, accessed 4 November 2015.
[83] Rose, "Some Notes towards Thinking of the Spaces of the Future".
[84] Family records of Mrs Lurline Bell, pers. comm. 1 November 2015.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", 90; *The Australian,* "Bush Ranger", 17 February 1825, 2; Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire,* 37-47.
[87] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Police Report", 28 July 1825, 2; *The Sydney Gazette,* "The Almorah", 1 September 1825, 3, *The Sydney Gazette*, "Bathurst Bushrangers", 20 October 1825, 2; "From a Correspondent at Bathurst Plains", *The Sydney Gazette,* 22 February 1826, 3; *The Sydney Gazette,* "Shipping Intelligence", 19 September 1828, 2; *The Sydney Herald,* "Law Intelligence", 7 August 1834, 2; *The Sydney Monitor,* "Sydney Quarter Sessions", 10 January 1834, 2; *The Sydney Herald,* "Advertising", 19 December 1838, 3.
[88] Captain J. Fennell was riding through Captain King's holding in search of bushrangers. J. Fennell to Captain Stirling, 15 September 1825, Governor Brisbane's Letterbook, ML A1559 -1, 225-226; "Sydney Quarter Sessions", *The Sydney Monitor,* 10 January 1834, 2; Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", 90-91.

A Tale Told by Names

Little trace of the ephemeral first settlement of the district is identifiable apart from names. Naming places was a fundamental part of the colonial process.[89] The assumption by colonists of the right to bestow names in the colonies indicates the normalising of dispossession, and the dismissal of the original inhabitants.[90] The political nature of the act of naming was, however, largely unconscious. As Alan Atkinson has observed in *The Europeans in Australia* that the founding generations found the enormity of colonial dispossession difficult to grasp.[91] Superficially naming was a means of identifying one place from others, and that was conscious purpose behind most colonial naming.[92]

Carter conceives colonial naming as an Enlightenment process of transforming the natural world into an object of knowledge.[93] Naming, however, operates at other dimensions in addition to commodification. As we have seen, Gebser's model of the structures of consciousness recognises that an individual can hold multiple realities from different consciousness structures simultaneously. Naming was - as Alan Atkinson observes - for many the beginning of an emotional connection with place. [94] Names were given with the intention "that the word itself, turned over in the mind from day to day, would create a parcel of happy associations with the soil," he suggests.[95] As we will see this is notably true of owned land. Some colonists – he cites Governor Arthur Phillip - had the Romantic belief that the "spirit of community might be distilled in a name".[96] The Romantic movement was a vestigial manifestation of European magic consciousness which experienced spirit in matter. European names came from multiple consciousnesses.

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[89] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay,* 8.
[90] Anne McClintock employs Luce Irigary's work on the patrimonial naming of children as an analogy for the colonial naming process. Naming, Irigaray tells us, is a compensation for the uncertain and relatively minor role that men play in the creation of a child. Baptism, with its use of water to cleanse original sin, is a male surrogate birthing ritual which disavows the creative agency of the mother. Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, (New York and London, Routledge, 1995), 28-29; Nathan Probasco, "Virgin America for Barren England: English Colonial History and Literature, 1575-1635", *Literature Compass* 9, no.6 (2012): 406-419, 406.
[91] Atkinson, *The Europeans* 1, 196.
[92] Thomas Mitchell to Governor Gipps, in J. Jervis, "The Development of a System of Place Names in New South Wales", *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 23, no.5 (1937), 379.
[93] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, 8.
[94] Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia* 1, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 119.
[95] Ibid., 198.
[96] Ibid., 195.

The concept of a name expressing the spirit of community has some resonance with the Aboriginal understanding that a place name and the song of each place may carry the spiritual power of that place as the manifestation of its ancestral beings and events.[97] Aboriginal naming is complex – places may have multiple names, some of them secret and very powerful, used appropriately to the status of the audience.[98] They express the web of kinship relations, connecting places and people with the ancestors and they emerge from the land itself – bird names, for example, are onomatopoeic. [99] Aboriginal people have continued to create and maintain connection with country, giving names, often in English, to many features of it.[100] European names, however, were often transplanted and did not emerge from the country itself. They have tended to concentrate on man-made structures – farms, towns, paddocks, roads, rather than the many slight (to westerners) physical features of the country that have - or had - Aboriginal names.[101] Naming can be a practical tool for orientation, an act of possession and commodification, the beginning of a deep emotional connection, and a magical evocation.

Surveyor General Mitchell directed his surveyors to collect and use Aboriginal names where possible.[102] Although using Indigenous place names is now argued as a means of dismantling colonial structures, this was obviously not his intent.[103] Mitchell was appropriating Aboriginal names, not to recognise prior ownership, but as more accurate points of reference than new colonial names.[104] The names he and his surveyors collected were often misheard, misunderstood, misapplied, mispronounced, moved, abbreviated and otherwise abused.[105]

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[97] Tim Rowse, "Were You Ever Savages: Aboriginal Insiders and Pastoralists' Privilege?" *Oceania* 58, no.2, (1987), 81-99, 94; Catherine J. Ellis, *Aboriginal Music: Education for Living*, (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1989), 62-64; James, "Kinship with Country, 47.

[98] Marcia Langton, "Sacred Geography: Western Traditions of Landscape Art", in *Papunya Tula: Genesis and Genius,* ed. Hetti Perkins and Hannah Fink, (Sydney: Art Gallery of NSW in association with Papunya Tula Artists), 260-61.

[99] James, "Kinship with Country, 47; Ellis, *Aboriginal Music,* 62-64.

[100] Heather Goodall, "The River Runs Backwards", in *Words for Country: Landscape and language in Australia,* ed. Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffiths, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 30-51, 39.

[101] Ibid. 40.

[102] From 7 June 1828 - Jervis, "The Development of a System of Place Names", 379.

[103] Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns, "Naming as Norming: Race, Gender and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space,* 14 (1996): 99-122.

[104] Sam Furphy, "British Surveyors and Aboriginal Place Names", in *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives,* Tracey Banivanua Mar and Julie Evans (eds), (Carlton, Vic.: University of Melbourne, 2002), 30; Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, 65,67.

[105] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, 65-66; Greg Windsor, "The Recognition of Aboriginal Placenames in New South Wales", in *Aboriginal Placenames : Naming and Renaming the Australian Landscape*, ed. Harold James Koch and Luise Anna Hercus (Canberra: ANU E Press, Aboriginal History Monograph Series,

Carter argues that Mitchell uses Aboriginal names to overlay the country with his own history.[106] That may be so, but an additional aspect of Mitchell's naming policy was use of names that were appropriate for the country - names used by the "natives or first [European] inhabitants," rather than "hackneyed names of Towns and places of the Old Country".[107] While the use of Aboriginal placenames by Europeans is often a travesty of their original significance, they at least preserve some sounds of the land, remnants of the experience of the mythic and magic meanings held in sound. Unfortunately many place names in the Oberon district preceded Mitchell's instruction, so relatively few Aboriginal names have survived. [108]

Some of the few local Aboriginal names were suppressed or disguised. Buckemall, a locality southeast of Oberon, became Edith, after the school opened under the name of the oldest girl to enrol (Edith Bailey) in 1884. [109] Buckemall remains as a creek name. Other names such as Mobrin, Merryyong and Walangriva disappeared altogether.[110] The property name Bingham (In the south west of the district) derived from Aboriginal name, Bingha/Binga, and the property, Jeremy, coincided with the British name.[111] They are disguised, not necessarily deliberately, by the very British spelling.

This pattern of vanished names reflects the silence about Aborigines of the district in general, probably largely unconscious, which has contributed to the widespread belief even in the

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19, 2009), 116,119; Jim Smith, "New Insights into Gundungurra Place Naming", in *Aboriginal Placenames*, 87- 114.

[106] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay*, 67.

[107] Quoted in Jervis, "The Development of a System of Place Names", 380. Mitchell made an exception for names complimenting men of authority or science.

[108] Surveyor Richards recorded Beemarang on his survey of the Campbells River to Lake Burra Burra in 1829, NRS 13889, SANSW 2/4925 however it already had the European name of "Swatchfield" or "Swashfield" but also Squashfield, Swalchdale, Rushfield. *The Sydney Gazette,* "Sales by Auction", 16 February 1833, 3; Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales*, 135.

[109] P. Luney [teacher Edith Public School] to the Director of Public Education, "History of the School Building", 29 October 1913, Edith School bundle, Department of Education Archives. It was the suggestion of the Anglican minister of O'Connell.

[110] Manus Cosgrove living at Merryyong in 1843. Johnston, *Cecily Cosgrove,* 119-120,100. Captain King in 1833 referred to Essington Park as "Mobrin", presumably an Aboriginal name for a feature in that location. It would probably be more likely "Moberin", as b and r are not found together in Aboriginal languages (Jakelin Troy and Michael Walsh, "Reinstating Aboriginal Placenames around Port Jackson and Botany Bay, in *Aboriginal Placenames*, 58n. Likewise Walingriva near Paling Yards was probably Walingariba.

[111] Edmund Redmond owned and his son-in-law, Roger Murphy, held Jeremy. Jeremy was said to mean land of the big lizard. - Roger Murphy to Major Mitchel 13 February 1833, - Kevin Toole, *Annals of Burraga,* (Burraga, NSW, 1986), 8; Roger Murphy, SANSW 2/7935, 13 February 1833. The Binga or Binjum River may have been the Isabella River. By 1833 E. Redmond had a 1000 acre purchase at "Bingham". *The Sydney Herald*, 8 April 1833, 4. Roger Murphy letter to Major Mitchell, Surveyor General, SANSW 2/7935, 13 February 1833. Likewise Wiarborough Creek, tributary of the Abercrombie River is probably better spelt Wiarburra Creek.

twenty-first century that Aborigines did not live in the district, or only visited in summer.[112] It was part of the evasion of responsibility for dispossession, which framed the national story. [113] Chapter 6 will observe a parallel movement among Aborigines of avoiding drawing attention to themselves.

The country did not precede the Europeans, Carter tells us, rather it was created through their intention.[114] Intention is reflected in naming. If Captain Cook's names articulate the "dynamic of travelling," the names of the Oberon district, and perhaps other districts, can be seen as reflections of the importance of legal ownership to European relationships with the land.[115] Many of the names of runs in the Oberon district held by ticket of occupation show a lack of engagement, even of appreciation, of their users. In fact many of the names were probably descriptive identifiers, not intended to be permanent names, yet some persist to this day. As a sea captain who surveyed and mapped a considerable portion of Australia's coastline, especially in the north, King was familiar with the practice of naming.[116] He called his grant, Essington Park, after family friend Vice-Admiral Sir William Essington, indicating the intention of forming emotional connection. His tickets of occupation, however, were known as Bullock Flat (Oberon) and Paling Yards.[117] As King did not own these holdings, it seems he did not give them names with personal significance and was probably not the conferor of those appellations. Paling Yards referred to the fact that the stockyard, in which the sheep spent the night protected from dingoes, was paled - formed of sharpened stakes close together.[118] This

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[112] Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point: An Australian History of Place,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 94. Many local (and no longer local) people have artefacts in drawers or sheds. The Australian Museum has 59 stone artefacts from Oberon among its collection, some very rare and probably very sacred objects. Australian Museum, Locality Reference Report, 23 November 2010. The Oberon Museum also has a collection. "Oberon: A Brief History" from the Big Trout Motor Inn website http://www.bigtrout.com.au/history.htm accessed 15 February 2014; pers. comm. Peter Hammond, who had just found an Aboriginal axe on his property, 1 June 14.

[113] Tom Griffiths, "Past Silences: Aborigines and Convicts in Our History-making", *Pastiche 1,* ed. Penny Russell and Richard White, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1994), 11.

[114] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay,* 349.

[115]Ibid., 17; Melanie Perreault, "American Wilderness and First Contact", in *American Wilderness: A New History,* ed. Michael Perreault, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 23, in Probasco, "Virgin America for Barren England".

[116] "King, Phillip Parker (1791–1856)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*

[117] King, "Table Containing the Height above the Sea", 51; Fennell to Goulburn re ticket of occupation applied for by William Hayes (overseer for P. P. King) SANSW 4/1842A, no. 370; Goulburn to Hayes, 13 June 1825, King Family Papers, vol. 1, 1799- 1829 ML A 1976, 331- 332. Paling Yards is just north of the Abercrombie River.

[118] Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World 1492-1640,* (New York: Cambridge, 2007), 189.

was a superior fence, contrasting with those made of piles of logs.[119] Despite its casual origin the name Paling Yards endures as a property name.[120]

In similar fashion, William Lawson named his grant Macquarie as a memorial of the Governor who granted it. In contrast to this elevated name, one of Lawson's tickets of occupation on the Campbells River, described by Surveyor Hoddle as "a good sheep station," had the title of Dirty Swamp.[121] When Lawson later purchased two lots in the area, one was given the far more elevated name of Chrystal Mount.[122] Some ticket of occupation names near Bathurst are now village names - Triangle Flat, the Lagoon, for example.[123] These names are voices of the earliest European landholders.

The Oberon district is by no means unique in having casually descriptive and even disparaging names for places but the number, especially in the area of a lot of tickets of occupation, suggests at best an early lack of engagement with the area: Dirt Hole Creek, Dead Horse Gully, Eight Mile Swamp Creek. The "world of knowledge" that they encapsulate is a bleak one. Others suggest darker, and perhaps otherwise unrecorded, events: Poison Creek, Dead Man's Gully and, at Emu Valley, Deadman's Arm Creek.[124] Some names - such as the Dog Rocks, Native Dog Creek and Paling Yards - reflect the intention of sheep grazing. While stockholders were, in Carter's terms "creating" the land as sheep country, the physical reality of the land soon revealed this intention as impractical.[125] Spatial history does not entirely "begin and end in language," it reflects empirical engagements with land. [126]

During the second half of the nineteenth century a number of village names in the district were renamed with more elevated appellations. The settlement of Oberon, as mentioned earlier, was known originally known as Bullock Flat (although the wider district was often

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[119] Harris, *Settlers and Convicts*, 127.
[120] Essington Park is now reduced to only 12 acres.
[121] R. Hoddle, Field Book 224, NRS 13889, 1824-1825, 3 March 1825; R. Hoddle SG map B262, item 1295. Dirty Swamp, which Lawson held at least from 1820, appears to have been absorbed into various grants about 1825, especially Thomas Arkell's Charlton. William Browne, SANSW 4/1744, 20 Feb 1823, 341.
[122] Robeson comp., *The Rockley Manner,* 63; Parish of Irene, County Westmoreland, 1885, Historical Parish Maps, File no. 11264701.jp2, Department of Primary Industry, last modified 18.8.2011, http://images.maps.nsw.gov.au/pixel.htm accessed 13 August 2014. I have not found the name of Lawson's second purchase.
[123] William Browne, 20 Feb 1823, SANSW 4/1744, 341. His four Bathurst runs, held from 1820, were Triangle Flat, the Lagoon Plains, Foster's Valley and the Mountain run, all names still in use.
[124] Griffiths, "Past Silences", 8.
[125] Roberson comp. *The Rockley Manner,* 68. (maybe another Lawson name – the area was part of a ticket of occupation to him for a sheep run before 1825, when it was granted to Joseph Pye).
[126] Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay,* xxii.

called Fish River Creek). When finally gazetted as a village in 1863 it was renamed Oberon, which was the parish name said to be suggested by Elizabeth Whalan.[127] Likewise Frying Pan- north of the Fish River - had became Yetholme by 1860, and nearby Dirty Swamp (different from Lawson's Dirty Swamp) became Locksley.[128] Slippery Creek, near Oberon, became Hazelgrove in 1890.[129] Peppers Creek became Rockley, and Upper Run became Hampton.[130] For today's tastes these names may seem inauthentic and, in their denial of any local features, regrettably unAustralian, but they also reflect the settlers' identification of the district as home, and Victorian desire for it to be respectable. The casually bestowed, disparaging names were no longer felt appropriate for their relationship with the land.

The short-lived or unappreciative relationships in the district have meant that early names are among the only voices from that period. They reveal the significance of ownership in commitment to land, and also the early lack of European appreciation of the district. Changing names reflect changing relationships with land, and the overlaying and anglicising of Aboriginal names reveals another mechanism of forgetting.

Conclusion

In contrast to previous historical accounts of Oberon's history this chapter identifies a far more extensive settlement on the plateau than the initial three grants - Essington Park, Arundel Park and Swatchfield. Tickets of occupation were temporary - and poorly documented - but recognising them changes our understanding of the beginnings of the settlement. It has profound implications for Aborigines, as the European occupation of the plateau was far more extensive than has been recognised. This puts Aboriginal violence against stockmen in the area in the early 1820s in a new perspective and reframes the possibilities of how martial law (Chapter 4) was conducted there. The only people who remained living in the district and committed to it were a handful of employees, such as Joseph Sewell, most of whom eventually became land owners, a pattern which was a feature of Oberon's early settlement. The

[127] "Proclamation", *Government Gazette,* 20 May 1851, 801. J. F. Mann, "Oberon (formerly Bullock Flats) Village Reserve on Fish River, County Westmoreland", map O.1889 SANSW 4700, 10 March 1853. It was not proclaimed until 1863.
[128] "Electoral District of Bathurst", *Bathurst Free Press and Mining* Journal, 5 December 1860, 4; Locksley was named after local landholder, Edward Locke, about 1879 - Sandy Bathgate, *Locksley: The First Two Hundred Years,* (Locksley, NSW: self-published, 2013), 19; Patrick Lynch, "Old Names on the Blue Mountains", letter to the Editor, *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 26 February 1894, 6.
[129] "Government Gazette", *Evening News*, 22 March 1890, 5.
[130] Named after the governor, Lord Hampton, who passed through on a visit to Jenolan Caves. Cecil Poole, "Memoranda", *Lithgow Mercury,* 6 October 1911, 6.

Europeans in closest contact with the land bridged the gap between the phantom settlement that largely dissolved in and after 1826, and the permanent settlers of later decades. The abandonment of settlement points to a loss of literate witnesses of this important period in the district's history, and explains why it has been so poorly understood.

In the absence of more extensive records, placenames have been analysed in this chapter. As we have seen they operate in the district as voices of mental, mythic and magic consciousnesses. They identify place and commodified land; they express intention to form emotional connection with place; and they embody country, connecting people, place and ancestral creators. Settlers' names of privately-owned land in the district operate on both commodifying and emotional levels, whereas ticket of occupation land was usually named with no more than a commodifying intention, and in a casually descriptive and almost accidental way. Aboriginal names, of magic/mythic consciousness, were mostly lost in this district. Some were replaced with, or hidden in, English names. These processes were another version of the culture of forgetting about Aborigines in the district.

This chapter has addressed a key period in relationships with land in the Oberon district. It explains why the emotional processes of home-making and bonding with the land were delayed in the area, and why permanent settlers found plenty of fertile land available on the plateau relatively close to Sydney when arrived from 1836. The chapter also illuminates some factors of the belief, stated half a century later, that Oberon did not have Aborigines. The next chapter will consider that issue more closely.

Chapter 6 Adaptations in Aboriginal relationships with land

Martial law and smallpox left countless orphaned Aboriginal children in the Bathurst district. A number were adopted by Europeans.[1] Jane Piper (1831-1905), daughter of Captain John Piper of Alloway Bank, Bathurst, documented the way one Aboriginal woman in the Oberon district negotiated two realities:

> A Mr and Mrs Walker brought up a black girl from infancy and taught her to read and write and sew, she remained with them until she was sixteen, being quite a valuable servant. She then eloped with a man of her own people, and wandered about with him for many years, living like any other black woman. When she was about fifty her husband having died, she left her wandering life and engaged herself as a shepherdess, neatly dressed, with a bible in her hand, following her flock. She spoke good English, and was well acquainted with the scriptures".[2]

It is likely that her adopters were Reverend William and Mrs Walker, who lived at Brisbane Grove, O'Connell Plains, from about 1827.[3] Reverend Walker had been the first Missionary to the Aborigines and with his first wife, Eliza Hassall, had run the Native Institution initially at Parramatta and then at Blacktown.[4] He was a multiple adopter, starting with the son of Bennelong, called Thomas Coke Walker.[5] Another of his adoptees was Michael Walker, adopted as a four or five year old from Bathurst in 1824, who was to have an influential role on the settlement of Bullock Flat (Oberon).[6] This nameless girl above adopted by the Walkers negotiated Aboriginal and European realities in serial form through her life. If she really were an infant when adopted it was a feat to maintain a strong identity as an Aboriginal woman. As

[1] *The Sydney Morning Herald*, "Wesleyans at Bathurst", 20 October 1843, 3; Rev J. S. Handt had adopted one from the Bathurst area and another, Dickey, from O'Connell Plains before he reached the Wellington mission in 1832, Rev. J. S. Handt Journal 1, 19 September 1832, in Hilary M. Carey and David A. Roberts ed., *The Wellington Valley Project. Letters and Journals relating to the Church Missionary Society Mission to Wellington Valley, NSW, 1830-45. A Critical Electronic Edition.* 2002. http://www.newcastle.edu.au/school/hss/research/publications/the-wellington-valley-project (accessed 4 July 2016).

[2] Jane Piper, "Recollections of Old Bathurst and old Bathurst people", in P. J. Gresser, "Aborigines of the Bathurst District", AIATSIS, 21/2, 31.

[3] Chronicler of Bathurst Aborigines, P. J. Gresser, who had access to the unpublished reminiscences of Jane Piper, assumes the Walkers who adopted this girl were James and Robina Walker of Wallerawang.

[4] S. G. Claughton, "Walker, William (1800–1855)", *ADB,* accessed online 25 September 2014.

[5] Ibid.; Rev. S. Wilkinson, "Methodist History", *The Methodist,* 28 October 1893, 9.

[6] Wilkinson, "Methodist History".

a shepherdess she enacted a very literal interpretation of a Christian life, while remaining in close physical contact with the land. These adoptees manifested the deep faith Aboriginal converts brought to Christianity.[7] Their lives also exemplified the anomalous place that Aborigines who accessed their mental consciousness had in settler society.

As we saw in Chapter 4, smallpox and martial law killings probably ended Aboriginal attempts at sharing their land by incorporating Europeans into their kinship relationships. European concepts of land gained the upper hand. As Heather Goodall observes in *Invasion to Embassy,* connection with land remained the central theme in the reorganisation of Aboriginal communities in south-eastern Australia.[8] This chapter traces Aboriginal adaptations to *negotiating* the situation where European notions of land were dominant. It contends that as the spiritual was an inextricable element of Aboriginal relationships with land, adjustment of Aboriginal traditional clan life to post-martial law colonial reality was in part a spiritual movement. It adopts the argument of Tony Swain in *A Place for Strangers,* and others, that the emergence of the universal creator Baiame was a syncretic, post settlement, sky-based spiritual adaptation in recognition of the loss of distinctive clan territories.[9] This needs to be reconciled with Martin Thomas's argument that the many recorded ceremonial sites indicate that Baiame was "a being of the earth," rather than signalling the abandonment of the locative belief system.[10] Baiame is recorded as an emu by Bruce Pascoe in *Dark Emu, Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?*[11] Perhaps he took on an additional form, as human, rather than being an entirely new spirit figure.

Although there is no evidence of practices connected with Baiame in the Oberon district, familiarity with him there is suggested by a rock art image of him in Wollemi National Park

[7] A. Capell, "Christians Missions and Australian Aboriginal Religious Practice", *International Review of Mission* 39, no.154 (1950): 176-189, 176.
[8] Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy: Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2008), 25-39.
[9] Tony Swain, *A Place for Strangers: Towards a History of Aboriginal Being,* (Cambridge, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 117,122,125-128; Hilary M. Carey and David Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna of Wellington Valley, New South Wales, 1829-1840: The earliest nativist movement in Aboriginal Australia", *Ethnohistory* 49, no.4 (2002): 821-869, 823; Eugene Stockton, Appendix 1, "Baiame", in *Blue Mountains Dreaming: The Aboriginal Heritage,* ed. Eugene Stockton and John Merriman, (Lawson, NSW: Blue Mountain Education and Research Trust, 2nd edition, 2009), 239-245; John Clegg, "Support for a New Sky Hero from a Conquered Land", in *An Enquiring Mind: Studies in Honour of Alexander Marshack,* ed. Paul Bahn, 57-82, (Oxford: Oxbow, c2009).
[10] Martin Thomas, *The Many Worlds of R. H. Mathews: In Search of an Australian Anthropologist,* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2012), 274-77.
[11] Bruce Pascoe in *Dark Emu, Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?* (Broome: Magabala Books, 2014), frontispiece.

relatively nearby.[12] The chapter assembles fragmentary evidence of other ways Aborigines in the district adapted through the nineteenth century to maintain their connection with their country. Mark McKenna's "national history of place," *Looking for Blackfellows' Point*, set in the Eden-Monaro district, and Ann Jackson Nakano's *The Kamberri,* about the Canberra-Queanbeyan, district contribute to a context for interpreting the fragments of Oberon Aborigines' experience.[13]

The first section of the chapter considers adjustments made to continue clan life on country. The later sections of the chapter argue that with the absence of support of either church or state for land tenure, Aborigines struggled to find lasting refuge in the Oberon district. Archaeologist Denis Byrne has shown how Aboriginal people in the Manning Valley of New South Wales exploited the interstices and opportunities of the cadastral grid and developed their own map, a counter-cadastre.[14] This can be usefully applied to the Oberon district. Contrast with the Wellington Valley north-west of Oberon and the Burragorang Valley to the east reveals that institutional support in those districts enabled land tenure in those districts. The detailed work of Jim Smith and Dianne Johnston on the battle for land by the Aboriginal people of the Burragorang Valley, however, reveals that even with considerable assistance it was an ongoing struggle for Aborigines and land was never granted as freehold.[15]

Finally the chapter suggests that irrespective of the adaptations Aborigines made, they were consistently denied both equal rights to land ownership and entry to other European institutions. This argument is crystallised through the forgotten figure of Michael Walker. As a gifted prayer-leader and evangelist, Walker illustrates what post-colonial scholar Homi Bhaba

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[12] James Woodford, " Find an Aboriginal Seat of the Gods", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 21 April 2007, http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/wollemi-find-an-aboriginal-seat-of-the-gods/2007/04/20/1176697093038.html

[13] Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point: An Australian History of Place.* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 11,21, 37,165; Ann Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri: A History from the Records of Aboriginal Families in the Canberra-Queanbeyan district and surrounds 1820-1927 and Historical Overview 1928-2001,* (Canberra: Aboriginal History, Aboriginal History Monograph 8, 2001), 97-98,103,164; Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy,* 3-85.

[14] Denis Byrne, "Nervous Landscapes: Race and Place in Australia", *Journal of Social Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (2003): 169-193, 180.

[15]Ivy Brookman and Jim Smith, *Gungarlook: The Story of the Aboriginal Riley Family of the Burragorang Valley*, (Wentworth Falls: Den Fenella Press, 2010), 25; Jim Smith, *The Aboriginal People of the Burragorang Valley: "If we left the valley our hearts would break"* ([Lawson, NSW]: Blue Mountains Education and Research Trust, 2016); Dianne Johnson in collaboration with the residents of the Gully and their descendants, *Sacred Waters: The Story of the Blue Mountains Gully Traditional Owners,* (Broadway, NSW: Halstead Press, 2007).

identifies as the ambivalence of colonial attitudes to the colonised imitator.[16] Walker's success is only ever allowed to be partial and informal. This failure to reward such successful adaptation undermines the presumption of the post-Enlightenment civilising mission of colonialism, revealing deeply entrenched racism.[17] The fact that it was said in 1878 that Oberon did not have Aborigines is due at least in part to the lack of support, institutional or otherwise, to establish land tenure in the district.[18]

Adjusting traditional life

The spirit figure Baiame was first recorded in the Wellington Valley about 1830.[19] In 1834 a young Aboriginal man, Kabahrim, told Reverend Watson that "Byamy" made everything, blackfellows and white fellows and lived a long way off near England.[20] Baiame and his fellow spirit beings had biblical overtones - once he flooded the land when he woke and rolled over, and he was expected to return, bringing similar disaster.[21] Significantly Baiame takes the form of a man, in contrast to other ancestral beings, which have animal manifestations.[22] His appearance, Swain and others argue, can be seen as a spiritual adaptation, accompanying the loss of locative spirits and clan identity.[23] "The earth had been impoverished and the power now resided in the sky," in Swain's terms. The cult of the Baiame was probably not, as previously argued, a pre-existing belief in a creator God in the sky which distinguished southeastern Australia from the rest of Aboriginal Australia.[24] It seems to have been a post-colonial adaptation as a response to widespread deaths.

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[16] Homi Bhaba, "Of Mimcry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse", 211-219 in Jonathon Culler ed., *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies* 4, (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).
[17] Ibid., 212.
[18] "Justice to All", Letter to the editor, "Tickled with a Hoe it will Smile with a Harvest", *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 30 November 1878, 17. The author, who lived at Gingkin, may not have regarded Evans Crown, where Aborigines lived until about 1900, as part of the Oberon district.
[19] Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna", 830; Tony Swain, *A Place for Strangers: Towards a History of Aboriginal Being,* (Cambridge, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 126-127. There are numerous spellings of his name: Byamy, Piame, for example.
[20] Rev. William Watson, Journal, 26 October 1834, in Carey and Roberts ed., *The Wellington Valley Project.*
[21] Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna", 831.
[22] Thomas, *The Many Worlds of R. H. Mathews,* 238.
[23] Swain, *A Place for Strangers:* 117,122,125-128; Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna", 823. Also supported by Eugene Stockton, Appendix 1, "Baiame", in *Blue Mountains Dreaming: The Aboriginal Heritage,* ed. Eugene Stockton and John Merriman, (Lawson, NSW: Blue Mountain Education and Research Trust, 2nd edition, 2009), 239-245; Clegg, "Support for a New Sky Hero".
[24] Swain, *A Place for Strangers,* 118.

Integrating the Swain argument with Martin Thomas' insistence that earth-based spirituality was not abandoned with the genesis of Baiame, he can be seen as a being of sky origin, who manifested in specific earthly sites across southeastern Australia.[25] As Alexandra Walsham explains in a British context, syncretic beliefs and practices are not necessarily deliberate, but may emerge from "dynamic interaction and mutual acculturation".[26] Baiame also signals a profound shift in consciousness.

Baiame was invoked in a dance, the "Baiame waganna," to resist the cultural decline caused by European invasion.[27] The Wellington missionaries reported the first of a series of "corrobora" to prevent *Thannah Thannah* (smallpox) a couple of years after that epidemic (1830-31)).[28] These waganna(s) (dances) were held regularly in the Wellington district for about two years from 1833, culminating in a move to reclaim Aboriginal women and revive some traditional practices.[29] Baiame threatened to "kill all the girls and women who live with white men". [30] There was also an injunction for both sexes to revive the wearing of a nosebone.[31] Women were said to have deserted the white stations for miles around.[32] Carey and Roberts identify the Baiame waganna as the first nativist movement in Aboriginal Australia.[33] The cult of Baiame, also observed by Lancelot Threlkeld at Lake Macquarie mission, is indicative both of the level of devastation experienced by Aborigines in the Central West in the 1830s, and of the continuing vitality of Aboriginal culture in south-eastern Australia at that time.

A rock art site in the Wollemi National Park, relatively close to Oberon, is dominated by a huge image of Baiame.[34] There were Gundungurra speakers at Wellington, who may been a channel

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[25] Thomas, *The Many Worlds of R. H. Mathews,* 274-77.
[26] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 36. There was not a much evident mutuality at this time.
[27] Watson Journal xii, 1 April 1835, 24 April 1835.
[28] Watson Journal vi, 4-5 October 1833.
[29] Joseph Orton to Church Missionary Society, July 1839, quoted in Trish Orton, "Reverend Joseph Orton: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Known as "The John Wesley of Australia", *Understanding Our Christian Heritage,* 2, ch.15, (2003) online, accessed 7 August 2016. http://www.chr.org.au/books/understanding-our-christian-heritage-volume-two/page16.html
[30] Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna", 835.
[31] Ibid., 823.
[32] Ibid., 835.
[33] Ibid.
[34] James Woodford, "Wollemi Finds an Aboriginal Seat of the Gods", *The Sydney Morning Herald, 21 April 2007* http://www.smh.com.au/news/national/wollemi-find-an-aboriginal-seat-of-the-gods/2007/04/20/1176697093038.html

of communication about this creator spirit in Gundungurra speaking district.[35] Baiame may have been invoked at some of the huge Aboriginal gatherings reported near the Oberon district around this time. In the 1830s a corroboree recorded as involving 1,000 people was held on Corroboree Hill on the Richlands estate, Taralga, south of the Oberon district.[36] Even allowing for considerable exaggeration, this number suggests that people from a wide area, presumably including Oberon, attended it. Likewise the staging of a month-long "meeting of several tribes" in the 1840s near Wallerawang (northeast of Oberon), indicates that ceremonies were very much alive.[37] Until about the mid-nineteenth century it seems Aborigines in the Central West continued to live in clan groups, keeping their country and spiritual practices alive, and making adjustments as circumstances demanded.[38]

Aborigines in the Oberon District in the Nineteenth Century

In the Oberon district subtle forms of direct resistance to white invasion can be inferred from Surveyor Richards' experiences south of the Campbells River in 1829.[39] His survey was hampered by thick smoke "for twenty miles around," and he was unable to gain any information "of the Natives" about nearby Mt Werong. Violent resistance to dispossession was probably far more muted in areas severely affected by martial law than in other places.[40] The scanty records of Aborigines of the Oberon district scarcely mention it, with the exception of the Beale/Delaney family. On the Fish River, near The Meadows, perhaps in the 1840s, Aborigines "swooped down" on the barricaded family home of Jeremiah Beale (emancipist who worked for the Whalans), until they were finally "driven away" by his gun.[41] The family reported having "many exciting experiences with aborigines," which suggests a tense and unpredictable relationship, although certainly the frontier was a place of cultural encounters

[35] Horatio Hale, "Vocabulary of the Bathurst or Kandanura (Kandaṇ ṇura) dialect", in "Notes on the natives of Australia and their dialects made in New South Wales in December and January 1839-40", AIATSIS MF 355. Thomas, *The Many Worlds of R. H. Mathews*, 237-38. Hale described the Kandanura [Gundungurra] pronounced Kandaṇ ṇura, as located at Bathurst. Whether or not this was the case before European invasion is at this point impossible to know.
[36] F. F. Wheaton, "The Discovery and Early Settlement of the Taralga District", Part 1, *JRAHS,* 9 (1923), 1-17,13; Our correspondent, "Taralga", *Goulburn Herald*, 11 July 1906, 2.
[37] Jane Piper's recollections quoted in P. J. Gresser, "Aborigines of the Bathurst District", AIATSIS, 21/2, 31. Jane Piper's father, Captain John, held land at Piper's Flat, Wallerawang, from 1823 - Robert Hoddle, Field Book 224,1824-1825, NRS 13889, SANSW 2/4864, 18 Feb 1825.
[38] McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point*, 37; Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri,* 77,97-98.
[39] J. B. Richards, SANSW NRS 13736, 2/1572, 17 February 1829.
[40] McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point*, 37.
[41] Edna Delaney ed., *Delaney Decades: Descendants of Nicholas and Elizabeth Delaney 1802-2002*, (Camira, Qld: self published, 2002), 84; "The Early Days", *Lithgow Mercury,* 25 August 1926, 1.

more complex than violence and resistance.[42] Charles Whalan's daughter Gertrude was said to recall "many encounters with bushrangers and blacks".[43] Most of the early settler family histories include bushranger stories, but very few even mention Aborigines, let alone record accounts of contact.[44] It seems the code of silence was operating from early in the settlement.

Richard Webb's recollections, "Tarana Pioneers of the Bathurst District" are an exception.[45] Around his home, Keirstone, a property at Sydmouth Valley, Aborigines were "there in numbers" from when the Webbs arrived in the 1840s.[46] Aboriginal camps along the Fish River were "sometimes a nuisance at the homesteads near which they camped begging food and tobacco".[47] It seems that by this stage Aboriginal resources were so compromised that they were becoming dependent on settlers for food. To remove them, one settler dressed in a white shirt, apparently impersonating a ghost, and hid at the river where the Aborigines came for water. When a man came down he leapt out and so petrified the Aborigine "that he actually died of fright". He was buried and the camp moved the next day.[48] Aboriginal people had to adapt to being excluded from growing areas of their former country, constantly remapping their country to adapt to changing conditions.

The "Fish River" Aborigines apparently gravitated permanently to the Evans Crown Reserve.[49] They seem to have been the local equivalent of what Ann Jackson-Nakano identifies as a "core group" of Kamberri of the Canberra district, who stayed on or near their homeland.[50] The Crown, with its commanding tor formations, is a significant Aboriginal site: physical and anecdotal evidence suggest it was an important meeting place.[51]

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[42] Deborah Bird Rose and Richard Davis ed., Preface to *Dislocating the Frontier: Essays in the Mystique of the Outback,* (Canberra: ANU E Press, 2005), 9.
[43] "Oberon Pioneer", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 31 October 1936, 23.
[44] P. Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire,* (Oberon: Oberon Council, 2003, 48-54; *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "Oberon Pioneer", 31 October 1936, 23; Ron Whalan, *The Thousand Years Journey: The Story of Sergeant Charles Whalan, 1772-1839: Convict-Soldier-Settler,*(Ron Whalan, 1999); [Whalan, Glyndwr, ed.], *The Late Charles Whalan of Oberon; Being Reprints of Articles from the "Bathurst Free Press" and the "Weekly Advocate" (Sydney),* (Bathurst: G. Whalan, 1887).
[45] R. W. Webb, "Tarana Pioneers of the Bathurst District", (1942, unpublished manuscript, copy held by author, n.p.).
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ken Muggleston, "William and Ann Webb", 1990, unpublished manuscript, copy held by author, 1.
[50] Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri,* 77.
[51] A stone arrangement for an initiation ground is located nearby. New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Evans Crown Nature Reserve: Plan of Management", (Department of Environment and Climate Change, 2009), 7. Campsites and scarred trees have been found in the Reserve. Part of one carved tree from the Fish River is held in the Bathurst Museum.

Figure 6-1, Evan's Crown, an important Aboriginal site, photo Jenny Johnston

Significantly, Evans Crown people were still living there until the end of the nineteenth century, apparently continuing a version of clan life, the only group known to be still in the district. [52] Some of the men were employed for stock work, especially breaking in horses. In 1910 three Aborigines were receiving rations (dry goods) from the Aborigines' Protection Board at Oberon.[53] Perhaps they were the people at Evans Crown. It seems that a little band cared for this site for as long as possible.

Dual occupation can be inferred on some large properties, a form of land sharing, albeit on European terms. This allowed Aboriginal people to remain connected with traditional land and continue limited versions of traditional practices to care for it.[54] About 1852 Murrundah "Chief of the Burra Burra," was given a traditional burial, in an antbed protected by carved trees, at Paling Yards.[55] Marked trees or dendroglyphs, irrefutable evidence of Aboriginal

[52] Muggleston, "William and Ann Webb".
[53] Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy,*, 132; Aborigines Protection Board Reports, New South Wales Legislative Assembly Votes and Proceedings, 1911, Appendix B, 19.
[54] Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy,* 71-74,78-80.
[55] Charles MacAlister *Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South,* (Goulburn: Book Publication Committee, 1907; North Sydney: Library of Australian History – Facsimile Series, no. 1, 1977), 84-85; William Russell/ "Werriberrie" *My Recollections,* (The Oaks, NSW: The Oaks Historical Society for the Wollondilly Heritage Centre, 1991), 20-21. Date from Jim Smith, pers. comm. 26 May 2017. Paling Yards had been Captain King's ticket of occupation.

proprietorship, were found in Kamilaroi, Wiradjuri and Gundungurra districts.[56] They were recorded at a number of sites in the Oberon district, but it seems none has survived in situ. [57] Some at least were deliberately burnt.[58] Such actions appear to be another manifestation of the code of silence, an attempt to eradicate the past.[59]

Relying on names as evidence of Aboriginal occupation, we can assume that a huge paddock called "Blackfellows" on the southeast of Swatchfield, was an Aboriginal camp, also suggesting some sort of dual occupancy.[60] Maybe the "large tribe" who met Charles Throsby near there in 1819 was displaced to this camp. About eight kilometres further south is Corrobee Creek which rises beside Corrobee Hill. The name, presumably a corruption of *corroboree*, suggests it was a ceremonial site in use after white settlers arrived. It is a flat-topped hill, similar in form to Corroboree Hill at Taralga, site of the huge ceremonial gathering in the 1830s. Dual occupation was probably more enduring in areas where landholdings were bigger than the Oberon district, in which 1,000 to 2,000 acres were large blocks.[61] Some holdings, however, were aggregated. Roger Murphy, who lived in Sydney, acquired Jeremy, Bingham, Buckburridgee and Ballyroe in the south west of the district, as well as thousands of acres of leased country in the 1830s. Aborigines may have shared occupancy of these places, but the only hint I have found of them being there is that Murphy reported that Jeremy was an Aboriginal name meaning "land of the big lizard".[62]

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[56] R. Etheridge Jnr, *The Dendroglyphs, or Carved Trees of New South Wales,* (Sydney: Department of Mines, 1918), 51,52,56-58. He identifies them in Gundungurra area, especially the Burragorang Valley, rather than using the word *Gundungurra.*.

[57] On the Fish River in the north of the Oberon district; at properties Ballyroe and Granite Hills to the south-west; marking a grave below the junction of Davis' (Sewells) Creek and the Campbells River; and on Native Dog Creek. New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Evans Crown Nature Reserve", 7; P. J. Gresser "Aborigine Graves & Carved Trees", (Bathurst, 1964), AIATSIS Ms. 21/4-5, 3-4; Kevin Toole, *The Annals of Burraga,* (Burraga, NSW: Burraga Public School, 1986), 2,3. One from the Fish River is in the Bathurst Museum.

[58] Pers. comm. Laurie McMahon, 5 September 2016.

[59] Tom Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors: The Antiquarian Imagination in Australia,* (Cambridge; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press*,* 1996), 106.

[60] Facsimile of page in station diary from 1937, in Paddy Grady Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story,* (Sylvania, NSW: self-published, 1987), 39. The name probably dates from the ownership of James Stevenson who bought it in 1856-57. Paddock name confirmed by ex-owner of Swatchfield, William Kater, pers. comm., 11 May 2012; Margaret Stevenson, *The Stevenson Family 1832-2003: The Story of the Stevenson Family from Cathcart, Renfrewshire in Scotland to Oberon and Geurie in New South Wales, Australia,* (Guerie, NSW: self-published, 2005), 113. "Blackfellows" became a separate farm after the Second World War, but the property has recently been re-acquired by the owner of Swatchfield.

[61] Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy*, 71-73.

[62] Roger Murphy to Major Mitchel 13 February 1833, in Toole, *The Annals of Burraga*, 8,9,11,12. The properties were mostly bought by Thomas Hackney in the 1850s and 1860s.

While ceremony was performed as part of traditional life, it also gained a new dimension as a commodity. A corroboree was "procured" by William Lawson junior for Governor Charles Fitzroy and party who were staying with him at Macquarie in 1846.[63] The performers included enough men to form a "crowd," some amazing the audience with their extraordinary athleticism.[64] These people, led by the mighty "Old Bull" left Macquarie a couple of days later for "a distant campsite … through the bush".[65] It may be that Old Bull and his people were the "tribe" recalled living on the Campbells River in the late 1840s.[66] Apparently in the Campbells River/ Native Dog district Aboriginal people were maintaining their country through traditional practices until about the middle of the century, and adapting some of their practices to tradable commodities. They were, however, living in a climate that made constant inroads into their sustainability as a unit. Old Bull and six of his band were killed within a month of the corroboree at Macquarie, allegedly attacked by a hostile "tribe" who had been armed for that purpose.[67] The sudden loss of seven people, especially the leader must have seriously compromised continuing traditional life.

Similarly, Old Tom, "king of the Binnaly/Bunaly Tribe," (near Jenolan Caves)[68] and Biddy, appear to have supplemented bush life by trading native foods. [69] They brought native currants to Warrawong, (near Yetholme), the farm of James Murray in 1848, where Aboriginal woman Nelly lived. As Denis Byrne points out, the counter-cadastre that Aborigines constructed included information about which landholders were friendly and which were not.[70] Women around Oberon may have commodified sex, as the Wellington missions complained they did there.

Corroborees were still being performed in the 1860s at the Joolundoo waterhole in the Duckmaloi River, resting place of the mighty Gurangatch, in the creation story "Gurangatch

[63] Col. G. C. Mundy, *Our Antipodies: or Residence and Rambles,* (London: R Bentley, 1857), 45-46.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., 51.
[66] Gresser "Aborigine Graves & Carved Trees", 3-4. Recalled about 1930 by Sam McSpeddan, then over 90 years.
[67] Mundy, *Our Antipodies*, 51
[68] Jim Smith, Wywandy and Therabulat: The Aborigines of the Upper Cox's River and their Association with Hartley and Lithgow," (Lithgow: Lithgow District Historical Society, 1990), n.p.
[69] James Murray diary, 18 and 19 November 1848, Murray Papers, ML 07/154, unaccessioned, uncatalogued. Binnaly, was probably Burnaloi, the country at the headwaters of the Kowmung River, west of Kanangra Walls. They stayed overnight at Warrawong. Wallerawang clan woman, Nelly, worked there. Similar practices were recorded of the Kamberri. Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri,* 77.
[70] Byrne, "Nervous Landscapes", 180. Warrawong, and probably Wallerawang, where Nelly's father, Old Myles, and his people had a camp, were examples of such places.

and Mirrigan".[71] Aborigines came there "from west and from Hartley". It appears that there were none or few living locally, and that those people associated with the Duckmaloi district had dispersed both east and west.[72] Aborigines seem to have been adjusting to holding ceremonies for land they could no longer live on.[73] The above seem to be about the last indications of Aboriginal communal "bush" life on the plateau.

"Blanket lists" give some indication of the lives of Aborigines connected with Oberon. The closest blanket distribution points were Hartley, Bathurst, and Goulburn. The Fish River people probably collected their blankets at Hartley, but I have been unable to ascertain any of their names. Murrundah, who was buried at Paling Yards about 1852, collected blankets at Hartley in 1838 with his four wives and six children, and in 1842 they collected them at Picton.[74] By 1862 the Mirandas (his descendants) were living in the Bathurst area, while other families they were affiliated with remained in the Burragorang Valley.[75] George Miranda at least received blankets at Bathurst until his death in 1882, but was buried in a traditional burial ground in the Kanimbla Valley.[76] The Aboriginal population in the Central West had declined catastrophically by the 1860s. Sixty Aborigines received blankets in Bathurst in 1833, but only 15 in 1867.[77] One of many causes was disease -smallpox was estimated to have killed between 16 and 33 per cent of the people.[78] Tuberculosis, influenza and venereal diseases also played havoc with Aboriginal health and fertility.[79]

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[71] "Our own Correspondent", "Duckmaloi", *The Lithgow Mercury*, 26 July 1907, 3; Johnson et al., , *Sacred Waters,* 172-74.

[72] A block adjacent to the waterhole had been bought in 1849, but the general area had been leased since 1832, and perhaps had earlier white usage *The Sydney Gazette,* "Yearly Leases of Land", 18 October 1832, 2; *The Sydney Gazette,* "Yearly Leases of Land", 2 February 1836, 4; James Farney had a run on the Fish [Duckmaloi] River about 4 miles from Bindo in 1840 – *Australasian Chronicle,* "Tuesday November 11: (Before His Honour the Chief Justice)", 12 November 1840, 2.

[73] During dreams the Mardu people of the Western Desert would sometimes travel in dream-spirit form to their homelands. They saw this a one way of maintaining presence in their country, no matter where they were living. Lynne Hume, "Accessing the Eternal: Dreaming, 'The Dreaming' and Ceremonial Performance", *Zygon* 39, no.1, (2004), 248.

[74] "List of Aborigines to whom Blankets have been Issued", Hartley, 1838, SANSW 4/1133.3 38/8783; "Return of Aboriginal Natives, taken at Picton on 6 August 1842", SANSW 4/6666B3 42/5925. The same Miranda may have collected a blanket also at Hartley in 1842. Wives - Marruin, Moonda, Jerubingdon, Merrong. Children - Cowonyang, Querana, Irrowrewong, Jinkerong, Marremong and Maranda.

[75] Jim Smith, *The Aboriginal People of the Burragorang Valley*. Burragoranger, John Riley, observed, "We are all here except Miranda who is in Bathurst 1862".

[76] "Number of Blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst, 1862-1888", ML A3016. Smith, *The Aboriginal People of the Burragorang Valley,* 120.

[77] "Return of Aboriginal Natives, taken at Bathurst, 29 May & 3 July 1833", SANSW; "Number of Blankets served out to Aborigines at Bathurst, 1862-1888", 3.

[78] "Original Correspondence", *The Sydney Herald*, 30 April 1832, 4; Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and Other Diseases in Aboriginal Australia, 1780-1880,* (Melbourne: Melbourne University

Another possible cause of the sharp decline in the Aboriginal population in the middle of the century were the goldrushes. Beginning in the 1850s they brought a huge influx of people and environmental damage, presumably making traditional life increasingly less viable.[80] The Native Dog Creek, Sewells Creek and Campbells River goldfields were declared in 1853, the Oberon goldfield in 1872, and the huge Jenolan field in 1887. Except for the group at Evans Crown it seems the remaining Aboriginal people of the plateau had largely dispersed by the 1870s.

White on black violence was, and is still, censored by an "unconscious reflex".[81] White killings of Aborigines were seldom on written record, but some are reported in oral histories – I was told that "the last of the Aborigines" was shot on the property Macquarie.[82] Another account tells that in the Burragorang Valley settlers on horseback chased Aborigines, so terrifying them that they lost control of their bowels.[83] Jim Smith collected some similar stories at Wallerawang.[84] In contrast Aboriginal deaths caused by other Aborigines were diligently recorded.[85] Such deaths alleviated Europeans of responsibility for the continuing decline of the Aboriginal population. Around the Bathurst /Oberon district they included Windradyne, in 1829; Ering, at Capertee; Murrundah, buried at Paling Yards; Old Bull shortly after the corroboree at Lawson's Macquarie, as well as many other nameless people.[86] Paul Irish has observed that the deaths of women prompted more abductions of other women, resulting in payback through ritual combat.[87] Around the 1840s pastoralist Charles MacAlister encountered "a great camp of the Burra Burras" in the Abercrombie River district preparing for

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Press, 2002), 138,140. Campbell mistakenly locates Sidmouth Valley near Orange, where the Toms moved in the early 1830s; Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna, " 827,829.

[79] W. H. Suttor*, Australian Stories Retold, and, Sketches of Country Life,* (Bathurst: Glyndwr Whalan, 1887), 147*;* Gresser, "Aborigines of the Bathurst District", 8; Handt Journal ii, 5 December 1832, *The Wellington Valley Project* ; Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna", 829.

[80] Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy,* 7—71.

[81] Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors*, 108.

[82] Source's name withheld by request. After 1885 when Macquarie was sold to the McKibbons by William Lawson's family.

[83] Pers. comm. Brett Bailey, 9 August 2012. He heard it from Bill Hughes of Gingkin, friend of Mick Maxwell of Bimlow, Burragorang.

[84] Smith, *Wywandy and Therabulat*, n.p.

[85] McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellows' Point*, 67.

[86] Colo [George Suttor], "Aboriginal Biography", *The Sydney Gazette,* 21 April 1829, 3; G. H. F. Cox, "The History of Mudgee", MLMSS 4314, Item 2,42; Charles MacAlister, *Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South,* (North Sydney: Library of Australian History, facsimile, 1977), 84-85; Mundy *Our Antipodes*, 45, 51. Nameless people - Alexander Harris, *Settlers and Convicts,* 128; "Supreme Court – Criminal Side", *The Colonist,* 13 February 1839, 2; Handt Journal, 14 September 1832.

[87] Paul Irish, *Hidden in Plain View: The Aboriginal People of Coastal Sydney,* (Sydney: NewSouth Publishing, University of New South Wales Press, 2017), 22.

payback of the "Lachlan Blacks" for abducting women.[88] With so many deaths by new diseases Aborigines may not have immediately recast their traditional ways of attributing responsibility for deaths to Aboriginal enemies.[89] In the case of Old Bull, at least, there was the suggestion that the killing was set up by Europeans.[90] As Tom Griffiths observes, silence about Aborigines had many manifestations.[91]

Reporting the deaths of "the last of the Aborigines" was a widespread convention in the colony. [92] This interest in the "dying out" of the Aborigines probably reflects relief because of the mixture of fear and guilt invoked in settlers by Aborigines.[93] Notifications of "last" Aborigines were often accompanied by references to the kindness of Europeans to them.[94] Kitty Dixon or "Black Kitty," was said to be "the last survivor of the old Caloola (west of Rockley) tribe of aboriginals".[95] She had married an English man, William Dixon, a strategy available far more to Aboriginal women than men, but there is little public record of such relationships on the Oberon plateau. Perhaps putting it more accurately, these "last" survivors were the last known to be obviously Aborigines – known to have lived a communal, nomadic bush life.[96] Aborigines scattered throughout the white community were far less visible, to the extent that their existence could be overlooked. The 1878 declaration that Oberon did not have Aborigines, probably meant there was no longer an identifiable black community on the plateau.[97] Despite enormous odds, however, Aborigines made creative adjustments to living in a world dominated by the reality of white people always, it seems, with a view to maintaining connection with their land. Their next strategy appears to have been dispersal.

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[88] MacAlister, *Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South,* 83.
[89] Beverly Nance, "The Level of Violence: Europeans and Aborigines in Port Phillip, 1835-1850", *Historical Studies* 19, no.77 (1981), 534; Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier,* 72-73.
[90] Mundy, *Our Antipodes*, 51.
[91] Griffiths, *Hunters and Collectors,* 106.
[92] Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri*, 109-113; Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellows' Point*, 66.
[93] Ibid. McKenna's interpretation is that whites saw the "dying out" of Aborigines as "the triumph of civilization",
[94] "Our Own Correspondent", "Rockley", *Bathurst Free Press*, 28 October 1886, 2; *Queanbeyan Age,* 11 September 1873; *Freeman's Journal,* "The Last of the Bathurst Tribe", 14 May 1892, 21. When Bobby (son of Nelly who worked with the Murray family) died in 1856 James Walker of Wallerawang erected a tombstone on his grave in memory of him "and the Wallerowong Aborigine Tribe". Smith, "Wywandy and Therabulat.
[95] "Our Own Correspondent", "Rockley", *Bathurst Free Press*, 28 October 1886, 2.
[96] McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellows' Point,* 6, argues that this phrase referred to "full-bloods", which may often be the case, but Bobby's father (see footnote 91) was a white man – Jim Smith, "Bobby of the Wallerawang Tribe", *Hut News* 324*,* Blue Mountains Conservation Society Inc., November 2016, 10.
[97] Justice to All [pseud., probably John Hughes of Gingkin], "Tickled with a Hoe it will Smile with a Harvest", *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 30 November 1878, 17.

Living with Europeans

Aborigines in European communities developed a strategy of keeping a low profile. They were aware that large groups were feared by whites, so they separated into smaller groups at least in public, and many moved into the white community, working on farms.[98] Their desire to avoid the disapproving and contemptuous gaze of white people, probably colluded with the white tendency to overlook their presence.[99] Aboriginal people from the Gully community in Katoomba reported that remaining inconspicuous and "acting white" were ongoing concerns for their families.[100] Invisibility was another Aboriginal adaptation for survival. In the twentieth century this manifested itself as denial of Aboriginal forbears in the Oberon district.[101] Their Aboriginal ethnicity was often disguised, for example, as Greek or German.[102]

The move by some into the European world seems to have divided Aboriginal communities, a phenomenon that was also enthusiastically reported.[103] The "Fish River tribe" killed one their own people at Hartley, apparently because he "refused to comply with their invitation to return to his unsettled … life in the bush".[104] The Fish River people seem to have been trying to hold onto their culture in which refusal to be part of the band was untenable. Henry Reynolds noted a similar generational disjuncture as a result of European invasion in other parts of the country.[105] It seems that boys working for white people was acceptable to tribal people "until the period of the knocking out of their teeth," or initiation into manhood.[106] This was one of many ways people tried to negotiate the two realities.

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[98] Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri,* 109-112.
[99] Byrne, "Nervous Landscapes", 183.
[100] Johnson et al., *Sacred Waters*, 140-51. Ivy Brookman, descendant of the Jingery people of the Burragorang Valley, wrote of the pressure on her family not to acknowledge their Aboriginality for fear of their children being removed. Brookman and Smith, *Gungarlook,* 25.
[101] Pers. comm. Peter Stiff, 28 May 2017.
[102] Ibid.
[103] In Argyle a young Aborigine was killed by "the natives" when he refused to leave the service of Dr Reid. Reverend Thomas Hassall of Denbigh, Narellan reporting to the Select Committee on Aborigines, 30 March 1846 in *Votes and Proceedings of the NSW Legislative Council.*
[104] "Index", "To the Editor of Bell's Life in Sydney", *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer,* 4 October 1845, 2. He was working for a settler called Blackman, probably John Blackman, who had a property called Nullwarra at the base of Hassan's Walls (Lithgow). E. McKenzie, *Browns Gap,* (Lithgow: Lithgow District Historical Society, undated), unpaginated.
[105] Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal Resistance to the European Invasion of Australi,* (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1982), 135.
[106] "Index", "To the Editor of Bell's Life in Sydney", *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer,* 4 October 1845, 2.

Aborigines had many abilities that were appreciated by white people. Kitty Dixon, "the last of the old Caloola tribe," was "a skillful nurse".[107] Perhaps she brought some traditional techniques to the service of Europeans. Aboriginal facility with domestic animals was well-recognised and appreciated by many settlers.[108] Aboriginal shepherds could track stray sheep and identify them in a neighbouring flock, recognising each by its face, and sometimes naming them.[109] The Webbs at Sydmouth Valley, like many, found them skilled horse breakers. Arthur Cunynghame and family had a "black boy" working for them.[110] Burragorang stockmen were employed on Colong Station (east of Mt Werong) late in the nineteenth century.[111] A blacktracker was working at Glencoe Police Station, Porters Retreat in 1911 when his Aboriginal wife, Mary Yates, died of severe burns.[112] It seems Aborigines employed by, and dispersed among, white people were largely unnoticed as an Aboriginal population.

As well as the group living at Evans Crown, two other significant Aboriginal sites in the district had a single Aboriginal man working on a farm at or near the site. Both provided some information about the sites to their employers. One employer was Charlie Luther of Tuglow, the closest farming country to the Kanangra (he calls them Kowoning) Walls. [113] A "blackfellow who was in his employ, and who is now dead" told Luther that the dancing figures, brandishing spears, drawn on rocks at Kanangra Walls were to scare away the Koppa (Gubba), a malicious spirit that inhabits caves and other dark places.[114] The 1891 census records an Aboriginal man employed by Mrs Catherine Dwyer, who owned property at Irish Corner (Duckmaloi).[115] It was presumably through him that the Dwyers knew the name of the waterhole, "Jelleindore," (Joolundoo in the Gurangatch and Mirrigan story), otherwise known by them as "the Bunyip Hole".[116] It seems that both these men were the last of their people to caretake these precious

[107] "Our Own Correspondent", "Rockley", *Bathurst Free Press*, 28 October 1886, 2. Report to the Protector of Aborigines, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Joint Parliamentary Papers, 1883, 24-25.
[108] Hassall to the Select Committee on Aborigines, VPLC, 30 March 1846; Watson Journal, 3 October 1832.
[109] Henry Melville, *The Present State of Australia: Including New South Wales, Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and New Zealand,* (London: G. Willis, 1851), 115-16.
[110] Pers. comm. Ray Cunynghame, 6 September 2002.
[111] William Russell/Werriberrie, *My Recollections*, (The Oaks Historical Society for the Wollondilly Heritage Centre, 1991, originally published 1914), 17.
[112] *Bathurst Times,* "Country News", 10 August 1911, 4.
[113] Killeevy, "The Jenolan Caves and the Kowoning Walls", *Freeman's Journal*, 9 May 1896, 20-21.
[114] Ibid., 21.
[115] 1891 census.
[116] *Lithgow Mercury*, "Duckmaloi", 26 July 1907, 3; Joan Cosgrove, letter to author, 10 August 2007.

sites, and, perhaps, with no close relatives to pass their knowledge on to, transmitted some to whites.

The people of the plateau, like those of Canberra-Queanbeyan, did not die out.[117]
The Maranda family, for example, has traced their connection to the district, through Murrundah, "Chief of the Burra Burra," who was buried at Paling Yards on the Oberon plateau about 1852.[118] It seems there was a pattern of dispersal away from Oberon. "The bees and blacks give Oberon a wide berth," a newspaper correspondent claimed during a protracted debate about the relative merits of the Burragorang Valley and Oberon.[119] This elicited the riposte from Oberon: "We also have … honey, but none of the coloured tribe (blacks). We can manage very well without them".[120] It seems that the prevailing understanding by 1878 was that Aborigines did not live there. We have seen, however, that individuals and small groups did live there. At Hartley, east of Oberon, 31 Aborigines, including 14 children were living in 1882.[121] Eighteen of them were "half-castes" so perhaps less recognisable as Aboriginal to the white community. They were independent of government assistance, employed "shepherding, labouring and honey-selling".[122] Perhaps some of the Fish River people were among this number. Three Aborigines were receiving rations from the Aborigines Protection Board in Oberon in 1910.[123] The same year there was only one in Bathurst, but 29 in Burragorang. The 1916 census listed one Aborigine in Oberon.[124] As Paul Irish has shown in the Sydney region, they were "hidden in plain view".[125] By 1878 it seems that there were two different realities about Aborigines operating in the district. For white people they were not

[117] Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri*, 113.
[118] Colleen Maranda, email to author, 10 April 2014. The breast plate of "Murrundah Chief of Burra Burra" resurfaced in 2008 when it was donated to the Camden Museum by a descendant of the Macarthur family. Murrundah gave it to his brother to give to 12 year old Elizabeth Macarthur at Camden Park, according to the account glued to the back of the plate. Murrundah's descendants received blankets at Hartley, between 1838 and 1844, and Bathurst between 1870 and 1875, and one son, George and his wife Jenny Clay were buried in Kanimbla Valley. George Miranda died in 1882. Also see MacAlister, *Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South,* 83-4;. Smith, *The Aborigines of the Burragorang Valley,* 120.
[119] Chilblain, "Oberon in Snowy Land", *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 16 November 1878, 37.
[120] "Justice to All", "Tickled with a Hoe, it will Smile with a Harvest", *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 30 November 1878, 17.
[121] Report to the Protector of Aborigines, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Joint Parliamentary Papers, 1883, 24-25.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Aborigines Protection Board Report, , Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Joint Parliamentary Papers (1911), 26.
[124] Census Returns of Aborigines, Report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines for the year 1915, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Joint Parliamentary Papers, (1916) 11.
[125] Irish, *Hidden in Plain View.*

there. For Aborigines, being largely unnoticed by white people was probably an advantage in their efforts to maintain their traditional relationships with land.

Reserves

Institutional support in districts east and west of Oberon enabled Aboriginal people to make rapid shifts in consciousness necessary to maintain ongoing connection with land under the new regime, including various forms of rights to land. This support was not available in the Oberon district. Eighty-five reserves for the use of Aborigines were created between 1885 and 1894 by the New South Wales Aborigines Protection Board, but none were in the Oberon district.[126] The reserve system isolated Aborigines from Europeans, and attempted to stamp out traditional culture and language, but it also enabled the survival of many Aboriginal people, and unwittingly created cultural repositories.[127] Evans Crown had been reserved for recreation and trigonometric purposes in 1882.[128] Aboriginal people were able to exploit this, but it did not give them exclusive rights, and in fact half of the area was included in the conditional lease of a neighbouring farmer in 1892.[129]

In the Burragorang Valley Aborigines found a useful ally in the Catholic priest Father George Dillon.[130] One benefit of conversion by an Irish Catholic was that as a member of a colonised people he recognised the importance of land ownership, education and political action. [131] Aborigines of the Burragorang Valley were some of the first in the country to enrol to vote, as early as 1869.[132] Several families waged sustained campaigns to acquire freehold land, resulting in six Aboriginal reserves being gazetted between 1878 and 1906.[133] They never, however, gained freehold, demonstrating the enormous hurdles for even literate Aborigines with dedicated reserves and political awareness. Some of these reserves were short-lived but they gave the Burragorang Aborigines legal rights to land that were never achieved by Aborigines in the Oberon region.

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[126] Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy,* 109.
[127] Jackson-Nakano, *The Kamberri*, 106,164; McKenna *Looking for Blackfellows' Point,* 163,165.
[128] Confirmed after the Land Acts of 1884 and 1894. Parish of Thornshope, County of Westmoreland, maps 1890, 1892 and 1907, Historical Parish Maps, NSW Land and Property Information, online, accessed 9 August 2016. http://images.maps.nsw.gov.au/pixel.htm
[129] Ibid.
[130] Brookman and Smith, *Gungarlook,* 49.
[131] Ibid., 45,49.
[132] Jim Smith, "Aboriginal Voters in the Burragorang Valley, New South Wales 1869-1953", *JRAHS* 98, no. 2 (2012): 170-192.
[133]Ibid., 51-84; Johnson et al., *Sacred Waters,* 37-55; Smith *The Aboriginal People of the Burragorang Valley.*

It is possible one reserve was created in tacit recognition of an Aboriginal campsite in the Oberon district. The "old hands" used to say that Aborigines camped on Deep Creek, a tributary of Fish River Creek (east of Oberon town).[134] The Duckmaloi Road skirts what is now a Travelling Stock Reserve but in 1863 was notified as a Water Reserve.[135] It is a flat, well-watered area well above the Fish River Creek, the sort of campsite favoured by Aborigines as the elevation keeps the temperature warmer than river flats.[136] It seems curious for a water reserve to be created here in a district that abounded with water, was only very lightly settled, and had few other water reserves. It is tempting to think that this was covert recognition of an Aboriginal camp site. It was probably surveyed by J. F. Mann who surveyed the village of Oberon in the same year, and who had a considerable interest in Aborigines.[137]

With some security of land, the Burragorang community maintained its integrity and at least some traditional knowledge and practices, and from them ethnographer R. H. Mathews gained much of his information about Gundungurra culture in the 1890s.[138] In 1897 and 1902 Burragorang Aborigines were visiting a petroglyph of a bird in the Bindook highlands, south-west of Mt Werong.[139] They carved names and initials nearby, a mental consciousness version of observance of traditional sites.[140] Land tenure was crucial in enabling some of their traditions to stay alive and metamorphose.

The missionaries

Christian missions, like reserves, have been seen as destructive of Aboriginal culture, but in recent years their image has been rehabilitated as supporting the survival and regeneration of

[134] Pers. comm. Frank Fawcett, 15 September 2002.
[135] W. R. 5, lots 128, 129, 13 April 1863, DPI map, Parish of Norway, County of Westmoreland, 1885, http://images.maps.nsw.gov.au/pixel.htm# accessed 18 October 2016.
[136] Mary Coe, *Windradyne, a Wiradjuri Koori, with Paintings by Isabell Coe*, (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, revised ed., 1989), 4; P. J. Gresser, "Episodes and Incidents, Bathurst", in "Aborigines of the Bathurst District", AIATSIS, 21/2, 31.
[137] J. F. Mann, wrote "Notes on the Aborigines of Australia", *Geographical Society of Australasia* 1, (1883-84): 27-63; J. F. Mann, "Australian Aborigines", *Daily Telegraph* (Launceston, Tas.), 6 April 1904,6. The Crown Plan of the water reserve, CP 169.1502, is inconclusive as it does not include the surveyor's name. By the 1911 edition of the parish map half of the reserve has been transferred to private ownership.
[138] R. H. Mathews, "Some Mythology of the Gundungurra Tribe, New South Wales", ed. Jim Smith. (Wentworth Falls, Den Fenella Press, 2003).
[139] Jim Smith and Paul Jennings, "The Petroglyphs of Gundungurra Country", *RockArt Research: The Journal of the Australian Rock Art Research Association (AURA)* 28, no. 2 (2011): 241-49, 245-48.
[140] Ibid., 248; Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin.*

Aborigines.[141] Wellington Valley was the site of a Methodist mission run by Reverend Harper between 1824 and 1826, a more formal Anglican mission from 1832 until 1844, then an independent mission until 1866.[142] The mission provided Aboriginal people with medical treatment, food and importantly a legitimated place to live, as well as Christian instruction. The missionaries' efforts were conducted with great personal sacrifice, but little success, because of their insistence that Aborigines abandon their own culture.[143] Reverend Johann Handt revealingly explained his role to some Aboriginal people as to "make them like white fellows".[144]

Adopted children there were caught between the two cultures, pressured on both sides. The Anglican missionaries at Wellington Valley refused baptism to some of their adopted children in spite of deep Christian devotion, because they continued to attend Aboriginal ceremonies.[145] One, Dickey, who came from O'Connell Plains, died believing he was "a wicked boy".[146] Esoteric questions like "Do you have a soul?" or ferocious warnings of the "wickedness" of traditional ways and the fires of hell terrified Aborigines, and they begged the missionaries to "speak no more about God".[147] At least one man, Nyrang Jackey, showed sophisticated pluralism observing, "Oh you say prayers always in Gundee (house), that is good, Blackfellow go about bush, that is good. Blackfellow tell me too much I sit down with Parson".[148] This understanding that the two traditions were independent and authentic expressions of different consciousness structures outlined by Jean Gebser is the core underlying this thesis.[149]

Some later missionaries presented Christianity as *additional* to Aboriginal consciousness, not a

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[141] Bain Attwood, "Aboriginal Missions", *The Oxford Companion to Australian History,* ed. Graeme Davison, John Hirst, Stuart MacIntyre, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 8.
[142] David A. Roberts and Hilary Carey, "Beong! Beong! (More! More!): John Harper and the Wesleyan Mission to the Australian Aborigines", *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 10, no. (2009). *Project MUSE*. Online, accessed 7 Aug. 2016. https://muse.jhu.edu/; Carey and Roberts ed., Preamble, *The Wellington Valley Project.* The mission was initiated by Reverend William Walker, then Missionary to the Aborigines, and reopened by the Anglican Church Missionary Society.
[143] Journals of Handt, Watson and Rev. James Günther in Carey and Roberts ed., *The Wellington Valley Project.*
[144] Handt Journal, 14 September 1832; 30 September 1832.
[145] Günther Journal, 5 July 1838, 6 July 1838, 9 August 1838, 22 January 1840.
[146] Watson Diary, 2 August 1835; Jean Woolmington, "Missionary Attitudes to the Baptism of Australian Aborigines before 1850", Journal of Religious History, 13:3 (1985), 283-293.
[147] Günther Journal, 19 January 1840; Watson Journal, 21 October 1832.
[148] Watson Journal, 4 July 1834, 2-204.
[149] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin (Ursprung und Gegenwart),* transl. Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985), 134-35

substitute, and accepted or even encouraged the maintenance of original cultural practices.[150] These had far greater success. The Ernabella mission, in the far north of South Australia, was founded a century after Wellington by Dr and Mrs Charles Duguid on principles including "no … imposition of our way of life on the Aborigines, nor deliberate interference with tribal custom".[151] The late Anangu elder, Nganyinytja, converted to Christianity at the Ernabella mission. She maintained a lifelong practice of the two spiritualities, or "two Laws" as she called them, and called for a reconciliation of the two that respects difference.[152] In Gebserian terms, she was operating in two different consciousness structures. At other missions Aborigines became Christians and continued their own ceremonies in secret.[153]

The series of missions at Wellington established, perhaps unintentionally, accepted places of Aboriginal habitation.[154] They laid the foundation for Aboriginal places, camps and housing areas around Wellington, which are still important to local Wiradjuri people. This opportunity in the cadastral grid was not available at Oberon, and its Aboriginal population became indetectable to white people.

Michael Walker and the informal mission at O'Connell Plains

The O'Connell Plains district had its own informal missionary - William Walker at his farm, Brisbane Grove, at O'Connell Plains. Walker, the first Missionary for the Aborigines and a controversial figure, had left the Wesleyan ministry and retired with his wife, Eliza Hassall to Brisbane Grove in about 1829.[155] He adopted and converted a number of Aboriginal children, including the shepherdess described at the beginning of this chapter. He also worked to evangelise the Aborigines of the district, travelling in a covered ox-cart with two Aboriginal

[150] Reverend Carl Strehlow of the Hermannsburg mission west of Alice Springs also acknowledged Aboriginal spirituality, in fact made a study of it although he never attended traditional ceremonies. Walter F. Veit, "Strehlow, Carl Friedrich Theodore, (1871- 1922)", *ADB* online, accessed 1 December 2014.

[151] W. H. Edwards, "Duguid, Charles (1884–1986)", *ADB*, online, accessed 25 September 2014. The vernacular language was also to be used, and responsibility passed to the local people as soon as possible.

[152] James, *Kinship with Country,* 2,38.

[153] A. Capell, "Christians Missions and Australian Aboriginal Religious Practice", 176,188.

[154] Peter Kabaila, *Wiradjuri Places: The Macquarie River Basin*, (Jamison Centre, ACT: Black Mountain Projects, 1998), 18.

[155] Claughton, "Walker, William (1800–1855)", *ADB,* accessed online 25 September 2014; Roberts and Carey, "Beong! Beong!" Unfortunately William Walker, the European who showed the greatest interest in local Aborigines, instructed his papers to be destroyed at his death.

interpreters seeking out Aboriginal families.[156] Mary-Ann Parker, an Aboriginal woman who had lived in the O'Connell area, recalled that he "used to go round and get us to go to Church once a month".[157] His gift of Christianity, at least to her, was a comfort as she was dying.[158] His attitude to Aboriginal practices, however, is evident in the response of his adopted son Michael Walker, at his baptism at the age of 23. He thanked God for "delivering him out of the degradation, guilt, and pollution, in which he before was found".[159] Walker's adopted children, separated from their people and culture, were missionary successes, but in spite of having to sacrifice a sense of Aboriginal worth, they were denied full access to European institutions.

Michael Walker was profoundly moved by the Christian God, with a spirit of devotion observed among many Aboriginal Christians. "The natives felt a reality, behind all material existence," explained ethnologist and clergyman Arthur Capell.[160] It seems their Christianity was nourished by their magic consciousness experience of immanent spirit. Walker's prayers, expressing profound Christian devotion, were credited with conversions of a number of Europeans, including six at Bullock Flat (later called Oberon) in the 1840s.[161] Michael Walker, or "Black Mick," was the precentor for Reverend Samuel Wilkinson in the inaugural years of Wesleyan Methodism at that settlement (later Oberon).[162] He was the first Methodist preacher at Peppers Creek (Rockley), where he conducted prayer meetings.[163] It may have been he who converted Kitty Dixon, or "Black Kitty," who was reported in 1883 as "a Wesleyan and a regular attendant at chapel".[164] He also led inspiring prayers at Bowenfels (Lithgow) and Macquarie Plains (near O'Connell).[165] It is likely that a white man with Walker's gift of inspiration would have been ordained, especially in the Methodist church in which ordination

[156] pers. comm. from O'Connell amateur historian Peg Savage to Merryll Hope. Merryll Hope, *Hassalls and Marsdens of Early Bathurst and O'Connell* (Bathurst: self-published, 2010), 50.
[157] anon. "'Poor Mary Ann', or the Old Log Hut", Bathurst and District Historical Society, D127, 7. She does not name Walker but it was almost certainly he.
[158] Ibid., 17-18.
[159] A Correspondent, "Wesleyans at Bathurst", *The Sydney Morning* Herald, 20 October 1843, 3. Walker was also horrified by Aboriginal nakedness. (William Walker to Rev. William Watson, 26 November 1821, ML BT Box 52, 1040-02).
[160] Capell, "Christians Missions and Australian Aboriginal Religious Practice", 176.
[161] R. K., "Black Mick: To the Editor", *The Methodist*, 14 October 1893, 8; Rev. S. Wilkinson, "Methodist History", *The Methodist,* 28 October 1893, 9; William Hughes, "Fragments of Methodist History", *The Methodist*, 23 September 1893, 8.
[162] Rev. S. Wilkinson, "Methodist History", *The Methodist,* 28 October 1893, 9.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Report to the Protector of Aborigines, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, Joint Parliamentary Papers, 1883, 24-25.
[165] Ibid.

was not a rigorous process.[166] Instead he became a stockkeeper.[167] Homi Bhaba argues success in the world of the coloniser is experienced as subversive, undermining the logic of white superiority of the colonial project.[168] The response to the mimic is rearticulated to ensure his or her "strategic failure," an articulation that "though known must be kept concealed".[169]

Though brought up with the security of William Walker owning Brisbane Grove (a 2,000 acre grant from Governor Brisbane), none of Walker's adopted children was mentioned in his will.[170] This informal mission did not result in rights to the land unlike the Wellington mission. These adoptees' lives highlight the unconscious racism of even relatively liberal-minded colonists. (They also reflect the nineteenth century status of adoptive children – these Aboriginal, and perhaps other, adopted children were brought up to be "useful servant[s]" in return for being 'rescued').[171] Like his sister Michael Walker married an Aborigine. [172] No matter how much Aboriginal people demonstrated their facility in white skills and institutions, they were denied admission to positions, and significantly, land ownership. Although he may have had no expectation or even desire of ordination, marriage to a white woman, or property ownership, Michael Walker had lost his heritage and been given only partial entry into white society. Similar exclusions have been found for educated Aborigines at the Moravian missions of Ramahyuck and Ebenezer in Victoria.[173]

Michael Walker battled alcoholism (as had William Walker), which suggests some internal conflict.[174] His tracking skill in recovering stores stolen from the store of William Walker's brother, James, however, suggests he was engaged in the one area of his life where he could employ his Aboriginal heritage. He tracked three horses for sixteen miles, identified where the horses had been unloaded and found the stolen goods. [175] In many ways he was a remarkable

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[166] K. J. Cable, "Protestant Problems in New South Wales in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Religious History*, 3:2, 119-136, 125-26.
[167] *Bell's Life in Sydney and Sporting Reviewer,* "Local News,: 30 April, 1859, 3.
[168] Bhaba, "Of Mimcry and Man", 216-17.
[169] Ibid., 212,215.
[170] SANSW: Supreme Court of NSW; NRS 13661, Series 1 – 1369 William Walker.
[171] Gresser, "Aborigines of the Bathurst District", AIATSIS, 21/2, 31.
[172] R. K., "Black Mick: To the Editor", *The Methodist*, 14 October 1893, 8.
[173] Bessie Cameron in Bain Attwood, *The Making of the Aborigines,* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1989), 38-58; Nathanael Pepper in Robert Kenny, *The Lamb Enters the Dreaming: Nathanael Pepper and the Ruptured World,* (Melbourne; London: Scribe, 2007).
[174] Ibid.; J. Brook and J. L. Kohen, *The Parramatta Native Institution and the Black Town: A History,* (Kensington, NSW: UNSW Press, 1991), 185.
[175] "Bathurst", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 6 June 1845, 2.

man, and regarded as "a wonder unto many".[176] It is surprising that such a man should have been forgotten in local history, another white institution from which he has been omitted. His existence emerges through a series of reminiscences in *The Methodist.* His example of extreme adaptation is one of many made by Aborigines in this district, mostly with the purpose of maintaining contact with their land. At William Walker's informal mission at O'Connell, Aboriginal orphans gained Christianity and literacy but not the political awareness needed to take on the battle for Aboriginal land in the Oberon district, and they were inculcated with a sense of worthlessness of their own culture.

Conclusion

Maintaining connection with their land has been the central issue for Aborigines in response to dispossession. This chapter has argued that the various adjustments Aborigines in the Oberon district made in the nineteenth century were shaped around this issue. It has found or inferred adaptations including shrinking territorial range and constantly remapping it; dual occupation; commodifying food, sex and ceremony as a means of supporting a version of traditional life; exploiting reserves and cadastral opportunities. The chapter contextualises these adaptations within the wider context of a spiritual adjustment across south-eastern Australia: the emergence of Baiame, a universal creator in human form. This development was a syncretic shift in response to the decimation of clan life, marking a change in relationships with land from locative immanence to a more universal spirituality that combined transcendence and immanence.[177] It demonstrates the dynamism of Aboriginal culture in the wake of devastation.

The new western consciousness redefined land to the exclusion of Aboriginal people. When clan life ceased to be viable in the Oberon district, this chapter has found, Aborigines made further adaptations, still with a view to maintain connection with important sites. They were dispersing and travelling back to particular sites for ceremonies; working for settlers especially as shepherds and horse breakers; cultivating invisibility; marrying Europeans. These adaptations are paralleled across south-eastern Australia. In the Oberon district a few individuals were working at or near important sites and imparting some information about them to local settlers at the end of the nineteenth century.

[176] Rev. S. Wilkinson, "Methodist History", *The Methodist,* 28 October 1893, 9.
[177] Swain, *A Place for Strangers,* 117,122,125-128; Carey and Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna", 823; Stockton, Appendix 1, "Baiame", in *Blue Mountains Dreaming*; Clegg, "Support for a New Sky Hero".

Contrast with the relatively nearby Burragorang and Wellington Valleys exposes the lack of opportunity and institutional support for Aboriginal rights to land in the Oberon district. In Burragorang Aborigines attained education, Christianity, suffrage and land rights through reserves which they farmed, with the help of a Catholic priest. They were thus accessing their mythic and mental consciousnesses in relation to their land. Aborigines in the Oberon district had the informal missionary work of William Walker. His adopted Aboriginal children were well educated, but had no rights to land. One of them, Michael Walker, one of few Aborigines in the district whose name has survived, was remarkable for his inspirational preaching, converting a number of Europeans. In spite of this he was not ordained, and was similarly excluded from the European institutions of land ownership, and, until now, history. Walker and his fellow adoptees clearly activated their mental consciousnesses, but this chapter finds his life exemplifying Homi Bhaba's observation of the colonial paranoia of mimicry.[178]

The Aborigines of the Oberon district did not die out, as the European community believed they had. Some families, like the Maranda family, have traced their family to the Aborigines of the Oberon district. Others are becoming aware of forbears who were Aboriginal, not Greek or German as family mythology maintained. The perception that Aborigines were not in the Oberon district by 1878 was a settler perspective. By that time many of the people who were "there in numbers" had died or been killed, but at the end of the century there were still Aboriginal people 'hidden in plain sight,' caring for their country.

[178] Bhaba, "Of Mimicry and Man".

Chapter 7 Constructing home

Even before the colony had found a way across the Blue Mountains, settling the inland was envisioned as the destiny of its children. Writing from Government House, Parramatta, to his siblings in 1809, Sergeant Charles Whalan, bodyguard to Governor Lachlan Macquarie, reveals this expectation:

> Out here there is true freedom, if not for the body then for the mind and the soul … We were not serfs in England but we were not the best treated in the land nor had all we wished for from life. Here it is different because everyone respects me ... I hope it is because I am an equal man. Goodbye to old England I say for when I offended her laws I became one of God's chosen people for His Chosen Land ...
>
> There is room to breath the good clean air and to move about and there is room for all of England beyond the hills that I can see from here to the West [the Blue Mountains] which no man has yet crossed and who may never do so. These hills and the harshness of our times are the challenge for me and my children and for all the children of the colony tomorrow.[1]

Whalan's dream took on a specific location when Governor Macquarie granted him 500 acres at Emu Valley on Cox's Road.[2] That grant launched his sons, grandsons and their families as pioneer settlers of the Oberon district. In the south of the district the extended Hogan family was establishing itself. The dream of owning an abstract piece of land, which seduced many Britons, is of the commodifying consciousness. How did settlers translate the reality of a foreign block of Aboriginal land into homes - places of belonging, that satisfied their emotional, mythic consciousnesses?

The Protestant Whalans and the Catholic Hogans were born in the colony, children of emancipists. The native born had the advantage as settlers of having childhood visceral and emotional connections with New South Wales. These pioneering permanent settlers augmented their connections by importing family and religion to create a sense of belonging with the Oberon district.[3] Their families and religions were both extrinsic to the place.

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[1] Ron Whalan, *The Thousand Years Journey: The Story of Sergeant Charles Whalan, 1772-1839: Convict-Soldier-Settler,* (Ron Whalan, 1999), 38.
[2] Ibid. It was probably not finalised until 1823.
[3] Whalan, *The Thousand Years Journey*; Thora Hogan, *And All the Proud Shall Be: The Story of the Hogan Family and their Struggle for Survival in the 1800s*, (Crookwell, NSW: self-published, 2007); "Patriot", *Freeman's Journal,* 3 March 1906, 38.

The importing of the familiar is a universal strategy in the process of migrants coming to feel at home in a new land.[4] This chapter examines the settlers' use of family and religion as a form of cultural construction of the Oberon district. These familiar aspects of life gradually intertwine with place, creating a sense of belonging. Joining the Protestant Whalans, two chains of assisted migrants populated the area of Oberon around Bullock Flat, one streaming from northern Ireland, and one flowing from Cornwall.[5] As a transcendent religion Christianity, is not place-based and thus easily relocated.[6] Also easily transplanted were cultural divisions. Irish Catholic assisted immigrants arrived, particularly after the Great Famine (1845-49), and coinciding with the goldrushes. The settlers duly constructed the district into Catholic and Protestant areas. This way of relating to land is extrinsic. The actual landforms were not significant to the settlers' identity, as they are in magic consciousness.

The district's settler families' devotion to their Christian faiths was evident late into twentieth century, challenging Manning Clark's argument that the very land of Australian itself eroded Christian faith.[7] Following Russel Ward, Clark focussed on the growth of secularism in Australia. Graeme Davison responded that the secularism identified by Ward was a characteristic of urban intellectuals rather than rural Australia.[8] This chapter bears out Davison's point. The isolation of such rural communities – O'Connell Plains and Bullock Flat did not even have a postal service until 1855 – largely divorced them from urban movements.[9] Enlightenment humanism did not emerge *from* the land of Australia but was introduced, like Christianity. Religion, as Alan Atkinson observes in *The Europeans*, gave colonists a sense of belonging to God and to a world-wide community, and may have been intensified in response

[4] Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People*, (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973), 105; Gretchen Poiner, "Belonging: The Meaning of Place for Women in the Early Settlement of New South Wales", in *Limits of Location: Creating a Colony*, ed. Gretchen Poiner and Sybil Jack (Sydney: Sydney University Press, c2007), 47-63, 60; John Ferry, *Colonial Armidale*, (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1999) 45-47; Narelle Iliffe, "First Fruits: Baptists in New South Wales c.1830-1856", *Journal of Australian Colonial History* 1, no.2, (1999), 45-79, 53-54; Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia* 2*, Democracy* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2004)*,* 104,106; Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 88.

[5] Ross Beattie, "Ross Beattie's Genealogy Webpage", accessed 11 May 2017, http://rnbt.id.au

[6] Anne O'Brien, "Religion", in *The Cambridge History of Australia* 1, *Indigenous and Colonial Australia,* ed. Alison Bashford and Stuart MacIntyre, (Port Melbourne, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 414-437, 414.

[7] Meredith Lake, "Such Spiritual Acres: Protestantism, Land and the Colonisation of Australia, 1788-1850", (PhD thesis, University of Sydney, 2008), 7,8,12. Mass at the Black Springs Catholic Church is still well attended.

[8] Ibid.; Walter Phillips, "Religion", and Hilary M. Carey, "Religious History", *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, ed. Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre, (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 550-53; Graeme Davison, "Sydney and the Bush: An Urban Context for the Australian Legend", *Australian Historical Studies* 18, no.71 (1978): 191-209, 200.

[9] *Bathurst Free Press*, "Advertising", 3 February 1855, 4.

to the dislocation to a remote district in a foreign hemisphere.[10] It was a powerful means of finding meaning in a new life. The land that was the organising principle for Aboriginal spirituality and family was a backdrop for settler religion and family.

Mark McKenna's claim that settlers' experience of religion was often "inseparable from bricks and mortar" is challenged by the experience of settlers in the Oberon district, where church buildings were certainly not central to settler Christianity.[11] This chapter therefore argues that the main desire for establishing the various Christian churches in this district was spiritual and emotional, stemming from a need for meaning in life not found in the material. This impulse, which nurtures the human capacity to "create community, to make connections, to love," is described by Bell Hooks in her exploration of finding "homeplace" as "the will to meaning".[12] The "will to meaning" operates across consciousness structures, and is expressed in different ways.

Mainstream historians have often focussed on the growth of secularism in Australia but the personal significance of religion in the process of rural settlement in general is beginning to receive the attention it deserves.[13] Alan Atkinson and Glen O'Brien are among those who address religion as spiritual experience in colonial Australia, whereas earlier scholarship on religion has often focussed on power relationships.[14] While family generated local community, religion generated both local and world-wide community, and relationship with the eternal, as we will see in the Oberon district.

With the impulse for establishing Christianity in the area, came the associated sectarian prejudice, a distinctive feature of Australian religion, and potent in Oberon.[15] Denis Byrne's notion of Australia as a segregated landscape along racial lines – Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal

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[10] Atkinson, *The Europeans* 2, (179,289,293. Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans* 1*,* (South Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 188, quotes Philip L. Gregory, "Popular Religion in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land from 1788 to the 1850s", (PhD. thesis, University of New England, 1995).
[11] Mark McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellas' Point: An Australian History of Place,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 98-99.
[12] Bell Hooks, *Belonging: A Culture of Place,* (New York: Rutledge, 2009), 29.
[13] Mainstream histories - Walter Phillips, "Religion", and Hilary M. Carey, "Religious History", *The Oxford Companion to Australian History*, ed. Graeme Davison, John Hirst and Stuart MacIntyre (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1998), 550-53.
[14] Glen O'Brien, "Australian Methodist Religious Experience", Glen O'Brien and Hilary M. Carey ed., *Methodism in Australia: A History*, (Burlington Ashgate: Ashgate Methodist Study Series, 2015); Atkinson, *The Europeans* 2:173-74; Lake, "Such Spiritual Acres", 9-10.
[15] O'Brien, "Religion", in *The Cambridge History of Australia,* 418.

– similarly offers a way to visualise the role of sectarian bigotry on the landscape.[16] Like the importing of family and religion, such divisions in the landscape were cultural constructions, irrelevant to the land itself. For the settlers importing both community and spirituality, the land was the locus, rather than the generator of their home-making.

Currency children – connection with land through birth and family

Birth in the colony conferred the advantage of familiarity with it. New South Wales was the context of the currency children. For the Hogan and the Whalan children, the landforms, the flora and fauna, the sights, smells and sounds, the quality of the air and light, and the weather patterns shaped their experience of the world, forming their template of place. Immigrants were amazed even by the mixture of native and imported animals.[17] The Whalan patriarch, Sergeant Charles, revealed his alienation from the land and its beings in his description of a "jumping kangaroo". "It carries its young cub in a pocket ... I hardly expect you to believe since I … still have great difficulty accepting what I see".[18] Although Oberon's high inland environment was very different from the Sydney basin, it must have had a fundamental familiarity for the native-born, making their transition there easier than for the immigrants.

The south of the district was settled by a number of Catholic emancipists' families, notably the Hogans, Mahonys and Cosgroves. Hogan family mythology has always maintained that they were the first Europeans in the Oberon district. "They used to boast about giving Blaxland, Wentworth and Lawson a cup of tea when they got 'ere," claims descendant Bert Hogan.[19] While that is not literally true, Patrick Hanrahan, husband of Catherine Hogan, had a very early connection with the district, as a convict builder of Cox's Road in 1814-15.[20] Peter Behan, husband of Margaret Hogan, had been a hutkeeper for Reverend Samuel Marsden in the Bathurst area in the 1820s.[21] Whether they were first or not, the Hogan family was foundational in the area with three sons, three daughters and their widowed mother, settling here. (Philip Hogan, the patriarch, died in 1829, so probably never lived in the Oberon district.)

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[16] Denis Byrne, "Segregated Landscapes", *Historic Environment* 17, no.1 (2003): 13-17.
[17] Atkinson, *The Europeans* 2:11.
[18] Charles Whalan [snr] to Arthur [Whalan], 11 February 1796, in Whalan, *The Thousand Years Journey*, 70-71.
[19] Mick Joffe, *Living Treasures of Oberon,* (Dural, NSW: Landers Publishing, 2001) 19.
[20] G. M. Cashman, *Avoca: The Faith of the Pioneers,* (Black Springs, NSW: The Centenary Committee of The Church of St Vincent de Paul, Black Springs 1988), 7.
[21] Ibid., 105.

They had the confidence to scatter across the south of the district, choosing land from the remote eastern Tuglow area west to the Shaving Holes (near Burraga).[22]

Owning land and practising their religion were political statements as well as personal triumphs for Irish Catholics.[23] Patrick Mahony settled at Porters Retreat, the Cosgrove family at Jerrong and Porters Retreat, and at Brisbane Valley the extended family of Patrick Grady, who had been assigned to O'Connell Plains in the 1820s.[24] This previously spurned area, away from close surveillance by hostile Protestants, offered Irish Catholics the chance for extended families to select small blocks of fertile country, and build up larger holdings as they could afford them. The south of the district was almost exclusively Catholic. As we saw in Chapter 3, those who committed to the district tended to be the people who actually worked the soil.

James Whalan was working at Emu Valley from at least 1831.[25] His father, Charles senior, had run cattle from 1820 on a ticket of occupation, The Meadows - probably the first stock on the Oberon plateau.[26] It seems James explored the district, choosing some of the best country, leasing about 9,000 acres of land in 12 lots in 1836.[27] At the end of that decade he purchased a number of blocks, including his brother Charles junior's 988 acres, Glyndwr, at Bullock Flat (Oberon, see Figure 7.1.).[28] The Whalan brothers and Cunynghame nephews established themselves around today's Oberon and Edith, the extended family providing a ready-made community.

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[22] P. Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire*, (Oberon: Oberon Council, 2003), 25. They had land at Jaunter, Duckmaloi (Edith), Swatchfield district, and later Oberon town.
[23] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia: 1788 to the Present,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, third edition, 2000), 86,111; Hilary M. Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions*, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996, 19; Mike Cronin, *A History of Ireland,* (Houndsmill, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), 81-91.
[24] Brian Johnston, *Cecily Cosgrove, A Bush Pioneer: A History of the Cosgrove Family of Porters Retreat, NSW,* (self-published, Belfield, 1983), especially map p.38; Lucy Price, *Brisbane Valley Battlers,* (Green Point, NSW: self published, n.d.).
[25] James Crane was assigned to James Whalan at Emu Valley in 1831, SANSW, NRS12188 [4/4016].
[26] SANSW: NRS 897 [4/1840A, 213-16] no.1043, 9 January 1820.
[27] *The Sydney Gazette,* "Yearly Leases of Land", 2 February 1836, 4. This included one lot at the confluence of the Fish River (now Duckmaloi) and Fish River Creek
[28] W. Davidson, "Plan of 988 acres at Bullock Flat applied for as purchase by James Whalan", 15 May 1838, DPI, Crown Plan 00434-0691.

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Figure 7-1 W. Davidson, "Tracing Shewing two portions of land applied for by James Whalan," (Charles Whalan's 988 acres, Glyndwr, at Bullock Flat, and James Whalan's lots near Tarana).

Charles junior, the consolidator, united the extremes of the colony's social spectrum. Born at Government House in 1811, the son of two convicts, he was included in many privileges as playmate of the Macquaries' son, Lachlan, including education with the tutor.[29] Elizabeth Macquarie, at least, had high expectations of "our friend and companion, Charley, who I hope and expect will not only be a clever but a good man".[30] Charles with his wife Elizabeth (Harper) came to the district not just to start a farm, but to build a community. He built the first flour mill - establishing Glyndwr as a community hub - and the first chapel. He also agitated for the first post office, for the village of Oberon to be reserved and surveyed, for the first government school, for a police station and for a surveyed road to Bathurst.[31] He was the first magistrate, started the first informal school, and donated land for the Methodist church. Combining his foundation of a community with his conversion to Methodism, he lived out some of the enlightenment ideals of Lachlan and Elizabeth Macquarie, and his father's biblically-framed dream.[32] For Charles the Oberon district seems to have been a blank slate on which he fashioned the institutions of an enlightenment community.

Close contact with Aborigines must have had an influence on settlers' relationships with land, at the least a subtle and unconscious one of attunement to place. In *The Native Born* John Molony has proposed that the currency children had more humane relationships with Aborigines than the convicts and free immigrants.[33] On the scant evidence available for the Oberon district, James Whalan and John Hogan are two of very few people recorded as having any dealings with Aborigines. Whalan's use of Aboriginal names, unusual in the district, suggests a level of engagement with Aboriginal people. He was the first European to use the name "Duckmaloi" for the river previously referred to by surveyor William Govett as the Fish

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[29] R. Caldwell, "In Memorium", in *The Late Charles Whalan of Oberon; being reprints of article from the "Bathurst Free Press" and the "Weekly Advocate" (Sydney),* (Bathurst: G. Whalan, 1887), 9-12, 9.
[30] Elizabeth Macquarie to Sergeant Charles Whalan, 18 August 1823, in Whalan, *The Thousand Years Journey,* 50-51.
[31] Alan Atkinson, *Camden,* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1988), 31-32; Our Own Correspondent, "Fish River Creek", *Empire*, 21 September 1855, 5; *The Colonist*, "Advertising", 8 September 1836, 8. This spared the little local population the twelve mile trip to O'Connell Plains.*The Late Charles Whalan of Oberon being Reprints of Articles from the "Bathurst Free Press" and the "Weekly Advocate" (Sydney) etc, etc.* (Bathurst: G. Whalan, 1887); Our Own Correspondent, "Fish River Creek", *Empire*, 21 September 1855, 5; *Bathurst Free Press,* 11 December 1858, 3; Our Own Correspondent, "Fish River Creek", *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 5 October 1859, 2; Our Own Correspondent, "Fish River Creek *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 8 February 1862, 2; "Bathurst Quarter Sessions", *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 15 December 1857, 8; "News from the Interior", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 25 April 1853, 2.
[32] Grace Karskens, "The Early Colonial Presence", *The Cambridge History of Australia*, 91-120, 115-117.
[33] John Molony, *The Native Born: The First White Australians*, (Sth Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2000), 4.

River.[34] The Hogans later had Aboriginal man John Watson, living with them, breaking in horses.[35] In addition the Hogans, who signed their names with a cross, may, as Atkinson has suggested in more general terms, have experienced the land more aurally, closer to Aboriginal experience than literate settlers. Perhaps they found a version of magic consciousness meaning in the sounds of birds and animals, and even immanence in the land.[36] The land however also remained commodity to them. Both the Hogans and the Whalans made the district their home at least partly by importing family and religion.

Immigrants - the Cornish chain

Settling in was a different matter for the later immigrants who joined the native born in the Oberon district. Charles Whalan developed his land at Bullock Flat by leasing some to six tenant farmer families.[37] The village of Bullock Flat developed largely through two chains of immigrants. The Cornish chain began in 1823 in the Tarana district with the arrival of the Lanes and the Toms - two married brothers and sisters from the Blisdale/Bodmin Moor district of Cornwall, early arrivals in 1823 (see Chapter 3). Although they abandoned the district, their arrival initiated a substantial Cornish community in the Oberon area. Numerous factors militated against the Lanes and Toms becoming attached to their land in the district. William Lane apparently never bonded with his "poor and Barren" grant, Tarannah, on the north side of the Fish River.[38] The Toms' beginning was even less auspicious. On their 500 acre grant Blenheim, beside Sidmouth Valley they built a "little mansion," but soon after they moved in it burnt to the ground.[39] The family with six children had to move into a "small hut" on the Lanes' Tarannah. Their woes continued, losing 140 of 270 sheep, two heifers in calf and four working bullocks.[40] Having purchased cattle before the house fire Tom was forced to sell his farm to meet the payments.[41] While living in the Sidmouth Valley district, their unvaccinated

[34] Application of James Whalan of Emu Valley to purchase land, 8 December 1836, SANSW2/8004, no. 618. He identified 640 acres at Gingkin with "the native name of Behum" in 1841. Compare with W. R. Govett, Dividing Range", Item 2515, NRS 13889, Surveyor General Maps C.2.752.
[35] Hogan, *And All the Proud Shall Be,* 77. Watson was born on the Darling Downs.
[36] R. v. Henry Hogan, transcript, Case 17, Bathurst, 31 March 1845, copy held by author; Atkinson, *The Europeans* 2:13; Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia* 1:174, 2:13.
[37] This strategy used by John Grant at Lowther Park nearby, and far more extensively by the Macarthurs at Camden W. McDonald to Jim Barrett, 8 March 1996, copy held by author; Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, 2:104.
[38] William Lane, SANSW, NRS 897 [4/1838A, 279-282], No. 554, 24 July 1824.
[39] William Tom, NRS 907 [2/7990,] 4 February 1828 ; The grant was given in 1825.
[40] William Tom, Memorial SANSW, NRS 907 [2/7990] November 1829.
[41] Ibid.

younger children had contracted smallpox, perhaps from contact with Aborigines.[42] (This epidemic affected many Aborigines but few Europeans.) Relations between the two families became strained, and their paths diverged when both moved further west.[43]

It is likely that the Lanes and the Toms had an impact on Richard and Mary Mutton's decision to move to the area. The Muttons were also from Bodmin/Altarnun, arriving at Sidmouth Valley in 1827, where Mutton was employed by Robert Lowe.[44] He bought land nearby at the eponymous Mutton Falls from William Tom, and, in 1837, acquired 1000 acres near Charles Whalan's Glyndwr, which he called Wattle Grove (see Figure 7.2).[45] This was to be a destination for Cornish immigration on the Oberon plateau.[46]

An 1829 letter from Catherine Lane to her nephew John Barrett in Cornwall, reveals her campaign for finding belonging in her new home. In it, Catherine expresses her longing "to see you [John] come to N.S. Wales to have some conversation with you". [47] She plans to meet with an acquaintance soon to talk about "our country people at home". They can give John a job as overseer of their pastoral interests, he will not have to work too hard. The "fine healthy climate" will suit him better. His brother and uncle should come out too. They have a comfortable home of five rooms, four with boarded floors, and are "getting everything about us comfortable, and plenty of this world's goods. … The Lord seems to prosper everything we put our hand to". They are very blessed, and "this is the country for people to get something for their children".[48] This archetypal immigrant letter reveals that for Catherine the land was a commodity – it provided profit but not the sense of belonging, which she hoped to achieve by surrounding herself with her Cornish family.

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[42] *The Bathurst Post,* "The Late Mr William Tom", 15 October 1883, 1; Judy Campbell, *Invisible Invaders: Smallpox and Other Disease in Aboriginal Australia, 1780-1880*, (Carlton Sth, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 140. Campbell mistakenly locates Sidmouth Valley near Orange, where the Toms shortly after moved.

[43] Selwyn Hawken, *A Hawken History: From St Tudy, Cornwall to the Fish River, New South Wales,* (Dubbo: Development and Advisory Publications for Selwyn Hawken, 1988), 18.

[44] Elizabeth Pearl Webb, unpublished manuscript, copy held by author, 1975, 1; Hawken, *A Hawken History,* 12,13,19,21,23,27. Ann Webb, see Chapter 3, was his sister.

[45] Elizabeth Webb, unpublished manuscript, 1; Hawken, *A Hawken History,* 12,13,19,21,23,27; *The Bathurst Post* "The Late Mr William Tom", 15 October 1883, 1.

[46] Richard and Mary Mutton lived in Bathurst. Wattle Grove was run by their son Thomas, later on "the halves" with Edmund and Margerie Harvey, whose mother's maiden name was Mutton.

[47] Hawken, *A Hawken History,* 206-207.

[48] Ibid.

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Figure 7-2 W. Davidson, "Tracing Shewing the position of a portion of land applied for by W'm Mutton," Oberon was built between these purchases. SANSW 2/5093, NRS 13889, Item 479, Fieldbook 1838-41

Catherine's pleas for them to come out to join her at Tarannah were eventually fulfilled, but not until 1838, by which time she had moved near Bathurst, and found community in Methodism. John Barrett and extended family, all from Altarnun, emigrated in 1838 as assisted immigrants.[49] The Lanes still owned Tarannah where John was initially employed. The Barretts, Hawkens, Bryants and Dales, all related, continued the chain of migration, forming a Cornish community near Tarana.[50]

The nature of the land itself played little role in the location of settlement of these Cornish migrants. It seems the northern Irish chain came to the Oberon district due to an even slighter link - a chance shipboard association with Cornish migrants. The *Argyle* sailed into Sydney harbour in 1839 carrying five of the founding settler families of the Oberon plateau.[51] Two were related Cornish families: the Sloggetts and Mudges, followed a month later by the Wilcoxes, all from Altarnun/Bodmin.[52] Also on board the *Argyle* were three northern Irish Protestant families from the Tyrone-Fermanagh district, the Flemings, Armstrongs and Grahams, first links in a chain of migration to the Fish River district lasting several decades.[53] The two groups of families from the *Argyle* came to work on two newly purchased blocks which lay just a few kilometres apart, either side of the site of the future Oberon (Figure 7.2). The Cornish Wilcoxes and Joseph Sloggett worked at Richard Mutton's Wattle Grove, now on the north-western edge of the town.[54] The northern Irish became tenant farmers for Charles Whalan, and were followed by Baileys, Wilsons, Briens, Edgars, Eatons, Fawcetts and Beatties. The Cornish and northern Irish Protestants formed the nexus of the community that became the village of Oberon.[55]

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[49] Ibid., 19. His sister Catherine Hawken came with him.
[50] Hawken, *A Hawken History.*
[51] John and Susan Fleming, née Brien; William and Mary Ann Armstrong, née Wilson; and Alexander Graham and Alice, née Wilson, and various children. . "Assisted Immigrant (Digital) Shipping Lists", *Argyle,* arrived 1 April 1839, SANSW 4/4784. http://srwww.records.nsw.gov.au/ebook/list.asp?series=NRS5316&item=4_4784&ship=Argyle, accessed 2 May 2017.
[52] Brothers Thomas and Joseph Sloggett with their niece, Jane, and James Hawken Mudge and wife Margaret. "Assisted Immigrant Shipping Lists", *Argyle,* 1 April 1839.
[53] Hilary Rodwell, unpublished notes held in the Alan Brown archive, Oberon Library; *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "News from the Interior", 25 April 1853, 2; Beattie, "Ross Beattie's Genealogy Webpage", accessed 11 May 2017, http://rnbt.id.au.
[54] Richard Mutton arrived in New South Wales in 1827 and worked initially for Robert Lowe at Sidmouth Valley. Joseph Sloggett was a wheelwright, *The Sydney Morning Herald*, "In the Supreme Court of New South Wales", 6 March 1844, 3.
[55] Armstrong, Graham, Wilson, Bryan (Brien), Campion, Maloney according to notes of Hilary Rodwell in the Alan Brown archive, Oberon Library; also Luxton (Joseph Luxton, "Early Days in the Oberon District", unpub. Ms., copy held by author); *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "News from the Interior: O'Connell Plains and Fish River", 25 April 1853, 2; Beattie, "Ross Beattie's Genealogy Webpage", accessed 11 May 2017,

It seems reasonable to speculate that the Cornish settlers, who probably had a prior connection with the Muttons, recruited the northern Irish on the ship, perhaps by prearrangement between neighbours Thomas Mutton and Charles Whalan. Such a circumstance would reflect the lottery that was migration, as well as minimal significance that the land itself played in determining their destinations.

Christianity and the Oberon district

Religion was a feature of the lives of many settlers in the Oberon district, helping them to find meaning in their new locale. The arrival of permanent settlers from late 1830s coincided with a period of religious growth in the colony with government funding for the main Christian churches, as well as the beginning of assisted migration.[56] The building of a church, while not necessarily the most significant aspect of religion in settlement, was a statement of the congregation's commitment and identity and a focal point. It was a locus for settlers' spiritual experience, and provided connection with the place itself. The high priority of religious infrastructure and community in rural Australia is reflected in the proliferation of little church buildings in Oberon, and many other country towns and villages, many built on considerable sacrifice. Mark McKenna has argued that many settlers "could find no home and no sense of belonging … without the theatrical props of civilisation," the churches, schools, courthouses and homes.[57] This secular view of churches seems largely inapplicable in the Oberon district. Rather than being a "theatrical prop," church building emerges as the material expression of spiritual experience. The faith was kept alive in private houses through the saying of the rosary, or bible reading and prayer, for many years before churches were built in the district.

Religion gave meaning to the lives of individuals, like Catherine Lane from Cornwall, who found material success not ultimately satisfying. The physical enormity of the journey to New South Wales may have recast some people's relationships with God as a link between their old and new lives.[58] In Britain, Atkinson suggests, it may have been easier to regard God as emplaced, embedded in churches and other sacred places, but the massive dislocation of emigration may

[56] Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia* 2, 192-3; Hilary M. Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions,* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 8.
[57] McKenna, *Looking for Blackfellows' Point,* 99.
[58] Philip L. Gregory, "Popular Religion in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land from 1788 to the 1850s", (PhD. thesis, University of New England, 1995); Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans* 1*,* 188.

have given the notion of a universal, ubiquitous God sudden relevance to some.[59] Migration to the colonies was an unprecedented act of self-determination. As well as a link with the past, relationship with God may have had a new significance in coping with the burden and liberation that migration created. Additionally the Bible provided a conceptual framework for settlers, especially Protestants, to understand their move – perhaps as regaining paradise, or, like Charles Whalan senior, as the Promised Land of Canaan.[60]

A momentous event for both the Lane and Tom families, and the Central West in general, occurred in 1832 when the dynamic Methodist preacher, Reverend Joseph Orton, made the first of three visits to the district. Cornwall had a strong revivalist tradition, so perhaps for the Lanes and Toms this was an echo of home.[61] William Lane commemorated its significance by naming his newly acquired land near Bathurst "Orton Park," and planning to build a chapel there.[62] The Lanes in Bathurst and the Toms at Byng (near Orange) became instrumental in the flourishing Methodist communities in both places.[63] Religion created a sense of belonging through community as well as spiritual succour.

Methodism would become a powerful force in the Oberon district. Methodist minister of the Bathurst Circuit, Reverend Samuel Wilkinson, and his Aboriginal assistant, Michael Walker (see Chapter 6), preached at Thomas Mutton's Wattle Grove and then at Bullock Flat, the tiny settlement of Charles Whalan and his tenants in 1843.[64] At the prayer meeting following the Bullock Flat service, Michael Walker's "earnest believing prayers" for the people's salvation and "humble, modest, … persuasive manner" inspired six to seek salvation.[65] Whalan, whose wife had long begged and prayed for his conversion, had recently attended a revival meeting in Bathurst.[66] He embraced his conversion with fervour, became class leader, and later a lay

[59] Ibid., 184.
[60] Lake, "Such Spiritual Acres", for example page 23. Catholics were discouraged from reading the Bible until the 1960s - Robert Dixon, *The Catholics in Australia*, (Canberra, Bureau of Immigration, Mulitculturalism and Population Research, Commonwealth of Australia: 1996), 8; Judith Wright, *Preoccupations in Australian Poetry*, (Melbourne, OUP, 1965), xi.
[61] Anne O'Brien, "Religion", in *The Cambridge History of Australia* 1, 424.
[62] Trish Orton, "Reverend Joseph Orton: The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Known as "The John Wesley of Australia", *Understanding Our Christian Heritage* 2: ch. 15, (2003) online, accessed 7 August 2016. http://www.chr.org.au/books/understanding-our-christian-heritage-volume-two/page16.html.
[63] Rev. R. H. Doust, Oberon Methodism: Its Diamond Jubilee", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 18 November 1933, 6.
[64] Joseph Booth, "Mr Booth's Address", in *Being Reprints of Articles from the "Bathurst Free Press" and the "Weekly Advocate" (Sydney),* (Bathurst: G. Whalan, 1887), 13-16, 13.
[65] Rev. S. Wilkinson, "Methodist History", *The Methodist,* 28 October 1893, 9; Booth, "Mr Booth's Address", 14.
[66] Rev. M. Maddern, "Old Time Local Preachers", *The Methodist,* 8 July 1911, 8.

preacher and passionate evangelist, often moved to tears by God's grace.[67] He prayed "night and day" and infused his life with Christianity.[68] By 1853, fifty-five of the district's 150 residents were Methodists.[69] This proportion is striking against the 1856 average for New South Wales of 5.6 percent.[70] Methodism flourished in rural areas, especially among "smaller farmers," but even among those communities Bullock Flat was exceptionally Methodist.[71] Whalan had built a small sodwalled chapel which doubled as a school on part of Glyndwr inabout 1846, providing a religious focal point for the community.[72]

Methodism was uniquely well adapted to the colonial situation with its simple doctrines, direct emotional appeal and flexible structure, based on "classes" and circuits rather than parishes and on the extensive use of lay preachers.[73] A missionary church, its preaching was often done in fields, homes and workplaces.[74] In the Hartley district, Reverend Wilkinson and Michael Walker preached at a road intersection, in the parlour of an inn and even at a Catholic school.[75] Unlike the older Christian churches, Methodism did not invest unique sacredness in church buildings or even in the sacrament of Communion.[76] Sacredness was in the community of worshippers.[77] This immaterial approach was particularly well suited to colonial conditions with their dearth of infrastructure.

Evangelical Protestantism focussed on individual relationships with God, particularly a direct personal connection with Jesus Christ.[78] Methodism, an evangelical offshoot of Anglicanism, conceived a four-step personal process of repentance, faith, assurance – or "witness of the

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[67] Whalan, ed., *The Late Charles Whalan of Oberon.*
[68] Rev. R Caldwell, "Early Methodist Local Preachers of N.S.W"., *The Methodist,* 13 August 1910, 3;. Maddern, "Old Time Local Preachers".
[69] *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "News from the Interior", 25 April 1853, 2.
[70] Glen O'Brien, "Methodism in the Australian Colonies", in *Methodism in Australia,* 15-27, 30.
[71] Ibid., 33.
[72] Alan Brown, "Brief Notes Relating to the Methodist Cemetery at Oberon", ([Oberon]: Oberon and District Historical Society, 1974), unpaginated.
[73] K. J. Cable, "Protestant Problems in New South Wales in the Mid-Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Religious History* 3, no.2 (1964): 119-136, 125-26; Atkinson, *The Europeans* 2: 175-76.
[74] D. I. Wright, *The Methodists: A History of Methodism in New South Wales,* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1993), xvii.
[75] Wilkinson, "Methodist History", 28 October 1893, 9.
[76] Marc Askew, "Praying, Paying and Obeying", in V. Burgmann and J. Lee (eds), *Constructing a Culture: A People's History of Australia since 1788,* (Fitzroy, Victoria: McPhee Gribble/Penguin Books, 1988): 170-189, 175; This was previously espoused by John Calvin - Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 90.
[77] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 90.
[78] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity: The First 3000 Years*, (New York, Viking, Penguin Group, 2009), 747,751.

Spirit"- and holiness.[79] A repentant Charles Whalan attending a revival meeting in Bathurst was disappointed not to find Christ there.[80] Dismounting frequently on his return journey to pray for pardon and peace, he experienced the New Birth sought by Evangelicals, his soul filled with love for God and all humanity, at Saltwater Creek (between O'Connell Plains and Bathurst).[81] Whalan did not accord Saltwater Creek with any inherent spiritual significance.[82] The land was a mere backdrop to the sacred and transcended, especially for Protestants, by "the world hereafter". [83]

The congregations of churches at O'Connell Plains and Rockley included Aborigines, for some of whom land remained sacred.[84] Kitty Dixon, described as "the last of the old Caloola tribe," was a devout Methodist, member of the Rockley congregation, perhaps one of the converts of her countryman, Michael Walker.[85] The Aboriginal presence in the district, although largely overlooked, was sometimes recognised in association with Methodism. The quality of faith they brought to Christianity seems to have had an inspiring effect on Methodist settlers.

Like the Methodist church, the Catholic Church adapted quite early to colonial conditions. As a sacramental religion, priests are the link between God and the individual, so unlike the Methodist church, people were dependent on the presence of the priest.[86] The first Provincial Council in 1844 recognised the itinerant missionary role of its priests and, to allow the ready availability of communion, required travelling priests always to carry the sacrament, their vestments and hear confession.[87] Christ was present in the blessed bread and wine no matter where Mass was held.[88] The miracle of transubstantiation, in which matter was imbued with

[79] Glen O'Brien, "Australian Methodist Religious Experience", in *Methodism in Australia,* 167-179, 168.
[80] Old Traveller, "Our Contributors: My Second Circuit", *The Methodist*, 22 January 1910, 8.
[81] Lake, "Such Spiritual Acres", 33;. Maddern, "Old-time Preachers, 111: Charles Whalan", *The Methodist,* 8 July 1911, 8; R. Caldwell, "In Memoriam", in *The Late Charles Whalan of Oberon*, 10.
[82] Saltwater Creek was mentioned only by Joseph Booth. Although there are frequent other references to Charles Whalan's conversion experience, no others mention the location. (Maddern, "Old-time Preachers",
[83] Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 525-526; Askew, "Praying, Paying and Obeying",188.
[84] Mehodist William Walker 'rounded up' Aborigines in the O'Connell area for a monthly church service, see Chapter 6.
[85] *Bathurst Free Press,* "Rockley", 28 October 1886; Report of the Aborigines' Protection Board, 1883, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, 24-25. Michael Walker started prayer meetings at Rockley before a minister serviced it.
[86] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia,* (West Melbourne: Vic.: Thomas Nelson (Australia), 1977), 63.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Dixon, *The Catholics in Australia*, 14,108.

spirit, was an aspect of magic consciousness surviving in western culture. Otherwise Christianity operated largely at a mythic, emotional level and an intellectual one.[89]

Catholics of the southern Oberon district practised their faith devoutly for half a century without church buildings. Mass was said at stations (mostly private houses) with worshippers travelling for miles, having fasted from midnight. A three day mission in a tent was held at Black Springs in 1885, a decade before churches were built in the area. "A good primitive people … all strong in the faith though by no means well-informed," Bishop Joseph Byrne observed.[90] He confirmed 101 people at that mission and Porter Retreat, the station of Patrick Mahony (another emancipist settler).[91] In the 1890s little galvanized iron Catholic churches were built at Porter's Retreat, Brisbane Valley, Shooter's Hill, Isabella, a hall at Wiseman's Creek, and a stone church, Avoca, at Black Springs.[92] Of her childhood days in the area at the turn of the century, Sister Dominica, a Josephite nun born Esma Stapleton, recalled, "We had Mass at our own church [Isabella] every three months. Think of it! … only four communions a year".[93] Her family augmented these by travelling to Mass elsewhere. Decades without a church building had not diminished their faith.

In the early twentieth century the little Isabella church produced ten nuns. "They were Rosary homes," Sister Dominica explained. Echoing Bishop Byrne's observations, a correspondent of *Freeman's Journal* who attended seven Catholic services in three days in the district in 1929 was struck by "the simple faith and devotion" in the little churches, which explained why "the parishes of the bush are so well represented in the convents and monasteries".[94] There was little sign of secularism in the Oberon district by 1900. Religion had helped the settlers find meaning living in the district, and had flourished. Their new sacred places of transcendent spirituality dotted the cultural landscape.

The Catholic Church did pay some attention to the landforms in the siting of churches, preferring elevated sites. Bishop Byrne rejected the site originally selected by the priest at

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[89] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* translated by Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas. (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985), 89-92,230-31; Georg Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness: The Genius of Jean Gebser,* (Santa Rosa, CA.: Integral Publishing, 2002).
[90] Bishop Joseph Byrne, diary reproduced in G. M. Cashman, *Avoca: the Faith of the Pioneers,* (Black Springs, NSW: The Church of St Vincent de Paul, 1988)*,* 86.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Cashman, *Avoca: the Faith of the Pioneers,* 52,56-57.
[93] Sister M. Dominica, memoir, 1969, unpublished manuscript, copy held by author.
[94] T. F. H., "A Mountain Parish", *Freeman's Journal*, 14 November 1929, 22.

Black Springs for a church as being "too low," and chose another on a hill, during the mission in a tent.[95] The requirement of church elevation was probably for prominence and closeness to God, rather than the inherent nature of a particular hill. The only Protestant church in the southern half of Oberon shire - St Aidan's Church of England, Black Springs – somewhat emblematically occupies the lower site, Kangaroo Flat, rejected by the Catholics. [96]

The Anglicans were later and more traditional than the pioneering Methodists and Catholics in addressing the needs of their members in the Fish River Creek and Abercrombie River district. The Church made a concentrated effort to build churches in villages around Bathurst after the 1864 tour of Bishop Barker, Bishop of Sydney. In the Oberon district, he found an urgency to address the "moral disease" in which "cattle stealing is not a crime, but an occupation in which skill and success cover all offences".[97] O'Connell Plains' St Thomas' church was finished in 1867, and the community urged by the Reverend William Lisle of Bathurst to give a tenth of their earnings as it was "a disgrace to any community to have a debt continue on a church".[98] Churches cannot be consecrated while a debt remains on them. St Barnabas in Oberon and St Peters in Rockley were finished in 1868, St Barnabas, the first formal church in the village, costing £400.[99] Oberon was a tiny community, only 30 in the town itself in 1866 and many in the district not Anglican, which indicates the effort Anglicans made raising money for the church building.

From 1856, when civil registration of births, deaths and marriages was introduced, local denominational cemeteries were created. Prior to that, the dead had to be transported to Hartley or Bathurst for burial. Ann Webb gave land and building materials for St Peter's Anglican Church at Mutton Falls in the 1880s, on condition it be used for all denominations.[100] Clearly denominational sectarianism, though a notable feature of Australian religion, was not invariable. The proliferation of tiny churches and cemeteries provided the physical foci for the district's religious expression. The location of consecrated places was often determined by a

[95] Ibid.
[96] Here I refer to the original shire boundary. Now that Burraga is included in Oberon shire there is another, tiny (defunct) Anglican church, as well as the grand, if dilapidated, brick Catholic church of St Dympna's, Burraga.
[97] [Bishop Frederic Barker], "Church of England – Address by the Bishop of Sydney", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 7 December 1864, 8; anon., "A History of Oberon Parish", Alan Brown archive, Oberon Library.
[98] Denis J. Chamberlain, "Church Builders of Mid State", 1999. Unpublished manuscript, copy held by author. St Thomas' replaced the Salem Chapel Reverend Thomas Hassall had erected in 1833).
[99] Archdeacon Oakes, "The Jubilee of the Diocese of Bathurst, 1870-1920", *The Bathurst Times,* 13 April 1920, 1.
[100] Philippa Gemmell-Smith, "A History of the Churches of Oberon", *Oberon Review*, 16 September 2004, 26-27.

parishioner donating land to the church. Places were made sacred by, or through, an initiated individual, rather than a recognition of their inherent nature.

The clergy both professional and lay were influential in defining the relationship of the people with the land. Methodist lay preachers brought an individuality and, being farmers, an association with farming to their services. Thomas Starr from Essex dressed to preach in his traditional yeoman's smock frock.[101] Charles Luxton, another lay preacher, noticing some straying cattle as he prayed, incorporated a parenthetical order to his son, "John, turn them cows out of the cabbages," mid-prayer.[102] The Catholic priests were almost invariably imported from Ireland until the 1930s, and continually renewed the identity of the Church with that country, delaying the emergence of a local identity.[103] Bishop Byrne changed the name Kangaroo Flat to the Irish title, Avoca, before relocating the church site.[104] Avoca Church of St Vincent de Paul, the stone church built on a hill near the village of Black Springs, retained its Irish name until about 1973 when it officially became the "Black Springs Church," still under the patronage of St Vincent de Paul.[105] Such local authority figures affected the experience of settler Christianity in the land in many ways, conscious and unconscious. Finding expression of their faith in the new location was an essential element of the cultural construction of the district as home. It provided meaning to their lives in the new land, though not necessarily with the land, which seems to have been a backdrop.

Sectarianism

The bitter hostility between Catholics and Protestants in Britain (especially in Ireland) emigrated with them, imposing boundaries in New South Wales. This created a segregated landscape, a cultural construction of the district, with Oberon town and the south-east as Protestant and the Black Springs and Irish Corner districts as Catholic. Like the Aboriginal-European segregation identified by Denis Byrne, Irish Catholic-Protestant segregation was not official policy.[106] The mechanism of religious segregation was to some extent initiated by both sides, although as we will see the early influence of powerful Protestants was decisive in relocating Catholics.

[101] Maddern, "Some of My Circuit Reminiscences", *The Methodist*, 27 September 1924, 3.
[102] Ibid.
[103] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia,* 47,185,187,354.
[104] Bishop Joseph Byrne, diary entry, 25 October 1885, in Cashman, *Avoca: the Faith of the Pioneers,* 86.
[105] Cashman, *Avoca: the Faith of the Pioneers,* 2.
[106] Byrne, "Segregated Landscapes", 13.

There is some irony that the Irish Protestants and the Irish Catholics, with such an intensely hostile history, had travelled half way around the world to be neighbours. Ownership of land, like the practising of their religion, had for Catholics a layer of significance not so applicable to Protestants, who were aligned with the status quo.[107] In Ireland, a colony of England, land and religion had been punitively yoked since the Renaissance, with conversion to Protestantism rewarded, especially by opportunities to own land.[108] The eighteenth century was a particularly grim period for Catholics in Ireland. The series of Penal Laws excluded them from education and positions of power, and reduced many to subsistence farming on tiny blocks.[109] By the beginning of that century, Protestants held the best land and Catholics could not gain land from Protestants.[110] From 1759, enclosures of common land for cattle grazing forced numerous Catholic tenant farmers off their land.[111]

The public disdain of Catholics by prominent Protestant colonial officials in New South Wales legitimised such bigotry.[112] Polemical Presbyterian, Reverend Dr J.D. Lang stoked the anti-Catholic fire with a campaign against Irish Catholic immigration from the late 1830s.[113] Catholics, however, accounted for a third of all assisted British emigrants, 100,000 arriving in the 1850s after the beginning of the goldrushes. [114] The extended Stapleton family, Maloneys, Nunans, Dwyers, Gearons and others emigrated to the Oberon district around this time.[115] In religious terms, Catholics saw Protestants as infidels, destroying Christianity.[116] In turn Protestants regarded sacramentalism and church-based ritual as idolatry.[117]

As we saw in Chapter 3, government played a central role in settler land relationships. It seems government socially engineered the south of the Oberon district as a Catholic area, removing Protestants and relocating Catholics to the area. It became a Catholic sanctuary after

[107] Graeme Davison, "Narrating the Nation in Australia", 5.
[108] Mike Cronin, *A History of Ireland*, 54.
[109] Ibid., 81,82.
[110] Ibid., 79,81.
[111] Ibid., 90-91.
[112] For example deputy judge advocate and lieutenant governor, David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* 2, (Sydney: AH & AW Reed, 1975, f.p. 1802) 57 - in comparison to the Irish "the naked savages of the mountains were an enlightened people", and Governor Thomas Brisbane - O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia,* 9.
[113] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia,* 51,56.
[114]Ibid., 51,56,85.
[115] Paddy Grady Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story,* (Sylvania, NSW: self-published, 1987), 76,82; Gail Gearon (compiler), *Irish Corner*, (Duckmaloi, NSW: self-published, 2004), 19,44.
[116] *Freeman's Journal*, "The Wreck of Anglicanism", 26. December 1850, 6-7.
[117] Carey, *Believing in Australia,* 12.

two influential United Irishmen, William Davis and Edmund Redmond, were given grants there in 1825. Davis apparently did not want his grant, Beemarang (also called Swatchfield). He never lived there or even ran it, and did not exercise his right to purchase it until it was put up for sale by somebody else in 1833.[118] He wanted to be granted the Ticket of Occupation that he had developed and been promised near Goulburn.[119] It was in an area that was a Protestant stronghold, which extended from the Goulburn district up to the Abercrombie River. Even a well-respected man such as he, one of the first shareholders in the Bank of New South Wales, and a benefactor of St Mary's Cathedral, was pushed out of the Goulburn district twice, his cattle and stock-keepers were driven off land he had selected in the early 1820s.[120]

William Walker and James Hassall, both Protestants, were just as indignant as Davis about being moved from the Ticket of Occupation that they had developed, Bingha (later Bingham) south-west of Swatchfield.[121] Bingha was granted to the Catholic Redmond, also in 1825.[122] And Davis's Goulburn holding was granted to Protestant James Ryrie.[123] Catholic influence in the south of the Oberon district was extended when Redmond's daughter, Mary, and her husband, Roger Murphy, acquired huge land holdings in the Bingham-Burraga area in the 1830s and 1840s.[124] None of these people lived in the district but their grants defined the social construction of the main Catholic enclave on the Oberon plateau. While apparently driven at government level, such moves were undertaken at the behest of powerful Protestants in the Goulburn/Tarana district. William Macarthur and William Pitt Faithfull conducted a sustained campaign to prevent people, largely Catholics, suspected of cattle stealing from taking up land in the Taralga/Goulburn district. [125] As a result many they had

[118] J. Oxley to William Walker, SANSW NRS 899, 4/1844C, No. 829, 24 June 1825, p.1115; William Stewart, SANSW NRS908 , 2/7965, 29 September 1826; *The Sydney Gazette,* 16 February 1833,3, Sale of "Beemarang or Swashfield or Rushfield". It was probably put up for sale by the Imlay brothers who had been operating it at least in 1832 when Dr George Bennett visited (see Chapter 5).
[119] Wiliam Davis, Memorial, SANSW NRS 899, 4/1837A, No. 265, 19 November 1823, pp.511-14; William and James Ryrie, SANSW NRS 907, 2/7965, 26 September 1826; Thora L. Hogan, *And All The Proud Shall Be : The Story of the Hogan Family and their Struggle for Survival in the 1800s,* (Crookwell, NSW: self published, 2007), 24.
[120] Davis, Memorial, SANSW NRS 899, 4/1837A, No. 265, pp.511-14, 19 November 1823, 26 January 1824; James Ryrie, SANSW NRS 907, 2/7965, 22 March 1827; Hogan, *And All The Proud Shall Be,* 22-25.
[121] William Walker, Memorial, NRS 899, SANSW 4/1844C, No. 829, 12 July 1825,pp.1111-22. See also Chapter 5.
[122] J. Oxley to William Walker, NRS 899, SANSW 4/1844C, No. 829, 24 June 1825, p.1115; Cashman, *Avoca* 5.
[123] Hogan, *And All The Proud Shall Be,* 24.
[124] Cashman, *Avoca,* 5,7,15. Roger Murphy, SANSW NRS907, 2/7935, 9 March 1826, 13 February 1833, 10 February 1836, 18 February 1836, 5 February 1837, 20 July 1839, 22 July 1837.
[125] Brian Johnston, *Cecily Cosgrove, A Bush Pioneer: A History of the Cosgrove family of Porter Retreat N.S.W.,* (Belfield, NSW: self-published, 1983), 32.

targetted, including several Cosgrove families and John Hogan, subsequently moved into the Catholic stronghold that was the south of the Oberon district, where they were finally able to acquire land.

The United Irishmen, transported for their involvement in the uprising of 1798, had hero status among the Irish Catholics in the colony. [126] Davis and Redmond, educated and successful in the colony, blazed an Irish Catholic model of prosperity and respectability. [127] The landownership of Davis and Redmond in the south Oberon district was a drawcard for the Irish settlers.[128] Philip Hogan, patriarch of the Oberon Hogans, had been a shipmate of Davis on the *Friendship*, a convict equivalent of family.[129] The '98 men also attracted the Catholic concentration around Irishtown (Bankstown) and south to the Illawarrra – districts which were also culturally constructed as Catholic places.[130]

Very few Protestant families lived in the Black Springs district, but two who did, the Stevensons of Swatchfield and the Robinsons, married into Catholic families.[131] Such marriages were controversial. When Bridget Foley, née Behan, died in 1934 her obituary in *The Catholic Weekly*, proudly declared that she was "the descendant of a long line of the faithful, in which a non-Catholic marriage has never occurred".[132] Catholic Mary Dwyer of Irish Corner had married Protestant Harry Whalan, son of Campbell Whalan, and as a result was omitted from her mother's will.[133] Similarly Joseph Sewell's Baptist sister Charlotte was so appalled when she emigrated to find that he had converted to Catholicism that she returned to England.[134] Ultimately, intermarriages blurred sectarian boundaries and helped unite communities.

The sectarian demarcations meant that when the public schools started in the district from the 1870s, many were essentially segregated. "The teachers always voted differently from most of

[126] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* 30-33; The United Irishmen were mostly educated, radicalised middle class young from Ulster, many Presbyterian as they were also disenfranchised in Ireland. -Cronin, *A History of Ireland* 105,109. They were joined by the Defenders, a Catholic agrarian secret society.
[127] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* 33; *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia*, 20.
[128] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* 33; Hogan, *And All The Proud Shall Be,* 19,21-22. (Davis and Redmond were early Irish publicans).
[129] Hogan, *And All The Proud Shall Be,* 21.
[130] O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia: A History*, (West Melbourne: Nelson, 1977), 33.
[131] Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story*, 83,78.
[132]Ibid., 37.
[133] Will of Catherine Dwyer, widow of Patrick Dwyer, 19 October 1896, copy held by author.
[134] Owen Pearce, *Rabbit Hot, Rabbit Cold: Chronicles of a Vanishing Australian Community,* (Woden, ACT: Popinjay Publications, 1991), 662.

the other folk," Sister Dominica remarked of her school days at Isabella, alluding to popular Catholic Labor support.[135] The right to vote, denied Catholics in Ireland, was celebrated even by young Catholic children. "We used to go round with a piece of crocheted wool round our necks with a small square of paper tied on the end" [representing an "elector's right"], she recalled.[136] Irish Catholic memory of dispossession and disempowerment coloured their lives and relationships with land for generations. The 1859 will of James Grady of Fish River Creek bequeathed land to his son as long as he did not marry without his parents' consent, and the properties were never to be "sold or alienated from the family".[137] Continuity is an important aspect of kin and emotional connections with land. It is often projected backwards, but here the first landholder tried to project it forwards in the new land.

The sectarian divisions were recognised by the settlers, and persisting well into the twentieth century. A Catholic settlement mostly of assisted immigrants of the late 1840s, 1850s and 1860s was known for decades as Irish Corner or Catholic Corner (now Duckmaloi).[138] It was largely absent from the Protestant map of the district.[139] The town of Oberon had been almost exclusively Protestant until John Hogan and his literate and astute wife Ann began to acquire property, challenging the unofficial demarcation of the district. Businesses had their own national segregations – innkeeping and coach services were monopolised by the Irish.[140] By 1876 the Hogans owned three acres on the western side of the town with a hotel.[141] Their land is now the site of the Catholic Church, St Ignatius, and the Catholic school, St Josephs. Their lone 1881 gravestone on the block indicates the dearth of Catholics in the town at that time. Hogan relation Paddy Behan was remembered in his family claiming "in his Irish brogue that he didn't go to Oberon often because 'as you know I'm not a *modtherate* [sic.] man.'"[142] Some Protestants would cross the road in Oberon if they saw a Catholic coming towards them.[143] These boundaries, imported with old wounds and prejudices, had no intrinsic connection with the land. They were part of the home-making process of peoples whose identity and sense of home did not initially come from the land itself.

[135] Sister M. Dominica, 1969, memoir.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story*, 10
[138] *Australian Town and Country Journal,* "Irish Corner", 6 June 1885, 15.
[139] Pers. comm. Kevin Webb, 30 August 2016.
[140] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 89.
[141] Hogan, *And All the Proud Shall Be,* 107.
[142] Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story*, 34.
[143] Pers. comm. Kevin Webb, 30 August 2016.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that family and spirituality are vehicles for a sense of belonging for all consciousness structures, varying across a continuum from intrinsic to extrinsic. It has found them to be central elements in the process of settlers finding belonging in the district. The Hogans and Whalans chose to come to the Oberon district, for various reasons, arriving with extended families which created readymade communities. For the immigrants, however, the choice of the Oberon district was determined often by mere happenstance – where a relation or neighbour had found work, or a shipboard connection on the voyage out. Many found some belonging with the district by importing relations and neighbours, who came in relays over the middle decades of the century. Thus community was created on the land, rather than through it. Likewise new sacred places in churches and cemeteries were created on the landscape, rather than intrinsic to it. Imported Christianity, however, united native-born, immigrant and some Aborigines within denominations and gave transcendent meaning to the lives of many.

Adopting the expression of Denis Byrne, the chapter characterises the Oberon settlement as a segregated landscape - into Catholic and Protestant areas.[144] The south of the Oberon district was culturally constructed as a Catholic district. Some powerful Protestants were able to exert pressure on the government to direct Catholics away from the Taralga/Goulburn district. In the light of the unpopularity of the Oberon plateau (Chapter 5) the designation of part it as Catholic may have been more than coincidence. Once established the segregation was mutual. The land was merely a backdrop to these imported religio-political constructs.

Permanent settlers culturally constructed the Oberon landscape in other ways. Places were made sacred for Christian settlers by churches and cemeteries, rather than themselves being recognised as sacred. Charles Whalan's indifference to the location of his "witness of the Spirit," Saltwater Creek, indicates that the location of spiritual experience had no inherent sanctity for him. Place and its association with loved, familiar aspects of life like imported family and religion, however, gradually intertwined. These new forms of the manifold nature of land spread through the district.

[144]Denis Byrne, "Segregated Landscapes".

Aboriginal intrinsic relationships with land have been described and inferred over the course of the thesis. It has argued that Aboriginal magic consciousness relationships testify to a level of spiritual meaning in the land, largely lost to western spiritualities Aboriginal relationships with land are not, therefore, cultural constructions.. The final chapter will examine the European introduction of agriculture, as well as some more intrinsic ways that settlers found connection with the district.

Chapter 8 Farming the land

Figure 8-1, J. F. Leith, Dwyer Firescreen

When Patrick Dwyer of Duckmaloi died in 1880, his wife Catherine had a fire screen decorated to celebrate the inauguration of the Dwyer family in Australia.[1] Divided into nine main panels, it recorded a curious mixture of British and Australian symbols, native and introduced animals and plants, old and new technology, national heraldic and folk emblems. The central fruit of this colonial memorial was the family, represented by a nine-leafed "tree". Ships travelled symbolically between the British coat of arms and a precursor to Australia's coat of arms.[2] In the bottom corners farmers were ploughing and reaping a crop, encompassing the full farming cycle in the 'new' land. Lurking among Australian birds, flowers and insects were two butterfly-winged leprechauns or fairies. The imagery conveys a family assimilating momentous changes: in geography, environment, technology and culture. More than a family story, the firescreen can be seen as representing the way the immigrant settlers experienced the Oberon district in the nineteenth century, negotiating ways that straddled the old and the new. Imported ways of relating to the land modified the district, and in turn were modified by the new setting and by new ideas.

This chapter continues the exploration of mythic consciousness relationships with land as expressed in farming. It addresses them first in general, before focusing on the Oberon district. Agriculture and the domestication of animals are hallmarks of Gebser's mythic consciousness structure.[3] Pastoralism he locates within magic structure. Similarities between Aboriginal hunting life and Australian pastoralism have likewise been observed by Tom Griffiths.[4] Australian farmers and pastoralists are often cast in academic literature as having an adversarial relationship with the land based on productivity, or a largely commodifying relationship.[5] While this is often undeniable, the relationship is usually more complex than

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[1] Patrick arrived from Ireland as a child of nine with his parents, Patrick and Sarah Dwyer, in 1841. His wife, Catherine Donovan, arrived in 1853 as a twenty-two year old orphan The firescreen no longer exists, destroyed by one of their daughters, as it revealed her age The only version I have access to is this photocopy of a photograph, supplied by, and information from, the late Mervyn Dwyer, 2002, confirmed by his widow, Pat Dwyer, 29 February 16.

[2] This "Advance Australia" design was by Charles Constantini, 1857, (Hubert de Vries, "The Advance Australia Design of Charles Constantini", in "Australia", www.hubert-herald.nl/Australia.htm, 2006, updated 2008, accessed 7 March 16.

[3] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin*, translated by Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas, (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985. First published as *Ursprung und Gegenwart.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt GmbH, 1949), 305; Georg Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness: The Genius of Jean Gebser.* Santa Rosa, CA.: Integral Publishing, 2002*,* 76. The domestication of animals is seen as a mythic development.

[4] Tom Griffiths, "The Outside Country", in *Words for Country: Landscape and Language in Australia*, ed. Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffiths", 222-242, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002). 237.

[5] Veronica Strang, *Uncommon Ground: Cultural Landscapes and Environmental Values,* (Oxford and New York: Berg, 1997), 205,215; Val Plumwood, *Feminism and the Mastery of Nature*, (Routledge: London, 1993); Val Plumwood, "Animals and Ecology: Towards a Better Integration", (Canberra: ANU Research

this. Farmers' love of their land is not widely recognised in Australian academic literature, or is treated with scepticism.[6] Peter Read, however, examines both European and Aboriginal attachment to their country in "Sharing the Country," *Belonging* and *Haunted Earth,* and Heather Goodall acknowledges realising "the depth of commitment to country" after interviewing some 150 landholders in western New South Wales.[7] This chapter conceives the creation of a farm as a process of settlers investing themselves in this new entity, making changes to the land and being changed by it. The mythic consciousness is also the structure of emotion.[8] This chapter argues that farming consciousness experiences land and self as separate entities, whereas land and self are spiritually inseparable for magic consciousness. Tilling the soil, planting crops, introducing new species, reflect mankind's position outside the natural world, in contrast to the magic consciousness experience of being part of it.[9] The separation from the land in farming consciousness actually creates the conditions for love, as opposed to magic consciousness's identification with land, which may be a deeper, but less self-conscious relationship than love.

In teasing out some complexities of settler-farmer relationships with land, this chapter considers the process of creating a farm in the Oberon district with British agricultural practices. Introducing European species and farming techniques involved a process of adjustment as they behaved differently in Oberon's conditions, and the land also behaved in unexpected ways. The feelings local farmers have for their land are seldom recorded, but can be found in poetry. As poet Rainer Maria Rilke observes, poetry retains traces of the holy in an

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Publications, 2003; Tom Griffiths, "The Outside Country", in *Words for Country*; Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia.* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), especially 5,6; Tamsin Kerr, "Who Speaks Land Stories? Inexpert Voicings of Place", *Limina,* 2006, 40-51, 46.

[6] Tom Griffiths, "The Outside Country", 240; *Veronica Strang, Uncommon Ground,* 56, although she observes a "more affective" relationship with land among European owner-managers who have been several generations in the Gulf (of Carpentaria) country, 224; Non-academic - Tim Winton, *Island Home: A Landscape Memoir,* ([Melbourne, Vic.]: Hamish Hamilton, Penguin Books, 2015), 92.

[7] Heather Goodall, "The River Runs Backwards", in Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffiths, *Words for Country: Landscape and Language in Australia,* (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002), 30-51, 34. Peter Read, "Sharing the Country", *Aboriginal History* 22, (1998): 94-104. His books *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership*, (Oakleigh, Vic.: Cambridge University Press, 2000) and *Haunted Earth*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2003), especially 193-207. Grace Karskens acknowledges farmers love of their farms, citing the pain of ex-convict farmers when their settlement on Norfolk Island was abandoned in 1804. - "The Settler Evolution: Space, Place and Memory in Early Colonial New South Wales", *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature* 13, no.2 (2013): 1-21, 12.

[8] The loci in the body emphasized in mythic consciousness are the heart and the mouth, whereas in magic consciousness they are the viscera and the ear. Jean Gebser *The Ever-Present Origin,* 144; Georg Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 78.

[9] The shift from hunting and gathering to agriculture is likely a continuum, rather than a sudden acquisition of knowledge Jack Rodney Harlan, *The Living Fields*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), 10.

unholy world.[10] Two poems written by people who lived in the district as children in the nineteenth century express deep connections children make with their environment, again made more conscious through separation, as their families had moved from the area. The chapter also enlarges on the earlier observation (Chapter 7) that the passages of birth and death are agents of connection with place.

Having considered the way settlers related to the land through their mythic consciousness, the chapter reflects on ways they accessed their atrophied magic consciousness at "sites of power" such as Jenolan Caves and Kanangra Walls.[11] Chapter 6 demonstrated that Aborigines in the wider Oberon district had multiple consciousness relationships with land. Likewise this chapter finds, through conversation of various forms, settlers accessing their magic, mythic and mental consciousness structures in the district.

Mythic consciousness relationships with land

Distinguishing mythic from magic consciousness is helpful in characterising both. The Aboriginal magic consciousness (outlined in Chapter 1) that experiences the land as one's backbone, or brother, is one of identification. Such identity, the experience of being inseparable from land, is a more profound connection than a love relationship. We would not usually say, "I love my arm," as we experience it as being part of ourselves.[12] Some Aboriginal people seem to have confirmed this distinction: Country is "our own living body, flesh and blood," explained David Mowaljarli, Ngaranyin lawman and cultural interpreter from Western Kimberley.[13] Another man hinted at a distinction between magic and mythic consciousness: "I do not have love for this place, but I was grown up on this land … This land is more than love".[14] The gulfs between mental, mythic and magic consciousnesses is clearly illustrated in the 2017 art prizes at the Art Gallery of NSW. Central Australian artist, Tjungkara Ken, challenged western habits of categorising art, when she entered "kungkarangkalpa tjukurpa

[10] Ranier Maria Rilke, "Sonnette an Orpheus", Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1923, quoted in Martin Heidegger, "What are Poets For? In *Poetry, Language, Thought*, transl. by Albert Hofstadter, (New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2001), 95,138-39.
[11] The expression if from Stephen Muecke, *Ancient and Modern: Time, Culture and Indigenous Philosophy*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, 2004), 51.
[12] In Worimi language land, water and parts of the body are all identified with the self, as in "I, land", or "I, hand" rather than possessive pronouns. See Chapter 1.
[13] Kamali Land Council, "Obituary: David Banggal Mowaljarlai, *Australian Archaeology,* 45 (1997), 58.
[14] Phillip Port, "Report of the Station Creek Outstation which is called Puntimu (Watergirls)", n.d. in Benjamin Smith, "More Than Love: Locality and Affects of Indigeneity in Northern Queensland", *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology* 7, no.3 (2006): 221-35.

(Seven Sisters dreaming)" a painting of her dreaming, the Pleiades constellation, in the Archibald Prize for portraiture (see Chapter 1).[15] This painting reflects a different consciousness from "Landscape as self-portrait," entry for the Wynne Prize for landscapes

of non-Aboriginal Australian artist, William Mackinnon, who described it as a "psychological landscape".[16] A stylised two- dimensional, modernist house is superimposed on a realist coastal landscape, exploring relationship between the built and the natural environments. It depicts Mackinnon's emotional landscape, from his mythic consciousness, whereas magic consciousness expresses spiritual relationships.

Mowaljarli located black and white modes of connection with land in the different parts of the body, "We say, 'Love comes from the kidneys.' White man says, 'Love comes from the heart.' With us it's towards that kidney area – Njanggudunda".[17] Similarly, Gebser located magic, mythic and mental consciousnesses in the viscera, heart and brain respectively.[18] In magic consciousness teachings, the land and its dreaming are active agents, unlike mythic consciousness relationships where humans partner with the agency of land, which is often generalised as the Great Mother or, more recently, Nature. In mental relationships, the self is a control agency of land, and the land's spiritual power is rendered inert by scientific analysis – soil type and chemical composition, humus level and so on.[19]

The beginning of Gebserian mythic consciousness is associated with the birth of agriculture, and the concept of food storage for dormant periods.[20] Aborigines were practising many forms of agriculture across the country, but in Gammage's terms they "farmed, but were not farmers".[21] This thesis identifies such relationships with land as magic-mythic. Agriculture

[15] Art Gallery of NSW, "2017 Archibald Prize, Wynne and Sulman Prizes", lists of entries.
[16] William Mackinnon., Art Gallery of NSW, https://www.artgallery.nsw.gove.au/prizes/wynne/2017/29876/.
[17] David Mowaljarli and Jutta Malnic, *Yorro Yorro: Everything Standing Up Alive; Spirit of the Kimberley,* (Broome, WA: Magabala Books, 1993), 97.
[18] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* These can be seen as dominant somatic patterns. Obviously people with dominant visceral consciousness, for example, also use their hearts and brains.
[19] Minoru Hokari, "Gurindji Mode of Historical Practice", in ed. Luke Taylor et al, *The Power of Knowledge : The Resonance of Tradition,* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press, 2005), 214-222, 217,219.
[20] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin,* 305; Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness*, 76; Margaret Ehrenberg, *Women in Prehistory*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1989), 85-87.
[21] Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*, (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011), 281.

was, and, for many farmers and gardeners still is, a practice of devotion.[22] In mythologies around the world it originated as a divine gift.[23] Mythical consciousness operated in sacred space and time: agricultural activities involved a ritual cycle venerating the Great Mother or Goddess, often involving human or animal sacrifice, and sexual rites.[24] "Plowing [sic.] was never just plowing," as Georg Feuerstein says.[25] Agriculture and religion are widely believed to have developed hand in hand, or at least in close association from Neolithic times or earlier.[26] The devotional aspect of agriculture is articulated by the thirteenth century guide to rural practices, *Fleta*, which recommends plough-drivers sleep with their oxen and be "Cheerful, jocund and full of song, that by their melody and song the oxen may rejoice in their labour".[27] As Alexandra Walsham has demonstrated in regard to sacred places in the British Isles, sacred connections with land transformed rather than died as a result of the Reformation.[28] Similarly, this thesis argues, the experience of agriculture as a religious practice transformed rather than died completely. In rural Britain vestiges of paganism persisted into the Reformation (c. 1500-

[22] Sarah McFarland Taylor, *Green Sisters: A Spiritual Ecology,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 183-209; Monty Don, "The Gourmet Garden", French Gardens, episode 2, BBC Two TV, 2013, 8 February 2013;.

[23] Harlan, *The Living Fields: Our Agricultural Heritage*, 1.

[24] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 85-87; Donna Wilshire, "The Uses of Myth, Image and the Female Body in Re-Visioning Knowledge", in *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowledge*, edited by Alison M. Jagger and Susan R. Bordo, 92-114. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1989; Arindam Samaddar and Prabir Kumar Das, "Changes in Transition: Technology Adoption and Rice Farming in two Indian Villages", *Agriculture and Human Values,* 25 (2008): 541-553, 547-49. Accessed 7 May 2016, doi 10.1086/s10460-008-9150-0; Stephen A Barney, "The Plowshare and the Tongue: The Progress of a Symbol from the Bible to *Piers Plowman*", *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973): 261-293.

[25] Feuerstein, *Structures of Consciousness,* 87.

[26] Jacques Cauvin, *The Birth of the Gods and the Origins of Agriculture,* transl. Trevor Watkins, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002, f.p. as *Naissance des Divinités, Naissance de l'Agriculture: La Revolution des Symbols au Néolithique*, CNRS 1994), 29,208-210; Margaret Ehrenberg, *Women in Prehistory,* 72-73; Mircea Eliade, *Myths, Dreams and Mysteries: The Encounter between Contemporary Faiths and Archaic Reality*, (London: Harvill Press [1960]), 164-68; Figurines of goddesses in Neolithic sites, usually female or genderless, often pregnant were identified by archeologist Marija Gimbutas as vegetation goddesses. (Marija Gimbutas, *The Living Goddesses,* Berkeley, and Los Angeles, Calif., London: University of California Press, c 1999),15-19,67-68,161. Gimbutas's interpretation of the female and indeterminately gendered figurines as goddesses, and suggestions of a culture focused around women's generative capacity are controversial. While she may have overstated and overgeneralised her case, there is no more proof that the figurines did not have sacred significance, as is the current view of scientific anthropologists. (Cynthia Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); J. R. Lewis, "Excavating Tradition: Alternative Technologies as Legitimation Strategies", *Numen* 59, (2011): 202-221,211; Barbara A. Olsen, *The Women of Mycenaean Greece: The Linear B Tablets from Pylos and Knossus*, (London and New York: Routledge, 2014), 19-20 n.9; Max Dashú, "Knocking down Straw Dolls: A Critique of Cynthia Eller's "The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory", *Feminist Theology* 13, no.2 (2005): 185-216.

[27] from John Selden ed., *Fleta*, 1647, in G. G. Coulton (compiler), *Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation*, (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), 16.

[28] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 11,16,18.

1750).[29] The custom in late medieval times of the blessing of the plough in British parish churches, even keeping ploughs in churches, reflected the sacred nature of farming.[30] The divinities of agriculture were now syncretised with Christianity. The Reformation suppressed many of these syncretic folk traditions, but some customs persisted in rural Britain, especially in Gaelic-speaking areas.[31] These included the riotous Plough Monday festivities, and making corn dollies to house the spirit of the grain until the next sowing.[32] The endurance of biblical agricultural symbolism also reflects the nexus of agriculture and religion.[33] The dedication and love of farmers and gardeners for their land can be seen as the surviving expression of the devotion of religious worship in the practice of agriculture. Some forms of alternative agriculture, such as Rudolf Steiner's biodynamics, which works with subtle energies by enchancing earth energy with sustainable preparations, or the practices of the Findhorn community in Scotland, harness the spiritual power of land and living things.[34]

More effective even than the Reformation for separating people from their agricultural folk customs was the journey across the Equator to the Southern Hemisphere. On many ships, crossing the Equator was marked by initiation rituals, such as a baptismal dunking in a sailful of salt water, in recognition of the momentous nature of this passage.[35] Coming to a land which lacked ancient European traditional connections with place, where Christmas was hot, the south aspect cool, and animals seemed bizarre, many of the folk practices would have been redundant, especially those time-based or locality-based.[36] There was both liberation and loss in the move: liberation from ossified superstitions, and a hastening of loss of the sense that

[29] Ibid.,140; Ronald Hutton, *Stations of the Sun: A History of the Ritual Year in Britain,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,1996), 125.
[30] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 124,126.
[31] Ibid.,338-339; Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape,* 85,140,155
[32] Hutton, *Stations of the Sun*, 338-339.
[33] Robert H. Nelson, "Environmental Calvinism: The Judeo-Christian Roots of Eco-Theology", in *Taking the Environment Seriously*, ed. Roger E. Meiners and Bruce Yandie, online (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield – The Political Economy Forum, 1993), 233-55; Stephen A. Barney, "The Plowshare and the Tongue"; Andrew McCrae, *God Speed the Plough: The Representation of Agrarian England, 1500-1660*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 64-65.
[34] Peter Tompkins and Christopher Bird, *Secrets of the Soil,* (London: Arkana, 1992).
[35] David Collins, *An Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, vol.1, 14 July 1787 [online], University of Sydney library, (2003) accessed 4 March 2016, http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data-2/colacc1.pdf; John White*, Journal of a Voyage to New South Wales,* [online], Project Gutenberg, (2003), accessed 4 March 2016 http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks03/0301531h.html
[36] Hilary Carey, *Believing in Australia: A Cultural History of Religions*, (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1996), 22. For example, "When the cat lies in the sun in February, she will creep behind the stove in March". Mandy Barrow, "Folklore Calendar", *Project Britain,* 2014, online, http://www.projectbritain.com/year/index.htm

mundane rural life has a powerful spiritual dimension. It paved the way for colonists to adopt a more scientific view of farming.

The mythic consciousness economy, largely subsistence, revels in abundance, represented by the cornucopia, and is content with sufficiency, as opposed to mental-rational economy of maximising production and planning for growth. An example of this sort of sufficiency from pre-clearance Scotland was the stock-taking practice of Roderick Mackay of Strathnaver.[37] Once a year he would gather his sheep, cattle and horses into a curve of the river, and "if the place was anything well filled, he was content that he had about the usual number, and did not trouble about figures".[38] Mackay and his wife died shortly after the were evicted from their land and their house, "the home of his ancestors," burned.[39] Their story illustrates another characteristic of mythic relationships with land – the deep love for the farm, invested with the lives of generations of family.

Mythic love relationship of farmers for their land is articulated by Australian poet David Campbell in the 1950 poem, "Night Sowing," which ends,

> O gentle land, I sow
> The heart's living grain.
> Stars draw their harrows over,
> Dews send their melting rain.
> I meet you as a lover.[40]

Campbell's sense of the animation of the natural world, the sacred nature of agriculture and the devotional role of the farmer are not commonly expressed by farmers. That silence may be accounted for by the prevailing, and enduring, masculine Australian sensibility, which associates emotion with femininity and weakness.[41] Nevertheless this ancient connection with land underlies farming, and at least some have a consciousness of it.

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[37] Annie Mackay, "A Tale of the Strathnaver Clearances" in John Stuart Blackie, *The Scottish Highlanders and the Land Laws: An Historico-economical Enquiry*, (Chapman and Hall: London, 1885), 57-60.
[38] Ibid., 57.
[39] Ibid., 58.
[40] David Campbell, "Night Sowing", *The Penguin Book of Australian Verse,* (Harmondsworth and Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1974, f.p. 1972), 272.
[41] Kay Schaffer, *Women and the Bush: Forces of Desire in the Australian Cultural Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 5,6,10; Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda*, (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin, 1976), 22. Alternatively Tom Griffiths suggests that pastoralists have the sense that expressions of emotional connection with the land may "weaken their right of occupation" (In "The Outside Country", 240). This suppression of emotion applies more broadly in Australia than merely landowners.

Related to the birth of agriculture is the development of a sedentary lifestyle, and the building of houses.[42] In the colonial project, land was initially a commodity. The process of turning a block of land from a commodity into a home is for western people usually depended first of all on a dwelling. These aspects of mythic consciousness can also be inferred in the Oberon district.

Mythic consciousness relationships with land in the Oberon district

By 1853 a Fish River Creek correspondent announced that the "farms [were] rising to the character of homesteads," suggesting that blocks of land were becoming culturally recognisably entities.[43] Most of the homes on the plateau were very modest. Glyndwr, Charles and Elizabeth Whalan's, house, was an exception. It was built of milled timber with a shingled roof, plastered interior walls, large rooms, brick chimney and "the many windows contained glass".[44] Most early houses in the district demonstrate technology transferred from the old country, using free vernacular materials - pisé, or timber slab, thatched roofs fastened with kangaroo thongs, earthen floors and wooden shutters, reflecting the impecunious nature of the settlement.[45] These "native, gunya-like" homes with walls 6 feet high, thatch and chimney just above the eaves, were a fire hazard, and the source of embarrassment to a local newspaper correspondent.[46] Improving houses for settlers without capital generally required engaging in the colony's economy. This, as we will see, was to prove difficult in the Oberon district. Some families, like the Harveys, who ran a successful dairy, were able replace their initial mud hut. They successively built three mud houses at The Retreat, increasing in size, the last of them, two-storeyed.[47]

The settlers embarked on the sort of agriculture they knew, but the land behaved in unexpected and inexplicable ways. Tree seedlings, for example, began to take over previously clear land. At Buckemall Creek (Edith) when the Whalans arrived:

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[42] Ehrenberg, *Women in Prehistory*, 77,84-87; Feuerstein, 76.
[43] *The Sydney Morning Herald*, "News from the Interior", 25 April 1853, 2.
[44] Ronald F. Whalan and Shirl G. Benton, *The Whalans in Ausralia 1791-1969*, (self-published, 1968), 67.
[45] Ibid.; Joseph , Luxton, "Early Days in the Oberon District", unpub. Ms., copy held by author; Compare with photographs of Irish hovels in Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 118. The prevalence of mud houses in the Oberon district probably reflects the relative similarity of the climate to Ireland compared with the rest of the colony.
[46] Our Own Correspondent", Fish River Creek, *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 8 February 1862, 2; John Hughes, "From Oberon in Fairy Land", *The Sydney Mail*, 14 December 1878, 951.
[47] Anon., "The Story of Edmund Harvey and Marjerie Harvey".

> grass and clover was a foot high, there was no scrub then, only a tree about every chain [c. 20 metres] or so. They could ride up the creek and see to the top of the hill on both sides. When they started to ringbark, the scrub came very thick, and fires made it worse.[48]

It has been widely believed that the heavy tree cover that farmers battled with for decades on Oberon plateau was there when Europeans first arrived.[49] A rare early description, of the "park-like" country near Essington Park in 1832, however, confirms Ab Whalan's father's memories.[50] This open, lightly timbered landscape, observed in much of New South Wales, was almost certainly the result of Aboriginal management techniques.[51] Eric Rolls identified the phenomenon of thick scrub replacing previous open woodland in the Pilliga "Scrub," and Bill Gammage found evidence of this occurring in many parts of Australia.[52] Rather than the ringbarking causing seedlings, it was the absence of skilful burning that allowed seedlings to grow. Settlers' fires probably actually germinated eucalypt seed. They were presumably not the hot late summer fires used by Aborigines to kill seedlings.[53] Thus began a long battle against trees in the district, only 'won' with the arrival of bulldozers after the Second World War.[54]

The colonial process of importing wholesale an agricultural system from a distant country prompted familiar species to behave in unexpected ways. Even in the 1830s the district was substantially colonised by feral animals, requiring adaptive management strategies. Cattle and horses had been escaping since 1815 and breeding up in huge numbers, especially in the almost unsettled east of the district. For settlers they were both a boon and a bother. The wild cattle living towards Gingkin and Jaunter, and probably further afield, supplied them with

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[48] Whalan, Ab, "About What My Father Has Told Me", unpublished ms, c. 1969, copy held by author .
[49] R. N. C. Stacy, "The Pastoral Story", in Bernard Greaves ed., *The Story of Bathurst,* (Australia, Angus & Robertson: 1961) 84-97, 86; Watson A. Steel, "Oberon and District: An Historical Retrospect", in *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 3 April 1926*,* 7; An 1882 description of the Black Springs area calls it "a vast forest", Paddy Grady Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story*, (Sylvania, NSW: self-published, 1987), 17.
[50] George Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales*, *Batavia, Pedir coast, Singapore, and China: Being the Journal of a Naturalist in those Countries, during 1832, 1833, and 1834* 1. (Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1967, facsimile ed.,), 133.
[51] Simon Ryan, *The Cartographic Eye: How Explorers Saw Australia,* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), 74-75; Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth:: How Aborigines Made Australia*, (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011), 7-17; Bruce Pascoe, *Dark Emu; Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?* (Broome, WA: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2014).
[52] Eric Rolls, *A Million Wild Acres*, (Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 1984); Bill Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth*, 315-320.
[53] Gammage, *The Biggest Estate on Earth*, 120-122.
[54] Ralph Hammond, "Changing Land Use in the Oberon District", in Louisa Roberts, Senior Geography Project, HSC, 1997, quoted in P. Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire,* (Oberon Council, 2003), 46-47, 47.

beef.[55] They wreaked havoc, however, with domestic cattle. Charles Kable Warby had arrived as an overseer with the first, temporary wave of settlers and stayed on becoming a landowner. He abandoned a run at Jantajoul (Jaunter) in the late 1830s.[56] He had been using it for weaner cattle, but so many of them joined the wild herds it became unviable. Likewise settlers had a love-hate relationship with wild horses, who ate their pastures and took away their mares.[57] Even after some 6,000 had been shot there were hundreds left.[58] Some were able to turn them to advantage, like the Webb brothers selling a mob of 300 in Bathurst.[59] Rabbits too were a scourge in the district from the 1890s for many decades, though also a food source.[60] Settlers had no option but to adapt to the conditions the environment set in response to the changes they had introduced.

The preparation of the soil by ploughing, depicted on the Dwyer firescreen, was a central activity in farming. Walking slowly behind ploughing animals, however, could engender a meditative, mythic experience of the earth, "feeling the earth through my plough" as one British farmer described it.[61] Ploughing has an ancient heritage across Asia and Europe as a sacred activity, the start of ploughing heralding the beginning of the agricultural cycle.[62] Local settlers planted wheat, barley and oats, mostly as subsistence crops, and potatoes, which they sold with varying success in Bathurst. While ploughing was no longer sacred in nineteenth century Oberon, it still had a significance which it has since lost. In the form of a competition, it was regarded as vice-regal entertainment - when the Governor of New South Wales, Lord Carrington, and his wife visited Oberon after riding to Jenolan Caves in 1887, the town celebrated their visit with a ploughing match with 13 entrants.[63] Horse events, such as hacking and jumping, were only secondary attractions. At the first show in the Bathurst district, "The O'Connell and Macquarie Plains, Campbell and Fish River Agricultural Association," one of Fish River Creek's few medal winners was Charles Luxton, for the "Best executed work with 6 or 8 bullocks" in the ploughing match – less glamorous than the other category of ploughing with

[55] Whalan, "About What My Father Has Told Me"; A Free Selector, "Tickled with a Hoe it Smiles with a Harvest", *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 9 November 1878, 25; M. Hanrahan, "District Nomenclature", *Lithgow Mercury,* 10 December 1909, 3.
[56] Hanrahan, "District Nomenclature". Warby owned Wallbrook, on the Campbells River.
[57] John Hughes, carbon copy, letter to the editor, *The Sydney Mail,* 14 December 1878, Gingkin Papers.
[58] A Free Selector, "Tickled with a Hoe, it Smiles with a Harvest".
[59] R. W. Webb, "Tarana Pioneers of the Bathurst District". Sister M. Dominica, born Esma Stapleton in 1894 at Isabella, also recalled remnant guide fences for catching wild horses at Isabella from the days before fenced paddocks. (Sister M. Dominica, memoir, unpublished manuscript).
[60] Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire,* 42-43.
[61] Adrian Bell, *Apple Acre,* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1942, 1947), 19.
[62] E. A. Armstrong, "The Ritual of the Plough", *Folklore* 54, no.1 (1943): 250-257.
[63] Our Own Correspondent, "Oberon", *Bathurst Free Press,* 10 September 1887, 2.

horses. [64] There was clearly pride in the skill of ploughing. The sense of connection with the earth of local farmers can only be surmised, but as we have inferred from the employees who committed to the district, physically working the land created connection with it.

Scotch thistles and briar roses, deliberately planted in Bathurst, soon became invasive weeds, likewise "Bathurst" burr, inadvertently imported in the wool of sheep from Valparaiso.[65] Even with the evidence of such problems, some colonists spread exotic species with wilful disregard. Rachel Henning wrote of the above weeds, but in spite of dire warnings and the evidence of a "jungle of sweetbriar" she collected its seeds to plant in Queensland.[66] She had seen it growing wild in the bush outside Bathurst and "rejoiced greatly, as it is the only approach we have in this country to wild roses".[67] For Henning, torn between love of England and of her siblings in Australia, the urge to recreate "home" clearly defied logic.

The process of species importation was institutionalised in the 1860s in Acclimatisation Societies, in the name of science.[68] John Hughes of Bathurst, father of John Hughes of Gingkin, was among the importers, relocating a copious list of plants and animals including blackberries, which are still a scourge of the district.[69] The environmental disasters unleashed through this practice are some examples of the hubris of the mental consciousness in considering that it understands the nature of land. Equally Rachel Henning's behaviour demonstrates the danger of following emotion at the expense of reason.

Farmers on the Oberon plateau tried to join the colonial rural economy but were often hampered by topography. The remote mountain location, the cold and the abundant springs made transport to markets a major issue for farmers in the district for at least a century, and

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[64] "Bathurst, Show and District", *The Sydney Stock and Station Journal,* 27 April 1923, 9. Iron implements were in vogue, with a category for the best collection of farm implements. Campbell Whalan, brother of Charles, represented the pre-scientific age. His grandson remembered him making a wooden plough. - Whalan, "About What my Father told Me". *Bathurst Free Press*, "O'Connell and Macquarie Plains, Campbell and Fish River Agricultural Association", 11 April 1860, 2; *Bathurst Free Press*, "O'Connell and Macquarie Plains, Campbell's and Fish River Agricultural Association", 6 April 1861, 2.

[65] Rachel Henning, *The Letters of Rachel Henning*, ed. David Adams, (Angus & Robertson, Sydney, 1963), 70.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., 71. William Walker's Brisbane Grove was infested with briars when it was sold in 1866. Ruth[?] Spicer, unpublished undated manuscript in the archive of Peg Savage.

[68] George Bennett, "Acclimatisation: Its Eminent Adaptation to Australia", (Melbourne: Acclimatisation Society of Victoria, 1862), especially 8.

[69] Elizabeth Armstrong to John Hughes, 25 May 1878, Gingkin Papers, private collection.

limited its range of produce.[70] The train on the Dwyer firescreen represented a momentous development, but Tarana station was still about 25 kilometres from Oberon on roads where drays bogging to the axle were commonplace.[71] Fish River Creek was a two-day dray trip from Bathurst (50 kilometres away) and, in 1856, a two week dray trip from Sydney.[72] Acquisition of freehold land was slow and acreages small. "There was never any money," one of Campbell Whalan's sons remembered, a constant theme in the district, at least until the mid-twentieth century. [73] To supplement subsistence farming Campbell Whalan's family initiated the exploitation of indigenous resources: black wattle bark, rich in tannin, was stripped near Jenolan Caves and taken to the tannery Bathurst; river tussock was cut and also sold in Bathurst, as thatch.[74] Later in the century possum, kangaroo, wallaby, koala, platypus and wombat skins were sold at Sydney markets, as well as sheepskins.[75] Native species were treated as disposable resources. Koalas are now virtually extinct in the district. From the 1850s mining, the most unsustainable of all these commodifying practices, pockmarked the district. Gold and other mines were gouged along the streams, especially Native Dog and Wiseman's Creeks.[76] Gold enabled some early settlers to buy land, and the rushes gave a much-anticipated injection of population and finance to the plateau. Much of this population, however, was transient.[77] In 1861 there were estimated 1500 people, and four stores at

[70] Luxton, "Early Days in the Oberon District"; Gemmell-Smith, *Thematic History of Oberon Shire*, 28-33; John Harper, "The Oberon Railway", Lithgow Mercury, 23 March 1914, 3.
[71] Charles Lawrence to Bob Hughes, 13 July 1889, Gingkin Papers, private collection
[72] R. W. Webb, "Tarana Pioneers of the Bathurst District" ; Barker*, A History of Bathurst,* 180-181; *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 29 December 1846, 2; Bathurst did not have an established market until 1849, prior to that produce was apparently sold largely by hawkers. "The Bathurst Markets", *Bathurst Advocate,* 4 August 1849, 2.
[73] Whalan, "About What My Father Has Told Me", (1969), unpublished manuscript, copy held by author; Sister M Dominica, unpublished memoir, copy held by author, (Perthville, NSW, 1964); Joy Wheeler and Blue Garland, *Oberon-Jenolan District,* (Oberon: The Oberon Shire, 1998), 5, 28; Harrison, "Oberon", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 1 December 1923, 13; Sister M. Dominica, memoir.
[74] Whalan, "About What My Father Has Told Me"; Scollopax, "A Trip to the Fish River Caves", *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 12 March 1870, 10. Wattle bark was still being sold from Tarana early in the twentieth century.
[75] Charles Lawrence to Bob Hughes, 16 June 1889, Gingkin Papers, private collection, copy held by author. The Hughes family sold o'possum, wallaby, kangaroo skins and horse hair to dealer John Bridge of Circular Quay in three lots in 1886.- (Receipts 22 June 1886, also August and October 1886, Gingkin Papers). Wheeler and Garland, *Oberon-Jenolan District*, 5. Once rabbits exploded into the district in the 1890s an industry developed trapping them for skins and, in winter, meat.
[76] Luxton, "Early Days in the Oberon District"; Our Own Correspondent, "Fish River Creek", *Bathurst Free Press*, 27 April 1861, 2; *Bathurst Free Press,* "London. Monday", 12 August 1885, 2.
[77] *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "News from the Interior", 25 April 1853, 2; Charles Lawrence to Bob Hughes, 16 June 1889, Gingkin Papers, private collection, copy of letter held by author. Early reports from "our correspondent" were often naked advertisements to attract settlers to the district anon. – also Our Own Correspondent, "Fish River Creek", *Empire,* 21 September 1855, 5.

Native Dog Creek, south-west of Bullock Flat.[78] By 1893 only about 20 men were actively engaged in mining there.[79] Commodification makes no commitment to land.

One viable early agricultural pursuit was dairying. Cheese and butter would keep quite well and could be transported during the cooler months.[80] It was an enterprise often run by women. For those blessed with a lot of healthy children and with business acumen, like Marjerie Harvey, a relatively good income could be made.[81] With six daughters and five sons the Harveys milked 60 cows on their "relatively large dairy farm," making cheese and butter, which at least by 1877 was collected at the door.[82]

Emancipist Patrick Hanrahan, too, found an income, from his livestock. His diary of "Remarkable Events" for the years 1848 to 1851 records that he was selling cattle to Sydney and colts to Adelaide.[83] In 1836 he was leasing three 640 acre blocks between Arundel Park and Swatchfield, and by 1851 he owned a block at the "Back Springs" (Black Springs), Hillsbury, and had a house built.[84] He employed workmen and his brief diary reflects a competent, well-resourced farmer who had brought his farming techniques into a workable relationship with his new land. In 1849 he thatched two hay stacks, one 18 by 5 metres, for feeding his stock through hard seasons.[85] Others were less successful. All the cows of dairy farmer, Mr Spencer, died in the severe winter of 1876.[86] Presumably he had insufficient fodder stored. He abandoned farming and turned to school teaching at Fish River Creek School. It was a district of small farms, many of them marginal.

Throughout the last half of the nineteenth century, and beyond, a strand of deprivation was woven through the identity of the district. This expressed itself in different ways. A letter

[78] Gold fields were declared at Campbell's River, Stoney (Sewells) Creek and Native Dog in 1852. *Bathurst Free Press*, "Native Dog Creek", 15 May 1861, 2; *Goulburn Herald,* "Native Dog Creek Diggings", 5 June 1861, 4; *Sydney Mail*, "Goldfields", 17 August 1872, 214.
[79] *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal,* "At Trunkey and Rockley", 22 September 1893, 2.
[80] Mrs Hughes' cheese was collected twice a year, John Hughes, letter to editor, *The Sydney Mail*, 14 December 1878, 951; W. K. Hancock, *Discovering Monaro: A Study of Man's Impact on his Environment,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 75.
[81] Anon., "The Story of Edmund Harvey and Marjerie Harvey ".
[82] Luxton, "Early Days in the Oberon District" ; Anon., "The Story of Edmund Harvey and Marjerie Harvey"; John Hughes, "Correspondence from Oberon in Fairyland", *The Sydney Mail*, 14 December 1878, 951. The farm was The Retreat.
[83] Patrick Hanrahan, "Remarkable Events", in Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story,* 12-13.
[84] *The Sydney Gazette,* 9 July 1836, 4; "Yearly Leases of Land", *Government Gazette*, 7 September 1838; Wozencraft, *The Black Springs Story,* 8; Hanrahan, "Remarkable Events", 12 February 1851.
[85] Hanrahan, "Remarkable Events", 2 February 1849.
[86] Historical account, Fish River Creek Public School bundle, Department of Education Archives, June 1961.

from Charles Lawrence, farmer of Duckmaloi, implies his magic consciousness sense of the land's agency.[87] The land, the native animals and the weather conspire against him: his hands are more horn than skin from digging; he is exhausted trying to feed all his cows to keep them alive; his twelve cows have produced only two calves; "the Bandicoots eat a whole lot of our Potatoes all help give a fellow a shove downhill". For others the land was a worthless commodity. When the Inspector of Conditional Purchases came to inspect a couple of blocks at Edith, he asked the landholder for their names. "Me paddock and me other paddock," the man replied. The inspector insisted he needed names. "Poverty Point" and "Why-Own-It," was the reply.[88]

Paradoxically there was also a sense of abundance. The settlers were first of all subsistence farmers, which implies a different relationship with land from the quantification and exploitation of land as a commodity.[89] At the end of the nineteenth century Esma Stapleton recalled that everyone grew lots of vegetables and "No one ever sold fruit. It was always given away". People, even strangers, came from miles around to the farm of her grandparents, which she remembered as having hundreds of cherry trees.[90] This sharing suggests a sense of sufficiency. Reverend J. Ward Harrison, Methodist minister at Oberon between 1895 and 1897, evoked a romantic representative scene of hearing about the early decades in Oberon from his elderly parishioners. "Loading your plate with blackberry jam" the "grand-dame" tells how they lived "with full and plenty … no money, mind you".[91] This mythic consciousness appreciation of the abundance the land despite of impecuniosity tussled with a sense of deprivation in relationships with land in the district.

A Gingkin resident, probably John Hughes, straddles mythic and commodifying consciousnesses in the same letter. Singing the praises of the Oberon district as a location with plenty of available land for free selection in 1878, he delights in the fecundity of his partnership with land:

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[87] Charles Lawrence to Bob Hughes, Gingkin papers, private collection, 16 June 1889, 13 July 1889; 11 November 1889.
[88] Pers. comm. the late Alan Hoolihan, 3 April 2016.
[89] James Murray, Diary on CD, unaccessioned, uncatalogued, in Murray Papers ML 07/154.
[90] Sister M. Dominica, memoir. They were her Maloney grandparents.
[91] Harrison, "Oberon", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 1 December 1923, 13. Farms remained largely self-sufficient in food at least into the mid twentieth century. Sister M. Dominica, memoir. Grocery accounts of Mrs L. Hughes from H. A. Cunynghame, General Merchant, and Howell Bros, 1927 to 1949, Gingkin Papers; Elsie Dennis, *A Typical Week at Tuglow: An Account of an Australian Country Childhood in the 1920s,* ([Oberon]: Maxine Whittaker, 2010).

> Gooseberries strike if a limb touches the ground, red currants must be staked and strawberries grow like pig-weed, potatoes are merely laid in the grass in every furrow and the grass turned over them.

He corroborates this vision of cornucopia with numerous measurements: 12 tons of potatoes from ¾ acre, heads of oats measuring 3 feet 8 inches in length, a six year old bullock with 200 pounds of fat. The mental-rational consciousness of this farmer, and probably most others, was interlaced with a love for their farms and animals, and a pleasure in working with living things.[92] The heading of his letter (perhaps an editorial addition) encapsulates the sense of partnership with the living land, "Tickled with a hoe, it will smile with a harvest".[93]

Getting to know the district, the range of its climate and agricultural potential was a process that unfolded gradually, and often by trial and error. A late frost on 7 December destroyed the hopes of growing cotton of a farmer near O'Connell Plains.[94] Initially everyone grew subsistence wheat and barley crops.[95] It gradually became apparent that wheat growing was more suited to the lower, warmer parts of New South Wales. Late frosts could ruin wheat and other staple crops like potatoes, and inhibit the setting of fruit. Farming families employed old practices to protect crops from the vagaries of the climate, such as dragging ropes across the wheat before dawn to knock the frost off, or lighting smokey fires around crops.[96] In practice, farming largely focuses on controlling plants and animals to suit humans. The environment is a background, whereas magic consciousness observes and supports the whole interacting environment.[97] Farming in the new environment required settlers pay more attention to the unfamiliar 'background'.

Although there is little evidence of Oberon farmers' love for their land, this absence probably reflects a reluctance to express such emotion, rather than absence of the emotion itself. For Ada Mitchell, whose childhood was spent near Black Springs, the wider Bathurst district is "the place that I love best":

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[92] John Hughes, letter to editor, *The Sydney Mail*, 14 December 1878, 951.
[93] A Free Selector, "Tickled with a Hoe, it Smiles with a Harvest", *Town and Country Journal,* 9 November 1878, 889. This was probably John Hughes. The theme, language and tone are very similar to a letter John Hughes wrote a month later to *The Sydney Mail,* "Correspondence from Oberon in Fairy Land", 14 December 1878, 951.
[94] *Bathurst Free Press*, "O'Connell Plains", 5 January 1850, 6.
[95] Sister M. Dominica, memoir.
[96] Wheeler and Garland, *Oberon-Jenolan District,* 26-28.
[97] Hokari, "Gurindji Mode of Historical Practice", 215,217.

> The place that I was reared on, I never can forget
> Sweet Tillsbury you are abandoned, your hills are just the same
> Every little brook and stream recall to me their name. [98]

Addressing Tillsbury in the second person she implies its animation. Her intimacy with it, and its significance in her life speak of her deep attachment to the place. Her family had not owned it and they no longer lived there when she wrote the poem as an adult, but it was the matrix of her internal terrain. Settlers invested themselves into shaping the farming landscape, and the landforms and landscape shaped the internal realities of their children.

Birth, death and land

Births and deaths knitted the settlers into their new landscape. First generation immigrants had a sense of belonging to the Old Country that would always tug at their connection with their new abodes. While such sentiments were felt perhaps more consciously and articulated more openly by women, like Catherine Lane (Chapter 7), others nevertheless expressed similar emotions.[99] Esma Stapleton's two grandfathers were first generation migrants. She recalled them arguing the relative merits of their home counties, Tipperary and Cork, even after forty years in New South Wales. In 1853 a Fish River Creek newspaper correspondent described the district's climate as a "home climate".[100] The old country was the template through which the new country was experienced. The birth of a new generation who knew no other home connected immigrants to the land through this immediate relationship. For the native-born, exotic species were naturalised and little distinction was made between them and native species. It was normal to see cattle and wallabies grazing together. A poem inspired by childhood memories of Oberon, "Whalan's Mill" by E. J. Brady (reproduced in Appendix 2) is populated with an apparently unconscious blend of indigenous and introduced species: platypus, hawthorn, willows, mint, crested herons. In Brady's poem, Oberon by the 1870s has a settler history. The old mill, broken fences and old alder trees give the child a sense of an eternal settler past, even though the colonial landscape was less than 50 years old.

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[98] Ada Mitchell, "Old Memories", in *Black Springs Public School Centenary,* (Black Springs, NSW: Black Springs Public School, 1981), 40.

[99] Miriam Dixon, *The Real Matilda: Women and Identity in Australia: 1788 to the Present,* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1999, f.p. 1976), 184,189. As well as Catherine Lane, a memoir of another immigrant from the Bodmin district, Marjerie Harvey, also recalls what a difficult decision it was for her to leave her home. "Notes from the diary of Mrs Harvey", unpublished manuscript c.1907, copy held by author.

[100] *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "News from the Interior", 25 April 1853, 2.

If birth forged belonging with land, death created a past. Once the generation that spanned the old and new countries was gone, settlers were no longer newcomers. Daniel Stapleton's funeral in 1906, followed the old Irish custom:

> When anyone died all the men wore black crepe armbands and black crepe on their hats. Not just bands but with two tails down the back on to the shoulders. These were thrown off and trampled in the cemetery … His wake too was a really Irish wake. They cut up tobacco and had clay pipes for everyone that was there. … No one went to bed.[101]

Daniel Stapleton had arrived in the colony in 1851. Even though half a century in New South Wales, he was still an Irishman, and farewelled in Irish tradition. With a patriarch buried in Australia, the family had a spiritual connection with the land here. The decisions and invested labour of pioneer forebears in land selection, house and fence siting, tree planting, track making were a blueprint for European ways of conceiving and moving around the district, although they were not inalterable. The romantic mysticism of Brady's "Whalan's Mill" suggests he experienced Whalan's abandoned mill as a place imbued with the spirit of its pioneer Charles Whalan:[102]

> No sound discordant broke the peace of that unoccupied
> First holding of a pioneer along the riverside. [103]

Already a cycle of building, usage and redundancy is complete. Oberon has an additional reality as a farming district.

Holidays

As well as mental consciousness, measuring and commodifying the land, and mythic consciousness, seen in cultivating and creating farms and homes, the settlers' vestigial magic consciousness can be glimpsed in the way they spent holidays. From the 1840s, Fish River Creek Protestants found recreation in exploring the massive limestone cave system now called Jenolan Caves, "discovered" by Charles Whalan in about 1840. [104] These visits developed into a

[101] Sister M. Dominica, memoir,).
[102] Charles Whalan actually died in 1885. He was then suffering from dementia and was living in Sydney.
[103] Republished in Alan Brown, "Alan Brown's Historical Notes", *Oberon Review,* 9 April 1986. "Whalan's Mill" was first published in the *Bulletin* 29 January 1947.
[104] W. L. Havard, letter to the Editor, *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 6 July 1934, 8; George Whiting, "Original Correspondence", *Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal*, 11 January 1860, 2. It may have been through James that George Druitt learnt of the Gingkin, or 'Ginggam' district where he (Druitt) had

form of early tourism.[105] Charles was the first, unofficial guide.[106] From early days the word "sacred" was used in reference to the caves.[107] Whalan described them as a "temple of nature," apparently with no sense of conflict with his Methodism – it was experienced within a different consciousness.[108] On finding a fossilised hand in the caves, he projected that for Aborigines the cave was the natural place to deposit "that which was so dear to them," as they "would suppose it to be the habitation of the spirit of their brother".[109]

The Whalans kept an "open house," accommodating parties of unannounced visitors at Glyndwr and escorting them to the Caves on horseback. One of their daughters, Sarah Maria Hughes, described an 1860s trip to the caves from Glyndwr with a party of visitors.[110] The group camped in an open cave, (see Figure 8.2) and guided by a ball of string tied to a sapling, scrambled and wriggled through the pitch-black caves, carrying candles. They emerged "covered with mud and dirt, but overjoyed at the wonder of the Caves". After some three days they would clamber back up the precipitous descent to the Caves, holding on to their horses' tails, and return the 35 kilometres to the Whalan's house for goose and apple pie, and such like. Sarah Maria Hughes's account carries both a mythic consciousness, Romantic pleasure in the abundance of the hospitality, and a magic consciousness delight in the actual landforms of the caves.

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a Ticket of Occupation as early as 1824. G. T. Palmer to Major Goulburn, SANSW 4/1838B, No. 738, 2 December 1824. They were previously known as Fish River Caves, McKeon's Caves or Binda Caves. W. L. Havard, *The Romance of Jenolan Caves,* (Sydney: New South Wales Department of Leisure, Sport and Tourism, 1933, facsimile edition, 1979-1989), 31.

[105] anon., "Fish River Creek", *Bathurst Free Press*, 28 December 1859, 2; Henning, *The Letters of Rachel Henning*, 73; Sarah Maria Hughes, nee Whalan, "Reminiscences of Jenolan", read at the unveiling of a photograph of Charles Whalan at Jenolan Caves in January 1921, in One of Them [pseud.], *Pioneers – Hughes and Whalan and Descendants,* (Sydney Donald F Pettigrew, 1949), 28-9.

[106] It was used as a hideout by cattle rustlers, James McKeown, James Farney and Luke White, before then - Havard, *The Romance of Jenolan Caves,* 6-7.

[107] For example, "the sacred stillness of that unbroken solitude", George Whiting, "Original Correspondence", *The Bathurst Free Press,* 11 January 1860, 2.

[108] Charles Whalan, "Educational Progress", *Freeman's Journal,* 20 June 1860, 2, reprinted from the *Bathurst Free Press.* Gundungurra people knew it as Binoomea. It was commonly believed that they did not enter the dark caves, although this was disputed by Gundungurra man Billy Lynch who said that his people took the sick there for the healing waters. (E. D. H., "Round About the Mountains", *Sydney Mail,* 12 December 1896, 1246).

[109] Ibid. This was the only mention of Aborigines I have found Charles Whalan to make.

[110] One such party was in 1861 when the group of Whalans and Hughes inscribed their names on a rock near the Grand Arch. - Alfred S. Whalan, "The Discovery of Jenolan Caves", in "One of Them", *Pioneers – Hughes and Whalan,* 26).

Figure 8-2, Camping in the Grand Arch, Jenolan Caves

The caves attracted mythic consciousness story and metaphor from Aborigines and settlers alike. "Binoomea" to Gundungurra people, they were occupied by the relations of Gurangatch, the monster fish/reptile in the epic story of Gurangatch and Mirrigan.[111] Although Aboriginal people generally feared dark places as the abode of the monstrous Gubba, Gundungurra man, Billy Lynch contradicted the widely-held belief that Aborigines did not enter the caves.

> The old natives knew the caves. They penetrated them as far as the subterranean water, carrying in sick people to be bathed in the water, which they believed to have great curative powers. Sick people were carried there from considerable distances.[112]

[111] Dianne Johnston, *Sacred Waters*, 173.
[112] E. D. H. [Hobden)] "Round About the Mountains: Being the Record of Haphazard Tours", *The Sydney Mail,* 12 December 1896, 1246-1256, 1250.

The open cave, the "Devil's Coach House" was a scene of salvation, created when Walga the Sparrowhawk rescued hunters trapped there.[113] For settlers, this cave acquired the opposite significance. One version of the origin of the name was that Luke White, while camping in the cave, perhaps with stolen stock, had had a hair-raising vision of the devil driving a coach and four.[114] Another version was that after tracking the bushranger James McKeown to Jenolan Caves, James Whalan told his brother Charles that he had "been through the devil's coach house".[115] A later explanation of the name by a Catholic was that after Father O'Farrell celebrated Mass in the cave, "the Orangemen of the district" called it the Devil's Coach House.[116] Settlers projected their understandings of the diabolical onto the cave. Even Surveyor John Mann, who was somewhat condescending about Aboriginal fears of dark places, spent some uneasy nights there among "awful-looking flying animals" and crowds of "objectionable" terrestrial ones.[117] As more caves were discovered, they and their formations were given names rife with allusions to biblical and classical mythology, such as the Temple of Baal, Lot's Wife and the River Styx.

At Kanangra Walls, about 30 kilometres away, the Oberon plateau plunges into a labyrinth of valleys and ridges, now the Kanangra-Boyd National Park, including a drop of up to 900 metres into Kanangra Gorge. An Aboriginal man working for Charlie Luther at Gingkin told him that the dancing figures painted on one approach to the Kowoning (Kanangra) Walls were to ward off the Gubba [or Koppa] who lived in nearby caverns.[118] For settlers the Walls, like Jenolan Caves, evoked responses associated with the divine - "sublime," "wonder," "exhilaration," "intoxication".[119] Local man Jeremiah Wilson, appointed Keeper of the Caves in 1867, built a dance floor in the Grand Arch in about 1870. With a crack of his stockwhip, the cave was

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[113] Jim Smith, "Seeing Gundungurra Country", in Eugene Stockton and John Merriman ed., *Blue Mountains Dreaming: The Aboriginal Heritage*, 2nd edition, (Lawson, NSW: Blue Mountain Education and Research Trust, 2009, 1st ed. 1993), 137.

[114] Woolcott's *Tourists' Pocket Guide,* (c 1888) in Ward L. Havard, *The Romance of Jenolan Caves*, 7. Luke White was a stockman employed on the Fish (Duckmaloi) River and charged with stealing calf at Bendo (Bindo) near the Caves in 1839. (*Australasian Chronicle,* "Tuesday, November 11", 12 November 1840, 2)

[115] Wheeler and Garland, *Oberon-Jenolan Notebook*, 6; and another later explanation was that after father O'Farrell said mass in that cave, "the Orangemen called it the Devil's Coach House".

[116] Patrick Noonan, "A Pioneer Priest", *Freeman's Journal,* 19 February 1898, 17. Father O'Farrell was at Bathurst from about 1860 until at least 1867, and died in 1875.

[117] John F. Mann, "Jenolan Caves", *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 28 October 1903, 5.

[118] Killeevy, "The Jenolan Caves and the Kowoning Walls", *Freeman's Journal*, 9 May 1896, 20-21.

[119] Our Own Correspondent, "Oberon: Kanangra Walls and Falls, *Bathurst Free Press,* 25 November 1890, 2; A. [pseud.], *Bathurst Free Press,* "A Visit to 'Kanangra Walls'", 18 February 1895, 2; Killeevy, "The Jenolan Caves and the Kowoning Walls", *Freeman's Journal*, 9 May 1896, 20-21.

transformed into a dormitory at midnight.[120] Another dance floor/sleeping platform was built under an overhanging rock at Kanangra Walls in 1891.[121] Wriggling through the dirt in subterranean caves, dancing in sublime, wild places, the settlers expressed their own magic consciousness, celebrating the landforms themselves.[122] Oberon tourism from its inception brought people in contact with their own 'wild' natures. "Scollopax" on an 1870 trip combined a visit to the Fish River Caves with wallaby and snipe shooting.[123] Shooting, a modern version of hunting though devoid of its original magical rituals, is a manifestation of magic consciousness.[124] Guest houses, operating mostly on farms from the 1880s to about the 1950s, advertised fishing and shooting as activities, along with visits to the Caves.[125]

"[N]atural features can take on religious significance, particularly if they are intrinsically mysterious and awe-inspiring," Keith Thomas has observed, citing Uluru.[126] Lineu Castello calls such sites "places of aura," and Stephen Muecke suggests "Sites of Power".[127] Perhaps the attraction of such places is that spiritual power is so concentrated that it is accessible even to people whose magic consciousness is diminished. Kanangra Walls and Jenolan Caves are such places, and here settlers can be seen spending holidays (derived from holy days) coming into relationship with the spiritual quality of their adopted land, outside their own religious structures. After the appointment of the official Keeper of the Caves in 1867, Jenolan Caves became a popular destination for the district and after accommodation was built in 1880, many honeymoons were spent there.[128]

Few settlers in nineteenth Oberon and district left a written record of connection with Aborigines. The only people who left record of an obvious interest in them were surveyors such as Thomas Mitchell, John Mann and surveyor turned ethnographer, Robert Mathews. Their reminiscences and observations have provided much material used in this thesis.

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[120] William Slattery, "Jenolan Caves in 1872", account from unpublished diary, copy held by author; Havard, *The Romance of Jenolan Caves,* 23; anon., "Methodism in New South Wales: Oberon-Tarana Circuit", *The Methodist,* 2 March 1907, 3

[121] Judge Docker, "A Trip to the Konangaroo Walls", *Australian Town and Country Journal*, 22 July 1893, 30. The remains of the platform were there a century later.

[122] According to Gebser dance is an aspect of magic consciousness. *The Ever-Present Origin*, 145,160 *n*37.

[123] Scollopax, "A Trip to the Fish River Caves".

[124] Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin*, 47

[125] *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "Advertising", ("Oberon, Inglis Farm"), 28 October 1825, 6; *The Sydney Morning Herald,* "Advertising", ("Accommodation on cattle station"), 27 December 1922, 10.

[126] Keith Thomas, "Killing Stones", *London Review of Books,* 19 May 2011, 13-15, 13.

[127] Lineu Castello, *Rethinking the Meaning of Place: Conceiving Place in Architecture-Urbanism",* transl. Nick Rands, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 12; Stephen Muecke, *Ancient and Modern,* 51.

[128] Havard, *The Romance of Jenolan Caves,* 25,32.

Travelling in the bush, surveyors witnessed Aborigines living in their own (Aboriginal) context. Spending time with and learning from Aborigines they were deepening their own magic consciousnesses. Settlers, who were direct benefactors of Aboriginal dispossession, dealt with this uncomfortable fact with silence. They thus excluded themselves from the opportunity that relationship with Aborigines could offer of deepening their experience of themselves and their land.

Westerners are now learning from Aborigines employed in the vast Kanangra-Boyd National Park in roles including archaeology and interpretation to the public. Sites of power such as Kanangra Walls are places where multiple levels of consciousness can be expressed, across cultures. The survival of Aboriginal presence in the district would not have been predicted at the end of the nineteenth century. Aboriginal and settler experiences of land of the Oberon district continue to bear witness to its manifold nature.

Conclusion

This thesis has characterised mythic consciousness relationships with land as being emotional relationships, often of love, resulting from the experience of being separate from land. Magic relationships, in contrast, are primarily spiritual and experience no separation from the land itself. The devotional practices in farming and gardening are expressions of mythic relationships with land, echoes of cultures in which the sacred dimension of agricultural activities and associated cyclic rituals shaped human life. The agency of the land is invested in a divinity, often female, today often known as 'Nature,' working in partnership with farmers or gardeners.

This chapter has examined settlers' relationships with land for ways their farming expressed mythic relationships. Many came to the Oberon district with no previous connection (Chapter 7), and may have initially related to the land largely as a commodity. This chapter infers that they also brought the intention of creating a home, and mostly a farm, and thus of building an emotional relationship with the land. They invested themselves in their land through the creation of farms, gardens, buildings and other entities. The chapter records readjustments in relationships with land as British agricultural practices were recast by Oberon's conditions. Animals previously experienced as domestic ran feral in plague proportions. The land was transfigured in many regrettable ways, not only by farmers' actions but also by their failure to

manage the country with the knowledge that Aborigines had, for example in burning tree seedlings.

The chapter documents evidence of farms in the Oberon district as disappointing commodities through much of the nineteenth century. Interwoven with the desire to make money and acquire more land, we have seen glimpses of the devotional practice of agriculture, the delight in abundance as an opportunity for sharing, and contentment with sufficiency. Like the leprechauns in the Dwyer firescreen, such sentiments sit alongside the rational, scientific and acquisitive impulses, the old with the new.

Because of the absence of expression of emotional connection with the Oberon district, a couple of poems expressing the love of the district of children growing up here in the nineteenth century were examined. This deep connection may be more conscious in those who, like these poets, have left the district. The poem, "Whalan's Mill," also revealed how a child interprets his or her experience of place as its eternal condition, even when the place has only recently been drastically altered. The life passages of birth and death deepen connection for settlers and create a past with the district.

The chapter has looked at magic and mythic significance of Jenolan Caves for both Aborigines and settlers. It argues that settlers expressed magic consciousness relationships in pilgrimage-like expeditions to that "site of power" (Jenolan Caves) and also Kanangra Walls on holidays. Surveyors were some of few who actively learnt from Aborigines, leaving important documentation, some of which greatly benefits from being read against the grain. This provides an interesting context to the contemporary role of Aborigines in employment in the Kanangra-Boyd National Park.[129] Finally, the chapter suggests, such places of power awaken the magic consciousness awareness of the spiritual dimension of land across cultures. Awareness of the different realities of land can foster a rich relationship with it in the Oberon district, and reveal people and place as mutually transformative.

[129]And Blue Mountains National Park.

Conclusion

Land has agency. It is relational, sentient, animated, and enlivened by incarnate and spirit beings. Fashioned into farms, gardens and other entities, land is also partner with human endeavour. It is the loved repository of imagination, memory and hard physical work. Its agency is experienced as divinity, often female, such as Nature. As 'nature,' land is studied within the sciences. At the same time land is a commodity. It is inert, quantifiable, analysable and saleable. Each of these realities is just part of the manifold nature of land. This thesis has explored these realities as they manifested in the wider Oberon district during the nineteenth century. It has identified them both within individuals and groups and across cultures. These findings have revealed something of the complex and even paradoxical nature of human relationships with land.

In identifying the complexity of land, or place, this thesis expands on the widespread academic notion that place is the cultural construction of "raw matter".[1] This understanding of land as inert substrate to human potency, separate from its inhabitants, is largely that of westerners.[2] Chapter 1 described an alternative reality - Aboriginal experience of traditional land as part of, or continuous with, self - as "my backbone" or "my side".[3] This consciousness experiences land as spiritually inseparable from self, or as kin. The spiritual is its dominant reality. While spiritual meanings of land are given human expression, the impulse of this consciousness structure is of experiencing meaning, rather than imposing it. Culture is shaped by land in this consciousness, rather than land being interpreted through culture.

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[1] Val Plumwood, "The Concept of a Cultural Landscape: Nature, Culture and Agency of the Land", *Ethics and the Environment* 11, no.2 (2006), 121; T. Cresswell, D. DeLyser and J. Wylie ed., *Cultural Geographies*, http://intl-cgj.sagepub.com accessed 11 February 2015; I. Cook, D. Crouch, S. Naylor and J. Ryan ed., *Cultural Turns/ Geographical Turns,* (Harlow: Longman, 2000); Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), 10.

[2] Deborah Bird Rose, *Nourishing Terrains: Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness,* (Canberra: Australian Heritage Commission, revised edition, 1996). Owen Barfield, *Saving the Appearances: A Study in Idolatry,* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 2nd edition 1988), 45.

[3] Veronica Strang, "Not so Black and White: The Effects of Aboriginal Law on Australian Legislation", in *Land, Law and Environment: Mythical Land, Legal Boundaries*, ed. Allen Abramson and Dimitrios Theodossopoulos, (London; Sterling, Va.: Pluto Press, 2000), 100; W. E. H. Stanner, "After the Dreaming", Boyer lecture in *The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 206.

The characterisations of land in this thesis have been facilitated by using the form of conversation of consciousness – understanding conversation in the broad sense as interaction. The form was developed in post-colonial studies as a conversation between the colonised and the colonisers. The post-colonial understanding of consciousness was that it was socially constructed.[4] Like the concept of place, this approach is inadequate for a study that includes Aboriginal ontologies, failing as it does to recognise the consciousness which focusses on the spiritual. This thesis therefore applies to the conversation the phenomenological understanding of consciousness described by Jean Gebser in *The Ever-Present Origin*.[5] This far more fundamental interpretation reflects the way phenomena are experienced by all people. It identifies multiple realities, or ways humans experience phenomena - in this case the land of the Oberon district.

As Gebser's model of structures of consciousness is universal, with different structures dominating in different cultures, it provides a more open and arguably less prejudiced vehicle for discussing cross-cultural relationships. It dismantles subject-object divisions, and broadens our concept of ourselves. On a practical level it explains why communication between Aborigines and Europeans continually failed in Oberon and, indeed, across the continent. This model, which recognises the plurality and universality of human experiences of phenomena, may be useful for facilitating twenty-first century race relations. [6]

Sources for the thesis are limited by the factors that Aborigines in the Oberon district in the nineteenth century almost never represent themselves on the public record, and that there is a considerable silence about them in the European record. The hermeneutic practice of reading against the grain, employed in Chapters 1, 2, 4 and 6, addressed this to some extent. It has enabled fresh interpretations of Blue Mountains explorer and surveyor journals. By this method, the thesis has found Aboriginal critiques of European ways of relating to country in the 1828 field book of Surveyor-General Thomas Mitchell (Chapter 1). The journals of John Price, Francis Barrallier, George Caley, Gregory Blaxland and George Evans (Chapter 2) similarly yielded what appears to be a consistent Aboriginal intention to inhibit useful exploration of the Blue Mountains, largely through trickery. This finding is borne out by Martin

[4] Paul Gillen and Devleena Ghosh, *Colonialism and Modernity*, (Sydney: UNSW Press, c2007), 218.
[5] Jean Gebser, *The Ever-Present Origin, (Ursprung und Gegenwart),* transl. Noel Barstad with Algis Mickunas (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1985).
[6] Ibid.

Thomas in *The Artificial Horizon.*[7] The journals of explorers Charles Throsby, John Oxley and William Lawson in and around the Oberon district (Chapter 4) imply Aboriginal intentions of sharing their land with select Europeans, either through selective guiding or by admitting them into the kinship system, perhaps through relationships with women. By reading these sources against the grain, we can glean previously unrecognised purpose in Aboriginal behaviour.

The absence of Aboriginal self-representation on written record has made it difficult to identify shifts and modulations of their consciousnesses. (It is not always easy to find these in the colonists either, with the possible exception of the writings of habitual diary-keepers, like Thomas Mitchell.) Chapters 1 and 6 found evidence of Aboriginal children readily accessing their mental consciousness through European schooling. The thesis suggests the dominant consciousness of Aboriginal people at the time of white invasion was magic-mythic. Information was held in wholistic ways such as song, dance and story. The Gundungurra story, Gurangatch and Mirragan, which ends on the Oberon plateau may have functioned at one level as a cultural map. Such a map, however, was never intended for outsiders to find their way around the country, unlike mental consciousness maps. Chapter 4 suggests that this story may intersect with the experience of Surveyor MacBrien, threatened by a "monster" in the Fish River, indicating an acquacultural practice of transferring elvers to western-flowing streams as a food source. This would add to the growing body of knowledge which challenges the assumption that colonisation of New South Wales was based on – that Aborigines did not farm.

The Gurangatch and Mirragan story, and the emergence of the human-formed creator spirit, Baiame (Chapter 6), demonstrate knowledge held in a wholistic way. This form of intelligence is foreign to western forms of knowledge, which are often in discrete categories, a difference that contributed to the difficulty of cross-cultural communication. Baiame was known in stories and rock art across southeast Australia. His manifestation in human form may be seen as heralding a shift of magic-mythic consciousness towards the more generalised spirituality of mythic consciousness. It is understood by Tony Swain, Hilary Carey, David Roberts and others as a spiritual adaptation syncretising Christian transcendence and Aboriginal immanence.[8] The

[7] Martin Thomas, *The Artificial Horizon: Imaging the Blue Mountains.* Carlton, Vic: Melbourne University Press, 2003, 143.

[8] Tony Swain, *A Place for Strangers: Towards a History of Aboriginal Being,* (Cambridge, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 117,122,125-128; Hilary M. Carey and David Roberts, "Smallpox and the Baiame Waganna of Wellington Valley, New South Wales, 1829-1840: The earliest nativist movement in Aboriginal Australia", *Ethnohistory* 49, no.4 (2002): 821-869, 823; Eugene Stockton,

Gebserian version of the conversation of consciousnesses used in this thesis has shown Aboriginal society as dynamic, resourceful and purposeful in a myriad of ways.

An understanding of the relationships with land of these three consciousness structures, magic, mythic and mental, accumulates over the course of the thesis. Chapter 1, introducing the mental-rational, commodifying consciousness dominant in colonialism, traced the origins of that reality back to the discovery of perspective. Perspective is a "symbolic form" of relating to the world, as Gebser, Erwin Panofsky and others have argued.[9] It introduces the individual viewpoint, which frames the world for its own purposes, just as the colonial movement saw the benefit of the lands of others for itself, heedless of the ramifications this acquisitive gaze had for the existing inhabitants. This European background is extended in Chapter 3, which argues that perspective manifested itself in land relationships as the enclosure system. In European history, perspective and the enclosures developed broadly in tandem. A number of scholars agree that colonisation was a re-enactment of the enclosures.[10] It was the enclosures, as Robert Marzec has observed, which created our widespread contemporary understanding of land as an inert, privately-owned resource.[11] This replaced the previous understanding of right to land established through inhabitance "from time immemorial".[12] The loss of this right to land has obvious parallels with Aborigines' dispossession and offers a broader context to be considered when analysing the colonising process.

The observation that colonisation was a re-enactment of the enclosures, needs Denis Byrne's important qualification that enclosures in Britain respected many intrinsic relationships with land, whereas Aboriginal relationships with land (certainly in the Manning Valley of New South

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Appendix 1, "Baiame", in *Blue Mountains Dreaming: The Aboriginal Heritage,* ed. Eugene Stockton and John Merriman, (Lawson, NSW: Blue Mountain Education and Research Trust, 2nd edition, 2009), 239-245; John Clegg, "Support for a New Sky Hero from a Conquered Land", in *An Enquiring Mind: Studies in Honour of Alexander Marshack,* ed. Paul Bahn, 57-82, (Oxford: Oxbow, c2009). Baiame is recorded as an emu by Bruce Pascoe in *Dark Emu, Black Seeds: Agriculture or Accident?* (Broome: Magabala Books, 2014), frontispiece.

[9] Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form,* transl. Christopher S. Wood, (New York: Zone Books; Cambridge, Mass.: distributed by MIT Press, 1991), 153; S.Y. Edgerton, *The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective,* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), 153; Philipp Lepenies, *Art, Politics, and Development: How Linear Perspective Shaped Policies in the Western World,* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2014).

[10] Heather Goodall, *Invasion to Embassy, Land in Aboriginal Politics in New South Wales, 1770-1972*, (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 2006), 25.

[11] Robert P. Marzec, "Enclosures, Colonization, and the Robinson Crusoe Syndrome: A Genealogy of Land in a Global Context", *Boundary* 2, (2002), 129-156, 130.

[12] Ibid.

Wales) were completely ignored.[13] In the Oberon district, Chapter 3 demonstrated this extreme form of enclosure along Cox's Road, in private land grants which suddenly alienated blocks of land from the sacred web of interconnection that Aboriginal life was immersed in. This form of right to land is incompatible with communally held Aboriginal land in which resources are shared and managed wholistically.

Aboriginal magic experiences of being part of the land are contrasted with settlers' experience of alienation from it, which they partly ameliorated by importing both family and religion (Chapter 7). This cultural construction of the district divided it into Protestant and Catholic areas. Family and spirituality, this chapter argues, are means that all consciousness structures employ in connecting with place, but mental consciousness culturally constructs place rather than finding intrinsic connection with it.

Mythic consciousness is less easy to identify historically than magic-mythic or mental-rational land relationships in either black or white inhabitants of the Oberon district. This thesis has characterised mythic relationships as emotional connections with land which are experienced as spiritually separate from humans, but as partnership with land's agency in agriculture and gardening, often referred to as Nature. There is no evidence that Aborigines in the Oberon district were practising European agriculture, but it can be inferred of Nelly of Warrawong (Yetholme) and people in the Burragorang Valley in their growing of introduced vegetable crops (Chapter 6). Rather than an absence of such agriculture by Aborigines in Oberon, the lack of evidence is probably more a reflection of the silence about them.

Mythic relationships with land among settlers were explored particularly in Chapter 8. It suggested the sense of abundance was a mythic experience. This was found interwoven in the district with a sense of deprivation, largely a mental consciousness problem, caused by small blocks, distance from markets, unsuitability for sheep, and long, harsh winters. Settlers arrived with commodifying expectations of the district, but mythic consciousness associations with familiar loved aspects of life, like family and religion, developed gradually and intertwined with other consciousness structure relationships with place. Mythic relationships with land were found most readily expressed in local poetry of the Romantic literary tradition, which recognises the immanence of the natural world. This chapter argued that each consciousness

[13] Denis R. Byrne, "Nervous Landscapes: Race and Place in Australia", *Journal of Social Archeology* 3, no.2 (2003), 156-57,172.

structure has its own experience of birth and death, but for immigrants to the district, these rites can provide a bridge to a sense of belonging with place.

Gebser's foregrounding of the spiritual may account for his obscurity in contemporary academia. His consciousness structures operate along a continuum of numinosity, or awareness of "origin," decreasing in inverse proportion to increases in the intensity of consciousness.[14] He thus recognises immanent spiritual realities, which Australian Aborigines have maintained for two centuries in the face of monumental scepticism. Mental consciousness, the dominant consciousness of western culture, understands this increase in consciousness to operate in linear, chronological fashion, associating it with evolution. This is, as Gebser says, only part of the story and only one reality of the nature of time.[15] This thesis has demonstrated that the mental concepts of land, which understand it through measuring and analysing, also apprehend only part of the story of land, taking little heed of the partnership and spiritual natures of land. In validating spirituality and religion as authentic experiences, this thesis is located within the post-secular movement.

In addition to exploring cross-cultural relationships and the nature of land, the thesis has addressed two specific local questions, firstly why it was believed by 1878 that Aborigines did not live at Oberon.[16] Chapters 4 and 6, have examined this issue, finding a number of factors contributing to this widespread but erroneous belief. It is likely that the martial law of 1824 was particularly punitive in the Oberon district where much of the preceding inter-racial violence had occurred. This may have had two results: that the Aboriginal population was greatly reduced and that the events were so shocking that witnesses were reluctant to speak of, acknowledge or remember it. The smallpox epidemic of 1830-31 and other diseases would have taken their demographic toll. But there was still a noticeable Aboriginal presence until about the 1850s as Chapter 6 demonstrates. Like the wider Bathurst area, Aboriginal numbers apparently decreased drastically around Oberon in the middle of the century, perhaps partly due to low birth rates. It seems that in this period Aborigines also dispersed from the district, to both to the east and west. Comparison with the Burragorang and Wellington Valleys, which had substantial Aboriginal populations at the end of the nineteenth century, reveals

[14] A continuum is a mental consciousness conception.
[15] Jennifer Gidley, "The Evolution of Consciousness as a Planetary Imperative: An Integration of Integral Views", *Integral Review: A Transdisciplinary and Transcultural Journal for New Thought, Research and Praxis,* 5 (2007), 171.
[16] Justice to All [pseud.], "Tickled with a Hoe it will Smile with a Harvest", *Australian Town and Country Journal,* 30 November 1878, 17.

institutional support in those places enabling Aboriginal land tenure that was never available in Oberon. None of its reserved land was dedicated to Aborigines. A core group, however, remained living at the important site, Evans Crown (near Tarana), and others were scattered through the community, some choosing employment near other important sites. Such dispersed grouping effectively facilitated settlers to overlook them. Tthe great Australian silence" manifests in Oberon today in the belief of many local people that Aborigines never lived on the Oberon plateau.[17]

Another manifestation of the silence about Aborigines in the Oberon district is that very few of their names have survived. One whose name has been recovered by this thesis (Chapter 5) is Michael Walker, adopted son of Reverend William Walker of O'Connell Plains. Michael was literate and had an influential role in the spread of Methodism throughout the district, but was excluded from advancement in white institutions, such as the Wesleyan ministry and land ownership. His story exemplifies Homi Bhaba's argument of the unspoken fear of the mimic, the black person whose success at white ways is never enough to allow him or her equal entry into white institutions.[18] It seems Michael Walker, and others who adopted white ways, were probably overlooked as Aboriginal presences. The Aboriginal presence in the Oberon district was clearly vastly reduced by 1878, but their absence was a white reality, not a black one.

Chapter 5 added a further explanation of silence about Aborigines in the district, as most of the people who knew of the momentous events of this period moved elsewhere. A pattern of early settlement around Oberon was that those who actually worked the land were the ones who made a commitment to the district, as this initiated a mythic consciousness connection. As some were illiterate, few were habitual diary writers, and none were valued in traditional histories, this period has been unrepresented in Oberon histories.

This introduces the second local issue that the thesis addresses - the nature of the settlement of the Oberon district in the 1820s and early 1830s, and the impact it had on relationships with land in the district in the long term. That period is largely ignored in Oberon's slim historiography. Chapter 5 examined the initial settlement, which failed largely because of a combination of the disastrous death-rate of sheep due to liver fluke and the proliferation of

[17] The "great Australian silence" was coined by Bill Stanner in the Boyer lectures, 1968. (W. E. H. Stanner, "After the Dreaming", *W. E. H. Stanner: The Dreaming and Other Essays,* 172-213.
[18] Homi Bhaba, "Of Mimcry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse", 211-219 in Jonathon Culler ed., *Deconstruction: Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies* 4, (New York and London: Routledge, 2003).

bushrangers. It argued that as much of the land in the Oberon district in this period was held under ticket of occupation, a temporary licence to land use, commitment and emotional connection to landholdings was slight, any of the temporary holdings were abandoned rather than landholders dealing with those issues. Place names are some of the few voices speaking of attitudes to land that have survived from this period. This chapter argues further that naming practices differ from one consciousness structure to another, and they reflect the manifold relationships with land.

Although there is little evidence of Aborigines living in the Oberon district by the end of the nineteenth century, a number of families in the district today have discovered Aboriginal forbears, so it can be assumed that some lived quietly among and with white settlers.[19] Some descendants of Aborigines who left the district have traced their connection back to it.[20] In the twenty-first century Aborigines are caring for their land as employees of the National Parks and Wildlife Service. Given that the conversation across the nineteenth century was a continual assault on the Aboriginal way of being, this contemporary working for Parks is a remarkable survival story.

The thesis suggests as an aspect of the notion that people and place are mutually transformative that contact with Aborigines, as well as with the land itself may have deepened the relationship settlers had with the land and brought Europeans into relationship with their own magic consciousness. Chapter 8 argues that the somatic experience of living and walking in a place as a child, a magic consciousness experience, creates a template for experiences of land. Further white settlers were found accessing their magic consciousness, in the awe of nature they felt before the grand landforms of Jenolan Caves and Kanangra Walls. It suggested that for people whose magic consciousness has atrophied, these powerful landforms or "places of aura" reinvoke their magic consciousness more readily than landforms with more subtle auras.[21] This thesis, then, has revealed something of the manifold nature of the land of the Oberon district. Through examination of conversations of consciousness, it has demonstrated that the multifarious aspects of land are accessible within and across cultures.

[19] Pers. comm. with Peter Stiff, April 2017.
[20] Colleen Maranda, email to author 10 April 2014.
[21] "Places of aura" was coined by Lineu Castello, *Rethinking the Meaning of Place: Conceiving Place in Architecture-Urbanism",* transl. Nick Rands, (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 12.

As this thesis is only a beginning of using Gebser's model of consciousness within the genre of a conversation of consciousness, there are innumerable opportunities for future scholars to refine this approach and take it in new directions., The relationships with land in the Oberon district resulting from the goldrushes, and mining in general, have been addressed only cursorily in the scope of this thesis, but would be valuable companions to this work. In terms of centuries, much fertile research could be conducted focussing on post-1900 land relationships. An Aboriginal researcher may soon be able to fill out the story of the people of Evans Crown or elsewhere in the district, from their point of view.

We are living at the deficient end of the consciousness which sees land primarily as commodity. True to the perspectival age, the view of many landholders is that they have the right to do what they like with the land that they own. If, however, we wish to have a deeper, more wholistic connection with the land we need to try to integrate magic, mythic and mental relationships by incorporating the past and future into the present. Managing the land sustainably is a means of bringing the future into the present.[22] Scientific analysis is an important aspect in how we understand land, and much is now focussed on sustainable farming. For non-Aboriginal people, respecting the original custodians and taking opportunities to facilitate reconnection with the land of those of their descendants who are interested, could bring the past into the present. At one level the land is still theirs. Developing our own magic awarenesses, by learning to experience the land as animated, is another possible method of attuning to it. It should be clear from this thesis that Aboriginal artefacts belong to country not to western landholders. Contact with local Aborigines about artefacts may initiate relationships where non-Aboriginal landholders deepen connection with the land and Aborigines reconnect with country. Similarly every built structure, exotic tree, farm and garden design is the creation and legacy of earlier western inhabitants, and also deserves respect.

The integration of Gebser's structures of consciousness with the conversation of consciousness form has enabled a wholistic approach to nineteenth century relationships with land in the Oberon district. It recognises inconsistencies and paradoxes within individuals and in interactions, contributing to a more complex understanding of intercultural issues such as white silence about Aborigines. It broadens our understanding not only of early relationships but of the nature of the land of the district itself. An ultimate meaning of land may not be

[22] Some alternative farming methods, like biodynamic agriculture, apply science that has a broader consciousness base than mental consciousness.

within human conception (here I differ from Gebser), but this conversation of consciousness has revealed it to be multi-layered and manifold.

Appendix 1 Some evidence concerning the location of Gundungurra territory

The following are references, in chronological order, may have bearing on an identification of Gundungurra territory:

Two apparent songlines may be evidence of Gundungurra territory. One epic Gundungurra story, Gurangatch and Mirragan (see Chapters 1 and 6), begins in the Wollondilly "billabong" (east of Taralga) and maps a great arc through the Burragorang Valley, ending in a waterhole in the Duckmaloi River on the Oberon plateau. [1]

The Kangaroo Song was sung by Primbrubna and recorded sung by Major Mitchell in 1828 at the base of Mt Marulan. [2] The song tells of a kangaroo hunt and mentions Mounts Werong and Marulan.[3] Mt Werong, in the Great Dividing Range on the eastern edge of the Oberon plateau, is a watershed. The Abercrombie River rises on its southern side and flows west into the Lachlan River; its eastern fall feeds the Kowmung and Coxes Rivers; Mt Marulan near the modern small town of Marulan on the Hume Highway, is east of the Great Dividing Range. A Gundungurra word for a pademelon (small kangaroo species), *warong*, may be the same word as the name of that mountain. Perhaps this was a Gundungurra songline.

Jim Smith suggests a list of place names stretching from about Jenolan Caves to Capertee may be the outline of a Dreaming song.[4]

Samuel Hassall, wrote to his brother Thomas in 1816 about a narrow escape with his life after his posse at Camden met the "Cundenorah".[5]

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[1] Ibid., 172-174.
[2] Thomas Mitchell, "Field Note and Sketch Book, 21 May 1828-3", August 1830, ML C42, 19 June 1828.
[3] Ibid., 17 June 1828.
[4] Jim Smith, *Wywandy and Therabulat: The Aborigines of the Upper Cox River and their Association with Hartley and Lithgow,* (Lithgow: Lithgow District Historical Society, 1990), unpaginated.
[5] Quoted in Grace Karskens, *The Colony: A History of Early Sydney,* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2009), 496.
The sounds 'g' and 'k' are readily interchangeable as are 'a' and 'o'. - Michael Powell and Rex Hesline, "Making Tribes? Constructing Aboriginal Tribal Entities in Sydney and Coastal NSW from the Early Colonial Period to the Present", *JRAHS* 96, no. 2 (2010), 122.

In 1818, Sir John Jamison, settler at Regentville on the Nepean River, attempted a boat trip up the Warragamba River to its source, which he correctly suspected was the Cox's River.[6] He referred to the mountains on the south side of the Warragamba as the "Condanora Mountains".[7] The following month he sent his "collector of natural specimens," Thomas Jones on an expedition to follow the Cox's River downstream from (later) Hartley. On the sixth day the party encountered Condanora people, of whom his three (Dharuk) Aboriginal companions were very scared.[8] Jack, alias Nagga, spoke a little Condonora language and they were informed that the (now) Wollondilly (at least in its lower reaches) was called the Barnaley and rose in Condanora country. This identifies the Goulburn district with the Gundungurra.

In 1819 Charles Throsby was guided by Gundungurra man, Coocoogong on an expedition through the Southern Highlands, to Bathurst. Near Barroning (roughly near today's Black Springs) the party met "a large Tribe of Natives," and noted "several of them have been at the Cowpastures, one I have seen at my House".[9] This may indicate the habitual range of the people of the Oberon plateau and that they were Gundungurra speakers with an affiliation towards the east. Jim Smith has theorised that the route Coocoogong took was an indication of a Gundungurra/Wiradjuri boundary.[10]

Under the pseudonym of 'Colo', William [believed George] Suttor wrote in the *Sydney Gazette* in 1826,

> The number of tribes round Bathurst, extending to Wellington Valley, the Coal River (Hunter), and to the Lachlan river, is eight: individuals of which have at different times visited us. They are known under the following names from the parts of the country they mostly inhabit:- 1. Parramatta or Bathurst tribe; 2. Muc-rauc, or King's Plains; 3. Billabearra; 4. Wellington Valley; 5. Bingum; 6. Mudgy, 7. Noudowry, 8. Pialong.[11]

Wellington is about 150 kilometres by road, north west of Bathurst; Mudgee is about 130 kilometres by road north of Bathurst; Pialong (Bylong) is a valley on the eastern fall of the

[6] Ross Brownscombe ed., *On Suspect Terrain: Journals of Exploration in the Blue Mountains, 1795-1820.* ([Brighton East, Vic.]: Forever Wild Press, 2004), note 270.
[7] Sir John Jamison, "A Journal of a Tour performed up the Rivers Nepean and Warragamba in November 1818 by Sir John Jamison Knt, KGVMD and Physician to His Majesty's Fleet", ML CY 1348, 15 November 1818.
[8] Sir John Jamison, Letter to his Excellency the Governor (Macquarie), n.d., ML C131[2] CY1348.
[9] Charles Throsby, "A Journal of a Tour to Bathurst through the Cowpastures commencing April 25th, 1819", SANSW 9/2743, 77-114, 7 May 1819.
[10] Jim Smith, *Aborigines of the Goulburn District,* (Goulburn: Goulburn and District Historical Society, 1992), 4-6.
[11] "Colo", "To the Editors of The Australian", *The Australian,* 14 October 1826, 3-4.

Great Dividing Range south-east of Mudgee, about 150 kilometres from Bathurst;[12] Noudowry was probably in the Capertee region, another valley on the eastern side of the Great Dividing Range north of Lithgow and south of Bylong, about 42 kilometres direct from Bathurst. [13] The 1833 blanket list for Capiti lists the tribes there as Nandowry and Cassilis. The Billabearra have so far not been located.

John Harper, the assistant missionary, who established the first mission in the Wellington Valley in 1825, noted that beside the "Bathurst tribe" five 'tribes' visited the area, usually in groups of 60 to 70, though their "usual place of resort" was many miles from Wellington. [14] They were the Mûrrylong, the Nûri, the Bendjang, the Mudgee and the Myawl. All six 'tribes' spoke the same language. He adds that a great battle between the Myawll and the Bendjang tribes took place about 15 miles from Wellington two years prior. [15] He counted about 50 graves and 100 carved trees. *Myawl* may be the same world as *Myall* derived from Dharuk *maiyal* meaning a stranger or a person from another 'tribe'. [16] It was adopted by Europeans as a generic 'Aboriginal' word, like *corroboree* and readopted by non-Dharuk Aborigines as an English word. Newry is between Wellington and Molong.[17]

In 1835 the Wellington Valley missionaries identified, using various spellings, the Aboriginal people of Bathurst as Gundungurra. Reverend Watson called the "dialect" of the "Bathurst Blacks … Kandangurra".[18] The same year Reverend Handt wrote, "the language spoken by the Bathurst blacks is Wandangurra".[19]

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[12] Alan E. J. Andrews, *Major Mitchell's Map, 1834: The Saga of the Survey of the Nineteen Counties* (Hobart, Blubber Head Press, 1992),118, 398.
[13] The 1833 blanket list for Capiti lists the tribes there as Nandowry and Cassilis. "Return of Aboriginal Natives taken at Capiti 1833", SANSW 4/6666B.3.
[14] *The Sydney Gazette,* "The Aborigines", 29 September 1825, 3.
[15] *The Sydney Gazette,* "The Aborigines of Australia", 11 February 1826, 2-3.
[16] Sarah Ogilvie, *Words of the World: A Global History of the Oxford English Dictionary*, (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 14; Edward Ellis Morris, *Austral English: A Dictionary of Australasian Words, Phrases and Usages,* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1898, digital version 2011), 311.
[17] James Backhouse, "Account of a Journey from Parramatta across the Blue Mountains to Wellington, 1835", in George Mackaness ed., *Fourteen Journeys over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-1841,* (Sydney: Horwitz-Grahame, 1965), 214.
[18] Rev. Watson, "Report 2 1835", in The Wellington Valley Project: Letters and Journals relating to the Church Missionary Society Mission to Wellington Valley, NSW, 1830-45, ed. Carey and Roberts, (A Critical Electronic Edition. 2002. MS p.2-371. http://www.newcastle.edu.au/school/hss/research/publications/the-wellington-valley-project Accessed 25 April 2017.
[19] Rev. J. S. Handt, "1835 Report", in The Wellington Valley Project, ed. Carey and Roberts MS p.1-226.

Horatio Hale, who travelled to Wellington mission as part of the US Navy's Exploring Expedition to the South Pacific (the Wilkes Expedition) between 1838 and 1842 entitled a section of his notebook "Vocabulary of the Bathurst or Kandanura (Kandaṇ ṇura) dialect, taken down by me from a native of that place, whom I found at Wellington".[20]
The missionaries identified the language of the Wellington Valley people as Wirradurri/Wiraduri. Bathurst is now generally regarded as being within Wiradjuri country.[21]

In 1841 James Walker, a pastoralist who had owned Wallerawang station (near Lithgow) since 1823, completed the questionnaire sent by a committee investigating the usefulness of Aboriginal labour:

> In the immediate neighbourhood – that is, the country from the northern border of Argyle – by the Abercrombie River to Bathurst Plains (not including the Bathurst tribe) & from thence to Capiti [Capertee] I suppose there are not above 40 or 50 of both sexes & all ages – their numbers I think have diminished since I first came to this part in 1823 …[22]

"Murrundah Chief of Burra Burra Tribe" was buried at Paling Yards in the Oberon district in 1850.[23] His breast plate resurfaced in 2008 when it was donated to the Camden Museum by a descendant of the Macarthur family.[24] Elizabeth's granddaughter had taken it to England and it was repatriated after her death, at her request. According to her the Burra Burra people were "from the Burragorang Valley". Both the Burragorang Valley and the Taralga district are part of the Wollondilly catchment, Lake Burra Burra is near Taralga.

According to pastoralist Charles MacAlister, the territory of the Burra Burra people, one of three "tribes" in country Argyle, extended from the Abercrombie River district to Taralga and west to Carrabungla.[25]

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[20] Horatio Hale, "Notes on the natives of Australia and their dialects made in New South Wales in December and January 1839-40", AIATSIS MF 355.
[21] Peter Read, *A Hundred Years War: The Wiradjuri People and the State,* (Rushcutters Bay, NSW: Australian University Press, 1988) p.xvii.
[22] James Walker, 12 June 1841 ML A 611 p.194.
[23] pers. comm. Jim Smith, 10 January 2017.
[24] Faith Lloyd-Phillips (nee Macarthur-Onslow) in Robert Lester, "Statement of Significance Murrandah Breastplate", in Conservation Management Plan Murrandah Breastplate, Camden Museum, Camden. Murrundah gave it to his brother to give to 12 year old Elizabeth Macarthur at Camden Park, according to the account glued to the back of the plate.
[25] Charles Macalister*, Old Pioneering Days in the Sunny South,* (North Sydney: Library of Australian History – Facsimile Series, no. 1, 1977), 82.

Ethnologist R. H. Mathews in 1908 stated "the territory of the Gundungurra tribe includes Burragorang, Katoomba, Picton, Berrima, Taralga and Goulburn with the intervening country".[26]

Gundungurra man, Billy Lynch, born about 1836, who spent his life mostly in the Kanimbla and Megalong Valleys, was reported by a journalist in 1896 as saying:

> There were never a very large number of aboriginals on the mountains. The tribes dwelt chiefly out west of the range, but in the old days there were natives in the mountain valleys, and there was much wildlife.[27]

Aboriginal man, Werriberrie or Billy Russell, whose memories were transcribed and published in 1914 as *My Recollections* by Mr A. L. Bennett, a grazier in the Kedumba Valley. Werriberrie was then 84.

> My earliest recollections are naturally of my mother, "Wonduck," named after the place where she was born, near Richlands [Macarthur property near Taralga, north of Goulburn], which was the general custom in the tribe of my race, i.e. The GUN-DUNG-GORRA …..
> My uncle was My-an-garlie…(he) became principal man of our tribe about 50 years ago. His chief camping ground being in the Burragorang Valley, Myangarlie was the Aboriginal name of a locality near the place now known as
> Connor's Plains near Bathurst.[28]

Michael Powell and Rex Hesline have argued that Gundungurra as a 'tribe' is a construction by R. H. Mathews, who with Mary Everitt at the beginning of the twentieth century, was the source of much ethnographic information about the Gundungurra people. Gundungurra is no longer a spoken language. Asserting that "Mathews is recognized for introducing the names of the Dharrook, the Darkinung and the Gundungurra into the vocabulary of tribal entities," Powell and Hesline mount a case that both the first two names refer to initiated men. They offer no alternative interpretation for 'Gundungurra'.

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[26] R. H. Mathews, "Some Mythology of the Gundungurra Tribe, New South Wales", edited with commentary and essay on the work of Mathews by Jim Smith. (Wentworth Falls, Den Fenella Press, 2003). Originally published in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 40, (1908), 203-206.
[27] E. D. H. (Hobden), "Round About the Mountains: Being the Record of Haphazard Tours", *The Sydney Mail,* 12 December 1896, 1246-1256, 1250.
[28] William Russell "Werriberrie", *My Recollections*, ed. Jim Smith, (The Oaks Historical Society for the Wollondilly Heritage Centre, 1995).

Many of the definitions of Gundungurra and other language groups, such as Norman Tindale's ambitious 1940 map (Figure Appendix 1.1), are based on the work of pioneering anthropologists like R. H. Mathews and Alfred Howitt, working at the end of the nineteenth century, by which time white settlement had caused massive disruption to traditional Aboriginal life, and many adaptive changes had been made.[29] The tribal name Gandangurra, as Tindale spelt it, "incorporates terms meaning 'east' and 'west.'"'[30] (*Wan* or *wanne* has been suggested as meaning west).[31] He does not mention the western boundary area in his definition of Gundungurra territory.[32] His map locates Oberon in Wiradjuri country.[33]

Gaynor McDonald in a report on Wiradjuri territory in 1983 locates the eastern extent of Wiradjuri lands "within fifty kilometres of the Great Dividing Range".[34] She also suggests the Fish River west of Tarana (and west of the Great Dividing Range) as a Wiradjuri boundary, based on an account of a confrontation between two 'tribes' at O'Connell in probably about 1826, one led by the renowned warrior Windradyne, known among Europeans as 'Saturday.'[35] The other, 'defeated' group took refuge in the cottage of Reverend Thomas Hassall, filling every room and the lofts 'so there was not a foot of space unoccupied'. Windradyne was held off at gunpoint by Hassall, who dissolved the standoff by offering to kill a bullock for an instant

[29] Gaynor M. MacDonald, "The Concept of Boundaries in Relation to the Wiradjuri People of Inland New South Wales: An Assessment of intergroup relations at the time of European conquest", (report prepared on behalf of the Wiradjuri Land Council with a grant provided by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney, January 1983), 1-37. Nicholas Peterson*, Tribes and Boundaries in Australia* (Canberra: AIAS, 1976), 68; Ann Jackson-Nakano *The Kamberri: A History of Aboriginal Families in the ACT and Surrounds* (Canberra: Aboriginal History Monograph 8, 2001) pp. xxiii, 27-28; Val Attenbrow, "The Mountain Darug", in Eugene Stockton and John Merriman ed., *Blue Mountains Dreaming,* (Lawson, NSW: Blue Mountains Education and Research Trust, 2009), 109.

[30] Norman Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia: Their Terrain, Environmental Controls, Distribution, Limits, and Proper Names, with an appendix on Tasmanian tribes by Rhys Jones* 1, (Berkeley: University of California Press; Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974), 193.

[31] Keith Vincent Smith *Bennelong* (Sydney, 2001) p. vii, in Powell and Hesline 'Making Tribes?' note, p.141

[32] David Horton ed., *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia: Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander History, Society and Culture,* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for AIATSIS, 1994), 438-439; Tindale, *Aboriginal tribes of Australia* 1, 193.

[33] Tindale, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* 2.

[34] MacDonald, 'The Concept of Boundaries', 5-6, 10.

[35] The date is inferred from Reverend James Hassall, *In Old Australia: Records and Reminiscences from 1794,* (North Sydney: Library of Australian History, Facsimile Series 7, 1977, f.p. 1902) 187-188, and from the fact that 1826 was the only year that Reverend and Mrs Hassall lived at O'Connell Plains.

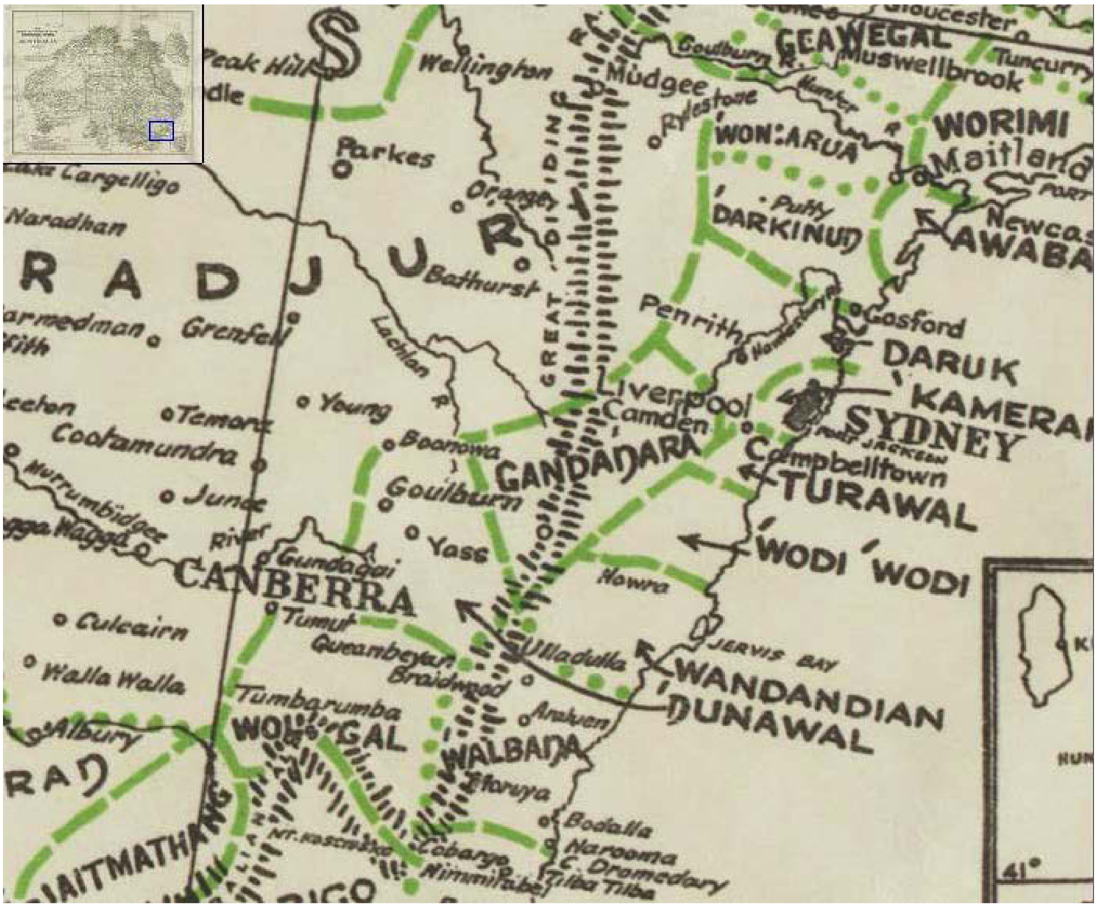

Figure Appendix 1- 1, Norman Tindale, portion of "Map Showing the Distribution of the Aboriginal Tribes of Australia," (1940). ML M3 804eca/1788/1A.

feast.[36] McDonald includes Wallerawang, near Lithgow and east of the Range, in Wiradjuri country.[37]

Jim Smith argues that the people living at the head of the Cox's River, in concentration on Piper's Flat Creek, Wallerawang, were the Wywandy, and points to the morpheme *wan* meaning west, and *di*, belonging to.[38] A breastplate belonging to the son of old "King Myles" of Wallerawang has survived, denoting him "Jemmy Myles: Prince of Wywandy".[39] Myles of the Cox's River 'tribe', usually resorting at Hartley, was collecting blankets from Hartley in 1838 with two wives and four children, one of them male.[40] The people of the Kanimbla/ Megalong Valleys, downstream on the Cox's River from Hartley, were called Therabulat. Two

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[36] T. Salisbury and P. J. Gressor, *Windradyne of the Wiradjuri: Martial Law at Bathurst in 1824*, 4, (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1971), 39-40. The story is confirmed with slightly different details in Reverend James S. Hassall *In Old Australia,* 187-188.
[37] MacDonald, "The Concept of Boundaries", 19.
[38] Smith, "Wywandy and Therbulat".
[39]IIbid.
[40] "List of Aborigines to whom Blankets have been issued", Hartley, 21 August 1838, SANSW 4/1133.3 38/8783.

independent sources, one Gundungurra man, Billy Lynch, give Therabulat/Tarrapalatt as the name of the River Lett, which joins the Cox's close to Hartley.[41]

The well-known AIATSIS map of "Aboriginal Australia" produced by David Horton in conjunction with *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia* (Figure Appendix 1.2) seems to place the Oberon district in Daruk country.[42] The AIATSIS website however acknowledges that the information is contested and does not claim it to be definitive.[43] Horton, like Tindale, does not mention the western boundary area in his definition of Gundungurra country.[44]

Geoffrey Ford, in his thesis on the Darkinung, asserts the Great Dividing Range is the western boundary of Gundungurra and Darkinung.[45] Ford believes that Billy Russell made a geographic mistake rather than a phonemic one in identifying the location associated with his uncle Myangarlie as Connor's Plains.[46] The village of O'Connell Plains straddles the Fish River between Oberon and Bathurst. Ford believes Russell meant O'Connor's flats north-east of Goulburn, which conforms with his thesis that the watershed of the Great Dividing Range was a 'tribal' boundary. (Reverend Handt recorded in his journal that he stayed at Reverend Thomas Hassall's farm at "O'Connor Plains" on his way to the Wellington mission).[47]

Evans Crown, just north of the Fish River is designated as Wiradjuri country in a National Parks and Wildlife Service Plan of Management, and Wiradjuri people take responsibility for it.[48] Campsites and scarred trees have been found in the Evans Crown Reserve, and engraved trees at other locations along the Fish River.[49] Dendrogylphs, or carved trees, are common to both

[41] Smith, "Wywandy and Therbulat".
[42] David Horton (compiler), "Aboriginal Australia 2", Southeast region, Aboriginal Studies Press, AIATSIS and Auslig/Sinclair, Knight, Merz 1996, 1009.
[43] AIATSIS http://www.aiatsis.gov.au/asp/map.html accessed 2 April 14.
[44] David Horton ed, *The Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia: Aboriginal and Torres Straight Islander History, Society and Culture,* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press for AIATSIS, 1994) 438-439.
[45] Geoffrey Ford, "Darkinung Recognition, An Analysis of the Historiography for the Aborigines from the Hawkesbury-Hunter Ranges to the of Sydney", M.A. Thesis, University of Sydney, 2010, 391-392, 418-435.
[46] Ford, "Darkinung Recognition", 422-427.
[47] Handt Journal 1,
[48] "Evans Crown Nature Reserve : Plan of Management", National Parks and Wildlife Service, 2009, 7, online, accessed 19 June 2014.
http://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/parks/09140EvansCrown.pdf
[49] New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service, "Evans Crown Nature Reserve", 7.

Wiradjuri and Gundungurra.[50]

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AIATSIS's website:
https://aiatsis.gov.au/explore/articles/aiatsis-map-indigenous-australia

Figure Appendix 1- 2, portion of David Horton, Aboriginal Australia, *(Acton, ACT: AIATSIS, 2000)*

Archaeologist Josephine Flood's study of the archaeology of the high country of the Snowy Mountains may provide a useful comparison to the Oberon district, although it is higher than Oberon by about 700 metres. It is unlikely that people were occupying those highlands during the Glacial Period, but 5,000 to 6,000 years ago they were occupied, maybe because of population pressure from the east coast.[51] Like Oberon, the Southern Tablelands were easily accessed from the west, but she found the evidence of the material culture pointed to movement from the east.

David Nash analysed comitative place names to map Wiradjuri country (see Figure Appendix 1.3). He explains his location of their eastern boundary further west than most other researchers follows:

> The absence [of names with *–dera/-gery* endings] may be an accidental by-product of the adventitious ways in which Indigenous placenames made it onto colonial maps, or there may be some underlying causes discernible from the history of the early colonial period. One is that the colonists spreading westward from the Sydney region when

[50] R. Etheridge Jnr, *The Dendroglyphs, or Carved Trees of New South Wales,* (Sydney: Department of Mines, 1918), 51,52,56-58.
[51] Josephine Flood, "Man and Ecology in the Highlands of Southeastern Australia: A Case Study", in Nicolas Peterson ed., *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia* 30-49, 30-32.

> first encountering Wiradjuri tended not to record Indigenous placenames, especially in the period before it was encouraged by the authorities (notably Macquarie and Mitchell). Another possibility is that Wiradjuri language is not involved in placenames in this eastern strip, and that the Wiradjuri spread eastward to occupy the strip when the original owning groups could not sustain their presence there (whether from disease, massacre, or forced relocation). Clearly this is a fraught topic, and I leave it for considered historical investigation.[52]

Artefacts may give some clue as to the affiliation of the people of Oberon. An Aboriginal quarry near the top of the Oberon Mount, between Oberon and Bathurst, was identified by P. J. Gresser, a Bathurst amateur historian.[53] An outcrop of hard dense bluish igneous stone, andesite, had been extensively mined for axe heads. Gresser found blanks and rejects around large, worn 'anvil' outcrops and nearby campsites.[54] Few of the many axe heads Gresser found around Bathurst were made of andesite. Most axe heads he found were from the north and west of Bathurst. He presumes that most of those from the Oberon quarry went eastward or southward. Gresser's assumption may be at least partly supported by Gundungurra man, Billy Lynch who told a journalist in 1896 that he and his people often found "tomahawks of hard green stone out in the bush, but the stone itself has never been found in the mountains. It was evidently brought from far inland".[55] The Blue Mountains predominantly consist of sandstone.

The Gundungurra Tribal Council Aboriginal Corporation included the Oberon district in a native title claim to Crown land lodged in 1998.[56] Their map showed the Gundungurra western boundary reaching a similar longitude as the Australian Capital Territory, about midway between Canberra and Orange.[57] The claim was contested, and in 2015 the claimants made an Indigenous Land Use Agreement with the State of New South Wales over a truncated area,

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[52] David Nash, "Comitative Placenames in Central NSW", in *Indigenous and Minority Placenames: Australian and International Perspectives*, ed. Ian D. Clark, Luise Hercus and Laura Kostanski, 11-37, (Acton, ACT: ANU Press and Aboriginal History Inc., 2014).
[53] P. J. Gresser, "Aborigines of the Bathurst District", AIATSIS MS 21/2, 152-158, 152-155.
[54] P. J. Gresser, "Partially Ground Axeheads and Blanks from an Aboriginal Quarry, Parish of Bolton, County of Westmoreland", *Mankind* 6, no.9 (June, 1967): 437
[55] E. D. H. [E. D. Hobden, pers. comm. Jim Smith], "Round about the Mountains", *The Sydney Mail,* 12 December 1896, 1250.
[56] Dianne Johnson, "Report to the Gundungurra Tribal Council concerning Gundungurra Native Title Claim", Federal Court File No. NG 606/98, 2004. Claim on behalf of the Gundungurra Tribal Council Aboriginal Corporation, 3 June 1998, File No. NSD 6060/1998.
[57] National Native Title Research Unit, "Research Report Bibliography: Gundungurra", August 2002, accessed 2 April 14.
http://www.nntt.gov.au/Mediation-and-agreement-making-services/Documents/research%20documents/Gundungurra.pdf

which did not "include any area within any other Native Claim".[58] This agreement required them to withdraw their Native Title claim.[59]

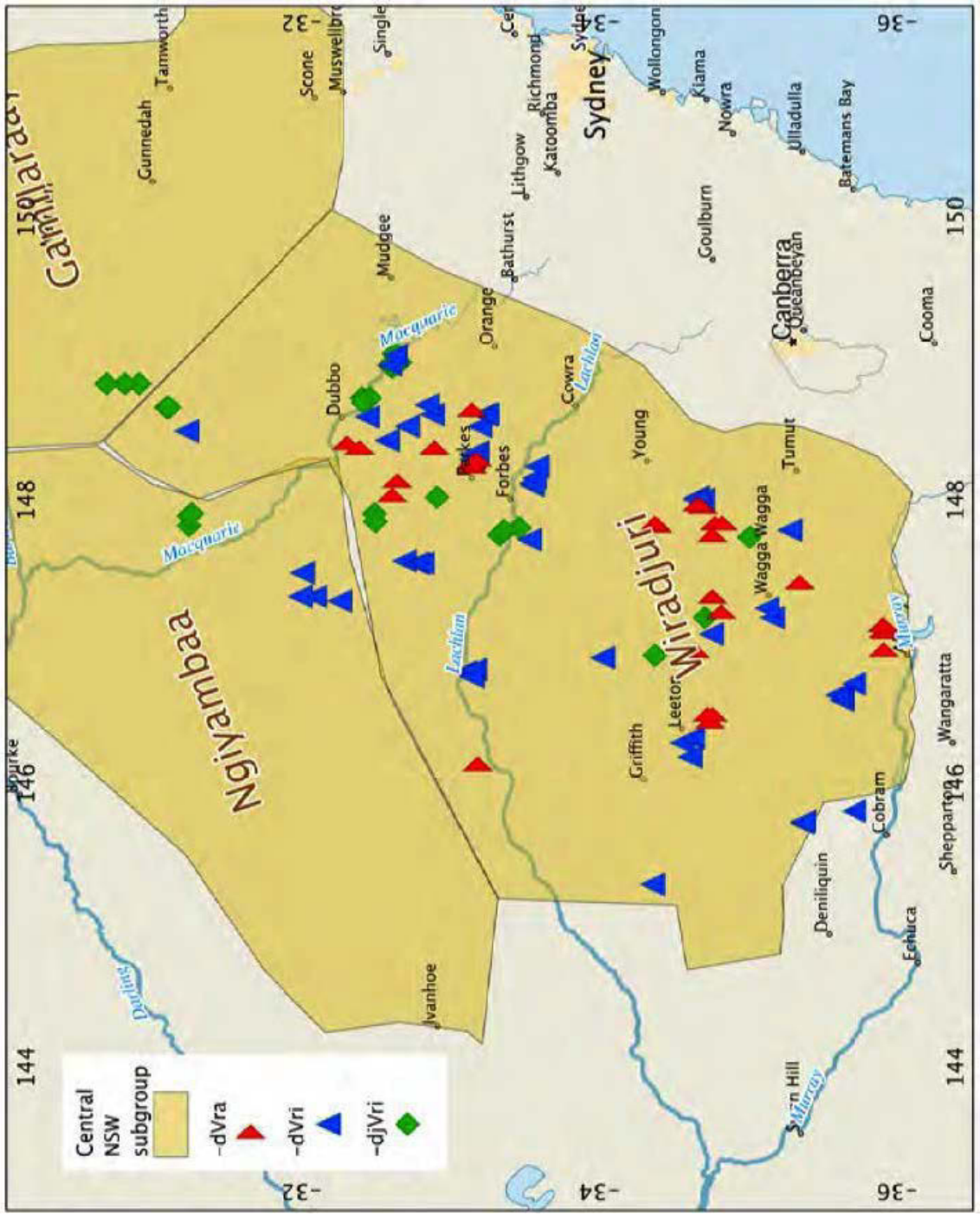

Figure Appendix 1- 3, David Nash, Map 3: Placenames overlain on language areas map (Bowern 2011), Equirectangular projection, 17.

[58] Jim Smith, *The Aboriginal People of the Burragorang Valley,* (Lawson, NSW: Blue Mountain Education and Research Trust, 2016), 323.
[59] Ibid. ;"Native Title Priority List of Cases – finalised List", Federal Court of Australia, http://www.fedcourt.gov.au/law-and-practice/national-practice-areas/native-title/priority-cases/finalised acessed 25 April 2017.

Appendix 2

Whalan's Mill

From Boggy Flat to Dillon's Farm the lazy river strayed.
Grey granite boulders by its banks with clustered rushes made
Good cover when a hunter crept on some secluded pool
Where wary black ducks came to feed in weedy waters cool.
From Dillon's wheatfield at the bend a wider reach began,
Through meadowland with clover rich the halted current ran;
There peering from the pointed reeds on any sunny day
In rippled circles might be seen a platypus at play.
The restless river turned again: below a sloping hill,
Within its grove of willow trees, stood Charlie Whalan's mill.
Old Dillon told his fireside tales of days ere I was born.
When settlers brought on bullock carts their bags of precious corn.
Although the wheel had ceased to turn – the miller long had gone
To spend the evening of his days in drowsy Oberon –
A glamour lay upon the place, for ever seemed to brood
A spirit there of restfulness and gracious solitude.
Beside the broken fences grew old alders in a line,
From these a housewife once distilled thick "elderberry wine"
A ragged hawthorn flowered yet; moss roses, here and there
With wild verbena, thyme and musk, drugged deep the summer air.
When wanton breezes slyly kissed the willows from a dream
Their drooping branches swayed and swept above the dark millstream;
By aniseed and slender mint the channel's edge was rimmed;
Black water-beetles, to and fro, its idle surface skimmed.
A crested heron hour by hour stood brooding in the shade
While gay kingfishers flaunting by their blue and gold displayed.
No sound discordant broke the peace of that unoccupied
First holding of a pioneer along the riverside.
From silver morn to golden noon, from noon to evenfall
While seasons came and seasons went a charm was on it all;
But when upon her magic broom the moon rode o'er the hill
That sky-witch weaved a deeper spell, nightlong round Whalan's mill.

E. J. Brady

First published in *The Bulletin,* 29 January 1947

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Abbreviations

ADB	*Australian Dictionary of Biography*.
AIAS	*Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies*
AIATSIS	Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
Anon.	Anonymous
BT	Bonwick Transcripts, Mitchell Library
JRAHS	Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society
HRA	Historical Records of Australia
HRNSW	Historical Records of Australia
ML	Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales
MS	manuscript
n. d.	no date
pers.comm.	personal communication
SANSW	State Archives of New South Wales

Newspapers and magazines

The Australian

Australian Town and Country Journal

Australasian Chronicle

Bathurst Free Press and Mining Journal

The Bulletin

Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser

The Colonist

Empire

Freeman's Journal

The Lithgow Mercury

The Methodist

Molong Express and Western District Advertiser

National Advocate

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The Sydney Mail

The Sydney Herald

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Brian Abbott
Georgia Allen
Brett Bailey
Lurline Bell
Ray Cunynghame
Joan Cosgrove
Mervyn Dwyer
Patricia Dwyer
Frank Fawcett
Peter Hammond
William Kater
Jonathan Lilley
Jocelyn Lloyd
Laurie McMahon
Ray McMahon
Colleen Maranda

Alexander Payne
Wendy Robinson
Peter Stiff
Kevin Webb
Harry Wynter