



Reclaiming Darug history: revealing the truths about settlement on Darug Ngurra through the lens of an Australian Aboriginal historical research methodology

Norman-Hill, Rosemary

https://researchportal.scu.edu.au/discovery/delivery/61SCU_INST:ResearchRepository/1276606940002368?l#1376606930002368

Norman-Hill, R. (2020). Reclaiming Darug history: revealing the truths about settlement on Darug Ngurra through the lens of an Australian Aboriginal historical research methodology [Southern Cross University]. <https://doi.org/10.25918/thesis.70>

Published Version: 10.25918/thesis.70

Southern Cross University Research Portal:
https://scu.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/search?vid=61SCU_INST:ResearchRepository
ResearchPortal@scu.edu.au
Open
Copyright R Norman-Hill 2020
Downloaded On 2020/10/19 03:24:44

Reclaiming Darug History:

**Revealing the truths about settlement on
Darug Ngurra through the lens of an
Australian Aboriginal historical research
methodology**



Songlines: keeping our culture alive and our people connected, by Auntie Laura Grant

Rosemary Norman-Hill (Bachelor of Social Science)

Thesis submitted to fulfil the requirements of Doctor of Indigenous Philosophies,
Gnibi College of Indigenous Australian Peoples, Southern Cross University

12 June 2020

Declaration of authorship

I certify that the work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original, except as acknowledged in the text, and that the material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

I acknowledge that I have read and understood the University's rules, requirements, procedures and policy relating to my higher degree research award and to my thesis. I certify that I have complied with the rules, requirements, procedures and policy of the University.

Signed

Date 12 June 2020

Profile of the Artist

My name is Laura Grant. My Tribe are the Wiradjuri people from New South Wales, Australia. Our people have a strong spiritual connection to the land. Wiradjuri people have their own language and a rich culture of stories and songs. My clan lived on the banks of the Lachlan River. My earliest memories are from that area, even though I later grew up and lived on the East Coast of Australia. It is my duty as an Elder to keep our culture alive and pass on the knowledge, not only to our children and grandchildren, but to all who want to learn about, appreciate and respect Indigenous cultures and peoples of Australia.



Cover Picture

Songlines: keeping our culture alive and our people connected

The dark background colours represent earth before life began, a dark silent world. The colours come alive as the Ancestral Spirits move through the universe and over the land. The yellow circle represents the beginning when the sun rose out of the ground and the earth received light for the first time. Singing the land into life the Spirits create the moon and the stars. They move over the land forming mountains, rivers, trees and bringing life to the animals, and to people themselves, our Dreamtime Ancestors.

The large branches of the Boab Tree, painted in the form of hands, represent the spirits and everything they created. They also illustrate that sometimes the spirits turned into trees or rocks or a part of the landscape. And these became sacred places. The roots of the trees growing deep in the ground show our strong connection to the land and to our cultural heritage. The wavy lines reaching out in every direction are the creation story Song lines. Crossing and reaching every part of the country, backtracking accordingly to the journeys of our ancestors.

The concentric circles on the bottom corners show yarning circles of our Ancestors and Elders. Here they are sharing and passing the song down to each generation along with their own stories and knowledge. And it is our responsibility to keep the songs and stories alive. This creates a cultural network of our stories, past and present, not only keeping our culture alive but also uniting all Indigenous Australians together.

I, Laura Grant give permission for Rosemary Norman-Hill to use my artwork in this thesis.

Abstract

The Darug nation were the first Aboriginal peoples in Australia impacted by the coming of the British in 1788. As a Darug woman and Aboriginal researcher I have written this thesis to expose the realities for the Darug as a legacy of the British settlement on Darug Ngurra¹ (Country). The Aboriginal artwork on the front cover sets the scene for the research: from the creation of our lands to the passing on of cultural practices, the thesis aims to pass on knowledge, keeping culture alive. I use the ancient art of storytelling to share my ancestry and the life of my great, great, great grandmother, Black Kitty of the Darug. Kitty became part of a Colonial Government experiment to civilise, Christianise and educate Aboriginal children at the first native residential school in Australia, the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI). Through this thesis I aim to reveal the truths of the Darug experience, reclaim Darug history and reaffirm our identity as Darug peoples. Though not formally recognised as such, I argue that Kitty and the other Aboriginal children who were placed in the PNI should be considered the first of the ‘Stolen Generations’.

For much of the past two hundred years, beliefs about Australia’s colonial past have been informed and framed only by the writings of Western historians. This doctoral research follows the footsteps of Indigenous scholars who are re-writing Indigenous history, in contrast to the Western-oriented and patriarchal view of colonial Australia. To meet the needs of the Darug community and fulfil the requirements of the academy, I have developed a methodological framework which incorporates

¹ Ngurra or nura are Darug words for our traditional homelands, our Country

Aboriginal and Western concepts, naming it the Paramatta Paradigm (PP). The PP is underpinned by Indigenous Knowledge in Ngurra and has a combination of methods: Indigenous Storywork, historiography, hermeneutics, and textual analysis, all viewed through a Darug woman's eyes.

Using both Indigenous and Western research methods to review archival data puts the storying in context and becomes my way of respectfully conducting historical research on Ngurra. Viewing those first years of colonisation through an Aboriginal lens, a different picture emerges, a picture that reveals a different side to mainstream views of Australia's colonial history. The thesis highlights the experience of Darug peoples during the first years of settlement, from deadly diseases, appropriation of land and war on Ngurra, along with the systematic removal of Aboriginal children. Born during these times of change, Kitty is an example of how the Darug survived, adapted, and adjusted to the changing conditions within the new settler state. The story of Kitty and her life at the PNI, brings 'belonging' and 'becoming' to the story, and by following her life's journey, I reclaim my Darug identity.

Acknowledgement of Country

I acknowledge the lands of my ancestors, my mother's Country, Darug Ngurra, and the privilege of researching *in* Ngurra *about* Ngurra and my father's Country, the Wodi Wodi lands of the Dharawal nation. I also have the privilege of studying and learning on Bundjalung Country. I pay my respects to Elders past, present and emerging from all Aboriginal and Torres Strait nations. I honour my family and my ancestry, for without them I would not be here.

In this thesis I use Ngurra, a Darug word to denote the 'Country' or traditional homelands of the Darug peoples. I take the meaning of 'Country' to be as stated by Professor Mick Dodson:

When Aboriginal people talk about 'country' we mean something very different from the conventional European understandings. We might mean homeland or tribal or clan area. But we are not necessarily referring to a place in a merely geographical sense. Rather, the word 'country' is an abbreviation of all the values, places, resources, stories and cultural obligations associated with that area. Certainly, to talk of country is to talk of its resources: the uses to which these might be put, and their proper distribution. In this sense, to understand country is also to understand its crucial importance to the customary Indigenous economy and governance. However, the word best describes the entirety of a people's ancestral inheritance. It is Place that gives meaning to creation beliefs. The stories of creation form the basis of Indigenous law and explain the origins of the natural world. To speak of country is to speak both of the economic uses to which it may be put and of a fundamentally spiritual relationship that links the past to the present, the dead to the living and the human and non-human worlds. Country is centrally about identity. (cited in Hinkson & Beckett, 2008, p. v)

I write this thesis from an Australian Aboriginal perspective, and as a Darug person. I acknowledge and respect Torres Strait Islander nations who are also First Nations peoples of Australia. I cannot speak on behalf of their history or of their ways of 'knowing, being, and doing', except in an overarching Indigenous context.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, I want to thank my husband Nick who gave me the space to think, to learn, to grow and to write. To my cultural mentor and friend, Aunty Laura Grant, I will be forever grateful for your mentorship. You are inspirational, your artwork is amazing, and I deeply appreciate your sharing of cultural knowledge. I would like to thank Professor Norm Sheehan for giving me the opportunity to participate in the first cohort of students in the Doctor of Indigenous Philosophies Degree and for providing me with guidance and cultural knowledge. I also acknowledge and thank my Supervisors, Dr Shawn Wilson, Dr Stuart Barlo, Dr Monica Seini, Professor Norm Sheehan and Dr Kath Fisher. Appreciation also to SCU Librarian Maureen Bezanson for your patience and support. I feel truly blessed to have you all supporting me. This has not been an easy journey, but it is one we have walked together.

There have been many people who have followed my progress and contributed in some part to this work. Staff from the City of Parramatta and Parramatta Heritage Centre: Steven Ross, Sasa Kennedy, Michelle Deshailly, Neera Sahni and Cath Renwick, who could not do enough to help me with my research about the Parramatta Native Institution. Grateful thanks to Alice Kershaw from the Granville Historical Society, the librarians at the Mitchell Library and staff at the NSW Archives for their assistance in searching for primary documents. Thanks to Joy Pickette and volunteers from the Coonabarabran DPS Local and Family History Group Inc. who added value to the family research. To the Darug champions: Uncle Lexodious (Lex) Dadd, my wonderful niece Corina Norman and cousin Jo Rose who shared resources and information over the years, and to Jo's mother, Aunty Pat who started this journey for us in the seventies.

Dedications

I dedicate this thesis to peoples of the ‘Stolen Generations’:

- The children and young people placed in the Parramatta Native Institution and Blacktown Native Institution and their descendants
- To Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people raised by missionaries in native or training schools across Australia
- To Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children and young people forcibly removed due to government policies and practices and who grew up apart from their families
- To Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families and children whose lives continue to be impacted, both by the trauma of past removals and current removal practices
- To my mother June who as a young Aboriginal child spent time in an Institution in Sydney and has been forever impacted by the experience.

This work acknowledges the pain and suffering that comes from separation, the loss, the grief and the disconnection, bonds forever broken, a cycle of removals which continues today.

I dedicate this thesis to you all.

Publications and Conference Presentations

Norman-Hill, R. (2020). Australia's Native Residential Schools. In S. Minton (Ed.), *Residential school systems and Indigenous peoples: from genocide via education to the possibilities for truth, reconciliation and reclamation*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Vane, J., Minton, S., Ka'ai, T., Norman-Hill, R., & Winder, N. N. (2020). Reflections by Tania Ka'ai, Rosemary Norman-Hill and Natahnee Nuay Winder. In S. Minton (Ed.), *Residential school systems and Indigenous peoples: from genocide via education to the possibilities for truth, reconciliation and reclamation*. New York: Taylor & Francis.

Norman-Hill, R. (2019). The story of 'Black Kitty' of the Parramatta Native Institution: looking at Australian colonial history through Darug eyes. Paper presented at the MAI Ki Te Ao Indigenous Doctoral Gathering, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Norman-Hill, R. (2017a). *The Parramatta Native Institution: Where it all began*. Paper presented at the SNAICC Conference: Bring them home securing the rights of our children, Canberra ACT.

Norman-Hill, R. (2017b). *Specific case study: Aboriginal children and the Parramatta Native Institution*. Waves of people making Parramatta Home. City of Parramatta. Sydney.

Abbreviations used in the thesis

ADB	Australian Dictionary of Biography
BT	Bonwick Transcripts
FOS	Female Orphan School
HRA	Historical Records of Australia
HRNSW	Historical Records of New South Wales
LMS	London Missionary Society
ML	Mitchell Library
Sydney Gazette	Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
SRNSW	State Records of New South Wales

Foreword: a personal transformation

In our cultures, an integral part of any ceremony is setting the stage properly. When ceremonies take place, everyone who is participating needs to be able to step beyond the everyday and to accept a raised state of consciousness. You could say that the specific rituals that make up the ceremony are designed to get the participants into a state of mind that will allow for the extraordinary to take place.
(Wilson, 2008, p. 69)

The rituals for my ceremonial research journey were extraordinary, a personal transformation and a bringing together of the seen and unseen in a most unexpected way. On reflection, I see now that it happened at the most appropriate time, at the beginning of the writing of this thesis. At the time I believed I was becoming an academic writer, a naturally occurring, organic process that happens as one grows into the study. My transformation, however, was much more than growing into the study. It was a paradigm shift, a connecting back on a much deeper level to a more-than-human space (Ngurra et al., 2019). I was participating as a human *in* Country rather than a human *on* Country (Suchet-Pearson et al., 2013).

The transformation occurred while I was staying at North Sydney, where I had travelled from the Gold Coast to begin the process of researching primary historical documents at the New South Wales (NSW) State Library. As a registered house-sitter, I had free accommodation at Balgowlah near Manly on the Northern side of Sydney Harbour. My primary responsibility was to care for a beautiful Spoodle named *Bella*. Having completed the required coursework for the Doctor of

Indigenous Philosophies, I was looking forward to the in-depth research ahead of me.

During the Doctoral coursework, I had read in awe about Australia's colonial history from the writings of noted historians, academics, and anthropologists. As I considered these authors to be subject matter experts with information based on factual findings, my understandings of the early colonial period were influenced mainly by these writings. While the central theme and initial impetus for my study was my ancestor Kitty and the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI), I became particularly drawn to the accounts of the coming of the First Fleet to Sydney Cove, especially as this event seemed to have had an enormous impact on the local Aboriginal population.

This information was uppermost in my mind each day as I boarded the Manly Ferry and headed into the city. As I immersed myself in historical research, I discovered that where I was staying was close to where Governor Arthur Phillip had kidnapped three Aboriginal men between 1788 and 1789. The first man taken was Arabanoo, a young Aboriginal man who lived in the convict settlement for five months before dying from smallpox in May 1789 (Smith, 2001). The next two men, (Cattai) Colbee and Bennelong, were kidnapped together a year later from the same location. Both men contributed significantly to the cross-cultural relationships that formed between Aboriginal peoples and the British over the next few years.

People from all parts of the globe take the Spit Bridge to Manly Scenic Walk track each day. From the unit balcony, I watched them pass through this little piece of paradise, envisaging how these walkers would most likely be oblivious to the significance of the area in Australian history. As part of my responsibilities, I was required to walk Bella twice a day. Bella proved to be an excellent companion and gave me a reason to take the scenic walk track and explore the local parks and reserves.

One day I came across a staircase in the bush built into the side of the hill. Feeling an intense urge to follow this path, I started the steep climb. Near the top, I was astounded to find what I imagined could have been a ‘scarred tree’: “Scarred trees represent places where an event took place. This may have involved the manufacture of an artefact, such as a canoe, the erection of a shelter, or food collection” (Long, 2005, p. 13). The bark appeared to me to have been cut in the traditional shape, and although it had twisted through time and growth, for me it was still visible. The scar



is a physical example of Aboriginal knowledge used effectively. Finding this tree was a reminder that at some time in the past Aboriginal people had stood where I was standing.

I sat beside the tree and imagined life for Aboriginal peoples before the British came. The tree, with its roots deep in the

earth, holding the trunk firm and stable, signified for me the deep richness of Aboriginal cultural knowledge and of the peoples who had lived here. For the first time, I was beginning to engage and be shaped by the geography of this physical space (Meyer, 2001). The markings on the trunk relationally connected the tree to Aboriginal peoples; each part of the tree is symbolic of life, of living and being in this world. It is a tree of knowledge, growing on hallowed ground:

The tree presents an archetype of life, learning, and development that begins with the sprouting of a seedling from a seed embedded in fertile ground, then moves to the various stages of growth and development through all seasons of life and its trials and tribulations until it begins to form seeds of its own. The tree is a natural analogy for a living philosophy...it is a living symbol. (Cajete, 2000, p. 58)

Through the tree, I became awakened to “native science and quest for knowledge” which Cajete, (2000, p. 58) explains is “...an expression of the evolutionary interrelationship of native people with nature”. On reflection, I have come to see myself, a researcher within the academy, as the seedling, providing fertile ground for its sprouting. This research continues to grow and develop, forming seeds of knowledge, creating new life through storytelling, and knowledge sharing.

This ceremonial research journey, however, did not end there. Following my discovery of the ‘scarred’ (and, to me, *sacred* tree), words would flood into my head during the night. I found them impossible to ignore. It was like a group of unseen beings shouting, but without any sound. I tried desperately to get the words down on paper. Struggling to understand what this meant, I sat in the bush in deep reflection. Suddenly those words began to come together like poetry. Not being particularly

expressive in the poetry space, I found the way this was happening enlightening, as it brought a sense of achievement and a sense of reality to what I was experiencing.

It was not until I read Noel Tovey's (2004) memoir *Little Black Bastard: a story of survival* that I realised others had had similar experiences. While sitting in a jail cell contemplating his life, Tovey wrote, "...I heard voices yelling at me from inside my head...the voices got louder and I thought I was going mad" (Tovey, 2004, p. 16). When Tovey reflected on this experience, he realised they were the voices of his ancestors, later writing about this in his memoir. While our circumstances were different, here was someone believing he had connected directly to spirit, to the ancestors.

I suddenly understood that connection when I read about Tovey's experience. It came to me that something powerful was happening to me. I believed that I too established a connection with the ancestral spirit beings. A sense of 'being' with this knowledge flowed through me. Just as I had connected with the tree, I was now a part of the voices of the ancestors, as they were a part of me. Like Tovey, my 'doing' needed to flow on from these experiences. In Martin's (2003, p. 8) view:

You no longer know yourself as a 'person', you've become an Entity amongst other Entities. Through relational ontology, the connections are restored, relatedness reciprocated and maintained.

I can relate to this, as my experience was not just ground-breaking for me personally, in terms of connecting my spirit to Country, but also in the connections I made within Country, including the natural elements that give us life: air, earth, water, and fire

(Kovach, Carriere, Montgomery, Barrett, & Gilles, 2015). I was building relationships with everything around me in that sacred place and space. The ceremonial research journey through learning *in* Country and *from* Country transformed me from being an academic with Western thought orientations, to becoming an Aboriginal researcher, developing my authentic voice: “That’s the spiritual part of it. If you talk about research as a ceremony, that’s the climax of the ceremony, when it all comes together and all those connections are made” (Lewis, as cited in Wilson, 2008, p. 89).

Reflective poem

*The calm, clear waters provide us with life
As our canoes cruise gently across the bay
With our fishing lines ajiggle with fish
This has always been our way*

*The ancestors smile down upon us
The sun shines bright above our head
The warmth of the water caresses our bodies
As we cut oysters from their beds*

*The earth, our Mother, the giver of life
We honour and obey
The lore of 'knowing,' 'being' and 'doing'
We respect in every way*

Rosemary Norman-Hill – North Harbour, Manly, June 2017

Table of Contents

Declaration of authorship	ii
Profile of the Artist.....	iii
Cover Picture.....	iv
Abstract	v
Acknowledgement of Country	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
Dedications.....	ix
Publications and Conference Presentations	x
Abbreviations used in the thesis.....	xi
Foreword: a personal transformation	xii
<i>Reflective poem</i>	xviii
Table of Figures in the Thesis	xxiv
Table of Figures in the Appendixes	xxv
Chapter 1: Introduction to the research.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The role of artwork in the thesis.....	2
1.3 Research Aim	3
1.4 Research Question.....	4
1.5 My positionality and relationship to the study	4
1.6 Rationale for the research.....	6
<i>Reflective poem</i>	8
1.7 Thesis as narrative	9
1.8 Methodology and Methods.....	12
1.9 Structure of the Thesis.....	15
Chapter 2: My Ancestry - the family connection.....	20
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 European Connection	21
2.2.1 Convicts Charles Cross and Rose Flood	21
2.2.2 Settlers Thomas and Jane Rose	23
2.3 Aboriginal Connection	29
2.3.1 Kitty of the Darug nation	29
2.3.2 Dharawal Connection.....	32

2.3.3	Personal History.....	34
2.3.4	Family History Revealed	39
Chapter 3: Indigenous Methodologies – the Parramatta Paradigm.....		42
3.1	Introduction	42
3.2	Relational Accountability.....	45
3.3	Indigenous theoretical perspectives and philosophies	50
3.3.1	Indigenous Standpoint Theory	53
3.4	Foundations of an Indigenous Research Paradigm	57
3.5	Indigenous Knowledge Research (IKR)	59
3.6	The Parramatta Paradigm	61
3.6.1	The four circles	62
3.7	The Methods.....	63
3.7.1	Indigenous Storywork.....	67
3.7.2	Aboriginal Hermeneutics	69
3.7.3	Aboriginal Historiography	70
3.7.4	Textual Analysis	73
3.8	Conclusion.....	74
Chapter 4: Kitty’s Country before the whitefellas		76
4.1	Introduction	76
4.2	Australia before the whitefellas.....	78
4.3	Sydney before the whitefellas	81
4.3.1	The Dreamtime, the Dreaming.....	83
4.3.2	First non-Indigenous views of Aboriginal people and cultures	86
4.3.3	Views of traditional Aboriginal people and cultures	87
4.4	Cannemegal-Warmuli Country – Kitty’s traditional lands	90
4.4.1	Kitty’s Country through the eyes of white explorers	90
4.5	Interpretations of the Darug name and language	95
4.6	Conclusion.....	98
Chapter 5: An Indigenous retelling of the journeys of the <i>Endeavour</i>		100
5.1	Introduction	100
5.1.1	Comments on sources	101
5.2	Cook’s antecedents and instructions	102
5.2.1	Polynesian Navigator – the story of Tupia.....	105
5.2.2	Tupia and Banks.....	112

5.2.3	Tupia and New Zealand	114
5.2.4	Tupia's experience in Australia	114
5.3	Cook crosses the Tasman	116
5.3.1	Cook's first sighting of Aboriginal people.....	117
5.4	Cook and Banks at Botany Bay.....	119
5.4.1	Evidence of Indigenous Knowledge practice in Botany Bay.....	127
5.5	From Aboriginal land to land belonging to the British Crown	129
5.6	Conclusion.....	131
Chapter 6: Whitefella occupation of Kitty's Country 1788-1816		133
6.1	Introduction	133
6.2	The arrival of the First Fleet.....	134
6.2.1	First Fleet Relations with Aboriginal Peoples	136
6.2.2	Conditions in the first year of occupation.....	139
6.3	The coming of smallpox.....	142
6.4	Smallpox: a biological weapon used against Aboriginal peoples?	147
6.5	The founding of Parramatta.....	156
6.6	Whitefellas at Warmul	158
6.7	The coming of the 'frontier wars'	160
6.7.1	The Battle of Parramatta	168
	<i>Reflective Poem</i>	171
6.7.2	Reconciliation on Prospect Hill 1805	172
6.8	Governor Macquarie and the frontier wars	174
6.8.1	Macquarie's arrival and early days in the colony	174
6.8.2	Macquarie's massacre at Appin	176
6.8.3	Macquarie's 1816 'Proclamation'	177
6.8.4	Macquarie's legacy	179
6.9	Conclusion.....	180
Chapter 7: The rise and fall of the Parramatta Native Institution		182
7.1	Introduction	182
7.2	Enter the evangelising missionaries	183
7.2.1	The Reverend Richard Johnson	185
7.2.2	The Reverend Samuel Marsden	188
7.2.3	Missionary William Shelley.....	193
7.2.4	The Reverend Robert Cartwright.....	196

7.3	Establishment of the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI)	199
7.3.1	Macquarie's General Orders outline the Rules of the PNI.....	202
7.3.2	Macquarie's seven-point plan for the PNI	203
7.4	The PNI 1815-1822.....	208
7.5	A failed institution: the closure of the PNI	215
7.5.1	Cartwright's letters.....	215
7.5.2	Elizabeth Shelley's assessment	216
7.5.3	The Bigge Commission of Inquiry 1823.....	218
7.6	The children of the PNI: the first Stolen Generation in Australia.....	219
7.7	Conclusion.....	223
	<i>Reflective poem</i>	224
Chapter 8: The legacy of Black Kitty of the Darug.....		225
8.1	Introduction	225
8.2	Kitty marries 'Richmond Colebee'	226
8.3	The story of 'Richmond Colebee' a Boorooberongal man	227
8.4	Kitty marries Joseph Budsworth	232
8.5	The children of Black Kitty and Joseph Budsworth	233
8.6	My connection with Kitty: James Bowen Budsworth.....	235
8.7	What became of Kitty and Joseph?	237
	<i>Reflective poem</i>	238
8.8	Kitty's lasting legacy: her descendants' contribution to World War I.....	239
8.8.1	Reflections about Country	239
	<i>Reflective Poem</i>	242
8.9	Conclusion.....	243
Chapter 9: Conclusion – Coming full circle		244
9.1	The making of a new Indigenous Research paradigm	245
9.2	Reflections on ancestry and Country (Ngurra)	248
9.3	A different view of history	250
9.4	The role of traditional Aboriginal art	252
9.5	Implications for future research	256
	<i>Reflective poem</i>	258
References		259
Appendix 1		289

Appendix 2	290
Appendix 3	297
Appendix 4	298
Appendix 5	299
Appendix 6	302
Appendix 7	314
Appendix 8	332
Appendix 9	340
Appendix 10	350

Table of Figures in the Thesis

Figure 1:1 Aboriginal historical research in practice.....	11
Figure 3:1 Lambert’s conceptual model of an Indigenous Research Paradigm	58
Figure 3:2 The Parramatta Paradigm	61
Figure 9:1 Coming full circle – a visual representation of the thesis	254

Table of Figures in the Appendixes

Figure 1.1: Governor's Annual Meeting of the Native Tribes in Parramatta	289
Figure 2.1: The sailing ships <i>Leopard</i> , <i>Surprise</i> , <i>Bellona</i> & <i>Sophie</i> 1793	290
Figure 2.2: Dorset sign on bridge at Sturminster Newton	290
Figure 2.3: Rose Cottage at Wilberforce	291
Figure 2.4: Death notice of Jane Rose	291
Figure 2.5: Ned Puckeridge and daughter Minnie on her wedding day	292
Figure 2.6: My father John (on right) and uncle Ron Norman	292
Figure 2.7: Obituary for my father, Desmond John Norman.....	293
Figure 2.8: Corrections to the obituary of my father D. J. Norman.....	294
Figure 2.9: My 'Nan', Mary Evelyn Brouggy (nee Rose).....	294
Figure 2.10: Handwritten list by Elizabeth Shelley, Manager of the PNI 1815-1822.....	295
Figure 2.11: Rosemary Norman-Hill Family Tree	296
Figure 3.1: Event at which Darug Community gave permission to undertake this research.	297
Figure 4.1 Kitty's traditional Ngurra	298
Figure 5.1: Transcript of Cook's secret instructions 1768.....	299
Figure 5.2: Extract from Cook's journal 29 April 1770	301
Figure 6.1: Governor Phillip's instructions	302
Figure 6.2: Pimbloy [Pemulwuy]: Native of New Holland in a Canoe of that Country.....	303
Figure 6.3: King's letter to Banks May 1792 p. 1	304
Figure 6.4: King's letter to Banks May 1792 p. 2	305
Figure 6.5: Reconciliation on Prospect Hill <i>Sydney Gazette</i> 'Postscript'	306
Figure 6.6: Copy of Macquarie's 4 May 1816 'Proclamation'	307
Figure 6.7: Full text of Macquarie's 4 May 1816 'Proclamation'	308
Figure 6.8: Reconciliation on Prospect Hill: Postscript from <i>Sydney Gazette</i> 5 May 1805 ..	312

Figure 7.1: Letter from William Shelley to Governor Macquarie 8 April 1814.....	314
Figure 7.2: Full front page of <i>Sydney Gazette</i> 10 December 1814.....	315
Figure 7.3: Text of Rules for the Parramatta Native Institution, 10 December 1814.....	316
Figure 7.4: Text of invitation to a Feast in Parramatta on 28 December 1816.....	318
Figure 7.5: Text of <i>Sydney Gazette</i> article about result of Marketplace Conference	319
Figure 7.6: Drawing of the Parramatta Native Institution 1835	321
Figure 7.7: Sketch of layout of PNI, presumably by William Shelley	321
Figure 7.8: Copy of partial text from The Sydney Gazette (17 April 1819), p. 2	322
Figure 7.9: Full text from <i>Sydney Gazette</i> : A pupil of the Native Institution wins a prize ...	323
Figure 7.10: Names and ages of students at the PNI as of 28 December 1820	325
Figure 7.11: Rules of Black Town Native Institution under Archdeacon Scott, 1827-28.....	326
Figure 7.12: Front page of Report of the Bigge Commission of Inquiry 1823	328
Figure 7.13: Photo of Page 73 of Bigge Commission of Inquiry 1823	329
Figure 7.14: Text of Commissioner Bigge's report on the Native Institution	330
Figure 7.15: Mrs Shelley's assessment of the Native Institution, 1838.....	331
Figure 8.1: Deed to the 30 acres of land granted to Colebee in 1819.....	332
Figure 8.2: Photograph of the site of Colebee's Land Grant	333
Figure 8.3: Magistrate's Population Book: Kitty, Coleby, Samuel in Blacktown 1824.....	334
Figure 8.4 Baptism Records NSW.....	335
Figure 8.5: Newspaper report of James Bowen Budsworth in the Cassilis lockup	336
Figure 8.6: Registered Marriage of James Bowen Budsworth and Catherine Ryan	337
Figure 8.7: Thesis search for WW1 records - descendants of Black Kitty.....	338
Figure 8.8: Summary of Kitty's contribution to the Great War (1914-1918).....	339
Figure 9.1: Darug Elder Uncle Lex's story.....	340
Figure 9.2: Snake Jump (Darug Bulada).....	341
Figure 9.3: Children's Book: Cooee Mittagarr and Aboriginal Songlines (Sept 2019).....	342
Figure 9.4: The Parramatta Native Institution 200 th Year Commemoration Ceremony.....	343

Figure 9.5: Koori Mail Coverage of PNI 200 th Anniversary Event.....	344
Figure 9.6: Darug in Country: Community Event – The Secret Life of Eels	345
Figure 9.7: Undergraduate unit at Macquarie University about Darug Country	346
Figure 9.8: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Science & Knowledge Centre	347
Figure 9.9: The handback of the Blacktown Native Institution October 2018.....	348
Figure 9.10: Invitation to attend the handback of the BNI	349
Figure 10.1: Cover of Minton (Ed.) (2020): Residential Schools and Indigenous Peoples...	350
Figure 10.2: Rosemary Norman-Hill (2020), Chapter FOUR in Minton (Ed) (2020)	351

Chapter 1: Introduction to the research



1.1 Introduction

The thesis is underpinned by historical research, grounded both in my family history and the history of the Darug Nation of New South Wales (NSW). Each chapter begins with the Australian Aboriginal artwork of Wiradjuri Elder Aunty Laura Grant. The symbols within the artwork become a story within itself. These images provide a visual interpretation, or ‘visual dialogue’ (Sheehan, 2011a; 2011b) of my research, chapter by chapter.

In this first visual design, I am situated centrally in the middle of the palm, learning to become a storyteller, to be culturally worthy and ready (Archibald, 2008). My journey of learning encompasses how to share stories within this thesis respectfully. The circle of dots surrounding me on the palm represent my ancestors, providing guidance and support. The half-circle symbols facing outwards represent the important relationships throughout this study, both within the academy and outside it; the half circles facing inwards signify the relationships between the methods, which are a combination of Aboriginal and Western concepts. The four fingers become the essential aspects of storytelling within an Indigenous research process: respect, reciprocity, responsibility, and relationality. The lines within the fingers are the stories being shared. As an Aboriginal researcher, I am undertaking this study to expose the Darug experience during the coming of the British to our lands, and to

privilege the life of Kitty of the Darug, who, as a child, became part of the colonial project that was settler Sydney.

This introductory Chapter includes the research question, aim of the study and structure of the chapters for the thesis. The methodology is introduced along with methods specifically chosen to interpret colonial data through an Aboriginal lens. I am the researcher, and as an Aboriginal woman, I tell the story of another Aboriginal woman, both having a relational connection to each other and a bloodline connection to Darug Ngurra (Country). While the thesis does not have a dedicated literature review chapter, each chapter incorporates literature in the context of the overall theme.

1.2 The role of artwork in the thesis

My friend and cultural mentor, Wiradjuri Elder Aunty Laura Grant generously shares her cultural knowledge through the creation of her visual designs at the beginning of each chapter, in line with the methodology discussed in Chapter Three. This cultural mentorship fits well within the relationship of ‘co-design’ or ‘respectful design’, as we align our thinking, building on our strengths as Aboriginal peoples (Sheehan, 2012). Aunty Laura’s cultural knowledge also helps to guide my thought processes, while the images give cohesion to my cultural foundation, assisting me to develop into role of storyteller.

Collectively within the artwork, the images begin the storying of each chapter linking the chapter to the research and the reader to the story. The Darug peoples are

represented by the white dots surrounding the hand, with the thumb representing the truths of the Darug experience. The narrative expressed through storytelling gives a voice to Darug peoples and affirms that as an Aboriginal nation we have not just survived the settlement of our lands but continue to ‘be’ present both on and in Country to this day. The artwork thus becomes a cultural way of communicating, a shift in thinking through an Indigenous research paradigm that helps guide and situate the reader.

I argue that beginning each chapter with a visual image introduces the story to the reader in an Aboriginal way. This symbolic approach incorporates “cultural, social, and environmental practices through visual and interactive processes embedded in the being-with of human groups” (Sheehan, 2012, p. 71). Thus, using traditional art in the research design is a respectful way of incorporating cultural practices into the methodology, discussed in more detail in section 1.8 below.

1.3 Research Aim

This thesis is not re-telling the history of Sydney; instead, the overarching aim is to examine and reinterpret Australia’s colonial past through an Aboriginal lens and investigate significant events that happened to Darug people on Darug Ngurra (Country), during the colonial settlement period, when people ‘other than’ Aboriginal (i.e. the British) came uninvited and unannounced to our place and invaded our space.

To achieve this overarching aim, I intend to achieve the following sub aims:

1. Undertake this research to tell the story of ‘Black Kitty of the Darug’, as it is her blood line that connects me to Darug Ngurra. In this way, I reclaim my sovereign right to Country, reclaim my identity as a Darug woman, and use my realities and ways of ‘knowing, being, belonging and becoming’ to form part of the storying.
2. Highlight the historical significance of the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI) as the first native residential school in Australia, and expose the policy that was enacted by the Colonial Government to remove Aboriginal children from their families using education as the rationale (Norman-Hill, 2020).

1.4 Research Question

Thus, through this study, I aim to reclaim Darug history to inform contemporary Aboriginal identity through storytelling. The research question that guides this research is:

How can exploring personal Aboriginal history expose and reinterpret the realities of the Darug experience in Sydney Australia, from colonisation to the present day?

1.5 My positionality and relationship to the study

In positioning myself relationally within this study, I identify as a proud Aboriginal woman, being Darug through my mother’s Aboriginal lineage and Dharawal on my father’s side. My ancestry is also connected with the British settlement of Sydney, having both settler and convict ancestry. To my family, I am a wife, a daughter, a mother, a grandmother, a sister, an aunt, a great aunt, and a cousin. Placing myself, my family and ancestry into the study is critical to the storying as this makes up who

I am, giving me a strong sense of identity and belonging in this world. Those relational connections and that sense of connectedness inform and permeate the thesis.

My matrilineal Aboriginal clan is Cannemegal-Warmuli (Prospect) of the Darug Nation, and our traditional Country is Warmul, situated around Mar-Rong or Prospect Hill in Western Sydney. Warmul is Kitty's birthplace. Later known as 'Black Kitty', she becomes the central character in the storying of this thesis. As a child, Kitty only lived for five short years within her family group before entering the educational history of this country. On 28 December 1814, Kitty was admitted as a student to the PNI, in the first cohort of Aboriginal children to be used by the Colonial Government for an "Experiment towards the Civilization of these Natives" (Watson, 1916, p. 369). While the history of the PNI is an important element of the thesis, it is my Aboriginal ancestry and the life of this remarkable woman that I privilege through this work. Because of her I am, and because of her I can.

My background is not in academia. On the contrary, I see myself as a social scientist who has spent many years working in the field of Indigenous child protection and family wellbeing. In the academic space, I am but a mere apprentice, particularly within the area of Aboriginal history. To centre myself and my worldview within the study (Smith, 1999), I needed to know and understand Indigenous theoretical perspectives and research methodologies from my perspective.

The challenges in undertaking this study of Darug history, however, must be acknowledged. I did not grow up on Darug Ngurra or even in the country of my Aboriginal ancestors. Although I was born in Newcastle, NSW, I spent the formative years of my life ‘across the ditch’ in New Zealand. My skin is fair, my eyes are grey, and I have an identifiable ‘Kiwi’ accent having spent over twenty-two years in New Zealand. The question then is how does this place me in terms of my identity as an Aboriginal woman? That challenge goes straight to the heart and spirit of who we are as Aboriginal peoples.

1.6 Rationale for the research

The story of Kitty and the question of identity is the underlying principle for this thesis. The identity question of what it means to be Indigenous, goes straight to the heart and spirit of those from the ‘Stolen Generations’, Aboriginal children who were systematically removed from the care of their families through “laws and policies governing Indigenous child removal, instigated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in most States and Territories” (Mellor & Haebich, 2002, p. 5). Growing up in dormitories, institutions, or adopted or fostered into non-Indigenous homes, those children, like Kitty, lost not only their kin and relational connections but also their identity, their language, culture and sense of belonging, all essential for our spiritual wellness and social and emotional wellbeing.

The question of Aboriginal identity echoes right across this country. While there are many Aboriginal peoples in communities across Australia still leading more

traditional lives, Hansen and Butler (2013) claim the identity question has a greater impact on urban Aboriginal peoples:

The myth that Aboriginal people ‘aren’t around anymore’ or, worse, that ‘they’re not real Aborigines’ continues to play out in public and private settings every day, nowhere more so than in our towns and cities. For urban people whose history sits in the margins of mainstream interests, the great Australian silence is still deafening. (Hansen & Butler, 2013, p. 3-4)

With the myth that fair-skinned Aboriginal peoples are not ‘real’ Aborigines, there is also a common misconception that Australian Aboriginal peoples are one race, who should look the same, sound the same and act the same. As Australia is made up of more than 250 different Countries, every Aboriginal person from mixed descent, no matter where we live or how our physical appearance may have changed through the process of colonisation, has an inherent right to claim and be proud of our ancestry and to acknowledge Country as the place where our ancestors walked the earth for thousands of years.

The Darug peoples, as the first Aboriginal nation affected by the British invasion of this continent, are no exception. The trauma that resulted from this is emphasised by Foley (as cited in Read, 2007, p. 120): “firstly dispossession of our land, enforced segregation and discrimination, and then assimilation and the denial of our culture”. According to Read (2007), this has resulted in negative responses when those of Darug descent claim ancestry or traditional custodianship: “Yet their claims to recognition were, and continue to be, opposed by other Aboriginal bodies already constituted under the Aboriginal Land Rights Act” (Read, 2007, p. 119). One such local body in Sydney stated on their web-site they were sceptical “that there are Aboriginal people alive who credibly lay claim to traditional ownership of the area”

(Read, 2007, p. 120). This statement has since been removed. I argue that *this* is why this research matters.

Through this thesis, I reclaim my Darug ancestry, identity and belonging. Being a Darug woman is important to me. I believe others have no right to take my history away me, or from us as the Darug nation, as in doing so they deny us our connection to Country, to our ancestry and to our Dreaming. As Dodson (2008, p. v) reminds us:

To speak of country is to speak both of the economic uses to which it may be put and of a fundamentally spiritual relationship that links the past to the present, the dead to the living and the human and non-human worlds. Country is centrally about identity.

Reflective poem

I am Darug, I am legend

I exist, I am real

do not deny me

We are Darug, we are legend

We are real, we exist

Do not deny us.

Rosemary Norman-Hill & Chontelle Marie 2019

This is why this research is important. As Aboriginal academic Jackie Huggins reminds us in the Preface of *Many Voices* (Mellor & Haebich, 2002, p. ix), written

in response to the ‘Stolen Generations’: “we have to know where we come from to know where we are going”. While I am not part of the ‘Stolen Generations’ of the twentieth century, through this study, I attest that my ancestor Kitty was a member of the very first ‘Stolen Generation’ in Australia.

1.7 Thesis as narrative

As an Aboriginal woman writing this thesis, there needs to be a story. As with all stories, there is a beginning, there are characters and there is an ongoing theme. The storying explores Aboriginal history to expose the realities for the Darug during colonisation, as narratives are personal stories (Sheehan, 2012). Sarbin (as cited in Barlo, 2016, p. 31), claims: “Narrative research stems from the premise that people live and/or understand their lives in storied forms, connecting events in the manner of a plot that has a beginning, middle, and endpoints”. Unlike Sarbin’s (1986) view, this story has no ending; it is a continuing narrative, one that begins in the here and now as I introduce myself and my ontology and epistemology to the study. It also includes my ancestral history:

Cultural narrative is a powerful tool in the sharing of knowledge as it allows us to understand the origin of our being, our ways of thinking, our shared memory (history) and the whole flow of our culture across many generations. (Sheehan, 2012, p. 110)

As I relationally connect myself to the research, my ancestors (Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) become characters in the storying. Through the research process, I grow to become the storyteller, learning to engage with others using my authentic voice and crafting this research (Kovach, 2009). Telling my story and that of my ancestors,

allows us to connect on a more personal level. It also allows me to privilege my story and honour my talk (Kovach, 2009).

The relationality of storytelling is not just an oral narrative but a visual conversation, a universal language “loaded with symbolism and significance, allowing us to unravel the mysteries of the world in which we live” (Rooney, Lawlor, & Rohan, 2016, p. 147). Within an Aboriginal context, storytelling goes back to the beginnings of Aboriginal time. Aboriginal peoples’ stories are found *in* Country and *on* Country, as I experienced while in the urban bush. Cajete (1994, p. 67) suggests this is natural: “As human beings, we are ‘storytelling animals’”. From the oral stories passed down the ages, to the designs painted or engraved on the surrounding landscape, storytelling, according to Behrendt (2019, p. 177), is the key to our resilience “as the world’s oldest living culture”. Traditional knowledge is carried through stories, art, dance, and song, from generation to generation, embedded in Aboriginal peoples’ psyches.

In the context of this thesis, the story takes on extra meaning, as I am not passing on traditional knowledge or stories from the Dreaming. I am, however, sharing stories from the colonial past as a way of passing on Darug history. To do this, I need to understand the process and principles of storytelling within the narrative, as I am investigating other peoples’ stories and giving them new life.

I also use Aboriginal historiography to set the scene, Aboriginal hermeneutics to provide context and Aboriginal textual analysis to interpret the content, so the stories can flow within this thesis. Figure 1:1 explains the steps I took to conduct historical

research using an Aboriginal lens: this system is centred around Darug epistemology, the “nature of thinking and knowing” (Wilson, 2008, p. 33). As Wilson (2001, p. 2) points out, “Indigenous epistemology includes any way of thinking or style of cognitive functioning that may be common and distinct among Indigenous people”.



Figure 1:1 Aboriginal historical research in practice

The diagram incorporates circles connected within a circle, to demonstrate how each step relationally connects to the next, which helps to guide my research practice.

Darug epistemology is centred in the middle of the circle, to keep my thinking centred on Darug storying and to ensure the research is conducted through Darug eyes.

The thesis highlights Aboriginal peoples' ability to pass on Indigenous knowledge. Knowledge comes from Country (Steffensen, 2019), with systems that have evolved over thousands of years (Sheehan & Walker, 2001). A 'knowing' which sustained life, maintained societal structures, and allowed the management of the land and waterways in an ecologically sustainable way. Continual Aboriginal presence on Country for thousands of years is indicative of our ability to adapt to change.

1.8 Methodology and Methods

I was given the authority to write about Darug history on 18 January 2015, while guest speaker at a community event in Parramatta to commemorate the 200-year anniversary of the opening of the PNI (see Figure 3.1 in Appendix 3). My responsibility is to ensure the study has integrity, is ethical, holistic, and relational, as I am answering to my relations doing this research (Wilson, 2001). As a result, I have named the theoretical, analytical, and philosophical frameworks which underpin this study as 'the Parramatta Paradigm' (PP). Parramatta as a real place, holds a significant place in this thesis. Through this thesis, I use a mix of Indigenous and Western concepts within the methodology to honour the life of Kitty and highlight the historical significance of the PNI.

There are several components to the PP methodology. Firstly, the visual dialogue (Sheehan, 2011), which begins each chapter, as I discuss above. The symbols within the Aboriginal artwork are based on Indigenous ‘knowing’, which becomes an Aboriginal way of conducting research: “In Australian Aboriginal contexts, research is traditionally conducted through visual images and narratives, which provides a 60,000-year history of inquiry behind this approach to knowledge” (Sheehan, 2011, p. 80).

Secondly, the storytelling, another aspect of cultural practice, explains my way of being in my world, along with the ancestors’ way of being in theirs – a critical part of the narrative. Within the storying is the revealing of the Darug experience during the colonial settlement period.

Thirdly the PP, which is grounded in Darug Ngurra, incorporates the principles of Indigenous Knowledge (IK) to underpin the study. As Sheehan (2012, p. 69) postulates, “IK operates from the assumption that the world is alive and active in the same way that humans are alive and active”. In this way, the methodology honours our link to the ancestors, our dreaming, our living landscape, and our spiritual connections.

The combination of methods within the PP work together to reveal the truths of the Darug experience during the colonial settlement period. Incorporating Indigenous Storywork, Aboriginal Historiography, Aboriginal Hermeneutics, and Textual

Analysis as a mix of Indigenous and Western concepts is appropriate within this narrative approach:

The aim of the researcher is to explore and conceptualize human experience as it is represented in textual form. Grounded in hermeneutics, phenomenology, ethnography, and literary analysis, narrative research eschews methodological orthodoxy in favour of doing what is necessary to capture the lived experience of people in terms of their own meaning-making and to theorize about it in insightful ways. (Josselson, as cited in Barlo 2016, p. 31)

In summary the thesis explores the human experience during early colonial days in Sydney hermeneutically using textual analysis and an Aboriginal lens, providing a different perspective from what has been written in the past.

The methodology for this thesis has been developed from my experiences in the urban bush around Sydney, which I have detailed in the Foreword. Those experiences and relationality heavily influenced the way I was seeing my world. It also impacted, in a good way, on my thought processes and on the way in which I have written this thesis. I believe that during that time I built a new relationship with the land (Wilson, 2008), which directly connected me with the ancestors and spirit beings, allowing Indigenous ‘knowing’ to find me in that space. This interconnectedness, as Moreton-Robinson (2013) contends, is the basis of our sovereignty. The storying now becomes more than just a point of view but a worldview (Atkinson, Langton & Williams, 1985), a view that is relational with an emphasis on spirits and spirituality (Barlo, 2016).

The paradigm shift in my thinking has led the way to my ‘becoming’ an Aboriginal researcher and storyteller. The lived experience of becoming culturally worthy and ready (Archibald, 2008) sets the scene for the narrative of this thesis, through the relationship I developed within the more-than-human space (Ngurra, Dadd, Glass, Scott, Graham, Judge, Hodge & Suchet-Pearson, 2019). In this way I am being true to myself and putting my authentic voice into this thesis, to retain my integrity (Wilson, 2008). The thesis becomes my way of continuing the narrative as Ngurra is not just my traditional homeland and place of ‘belonging’, it is also a central character in the storying of this thesis. Hermeneutics and textual analysis encapsulate the Darug experience within an Aboriginal context and postulate different understandings of how the ‘colonised’ and ‘colonisers’ made sense of their respective worlds over the colonial period.

The traditional artwork used in a contemporary sense becomes a respectful way of incorporating cultural practices into the methodology. Listening with your eyes while reading the thesis and “listening with an open heart and open mind” (Wilson, 2008, p. 126), allows you, the reader, to become an active participant in the storying. I suggest that this relationship, connecting you to the story, to the characters and to Darug Ngurra, makes this methodology a genuinely Australian Indigenous approach to research.

1.9 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is written by me, an Aboriginal woman, telling the story of another Aboriginal woman, each with a relational connection to the other and a bloodline

that connects us to Darug Ngurra. As each chapter unfolds, so does the Darug experience during the colonial settlement period. The evidence presented in this thesis will affirm that Darug peoples and their Aboriginal Nation have not just survived the settlement of their lands but continue to ‘be’ present today within Ngurra.

Chapter Two relationally connects me back to colonial days through the storying of my ancestry. In this way, I explain my Aboriginal and European background and ontological links to the research. I also connect back to the traditional lands of my Aboriginal ancestors and tell their stories. This sharing of genealogical, cultural, and political experiences (Smith, 2012) allows identity, belonging and becoming to form part of the discourse.

Chapter Three presents the methodology, summarised in section 1.8 above, a combination of Indigenous research philosophies, underpinned by Indigenous Knowledge in Darug Ngurra, which I have named the Parramatta Paradigm (PP). The PP frames the research approach, as Sheehan (2011, p. 13) maintains “IK is an authentic epistemology where knowledge must be played out and demonstrated through performance, images, stories, and routines for working together”. Included within the methodological framework are Darug ontology, epistemology, and axiology, allowing the thesis to move from an Indigenous perspective to researching within an Indigenous paradigm (Wilson, 2001, 2008). Wilson (2003, p. 161) also emphasises how “[p]aradigms shape our view of the world around us and how we walk through that world”. The four intersecting methods of Aboriginal

historiography, Aboriginal hermeneutics, textual analysis and Indigenous Storywork have been specifically chosen for their capacity to analyse historical data and present information through storytelling.

Chapter Four starts at the beginnings of Aboriginal time, reflecting on life for the Darug before the coming of the ‘white fellas’, while delving into our ontology and epistemology. Through storytelling, we honour these ancient days, a time when Darug peoples had custodianship of the lands around Sydney. Generation after generation respected and cared for Ngurra while their children were raised within family clan groups, learning by observing and “participating in the life of the community” (Berndt & Berndt, 1999, p. 162). Living within our dreaming, everyone had a place and knew our space within Ngurra.

Chapter Five explores the coming of the British to New South Wales, through historical research undertaken from an Aboriginal point of view. Examination of the writings penned by James Cook and Joseph Banks provides insight into relational connections and Indigenous Knowledge, while the journal entries also provide first-hand accounts of interactions with Aboriginal peoples in Botany Bay in 1770. Examining the attitudes and beliefs of these two Englishmen through their journals is important to the storying, as they had an indelible influence on other colonisers still to come.

Chapter Six follows with the arrival of the First Fleet. Coming to our shores with the notion of *terra nullius* fresh in their minds from James Cook’s initial claim, the ships

brought convicts and military men to establish a penal settlement at Sydney Cove. Further fleets would follow, bringing more convicts settlers and missionaries, only adding to, and reinforcing the acts of those who began the colonial takeover of Darug lands. The British also brought infectious diseases and frontier violence, with the first frontier war on Australian soil being waged on Darug Ngurra. This chapter also investigates one of the most significant historical health mysteries of this country, the smallpox epidemic of 1789. Examining first-hand accounts and lived experiences of people during that time builds a picture of the lives of both the local Aboriginal peoples and the British throughout those first years of settlement. Chapter Six goes on to examine the first act of reconciliation at Warmul, the ongoing war on Ngurra and concludes with the coming of Governor Lachlan Macquarie.

Chapter Seven introduces the reader to the establishment of the first native residential school in Australia, the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI). Beginning with the coming of the missionaries, the chapter then explores how Missionary William Shelley collaborated with Governor Lachlan Macquarie to instigate an ‘experiment’ to ‘civilise the Aboriginal race’ and place their children into the native school. Along with the PNI came the first Aboriginal child removal policy in Australia. Kitty was arguably among the first of the ‘Stolen Generations’.

Chapter Eight follows Kitty’s footsteps from the PNI to marriages and children born along the stock route of the Liverpool Plains. The chapter explores Kitty’s progression from child bride to wife, mother then grandmother. It includes the storying of her grandsons and great-grandsons, who signed up to fight for ‘King and

Country’ during the ‘Great War’ of 1914-1918. This part of the thesis is critical evidence in the storying of ongoing Darug survival and the contribution Darug people made to the war effort.

Chapter Nine concludes the thesis, with summaries of the stories to reveal the experience of the Darug over the colonial settlement period. It will affirm the PNI as the beginning of Australian Aboriginal child removals and through Kitty’s story, verify that many of those children went on to marry and have families. Their descendants measure in the thousands and are scattered across Australia and the world. The thesis confirms the Darug not only survived the take-over of our lands by Europeans, but also continue to live productive lives both on and off Ngurra.

Chapter 2: My Ancestry - the family connection



2.1 Introduction

The artwork symbolises my family ancestry, introducing my bloodline and how my family ancestry relationally connects to the colonial history of this country. The three coloured hands within the circle represent the different streams of my ancestral

lineage: the dark hand represents my Aboriginal ancestry (Darug/Dharawal), the white hand my European roots (British/Irish/Spanish), and the light brown hand is my mixed ancestry (Aboriginal/European).

My aim to reclaim Darug history to inform and affirm contemporary Aboriginal identity demonstrates how my heritage is indicative of the thousands of Aboriginal families across this country who have mixed blood. This is particularly relevant for present day Darug families, as many have traced their bloodline back to those early colonial times. More personally, my ancestry gives me my identity, an identity I claim, I own, and am proud of.

It is this ‘knowing’ that is important. It has helped me develop a strong sense of self, along with a greater awareness of where my predecessors came from. Exploring my family history is also essential, as it incorporates the rigour of my empirical research while relating how the Australian Government policies of assimilation apply to the storying of the maternal side of my family. While my Aboriginal ancestors have

lived on the East Coast of Australia for millennia, this chapter follows a chronological order of events that begins with the first European arrivals.

2.2 European Connection

2.2.1 Convicts Charles Cross and Rose Flood

My European ancestry begins within the first few years of British settlement. The first of my European ancestors to set foot on this continent were convicts Charles Cross and Rose Flood. They each survived the journey from England on the Second Fleet (see Figure 2.1 in Appendix 2), aboard the death ship *Neptune*,² which landed its human cargo at Port Jackson on 28 June 1790. The *Neptune* had the highest death rate in the history of transportation to Australia (Tench & Flannery, 1996). From the 530 convicts who left England on board the *Neptune*, 163 died during the voyage and 269 arrived sick.

The *Surprise* suffered 42 deaths and the Scarborough 68 (Tench, 1793): a further “one hundred and twenty-four died in the hospital at Sydney” (Tench, 1793, p. 174). The inhumane conditions and cruelty of the crew caused an unprecedented number of deaths, with many more dying within six months of landing in Port Jackson (Flynn, 1993). Appalled at the conditions afforded the convicts on board the ships, the Reverend Richard Johnson wrote to his evangelical colleague Samuel Thornton, in England on July 1790:

Was first on board the Surprise. Went down amongst the convicts, where I beheld a sight truly shocking to the feelings of humanity, a great number of them laying, some half and others nearly quite naked, without either bed or bedding, unable to turn or help themselves...the *Neptune* was still more wretched and intolerable... (Bladen & Britton, 1892, p. 386)

² https://www.jenwilletts.com/convict_ship_neptune_1790.htm

Johnson also wrote of the many who had died after the ships entered Sydney Harbour. Their bodies were thrown overboard and washed up on rocks. Those who landed were covered in lice, unable to walk or stand. Another four hundred and eighty needed hospitalisation:

The misery I saw amongst them is inexpressible; many were not able to turn, or even to stir themselves, and in this situation were covered over almost with their own nastiness, their heads, bodies, cloths, blanket, all full of filth and lice. (Bladen & Britton, 1892, p. 386)

Evidence confirms that the convicts made complaints of the treatment onboard the ships. According to Johnson, most of the complaints came from those on the *Neptune*.

The physical and mental condition of Charles Cross and Rose Flood after landing at Port Jackson is unknown. We can, however, imagine from the eyewitness accounts, that their experience onboard the *Neptune* would have been horrific. These possible health issues did not stop Charles and Rose from making a new life in the colony. They were married five months later, on 21 November 1790 at Parramatta (Flynn, 1993). The wedding ceremony was performed by the Reverend Richard Johnson (Needham, 1992).

According to Flynn (1993) the couple were living at Prospect (Warmul) in June 1792 when Charles Cross provided information to an enquiry into the death of a settler by Aboriginal peoples. Flynn (1993) also alludes to Charles having had a cordial relationship with the Warmuli even sharing his crops of corn with them. By 1800 the couple had settled in the Hawkesbury district. They went on to have six children and I am descended from their third child, Susannah. Charles Cross died on 13 October

1835, with his wife passing on 4 November 1836. Both are buried at the Wilberforce Cemetery. The union of Charles and Rose has produced over 30,000 descendants.³

The ex-slave ships from the Second Fleet also carried men who would later become famous for their contribution to the establishment of the new colony. Irishman D’Arcy Wentworth⁴ (father of the explorer William Wentworth⁵), and Lieutenant John Macarthur.⁶ Macarthur, although he set sail in the *Neptune*, changed ships during a stopover in the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived on the *Scarborough*.⁷ Both men were later granted land on Darug Country at Parramatta.

John Macarthur and his wife Elizabeth built their home in 1793 at what is now Rose Hill. Named after his wife, Elizabeth Farm⁸ is today regarded as one of the oldest homes in Australia and considered a living museum. The farm is located on the traditional lands of the Burramattagal clan of the Darug who had managed this area for thousands of years before the British arrived. I would argue that Burramattagal Ngurra is also a living museum containing a rich cultural history, albeit lost in the settlement of this country.

2.2.2 Settlers Thomas and Jane Rose

On 16 January 1793, Thomas and Jane Rose, a farming couple from Dorset England, sailed into colonial history when they became the first free and independent settler

³ <https://www.geni.com/projects/Charles-CROSS-and-Rose-FLOOD-Descendants/33993>

⁴ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wentworth-darcy-1545>

⁵ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Wentworth

⁶ [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Macarthur_\(wool_pioneer\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Macarthur_(wool_pioneer))

⁷ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macarthur-john-2390>

⁸ <https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/elizabeth-farm>

family to come to Australia, arriving on board the *Bellona*.⁹ Over the period Governor Phillip was in the colony he made several requests to the British Government for settlers. In one such despatch sent to Lord Sydney, dated 30 October 1788, Governor Phillip wrote: “It must, my Lord, be settlers with the assistance of the convicts that will put this country in a situation for supporting its inhabitants” (Bladen & Britton, 1892, p. 207). Stepping ashore at Sydney Cove during the heat of summer, the couple and their four children had left their family home of Sturminster Newton, a medieval town which is recorded in the Anglo Saxon charter in 968 as Nywetone at Stoure, and in the Domesday Book as Newentone.¹⁰ Thomas and Jane were married in the Parish Church of St Mary’s in Sturminster on 8 August 1779, and their children were christened in the same church.¹¹

Situated on the north side of the River Stour, the modern Dorset town of Sturminster contains shops and services, while the smaller Newton is to the south. I visited the town in November 2015 and followed in their footsteps. Upon walking across the bridge from Sturminster to Newton (where I was staying in accommodation named *Rose Cottage*), I noticed a sign on the bridge dating back to colonial days. The sign is an interesting piece of colonial history (see Figure 2.2 in Appendix 2):

DORSET

**ANY PERSON WILFULLY INJURING ANY PART OF THIS
COUNTY BRIDGE WILL BE GUILTY OF FELONY AND UPON
CONVICTION LIABLE TO BE TRANSPORTED FOR LIFE**

By the Court

7 & 8 GEO 4 C30 S13

T FOOKS

⁹ <http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/magazine/onthisday/16-january-1793>; refer also colsec.records.nsw.gov.au/r/F49c_rod-ry-04.htm#P1851_57864

¹⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sturminster_Newton

¹¹ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rose-thomas-2604>

The museum at Sturminster, while having some memorabilia stored upstairs, had no reference to Thomas and Jane Rose on display. When I introduced my research to the staff at the museum, they said that memorabilia of the Rose family had been on exhibition in the museum for years and many Rose descendants had come to visit from Australia. Unfortunately, it appears, interest in the Thomas and Jane Rose story has waned, so the Rose information was packed up and stored away. When I explained how my doctoral studies included Thomas and Jane Rose in the story, they immediately asked if I could come back to the town and conduct talks for the community. They wanted the wider population of the town to learn of the significance of the Rose family and their contribution, not just to the British penal colony, but also to the colonial history of Australia. The invitation now becomes a possibility for a future research project.

The Rose family, along with fourteen other free settlers, came to Australia in response to the requests made by Governor Phillip based on his need for farmers to feed the colony.¹² In a despatch written on 9 July 1788, Governor Phillip explained his plight to Under-Secretary Evan Nepean, a trusted and reliable ally:¹³

If fifty farmers were sent out with their families, they would do more in one year in rendering this colony independent of the mother country, *as to provisions*, than a thousand convicts. (Bladen & Britton, 1892, p. 153)

Other requests followed, as evidenced in a letter dated 28 September 1788, addressed to Lord Sydney, "... to send out settlers, to whom a certain number of convicts may be given" (HNSW, vol 1, p. 191). The settlers, however, would not arrive during Governor Phillips' tenure.

¹² <https://www.dorsetlife.co.uk/2017/02/bellona-australia-and-the-roses-of-sturminster-newton/>

¹³ <https://governorphillip.org/governor-phillip/>

Unbeknownst to Governor Phillip, the *Bellona*, with settlers on board, had left England on 8 August 1792, but did not arrive in Port Jackson until January 1793. Phillip departed the colony on 11 December 1792 on the *Atlantic*¹⁴ six weeks before the *Bellona* arrived at Port Jackson. The Roses' arrival in the penal settlement was noted by Judge Advocate David Collins (1798, p. 201):

The most respectable of these people, and apparently the best calculated for a bonafide settler, was Thomas Rose, a farmer from Dorsetshire, who came out with his family, consisting of his wife and four children. An allotment of one hundred and twenty acres was marked out for him.

Thomas and Jane went on to have another three children. The first born in Australia, on 5 July 1793, was John, who became the first free settler child born in the colony. First occupying the 'land grant' at Liberty Plains (Strathfield/Homebush area), the Rose family later moved to Kitty's traditional Country at Prospect to manage the Government Farm and stock.¹⁵

Meanwhile, the arrival of settlers in Prospect from 1791 (Tench, 1793) resulted in continual Aboriginal resistance to the intrusion onto their lands (Collins, 1798), with much of the conflict led by the Aboriginal fighter Pemulwuy (Flynn, 1997; Kohen, 1993). By 1801, Governor King had issued General Orders (Bladen & Britton, 1896), demanding the settlers fire on Aboriginal peoples as an effort to keep them away from the farming settlements. Botanist George Caley, however, believed the Europeans were the aggressors (Caley, 1966; Bladen & Britton, 1896). While my research has not found any conflict situations involving Aboriginal peoples and the Rose family, there is some conjecture that the family may have been attacked at the

¹⁴ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/phillip-arthur-2549>

¹⁵ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/rose-thomas-2604>

same time as Thomas Webb (also from the *Bellona*). Webb was fatally wounded at the Hawkesbury, dying from his injuries on 21 May 1795 (Collins, 1798).

By 1802, the Rose family had moved from Prospect to the Hawkesbury and the house they built at Wilberforce in 1811 is still standing (see Figure 2.3 in Appendix 2). Named ‘Rose Cottage’, the house is recognised as the oldest timber slab house in Australia. Occupied continuously by the Rose family until 1961, Rose Cottage sits on its original site alongside the *Australiana Pioneer Village* at Wilberforce.¹⁶ On 2 April 1999, Rose Cottage was listed on the New South Wales Heritage Register.¹⁷

Thomas Rose passed away on 15 November 1833. His wife had died six years beforehand, on 26 December 1827 (see Figure 2.4 in Appendix 2). Both are buried in the cemetery at Wilberforce. Also buried at the same cemetery are convicts Charles and Rose Cross, as mentioned in section 2.1.1. A notice in the *Sydney Gazette* on 7 January (1828) (see Figure 2.4 in Appendix 2), announced the death of Jane Rose, where she was referred to as the “only great grandmother since the establishment of the colony” (*Sydney Gazette*, 1828, p. 2).

Richard Lionel Rose, the youngest of the four children who came on the *Bellona*, is my ancestor.¹⁸ Richard was born at Sturminster Newton in 1789, and later christened in the Parish Church of St Mary’s. He arrived in the colony as a three-year-old. In 1817 Richard married Susannah Richardson, nee Cross, the daughter of convicts

¹⁶<http://www.rosefamilyociety.org.au/>

¹⁷ <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5045160>

¹⁸ <http://www.the1788-1820pioneerassociation.org.au/Richard%20Rose.html>

Charles and Rose Cross (nee Flood), as previously mentioned. Richard and Susannah had ten children. I am descended from their seventh child, James, who was born at Portland Head in 1831. James went on to marry Catherine Pintox on 26 March 1855. The couple both died in Tamworth, Catherine on 21 July 1914, while James died in 1916 aged 85 years.

Catherine Pintox also had convict ancestry. Her father, Emmanuel Pintox Jnr, was the son of an Irish convict and Spanish sailor. Emmanuel Jnr was born on board the convict transport ship *Anne* (or Luz St. Anna), also written as *Ann* (Bateson, 1969), two months before it docked in Sydney in February 1801. The ship had left Ireland on 26 June 1800, carrying dissidents from the Irish rebellion. His father Emmanuel Pintox Snr was a Spanish sailor and his mother, Mary Madden,¹⁹ was an Irish convict sentenced to 7 years in the colony. The dates the ship left Ireland and landed in New South Wales indicate Emmanuel Snr and Mary may have been in a relationship before the *Anne* sailed, given their child was born six months later, in December 1800. The fact the child was named after the Spanish sailor suggests he may have been the father.

Catherine's mother, Elizabeth Butler, also had convict parents. Her father Joseph Butler was sentenced to 7 years at Surrey quarter sessions, charged with stealing three sheets of lead from an outhouse. Joseph arrived in Sydney 14 August 1802, on board the *Perseus*.²⁰ His wife Ann Adamson,²¹ sent out as a convict on board the

¹⁹ <https://convictrecords.com.au/convicts/madden/mary/133327>; also refer <https://australianroyalty.net.au/individual.php?pid=I69735&ged=pumellmccord.ged>

²⁰ <https://convictrecords.com.au/convicts/butler/joseph/100004>

²¹ <https://convictrecords.com.au/convicts/adamson/ann/83600>

Canada 2, arriving in Sydney in 1810, sentenced to 7 years, at Northumberland in North East England (see Figure 2.11 in Appendix 2 for a copy of my family tree).

2.3 Aboriginal Connection

2.3.1 Kitty of the Darug nation

Twenty-one years after the First Fleet sailed into Port Jackson, the central character in the storying of this thesis was born. As with my European ancestry, the information about this ancestor comes from colonial records. Kitty or ‘Black Kitty’ (as she was known as an adult) was born circa 1809. I have established the year of her birth through cross-referencing records and reports where her age has been recorded. Evidence from the State Records of NSW (SRNSW) confirms that Kitty entered the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI) as a small child. A hand-written document by the Manager Elizabeth Shelley, documenting Aboriginal children living at the PNI on 20 December 1820 outlining their learning capabilities, has Kitty’s date of admission as 28 December 1814 (see Figure 2.10 in Appendix 2). The same day Governor Macquarie hosted a Public Conference in the marketplace at Parramatta, for Aboriginal families. (Campbell, *Sydney Gazette*, 10 December 1814, p. 1).

Papers from the Governor Lachlan Macquarie Collection held at the Mitchell Library confirm when Kitty married on 12 June 1822, her age was listed as 13 years.²² The records from the PNI state Kitty belonged to the Prospect Tribe, which identifies Kitty as being Cannemegal (meaning ‘people of fire’) Warmuli (from the Country

²² 12 June: Colebee from Richmond marries Kitty, aged 13, from the Warmuli (Prospect Clan), a student at the Native Institution. Source: Macquarie, Memorandum, List of Natives at Native Institution, 28 December 1819, MS A772:151, ML

of Warmul). My research has not been able to find Kitty's Aboriginal name before entering the PNI, nor who her parents were. I have, however, discovered several connections between Kitty and colonial-settler families who lived at Warmul (Prospect) and later became relationally entwined in Kitty's life.

Situated southwest of Parramatta, Warmul had been managed by Warmuli peoples since the Dreaming. The connection between Kitty and Ngurra was broken after she was placed at the PNI to learn to live the European way. The ancient history of Warmul was also unknown by my European ancestors Thomas and Jane Rose after they moved to the area to manage the colonial Government Farm at Prospect. I found they were living on Kitty's Ngurra in 1795 when their daughter Sarah was born. Little could Thomas and Jane Rose know that two of their descendants (great-grandsons) would go on to marry the granddaughters of Kitty of the Darug. This relational connection occurred ninety years later when my British/Irish/Spanish ancestry joined with my Aboriginal maternal line.

On 18 September 1890, Cicely Lucy Budsworth, daughter of Kitty's son James Bowen Budsworth (described in more detail in Chapter Eight), married Ephraim Joseph (Joe) Rose, the son of James and Catherine Rose. Five years later, Cicely's sister Elizabeth would marry John Rose (brother of Joe). Joe was a brick maker and the couple moved across the New England area, living in Tamworth, Uralla (where my grandmother was born), Glen Innes and Inverell, before going back to retire in Sydney.

Through this research I found an interesting association between Kitty and William Lawson. Lawson is famous for many things colonial, including crossing the Blue Mountains with Blaxland and Wentworth in 1813.²³ There is evidence of a relational connection as Kitty gave birth to her third son, James Bowen Budsworth, at Lawson's *Bowen Plains* run in Western NSW (Pickette, 2017). The year of his birth was 1840; his birthing place was on the banks of the Peel River west of Tamworth.

William Lawson came to Sydney aboard the *Royal Admiral* as part of the New South Wales Corps in November 1800.²⁴ He served both on Norfolk Island and in Newcastle before returning to Sydney. Following his appointment as *aide-de-camp* to Major Johnston, who during the overthrow of Governor Bligh in 1808 had assumed “lieutenant-governorship”²⁵ of the colony, Lawson “received a grant of 500 acres (202 ha) at Prospect”²⁶, the homelands of Kitty of the Darug.

Moving to Warmul there is a strong possibility that Lawson established a positive relationship with Kitty’s family, as he lived at Prospect with his convict partner (later wife) Sarah Leadbeater and their children. Lawson married Sarah on 23 March 1812,²⁷ in keeping with Governor Macquarie’s strict rules on relationships. Macquarie then approved Lawson’s land grant, which was situated on the north-west slopes of Prospect Hill. Lawson would go on to build a 40-room mansion (in early

²³ <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/crossing-blue-mountains/journals>

²⁴ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lawson-william-2338>

²⁵ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/johnston-george-2277>

²⁶ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lawson-william-2338>

²⁷ NSW Registry of Marriages, registration no. V18121333 3A/1812

colonial style) in 1821, naming it *Veteran Hall*.²⁸ Lawson died there in 1850. By that time, his landholding at Prospect had extended to 3,000 acres of Warmul Ngurra.

2.3.2 Dharawal Connection

In this part of the Chapter, I introduce my paternal Aboriginal family history through my father Desmond John Norman's bloodline. This part of the storying takes us south of Sydney to the land of the Dharawal Nation. These relationships demonstrate a connection between his family and the non-Aboriginal community at a time when European ideologies impacted on Aboriginal peoples' lives. Thought to be a 'dying race'²⁹ (Reynolds, 2001) Aboriginal people were being moved off traditional lands and relocated on to missions and reserves.

I grew up knowing that my father, Desmond John Norman (AKA John or Darby), was of Aboriginal descent (through the Puckeridge family). It was not until a chance encounter, a relational connection with a distant cousin at Parramatta in 2014, that I found critical information about my father's mob. I knew from our own family oral history that John's great grandfather Edward (Ned) Puckeridge (1843-1940) was one of the most respected Elders in the Illawarra. Our family's storytelling also had Ned walking from Wollongong to Sydney.

Although I suspected Ned to be from the Dharawal Nation, I had no idea of his bloodline, his clan, or traditional lands. My cousin told me that Ned was indeed Dharawal from the Wodi Wodi clan and his traditional lands were located around

²⁸ <http://www.prospectheritagetrust.org.au/page46.html> see also <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134501135/view>

²⁹ <https://aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/need-change>

Shoalhaven Heads, North of Nowra NSW. My cousin also informed me that the family home, the house where Ned was born, was still standing in Mascot, Sydney.

Born of an Aboriginal mother (name unknown) and European father named William Puckeridge, Ned grew up to be well-respected in the community having a love of cricket until he died. My research revealed that Ned married Mary Ann Simpson at Kiama, in July 1874. Mary Ann grew up in the nearby village of Jamberoo. It is unclear whether Mary Ann was from Aboriginal descent, as at the time of writing this thesis I have not researched her ancestry.

Ned spent most of his life living and working on Dharawal lands. The couple had eight children (see Figure 2.5 in Appendix 2). Their daughter Hannah Puckeridge (Norman/Dobing, 1881-1965) is my great grandmother. I recall Nana Dobing (as she was known) to be a much-loved relative in my father's life. Through this research, I have discovered that both my father and Nana Dobing died in the same year, 1965. Nana Dobing died in Australia eight months before my father, who died in New Zealand.

A respected person, Ned Puckeridge made a positive impact on the local communities in which he lived. Several newspapers carried his obituary, after dying at the grand old age of 97 years:

- On Friday 9 August 1940, the *South Coast Times* and *Wollongong Argus*³⁰ (p. 4, column 9), described Ned as a “grand old man” and “highly esteemed

³⁰ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/15472173>

citizen”. The article also states that he had a love of cricket and a strong work ethic. His funeral was attended by “a large and representative assemblage from the town and district”.

- On Wednesday 14 August 1940, *The Kiama Reporter* and *Illawarra Journal*³¹, describe how the Rural Dean (the Rev. E. Walker) officiated at the funeral held at the Church of England Cemetery, Port Kembla. The Reverend paid tribute to Ned, again calling him a “grand old man”, someone who had almost reached his century after leading a helpful and interesting life.

Although not identified as such in these posts, Ned was an Aboriginal man who, as these newspaper articles show, connected with life, with community, and with family. Throughout his ninety-seven years, Ned made an indelible mark on his world, at a time when the white establishment challenged the acceptance of the Aboriginal peoples (Barry, 2008) and assimilation policies removed Aboriginal children, integrating them into the European way of life (Clark, 2002). Ned and Mary Ann raised their children and left behind many descendants. Ned, my great, great grandfather was indeed a ‘grand old man’.

2.3.3 Personal History

When prominent anthropologist W. E. H. Stanner delivered the Boyer Lectures in Canberra in 1968, I was finishing Intermediate (middle) School in Cambridge, Aotearoa New Zealand. During those lectures, Stanner raised the notion of “the great

³¹ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/9769743#>

Australian silence” (Attwood & Foster, 2003; Grant, 2016; O’Dowd, 2012; Stanner, 1969). A silence, a hidden history, an absenteeism, as Grant (2016, p. 29) explicates:

It was the period of forgetting. The myths we created fed Australia’s lie: that no blood had stained the wattle. We were told a story of peace and bravery and the conquest of a continent. This was the inevitable push into the interior, a land opening up before the explorers. It was empty, tamed and claimed. (Grant, 2016, p. 29)

Although born in Newcastle, NSW, I grew up in Aotearoa New Zealand, the land of the long white cloud. My parents followed other family members who went to work on farms in the Bay of Plenty. Finally, we all settled in Cambridge, a town in the Waikato, where we became part of a community that embraced the rich Maori culture. I remember, however, our truths that we too had ‘black’ blood running through our veins, with my mother recounting the many Aboriginal family and friends who were regular visitors to my father’s family home in Liverpool, Sydney.

I do not remember hearing these stories from my father, John. He died three years before those insightful Stanner lectures, at the age of thirty-five. Diagnosed with arteriosclerosis and coronary artery disease, John was a sick man. He underwent an artery transplant with the operation performed by renown Doctor Brian Barratt-Boyes at Greenland Hospital in 1962. While becoming only the second heart surgeon in the world to replace a heart valve,³² this operation was not successful, with John given only three additional years of life.

³² <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/people/brian-barratt-boyes>

Ronald (Ron) Norman, John's younger brother, made the decision to relocate to New Zealand after hearing of his brother's diagnosis (see Figure 2.6 in Appendix 2). Leaving Sydney with his wife Shirley and four children, Ron came to Cambridge to spend those last years with John. Tragedy struck unexpectedly when 18 months before my father died Ron had an operation then he died suddenly from complications on 28 March 1964. He was thirty years old. While he came to support his brother, he passed first. Both brothers now lie toe to toe in the Leamington Cemetery at Cambridge. As with Ned Puckeridge, my father's obituary was also in the local newspaper (see Figure 2.7 and Figure 2.8 in Appendix 2 for the obituary and my corrections to it). This information showed John had a love of horses and boxing along with a good work ethic, like his great grandfather Ned Puckeridge.

My maternal grandmother, Mary Evelyn Brouggy, whom we called 'Nan', went to live in Aotearoa New Zealand in the nineteen fifties, also settling in Cambridge. Nan was the Elder of our family and a woman of colour. As a young person, I did not realise that Nan was uncomfortable to let her 'blackness' shine, even though we lived in a town where colour of skin was not an issue. Nan would hide behind makeup that made her skin look white and no matter how warm the temperature, always wore long-sleeved cardigans. Nan was happy to remain behind that veil of anonymity. Few in the family knew of her Aboriginal background. When questioned about her colour, Nan would say she was Spanish, which, given her European ancestry, was correct (see Figure 2.9 in Appendix 2 for a family photo of Nan).

This part of the storying is important as Nan was born two and a half years after Australia became a Federation. She took her first breath in the quaint little town of

Uralla in New South Wales in May 1903. This was a time of great change in Australia, as between 1901 and 1903 several significant Government Acts were passed through Parliament. The Acts included the White Australia Policy,³³ along with the Defence Act of 1903³⁴, an Act that excluded all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples from joining the armed forces.

This was also a time when Aboriginal child removals became official policy as Government practices systematically took control of Aboriginal families and removed children of mixed descent. Some went to reformatory schools and children's homes such as Cootamundra Aboriginal Girls Home, Kinchela Aboriginal Boys Home, and Bomaderry Children's Home (Clark, 2002), while others were adopted or fostered into non-Indigenous families. The enactment of those laws systematically took away the rights of Aboriginal parents to raise their children (Rowley, 1986). Those children grew up just as young Kitty did, separated from family, community, and culture. The removal policies remained official government practice until 1969 (Grant, 2014).

My Nan's skin identified her as a child of mixed descent, but also a child at risk of removal because her heritage was Aboriginal. Having a white father did not make my Nan or her sisters immune to removal. We found out later this family lived with the fear of losing their children. More than 100 years after Kitty spent her childhood living apart from her family in the PNI, her great-grandchildren were now at risk of removal, all because their heritage was Aboriginal.

³³ <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/white-australia-policy>

³⁴ <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C2014C00592>

In the late seventies, we found out from a great aunt (Nan's sister), that the family was very aware of the danger of child removals. The children would hide whenever strangers came near. Nan was most at risk because of her darker skin colour which marked her as a child of Aboriginal descent. On reflection I wonder if her family used their Spanish heritage as a way of protecting Nan from the possibility of separation from her beloved family. As she aged, Nan kept that dark side of the family history mainly to herself.

Nan's father Joe Rose was a brick maker and of British/Irish/Spanish descent. Nan's mother, Cicely Lucy Rose (nee Budsworth), was the granddaughter of Kitty of the Darug. Cicely was born at a time when Australian States were beginning to formally act against Aboriginal families, appointing Boards for their protection (Read, 2007) and Protectors to enact the laws (Markus, 1990). After their marriage in 1890, Cicely and Joe moved across the New England area, from Tamworth, Uralla, and Glen Innes before settling in Inverell around 1911. Nan's only surviving brother, James Henry Rose, a jockey, was killed on 13 February 1913, after a bad race fall at the Armidale Racecourse. He was later buried at the Inverell Cemetery.

By the time my mother was born in 1931, assimilation had become the order of the day. During the 1937 Aboriginal Welfare Conference, the Australian Government endorsed the Assimilation Policy as the preferred method of control over native peoples' lives and it became official Australian Government policy³⁵ across all

³⁵ https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue_resources/18801.pdf

States and the Territories. Meanwhile, Aboriginal peoples had begun the fight for their fundamental human rights to raise their children and live as equals in Australia.

While Nan escaped removal, her distant cousins did not. Through this research, I have uncovered two of Kitty's great-granddaughters, Alma and Florence Squires, who became part of the 'Stolen Generations'. Just over one hundred years after Kitty, these young girls were removed from their family by the system and placed in the Cootamundra Domestic Training Home for Aboriginal Girls. History continues to repeat itself!

2.3.4 Family History Revealed

Far from the Australian assimilation policies, I grew up within the storytelling culture of the Maori in Aotearoa New Zealand. Nevertheless, the ancestors had other ideas, which happened quite suddenly when a mystery illness struck one of my cousins. The Doctor (a Canadian) declared he had only seen this disease before in Native Americans, First Nations in Canada, and Australian Aboriginal peoples. My mother's sister Aunt Pat asked Nan to explain our heritage as her husband was a white fella from Tasmania. After my Nan spoke her truths, that her mother was from Aboriginal descent, my cousin was able to receive the appropriate medical care.

Needing to find out more of our bloodline, my Aunt Pat decided to return to Australia and along with her two daughters, gathered information that confirmed Nan was descended from Kitty of the Darug, along with our European ancestors. The oral history stories we grew up with now began to make sense, as Nan recalled having the nickname of 'Jo boy;' going out bush and building 'humpies' with her father Joe

Rose. These stories now tied us to her Aboriginal background. The other childhood stories that came from Nan's sister in Sydney, of visiting the 'black camps' and having to hide under sacks in the back of the cart if they saw dust coming down the road, added cultural flavour to the storytelling.

The honest and frank conversation between Nan and my Aunt, followed by family research, has given this family the gift of ancestry, identity, and belonging. This 'doing' has led to 'knowing and being', coming to understand the richness of our bloodline, both black and white. This thesis continues the work completed by Aunt Pat and adds to the storying.

Coming back to Australia, I found little was spoken of Aboriginal history. The rhetoric had Australia discovered by James Cook in 1770 and the nation built through the 'pioneering spirit' of the settlers after the coming of the First Fleet in 1788. The history of the First Australians was either forgotten or ignored in the storying of Australia's colonial history. W. E. H. Stanner outlined this clearly during his Boyer Lectures in 1968 (as cited in Curthoys, 2008, p. 233):

What may have begun as a simple forgetting of other possible views turned under habit and over time into something like a cult of forgetfulness practiced on a national scale. We have been able for so long to disremember the aborigines that we are now hard put to keep them in mind...

To 'disremember' Aboriginal peoples effectively wipes them out of the storying of Australia's colonial history. That silencing began late in the nineteenth century according to O'Dowd (2012, p. 89), "when a strong political move was being made for the federation of Australia". In O'Dowd's (2012, p. 92) view, "the mythology of

the pioneer has created not only a certain kind of history but also an ‘un-history’”. This was a time when Aboriginal people were considered “an inferior race fading away in the face of western culture” (Rowley, 1986, p. 6). Within a hundred years of British occupation, the oldest living culture on the planet was considered a dying race.

Years later while attending university I learned more of Australia's ‘black’ history: of the ‘Stolen Generations’, intergenerational trauma, breakdown of community structures and the complex social issues affecting Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities today. Through this thesis I hope to unlock the door to some of these truths, allowing the Darug voice to be heard. There is no forgetting or silencing. The next chapter introduces the ‘Parramatta Paradigm’, the methodological approach I have taken to both reveal some truths about settlement on Darug Ngurra and to reclaim Darug history.

Chapter 3: Indigenous Methodologies – the Parramatta Paradigm



3.1 Introduction

This chapter flows on from the stories of my family ancestry in Chapter Two to explain the theoretical, analytical, and philosophical frameworks underpinning this study. As with the previous chapters, the Aboriginal imagery designed by Aunty Laura Grant continues to take us on a visual journey of learning and sharing. These images form part of the methodology, as they guide my way of thinking. Aunty Laura's cultural knowledge provides cohesion and a cultural foundation to the study and the heart of what it means to be Indigenous (Wilson, 2008).

The image for this Chapter represents the methodology and methods. The whole hand represents, hermeneutically, Indigenous Knowledge (IK) in Ngurra, a framework that underpin this thesis. According to Sheehan and Walker (2001), IK is the foundation for all Indigenous Knowledge Research (IKR). The framework, which also includes the methods, provides a lens through which I can respond to the research question: 'How can exploring personal Aboriginal history expose and reinterpret the realities of the Darug experience in Sydney Australia, from colonisation to the present day?' I argue that historical research undertaken in an Aboriginal context requires a theoretical structure based on an Aboriginal scaffold.

The four fingers represent my Indigenous research paradigm (Wilson, 2001): Darug epistemology, ontology, axiology, and methodology. The thumb is the ceremony I went through to become an Aboriginal researcher, to conduct and make meaning of this research (Kovach, 2009). The Darug community is included as the white dots around the outside of the hand.

The methods, positioned at the top of the four fingers, relationally connect to my research paradigm. These are a combination of Western and Indigenous concepts: Indigenous Storywork, Aboriginal Historiography, Aboriginal Hermeneutics, and Textual Analysis. The relationship between the methods allows for analysis and interpretation of historical data, then sharing the findings through storytelling, to others:

Storytelling is a practice in Indigenous cultures that sustains communities, validates experiences, and epistemologies of Indigenous peoples. Storytelling provides opportunities to express the experiences of Indigenous peoples in Indigenous languages and nurtures relationships and the sharing of Indigenous knowledges and cultures. (Iseke, 2013, p. 559)

Although informed by mainstream research approaches, the methods are viewed through an Aboriginal lens, to provide a more holistic view of this particular research paradigm. The combination of these methods takes the reader on a historical journey back to a time before the white man came to Australia, through the colonial settler period, to the coming of Governor Lachlan Macquarie and the establishment of the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI). As this is historical research based on colonial documents written predominantly by white males, I use the methods to analyse and interpret the text using an Aboriginal lens and Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008), as a guide to become ready to write stories.

To learn how to share my knowledge with others in this thesis, I use Indigenous Storywork to learn how to be a storyteller (Archibald, 2008). The process of becoming ‘story ready’ is learning how to read the text, make stories from those interpretations, then being able to relay the stories to others through this thesis. The benefit of storywork according to Archibald (2019, p. 17), is “for individual, family, and community healing, educational, justice, and research purposes”. This fits both with my own cultural foundation and the intention of this thesis.

The visual artform allows me to position myself philosophically in this thesis (represented in the centre of the palm) as I am the storyteller who shares her research with the reader. The dots that surround me in the middle of the palm are the ancestors who guide my footsteps on this journey. The white lines flowing out like rivers of knowledge represent the stories that evolve through the chapters, the grey dots representing the subheadings. The importance of stories is that they “remind us of who we are and of our belonging” (Kovach, 2009, p. 94). In this case, our belonging is Darug Ngurra.

In keeping with Sheehan’s (2011) visual dialogue approach, I have developed a methodological model which I have called the ‘Parramatta Paradigm’ (PP), which in its visual form:

fits well with the visual philosophy of IK, wherein making and sharing images is a deeply productive interaction—with each other and the world—that conveys significance and engages us relationally within the original shared cognizance of all “things”. (Sheehan, 2011, p. 71)

The PP, together with its visual representation, is outlined in section 1.6 and incorporates Darug epistemologies or our knowledge in Ngurra. The name of the PP is significant, as it honours the memory of Kitty and the children placed in the Parramatta Native Institution. These children, as I suggest in the previous two chapters, are the first of the ‘Stolen Generations’. As a Darug researcher, the connection *to* Country and *in* Country provides in-depth knowledge that develops my Aboriginal lens. To share the Darug experience using this lens, the four methods of Indigenous Storywork, historiography, hermeneutics, and textual analysis, work collaboratively to provide the meanings and interpretations that result in the narrative of the thesis.

The Aboriginal images in the thesis are allegories, which I argue add value to the literary side of the work. An allegory, according to Kovach et al. (2015) is a form of hermeneutics: “a useful device in research that draws upon Indigenist principles because of its ability to represent holism and relationality in visual and literary forms” (Kovach et al., 2015, p. 33). Other examples of allegories are the poems I place within chapters that add deeper layers to the Darug narrative as reflections on my own experience through undertaking the research. The Aboriginal artwork links each chapter to the story and the story to the reader, which I argue makes the thesis an expression of Indigenous Australian research.

3.2 Relational Accountability

The relationality I found through my ceremonial process and the knowledge gained, along with the skills I have learned through this research process, now influences the

way I interpret texts from colonial times within an Indigenous Australian research paradigm. The kin connection I have with the central character Kitty, as an ancestor, is a common thread woven throughout this thesis. From my position as a Darug woman, Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008) guides the development of stories within this thesis.

Being on the front line of knowledge creation, individual researchers who learn and commit to ethical protocols for research with Indigenous communities are in a privileged position to not only create change from the bottom up but also to further broaden their understandings on a deeply personal level. (Kovach, 2009, p. 146)

I chose this quote because of its relevance to my personal experience in the research space. The ‘privileged position’ I hold is born out of the connection I had with the ancestors in the urban bush where I formed a direct relationship with them to reshape my thinking in an Aboriginal way. This experience created the change ‘from the bottom up’ for my own learning experiences. It broadened my understanding, both in ‘becoming’ story ready (Archibald, 2008) and in being relationally accountable, given I am accountable to all my relations when I do research in this space (Wilson, 2008). I am therefore accountable to all the seen and unseen in that urban bush.

I am particularly accountable to the ancestral beings who not only guided my footsteps to the tree of knowledge, but also introduced me spiritually to the spirit of the tree who enlightened me hermeneutically to historiography in an Aboriginal context. This direct connection gave me an embodied and visceral introduction to Indigenous Knowledge. Hermeneutically, this becomes my induction into the academic space, as Meyer (2013, p. 96) explains:

...hermeneutic rationality and emancipatory rationality...my own authentic interpretation and the freedom experienced when I render it clearly with an interest, reverence, and understanding of context/content.

I am also accountable when I use the ancestors' words in poetry form to tell the Darug story. While they silently 'shouted' words at me during the night, those words took on a life of their own, forming prose that I have placed throughout the thesis. In academic terms, they represent 'reflective allegories' in their content. I believe the ancestors were gathering alongside me to watch my transformation from an academic writer to an Indigenous researcher.

On reflection, I understand now that I went through a ritual, a ceremony, a spiritual experience where I could form relationships with those from the unseen world. I argue that viewing this as a spiritual encounter becomes a critical part of the methodology, an aspect that affirms its cultural authenticity. According to Wilson (2008), spirituality is "one's internal sense of connection to the universe...if we take this way of looking at spirituality as connection to the cosmos, then any exercise that increases connection or builds relationship is spiritual or ceremonial in nature" (Wilson, 2008, p. 91). This time in the bush was my ceremonial time. Those experiences place me in the story, alongside the ancestors who walk with me, to show me the right way to see the world through Darug eyes.

For relational accountability there is none more important than with Aunty Laura, a long-standing relationship that spans many years. Over this time, Aunty Laura has worked alongside me as a foster carer and cultural facilitator. Her invaluable input

into activities for Indigenous and non-Indigenous young people has been through her storytelling and traditional arts and crafts. I regard Aunty Laura as a 'living library'. As an Aboriginal Elder, she shares her cultural knowledge with me to guide my thinking as I complete this thesis. Through Aunty Laura's artwork, we also share knowledge with the reader, flowing on through symbols, relationally connecting the reader to the story, with the dots and lines in each piece of art "representing relationships between things" (Wilson 2008, p. 66). These images tell stories within the story.

When Aunty Laura and I discuss using her imagery as a cultural expression in the thesis, it is like a spark ignites between us. The images take shape and we begin to develop a relationship with each one. Those images become as much a part of the story as the story within the thesis as they bring the story to life (Archibald, 2008). The artwork at the beginning of each chapter is evidence of this. Aunty Laura's cultural knowledge is highly treasured. Her knowledge, shared generously both orally and in the designs for the artwork, not only informs, but is a critical part of the storying in this thesis.

There is also accountability to the Aboriginal community to uphold the values, beliefs, and approaches to knowledge (Foley, 2003), away from colonial post-modernist theories (Rigney, 1999). As Meyer (2003, p. 55) suggests, "...why not make research useful? Why not link what we do in our institutions of higher education with the needs of our communities"? As this is historical research, the study does not involve any living participants. While no standard human ethics

approval was required as part of the process, there are important ethical considerations associated with undertaking this research.

Along with respect for people and place, those considerations involve the impact of new information, including what I am sharing and how it is shared (Wilson, 2008) as it needs to be useful and beneficial, relevant, and respectful. Accountability is also about responsible researching, which I undertake using the principles of Indigenous Storywork (Archibald et al., 2019, p. 1):

In a methodological context, the four principles of respect, responsibility, reverence, and reciprocity act as an ethical guide for the researcher to work with Indigenous peoples, their Indigenous knowledges, and stories.

While the thesis examines the PNI and events that happened during the Australian colonial settlement period, the study tells so much more than just Kitty's story: it holistically explores, imagines, and interprets the Darug experience of events that happened on Aboriginal land.

Lastly, there is my relational accountability to the academy, not just through completing this thesis but also through connecting with supervisors, lecturers, other academics, and my peers. This encompasses attending meetings, presenting at conferences, and sharing of information, along with the new knowledge I bring through this thesis. I would like to acknowledge the *on Country* work currently being undertaken by Southern Cross University, the University of Newcastle, and Macquarie University (Ngurra et al., 2019). As Sheehan and Walker (2001, p. 14) explain, "IKR relationships propose that universities become perpetual living

participants in Indigenous community development”. The work undertaken by universities in the Indigenous space is ground-breaking, bringing new knowledge to the academy, and allows academics to actively work respectfully alongside Aboriginal Elders to revive culture *on* Country and within Country.

3.3 Indigenous theoretical perspectives and philosophies

I acknowledge that the Indigenous philosophies and perspectives which influence this thesis methodology are up to twenty years old or more, however I believe the knowledge each one shares to be timeless and remain true to the philosophical underpinnings of Indigenous research. I suggest the use of these as frameworks for the PP methodology are appropriate:

As Indigenous methodologies have emerged within the mainstream research discourse, awareness of its epistemological distinctiveness, alongside what this means for research design and interpretation, has been challenging for both friend and foe...a challenge for Indigenous methodologies is to stay true to their theoretical roots of what counts as emancipatory. (Kovach, 2015, p. 46)

The thesis allows for the exploration of several Indigenous theoretical perspectives within the methodology, for example those of Foley (2003), Meyer (2003), Rigney (1999), Sheehan (2012), West (2000), and Wilson (2008) each contribute in part to the PP, supported by the principles of Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008) and Indigenous Knowledge Research (Sheehan & Walker, 2001). To understand IK is to authenticate Aboriginal epistemology, ontology, and axiology. Along with relationality, spirituality, and connectedness, it informs a holistic research paradigm:

Indigenous Knowledge is an authentic epistemology where knowledge has to be played out and demonstrated through performance, images, stories and routines for working together. These demonstrations convey the knowledge

and meaning of everyday life in a way that activates the senses of connection with kin, community, environment and Country. In this sense Indigenous Knowledge is the living flow of shared human experience that connects a living caring and related land to its people. It is this relational connection that informs every level of experience that is the cultural strength of Indigenous Australians. (Sheehan, 2011, p. 13)

As Sheehan (2011b) explains, IK is a connection between the land and Aboriginal peoples, which is reflected in the framework for the PP methodology. In keeping with the principles of IKR, I have incorporated IK in Darug Ngurra as the foundation for the PP. Ngurra then becomes an active participant, in the more than human space (Bell, Instone, & Mee, 2017; Ngurra et al, 2019). Whilst the Parramatta Paradigm is a new methodology, which I developed during my research, the method of storytelling or storying and the use of art, has been used effectively by other Darug researchers and academics when sharing their own stories, or family histories (Lock, 2018; McKinnon-Kidd, 2009; Rey, 2019; Rey & Harrison, 2018).

Having been on the periphery of the PhD research completed by Darug academic Dr Jo Rey (2019), the privilege of being with other Darug women as we shared our stories, place and space relationally connected us all to Darug Ngurra and to Darug Dreaming. Dr Rey skilfully wove this privileging of Darug voices throughout her thesis.

Over the doctoral journey I too have been privileged to share my research with members of the Darug community at events and through conversations at informal gatherings. We as Darug peoples are now the knowledge keepers, the keepers of Darug stories, as our ancestors had been since time immemorial. From the oral

histories shared collectively at gatherings, particularly at cultural camps on Ngurra (Ngurra et al, 2019) to our written histories now being shared by Darug researchers, the knowledge continues to be passed down to future generations.

To understand the PP, is to embrace the Darug principle of “*yanama budyari gumada*” or to “walk with good spirit”, as this “embodies and invites new ways of thinking...” (Ngurra et al., 2019, p. 2). As Wright (2014, p. 13) suggests “humans and more-than-humans creating place, and place creating us”. In this way the PP provides a way for Ngurra to connect to kin, to community, and to knowledge.

The PP informs my Indigenist research perspective, providing me with my sense of identity and belonging, and my self-determination. This perspective aligns with Indigenous Standpoint Theory, as it is shaped by “our cultures, cultural values, and experiences...” (Behrendt, 2019. p. 175). Also to Indigenous women’s ontology as Moreton-Robinson (2013, p. 340) expresses it: “Knowledge and beliefs from the origin of time inform the present and future...there is scope for interpretation and change by individuals through dreams and their lived experiences”. In the writing of this thesis, knowledge from the past is informing the present and future. It comes from my own lived experience in the urban bush, for without it I would still have Western thought orientations.

Other influences that inform my Aboriginal lens are based on the varied scholarship of respected Indigenous academics (Archibald, 2008, 2019; Cajete, 1994, 2000; Foley, 2003; Kovach, 2009, 2015; Martin, 2003; Moreton-Robinson, 2013; Rigney,

1999; Sheehan, 2012; West, 2000; Wilson, 2008). The use of Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008) as a method “takes our voices from the margins and puts them in the centre” (Behrendt, 2019, p. 183), while historiography, in an Aboriginal context, gives agency to Aboriginal peoples. I am framing historiography as Aboriginal historiography, as in the past Aboriginal voices and histories have been silenced. As Kovach (2009, p. 94) reminds us, there is an “inseparable relationship between story and knowing, and the interrelationship between narrative and research within Indigenous frameworks”. The ‘knowing’ for the stories in this thesis come from the analysis of primary documents, then I interpret the information using an Aboriginal perspective.

Indigenous epistemologies hold two types of stories, traditional and personal (Kovach, 2009). In this study, Darug traditional stories are not being shared. The focus of this thesis is on the personal story “...of place, happenings, and experiences” (Kovach, 2009, p. 95), with an intent to re-tell the colonial patriarchal (his)story our way and, in doing so, re-gain and re-claim our traditional place (Ngurra) and space (knowledge). As I demonstrate in the rest of this chapter, the relationality between the storying, the artwork and the PP diagram allows a place- and culture-specific Australian Aboriginal research methodology to emerge through the research process.

3.3.1 Indigenous Standpoint Theory

I present this thesis from a Darug woman’s standpoint, a viewpoint that comes from being a woman writing about a woman (Kitty of the Darug) with our cultural

backgrounds both being Darug. From this premise comes my capacity to interpret colonial documents, written primarily by ‘white, Anglo-Saxon males’ through an Aboriginal lens. As an Indigenous woman I resonate with the work of Aboriginal academic Aileen Moreton-Robinson (2013), who contends that gender matters in standpoint theory as it: “exposes the spurious truth claims to impartiality of patriarchal knowledge production”. My ability to use an Aboriginal lens, however, resulted both from my ‘lived experience’ in the urban bush (discussed in the Foreword), and the questions that arose from this experience as it changed my position as an academic in the Aboriginal space.

I began to contextualise this experience through the work of Torres Strait Islander academic Nakata (2007, p. 213) who writes:

For Indigenous students, academics and researchers, standpoint theory in my mind is a method of inquiry, a process for making more intelligible ‘the corpus of objectified knowledge about us’ as it emerges and organises understanding of our lived realities...

Knowing that my reality as experienced after I had found the ‘sacred tree’ was nothing that could be measured using Western constructs, it did however present a “method of inquiry” (Nakata, 2007, p. 215), an engagement, a questioning of this ‘lived reality’. It was not ‘being’ with the tree that I questioned, rather it became my entry point. Nakata, (2007) suggests the case under investigation was the way I was affected by those experiences, and how I became influenced to see the ‘world’ through Darug eyes, which has now become my standpoint.

When I read the article, *Indigenous Epistemology and Indigenous Standpoint Theory* by Aboriginal academic Denis Foley (2003), I found within this piece of academic writing an Indigenous epistemological approach, a framework that allows me to justify my standpoint. Foley (2003, p. 47) explains Aboriginal philosophy as “the triangulation of the Physical, the Human and the Sacred worlds” and proposes three Indigenous philosophical approaches: Meyer’s Native Hawaiian Epistemology (2001), Rigney’s Indigenist Research Perspective (1999), and West’s Japananka Paradigm (2000). While they provide different viewpoints, I support Foley’s (2003, p. 47) view that they “enhance each other”.

According to Foley (2003) Rigney’s Indigenist research perspective (1999) justifies the need for Indigenous research, while West’s Japananka Paradigm (2000) provides the process to undertake that research. Taken together, Foley (2003) contends they form the “strategy” for his interpretation of Indigenous Standpoint Theory (Foley, 2003, p. 48). The Native Hawaiian Epistemology developed by Meyer (2001), contributes the “physical and metaphysical aspects of Indigenous knowledge” (Foley, 2003, p. 49). As the Darug nation struggles for recognition, so Rigney’s (1999) Indigenist research perspective, articulates Aboriginal people’s struggle for recognition and self-determination:

the lived, historical experiences, ideas, traditions, dreams, interests, aspirations, and struggles of Indigenous Australians. It is Indigenous Australians, who are the primary subjects of Indigenist research, and it is through Indigenous research they are given a voice. (Rigney, 1999, p. 119)

This view is further corroborated by Martin (2003) who expands on Rigney’s quotation “recognition of our worldviews, our knowledges and our realities as

distinctive and vital to our existence and survival” (Martin, 2003, p. 5). This position helped guide her own research framework. Just as I have introduced my ancestry and relationships in Chapter Two, Martin also makes a connection with the reader by introducing herself in terms of her connections and relationships.

The title of this thesis *Reclaiming Darug History* illustrates the struggle for the Darug. We are not just reclaiming our history but also our identity and recognition as traditional custodians of our homelands. I relate to Meyer’s (2001), *Our Own Liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian Epistemology*, through my experience in the bush: “our empirical rapport with the environment is not something passive. We are active in our understanding. We are engaged in it. Knowing something becomes something we create” (Meyer, 2001, p. 132). This perspective resonates and reflects the ‘knowing’ that came to me during my ceremonial experiences in the bush.

I also relate to Rigney’s (1999) Indigenist perspective about the importance of giving a voice to Aboriginal peoples. By investigating Darug colonial history through an Aboriginal lens I give a voice to the Darug. This provides the connection between Indigenous Standpoint Theory as proposed by Foley (2003) and the PP. As the three worlds come together to form an Indigenous Standpoint (Foley, 2003, p. 50) I provide my interpretation of how each world relationally fits within this thesis:

- The *physical world* is below us, above us and around us: it incorporates Country (the provider of food, identity, cultural space, and sense of belonging), our environment and all that live within it.

- The *human world* is how we act, interact, and react in the human world: our knowledge systems, our understanding of self, people, families, kinship systems, rituals, ceremonies, language, and behaviours.
- The *sacred world* includes our past, present, and future: it is our Dreaming, spirit beings, ancestors, our sense of self, our social and emotional wellbeing, our understanding of lore, oral history, ethics, and respect for Country. It is about healing the spiritual and physical being of all creatures.

The principles of Indigenous Standpoint Theory philosophy are “flexible and applicable for numerous Indigenous if not all Indigenous nations” (Foley, 2003, p. 47), making them appropriate for the PP, as Country means as much in the physical world as our humanness does within Country. The three worlds as outlined by Foley (2003) weave throughout the chapters of this thesis and have influenced my theoretical and methodological approach.

3.4 Foundations of an Indigenous Research Paradigm

My connection with Country and within Country and sharing of my ‘inward knowing’ positions this thesis as my Indigenous research paradigm. The conceptual model of an Indigenous Research Paradigm by Lambert (2014) in Figure 3.1 provided inspiration for the development of the PP, particularly in its emphasis on coming from a heartfelt place.

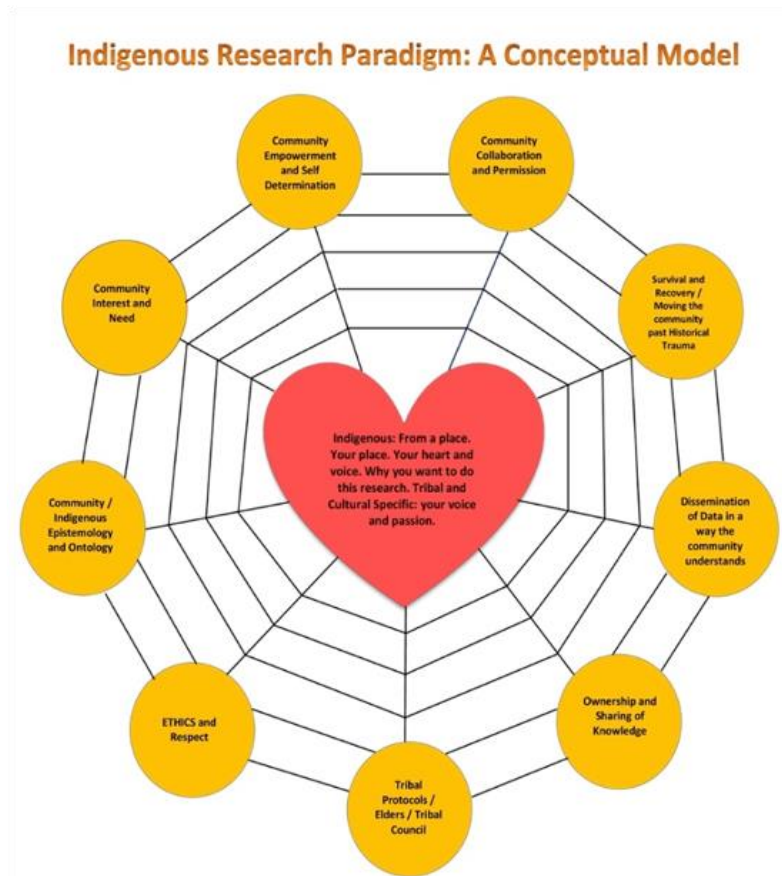


Figure 3:1 Lambert's conceptual model of an Indigenous Research Paradigm

Also made up of circles, the PP becomes my Indigenous research paradigm, and a legitimate theoretical framework for the methodology within the study. As Wilson (2008) argues, relationships are key to an Indigenous research paradigm. I demonstrate this in the way I share my personal story and connect the reader to important people and places in this thesis. At the beginning of the thesis, I share my research ceremony in a heartfelt way, as the urban bush became my initiation ground. I also share my ancestry within the storying, which is appropriate, as Kovach (2009, p. 100) explains:

Through reflexive story there is an opportunity to express the researcher's inward knowing...sharing one's own story is an aspect of co-constructing knowledge from an Indigenous perspective.

These processes, along with the Indigenous philosophies and theories, add value to the methodology, which is specific to place and space and uses a diversity of research processes (Pidgeon, 2019).

3.5 Indigenous Knowledge Research (IKR)

In 2001 two Indigenous researchers from the University of Queensland, Norm Sheehan and Polly Walker (2001) conducted a project in South East Queensland named *The Purga Project: Indigenous Knowledge Research*. The project grew from a process of reconciliation “with an educational focus” to a place “where Aboriginal culture and history are lived and passed on” (Sheehan & Walker, 2001, p. 12). Through their work with Aboriginal Elders and the Descendants Aboriginal Corporation, a cultural meeting space for healing and learning grew. While examining this project, I gained a greater understanding of Indigenous Knowledge in practice and the principles behind Indigenous Knowledge Research (IKR). The principles of IKR are useful and adaptable to better understand the research process in how to engage authentically (Archibald, 2008; Kovach et al., 2015; Sheehan & Walker, 2001). I believe the principles of IKR are relevant for this methodology as I am conducting historical research *about* the Darug nation and its peoples. Table 3.1 shows the relationship between IKR and the PP in this thesis, incorporating its four methods through an Aboriginal lens: Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008), Aboriginal Historiography, Aboriginal hermeneutics, and textual analysis (described in detail in section 3.7 below).

Table 3:1 Incorporating Indigenous Knowledge Research and Methods into the thesis

Relationality	Research process	Methods/Principles of IKR
Relate	Our realities and ways of knowing; With and for community; Darug Ngurra, our Country and place of belonging	Indigenous Storywork – respect, responsibility, reverence, reciprocity being a learner and fostering learning; knowledge is a living thing; research is relational; our relationship with the land; engaging in the natural world as Indigenous science is grounded in Indigenous realities and methodologies; respectful listening, allowing the environment to ‘speak’ and listening deeply to voices that emerge from the land, the spirits, and the people.
Respect	Aboriginal knowledge holders; Knowledge is a living thing; IK and natural sciences that have sustained Aboriginal peoples since millennia; Research has a life and lifecycle	
Reflect	The opposing axiology, epistemology and ontological of the dominant British and European cultures who brought their own ‘knowing, being and doing’ to Sydney from 1788	Aboriginal Historiography Indigenous ways of knowing moved from the margins to the centre; incorporates story as epistemology; what are the issues we need to understand? Provides an ethical and moral framework for the study.
Relay	Sharing of knowledge; Exposing the reality for the Darug as colonial settler-occupation took our land from us, then used it for their benefit	Aboriginal Hermeneutics Knowledge is hermeneutic; interpretation of the world, through text; how can this be of service to the community, what needs are we addressing? How can I be of service to the community?
Reveal	The truths around the events that happened to Darug peoples on Darug Ngurra	Textual Analysis Ensuring the research is of practical use in the community; engaging authentically in the process; gives a more unobstructed view of how people viewed their world during the colonial settler period

Sources: Archibald, 2008; Cajete, 2000; Meyer, 2003; Sheehan and Walker, 2001; Wilson, 2008)

3.6 The Parramatta Paradigm

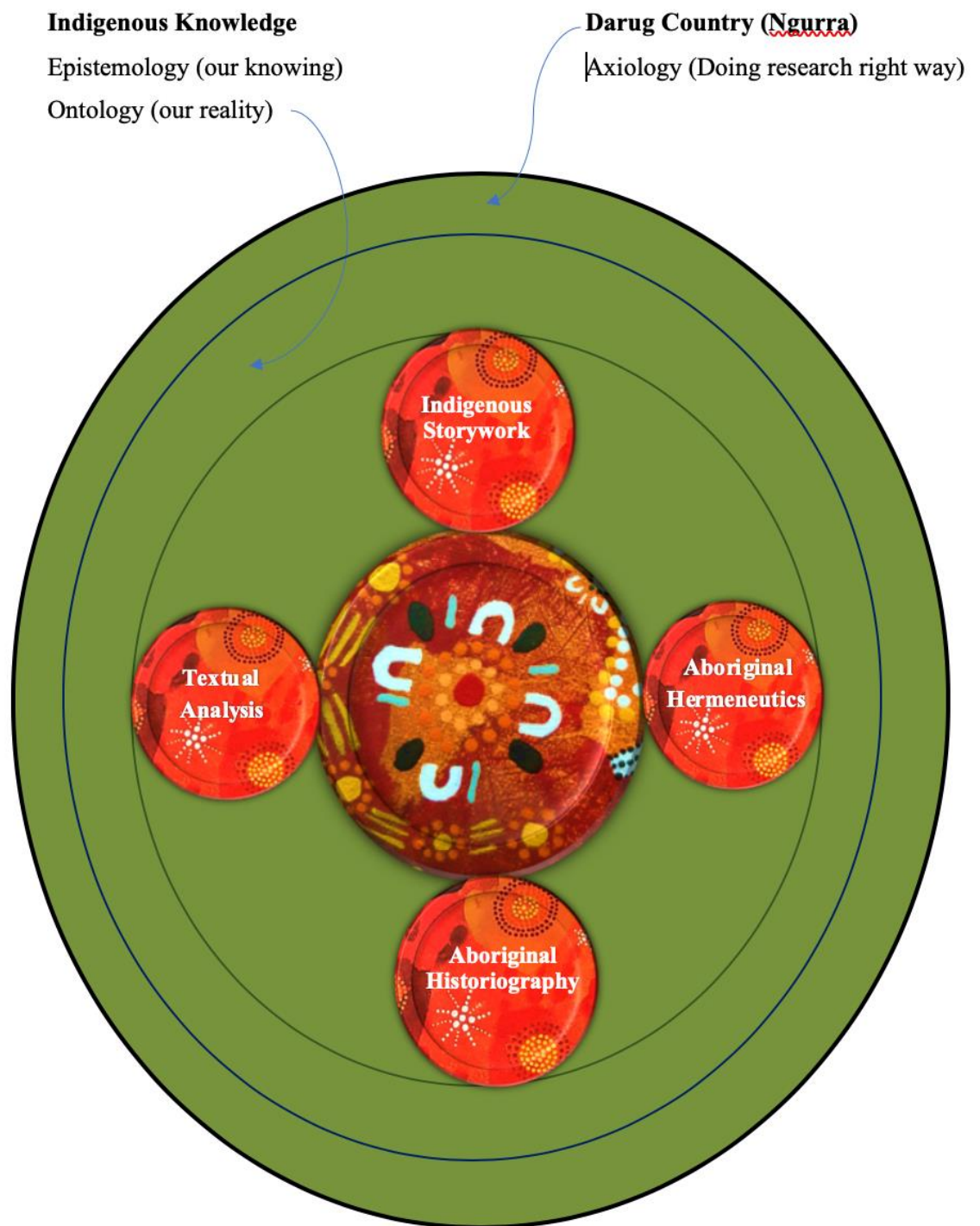


Figure 3:2 The Parramatta Paradigm

The Parramatta Paradigm (PP) is my theoretical positioning, my Aboriginal Australian research methodology that underpins this body of academic writing. Figure 3.2 illustrates how Indigenous philosophical underpinnings merge through

circles within circles. The interrelatedness of all the fundamentals blend one into the next, showing that our ways are not linear but relational, with our connections to our relations being a continuing cycle:

putting ideas in a circle or wheel indicates that they are interrelated and that each blends into the next...Its entities are inseparable...The whole of the paradigm is greater than the sum of its parts. (Wilson, 2008, p. 70)

3.6.1 The four circles

The *first* and largest of the four circles denotes Darug Ngurra, which is our link to the ancestors, our Dreaming and our spiritual connections. The green background symbolises Ngurra as the place that gives us our identity and our sense of belonging. The *second* circle represents Indigenous Knowledges in the context of this thesis. The *third* circle carries the methods to inform the storying. The *fourth* circle represents my Aboriginal research paradigm, with traditional artwork depicting ontology, epistemology, methodology and axiology, depicted as symbols sitting in a circle around a campfire, to oversee the four methods.

The interrelatedness of all the fundamentals blend one into the next, showing that our ways are not linear but relational, with our connections to our relations being a continuing cycle (Wilson, 2008). Much like the conceptual Indigenous research framework put forward by Kovach (2009), the PP also follows: "...an in and out, back and forth, and up and down pathway" (Kovach, 2009, p. 45). As evidenced by the connection between Ngurra to Indigenous Knowledge, Indigenous Knowledge to Ngurra, and methods which link to each other in the storying. The use of traditional values and principles from other Indigenous philosophies is appropriate as Wilson (2001, p. 2) argues "Indigenous epistemology includes any way of

thinking or style of cognitive functioning that may be common and distinct among Indigenous people”.

Just as I have grown to become ‘story ready’ through my experience in the urban bush, and through the principles of Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008), so the PP has grown to become a storyteller within this methodological narrative, as hermeneutically, the “whole of the paradigm is greater than the sum of its parts” (Wilson, 2008, p. 70). With IK underpinning the methodology, Indigenous Storywork becomes a method that relays the story to others: to bring my worldview and perspective to the study, along with the protocols and ethical frameworks that guide the research process. This ‘knowing and being’ relationally connects through the guidance of axiology, Aboriginal perspectives, values, and beliefs.

In this thesis the PP methodology is emancipatory as the research is set free from mainstream Western philosophies. While making it challenging in its design, the PP does, however, stay true to my Darug roots. I argue that Indigenous Knowledge grounded in Ngurra as my Indigenous research paradigm, is a legitimate theoretical framework for the PP methodology within this thesis.

3.7 The Methods

The four methods of Indigenous Storywork, Aboriginal Hermeneutics, Indigenous Historiography, and Textual Analysis sit together in a circle as they work together to expose the reality of the Darug experience and reclaim our history. Passing that information on by storytelling is not merely a matter of writing about those events

in an Aboriginal way. These methods each individually and collectively work together to bring the analysed data to life within the thesis.

By analysing the primary text, as part of my hermeneutic approach within the Paramatta Paradigm, I seek to uncover the truths for Darug peoples, not legitimise the rights of the British to be present on Darug Ngurra. Examination of this data seeks to uncover hidden messages often missed or ignored by non-Indigenous historians.

With archival research, however, comes responsibility and accountability particularly when retelling our histories: “a responsibility to write critical counter-narrative to ‘truths’ we are fed” (Harkin, 2017, p. 51). By using the Paramatta Paradigm, I was presented with an opportunity to set the record straight.

The archival material informing the thesis argument comes mainly from first-hand accounts written by white European males during the colonial settlement period. To interpret these writings through Aboriginal eyes, then tell the stories within this story, I need to come from a place of ‘being’ Aboriginal, of ‘knowing’ Aboriginal history and ‘doing’ storytelling in a respectful way. The framework of the PP guides this process reminding me that this is Aboriginal research, about Aboriginal people on Aboriginal lands.

What follows is an explanation of how the four methods relationally connect to the PP framework. Informed by the principles of IK and Indigenous Storywork, I was granted permission to do this research from the Darug community at an event

celebrating the 200th anniversary of the opening of the PNI in January 2015 (see Figure 3.1 in Appendix 3). Working backward to the beginning of the research journey, I found I was not yet in the ‘story ready’ space. I had been reading, interpreting, and writing along the lines a Westernised academic would.

During my doctoral studies, I read the works of other Western historians. I found I was writing a similar story: that the coming of the First Fleet changed the way of life for Aboriginal peoples forever, as starvation, infectious diseases and frontier violence took its toll. I did this, not knowing my (colonised) worldview was about to change in an unexpected, profoundly empowering way.

The urban bush in Sydney brought Aboriginal hermeneutics into my life in the shape of a scarred tree. As I began to analyse and interpret the marks on the trunk, I found hidden meanings. While reflecting on these meanings, I became aware of Aboriginal historiography. It was at this time I began to see the world as it was before the coming of the First Fleet: the vastness of Sydney Harbour surrounded by natural bush. I came to realise how small the penal settlement was in comparison to the existing landscape. It was then I began to question how historians came to their conclusions about the colonial world.

As I sat in the bush, breathing in the fresh air, the sunlight shining through the trees, I imagined Aboriginal women in canoes fishing the blue waters below. The nights that followed introduced me to textual analysis as words flowed into my head, later forming poetry. As I examined the words, they came together and connected into

verses hermeneutically. In this way, I began to understand how my ancestors made sense of their world: these words became their expressions and are contained in this thesis. The experiences now guide me through the journey of learning, taking me from a place of being ‘story-ready’ to becoming the storyteller within this thesis.

As I sat in the archives, reading the texts from long ago, a picture was created of a time when dominant forces resulted in killings on Country, when acts were deliberately committed to destroy Darug people, Darug culture and our cultural practises. I found the use of archival materials brought forth both pleasure and pain. As Russell (2018, p. 202) explicates, “For many Aboriginal researchers, working in an archive and encountering what they regard as both racist and incorrect observations can be traumatising and distressing”. The trauma that can arise from this type of research is very real to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples.

There is Indigenous scholarship about the praxis of decolonising settler-colonial archives and narratives, for example by Faulkhead et al., (2010), Faulkhead and Thorpe (2017), Harkins (2014), Sentence (2017), and Thorpe (2014). These are just some of the resources to help researchers navigate this space. I particularly resonate with the words of Natalie Harkins (2014, p. 4) who eloquently describes her feelings, referring to the archival material as maps “that haunt and guide us toward paths past-travelled and directions unknown...memory in the blood... blood on the records...the State wounds and our records bleed”. The storying in this thesis carries the blood of the Darug on Ngurra, while the blood pulsates through our veins as we acknowledge our ancestors and our history. Always was always will be.

3.7.1 Indigenous Storywork

I share my experience in the bush and my ancestry by storytelling in written form, just like the thousands of generations of Aboriginal peoples who over the ages have shared knowledge, albeit in oral form. Before the coming of the British in 1788, the Darug peoples had an oral tradition of passing down their ‘knowing and being’ through stories to the younger generations. Children would have learned from an early age to respect and care for Ngurra, to know their relational connections, totems, kinship systems, and to understand our Dreaming in the cycle of life. This knowledge was denied to my ancestor Kitty as she grew up learning the ways of the British at the PNI.

The telling of story at the PNI was relayed by missionaries, with a focus on Christianity and spoken in the British language. Learning to read and write in English, the Aboriginal students also learned skills to make them useful to settler society. Like the students, I too am learning a new way of ‘being’ in an academic space, and through understanding the principles of Indigenous Storywork, which are “the fundamental values of respect, reverence, responsibility, and reciprocity” (Archibald, 2008, p. 108), I can be both worthy and ready. With storytelling going back to the beginnings of Aboriginal time, within this thesis Indigenous Storywork leads the process for telling the story of the Darug experience at the time of colonial settlement.

As a research method, Indigenous Storywork began to emerge in academia, mainly due to the work of Dr. Jo-Anne Archibald Q’um Q’um Xiem. It developed during

her work with Indigenous Coast Salish/ Stó: lo Elders, cultural knowledge holders, and educators from British Columbia, Canada (Archibald, 2008), “Indigenous Storywork seeks to rectify the damage and reclaim our ability to story-talk, story-listen, story-learn, and story-teach” (Archibald et al., 2019, p. 7). To listen with the eyes when reading primary sources enables the writer’s original intent to be heard, as those hidden messages are critical in the research process, as evidenced through First Fleet journals which provide evidential proof the Darug nation was successful at land management practices.

Indigenous storying, according to De Santolo (2019), is about understanding survival and collective thinking, and “maintaining a balance and harmony with the natural order” (De Santolo, 2019, p. 242). It also leaves behind the colonial legacy of European domination as part of the “story research process” (De Santolo, 2019, p. 242). This is why I argue how Indigenous Storywork fits well within this thesis, as through the stories within this story, we can reclaim our history within our space.

Over thousands of generations, storytelling allowed my ancestors to know and care for Ngurra. According to Behrendt (2019, p. 175), “storytelling is an act of sovereignty that reinforces Indigenous identity, values, and worldview”. The knowledge holders taught the young ones the importance of ‘knowing’ why they needed to respect Ngurra, about their relational connections, why totems were important in the systems of kinship, and to understand our Dreaming in the cycle of life. This ‘knowing’ passed down through oral stories and art, songs, dance, rituals,

and ceremonies: a way of ‘being’ in a cultural sense, almost totally erased within two hundred years of Western domination.

Included in Appendix 9 are examples of how Darug ‘knowledge’ is being recovered and reclaimed. Cultural practices are being revitalised on Darug Ngurra and Elders are working both with Universities and the Darug community “for individual, family, and community healing, educational, justice, and research purposes” (Archibald, 2019, p. 17). The sharing of and respect for knowledge (our epistemology, our knowing), is considered hermeneutic (Meyer, 2001; Wilson, 2008), as explained in the next section.

3.7.2 Aboriginal Hermeneutics

While Indigenous Storywork provides the principles of storytelling, hermeneutics provides the context to those stories. Hermeneutics is usually associated with the written word, as Byrne (2001) conveys, “humans experience the world through language and this language provides both understanding and knowledge” (Byrne, 2001, p. 968). Not having a written culture, Aboriginal people used oral language to tell stories and teach practical ways of ‘being’ and ‘doing’ in the world. Researching using hermeneutics in an Indigenous context is multifaceted as Meyer (2003, p. 54) explains:

What are the needs we must address within ourselves, our families, our communities, and within our distinct and evolving cultures? What truly are the issues we need to understand? That truly is what hermeneutics teaches me. Research for us is not about asking the “burning questions” we wish to resolve, but rather, we are answering a call to be of use.

Hermeneutics in an Aboriginal context is used as a form of interpretation to find hidden meanings, for example with the tree in the urban bush, and to guide the analysis and interpretation of historical sources to inform what has been written by ‘other than’ Aboriginal people (i.e. the British) at that time. In a cultural sense, Meyer (2001, p. 140) suggests: “Here, hermeneutics helps to explain why it matters that the knowing *who* is talking and *how* what’s being said gets incorporated into *what* is learned, or if it gets taught at all”. This explains why Aboriginal hermeneutics works well with Indigenous Storywork: it is so the researcher can understand why the story is important, what needs to be said, and how that story is relayed to others.

As a method, hermeneutics plays a significant role in the research process as, according to Byrne (1998), it allows for interpretation of the written text along with the time period the writer lived in: “the sociocultural and historic influences of inquiry...helping to interpret and expose hidden meanings” (Byrne, 1998, p. 3). Those hidden meanings are contained in text and focus on the attitudes and beliefs of the British people living in the penal settlement, which included: their view of their world; comments they made regarding Aboriginal peoples; how events were portrayed by the British when it involved Aboriginal peoples; what underlying thoughts and feelings were being relayed by the British at that time; and what messages lie beneath their interpretations in regards to Aboriginal peoples and their way of life.

3.7.3 Aboriginal Historiography

This thesis researches the history of Australia during the colonial settlement period through an Aboriginal lens. In Chapter 1, I introduce myself as a mere apprentice in the Aboriginal history space. Yet here I am dipping my toes precariously into the deep and controversial waters of a period that holds enormous significance for the

accepted story of the forming of the Australian nation. It is of the time when Governor Arthur Phillip stood proudly on the shore of Sydney Cove in 1788 as they raised the British Flag to signify the beginnings of the penal colony. It is of the time when Aboriginal men stood proudly on the rocks around Port Jackson (Sydney Harbour), ready to defend their lands from the newcomers. It is of a time when convicts and settlers alike saw opportunities for wealth creation, were given Government land grants, then fenced off areas creating farms to grow food. It is of a time when the first inhabitants of this place were gradually denied access to their food sources, to their sacred sites and spiritual homeland, as farms spread like wildfire across the landscape.

To be able to tell these stories within the thesis, I needed to be story-ready, using Indigenous Storywork (Archibald, 2008) and applying an Indigenous context to those stories (Aboriginal hermeneutics). The writing of this history is associated with historiography (Given, 2008), which is the writing about history as opposed to recounting history itself. The research is, however, historiography from an Aboriginal perspective. As an Aboriginal researcher, I undertake the study respectfully, with the intent to reveal some of the truths interpreted through an Aboriginal lens, about the settlement of our lands and to share these with others. In Walter's (2005) view:

It is only by Indigenous researchers taking hold of research that is fundamentally about Indigenous peoples will we be able to reframe the analysis of these issues to reflect an Indigenous perspective, purpose, and reality. (Walter, 2005, p. 31)

The historical period covered by this research is significant in Aboriginal history as it signifies the beginning of the end of traditional life for the Darug as the first Aboriginal nation impacted by the coming of Western ‘civilisation’. The relative powerlessness of Aboriginal peoples was illustrated by how “they were defined and categorized by settlers, its officials and governments” (Reynolds, 2005, p. 9). Aboriginal historiography affirms that Indigenous voices have been ‘written out’ of history for much of the past two hundred years. As a method it aligns with Indigenous community standards on research as it honours our worldview (Kovach 2009) and decolonises the writings of non-Indigenous peoples about Indigenous peoples. As Sherwood (2009, p. 25) puts it:

Australia’s colonial history sets the scene for problematic constructions of Indigenous peoples. Contrasting ideologies of ‘discovery’ versus ‘invasion’ established a site of struggle. This contestation has been played out in the writing of White Australia’s history and policy, legitimizing its status as peaceful settlers.

In this sense, Aboriginal historiography goes beyond setting the scene for historical events in colonial times. It is about how those events impacted on Aboriginal peoples along with who is doing the writing of that information. As an Aboriginal researcher, becoming story-ready is as crucial to the process as is providing the context of those stories through hermeneutics.

The two methods of Indigenous Storywork and Aboriginal Hermeneutics together become a pathway that links to Aboriginal historiography, which when incorporated with textual analysis sets the scene for the storying —the worldview and period of the researcher and the original writer/historian’s work each taken into account.

3.7.4 Textual Analysis

In this study, I use textual analysis to provide the content for the storytelling within this thesis. As the research contains information obtained through historical documents, the ability to analyse and interpret these writings is critical for the argument within the study. While normally framed as a methodology, as a method within this study it combines well with Aboriginal hermeneutics and Aboriginal historiography. The three methods working together provide the process and content for storytelling within the body of the thesis. As McKee (2003) explains:

Textual analysis is the way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of their world. It is a methodology – a data-gathering process – for those researchers who want to understand the ways in which members of various cultures and subcultures make sense of who they are, and of how they fit into the world in which they live. (McKee, 2003, p. 1)

As a method, textual analysis in this research allows a deeper understanding of both Aboriginal and European lived experiences during the colonial settler period. Using this in academic research is appropriate as “[w]hen we perform textual analysis on a text, we make an educated guess at some of the most likely interpretations that might be made of that text” (McKee, 2001, p. 3). The intention of using textual analysis is to find the attitudes of the British and analyse their behaviours towards Aboriginal peoples from those writings. Interpretation has the potential to reveal the truth of the Aboriginal experience as a result.

Working in conjunction with Aboriginal historiography, the use of textual analysis can determine how both the colonised and coloniser made sense of their worlds. The writings from First Fleet journals in the early days of settlement also provide a first-

hand view of Darug Ngurra. I argue that reading the text and interpreting it in an Aboriginal way contributes to reclaiming the voice of Aboriginal peoples in the Australian history space.

Through historiography, I understand that everyone's reality is different. The way historians portray history is a perfect example of this. The analysing of original texts from the colonial period, for example, can be interpreted in different ways by historians, depending on the time period and worldview:

There is no such thing as a single, 'correct' interpretation of any text. There are large numbers of possible interpretations, some of which will be more likely than others in particular circumstances. (McKee, 2001, p. 4)

This thesis is not about revising a sentence or a story, and it is not just about doing research. It is about establishing an argument to show why this study is essential. It is also about contributing to new knowledge, which is why I associate 'becoming' with textual analysis, as we learn more and grow within the research. I experienced this when Indigenous Knowledge found me in the bush.

3.8 Conclusion

This research focuses on a time in Aboriginal history that brought significant changes in the way of life for Aboriginal people, a time when those from the Northern Hemisphere invaded our place and took our space during the colonial settlement of NSW; a time that signifies the beginning of the end of traditional life for the Darug Nation.

When I first began to think about an appropriate methodology to guide the research process, I kept drawing four circles without really knowing why. While at a peer group meeting with other doctoral students and supervisors, the idea for the methodology began to materialise (four methods with an Indigenous focus). Then as the philosophical framework for the methodology began to take shape, there appeared again, four circles, three situated within one large circle.

The significance of this is that within the circles of the PP is the validation of Country and the significance of IK. Those philosophical underpinnings are the foundation of the PP methodology. The Indigenous theoretical perspectives which inform this study also have a connection to Country and IK as applied throughout this thesis. The methods within the PP collectively answer the question as to why this research matters.

The methods and interrelating elements incorporate a multi-dimensional relationship to provide a framework for historical research and storytelling using an Aboriginal lens. In this way I claim the Parramatta Paradigm as a legitimate Aboriginal Australian methodology. With a focus on survival, cultural strengths, identity and connections, the following Chapter explains how historiography and hermeneutics in an Aboriginal context can tell the story of life before the ‘white fellas’, while textual analysis provides the content for the storytelling.

Chapter 4: Kitty's Country before the whitefellas



4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores life for Darug peoples before the colonial settlement of our lands. The methodological framework within the Parramatta Paradigm (PP), as outlined in the previous chapter, allows for the introduction of the methods in this chapter. The design of the visual artwork portrays Darug Ngurra as an unspoilt landscape. The symbols reflect family gatherings, intact waterholes at the end of the fingers and abundance of wildlife, with emu and kangaroo tracks crisscrossing the landscape. The hand symbolises the importance of ‘knowing’, as Darug families passed on IK to ensure the ‘doing’ of caring, sharing, respect and responsibility sustained the order of life within their universe. The artwork symbolises how Ngurra cared for people as people cared for Ngurra, with a bountiful food supply and everything necessary for a healthy lifestyle.

The discourse focuses on the oldest living cultures on earth, Australia's Aboriginal peoples, and their sophisticated ways of ‘being’ in the world. The artwork depicts a peaceful time, interrupted only when corroboree, initiations, rituals, and ceremonies flooded the atmosphere with chanting, songs, and dance across our sacred sites: a time when clans would come together to feast when there was plenty, where children were protected, safe within their families, and there was minimal disorder to tribal life. In the middle of the palm, Kitty's family live within their traditional lands. All was as it should be before the ‘white fellas’ came and took away our freedom, our

land and our children. The chapter follows the footsteps of the British as they first explore Darug land, then describe what they witnessed in their journals. It was they who provided the first written descriptions of the area and it is through their writings that we gain a picture of the Ngurra of Warmul.

The City of Sydney, viewed through Aboriginal eyes, takes us back to a time when the land was devoid of pollution, concrete and steel, and survival depended on each clan caring for and ‘being’ as one within Ngurra. As the narrative within this story takes shape, Darug Ngurra changes from *terra nullius*, a land ‘belonging to no one’, to one inhabited by many thousands of native Australian peoples.

Aboriginal historiography gives a voice to Darug peoples as the landscape is explored to show how they were themselves researchers, particularly around ‘being’ in the natural world, with their knowledge of the seasons, land management, food production and use of traditional medicines (Pascoe, 2014). They knew what they knew from thousands of years of researching on Ngurra, a ‘knowing’ that could be considered an Aboriginal research paradigm in practice.

For the examination of reports, letters, and journals I use Aboriginal hermeneutics and Aboriginal historiography, and to provide content I use textual analysis, as explained in the previous chapter. Combined, the methods provide a platform for the analysis and interpretation of reports, letters, and journals to inform the storytelling. My Aboriginal lens is guided by the Parramatta Paradigm (PP), to give a different perspective where necessary to inform the study. Examination of archaeological and

other reports also provides a clearer picture of the Aboriginal lifestyle and landscape at that time. Through Aboriginal historiography we take a journey from the Dreamtime to just prior to the coming of the Europeans, while archaeological data and other reports provide qualified accounts as to the timeline through the ages.

4.2 Australia before the whitefellas

While commonly accepted in modern history that Australia was ‘discovered’ by James Cook in May 1770, Aboriginal peoples had been living on Ngurra and caring for Mother Earth since the Dreamtime. What Cook could not know at the time the HM Bark *Endeavour* sailed into Botany Bay, was that there were between 250 (Hinkson, 2002) and 600 different tribal groups living across the Australian Continent (Keneally, 1987; Kociumbas, 1997; Parbury, 1988), each with their own political, economic and social systems (Kociumbas, 1997; Laidlaw, 1990).

The Australian continent in pre-settlement days was much like Europe. Each Aboriginal Country had their own tribal boundaries determined at their Dreaming. They spoke their own language, had their own spiritual beliefs, adhered to lore and protocols while attending rituals and ceremonies, all within their place and space (Berndt & Berndt, 1999). Later in this chapter, I examine comments made by Cook about the lifestyle of Aboriginal peoples in Botany Bay in 1770.

The sophisticated ways of ‘knowing, being and doing’ of Aboriginal culture were passed down from generation to generation over millennia (Bell, 1993; Neidjie, 1989; Rose, 2000). While guiding activities of everyday life, this also determined

relational connections “to each other, to the land, and to all living things” (Martin, 2003, p. 7). The level of complexity and the people who inhabited the land remained a complete mystery to those from the northern hemisphere:

Australia was the last of the habitable continents to be colonised by Europeans. Lying half a world away from Britain, its flora, fauna, geography and indigenous people were almost entirely unknown. (Tench & Flannery, 1996, p. 2)

Reynolds (2006, p. 64) expounds how Aboriginal peoples had an intimate relationship with the land, stating how on one level “this was a matter of practical bush skills, and profound knowledge of the environment”. These complex social structures and relationality have made Aboriginal societies one of the oldest living cultures in the world (Smallwood, 2011), and Australia “the oldest land” (Parbury, 1988, p. 10).

Unaffected by conquering nations, as had been the case in the histories of the Americas, Europe and Asiatic countries, Australian Aboriginal peoples lived on their homeland, with no threat of warring factions or dominant societies wanting to take it from them (Berndt & Berndt, 1999). Across the world people have fought over land and nations have gone to war to conquer other people’s lands, or simply claimed it by stealth: “Indigenous critique holds that the conceit of the West, both historically and today, is a belief in its ability to possess the land, subordinate it, and exploit it for its own satisfaction” (Reid, 2018, p. 3). This is not the way of Australian Aboriginal peoples. According to Stanner (1987, p. 235), there were no power struggles, “...no contests for place and office”. Put more simply, Aboriginal peoples, with their spiritual connection to Country, did not need to fight each other over land:

There were no wars or invasions to seize territory. They did not enslave each other. There is no master-servant relation. There is no class division. There is no property or income inequality. The result is homeostasis, far reaching and stable. (Stanner, 1973, as cited in Ward, 1982, p. 17)

Historians such as Stanner (1969, 1987) and Ward (1982) recognise the strengths of Aboriginal societal practices, with everyone being equal. There was no need for jails as there were no prisoners. Aboriginal peoples had their way of dealing with those who broke the lore, as evidenced in First Fleet journals (Tench, 1793, Collins, 1798).

As a communal society Aboriginal peoples had no greed, everyone shared what was available: a way of living together, as noted in Cook's journal (published in 1893) while he was in Botany Bay. There were no wars over land, as Aboriginal peoples were spiritually connected to the land they lived on. Everything and everyone were valued, cared about, and cared for within the lore of place, a system of 'being' which had evolved over thousands and thousands of years.

Century after century, Aboriginal peoples kept their cultural values and beliefs safe and strong within their traditional knowledge systems which relationally connected them to their place of belonging, their land (King, 2009). IK and traditional customs practised daily provided environmentally sound management of land, promoting a healthy mind, body, and spirit. Thus, with these rich cultural and sustainable practices, Aboriginal civilisations could be considered advanced by modern standards.

4.3 Sydney before the whitefellas

The City of Sydney has grown from a penal colony established by the British in 1788, to a vibrant municipality. Rich in cultures from across the globe, it welcomes and embraces all who want to call Australia home. Sydney is comparatively young when compared to the cities of old, such as Rome, Athens, Paris, and London. The land that lies under the concrete and steel of the city of Sydney is Aboriginal land with a history going back long before the Egyptians built the pyramids, the Romans ruled across Europe, and the Vikings plundered England. It has an ancient history, a ‘belonging’ rich in cultural traditions and customs.

From the findings of archaeologists, it is estimated that Aboriginal peoples were living in the Sydney area around 30,000 to 40,000 years ago (Gapps, 2018; Kohen, 1993, 2006). These archaeological sites are steeped in cultural belief systems, which celebrate thousands of years of occupation by Aboriginal peoples. This foundation comes from the ‘Dreamtime’ (Nayutah & Finlay, 1988), which, on a deep epistemological and ontological level, is the relationship between first inhabitants and the land. According to van Toorn (2006, p. 20), Aboriginal people also practised ‘signification’: “Stylised maps and narratives were also engraved on sacred ritual objects, and Aboriginal people painted richly meaningful images and signs on rocks, bark, wooden artefacts, animal skins and human bodies”.

While there were major climatic changes over these time periods (Attenbrow, 2003), Aboriginal people learned how to survive. The Sydney region was a natural food bowl, rich in seafood, meats, fruits, and vegetables (Brook & Kohen, 1991; Kohen,

2006; Smith, 2001). Aboriginal people's way of 'being' was centred around their communal lifestyle: caring for the land, caring for the children, socialising, fishing, gathering foods, hunting prey and protecting sacred sites (Attenbrow, 2003; Kociumbas, 1997; Kohen, 1993, 2006; Smith, 1992; Ward, 1982). This way of 'knowing' and 'being' promoted not only good physical health, and an idyllic lifestyle (Willey, 1979), but also social, emotional, mental, and spiritual wellbeing. After the food was gathered each day Aboriginal families spent time fixing tools and weapons, socialising and basically enjoyed a "good life" (Smith, 2001, p. 5).

While individual clans from the Sydney area numbered from as little as a few family members to as many as 50-60 men, women and children, Hinkson (2010), Kohen (2006), Smith (1992) and Ward (1982) all generally agree that those clans were part of a larger tribal group, with a complex and sophisticated network of relationships, all sharing a common territory, ceremonial life and language. While Cook (Wharton, 1893) noted a village containing several houses in Botany Bay, Pascoe (2018, p. 117) writes how explorers and settlers found "large villages as they travelled further afield". Going on further Pascoe (2018) quotes Dennis Foley, of the Gai-marigal peoples north of Port Jackson who was shown:

...the remains of large stone dwellings by his uncle. The walls were built from stone and clay, and the floors were covered in soft paperbark and ferns. The buildings were approximately six metres by four, and 1.5 metres high. Foley explains that many of these houses were burnt by soldiers after the smallpox plagues. (Pascoe, 2018, p. 127)

Estimation of tribal numbers depended on the area. Ward (1982) suggests whole tribes could have numbered as many as two thousand, increasing when larger social gatherings took place with other clan groups or tribes. First Fleet records (Collins,

1798; Phillip, 1789; Tench, 1793) suggest large gatherings took place at ceremonial events, for funerals, and when food was particularly plentiful, such as beached whales and the ‘running of the eels’ each year at Parramatta.

4.3.1 The Dreamtime, the Dreaming

The words ‘Dreamtime’ or ‘the Dreaming’ are English words used to describe the time of the creation for Aboriginal peoples (Cowan, 1992; Edwards, 2004; Keneally, 1987; King, 2009; Kohen, 2006; Laidlaw, 1990; Parbury, 1988; Stanner, 1987). This language does, however, help us to understand a time when mystical beings moved across the landscape, forming the natural environment, and creating all living things (Das, 2013). The Dreamtime is continuous, it links the past with the present and the future, which Parbury (1988, p. 10) describes as “a cycle of life without end”, an Indigenous philosophy based on connections and connectedness across the land.

From creation came Aboriginal peoples, formed in different territories, with the Dreaming laying down the foundations for human existence (Berndt & Berndt, 1999), “The great mythic beings of the Dreamtime established the foundations of human socio-cultural existence...They created human and other natural species and set them down, as it were, in specific stretches of country” (Berndt & Berndt, 1999, p. 137). Each tribal area or Country had a language, lore and law, and spiritual connection to the land.

With creation stories passed down through the ages, generation upon generation of Aboriginal children grew up knowing of the ancestral beings through oral narratives

(Berndt & Berndt, 1999; Edwards, 2004; Kociumbas, 1997; Parbury, 1988). They were taught to understand and respect the importance of the belief systems regulating all aspects of their life, “based on the totemic system, or ‘skin’ and ‘the dreaming’” (Kohen, 2006, p. 22). In his publication, *King Bungaree*, Smith (1992, p. 17) describes the evidence apparent in art form across the Sydney region:

The black people of the Sydney-Hawkesbury district left an eloquent pictorial record of their culture in hundreds of petroglyphs or rock engravings depicting mythical beings or hunters and their prey, including birds, fish and kangaroos, which were often clan totems.

Defining Aboriginal peoples as being spiritually connected to the land from birth, Hinkson (2001) states, “members of a community shared responsibility for protecting sacred sites and hunting grounds, and for maintaining the cultural knowledge which gave these sites meaning” (Hinkson, 2001, p. xxii). Just as the land belonged to the whole tribe, the knowledge of ‘being one’ with the land was taught from birth. As Parbury (1988, p. 14) explains, Aboriginal people did not “work” the land, but “lived in harmony with it”:

To Aboriginal people, the land was not just soil or rock or minerals, but the whole environment – the land, the water, the air and all the life they supported, including woman and man; all the elements, the sun, the moon, the stars and the sky – all related and linked by the Dreamtime. (Parbury, 1988, p. 15)

The elements are as connected to the living as to the non-living as evidenced within the PP methodology. Our Dreaming, as discussed by Stanner (1987, p. 228), is the “theory of how the universe became a moral system”; of “many things in one...kind of narrative of things that once happened...kind of charter of things that still happen...kind of logos or principle of order transcending everything significant for Aboriginal man” (Stanner, 1987, p. 226). Stanner (1987) argues that such a moral

system is difficult for non-Indigenous people to comprehend. On the other hand, Ward (1982) likens the relationship between the tribe, people and land as being like the Christian Holy Trinity. I suggest this ‘Father, Son, and Holy Ghost’ analogy both regards and disregards Indigenous peoples’ deep spiritual connection to Country.

Being part of a community of caring and sharing meant children grew up within a robust kinship system. Beginning their education at birth, they learned through listening and observing, then following the example of others. Representing “the future of the Dreamtime” (Parbury, 1988, p. 25), everyday life was a totality of learning and the surrounding environment was their classroom. Aboriginal children became immersed in their cultural mores from a young age, which at a deep ontological level, defined their nature of reality (Sheehan, Martin, Krysinska, & Kilroy, 2009). Learning through interaction rather than reaction, children lived and learned their culturally determined relationships to the land, their family, kin, and community (Martin, 2003; Sheehan, 2011b; Wilson, 2008).

Those meaningful connections were taught through everyday activities, such as stories, art, dance, and songs. This lifestyle of learning within a perfect setting honoured Mother Earth and Biame the Sky Father, the ancestors, spirit beings and Country (Burridge & Chodkiewicz, 2012; Kohen, 1993; Wilson, 2008). Just as their forebears before them, the Elders and knowledge holders passed on their ‘knowing’ to the younger generations.

4.3.2 First non-Indigenous views of Aboriginal people and cultures

The first written records of Aboriginal Australians living along the East Coast came from Cook's voyage on the Endeavour in 1770. However, the complexity of Aboriginal societies remained completely unknown in the land the British called 'New Holland' (Attenbrow, 2010). The following extract from Cook's journal written on Thursday, 23 August 1770 (Price, 1958) confirms several key aspects of Aboriginal societies written earlier in this chapter. I have selected to repeat some of the text, in its original form, to keep the storying in context:

From what I have said of the Natives of New-Holland they may appear to some to be the most wretched People upon Earth; but in reality they are far more happier than we Europeans; being wholly unacquainted not only with the superfluous, but with the necessary Conveniences so much sought after in Europe; they are happy in not knowing the use of them. They live in a Tranquility which is not disturb'd by the Inequality of Condition. The earth and Sea of their own accord furnishes them with all things necessary for life, they covet not Magnificent Houses, Household-stuff, etc.; they live in a Warm and fine Climate, and enjoy very wholesome Air, so that they have very little need of Cloathing; and this they seem to be fully sensible of, for many to whom we gave Cloth, etc., left it carelessly upon the Sea beach and in the Woods, as a thing they had no manner of use for; in short, they seem'd to set no Value upon anything we gave them, nor would they ever part with anything of their own for any one Article we could offer them. This, in my opinion, Argues that they think themselves provided with all the necessarys of life, and that they have no Superfluities. The native Australians may be happy in their condition, but they are without doubt among the lowest of mankind. (Cook, as cited in Price, 1958, p. 85)

While Cook describes Aboriginal people as the most "wretched" on the planet and "the lowest of mankind", he does recognise the benefits of their way of life and how they appear "happier" than the Europeans. He bases this on their aversion to material possessions, feeling comfortable in their skin, and living in an enviable climate. There is undoubtedly merit in his opinion, as Aboriginal people had the luxury of freedom, a structured community life (bound by lore, ritual, and ceremonies). In writing "...they think themselves provided with all the necessarys of life...", shows

that they have no use for the things the British desire. With the luxury of freedom, their spiritual connections along with a structured community life (bound by lore, ritual, and ceremonies), the Aboriginal way of life was indeed balanced. This happiness was unable to be measured or recognised by the British. Aboriginal people had been present on the earth for thousands of years before the newcomers, therefore their way of life, although complex, was also highly evolved. They simply did not need material possessions or a need for greed or wealth. They had the freedom of life, the freedom of thought and the freedom to work as a team in their everyday activities. Rules were in place to govern justly, and offenders dealt with swiftly. They had it all.

4.3.3 Views of traditional Aboriginal people and cultures

Generally referred to as hunters and gatherers, the word ‘nomad’ has also been used to describe the lifestyle of Aboriginal peoples. This interpretation has them aimlessly wandering across the lands in search of food. Distinguished author and poet James Cowan (1992) and Parbury (1988) each use the word ‘nomads’ to describe this behaviour. A term also used by Stanner (1987, p. 230), who argues that Aboriginal people are “...nomads – hunters and foragers who grow nothing, build nothing, and stay nowhere long”. Going on further, Stanner contradicts himself by stating “each band belongs to a given locality” (Stanner, 1987, p. 231). Historian Geoffrey Blainey (2015) claims that to call Aboriginal peoples ‘nomads’ causes remonstrations. He then puts this ‘nomad’ notion more into perspective:

These people were nomadic because season after season, they could utilise the intimate relationship between weather, the maturing of plant-foods, and the breeding and migrating habits of birds and reptiles, insects and marsupials. They were also nomadic in the daytime, walking far while collecting the day’s food. (Blainey, 2015, p. 5)

Clearly this shows an understanding of how Aboriginal people managed their living landscape. Blainey (2015) states this, without noticing how this intimate relationship with living things came from Indigenous Knowledge both *in* and *on* Country. Michael Martin (1988) claims Aboriginal peoples were not nomads at all; instead, they had well-defined areas and complex social systems. More recent literature argues how Aboriginal people developed diverse strategies over many thousands of years to ensure their survival. According to Kohen (2006), far from being *users* of the land, Aboriginal people were, in fact, *managers* of their lands. This was a survival strategy as the people cared for and lived as one with their environment, over generations; they thus became great ecologists.

In some areas the annual burning of the grass at the end of the summer was seen to be the most effective method of Aboriginal conservation (Parbury, 1988). Indigenous peoples used fire to maintain and nurture the health of Country (Pascoe, as cited in Ngurra, 2019):

Fire is critical to the health of Darug Country. It provides emotional and physical sustenance; it regenerates seeds, it shapes invasive plant lives, and it imparts vibrant teachings on the humans who co-create it...For some Darug custodians the burns are seen as a way of giving back to Country; they 'awaken' identities and foster connections to the land...Through fire, Darug custodians participate in and model reciprocity and entangled togetherness with each other, with their ancestors, and with Country. (Ngurra et al., 2019, pp. 6-8)

Undertaken after the harvesting of grains and fruits, "the group was ready to move on" (Parbury, 1988, p. 40). With strategies such as conserving food sources implemented across designated territories, clans could follow the seasons (Kohen, 2006). Also, it was a way to ensure the land had time to re-generate. As Aboriginal

peoples' way of life was "dependent upon and in harmony with the land" (Parbury, 1988, p. 39), conservation, and their "totemic system protected some animals from being hunted, and prohibited the eating of others" (Kohen, 1993, p. 8).

While analysing the writings of First Fleet Surgeon George B. Worgan (1978, p. 21), I found in a journal entry what appears to be the protection of a totem:

...a Crow settled in a Tree that was within shot, while levelling my Gun at it, one of the natives ran over to Me in a hurry clapped his Hand over ye [sic] Muzzle of the Piece and cried out several times Bau Bau Bau Bau, meaning as I conjectured, that I was not to kill it...

Without fear the Aboriginal man put his hand over the muzzle of Worgan's gun to stop the shooting of the crow. Kohen (2006, p. 23) confirms: "Amongst the Darug, totems certainly included the crow...". For this man, the crow was an important bird and one not to be killed.

Across the world, scientists have conjectured that human engineering, agricultural experiments and tool development began around 4,000 years ago (Pascoe, 2014). Considering Aboriginal cultures are the oldest in the world, it is no surprise that Pascoe (2014) found evidence that confirms farm practices across Australia happened at a much earlier time. Aboriginal people planted seeds and re-planted yams (Parbury, 1988), the yam being a crucial plant "in the economy of pre-colonial Aboriginal Australia..." (Pascoe, 2014, p. 27). They also set fish and eel traps (Pascoe, 2014) and used 'fire-stick farming' to re-generate the land, catch food (escaping the fire) and prevent bushfires (Attenbrow, 2003; Keneally, 1987; Parbury, 1988; Pascoe, 2014).

Describing how Aboriginal peoples evolved over many thousands of years into adept farmers, Pascoe (2014) confirms they used fire for regeneration, grew native yams, maize, corn and rice, and farmed animals and eels. Aboriginal peoples are not survivors within a stone-age culture:

They are our contemporaries, modern men and women, motivated by the same basic urges as ourselves, but traditionally with a different way of living, a different outlook, different values. And difference does not necessarily imply inequality. (Berndt & Berndt, 1985, p. 6)

4.4 Cannemegal-Warmuli Country – Kitty’s traditional lands

Kitty’s family group, the Cannemegal-Warmuli clan (Attenbrow, 2003; Kohen, 2006, 2010), resided in their designated family area at Warmul, within the much larger tribal territory of the Darug. Warmul is situated southwest of Parramatta and characterised by a large hill named Mar-Rong or Prospect Hill. Sharing custodianship with other related clans, my ancestors raised their children safe within their community of care. As a group, they hunted game, gathered food, went fishing, held ceremonies, and cared for significant sites within Ngurra. These activities sustained life and connections to the ancestors, place, and space.

4.4.1 Kitty’s Country through the eyes of white explorers

Often referred to as the ‘woodland people’ by the British, the Cannemegal-Warmuli were also adept at managing fire. The different uses of fire were documented by those of the First Fleet, including Surgeon Dr. White, who accompanied Governor Phillip on the first western expedition 22 April 1788 (Phillip, 1789; White, 1962). White described trees on fire, being lit by the natives, an abundance of wildlife, dry grass being burned in the bottom of hollow trees, to snare animals, and other trees having notches cut into the trunk to climb to the top. White also observed empty

huts, found chewed roots, and saw fires burning across the country-side as evidence of occupation. As he climbed Prospect Hill, Dr. White described the area as being free of underwood and devoid of trees, providing a valuable picture of the environment "...the trees immensely large, and at a considerable distance from each other; and the land around us flat and rather low..." (White, 1788, p. 148). He described the countryside as being good while he called the scrub 'dense'. As the expedition moved westward, Governor Phillip recalled this landscape in a letter written to Lord Sydney, dated 15 May 1788:

In general as fine as any I ever saw, the trees growing from twenty to forty feet from each other, and except in particular places where the soil was stony and very poor, no underwood. The country tho' which we past [sic] was mostly level, or only rising in small hills, which gave it a pleasing and picturesque appearance. The fifth day we got to a rising ground, and for the first time since we landed saw Carmarthen Hills, as likewise, the hills to the southward. The country round this hill was so beautiful that I called the hill Bellevue, but the hills we wished to reach still appeared to be at least thirty miles from us. (Phillip as cited in Bladen & Britton, 1892, p. 133)

The information written by Governor Phillip is an indication the trees were well spaced, and there was little undergrowth. For an Englishman to comment that the area was '*pleasing and picturesque*' is important in terms of the skilled land management of the Darug. The hill was most certainly Mar-Rong or Prospect Hill as it is the highest point on the Cumberland Plains and approximately that distance from the Blue Mountains. In his writings, Phillip makes a note of not seeing any Aboriginal peoples; however, he noticed signs that they were everywhere. Retelling this expedition, Kohen (1993, p. 52) writes:

Huts, campfires, burning trees and partially eaten food. There is little doubt that the Darug people simply avoided the whites, but certainly they could have killed the white explorers if they had wished.

Warmul appeared in all respects to be virgin land, as evidenced by the writings of Judge Advocate David Collins (1798) when writing of the journey by Governor Phillip in April 1788:

...he penetrated about thirty miles inland, through a country most amply clothed with timber, but in general free from underwood. On the fifth day of his excursion he had, from a rising ground which he named Belle Vue, the only view of the mountains which he obtained during the journey. (Collins, 1798, p. 21)

Through these journal entries, we can walk in the footsteps of First Fleet writers as they describe their travels across Warmul Country. All notes show the Warmuli stay hidden from view (Collins, 1798; Hunter, King, & Phillip, 1792; Tench, 1793; White, 1962). It is clear the Warmuli blended unseen into the landscape, once they knew the Europeans were near. Although Flynn (1995) argues that the expedition was well clear of Prospect during this expedition, the fact that both Governor Phillip and Doctor White could see the Blue Mountains to the west and Richmond Hill to the north was an indication they were more than likely at Prospect.

On 26 June 1789, Lieutenant Watkin Tench, who was put in charge of Rose Hill (Parramatta), decided to explore the surrounding countryside (Tench, 1793). He planned to climb the hill he saw in the distance, which he determined was about five miles from Rose Hill. Tench was keen to view the area west to the mountain range. Accompanied by several others, Tench reached the top, and while surveying the landscape (which Tench describes as a “wild abyss”), they pondered how to traverse through the trackless desert stretching out in front of them. Embarking on this journey of discovery across Warmul Country, Tench found substantial evidence of Aboriginal habitation; however, he saw no one. The land, according to Tench (1793),

was untouched by European feet. As this expedition was within the timeframe of the smallpox epidemic of 1789, it is interesting to note that not one Aboriginal person was sighted, either dead or suffering from the disease, during this period.

First Fleet Captain John Hunter (Hunter et al., 1792) expressed delight at the surrounding landscape while walking from Parramatta to Prospect one beautiful evening in 1790. He describes the countryside as like a vast park, with trees growing apart from each other, and the area a pleasant tract of land. From the top of Prospect Hill, Judge Advocate David Collins also noted a thick forest grew as far as the Blue Mountains, which aligns with Tench's description of the western landscape.

While named 'Prospect Hill' by the British, First Fleet Officer and scientist William Dawes recorded the name 'Mar-Rong' in his notes (Flynn, 1995). As the highest point on the Cumberland Plains, it would also have been an important place for Aboriginal men to gather as it gave them a commanding view of the surrounding countryside. In a later chapter, I explore whether that the Darug warrior Pemulwuy may have used Prospect Hill as his base.

I can imagine mighty Darug warriors sitting and contemplating life, discussing the coming of the British and swapping stories, as they gathered to deliberate on crucial cultural business. Their view would have ranged from the Pacific Ocean in the east to the Blue Mountains in the west. Research completed by noted archaeologist and historian James Kohen (2006) confirms this claim: "Many prehistoric sites around Sydney continued to be used by Aboriginal people well into the nineteenth century"

(Kohen, 2006, p. 8), as do artifacts found at sites from Prospect to Emu Plains. Journals and other sources from that period (Collins, 1798; Hunter et al., 1792; Tench, 1793; White, 1962) become pivotal in proving the Warmuli and other clans on the Cumberland Plains not only survived the smallpox epidemic of 1789, but continued to live traditional lifestyles.

While the British did not see Aboriginal people in those first visits to Prospect Hill, their journal entries provide clear evidence of traditional life. The respect my ancestors had for Ngurra, their understanding and awareness of the landscape and the spiritual connection linking them back to the Dreamtime were all lost on the newcomers who saw only a landscape that was suitable to farm. Prospect Hill was not just an important spiritual place for my ancestors, it would later become an important landmark for future European expeditions (Karskens, 1991).

In his book, *Living Black: Blacks Talk to Kevin Gilbert*, Gilbert (1978) describes the reverence for traditional life by Aboriginal peoples, as they lived “in a delicate ecological balance with their environment...that set them free from material burdens”, which he noted as an “extraordinarily rich spiritual life” (Gilbert, 1978, p. 2), but going on to lament:

The European invasion quickly destroyed the balance between Aboriginal and nature as the land was taken and the ecology altered by the introduction of cattle and sheep, the loss of land meant the loss of metaphysics too, because the two were inextricable.

According to Sheehan (2012, p. 76), Gilbert shows “great pride” in expressing the resilience of Aboriginal peoples to survive and overcome oppression, describing it

as a "great cultural and moral victory". In this thesis the moral victory is the resilience and tenacity of the Darug children who survived life at the Parramatta Native Institution, going on to lead productive lives. Grant (2016, p. 68) raises the point that Gilbert spoke to a "shared fact of persecution...the enormity of white racial injustice...the cement that binds all blacks in unity", a new narrative to the black story.

4.5 Interpretations of the Darug name and language

The name of my ancestral group or tribe, the Darug, has been mentioned in books, journals, and other writings for over one hundred and twenty years. The spelling of the name differs depending on the writer: according to Kohen (2006, p. 9) the following translations have been used: "Dharug, Daruk, Dharruk, Dharrook, Daruck, Duruck". In the writings of Australian surveyor, anthropologist, and ethnographer Robert Hamilton Mathews (1901), I found another translation, "Dhar'rook" in a paper published by the American Philosophical Society (Mathews, 1901, p. 140). In this manuscript, Mathews referred to the Dhar'rook as being the Aboriginal group living from the Hawkesbury, then south, to the borders with Gundungarra and Thurrawal. Going further, Mathews makes mention that the Thurrawal language has the same structure as the Dhar'rook, "although differing in vocabulary" (Mathews, 1901, p. 140). The word Darug has a meaning of either yam or teeth (Kohen, 2006).

To gather information Mathews interviewed several Aboriginal informants. They came from La Perouse, Plumpton, Botany Bay, Katoomba, Camden, and the Sackville Reserve on the Hawkesbury River (Kohen, 2006). Through these

interactions, Mathews was able to document information about Aboriginal language and behaviours. In the book, *Aboriginal Families and Clans of the Sydney Region*, Kohen, (2010) claims the word ‘Darug’ was told to Mathews by his informants to identify themselves and their language. Mathews also documented the Darug language as spoken across the Sydney basin (Kohen, 2006). Despite these language findings from Mathews, the ‘recognised’ Aboriginal language of the area of inner Sydney City is not Darug, but Eora. The location of Darug Ngurra is also considered contested ground. The area more commonly associated with Darug is from Parramatta to the Blue Mountains, north to the Hawkesbury, and south to Picton.

According to a journal entry by First Fleet journal writer Watkin Tench (1779), the language spoken by Aboriginal people on the ‘sea coast’ could be understood by Aboriginal men inland at Richmond during an expedition in April 1771:

Although our natives and the strangers conversed on a par, and understood each other perfectly, yet they spoke different dialects of the same language; many of the most common and necessary words, used in life, bearing no similitude, and others being slightly different...That these diversities arise from want of intercourse with the people on the coast, can hardly be imagined, as the distance inland is but thirty-eight miles; and from Rose Hill not more than twenty, where the dialect of the sea coast is spoken. (Tench as cited in Fitzhardinge, 1779, p. 231)

The journal entry confirms the ‘sea coast’ language, was also spoken at ‘Rose Hill’ or Parramatta, which also confirms the Warmuli and the ‘seacoast’ Aboriginal peoples were part of the same language group.

In her book *The Sydney Language*, Troy (1994) explains how the local Aboriginal language declined as surviving speakers began to adopt the main languages of English and New South Wales Pidgin. Further, Troy (1994, p. 4) argues that “the

Sydney Language effectively died with its last speakers, leaving successive generations of Sydney people without access to their language”. Troy goes on to argue how over the years, researchers have come up with different findings in relation to a common Aboriginal language in the Sydney region. Hence Troy (1994) prefers to use the term ‘Sydney Language’ in her writings.

Another term, ‘Biyal-Biyal’, is also used to refer to the language of Sydney’s traditional peoples. Historians such as Smith (2004) adopted Biyal-Biyal as the language of the local Aboriginal peoples of Sydney. Through an examination of the works of William Dawes of the First Fleet, Steele (2005) found that while Biyal-Biyal was a separate language, he did admit it was allied to the Darug (Steele, 2005, p. 27). In his Masters Thesis titled *The Aboriginal Language of Sydney*, Steele (2005, p. 5) writes:

Dawes wrote “eeora” three times and “eora” once, and the term occurred once as “eo-ra” and again once as “e-o-rah” in the companion Anon notebook—each time to indicate ‘men or people’ (tribal men, not white men), rather than the name for their language.

While the term ‘Eora’ is now widely accepted and formally used by the City of Sydney and local Aboriginal Land Councils, Steele (2005) found the word for ‘Eora’ refers to ‘men or people’ not to place or language, whereas across Australia Aboriginal language and land denotes people and place. The Darug language denotes the Darug people from the tribal lands of Darug. There is no language or language group formally named ‘Eora’ in Aboriginal Australia.

Hinkson (2001, p. xxi) claims there are two broad positions regarding the identification of language groups and communities of people of the Sydney area: “One hold that the peoples of Sydney spoke a coastal dialect of the Darug language and that Sydney should be identified as Darug land. The other proclaims Sydney as belonging to the Eora people and views Eora as a distinct language”. According to Keneally (1987, p. 13) “The word Eora, in the Sydney language, simply means humankind”.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has the Darug people living in an unspoilt setting within an environment managed through the ‘knowing’ of Indigenous Knowledge for thousands of years. The social structure ensured relational connections to the ‘seen and unseen’, as families came together for occasions of special significance. While the British did not see any Aboriginal people in those first visits to Prospect Hill, the early journal writers provide clear evidence of the Cannemegal-Warmuli living traditional lives.

In the storying we can imagine Kitty’s grandparents gathering on Prospect Hill with other Aboriginal clans to discuss important tribal business. Their campfires burned bright through the long chilly night atop the highest point on the Cumberland Plains. The silhouettes of the men cast long shadows across the ground as they moved from campfire to campfire. The voices of the Elders being heard long into the night, as everyone joined in the robust discussions about impending ceremonies, seasons, weather patterns and the skyworld (Clarke, 2009, 2014).

As the men sit cross-legged in circles around their firepits, there was no need for scouts to warn of impending danger:

The inheritance of land was totally secure, a never-ending state of possession that extended generation after generation to all those born within the material and spiritual boundaries of their tribal area. Each member of the tribe had rights and responsibilities – the right to sustenance from the land and responsibilities for its ritual upkeep. (Gilbert, 1973, p. 243)

This place is Aboriginal land, where respect for Country, respect for ‘knowing’, respect for the ancestors and respectful behaviours are part of everyday life. Little do they know as they feasted on roasted kangaroo that a *Mari Nawi* (large canoe), carrying pale skins with many layers, was breaching the horizon of their world.

The next two chapters examine this time in Australia’s history when the British began to emerge on the horizon. Within the first three decades of settlement, the whitefellas tried to take away our freedom, appropriated our lands and instigated a plan to remove our children and inculcate them into the European way of life.

Chapter 5: An Indigenous retelling of the journeys of the *Endeavour*



5.1 Introduction

The artwork for this chapter again reflects the importance of Indigenous Knowledge: The dots within each hand are symbols of Indigenous cultural epistemologies, ontologies and axiologies

of the three lands of Indigenous peoples visited by the *Endeavour* in 1769-1770, from the Polynesian Islands to Aotearoa New Zealand and across the Tasman to Australia.

This chapter uses historiography to take the story from England across the world, through the Pacific Ocean to Botany Bay; from the Society Islands to the world of the Maori of New Zealand; across the Tasman to a ‘new world’, an ancient world, the land of the oldest living culture on earth, Australia’s Aboriginal peoples.

This part of the thesis is not a retelling of the European history of Australia. Rather, it allows for an examination of our history methodologically using the Parramatta Paradigm (PP) and researching historical records through an Aboriginal lens. Incorporating Indigenous Knowledge highlights a different world from that portrayed in Australian history, which was written mainly by European males.

I use Aboriginal hermeneutics and textual analysis to research, analyse and interpret the journals of Captain James Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893) and

Joseph Banks (Hooker, 1896). The study of Cook's voyage is vital to the argument in the thesis. Cook's landing in Botany Bay in 1770, the first arrival of the British to Australian shores, was a pivotal moment in modern Australian history. I highlight the fundamental relationship that developed between Tupia, an Indigenous Chief, and both Cook and Banks. Although Indigenous Chiefs across the island groups were also in negotiations with the British (Wharton, 1893), this relationship became important to the outcome of Cook's mission.

5.1.1 Comments on sources

The sources I have used to investigate the journey of the *Endeavour* and the relationships formed with Indigenous peoples come from the following publications: Captain Cook's Journal *During His First Voyage Round the World made in H.M. Bark Endeavour 1768-1771* edited by Captain W.J.L. Wharton (1893), *Captain Cook in Australia: Extracts from the journals of Captain James Cook giving a full account in his own words of his adventures and discoveries in Australia* (Cook & Reed, 1969). Along with *The Endeavour journal of Joseph Banks: 1768-1771*, edited by J. Beaglehole (1963), and *Journal of the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks*, edited by J.D. Hooker (1896).

While Wharton affirms that the actual diction used in his book is taken directly from Cook's writings, he noted several changes, including language. Endorsed by Cook's biographer, Arthur Kitson (1911, p. 28), also asserts:

...the Journal of the Endeavour has been published under the able supervision of the late Admiral Sir W.J.L. Wharton, and the Journal of Sir Joseph Banks, which was missing for a long time, has been recovered and published by Sir Joseph Hooker; and these two books may be preferred with safety over all others that have been written on the subject.

The questions I ask are: Are the edited journals first-hand accounts? Do these versions also contain interpretations of the editors? A good example is from Captain W.J.L. Wharton, Hydrographer of the Admiralty, who maintained that the three journals made by Cook are practically identical except for some language changes. Wharton claims two copies were hand-written by a clerk named Orton (Wharton, 1893) and could contain his world view, not Cook's. The journal edited by Wharton had passed through many hands before coming into Kitson's care, and the manuscript was given to him by a "son of the late Mr. Corner", an avid admirer of Cook (Kitson, 1911). While initially belonging to the British Admiralty, the journal had many owners, as did Banks's journal. Both ended up at auction at Sotheby's on 14 April 1886 (Hooker, 1896). While these are secondary sources, they are edited versions of the original journals and considered appropriate for this research.

5.2 Cook's antecedents and instructions

The British were relative latecomers to the southern hemisphere. Their explorations started long after the Dutch and Portuguese found exotic spice markets in the East Indies and the Spanish and French cruised their way across the Pacific in search of the 'Great Southern Land' (Jenks, 1895). The first British sailor to chart a coastline of Australia came eighty years before Cook. Described by the National Museum of Australia as "an explorer, naturalist, author, hydrographer and pirate,"³⁶ William Dampier has "the honour of being the first Englishman to set foot on the mainland" (Cook and Reed, 1969, p. 23) at King Sound in Western Australia (WA) in January 1688, one hundred years before Arthur Phillip landed at Botany Bay.

³⁶ <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/arrival-of-english-explorer-william-dampier>

In his best-selling book published in 1697, *A New Voyage Round the World*, (Hasty, 2011), Dampier considered the Aboriginal peoples he encountered to be the most miserable people on earth (Anderson & Perrin, 2007; Turner Strong, 1986; Willey, 1979):

The Inhabitants of this Country are the miserablest in the world. The Hodmadods of Monomatapa, though a nasty People, yet for the Wealth are Gentlement to these, who have no Houses and skin Garments, Sheep, Poultry, and Fruits of the Earth, Ostrich Eggs, etc. as the Hodmadod have: and setting aside their Humane Share, they differ but Little from Brutes. (Turner Strong, 1986, p. 177)

By Dampier's standards, Aboriginal peoples were not much more than animals. Anderson and Perrin (2007, p. 3) argue that Dampier's view goes back to "the ancient anthropology of the human as a unique city-building, city-dwelling animal..." Turner Strong (1986, p. 178) asserts, Dampier wrote how they "grinn'd [sic] like so many Monkeys...neither did they seem to admire any thing that we had".

That William Dampier encountered opposition to his landing on Western Australian soil has been quoted by Willey (1979, p. 20): "...they did at first endeavour with their Weapons to threaten us". James Cook and Governor Arthur Phillip were also threatened by Aboriginal men when they tried to land at Botany Bay on the East Coast of Australia, as validated later in this chapter. That Dampier's writings influenced others is evidenced in comments made by Joseph Banks (Hooker, 1896) in 1770, when he first saw Aboriginal peoples on the East Coast of Australia. Like Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969), Dampier did not consider the land he visited to be connected to the mysterious 'Great Southern Lands' or "Terra Australis" (Knight, 1968, p. 6), a place speculated about for centuries.

The British Admiralty realised an opportunity to assert their authority in our part of the world in 1768. The Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge (Royal Society) and the Astronomer Royal (Knight, 1968) engaged the then Lieutenant James Cook, a noted English explorer, navigator, and cartographer, to lead a crucial scientific voyage to the other side of the world (Blainey, 2015; Kitson, 1911; Ward, 1982; Willey, 1979). According to Kitson (1911), Cook was chosen to lead the expedition, because he was “a fit and proper person to be one of the observers for the Society in the Southern Seas” (Kitson, 1911 p. 30). In Salmond's view (2003), Cook was recognised as one of the world's great explorers because he had charted part of the East Coast of America. His orders took Cook into a different world, one different from any he had previously visited.

In Knight's (1968) view, the British Admiralty took an interest in this expedition, for three reasons: firstly, to seek out “harbours where warships might shelter and refit during operations in the unknown ocean, especially against Spain...” (Knight, 1968, p. 5). Secondly, this was a timely move due to France taking an interest in the Pacific; thirdly, the British wanted to search for the Southern Land. The second part of the expedition began with an envelope given to James Cook by the British Admiralty before he set sail from Britain. Inside was a document, with contents so secret they could not be read until after the mapping of Venus across the sun (Buchan, 2005).

These secret instructions directed Cook to sail further south into the Pacific Ocean to search for the elusive ‘Great Southern Land’ (Laidlaw, 1990; Ward, 1982), or “Terra Australis Incognita” (Buchan, 2005, p. 2). If found, Cook was required to:

Describe the soil, animals, birds and fish, mineral resources and flora...cultivate a friendship with the inhabitants and observe their Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number...gain their consent for possession to be taken of convenient situations in the country in the name of King George III of Great Britain. (Salmond, 2003, p. 32)

(See Figure 5.1 for a full transcript of Cook's secret instructions)

Also accompanying Cook on the voyage, was Joseph Banks, the expedition's official botanist who volunteered his services (Wharton, 1893). Banks funded himself and his seven assistants (Kitson, 1911), men who Turnbull (2007, p. 29) describes as "scientific gentlemen". Their mission was to observe and record the transit of Venus across the sun during June 1769 (Blainey, 2015; Buchan, 2005; Holmes, 2008; Kitson, 1911; Salmond, 2003; Ward, 1982). Only visible in the Pacific Ocean, the experiment was intended to calculate the distance between the sun and the earth (Knight, 1968).

5.2.1 Polynesian Navigator – the story of Tupia

The narrative begins in the Society Islands (French Polynesia) and finishes at Possession Island in the Torres Strait. Descriptions of the voyage by both Cook and Banks provide an interesting view of their world and insight into how these two men perceived Indigenous peoples. Among all the relationships and connections woven throughout this thesis, I maintain there was none more important than that which developed in what we now know as Tahiti, between Banks and an Indigenous man known as Tupia (Tupaia, Tupai, Tupaea), from the Island of Ra'iātea (Smith, 2001).

Over the time the *Endeavour* was in the Society Islands, Tupia had worked alongside Banks (Hooker, 1896). He joined the ship in July 1769 (Druett, 1987; Kitson, 1911) just as Cook was preparing to sail further into the Pacific. Tupia quickly adjusted to life on board the *Endeavour* and the relationships formed on this journey become

integral to the study. Tupia was able to communicate effectively with other Indigenous peoples on islands along the way, and had in-depth knowledge of the area, as evidenced in Cook's journal (Wharton, 1893, p. 87):

For some time before we left this Island several of the Natives were daily offering themselves to go away with us; and as it was thought they must be of use to us in our future discoveries we resolved to bring away one whose name is Tupia, a Chief and a Priest. This man had been with us most part of the time we had been upon the Island, which gave us an opportunity to know something of him. We found him to be a very intelligent person, and to know more of the Geography of the Islands situated in these Seas, their produce, and the religion, laws, and Customs of the inhabitants, than any one we had met with, and was the likeliest person to answer our Purpose. For these reasons, and at the request of Mr. Banks, I received him on board, together with a young Boy, his Servant.

The text indicates that Cook was keen to take a native along on his mission to find the 'Great Southern Land', and Tupia proved a useful addition. Cook also recognised the status of Tupia as a Chief and a Priest, and acknowledged Tupia's superior knowledge and ability, above other natives he had met. There is a footnote in Cook's journal where Indigenous Knowledge (IK) is evident, dated June 1769:

Note by Cook in Admiralty copy: - Tupia informs us that this is a representation of one of the Second rank of Eatuas, or gods called Mauwi, who inhabited the earth upon the creation of Man. He is represented as an immense Giant who had seven heads and was imbued [sic] with immense strength and abilities. Many absurd stories are told of his Feats by Tupia. (Wharton, 1893, p. 83)

The footnote indicates Tupia shared creation stories with Cook, storytelling being an appropriate way to share his traditional knowledge. In his homeland, Tupia was an Indigenous man of high esteem, regarded as an 'orioi' or High Priest, by his countrymen (Denning, 1997; Kitson, 1911; Salmond, 2003).

As a holder of Indigenous Knowledge, Tupia knew much about the surrounding islands. His maps showed him to be an excellent cartographer (Hooker, 1896), much like James Cook. Druett (1987) expounds how information held by Tupia, had been passed down orally from father to son, a notable custom amongst Indigenous peoples. That he displayed superior navigational skills with maps of the region is documented in both journals (Hooker, 1896; Wharton, 1893):

This morn Tupia came on board, he had expressed his intention of going with us to England, a circumstance which gives me much satisfaction. He is certainly a most proper man, wellborn, a chief Tahowa or priest of this Island, consequently skilled in the mysteries of their religion; but what makes him more than anything desirable is his experience in the navigation of these people and knowledge of the Islands in these seas. He has told us the names of above seventy, at most of which he has himself been. (Banks as cited in Hooker, 1896, p. 108)

Joseph Banks (Hooker, 1896) thus provides evidential proof of Tupia as a holder of IK. Sentences such as Tupia being a *Tahowa*, or priest, with “hereditary dignity”, that priests were more learned than “the laity”, and knowing “the names and rank of the different Eatuas, or divinities, the origin of the universe and all its parts, etc” (Hooker, 1896, p. 173-174), offer further evidence.

One of the maps drawn by Tupia detailed 130 islands within a 3,200-kilometre radius, with Tupia naming 74 of them (Denning, 1997; Druett, 1987; Salmond, 2003). Salmond (2003) claims Cook did not consider the skill of Tupia to be of any real value in his mapping, preferring instead to chart all the islands himself. While Knight (1968, p. 68) suggests that Cook was:

impressed with Tupaia’s knowledge. He had forecast when they would fall in with Ohetiroa, which they did. He seemed to have inherited from his Polynesian ancestors their amazing skills in navigation.

The journal texts of both men reveal English attitudes towards Indigenous peoples at the time.

After writing of Tupia's characteristics as a man of high standing in his community, Banks (Hooker, 1896) then notes how Cook (Wharton, 1893) would not cover the cost of Tupia joining the voyage. Tupia had a wish to go with the British to England. In his journal Banks (Hooker, 1896) writes "the Captain refuses to take him on his own account, in my opinion sensibly enough, the government will never in all human probability take any notice of him" (Hooker, 1896, p. 108; O'Sullivan, 2008, p. 148). Analysing this text, we find evidence that Banks supported Cook's view that Tupia, as an Indigenous person, would not hold any status with the British Government, nor would he be accepted as a reliable source of information. I argue that without this intensely knowledgeable and highly skilled communicator, it is most unlikely the *Endeavour* and those on board would have survived the journey around New Zealand.

The narrative continues with the *Endeavour* setting sail on August 1769, leaving the Society Islands with Tupia on board (Druett, 1987; Salmond, 2003). As I will demonstrate, this was a wise move. Although unknown at the time, their next port of call was New Zealand, and the journal entries of both Cook (Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896) provide proof that the Maori people did not take kindly to strangers landing on their shores. As the *Endeavour* sailed into Poverty Bay on the East coast of the North Island, the reception from the local Maori men was not a welcoming one (Kitson, 1911).

Shortly after the British landed, there was an altercation with the Maori. The British retaliated and shot a man, later identified as a local Chief (Hooker, 1896; Wharton, 1893). The following day the British found a large group of angry Maori men standing on the shore, brandishing spears while doing a war dance (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893). Fearing further conflict, Cook brought in the marines as a backup; he also tried to speak to them in a language he learned along his voyage (Cook & Reed, 1969). As this made little difference, Cook requested that Tupia communicate with the Maori men. According to Banks (Hooker, 1896, p. 184), “Tupia found their language so near his own that he could tolerably well understand them”. Writing a similar phrase in both edited versions of his journal, Cook, (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 35; Wharton, 1893, p. 131) expresses “Tupia spoke to them in his own Language, and it was an agreeable surprize [sic] to us to find that they perfectly understood him”. That the Maori language was similar to his own and he had an understanding of Indigenous men’s behaviour no doubt helped Tupia calm the situation, as he convinced the Maori to put down their weapons (Hooker, 1896).

Tupia, with his knowledge and traditional ways, quickly realised the Maori were not friends of the British. He warned Cook of the danger and told the British to be on their guard (Wharton, 1893). On 9 October 1769 Banks wrote, “Thus ended the most disagreeable day my life has yet seen; black be the mark for it, and heaven send that such may never return to embitter future reflection” (Hooker, 1896, p. 185). Cook’s entry, on the other hand, had him continuing to plan how best to win over the Maori and make friends with them (Wharton, 1893). Critical to the storying is the part Tupia played. His ability to speak to the Maori men on the beach and calm the mob allowed Cook and his men to return to the *Endeavour* safely.

The warlike nature of the Maori was noted by the British, along with the different tribal groups around the country. Banks (Beaglehole, 1963) began to lament that the locals needed to understand the superiority of the British. Regardless, there was altercation after altercation, with Cook (Wharton, 1893, p. 136) recounting five canoes with “80 and 90 men...fully bent on attacking us”. Cook ordered a cannon be “fir'd a little wide of them” (Wharton, 1893, p. 136), then used Tupia as a negotiator. This strategy averted a critical situation. This was not the first nor last time the *Endeavour* was threatened by large groups of Maori men in canoes, as detailed in the journals of Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896).

The British made friends in New Zealand and they also made enemies. Cook (Wharton, 1893) frequently used Tupia as a go-between, as evidenced in Cook's journal (Wharton, 1893): “Tupia always accompanies us in every Excursion we make, and proves of infinite service” (Wharton, 1893, p. 187). His ability to communicate with the Maori on most occasions saved Cook and his men as Cook (Wharton, 1893) recounted several instances when threatened by war canoes. The amount of Maori men on those canoes was more than on the *Endeavour*. If the Maori had boarded, they could have killed all who sailed within her.

The *Endeavour* left England with approximately seventy men³⁷. Without their expert negotiator, history may well have had a different outcome. Tupia's ability to forge positive relationships certainly assisted in ensuring safe passage for those on the

³⁷ <http://www.captcook-ne.co.uk/ccne/themes/shipsandcrew.htm>

Endeavour. His understanding of language and excellent communication skills ensured the British did not suffer a similar fate as those deemed enemies to these shores. Writing how they “only ate their enemies”, Kitson (1911) explains how the Maori held “all strangers to be such” (Kitson, 1911, p. 49), which made the relationship and communication between Tupia and the Maori peoples most important. Having the ability to translate also enabled Tupia to provide later an interpretation of Maori customs and beliefs (Salmond, 2003).

Maori cannibalistic tendencies were verified through conversations Cook (Wharton, 1893) had with locals at Coromandel that proved they did indeed eat their enemies. Both Cook (Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896) also found physical evidence in January 1770 while sailing around Queen Charlotte Sound. The Maori men had body parts in their possession and indicated the bones belonged to a boatload of intruders. As noted in both Cook and Banks journals, also by Kitson, (1911, p. 49):

They had long suspected the natives were addicted to cannibalism, and now they proved it, as they purchased the bone of a forearm of a man, from which the flesh had been recently picked, and were given to understand that a few days before a strange canoe had arrived, and its occupants had been killed and eaten...

While undertaking this research, I found a passage recorded in Banks’s journal (Hooker, 1896) that the ancient art of storytelling occurred between a Maori man and Tupia: “...their ancestors had told them that to the N.W. by N. or N.N.W. was a large country to which some people had sailed in a very large canoe, which passage took them a month” (Hooker, 1896, p. 207). This story could be interpreted as demonstrating that the Maori had visited the Australian continent well before the Europeans.

I also discovered how Tupia practiced IK while on the *Endeavour*. Banks (Hooker, 1896) notes how a Maori man tried to kidnap Tupia's servant and young protégé, Tayeto. After the British fired into the canoe that contained the young boy, he was able to jump into the water and swim back to the ship:

When he had a little recovered from his fright, Tayeto brought a fish to Tupia, and told him that he intended it as an offering to his eatua, in gratitude for his escape. Tupia approved it, and ordered him to throw it in the water, which he did. (Hooker, 1896, p. 188)

The text is evidence that IK was passed on to young Tayeto while in Tupia's care. It also shows that Tayeto regarded Tupia as an Elder, a man that he learned from and showed respect to. I argue that Tupia's presence onboard the *Endeavour* is a critical part of the storying, not just to demonstrate how other Indigenous peoples used Indigenous Knowledge, but also that Australian history may well have been very different if not for Tupia's vital role. I suggest that without his assistance, there is a strong chance Cook's intention to map New Zealand and claim it on behalf of Britain (Cook & Reed, 1969) may have ended in tragedy, which could have paved the way for the French to colonise Australia instead of the British.

5.2.2 Tupia and Banks

While in the Society Islands, Chief Botanist Joseph Banks recognised Tupia as an asset in his quest to learn more about the people, flora and fauna. Tupia understood the local traditions, had established relationships with chiefs, and could speak many of the languages. He was also able to provide critical information about hostile tribes and could warn the British of impending danger from warring factions (Salmond, 2003).

There was, however, another motive for Banks befriending Tupia. He wanted to take Tupia back to England to meet the King. The supposed superiority of the British began to rear its ugly head. According to Denning (1997), “Joseph Banks had said in Tahiti that other men doing their Grand Tours brought back tigers and the like. Why couldn't he bring back a noble savage at less expense?” (Denning, 1997, p. 37). Smith (2001, p. 41) provides a clue to Banks's motivation: “the amusement I shall have in his future conversation...will I think, fully repay me” (Smith, 2001, p. 41). Later, Smith alludes to Banks wanting Tupia to be part of his natural history collection. Tupia, a respected chief and priest, was to be displayed as an oddity, something for the British public to come and view, as part of Bank's assemblage? Tupia had no idea of his impending doom when he set sail on the *Endeavour*.

Notwithstanding, Tupia was able to demonstrate IK in a myriad of ways during his journey on the *Endeavour*. On the basis of this research, I argue that Tupia was the first Indigenous man documented in written Australian history to use IK to benefit the British. In an IK context, the sharing of information (Tupia with the British), respect (between the Maori with Tupia) and traditional knowledge passed down through the ages (both Tupia and the Maori) was a “practical, useful and valuable” (Sheehan & Walker, 2001) contribution throughout this part of Cook's journey.

Tupia's ability to defuse potentially dangerous situations ensured the British did not suffer a similar fate as those deemed enemies to the Maori. The relationship between Tupia and the Maori peoples was critical to the success of Cook's mission to map the country then claim it on behalf of King George III. The journal entries confirm

that Tupia was recognised as a man of high importance by the Maori. The research also found evidence in the journal of respect for Elders within the Maori population: “The old men are much respected by the younger, who seem to be govern’d and directed by them on most Occasions” (Wharton, 1893, p. 216).

5.2.3 Tupia and New Zealand

Tupia’s relationship to New Zealand is still acknowledged today. According to Stephen Donald (2012, p. 79), “Cook and Tupaea are remembered at Tolaga Bay, in place name, iwi oral history and pakeha discourse”. Donald (2012) goes on further to explain his spelling of Tupaea, as being part of the customs of the Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti (Donald, 2012, p. 79). Adding to this, Druet (2011) suggests that due to Tupia's ariki status “... more generous hospitality may have been offered by Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti to their Rai'atean visitor than others onboard the Endeavour” (as cited by Donald, 2012, p. 81). The importance of relationships and how connections between Tupia and other Indigenous people, became instrumental in keeping the peace with each Maori group they met.

5.2.4 Tupia’s experience in Australia

While he is celebrated as part of New Zealand’s history, Tupia is mostly unknown in Australia. There appears to be minimal evidence in the journals of Tupia interacting with Aboriginal people in Botany Bay. At that point, the British writers were much more focused on exploring the area and botanising than on what Tupia was doing (see section 5.5 below). There is however evidence that life on the *Endeavour* was not a pleasant experience for Tupia, reflected in the following comment by midshipman Joseph Marra:

Toobia ... was a man of real genius, a priest of the first order, and an excellent artist: he was, however, by no means beloved by the Endeavours crew, being

looked upon as proud and austere, extorting homage, which the sailors who thought themselves degraded by bending to an Indian, were very unwilling to pay, and preferring complaints against them on the most trivial occasions. (as cited in O'Sullivan, 2008, p. 150)

Tupia was regarded as lower class, because he was a native man, despite the fact that he had saved their lives by averting challenges by the Maori men on several occasions. Tupia was regarded as a man of high rank by the Maori. While this was acknowledged by Cook (Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896), only Indigenous peoples recognised his status.

There is, however, evidence from Cook's journal (Wharton, 1893) that Tupia developed positive relationships with Aboriginal people in North Queensland (see section 5.5 below), an indication that he most likely did the same in Botany Bay. During a layover to make repairs to the ship, local men became frequent visitors to the British camp (Wharton, 1893). During this time Tupia was unwell and the Aboriginal men gave him traditional foods and roots to help him recover (Wharton, 1893). There are very few instances where the British have mentioned Tupia in Botany Bay. Given his behaviour in New Zealand and North Queensland, I believe Tupia would have made positive connections with Aboriginal peoples living in the area. Tupia later developed scurvy (Kitson, 1911), which is interesting as Cook had on board several remedies to keep this illness at bay. However, after arriving in Batavia (Jakarta, in Indonesia), Tupia died, not from scurvy but from dysentery (Hooker, 1896). His young male servant, Tayeto, also died (Wharton, 1893).

5.3 Cook crosses the Tasman

Surviving their experience with the Maori, the *Endeavour* left New Zealand travelling West across the Tasman with Tupia on board. Leaving New Zealand on 1 April 1770, it would be 19 days before they saw land again (Wharton, 1893). The *Endeavour* was under sail and took almost three weeks to arrive in Australia, so there is credence in the word of the Maori Elder, who spoke of the ancestors taking a month to get across the sea in a canoe, given that craft would have been paddled by men.

At the time of leaving New Zealand, Cook had given up looking for a Southern Continent and was heading back to England (Cook & Reed, 1969). According to Willey (1979, p. 26), "...paradoxically, he was extremely sceptical of its existence". Having travelled around the South Pacific then mapped the islands of New Zealand Cook (Wharton, 1893), thought the elusive Continent *Terra Australis Incognita* did not exist (Scott, 2012). Believing Cook would have studied all published works about the area before leaving Britain, Barton (1889) suggests Cook was determined to explore the East coast of New Holland, proposing the geography of the country as the attraction (Barton, 1889), which appears contradictory. At that time, no one had mapped the East Coast of Australia or recorded being in that vicinity. It seems unclear why Barton would assume Cook might have an interest as Cook's journal entry suggests he preferred to return to England via Cape Horn in what is now South America.

In his book *The Life of Captain James Cook the Circumnavigator*, Arthur Kitson (1911) agrees that Cook did not wish to travel west (towards Australia), and only went that way after careful consideration of the conditions. He quotes from Cook's journal:

It was therefore resolved to return by way of the East Indies by the following route. Upon leaving this coast to the Westward until we fall in with the East coast of New Holland, and then to follow the direction of that coast to the Northward or what other direction it might take us, until we arrive at its Northern extremity; and if it should be found impracticable then to Endeavour to fall in with the Land or Islands discovered by Quiros. (as cited in Kitson, 1911, p. 52)

The word 'resolved' makes it clear that Cook did not make the decision alone. I found this reference in Banks's journal (Hooker, 1896) to a consultation meeting:

three schemes proposed...the third, therefore, was unanimously agreed to, which as to stand immediately to the westward, fall in with the coast of New Holland as soon as possible, and after following that to the Northward as far as seemed proper, to attempt to fall in with the land seen by Quiros in 1606. (Hooker, 1896, p. 254)

While Cook (Wharton, 1893) did not claim that he discovered the 'The Great Southern Land', historian Jonathon King (2009, p. 22) describes the coming of Cook as "a great moment in Australia's history". In Cook's journal, the editors state how this was "one of the most memorable events in British history" while referring to Joseph Banks as "the father of Australia" (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 39). I suggest that Banks as a father figure was not a good role model for the local inhabitants of Botany Bay: he took items that belonged to others.

5.3.1 Cook's first sighting of Aboriginal people

On 19 April 1770, at 6 am, the coastline was sighted and named Point Hicks in honour of the young sailor who first sighted it (King, 2009; Kitson, 1911; Wharton,

1893). Sightings of people in the distance, was confirmation the place was occupied by humans:

We stood in with the land, near enough to discern five people, who appeared through our glasses to be enormously black: so far did the prejudices which we had built on Dampier's account influence us, that we fancied we could see their colour when we could scarce distinguish whether or not they were men. (Hooker, 1896, p. 262)

As a possible explanation for this racism, Banks (Hooker, 1896) admitted to being influenced by English explorer William Dampier from the century before, who gave a negative view of Aboriginal peoples on the West Coast of Australia. When Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969) recounted the same experience of first sighting Aboriginal people, he wrote, more neutrally: “They appeared to be of a very dark or black Colour; but whether this was the real Colour of their skins or the Cloathes they might have on I know not” (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 35).

Cook (Wharton, 1893) sailed on as he searched for a safe harbour to anchor the *Endeavour*. Both Englishmen observed men fishing from canoes or watching the ship from the rocks (Cook & Reed, 1969; Hooker, 1896; Wharton, 1893). They also witnessed Aboriginal peoples walking along the beach during the day and fires burning brightly at night. Was Cook's intention at that time to claim these lands on behalf of the King? If we return to the orders given to Cook by the British Admiralty, the message was clear. Consent from the natives was needed. However, Cook could not find ‘The Great Southern Land’, so sailed West to the East Coast of New Holland, which in his mind was a different place entirely. The fact remains, the secret instructions required Cook to negotiate with the local inhabitants before he took possession of their land. If Cook had discussed those orders with the Polynesian

Navigator, Tupia, he might well have advised Cook to go ashore and have a word with the Aboriginal peoples.

5.4 Cook and Banks at Botany Bay

On 29 April 1770, two years after leaving England, the *Endeavour* sailed into Botany Bay (Cook & Reed, 1969; Hooker, 1896; Laidlaw, 1990; Wharton, 1893), becoming the first recorded landing of Europeans on the South-East Coast of Australia (Foster, 1987). Banks and his naturalists found a world of wonder in the birds, plants, and animals, with Banks later becoming the expert in all things Australian. The botanists had a dream week. According to Ward (1982, p. 33) they collected “a vast range of plant, animal and bird specimens previously unknown to science”.

While expounding how the first encounter on land between the Aboriginal people and the British is one of Australia’s founding legends, Nugent (2008, p. 198) describes it as both an “iconic episode in the story of Australia” and “a foundational moment in Australia’s history”. In agreement, McDonald (2008) describes it as “the birth of a nation”. Nugent (2008) however also acknowledges:

the recasting of the arrival of Captain Cook in Botany Bay in 1770 as an original cross cultural meeting from which the nation sprang is suggestive of a new foundational myth, woven from the same event but better suited to current times. (Nugent, 2008, p. 200)

Through the writings of both Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896), we gain a better understanding of the Aboriginal inhabitants and their environment. More importantly, the research examines the attitudes and

behaviours of the British on Aboriginal land. While there have been many interpretations of this event written by historians, most give a different interpretation from the one I outline in this chapter.

The area around Botany Bay area was well populated when Cook arrived as verified in his journal (Wharton, 1893, p. 242):

Saw, as we come in, on both points of the bay, several of the natives and a few huts; Men, Women and Children on the S. Shore abreast of the Ship, to which place I went in the boats in hopes of speaking with them, accompanied by Mr Banks, Dr Solander, and Tupia.

The village, according to Banks (Hooker, 1896, p. 264), consisted of:

six or eight houses...Soon after this an old woman, followed by three children, came out of the wood: she carried several pieces of stick, and the children also had their little burthens. When she came to the houses, three younger children came out of one of them to meet her. She often looked at the ship, but expressed neither surprise nor concern: she then lighted a fire, and the four canoes came in from fishing, the people landed, hauled up their boats and began to dress their dinner, to all appearance totally unmoved by us, though we were within little more than half a mile of them.

Through an Aboriginal lens, we can see that the older woman was caring for the children while other adults were out fishing. The older ones went with her to forage for firewood and carried it back to the village, while the younger ones awaited their return. This process taught the children responsibility in a sharing environment. No other adult was seen at the village until the canoes came in with their catch. There was only one fire. Once lit, the adults came back in their canoes to prepare the fish for the evening meal. The catch was to be shared by all in the village.

Cook decided to land in the bay off the village. As they came near the shore, two Aboriginal men with spears put up a challenge:

They called to us very loudly in a harsh sounding language, of which neither we nor Tupia understood a word, shaking their lances and menacing; in all appearance resolved to dispute our landing to the utmost, though they were but two and we thirty or forty at least. (Banks as cited in Hooker, 1896, p. 265)

While there were only two Aboriginal men challenging the British, both journals note several people, including men, were in the vicinity (Hooker, 1896; Wharton, 1893). Although the locals remained elusive and kept their distance, this changed when they felt threatened. They became hostile and threw spears towards the British (Hooker, 1896; Wharton, 1893), which prompted Cook to write “all they seem’d to want was for us to be gone” (Cook as cited in Wharton, 1893, p. 244) (see Figure 5.2 in Appendix 5 for a full report of this encounter in Cook’s journal).

Were the Aboriginal men looking to fight the British? I suspect not. The facts show that the numbers were very uneven: two Aboriginal men against a big mob of whitefellas. While the two Aboriginal men were undoubtedly trying to communicate using aggressive body language and harsh voices, they showed no fear. From an Aboriginal perspective we could interpret these actions in several ways: they could have been suggesting the need for the British to observe Aboriginal protocols, to show respect, or obtain permission to enter Country.

Furthermore, if the challenge was meant to thwart the advance of the British, more Aboriginal men would have been present with their spears ready for battle. The British were strangers. The British had no way of understanding Aboriginal language, unlike the Maori who were able to communicate through Tupia. The

Aboriginal men also shook their spears and spoke harshly to the British. While the behaviour was challenging to the British, it may not have been if the newcomers had been Aboriginal people from another Country. While many Maori men stood together to challenge the Englishmen, across the Tasman only two Aboriginal men stood tall, spoke in their native tongue with spears at the ready.

While there are varying versions of this event, from first-hand accounts contained in the journals of Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896), the actions the British took in firing their muskets at the Aboriginal men can be interpreted as the first confrontation between the British and Aboriginal peoples on Australian soil. Dismissing any serious challenge to Cook's landing in his biography, Kitson (1911) claims how the few Aboriginal people on the beach ran away after the British fired their muskets. On the other hand, Nugent (2008, p. 202) argues, "there was something performative about the manner in which the two local men, who came onto the beach as Captain Cook and his men approached the shore in two longboats, addressed the advancing strangers".

This could be interpreted as ceremony or ritual to prevent the advancement of newcomers until they decided if the newcomers were friend or foe, or an expectation that the British would show respect when entering someone else's place. When I investigated the coming of the First Fleet, I found a similar pattern of behaviour when Aboriginal men confronted the intruders. The difference was in the behaviours of the British men: Cook was adversarial, Phillip was conciliatory.

While Cook (Wharton, 1893) claimed he did his best to communicate with the two men, he remarked in his journal, “but this was to little purpose, for neither us, nor Tupia could understand one word they said” (Wharton, 1893, p. 242). The Englishman then threw “some nails, beads, etc., ashore, which they took up” (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 40). Still, the men opposed their landing. Instead of waiting or going back to the Endeavour, Cook fired, again at the men:

upon which I fir’d a musquet between the 2, which had no other Effect than to make them retire back, where bundles of their darts lay, and one of them took up a stone and threw at us, which caused my firing a Second Musquet, load with small Shott. (Cook & Reed, p. 40)

Cook then fired off a third shot and, in doing so, caused injury to one of the men. The Aboriginal men then fled the beach. It is clear Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969) interpreted the behaviour of the Aboriginal men as a challenge. He was not prepared to lose this minor altercation and fired his musket three times, wounding one man. They were, however, mindful not to cause serious harm (Hooker, 1896).

There were children in the village. It is highly likely they became traumatised through the actions of the British, who fired guns at their kin. The Englishmen then entered the village going through the huts where they found the children hiding. Perhaps the Englishmen felt remorse as they gave the children trinkets: “with whom we left some strings of beads etc” (Wharton, 1893, p. 243). Kitson (1911) had an entirely different interpretation of this action, claiming that Cook left trinkets in exchange for the spears he took. Both Cook (Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896) were clear that this was no exchange. They both made mention of the trinkets

left for the children. Furthermore, the items removed by the British belonged to the adults in the village.

Three bark canoes were on the beach. Cook (Wharton, 1893, p. 243) described them as:

the worst thing I ever saw; they were about 12 or 14 feet long, made of one piece of the Bark of a Tree, drawn or tied up at each end, and the middle kept open by means of pieces of Stick by way of Thwarts.

They may have been the ‘worst’ Cook had seen on his voyage across the Pacific. However, they were used effectively by the Aboriginal men when fishing. As Cook recounted, “about 20 of them had been fishing in their canoes at no great distance from us” (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 45). Banks also wrote:

During this time eleven canoes, in each of which was one Indian, came towards us; we soon saw that the people in them were employed in striking fish. They came within about half a mile of us, intent upon their own employments, and not at all regarding us. (Banks as cited in Hooker, 1896, p. 268)

These writings prove the canoes were seaworthy and used by the men to provide food for their families.

That the British came ashore and entered a village where Aboriginal men, women and children were living, is evidenced throughout their journals, the number of huts indicating the homes of several families. However, neither Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1896) nor Banks (Hooker, 1896) saw anything untoward in their behaviour when they encroached on this place and space. They also saw no harm in going into the unoccupied huts or taking items that belonged to others.

They also removed many of what I would consider to be ‘tools of the trade’ of Aboriginal people: “We, however, thought it no improper measure to take away with us all the lances which we could find about the houses, amounting to in number to forty or fifty” (Hooker, 1896, p. 266). Later, Banks (Hooker, 1896) confirms their use: “we found that most of them had been used in striking fish; at least we concluded so from the seaweed which was stuck in among the four prongs” (Hooker, 1896, p. 266). That their actions would have caused considerable hardship to the families who owned the spears was of no consequence to this botanist. The actions of these Englishmen are the first recorded incident of the British stealing from Aboriginal peoples in Australia.

Eighteen years later, eleven ships from the First Fleet carried the felons, thieves, and vagabonds from England to Australia. These were people charged in England for taking items that did not belong to them. The only difference between the actions of the Englishmen in taking the possessions of Aboriginal people and the convicts arriving from England was that the convicts were charged as criminals for stealing. My ancestor Rose Flood was one of these felons “*She was charged with stealing a blue linen apron and a linen tablecloth from William Connell...*” (Needham, 1992, p. 115), Rose then pawned the items for money.

Rose did not raid a whole fishing village and steal all the fishing rods or spears as Cook (Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896) had done. Rather, she was sentenced to transportation and seven years in the colony while Cook and Banks were honoured for their contribution to British exploration and history. The taking

of items belonging to others without permission under British law was theft. The taking of items belonging to Aboriginal peoples was accepted as part of British history, a trend that continued when the British came to stay eighteen years later.

There is evidence of other villages situated around Botany Bay which were documented by both men. Banks, who explored the area extensively to collect specimens to take back to England, wrote: “We saw many Indian houses, and places where they had slept upon the grass with the least shelter” (Banks as cited in Hooker, 1896, p. 267). Banks also noted his disdain towards the behaviour of the Aboriginal men: “Myself in the woods, botanising as usual: now quite devoid of fear, as our neighbours have turned out such rank cowards” (Banks as cited in Hooker, 1896, p. 268).

The journals suggest that Aboriginal peoples went about their business and let the British go about theirs (Hooker, 1896). While Banks referred to them as rank cowards, if Aboriginal men had been able to write in English, they may have penned the words ‘totally disrespectful’ to describe Banks. Instead, the locals either threw spears (to threaten, not to harm) if the British came too near or simply turned their backs and walked away if those from the *Endeavour* tried to interact with them (Cook & Reed 1969; Hooker, 1896; Wharton, 1893). They were two different cultures with two different ways of being in the world, in the same place at the same time.

5.4.1 Evidence of Indigenous Knowledge practice in Botany Bay

There is evidence from the journals that IK was practiced between Elders and children and that there were possible totemic affiliations. While the British caught many stingray in Botany Bay (Wharton, 1893) and found the meat very edible, Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 50) noticed that the local people did not eat stingray “Sting Rays, I believe, they do not eat, because I never saw the least remains of one near any of their Hutts or fire places”. Given the Aboriginal men were observed fishing on most days, this could be an indication that stingrays were a totem for this clan group.

Cook’s journal also verified that land management was being practiced:

The woods are free from underwood of every kind, and the trees are at such a distance from one another that the whole Country, or at least great part of it, might be Cultivated without being, obliged to cut down a single tree. (Wharton, 1893, p. 244)

While the journals did not mention any signs of fire, the fact there was no undergrowth may indicate the ground had been cleared sometime before the arrival of the British in May 1770.

When a midshipman from the *Endeavour* found a group of Aboriginal people sitting together while on a hunting expedition ashore, he shared the experience with both Cook and Banks, as both men made mention of this in their journals. From the description given by the midshipman, this would appear to be a session with the Elders to pass on IK as the participants were:

...a very old man and woman and some children. They were sitting under a tree, and neither party saw the other till they were close together. They showed signs of fear, but did not attempt to run away. The midshipman had

nothing about him to give them but some parrots which he had shot. These they refused, drawing away when he offered them, in token either of extreme fear or disgust. The people were very old and gray-headed, the children young. (Banks as cited in Hooker, 1896, p. 268-269)

While the Elders may have shown signs of bewilderment to have the Englishman come from nowhere to their space, their opting to remain and not leave is an indication they were not afraid. As Banks (Hooker, 1896) relayed, the young people were with the older adults. In Aboriginal culture, this is an appropriate way of learning, as shared by Elder Uncle Charles Moran:

The Elders understood the ways of nature and could read its signs and this knowledge and understanding was on passed on to the younger generations. (Moran, 2004, p. 37).

The Elder's refusal to accept the birds could have been due to those birds being totems. This is a possible alternative interpretation from that of Banks.

On 6 May 1770, the *Endeavour* set sail and headed North. By this time Cook had named the harbour Botany Bay. In his journal, Cook admitted the British had made no progress in developing a relationship with those who lived there. He did, however, leave a mark on a tree, perhaps as a message for those to come later. Alternatively, it may have been Cook's attempt to stake a claim to Botany Bay:

However, we could know but very little of their Customs, as we never were able to form any Connections with them; they had not so much as touch'd the things we had left in their Hutts on purpose for them to take away. During our stay in this Harbour I caused the English Colours to be display'd ashore every day, and an inscription to be cut out upon one of the Trees near the Watering place, setting forth the Ships Name, Date, etc. (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 51)

When Cook returned to Britain in 1771, he took with him evidence that New Holland was not part of the ‘Great Southern Land’, which, according to Turner Strong (1986, p. 179), “was strengthened by his subsequent voyages, which dispensed with the age-old belief in an immense Antipodes”. ‘*The Great Southern Land*’ was Aboriginal land, always was, always will be.

5.5 From Aboriginal land to land belonging to the British Crown

After spending six weeks in what is now North Queensland, Cook sailed further north until he decided there was no more of New Holland to discover. In the Torres Strait, Cook climbed a hill at a place he named ‘Possession Island’, then claimed the East Coast of ‘New Holland’ in the name of King George III (Cook & Reed, 1969; Reynolds, 1996; Willey, 1979). The date was 22 August 1770. This was an action that allowed the British Government to later declare the Continent *terra nullius* or land belonging to no one. (Das, 2013; Martin, 2003; Parbury, 1988; Willey, 1979)

Cook’s actions disregarded the Aboriginal inhabitants and the official orders given to him by the British Government to gain permission. In doing so, Cook denied Aboriginal peoples the “common rights of human beings” (Reynolds, 1972, p. 2). In his book *Research is Ceremony*, Shawn Wilson (2008) elucidates how Cook’s declaration recognised Australia, not as lands of Indigenous people, “rather as the new world” (Wilson, 2008, p. 45). According to Parbury (1988), this was a “land grab” under British law, land which was not adequately occupied and used, “could be taken by anyone”. (Parbury, 1988, p. 44)

Therefore all Aboriginal land along the East Coast of Australia was deemed British, and under British law Aboriginal peoples ceased to exist (Berndt & Berndt, 1985; Edwards, 2004; Parbury, 1988). The thousands of years of existence of Aboriginal people on this continent was disregarded, deemed of no importance:

Europeans too had their own blindness. They could not understand that the Aborigines, though not gardeners and not inclined to remain long in one place, loved their own ancestral land intensely and depended on it. How could they sell it or rent it out to sheep-owners when, in their eyes, it was inalienable, having been presented to them for all time by their divine ancestors? (Blainey, 2015, p. 322)

With international laws in place at the time, Aboriginal peoples should have had legal protection. Fast and Collin-Vezina (2010, p. 126) argue “the first people to find and inhabit land had ownership over it”. Furthermore, they found that law could easily be overcome, “if the persons occupying the land were found to be too savage” (Fast & Collin-Vezina, 2010, p. 126). Laidlaw (1990) reports that Cook’s journey along the East Coast of Australia gave the British information about the area and habits of Aboriginal peoples with nothing the British felt was of value to trade. Buchan (2005, p. 388) argues:

At issue in these arguments was the notion that human beings possessed a common natural right to the bounties of nature (food, water, shelter and land) in order to sustain life. This natural right however, was not a title to ownership. Ownership rested on occupation; by which was meant cultivation (clearing, tilling, manuring the soil, erecting fences and permanent settlements, etc.), and it followed that where no cultivation in this European-style could be observed, then the land was held to be waste-land, unowned, and therefore open to the first person who could use it to sustain life.

This in effect enabled the British to enact the clause, particularly as the journals of Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896) provide detailed descriptions of Aboriginal peoples as being naked with a lifestyle based on fishing. In fact, they seemed so different to the British that “many considered them scarcely human” (Berndt & Berndt, 1999, p. 500). Moreover, Laidlaw (1990, p. 41)

states “Tragically, at this time, the British and others saw little wrong in colonising such a land if they thought it in their interests to do so”.

During this part of the research, I found an interesting entry in Cook’s journal, which I have used in its entirety due to the relevance to the storying in this chapter:

Having satisfied myself of the great Probability of a passage, thro’ which I intend going with the Ship, and therefore may land no more upon this Eastern coast of New Holland, and on the Western side I can make no new discovery, the honour of which belongs to the Dutch Navigators...but the East Coast from the Lat. Of 38 S down to this place, I am confident, was never seen or Visited by any European before us; and notwithstanding I had in the Name of his Majesty taken possession of several places upon this Coast, I now once More hoisted English Colours, and in the Name of His Majesty King George the Third took possession of the whole Eastern coast from the above lat. Down to this place by the Name of New Wales, together with all the Bays, Harbours, Rivers and Islands, situated upon the said Coast; after which we fired 3 Volleys of small Arms, which were answer’d by the like number from the ship. (Cook & Reed, 1969, p. 122-123)

The text demonstrates how Cook (Wharton, 1893) took possession of Aboriginal land in several places across the East Coast of Australia. I argue this provides conclusive evidence that the mark on the tree left by Cook before he left Botany Bay was his way of staking a claim on that area for Britain, paving the way for the First Fleet to sail in with confidence into Botany Bay.

Utterly oblivious that the ownership of their lands had been taken over by a nation situated on the other side of the world, Aboriginal peoples continued to live and care on Country, as their ancestors had done since the Dreaming. Little did they know that within eighteen years their lives would again feel the force of British intervention.

5.6 Conclusion

Researching the journals of Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Hooker, 1896) through an Aboriginal lens, I found evidence of IK practised across

the Pacific. Through textual analysis, the journals of both Cook (Cook & Reed, 1969; Wharton, 1893;) and Banks (Hooker, 1896) reveal examples which include the sharing of information and storytelling (Tupia with the British; Aboriginal Elders with the children); Tupia with his young servant; respect (between the Maori with Tupia); and passing on of oral history (Maori to Tupia). This demonstrates how IK is valuable and practical for Indigenous people (Sheehan & Walker, 2001).

Although Tupia is a man largely unknown in Australia, without his traditional knowledge, relationality, and ability to develop positive connections with the Maori people, Australia may well have ended up as a part of the French Colonial Empire. While Tupia's presence on the *Endeavour* is not new knowledge, I contend it is the first time examples of Indigenous Knowledge have been applied in an Australian colonial context.

The details provided in this chapter of the first arrival of the British to the shores of Botany Bay is essential to the storying of the thesis. It provides a different interpretation from that commonly written about in modern Australian history. The focus of the chapter has been an interpretation of these events through an Indigenous Knowledge lens, revealing the dark truth underlying Cook's false claiming of Aboriginal peoples' homelands for Britain.

The following Chapter continues the storying and begins as the First Fleet arrives in Botany Bay, eighteen years after Cook and Banks sailed into Australian history by being the first Europeans to set foot on the East coast of Australia.

Chapter 6: Whitefella occupation of Kitty's Country 1788-1816



6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter concluded with James Cook declaring Aboriginal lands to be part of Britain, paving the way for *terra nullius*. The focus of this chapter is the British settlement on Darug Country and subsequent early years of occupation of Aboriginal lands. The artwork portrays how Aboriginal Sydney began to change after the coming of the British. It begins with Aboriginal people becoming aware of the British as Cook and Banks entered Australian history. It then moves around the palm with the coming of the First Fleet.

The orange dots in the centre of the palm signify the tiny penal settlement. The surrounding dots represent the different things the British brought with them: superior attitude, clothes, guns, animals, pests, diseases, different foods, alcohol, religion, and missionaries, symbolic of all the disruptions to Aboriginal life and cultural practices. As Ferguson (2011, p. 5) argues:

For some reason, beginning in the late fifteenth century, the little states of Western Europe, with their bastardized linguistic borrowings from Latin (and a little Greek), their religion derived from the teachings of a Jew from Nazareth and their intellectual debts to Oriental mathematics, astronomy and technology, produced a civilization capable of not only conquering the great Oriental empires and subjugating Africa, the Americas and Australasia, but also of converting peoples all over the world to the Western way of life - a conversion achieved ultimately more by the word than by the sword.

The larger circle of dots on the hand are the convicts and settlers who spread out from the penal settlement across Darug Ngurra. The fingers represent the Aboriginal

clans continuing to practice traditional ways as their world changes around them. The white on the fingers is the gradual takeover of their land and destruction of significant sites.

The Parramatta Paradigm (PP) keeps the research focused on the Darug experience, the importance of relationships and Indigenous Knowledge. While this Chapter identifies IK as it presents within the study, the main aim is to examine the coming of the First Fleet and the impact on the local Aboriginal population. Due to poor relations between the two cultures in the first two years of settlement, I examine primary documents written by early white settlers to uncover some of the underlying reasons the British came to Aboriginal lands.

6.2 The arrival of the First Fleet

The storying begins in January 1778, as the local inhabitants witnessed not one *Mawi Nawi* (large canoe), but eleven over two days. These ships made up the First Fleet to arrive in New South Wales. The first ship to sail into the bay was *The Supply*, which carried the appointed Governor of the colony, Captain Arthur Phillip (Watson, 1914). The ships carried over 1100 people, coming unannounced and uninvited to Aboriginal lands.

Six of the eleven ships carried the flotsam of British human life (Bennett, 2009; Ritchie, 1986), unwanted prisoners who were clogging up the jails and hulks of Britain. This cargo of human misery, “the scraps, the junk, the waste from a new age” (Elder, 1998, p. 2), were not settler farmers, but convicted criminals, over 750

of them (Collins, 1798). In the heat of summer, the local inhabitants watched in awe and bewilderment as these strange vessels entered their place and space.

While eighteen years had passed since the first whitefellas came and went, members of the clans living around Botany Bay would have still remembered the coming of Cook and the Endeavour. Cook's *Nawi* only stayed eight days (Cook & Reed, 1969; Hooker, 1896; Wharton, 1893) and perhaps the locals thought this would also be the case with the First Fleet.

Within the week, they saw the ships sail out of Botany Bay on their way to Sydney Cove. As documented in *Historical Records of Australia* (HRA), the British ships were soon replaced by the French ships "*Boussole* and *Astrolabe*" (Watson, 1914, p. 18), under the command of Captain Jean François de Galaup, de Lapérouse who sailed into the Bay as the British left for Port Jackson. Lapérouse had received information that the British were on their way to Botany Bay during his exploration in the Pacific (Fitzhardinge, 1979, p. 96). During the six weeks the French stayed in Botany Bay, several Aboriginal men were killed by the French.

Just as Aboriginal men had challenged Cook as he came ashore, the same behaviour greeted Governor Phillip. With all the grace of an English gentleman, he approached the Aboriginal men courteously and respectfully. Phillip had no idea this continent was home to a significant number of Aboriginal Nations or Countries, with five different Countries surrounding the Sydney region alone (Kohen 2006).

6.2.1 First Fleet Relations with Aboriginal Peoples

Phillip was specifically chosen to cross the world and establish a British settlement.

According to evidence from the *Historical Records of Australia* (1914):

Prior to his appointment Captain Phillip had proved himself to be an active and zealous officer, possessed of 'habitual prudence' and a sound knowledge of men and their management. (Watson, 1914, p. xviii)

Yet Hill (2008, p. 36) questions this appointment, claiming the decision was "somewhat mysterious...there was nothing in his career that suggested he stood out as the most suitable candidate for the post". According to Hill (2008) Phillip was also not the choice of the Admiralty.

Phillip's role was twofold: he needed to build "the foundation of the settlement and the establishment of the government" (Watson, 1914, p. xxi). I have included two of the instructions given to Phillip in their entirety. They leave no doubt that the British intended to take over the lands of Aboriginal peoples:

It is therefore our will and pleasure that you do immediately upon your landing, after taking measures for securing yourself and the people who accompany you as much as possible from any attacks or interruptions of the natives of that country, as well as for the preservation and safety of the public stores, proceed to the cultivation of the land, distributing the convicts for that purpose in such manner, and under such inspectors or overseers, and under such regulations as may appear to you to be necessary and best calculated for procuring supplies of grain and ground provisions. (Watson, 1914, p. 11)

Orders had also been given to Governor Phillip on how to deal with the local native peoples, of whom Cook had written were very few (Fitzhardinge, 1979):

You are to endeavour by every possible means to open an intercourse with the natives, and to conciliate their affections, enjoining all our subjects to live in amity and kindness with them. And if any of our subjects shall wantonly destroy them, or give interruption in the exercise of their several Occupations, it is our will and pleasure that you do cause such offenders to be brought to punishment according to the degree of the offense. You will endeavour to procure an account of the numbers inhabiting the neighbourhood of the intended settlement, and report your opinion to one of our Secretaries of State

in what manner our intercourse with these people may be turned to the advantage of this colony. (Watson, 1914, pp. 13-14)

The location of the settlement or ‘gaol without walls’ (Butlin, 1983) was at a place that had sustained human life for thousands of generations. Soldatic (2015, p. 54) contends, “Australia, unlike its white-settler colonial sisters, was established as a ‘penal colony’”. Going on further Soldatic (2015) describes the convicts as “White, poor, masculine working class bodies, which transgressed the boundaries of respectable middle-class citizenship at the centre of empire, as being those sent to Australia”. Blainey (2015, p. 306) suggests the British Government intended to occupy “only one or two points on the Pacific coast”, that there was room for all, with those in the settlements to live in harmony alongside Aboriginal peoples, and not interfere in their lives.

I suggest Aboriginal peoples would assume that the British could stay and set up their tiny, insignificant camp in Sydney Cove under an unspoken truce, a truce based on the principles of Indigenous Knowledge, of mutual understanding, respect, honesty, courtesy, and trust. Aboriginal peoples went about their business (Clark, 1981; Worgan, 1978), as they tentatively watched the British go about theirs.

Within weeks this ‘truce’ was to be broken over and over again, as the prison without walls took shape. Appointed as Captain-General and Governor in Chief, Arthur Phillip wrote of his determination to bring the natives into “voluntary subjection...or at least to establish with them a strict amity and alliance” (Phillip, 1789, p. 68). The

British, as the newcomers to this ancient land, did not come with respect for the local inhabitants, quite the contrary.

While the officers brought with them a sense of superiority over Aboriginal peoples, they still understood their obligations (Tench, 1793). The convicts, on the other hand, did not. With the unbalanced gender makeup of the camp, one woman for every seven men (Blainey, 2015), trouble soon erupted. Convict men preyed on Aboriginal women and brought venereal diseases “undermining health and reducing fertility” (Reynolds, 1972, p. 71). Much like Cook and Banks eighteen years before, the convicts stole fishing gear, shields, swords, canoes and spears wherever they found them (Collins, 1798).

It was not long before Aboriginal men retaliated (Elder, 1998). They stoned the newcomers if they attempted to land their boats around the harbour (Clark & Cathcart, 1993) and speared convicts if they wandered too far from the settlement. When Aboriginal people started to communicate about their maltreatment at the hands of the convicts with Governor Phillip (Collins, 1798; King, 1984), Phillip reacted immediately. He held an inquiry offering a “state of freedom” to anyone who could give information (Tench & Flannery, 1996, p. 58). In most cases, the convicts were the aggressors.

The behaviours of Aboriginal men brought condemnation from many of the writers from the First Fleet (Clark, 1981; Tench, 1793). David Collins (1798, p. 46), however, showed some remorse: “had they never been ill treated by our people,

instead of hostility, it is more than probable that an intercourse of friendship would have subsisted”. Even though Collins (1798) acknowledged the ill treatment and hostility towards the Aboriginal peoples, the settlement of the British on Aboriginal land was destructive in every sense, as they brought not only criminals but a total lack of respect towards the original inhabitants of this place.

6.2.2 Conditions in the first year of occupation

As the year 1788 progressed, sickness and death plagued the camp. With many convicts reaching Sydney in ill health, progress in building permanent accommodation or farming the land was slow to establish (Collins, 1798; Phillip, 1789; White, 1962). The need for fresh food became a never-ending battle, with the first harsh Sydney winter hitting the settlement hard. Local fish supplies became scarce, rats and ants overran the stores containing the staple food supplies brought from England and the crops did not thrive (Bladen & Britton, 1892; Phillip, 1789). While Phillip was writing back to Britain on the success of the colony, others sent back letter with a different opinion. Major Ross informed the Admiralty that the colony was destitute and would never be sustainable (Hill, 2008). Anarchy emerged as hunger reined: “the marines as much as the convicts threatened the fragile civil order by stealing food from the public stores” (Pembroke, 2014, p. 199). With no ships arriving from England bringing fresh supplies, the settlement was in crisis:

Starvation was staring the community in the face, rations were reduced to the merest pittance necessary to sustain life, the hours of labour were shortened on account of the weakness of the labourers through want of food,, the convicts were bootless and almost naked, the clothes of the marines were in tatters, fish were scarce, and the hospital was full. (Watson, 1914, xxiii)

Unlike Aboriginal peoples who had survived climatic changes, drought and severe weather conditions for many thousands of years, the newcomers struggled in this unforgiving and unfamiliar climate. Although they lived in a food bowl, rich in natural resources, the British did not know how to manage a group of people on the brink of starvation. While much Australian history written about that time portrays the Aboriginal peoples as starving due to lack of food after the First Fleet arrived, analysis of journals kept at the time provides a different version of events. It was the British who were starving. Aboriginal peoples with their in-depth knowledge of food sources and the seasonal growth patterns had all they needed to survive. They understood what foods were plentiful and where to find them. They also knew that fish stocks in the harbour were low every winter; it had always been that way.

While Tench (1793) writes how Aboriginal people kept their distance from the settlement, both Phillip (1798) and White (1788) record seeing evidence of food gathering processes and fern roots that had been chewed at Aboriginal camps during expeditions. Traditional knowledge shared over generations ensured Aboriginal peoples knew the landscape, food sources and the seasonal growth patterns. They understood what foods were plentiful and where to find them. They also knew that fish stocks in the harbour were low every winter; it had always been that way. Aboriginal people went about their business and let the British go about theirs.

Apart from privation due to lack of food, there was conflict from the beginning. Casualties and killings affected both sides. Aboriginal men proved superior as the convicts did not carry weapons. The accuracy of their spear throwing, and quality of

their weaponry gained admiration from the writers on the First Fleet (Collins, 1798; Hunter et al., 1792; Tench, 1793; Worgan, 1978):

Their weapons of Defence consist of a spear about 14 Foot long and terminating in a sharp point of Bone or hard Wood (whereas their fishing Spear has four Prongs tipped with Bone) they have a hooked stick for throwing the spear; a heavy Club, a piece of hard Wood in the Form of Scimitar, and a Shield made of a broad bit of the Bark of a Tree, seem to make up the whole of their warlike Instruments. (Worgan, 1978, p. 12)

While the marines tried to defend the settlement, they carried inept firearms, which always backfired, took time to reload, and had a lack of ammunition (Bladen & Britton, 1892). Within the first year of British occupation, a total of eighteen Europeans had either been killed at the hands (or spears) of Aboriginal men or were missing from the settlement (Collins, 1798).

When the British moved further afield, the killings continued. Rations were getting short and no ships with fresh supplies were in sight. For Governor Phillip, there was dissension in the ranks particularly with his relationship with Major Ross, the head of the Marines: “The whole career of Major Ross at Port Jackson appears to have been a premeditated attempt to subvert the authority of Governor Phillip and to overthrow the civil government” (Bladen & Britton, 1892, p. xxi).

With the convicts causing trouble, a shortage of marines and a lack of firepower, the penal colony was in a precarious position. Governor Phillip needed to assert his authority, make Aboriginal peoples aware of British superiority, protect those in his charge, and take back control of the fledgling settlement. He was a desperate man who needed to take desperate measures during desperate times.

While Governor Phillip was losing control of the colony, my Aboriginal ancestors were losing control of their lands. As convicts and settlers moved onto Warmul and further West, Aboriginal peoples' health suffered. Diseases, to which they had no immunity, further impacted on their physical, emotional, mental and spiritual health. Australia, now part of the expanding British Empire, claimed Aboriginal peoples as subjects under British law. Aboriginal societies, developed over many thousands of years, were now set up for extinction. Considered heathens in need of saving, their traditional lifestyles were believed to be wild and savage.

6.3 The coming of smallpox

First Fleet journals from 1789 (Tench, 1793; Collins, 1798) paint a sad sight. Throughout April 1789 the bodies of Aboriginal men, women and children were found dead in coves and beaches around Port Jackson. Watkin Tench (1793) describes this as an extraordinary calamity which required “the gentlemen of our hospital to procure some of them for the purposes of examination and anatomy ” (Tench & Flannery, 1996, p. 102). Research on Aboriginal peoples, particularly at this time, would have been vital to the medical personnel in the early stages of the colony. Furthermore, these men were well trained naval surgeons (Hunter & Carmody, 2015). In the background was Joseph Banks, who, according to Kociumbas (2004, p. 79), sent with the surgeons “the latest colonizing equipment, from maps to medicine”.

It was not until the surgeons examined Aboriginal patients that they made a diagnosis, pronouncing the disorder as smallpox (Collins, 1798). The question remains, of all the Aboriginal people who were dying of the disease, why were only two small groups of Aboriginal peoples brought into the settlement for treatment? In the journals, evidence shows Governor Phillip collected the first group himself while his boat was used to transport the second group. In his journal, Tench (1793) describes how the Governor and the Chief Surgeon Dr White collected the first group while the Governor's boat was used to transport the second group to the settlement.

The smallpox victims were then taken to a makeshift hospital set up inside the settlement. Those afflicted, according to Tench (1793), were "in a most deplorable state of wretchedness from the smallpox" (Tench & Flannery, 1996, p. 105). Of the two groups who arrived in Sydney Cove, the men died shortly after arriving and two children survived, taken in by the benevolence of those in the settlement. Assumed to be orphans, the children's fate, not unlike that of the children sent to the Parramatta Native Institution 25 years later, would see them inculcated into the European way of life (Haskins, 2012).

That the disease killed many Aboriginal peoples is not disputed. The research of First Fleet journals (Collins, 1798; Tench, 1793) along with correspondence sent back to England (Bladen & Britton, 1892) is evidence of the enormity of the epidemic. Those deaths are a grim reminder of the Britain the English had left behind, with Butlin (1983, p. 12) arguing "[d]uring the 18th century, smallpox was the single major cause of death in Britain". Butlin (1983) goes on to describe

smallpox as one of the greatest scourges of humanity. The impact of smallpox, according to Barquet and Domingo (1997, p. 635), was worse than “the plague, cholera, and yellow fever”, diseases they claim had a less harmful impact on the human body.

The outbreak brought devastating consequences and smallpox had deadly implications for those with no immunity due to the remoteness of Australia from Britain (Butlin, 1983). Before the ravages of smallpox took over in the early white settlement, the Aboriginal population consisted of healthy people leading healthy lives, living as nature intended. The exact toll on the Aboriginal population has only ever been speculated. At the time the British had no idea of how many clans were living in the Sydney area.

The number of people found dead around the harbour indicated they suffered the most severe form of smallpox, *variola major*. Smallpox killed, and it maimed. Journal entries have evidence of smallpox in Broken Bay, west to the Hawkesbury (Phillip, 1789) and south to Botany Bay (Collins, 1798). Some historians have speculated that smallpox affected Aboriginal groups over the Blue Mountains and beyond (Poulter, 2016). Historian Henry Reynolds (1972) describes the epidemic as the most severe of the introduced diseases during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Due to the lack of accurate information from the First Fleet journals, both the death toll and the cause of the epidemic can only be speculative.

While smallpox ravaged many peoples from the wider Sydney area, no Europeans in the settlement contracted the disease, which is interesting, as there were at risk children who numbered “40 or so” (Kociumbas, 1997, p. 9), who would not have had immunity. Two Indigenous people living in the colony died: a Native American named Joseph Jeffries, who was a seaman on *The Supply* (Hinkson, 2001; Poulter, 2016), along with an Aboriginal man named Arabanoo. Arabanoo had been kidnapped by the British the previous December and had been kept prisoner by Governor Arthur Phillip.

Historians and researchers have puzzled over this conundrum since the outbreak in 1789. The debate centres on where the disease originated from, who was responsible, and whether it was in fact smallpox (Hunter & Carmody, 2015). That the disease may have been chickenpox has also been suggested, with Hunter and Carmody (2015) arguing, “atypical” chickenpox lesions can look like smallpox”. In his journal, Tench (1793) mentions the pustules being akin to smallpox, while Collins (1798) seemed assured it *was* smallpox. While both illnesses may appear similar to the untrained eye, Whitby, Street, Ruff, and Fenner (2002, p. 431) explain the difference:

Smallpox is distinguishable from chickenpox by the prominent prodromal period and lesions that develop at the same pace and, on any part of the body, appear identical to each other, evolve slowly and are peripherally distributed.

According to Bennett (2009, p. 3), the subject has remained “a topic of confusion, controversy and concern”. J.H.L. Cumpston (1914), the Director of Australia’s Federal quarantine service, proposed the smallpox was unleashed either wittingly or unwittingly by the British, further corroborated by Bennett (2009), Butlin (1983),

Mear (2008), Warren (2014) and Poulter (2016). While some scholarship claims smallpox came from the north, brought into the country by the Maccassans (Campbell, 2002; Macknight, 2011), Bennett (2009) and Warren (2014) argue this speculation remains weak.

The facts are clear: the First Fleet came from Britain, where smallpox was a major killer. The symptoms were easily recognisable by the surgeons in the settlement (Butlin, 1983). That it had fatal consequences on the Aboriginal population is certain (Collins, 1798), with multiple bodies seen around the harbour. Many more may have died inland. This is indicative of a mass contagion.

In correspondence sent to Lord Sydney in Britain 1790, Governor Phillip raised questions about where the smallpox outbreak originated. He confirmed that no one on the First Fleet had the disease and tried to implicate the French, as they had anchored in Botany Bay the previous year (Bladen & Britton, 1892; Mullins, 1898). In Phillip's correspondence, there was no suggestion the British were responsible. Historians also claim Governor Phillip had no role in causing the epidemic. Those responsible have been suggested as convicts, marines, or other officers in the settlement (Bennett, 2009; Poulter, 2016; Warren, 2014), with Major Robert Ross as the possible instigator.

Historians also claim Governor Phillip had no role in causing the epidemic. Those responsible have been suggested as convicts, marines, or other officers in the settlement (Bennett, 2009; Butlin, 1983; Poulter, 2016; Warren, 2014), with Major

Robert Ross as the possible instigator. There was even a suggestion that Aboriginal peoples took the glass jars from the settlement storeroom, (Butlin, 1983), then unwittingly opening them, unleashed what I call the ‘devil in the bottle’. The question of its origin remains unanswered.

6.4 Smallpox: a biological weapon used against Aboriginal peoples?

The use of smallpox as a biological weapon was accepted retaliatory practice in the 18th and 19th centuries. It had been unleashed very effectively by the British during both the American War of Independence and in exterminating Indian threats in America (Fenn, 2000). British Army General Thomas Gage who would become Commander in Chief of British forces in North America, is claimed to be the officer responsible for the authorisation of distributing smallpox infected blankets and handkerchiefs to the Delaware and Shawnee peoples (Fenn, 2000; Kociumbas, 2004). Two officers in the First Fleet served under General Gage during the American War. One of those officers was Phillip's confidante, Judge Advocate David Collins. The other was Major Robert Ross.

Major Ross wrote to his superiors in Britain with complaints about the condition of the settlement under the leadership of Governor Phillip. Ross also made a claim at the end of 1788, that Judge Advocate David Collins was the only person Governor Phillip would communicate with (Bladen & Britton, 1892). While Ross did appear to have an ‘axe to grind’ and was desperately unhappy (Bladen & Britton, 1892), his part in the smallpox epidemic has been discounted by historians. This is due mainly to the lack of real evidence that the British were in any way responsible (Connor,

2002). More recently Jim Poulter (2016) in his book *The Dust of the Mindye: The Use of Biological Warfare in the Conquest of Australia*, provides both a motive and two culprits:

By March 1789, both Robert Ross and James Campbell were sure that a larger scale attack by the natives was imminent. The signs were obvious to them. Attacks by the natives were becoming more adventurous. They now knew the range of the British muskets and were no longer intimidated. Fires were increasingly being set around the colony and the natives were picking up stragglers and murdering them with complete impunity. (Poulter, 2016, p. 63)

Poulter (2016) also claims the Marines were weakened through starvation and scurvy, they had a lack of ammunition, and describes Phillip as “soft-hearted and incompetent” (Poulter, 2016, p. 63). Poulter provides compelling evidence for his theory, and I argue there is a convincing case that the British were liable for the smallpox outbreak.

Furthermore, I find no reason to exclude Phillip from being an instigator of using smallpox as a weapon. He was the man in charge of the fledgling colony, a settlement made up mainly of criminals. The journals I have examined offer convincing proof that Phillip struggled under the weight of maintaining law and order. A lack of trustworthy relationships left him with only two trusted confidantes, David Collins and Phillip Gidley King. Phillip’s close relationship with King had begun years before on the *Ariadne* in 1780 (Hill, 2008). At the time of the outbreak King had been on Norfolk Island for a year. David Collins, a veteran of the American wars where smallpox was used effectively, could also be considered culpable. There seems little doubt that a motive and the opportunity to commit such an act existed,

as Poulter (2016) suggests: people were starving and Aboriginal men no longer feared the men with muskets, picking away at those well enough to leave the camp.

While King was not in the colony in April 1789, he did have an established relationship with Joseph Banks, the man responsible for the original penal settlement in New South Wales. Although Banks remained like a shadow on the periphery of the First Fleet, he did have an interest in smallpox and inoculations (Barquet & Domingo, 1997). His experience with smallpox was deeply personal:³⁸ he had been inoculated against the virus as a seventeen-year-old, then suffered a bad bout of the illness.

Phillip also had a relationship with Banks and, according to Smith (2001, p. 156), had a “strong sense of obligation” towards his patron. Smith (2001) maintains Banks had asked Phillip to supply him with native heads from the colony. While the outbreak may have been an easy way to obtain them, Phillip wrote to Banks explaining that the natives burnt the bodies, making it impossible for him to procure skulls (Smith, 2001, p. 156). During the outbreak, many bodies were seen in coves and on beaches during April 1789 (Collins, 1798; Tench, 1793). Yet there was no sign of dead or dying people when Captain Hunter sailed back into Port Jackson from Cape Town early in May 1789 (Hunter et al., 1792). Had the living burned their dead? This poses an interesting question: if Aboriginal men died from smallpox within the makeshift hospital, why did Governor Phillip not take those heads for Banks? They were easily accessible, as were the bodies littered around the harbour.

³⁸ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/banks-sir-joseph-1737>

Evidence to implicate the British is found in the journal of Watkin Tench (1793), where he refers to bottles of smallpox matter on board one of the ships of the First Fleet. This footnote is contained in his journal:

No solution of this difficulty had been given when I left the country, in December, 1791. I can, therefore, only propose queries for the ingenuity of others to exercise itself upon: Is it a disease indigenous to the country? Did the French ships under Monsieur de Peyrouse introduce it? Let it be remembered that they had now been departed more than a year; and we never heard of its existence on board any of them.-Had it travelled across the continent from its western shore, where Dampier and other European voyagers had formerly landed?-Was it introduced by Mr Cook?-Did we give it birth here? No person among us had been afflicted with the disorder since we had quitted the Cape of Good Hope, seventeen months before. It is true that our surgeons had brought out variolous matter in bottles; but to infer that it was produced from this cause were a supposition so wild as to be unworthy of consideration. (Tench, 1793, p. 146; Tench & Flannery, 1996, p. 104)

We could speculate whether Tench was implying such a supposition was unworthy of consideration because it implicated the British in the outbreak. The facts remain: the British had the virus in bottles, the Aboriginal men were becoming more violent, Phillip had lost the confidence of his men and his leadership of the settlement was being questioned:

When the marines were antagonistic, when the convicts were calling for food, when his colony seemed to be on the verge of disaster, he possessed no confidant to talk with, and was truly in a position of lonely and magnificent isolation. (Watson, 1914, p. xxv)

These facts appear to give Phillip a motive: he needed to use whatever was in his control to quickly change the situation.

Facts uncovered from other scholarship add further strength to the argument that smallpox was used as a deliberate weapon in the colony. Fenn (2000) describes in

detail how smallpox was used effectively by the British in North America to kill Native Americans. With the conflict in the colony increasing (Collins, 1798), why would the British not use the smallpox matter, in the same way as in America, to control the Aboriginal population?

Smallpox was easy to spread. Whitby et al. (2002, p. 431) claim “...this disease has characteristics that make it particularly suitable for biological warfare”, because it could be transmitted by soiled clothing and blankets. Phillip Gidley King wrote to Banks in May 1792, requesting Banks send out smallpox matter to inoculate children on Norfolk Island (Bennett, 2009):

...if [smallpox] should make its appearance here in a few years, that it will sweep off a vast number of children... our rising generation will be much obliged to you if any method can be devised to send the small pox matter, so as it may inoculate these young creatures. (as cited in Bennett, 2009, p. 45)

The letter provides evidence that Banks knew where to source the smallpox matter and had previously sent other provisions for the First Fleet (Kociumbas, 2004). Banks would have wanted Governor Phillip to have every advantage in the construction of the new settlement (see Figure 6.3 & Figure 6.4 for a copy of the original two-page letter from King to Banks).

Through reading this correspondence it is tempting to interpret a sinister message: both King and Banks knew the smallpox matter would survive the journey from Britain and still be useful; King could only have this knowledge if he were aware of the bottles on board the First Fleet and the devastating effects when unleashed on the native population. Although isolated on Norfolk Island, King would have heard how

the smallpox epidemic had devastated local tribes and deplete the number of Aboriginal men harassing the settlement.

Within Collins' journal is further evidence that spreading smallpox was a deliberate act:

Early in the month, and throughout its continuance, the people whose business called them down the harbour daily reported, that they found, either in excavations of the rock, or lying upon the beaches and points of the different coves which they had been in, the bodies of many of the wretched natives of this country... It was not a desirable circumstance to introduce a disorder into the colony which was raging with such fatal violence among the natives of the country; but the saving the lives of any of these people was an object of no small importance, as the knowledge of our humanity, and the benefits which we might render them, would, it was hoped, do away the evil impressions they had received of us. (Collins, 1798, p. 53)

There are vital clues in this passage of writing. Collins' attitude towards Aboriginal peoples is clear, particularly when he refers to them as "wretched natives". While the person or persons responsible has not been identified in this paragraph, Collins was aware that disorder was introduced into the colony although it was "not a desirable circumstance" due to it raging "with such fatal violence among the natives". While Collins reflects some remorse, his writings indicate that the person or persons responsible undoubtedly did so with intent. The British had a young Aboriginal man, Arabanoo (mentioned above in section 6.3) and a Native American (Collins, 1798), both men of colour, living in the settlement. Either may have been used to distribute the infected blankets to the mob. They both later died from smallpox.

Herein lies another twist: Arabanoo, kidnapped under the orders of Governor Phillip late in December 1788, and well regarded by those in the settlement (Collins, 1798;Tench, 1793), dies of smallpox on 18 May 1789 (Fitzhardinge, 1979). It has been assumed that Arabanoo caught the smallpox from the Aboriginal people brought into the settlement for treatment (Tidswell, 1898). For the last three to four weeks of his life, according to Tench (1793), Arabanoo was unfettered and could have left the settlement. Instead he chose to stay and is recorded as providing care to the sick and dying brought into the settlement. The question is, why would Governor Phillip, after going to such lengths to capture Arabanoo and keep him restrained for several months, then allow him to have close contact with those afflicted with smallpox? Particularly as he knew the Aboriginal man would have no immunity to this disease.

The following text written Tench's journal could provide the answer to that question:

May, 1789. I feel assured, that I have no reader who will not join in regretting the premature loss of Arabanoo, who died of the small-pox on the 18th instant, after languishing in it six days. From some imperfect marks and indents on his face, we were inclined to believe that he had passed this dreaded disorder. Even when the first symptoms of sickness seized him, we continued willing to hope that they proceeded from a different cause. But at length the disease burst forth with irresistible fury. It were superfluous to say, that nothing which medical skill and unremitting attention could perform, were left unexerted to mitigate his sufferings, and prolong a life, which humanity and affectionate concern towards his sick compatriots, unfortunately shortened. (Tench as cited in Fitzhardinge, 1979, p. 149)

Tench goes on further to say (Fitzhardinge, 1979, p. 151) "By his death, the scheme which had invited his capture was utterly defeated". Tench's reference to the "imperfect marks and indents on his face" along with the comment "we were inclined to believe he had passed this dreaded disorder", could suggest Arabanoo was inoculated prior to the outbreak to ensure his survival. Governor Phillip would

have known that the inoculation could have given Arabanoo a strong chance to become immune to the virus. Inoculations had been in existence in Britain since early in the Eighteenth century (Weis & Esparza, 2015). The reasons that Arabanoo died from smallpox so soon after displaying symptoms are unclear and I suggest need further examination.

It remains a mystery as to how the British may have spread the smallpox matter. However, journal entries note how Aboriginal men would steal jackets and hats from the convicts when they were killed or injured (Flynn, 1995). At other times Aboriginal men would take clothing from boats that were left unattended. However, Butlin (1983) discounts the blanket theory due to a shortage of blankets in the settlement.

I argue that the persons responsible for the smallpox outbreak were Governor Arthur Phillip with the complicit help of Sir Joseph Banks. Governor Phillip had the intent, he had the variola matter and he had a motive. He also knew the fatal consequences for Aboriginal peoples. The smallpox epidemic solved a problem for Phillip, as it reduced the Aboriginal population. He no longer needed extra marines to protect the colony with so many Aboriginal men dying during the outbreak. In a letter sent to Lord Sydney in 1790, Phillip wrote: “a less force will be wanted for the security of the settlement than what I considered necessary soon after arrival in this country” (as cited in Warren, 2014, p. 78). It also provided an ideal opportunity for the British to save the lives of the sick and redeem themselves with the Aboriginal community, as Collins’ journal implies.

Aboriginal people appeared to be stricken by smallpox within a short space of time: April and May 1789. It would not return for another forty years. Aboriginal storytelling (oral history) has smallpox originating in the Balmoral area, across the harbour from the settlement with contaminated blankets left on the beach (Foley, 2001). This oral history was passed down the generations. However, while the outbreak was devastating in those two months, many Aboriginal families survived and continued living traditional lives in the region, as evidenced in First Fleet journals, newspaper reports and letters sent back to England (Bladen & Britton, 1892; Collins, 1798). Providing clear evidence that life continued for Aboriginal peoples following the outbreak, David Collins (1798) writes:

The natives who lived about Sydney appeared to place the utmost confidence in us, choosing a clear spot between the town and the brickfield for the performance of any of their rites and ceremonies; and for three evenings the town had been amused with one of their spectacles. (Collins, 1798, p. 275)

With fish stocks replenishing in the spring, the locals returned to their saltwater lifestyle. They also kept up their hostilities towards the British (Collins, 1798; Hunter et al., 1792). Some local Aboriginal people that had recovered from smallpox assisted as guides for the British as expeditions moved through the region, while others were unmarked and escaped getting the disease (Clark, 1981; Hunter et al., 1792). In time further ships would arrive, bringing more convicts and settlers alike. They also brought with them a myriad of other communicable diseases, from which the native population had no protection. Disease was not the only enemy to Aboriginal families. Emancipated convicts and settlers moved west established themselves on Darug Ngurra, then later crossed the great divide. While violent confrontations dogged their every step, Europeans continued to claim thousands upon thousands of acres of Aboriginal lands for farming and agriculture.

Claims that a large majority of Aboriginal peoples died during the smallpox epidemic and that the appropriation of Aboriginal lands was a peaceful takeover can be refuted strongly based on the evidence I have presented here. The idea that smallpox could have been used as a deliberate weapon against the Aboriginal population at the outset of colonisation is not well received nor understood by traditional historians or the wider Australian population or (Butlin, 1983), fostering an inherent bias against the way Australian national identity was shaped (Warren, 2014). I argue that part of the settler colonial story is not a true reflection of the black history of this country. This time in our colonial past cannot be portrayed as ‘mere skirmishes’. This was a war that would rage for decades.

6.5 The founding of Parramatta

Needing to find productive agricultural land to feed the starving colony, Governor Phillip travelled up the harbour on 22 April 1788 and arrived at the area now known as Parramatta. His journal notes provide a picture of the landscape: he describes the area above the river as having the appearance of a park and the soil being more suitable to grow crops than Sydney Cove. By November 1788, the second British settlement was established as evidenced in this letter dated 1 October 1788 sent from Major Ross to Secretary Stephens in Britain:

I have a general order for a detachme't, consisting of one captain, two subalterns, two serjeants, two corporals, one drummer, and twenty privates, to hold themselves in readiness to set out for detachment is to be commanded by Captain Campbell, and is intended for the protection of some convicts, which the Governor is going to send with him, for the purpose of clearing and cultivating some ground for corn. As this place seems the most promising spot yet seen in our neighbourhood, so does it appear to me to be the only hope of raising grain. (Ross as cited in Bladen & Britton, 1892, p. 198)

I have specifically chosen this text about the new settlement to outline the firepower the British were sending to protect the new farming settlement. The privates were not going to dig the earth and plant the seed; that was the job for the convicts. It is clear the British understood the nature of their plans to take Aboriginal land and the conflict this would cause. But these were desperate times as Phillip needed to grow food for the British who were starving at the settlement.

The farming settlement is where the saltwater meets the fresh water and is located on the land of the Burramattagal peoples of the Darug. Although first naming it Rose Hill, Phillip made the decision in June 1791 to change the name to Parramatta (or Burramatta), the name the local Aboriginal peoples called this place (Flynn, 1995; Hinkson, 2002). The Aboriginal word Burramatta (place where eels lie/sit down) first appears in Dawes' writings in 1790, with Flynn (1995) suggesting the Governor was possibly influenced to change the name by one of his Aboriginal associates, such as Bennelong.

At the time, the British were unaware that each April there was the 'running of the eels', when the clans of the Darug and neighbouring tribes would gather together around lagoons on the Parramatta River (Brook & Kohen, 1991; Flynn, 1995; Kohen, 1993; Troy, 1993). They came to feast, to continue positive relationships, discuss important business and hold corroboree in an area that is now Parramatta Park. Archaeological digs confirm this place to be a significant site. This was not just an Aboriginal camp site, as artefacts collected from those explorations confirm that behind old Government House there was also a ceremonial ground (Hinkson,

2002). These gatherings were a highlight on the unwritten yearly calendar of the Darug, who had in-depth knowledge and understanding of the science of seasons, reasons and behaviours of lifeforms that lived or entered their place and space.

That the settlement at Rose Hill had a considerable impact on the Burramattagal is evident through the journals of Tench (1793), Collins (1798), and Hunter et al. (1792). Each describes an encounter with Burramattagal men on 30 October 1790. While the details vary, they all had the same message: the men the Burramattagal men encountered identified themselves as ‘inhabitants of Rose Hill’ and in the words of Watkin Tench (1793, p. 181) the Aboriginal men “expressed great dissatisfaction at the number of white men who had settled in their former territories”. With reference to the “former territories” of the Aboriginal men, Tench makes it clear those Burramattagal men no longer had any rights over that area. The year was 1790, barely two years after the First Fleet arrived. The Burramattagal, having lived on those lands for thousands of generations, had within two years of colonial settlement lost their basic human right to live on the land of their ancestors, their Country, their spiritual homeland.

6.6 Whitefellas at Warmul

Once Phillip had made the decision to form a farming settlement at Prospect Hill in November 1788, he later granted land to emancipated convicts. The freed convicts began the move to Kitty’s Ngurra (Cannemegal/Warmul) land during 1791 and began farming. By the end of that year Watkin Tench (1793) reports that there were thirteen ex-convicts and their families living at the bottom of Prospect Hill. While

between them they were allotted 570 acres, when Tench visited them in December there were only 27 acres under cultivation (Tench, 1793). In his journal, Tench describes the ground as light and stony and he did not hold out too much hope for a successful harvest of maize and wheat. He also mentioned only three of those farms had access to fresh water.

In stark contrast, Aboriginal peoples living on Darug Ngurra had developed ecological practices such as fire stick farming, which helped in the regeneration of tuberous plants such as yams, lilies, and orchids. The use of fire also aided in the hunt for kangaroo and other large animals (Kohen, 1987, p. 80). However, as more settlers moved across the district, Ngurra became damaged by livestock or was fenced off. By January 1794 Collins (1798, p. 284) claims that of “the different districts, that of Prospect Hill proved to be the most productive; some grounds there returned thirty bushels of wheat for one”. The settlers made complaints to Tench (1793) about being harassed and robbed by runaway convicts. It would not be long before their lives would also be at risk from the Darug, who would spend the next 20 years fighting for their right to exist on Country.

As noted in previous chapters, First Fleet journals provide evidence the Warmuli kept their distance. Clan gatherings however would still have taken place and discussion of the newcomers would have been put aside while Darug men and women deliberated on important traditional business. In time they would come to experience the brutality of the convicts and with no fear of retaliation, speared those who did wrong by them (Collins, 1798).

Unbeknownst to my ancestors, they were now British subjects, with their lands regarded as belonging to no one and their behaviour subject to colonial laws. Putting this into context Michael Martin (1988, p. 41), explains:

Ironically, as British subjects, Aborigines came under a legal system, one of whose primary functions was the preservation of property, even though it disregarded the property rights of Aborigines...denied any semblance of rights to their land, the Aborigines had no alternative but to take some action.

The issue presented itself time and time again: no one told the Aboriginal peoples they no longer had control over their traditional lands; they came to know it only through the actions of the new settlers. This brought confusion, conflict and eventually a war between the Darug and the British.

6.7 The coming of the ‘frontier wars’

The British arrived in 1788 with the mistaken belief this country was largely unpopulated. As detailed previously, this was a misconception based on the writings of early explorers such as William Dampier in 1688 when he landed on the North coast of Western Australia and James Cook (Wharton, 1893) as he travelled up the East Coast in 1770. Based on their writings, those on the First Fleet landed with the belief the Aboriginal people living here were no more than “savages” (Fletcher, 1989, p. 13). While expounding how Aboriginal people were “viewed with indifference” by the Europeans, Allen (as cited in Wilson, 2008, p. 45), found Aboriginal people possessing “barely human status”; and “regarded by nature inferior and bestial” (McGregor, 1997, p. 10). This judgemental position was also delineated by Manning Clark (1995, p. 29), in his book *The History of Australia*, where he remarked that by 1805:

Experience was driving more and more settlers and officers to speak of the treachery, cruelty and inferiority of the Aborigines, and to explain the ineffectual results of all attempts to civilise them by their innate characteristics as a race.

There was a general misconception that there was little to no Aboriginal resistance to the colonisation of Australia (Woodroffe, 1993; Ryan, 2013), due in part to comments made by the 1930s historian J.W. Hancock (Reynolds, 1989), that Aboriginal peoples were pathetically helpless when the Europeans arrived and mutely died. During violent clashes, Aboriginal people suffered. Men were killed, women and girls raped, and children kidnapped. Many taken by the Europeans to be slaves or exploited as cheap labour (Ramsland, 1986; Reynolds, 2001; Wilson, 1997). According to Attwood (2003), there were historians who continued to believe Australia was colonised peacefully by both “civilised values and rule of law” (Attwood, 2003 p. 124).

On the contrary, this race of people did not welcome the British to Ngurra, which was in evidence the moment Cook and Banks arrived in Botany Bay in May 1770. Both men documented the clashes in their journals from the moment they tried to land, right through to leaving a week later (Beaglehole, 1963; Wharton, 1893). While it has been suggested by Willey (1979) that Aboriginal people regarded the British as “a voyager from the place of ghosts” (Willey, 1979, p. 27), this does not seem to be reflected in those first encounters, as according to Cook (Wharton, 1893) and Banks (Beaglehole, 1963) the interactions were not friendly ones. When the First Fleet arrived, forty Aboriginal people were gathered on the South Shore “shouting and making many uncouth signs and gestures” (Willey, 1979, p. 42). The behaviour

was hardly to welcome ghosts of their dead; it was to stop humans coming to their shore.

In the first few days of settlement, First Fleet journals note locals being curious about the newcomers. Accepting Governor Phillip's respectful request to enter Country, they were interested to see how these 'pale skins' with many clothes lived their lives. In Smith's (2001) view Aboriginal peoples were intrigued about the way the British wore numerous layers of clothing, while the British were appalled that the locals wore none.

The conflict began with the lack of reciprocity from the British (not sharing their fish catch) and from the behaviour of the convicts. While Aboriginal people continued to fish and hunt and provide for their families, when the British felt at risk they called on the Marines who carried muskets: "guns that overpowered the inferior Aboriginal armoury" (Hinkson, 2001, p. 53). In retaliation the British were stoned or beaten if they tried to land on the beaches around Sydney Harbour, and had their tools and food stolen (Clark & Cathcart, 1993; Parbury, 1986).

During that first winter, White (1962) describes an incident as being like guerrilla warfare around the settlement. A large party of Aboriginal men had come to where fish were being hauled on to the deck of the *Sirius*. Although White (1962) writes how twenty men were involved in this episode, he goes on to state that others stood nearby with spears poised, "ready to attack if any resistance had been offered" (White, 1962, p. 183). According to Willey (1979, p. 71) the natives were at fault as

they “beat the Englishmen and made off with a good amount of fish”. Blainey (2015) writes:

Aborigines seemed to resent less the occupation of part of their tribal land than the competing nets of the English fishermen. Sometimes Aborigines simply took many of the fish they saw lying in the English nets or on the bottom of the returning fishing boats. (Blainey, 2015 p. 263)

As convicts were sent further from the settlement to work, they caused harm to Aboriginal families, which is reflected in the punishment dealt out by the Aboriginal men. Blainey (2015, p. 267) writes that at the edge of the settlement “Aborigines were shot and British marines and convicts were speared”. Depending on their actions, convicts were either wounded or killed by spears or other weapons. Over the first year this became a constant problem for Governor Phillip (1789). Then as the British moved further into Warmul Country, conflict was inevitable:

The arrival of the first settlers of 1791 prompted the first organised Aboriginal resistance to the spread of settlement: It marked the real start of a violent frontier conflict in which Pemulwuy and his Bidjigal clan played a central role. They were particularly associated with Prospect Creek. (Flynn, 1997, p. 4)

The history of the frontier wars across the Sydney region is well documented (Connor, 2005; Karskens, 2009; Reynolds 1987, 1996, 2013; Turbet, 2011), with Reynolds (2013) suggesting up to 30,000 Aboriginal people may have died during the years of conflict. This section of the chapter will detail parts of that history that are relevant to this thesis.

Evidence contained in First Fleet journals provides ample evidence of Aboriginal attacks on convicts and settlers around Prospect, Parramatta, and the Hawkesbury

(Collins 1798; Watkin Tench, 1793). Their *modus operandi* carefully orchestrated, “they operated by stealth, surprise, secrecy, with their movements being unpredictable” (Martin, 1988, p. 49). Their knowledge of the landscape, of food sources and of weapons, aided the Aboriginal men as they terrorised Europeans from Sydney through to the Hawkesbury for many years. Smith (2001) argues that any idea that Aboriginal peoples of the Sydney area did not fiercely resist the occupation of their country, is a myth that “needed to be put to rest” (Smith, 2001, p. 23).

The use of fire as an environmental tool was used by many generations of Darug, to maintain grassland and open woodland environments (Kohen, 1987, p. 80). Later it would be used effectively to burn the huts of settlers (Collins, 1798). Aboriginal men were not amateurs. They are described in First Fleet journals (Collins, 1798; Phillip, 1789; Tench, 1793) as experts at spear throwing and their spears deadly. These men were not amateurs, they were warriors, masters of their craft and expert in bushmanship. They had mastered the art of survival over their lifetime. Spear throwing was an artform with children first observing, then learning as young teenagers before they were initiated into the hunt. Now spears were used to protect their families and the takeover of Ngurra.

Often attacking at night, the Aboriginal men would take what they could use and destroy the rest, as Collins describes in 1794:

At Toongabbie, where the Indian corn was growing, their visits and their depredations were so frequent and extensive, that the watchmen stationed for the protection of the corn-grounds, were obliged to fire on them... (Collins, 1798, p. 304)

Disappearing into the bush without a trace, the men would also make false tracks for the pursers to follow or set up ambushes to surprise their foe (Connor, 2002).

The name of the Darug warrior Pemulwuy began to appear in First Fleet journals when he delivered a ‘payback’ spearing of Phillip’s gamesman McIntyre in December 1790 (Collins, 1798; Hunter et al., 1792; Kohen, 1993; Newbury, 1999). This ritual occasioning death had Captain Hunter commenting in his journal how all the natives knew it was Pemulwuy, with Bennelong telling him McIntyre could not survive. Tench and Flannery (1996, p. 65) describe the deathbed confession of this man:

The poor wretch now began to utter the most dreadful exclamations, and to accuse himself of the commission of crimes of the deepest dye; accompanied with such expressions of his despair of God’s mercy, as are too terrible to repeat.

In his journal Collins (1798) comments on the skilful way Pemulwuy used the spear to inflict the fatal injury. Known for his cruelty towards Aboriginal peoples, McIntyre was despised by Bennelong, however he promised Phillip he would bring him in to the settlement (Hunter et al., 1792). Phillip was so enraged by McIntyre’s killing that he ordered two punitive expeditions to hunt down Aboriginal men (Tench & Flannery, 1996). To the troops he gave general instructions, but later took Tench aside and told him to capture and cut off the heads of six Aboriginal men (Newbury, 1999; Tench & Flannery, 1996).

This was a fruitless exercise as the Aboriginal men could quickly disappear into the bush. Phillip then sent the word out they were only after Pemulwuy. He ordered

Tench and the marines to surprise the natives. This was a farcical expedition and the Aboriginal men, hidden in the bush, would have watched with amusement as the British soldiers struggled through the marshes, getting stuck in the mud and almost dying for their efforts (Tench, 1793). During these missions not one Aboriginal man was captured and Pemulwuy's name became a household word, bringing fear and terror to anyone in his path (see Figure 6.2. in the Appendix for an artist's impression of Pemulwuy drawn in 1804).

In 1794 around 100 Aboriginal men attacked farms at Prospect (Kohen, 1985, p. 14), while properties were also plundered from Parramatta to George's River, Prospect, Seven Hills, and Toongabbie (James Kohen, 1993). On the Hawkesbury, the Darug warriors continued to attack settlers between 1795-1805, with reports of large groups of Aboriginal families, including men, women and children taking part in raids to gather corn (Collins, 1798). To protect the settlers, troops were dispatched from Parramatta in 1795 with instructions to capture and hang as many Aboriginal people across the region as they could find (Collins, 1798). Throughout 1796, settlers along the northern boundary outside of Parramatta were attacked with bushrangers seen among the raiding parties (Lim, 2016). During 1797 Darug men captured a boat on the Hawkesbury that was hauling corn to Sydney, killing the crew, and stealing the corn (Connor, 2005).

The ringleader identified in most of these incidents was Pemulwuy (Willmott, 1987). Leading by example, he set out to right the wrongs of his people. Collins (1802) writes in his journal "...he had been a most active enemy to the settlers, plundering

them of their property, and endangering their personal safety” (1802, p. 20). Moving from district to district, Pemulwuy caused feared everywhere he went, as Lim (2016, p. 16) explains:

He was based apparently in two areas, the area of north-western Sydney (centred on North Rocks) and an area bordering on to Botany Bay. His guerrilla-style attacks, from Prospect Hill in the west to Brickfield Hill in the east, ran rings around what little defensive capabilities were available to early farmers in the Sydney Basin, rarely even encountering prepared resistance.

In this section, a series of quotes from the journal of David Collins (1798) provide evidence of how conflicts escalated with the ‘troublesome natives’ from 1793:

The natives had lately become troublesome, particularly in lurking between the different settlements, and forcibly taking provisions and clothing from the convicts who were passing from one to another. One or two convicts having been wounded by them, some small armed parties were sent out to drive them away, and to throw a few shot among them, but with positive orders to be careful not to take a life. (Collins, 1798, p. 249)

Further verification that Aboriginal peoples had both survived the smallpox and were living traditional lives on Ngurra is evidenced in December 1793:

About the latter end of the month a large party of the natives attacked some settlers who were returning from Parramatta to Toongabbie, and took from them all the provisions which they had just received from the store. By flying immediately into the woods, they eluded all pursuit and search. They were of the Hunter’s or Woodman’s tribe, people who seldom came among us, and who consequently were little known. (Collins, 1798, p. 275)

In January 1794 “Between that settlement and Prospect Hill some settlers had been attacked by a party of armed natives and stripped of all their provisions” (Collins, 1798, p. 285). The following month the conflict continued:

The natives were again troublesome this month. Several accounts were sent down from Parramatta, of their having attacked, robbed and beaten some of the settlers’ wives who were repassing between their farms and Parramatta; and great quantities of corn continued to be stolen by them. One of these

women (married to Trace, a settler at the foot of Prospect Hill) was so severely wounded by a party who robbed and stripped her of some of her wearing apparel, that she lay for a long time dangerously ill at the hospital. (Collins, 1798, p. 292)

By May 1797, it was apparent the ‘civilising’ of Aboriginal people was still high on the British agenda, their ingratitude duly noted by David Collins (1802), in Volume 2 of his journals:

It was distressing to observe, that every endeavour to civilise these people proved fruitless. Although they lived among the inhabitants of the different settlements, were kindly treated, fed and often clothed, yet they were never found to possess the smallest degree of gratitude for such favours. (Collins 1802, p. 25)

6.7.1 The Battle of Parramatta

I include this incident as it is an important story of the resistance of Darug peoples. A comprehensive coverage is contained in the book *The Battle of Parramatta* written by Jonathon Lim (2016) who has researched primary sources such as the writings of H.W.H. Huntington who wrote the ‘*History of Parramatta and District*’ in the *Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate*, 1899-1900. He also quotes from several secondary sources. Some of the information in this section is taken from his book.

On 22 March 1797, approximately 100 Aboriginal men marched through the streets of colonial Parramatta, painted up for a battle with the white fellas. This “high noon” (Flynn, 1995, p. 7) confrontation is not widely known and I consider it a crusade for human rights. The spectacle was played out in front of convicts and settlers alike in the fledgling township. The Aboriginal men came down High (now known as

George) Street (Lim, 2016). They marched in rows like soldiers in “battle array” (Lim, 2016, p. 33).

Led by Pemulwuy, the warriors had been plundering farms outside of Parramatta.

Lim describes the violence that was prevalent in 1796:

Both Heaton and Huntington state that 1796 was an unusually violent year in the area...Through 1796, a further catalyst for revenge attacks appears to be sexual violence directed against Aboriginal women by whites on the Northern Boundary. (Lim, 2016, pp. 18-19)

The night before the Battle of Parramatta, a posse of armed settlers went into the bush to hunt the Aboriginal men, proof that Darug families were still living traditional lives on Ngurra in 1797:

During the pursuit under moonless skies of 21 March 1797, the posse encountered several (apparently unrelated) bands of Aborigines with women and children, whom they left unmolested. (Lim, 2016, p. 28)

The settlers and military followed Pemulwuy’s hunting party through the bush. Unable to capture him, they went back, exhausted, to the old Parramatta Barracks the next morning (Lim, 2016). At the same time Pemulwuy and his men amassed on the opposite side of the Parramatta River “with the usual flint-edged spears and ornamented shields, and were observed to be wearing red ochre and white pipeclay simultaneously on their bodies” (Lim, 2016, p. 31).

According to Lim (2016) the most likely place for the battle was near what is now the Robin Thomas Reserve. After marching down High Street, Pemulwuy and his

men were confronted by a small army of Redcoats and settlers. Pemulwuy spoke to the group in English: “Pemulwuy harangued the whites about the coercive measures taken by the settlers and soldiers to hunt them down as if they were wild animals” (Lim, 2016, p. 38). A fight took place which saw Pemulwuy critically injured: “Seven pieces of buckshot ripped into Pemulwuy, striking him in the head and torso” (Lim, 2016). Five of Pemulwuy’s men were killed while two Redcoats were wounded (Lim, 2016). Pemulwuy was hospitalised but escaped and continued his battle across Darug Ngurra until he was finally shot in 1802. His head was sent to Joseph Banks (Turbet, 2011).

After Pemulwuy’s beheading, the frontier war continued with Turbet (2001, p. 97) describing how “Hunter gave instruction that any Aborigine caught robbing a settler was to be hung in chains from a tree”. Collins (1802, p. 19), although not present at the fight at Parramatta, provided a description of the proceedings and described Pemulwuy as “a most active enemy to the settlers”. When reading through the primary sources Lim (2016) has included in his book, I uncovered further evidence that Aboriginal families were living and raising their families in a traditional way alongside the Europeans.

Reflective Poem

The Battle of Parramatta

*One hundred and more we gather today
To march the streets and have our say
Painted for battle, our spears we raise
We cross the river, our eyes ablaze*

*Taking no notice of the people we see
Lined along High Street, with their families
They point, they stare, with eyes open wide
As a hundred blackfellas march with pride*

Rosemary Norman-Hill – Parramatta June 2017

6.7.2 Reconciliation on Prospect Hill 1805

Due to an escalation of hostilities on Kitty's Country, the Warmuli sent a message to the Reverend Samuel Marsden on 1 May 1805 to organise a meeting as the first steps towards a reconciliation process (Flynn, 1995). The significance of this meeting was outlined in the *Sydney Gazette* (1805, p. 4) on 5 May 1805, under the heading *Postscript* (see Figure 6.5 in the Appendix).

According to Flynn (1995), when Marsden travelled to Warmul to meet the Aboriginal community, he was met by only three unnamed Aboriginal women. They told him the men who wished to speak with him were hidden in the woods. The women also stated they wanted a speedy end to the hostilities. Marsden outlined his terms and conditions to the women. According to the article in the *Sydney Gazette* (1805, 5 May) when the men finally met with Marsden, John Kennedy, a free settler from Prospect, became an intermediary in the discussions: "The Prospect/Parramatta people were effectively held responsible for the actions of individuals from more distant areas" (Flynn, 1995, p. 70). More details about missionary Samuel Marsden and the role he played during the establishment of the PNI are covered in Chapter Seven.

For the purpose of this research the importance of this occasion is two-fold: (a) it provides further evidence that the Warmuli were still occupying their traditional lands at Prospect at this time; and (b) it clearly indicates that Aboriginal men were continuing to be involved in warfare with the British.

In the same edition of the *Sydney Gazette* that contains the Postscript about the reconciliation on Prospect Hill, another piece under the heading ‘General Orders’ and relevant to this event, appeared on the same page (Blaxcell, 1805, p. 4):

General Orders

A Number of Natives, composed of the Families well known about Prospect and Parramatta, with some strangers from the Cow Pastures having put themselves under the protection of the Magistrate at Parramatta, and are sit down at the Brush between Prospect and Georges River, they are not to be molested in that situation, some of them having accompanied a party to apprehend the Murderers of the two Settlers and the two Stockmen.

By Command of His Excellency, G. Blaxcell, Acting Sec. Government House
Sydney, May 5, 1805.

Both newspaper articles demonstrate that the Warmuli peoples had continued to live on Ngurra. The article states that the families ‘were well known’ around Prospect and were not to be molested. The Warmuli wanted a peaceful existence and this article suggests the reconciliation process had the desired outcome. However, as revealed in section 6.8 below, the wars on Ngurra continued for many years.

There was a general misconception that there was little to no Aboriginal resistance to the colonisation of Australia (Woodroffe, 1993), due in part to comments made by the 1930s historian J.W. Hancock (Reynolds, 1989), that Aboriginal peoples were pathetically helpless when the Europeans arrived and mutely died. During violent clashes, Aboriginal people suffered. Men were killed, women and girls were raped, and children were kidnapped. Many taken by the Europeans to be slaves or exploited as cheap labour (Ramsland, 1986; Reynolds, 2001; Wilson, 1997). According to Attwood (2003), there were historians who continued to believe Australia was

colonised peacefully by both “civilised values and rule of law” (Attwood, 2003 p. 124).

6.8 Governor Macquarie and the frontier wars

6.8.1 Macquarie’s arrival and early days in the colony

On 1 January 1810 Lachlan Macquarie became the 5th Governor of New South Wales (Watson, 1916). Along with his second wife Elizabeth, he arrived in the remote colony on 28 December 1809 (Ritchie, 1986). To herald his arrival, on 31 December 1809, Darug clans gathered “from the Hawkesbury and many miles around to fight a regular battle in honour of the new Governor” (Huey, as cited in Smith, 1992, p. 72). Smith (1992) argues that although Macquarie had a genuine interest in Aboriginal peoples and wanted to cultivate their friendship, he also wished to quell hostilities against the white settlers.

In a speech at an official ceremony to announce his arrival in Sydney, Governor Macquarie acknowledged all those living in the colony. While he included Europeans and Aborigines, Macquarie only declared to be the protector “of the honest, sober and industrious inhabitant, whether Free, Settler or Convict” (Liston, 1992, p. 19). On 7 January 1810, the Sydney Gazette (1810, p. 3) wrote the following:

I need not, I hope, express my wish that the Natives of this Country, when they come in the Way in a peaceable Manner, may not be molested in their Persons or Property by any one; but that, on the contrary, they may always be treated with Kindness and Attention, so as to conciliate them as much as possible to our Government and Manners.

As with previous governors, Macquarie was ordered to “conciliate the affections of the Aborigines and to prescribe that British subjects live in amity and kindness with them” (Ritchie, 1986, p. 109-110). Describing his arrival as a “turning point in the political and social history of Australia”, Steven (1992, p. 48) quotes Macquarie’s reaction to the state of New South Wales:

Barely emerging from infantile imbecility...Agriculture in yet languishing State; commerce in its early dawn; Revenue unknown; threatened by famine; distracted by faction...the population in general depressed by poverty; no public credit or private confidence... (Macquarie as cited in Steven, 1992, p. 48)

Macquarie inherited a colony in crisis following Governor Bligh’s period in office and eventual demise. Macquarie’s description of Sydney shed light on his dilemma: “All was in a most ruinous state of decay” (as cited in Broadbent, 1992, p. 5). When he arrived in Parramatta, Governor Macquarie found the town in a dilapidated state. There were only two streets, one running east from old Government House (now George Street) to the old barracks built by Governor Phillip on what is now the corner of George, Purchase, Hassall, and Harris Streets (Jervis, 2014). The other street ran from the old prison building sited on the north side of Parramatta River, south to St John’s Church built on the southern settlement boundary, at that time without its towers (Jervis, 2014).

It would not be long before Macquarie set about changing the penal settlement from a gaol to a place fit for colonial society. Within a year he had established towns as far as Richmond, Windsor, and Wilberforce (Broadbent, 1992; Ellis, 1973), a necessary action to expand food production and progress the colony (Steven, 1992).

In 1814 Governor Macquarie appointed William Cox to forge a road over the Blue Mountains. Kitty's first husband Colebee was one of Cox's guides.³⁹

A letter sent from Macquarie to Earl Bathurst on 8 October 1814, provides evidence that the Darug were continuing to live traditional lifestyles within their clan groups and that traditional foods were still a major part of their diet:

Altho' [sic] prone like other Savages to great Indolence and Indifference as to their future means of Subsistence, Yet in General, are of free open and favorable Dispositions, honestly Inclined, and perfectly devoid of that designing Trick and Treachery, Which Characterize the Natives of New Zealand...The principal part of their Lives is Wasted in Wandering thro' [sic] their Native Woods, in Small Tribes of between 20 and 50, in Quest of the immediate Means of Subsistence, Making Opossums, Kangaroos, Grub Worms, and such Animals and Fish, as the Country and its Coasts Afford, the Objects of their Fare. (Watson, 1916, p. 368)

At the end of that year Macquarie would announce the formation of the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI), discussed in detail in the next chapter.

6.8.2 Macquarie's massacre at Appin

On 17 April 1816, a massacre of Aboriginal peoples occurred at Appin, during one of the punitive military expeditions ordered by Macquarie and sent out on 10 April. Defenceless men, women and children were slaughtered during the night while they slept. Macquarie's report of the incident receives a mention in the *Sydney Gazette* on 11 May 1816, the same day as his 'Proclamation' (see 6.8.3 below):

The three Separate Military Detachments belonging to the 46th. Regt., Commanded severally by Captains Schaw, Wallis, and Lieutenant Dawe, sent out on the 10th. of last month to scour the interior of the Country and drive the Natives from the Settlements of the White Inhabitants, returned this Day to Head Quarters, after having executed the several parts of their Instructions entirely to my satisfaction; having inflicted exemplary Punishments on the

³⁹ Journal William Cox, 1814, MS C708-2/CY Reel 1022:25 ML

hostile Natives, and brought in a few of them as Prisoners to Sydney.
(Campbell, 1816, 4 May, p. 1)

Two of the prisoners referred to by Macquarie were children. They were taken to the Parramatta Native Institution however their stay there was not long, as they had absconded by 17 August 1816 (Brook & Kohen, 1991).

6.8.3 Macquarie's 1816 'Proclamation'

Frustrated by the years of war across Ngurra, Macquarie issued a written warning through the *Sydney Gazette* in two publications in the form a 'Proclamation' to Aboriginal peoples on 4 and 11 May 1816 (see Figure 6.6 and Figure 6.7 in Appendix 6) declaring rules and regulations that in effect took away Aboriginal peoples' rights to live in their family groups, defend their kin or hold customary practices:

Whereas the ABORIGINES, or Black NATIVES of this Colony, have for the last three Years manifested a strong and sanguinary Spirit of ANIMOSITY and HOSTILITY towards the BRITISH INHABITANTS residing in the Interior and remote Parts of the Territory, and been recently guilty of most atrocious and wanton Barbarities, in indiscriminately murdering Men, Women, and Children, from whom they had received no Offence or Provocation; and also in killing the Cattle, and plundering and destroying the Grain and Property of every Description, belonging to the Settlers and Persons residing on and near the Banks of the rivers Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury, and South Creek, to the great Terror, Loss, and Distress of the suffering inhabitants. (*Sydney Gazette*, 1816, 4 May, p. 1)

I maintain that this provides evidence that the wars across Ngurra were continuing, along with ongoing British settlement on Darug lands. While the full Proclamation is provided in Appendix 6, certain parts relevant to revealing Darug history are included here. It declares how Governor Macquarie:

...earnestly exhorts, and thus publicly invites the Natives to relinquish their wandering, idle, and predatory Habits of Life, and to become industrious and useful Members of a Community where they will find Protection and Encouragement... yet they have persevered to the present Day in committing

every species of sanguinary Outrage and Depredation on the Lives and Properties of the British Inhabitants...His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR was lately reluctantly compelled to resort to coercive and strong Measures to prevent the Recurrence of such Crimes and Barbarities, and to bring to condign Punishment such of the Perpetrators of them as could be found and apprehended...with this View sent out a Military Force to drive away these hostile Tribes from the British Settlements. (*Sydney Gazette*, 1816, 4 May, p. 1)

Governor Macquarie then outlines rules and regulations for Aboriginal peoples to abide by which were to be “rigidly enforced and carried into Effect by all Magistrates and Peace Officers in the Colony of New South Wales”:

First, —That from and after the Fourth Day of June next ensuing, that being the Birth-Day of His MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY KING GEORGE the THIRD, no Black Native, or Body of Black Natives shall ever appear at or within one Mile of any Town, Village, or Farm, occupied by, or belonging to any British Subject, armed with any warlike or offensive Weapon or Weapons of any Description, such as Spears, Clubs, or Waddies, on Pain of being deemed and considered in a State of Aggression and Hostility, and treated accordingly.

Second, —That no Number of Natives, exceeding in the Whole Six Persons, being entirely un-armed, shall ever come to lurk or loiter about any Farm in the Interior, on Pain of being considered Enemies, and treated accordingly.

Third, —That the Practice hitherto observed amongst the Native Tribes, of assembling in large Bodies or Parties armed, and of fighting and attacking each other on the Plea of inflicting Punishments on Transgressors of their own Customs and Manners, at or near Sydney, and other principal Towns and Settlements in the Colony, shall be henceforth wholly abolished, as a barbarous Custom, repugnant to the British Laws, and strongly militating against the Civilization of the Natives, which is an Object of the highest Importance to effect, if possible. (*Sydney Gazette*, 1816, 4 May, p. 1)

Gone were the clan and tribal affiliations, gone were the traditional ceremonies and rituals, gone was Indigenous Knowledge passed down the generational line. As the article implies all were now forbidden to be practised, classed as a ‘*barbarous Custom*’ and ‘*repugnant to the British Laws*’. Within twenty-eight years of British settlement on Ngurra, the complete destruction of Aboriginal ontology, epistemology and axiology was enacted. When I read this piece, I realised just how

far the Colonial Government was prepared to go to stop the actions of Aboriginal peoples.

Then found towards the end of the article, Governor Macquarie had asked local Aboriginal families to give their children to be educated at the Parramatta Native Institution. He also announced in the *Sydney Gazette* a “General Friendly Meeting of all the Natives residing in the Colony” (Campbell, 1816, p. 1). Macquarie intended to reward any Aboriginal person who had “given Proofs of Industry, and an Inclination to be civilised” (Sydney Gazette, 1816, p. 1). One wonders how Macquarie could call a ‘*general, friendly meeting*’ for Aboriginal peoples, after he instigated tough new measures to curb the hostilities, for example at Appin, described in 6.8.2 above. The civilisation of the ‘*savage*’ Darug Nation had thus begun in earnest.

6.8.4 Macquarie’s legacy

By the time Governor Macquarie left the colony, he had granted 570,045 acres of Darug land to free and ex-convicts, of which 340,000 remained as unexecuted grants (Ritchie, 1986). The average block granted to free settlers amounted to 600 acres. Although he authorised a native school with an intent to permanently remove Aboriginal children from their families (see Chapter Seven), many historians view Governor Macquarie in a positive light. Scotsman and Presbyterian clergyman John Dunmore Lang, (Lang, 1875) in his book *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales*, refers to Governor Macquarie as being “the father of the colony”. Lang (1875) describes the colonial settler period as “the commence of prosperity and

the rising greatness of New South Wales” (Lang, 1875, p. 132), while Eddy (1992, p. 35) claims Governor Macquarie as the “father of New South Wales” and a “Military Autocrat”, suggesting Macquarie was responsible for both the permanent European settlement on the continent and the name of Australia.

6.9 Conclusion

The chapter begins with the coming of the First Fleet and concludes with Macquarie’s response to the ongoing wars between the Darug and the Europeans on Ngurra. I have found no evidence to suggest the Aboriginal clans around Sydney were decimated from the smallpox outbreak. Quite the contrary, traditional life continued across Ngurra and evidence from journals suggests ceremonies were conducted around the settlement for years afterwards, such as this one in September 1794:

Some severe contests among the natives took place during this month in and about the town of Sydney. In fact, we still knew very little of the manners and customs of these people, notwithstanding the advantage we possessed in the constant residence of many of them among us; and the desire that they showed of cultivating our friendship. (Collins 1798, p. 326)

My examination of the smallpox epidemic and the veiled messages in the First Fleet journals suggest further research is necessary to establish whether smallpox was indeed introduced as a deliberate act of biological warfare, as it had been in the Americas. The journal entries also suggest many Darug families survived the outbreak of smallpox and continued to live traditional lives on Ngurra (Bladen & Britton, 1892; Collins, 1798), reinforced by evidence from the *Sydney Gazette* (1805,

5 May) that Warmuli men and women engaged in negotiations with Missionary Samuel Marsden to bring peace to the area.

The literature on frontier wars and massacres, acknowledges Lyndall Ryan as the seminal scholar in this field. Her work detailing the history in Tasmania instigated the broadening and revision of Australian history. Dr Ryan challenged the dominant orthodoxy of historical narrative about Australian settlement and its relationships with Aboriginal peoples. The research in this thesis adds to the storying, as from a Darug perspective, we did not cede sovereignty with the coming of the First Fleet: Darug Ngurra was not ‘settled’, it was taken by force.

Chapter 7: The rise and fall of the Parramatta Native Institution



7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter concluded with the continuing wars on Darug Ngurra and Lachlan Macquarie's response. This chapter begins with the coming of Christianity, of missionaries and evangelicals who brought with them a new belief system in stark

contrast to the world of the first Australians. The artwork reflects the changes in the lives of Aboriginal peoples over this period: the white cross on the palm represents the missionaries who came with the belief that 'civilising' Aboriginal children was in their best interest. The white dots around the outside of the hand are symbolic of white man, white philosophy, and white control, as the Colonial Government changes from naval to military rule in 1810, which brought Governor Lachlan Macquarie to Parramatta.

The half-circle symbols surrounding the cross represent Aboriginal families attending a public conference with Governor Macquarie in the marketplace at Parramatta on 28 December 1814. They then turn their backs on the new ways (facing backwards), once they learn they would lose their children to the system. The white lines leading from the cross reflect the disorientation of the children who were removed from their cultural mores and indoctrinated into Christianity. The white dots around the cross reflect spiritual unwellness arising from loss of identity, loss of family, community, and culture. The orange and red lines down the fingers represent Aboriginal families trying to keep culture safe.

In this chapter I examine the relationship between Missionary William Shelley and Governor Lachlan Macquarie. as it was through their collaboration that the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI), the first native residential school in Australia, was established in 1814. Along with the PNI came western education and induction into the European way of life for Kitty and the other Aboriginal students. The PNI became the foundation for all native institutions that developed across Australia and represents the first Aboriginal child removal event in Australia (Norman-Hill, 2020). In this chapter I argue that Kitty and the Aboriginal children placed at the PNI should be considered the first of the ‘Stolen Generations’.

Again, analysis of both primary and secondary sources exposes the motives and attitudes of the missionaries and Colonial Government. Through an Aboriginal lens, this chapter demonstrates how Kitty and the students at the PNI were separated from family, community and culture and indoctrinated into the European way of life.

7.2 Enter the evangelising missionaries

I look upon all the world as my parish, - thus far, I mean, that whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right and my bounden duty to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation. (John Wesley, as cited in Colwell, 1904, p. 10)

These words come from John Wesley (1703-91), the leader of the Methodist movement that flourished within the Church of England early in the eighteenth century.⁴⁰ In Lake’s (2008, p. 35) view “evangelicalism had a close but complex relationship with Anglicanism”, which provided “a home to the emerging

⁴⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Wesley

movement”, while benefiting from its growth. Defining evangelicalism as a religious movement “of momentous significance to Britain and its empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth century”, Lake (2010, p. 57) suggests missionaries were committed to the improvement of people’s morals while guiding them towards salvation. This evangelical Protestant humanitarianism was designed to eradicate savage, Indigenous cultures, in order to save the souls of the ‘unenlightened natives’ (Barry, 2008; Brook & Kohen, 1991; Cruickshank, 2008; Gladwin, 2012; O’Brien, 2008b).

Within a decade of the First Fleet arriving in Sydney Cove formal missionary societies were established in Britain: the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1795, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (WMMS) in 1813 (Lake, 2010; Mitchell, 2011). The missionaries believed that converting the world was their entitlement, “their possession of it ordained by their God” (Pascoe, 2014, p. 13). They came to the new colony with a benevolent intent of making improvements in “physical, social and moral terms” (Lake, 2008, p. 37) and their aim was to “define the culture of colonial Protestantism and colonial society more broadly”. The missionaries also saw value in taking Aboriginal children into their homes. The smaller ones were inculcated with European beliefs, the older ones trained as servants:

As European exploration increased around the globe, the colonisation of Indigenous peoples varied considerably in the ‘new’ territories. In their treatment of Indigenous children, colonists often drew on established models of child ‘rescue’ and labour, adapting these to local needs and circumstances, and reflecting race attitudes of the time. (Kidd, 2002, p.148)

The establishment of the penal colony at Sydney Cove and word that there were natives in need of saving, brought many salvationists to the shores of Australia. Gascoigne (2002, p. 19) argues “...the society that gave birth to the struggling colony of New South Wales was one where long centuries of Christian history meant that religion permeated it’s every aspect”. This is evidenced by the prominence of Anglican clergy and evangelical missionaries in records of Australia’s colonial history (Barry, 2008; Brook & Kohen, 1991; Cruickshank, 2008; Gladwin, 2012; Lake, 2008, 2010; Mitchell, 2001; O’Brien, 2008a, 2008b).

The missionaries came not knowing the peoples of the place, the Darug, had complex social and belief systems that had sustained them for thousands of years. Nor, I suggest, did they want to know. The following sections describe key missionaries and their influence leading up to the establishment of the PNI.

7.2.1 The Reverend Richard Johnson

Sixteen months after the First Fleet arrived, Surgeon Dr White and the Reverend Johnson became the first Europeans in Australian history to attempt to civilise, Christianise and domesticate Aboriginal children. Johnson was recruited by Anglican evangelicals as spiritual leader for those condemned to life in the new penal colony (Lake, 2008). With a sense of duty to God and belief in saving the souls of the convicts, he sought “their reformation and redemption” (Lake, 2008, p. 46). Over the twelve years he lived in the colony, Johnson became an adept farmer, taking land from Aboriginal peoples and their children into his home (Fitzhardinge, 1979).

In 1789 during the smallpox epidemic, two groups of Aboriginal peoples were brought into the settlement. According to First Fleet journals from Tench (1793) and Collins (1798), each group had one surviving child:

Of the native boy and girl who had been brought up in the last month, on their recovery from the smallpox, the latter was taken to live with the clergyman's wife, and the boy with Mr. White, the surgeon, to whom, for his attention during the cure, he seemed to be much attached. (Collins, 1798, p. 54)

The Aboriginal girl was brought in with a man sick with the smallpox. Thought to be her brother by Tench (1793), Captain Hunter believed the man to be her father (Hunter et al., 1792). After he died, the girl was taken in by Johnson (Fletcher, 1989). The first-hand account by Tench (1793, p. 148) describes how “the girl recovered and was received as an inmate, with great kindness, in the family of Mrs Johnson, the clergyman's wife”. He also outlined the difficulty in communicating with the girl: “Her name was Bòo-rong; but from our mistake of pronunciation she acquired that of Ab-ar-òo by which she was generally known” (Tench, 1793, p. 148). As an ‘inmate’ in the home of the Johnson family, Bòo-rong could have been considered a foster child, or as Haskins (2012, p. 260-261) points out, an “adopted waif,” under the guidance of the British clergy.

Gunston (as cited in Haskins, 2012) however, claims Bòo-rong became part of a domestic experiment, considered the earliest example of Europeans taking on the task of Christianising and ‘civilising’ Aboriginal children. Evidence to support this argument also comes from the writings of Phillip Gidley King in December 1790, when he described Bòo-rong, as Johnson's household servant (Bladen & Britton, 1892). The benefit to the English couple, however, was two-fold: not only could

Bòo-rong assist a pregnant Mary Johnson, who had lost a male child at birth late in 1788 (Haskins, 2012), it also allowed Johnson the opportunity to save her soul:

In a letter dated 9 April 1790, the colony's chaplain, Reverend Richard Johnson, mentioned that he had: '...a native girl under my care. Have had her now about 11 months... Have taken some pains with Abaroo (about 15 years old) to instruct her in reading & have no reason to complain of her improvement. She can likewise speak a little English & is useful in several things about our little Hutt [sic]. Have taught her the Lord's Prayer & C., and as she comes better to understand me, endeavour to instruct her respecting a Supreme Being, &c'. (van Toorn, 2006, p. 24)

According to Smith (2001), it appears the Reverend Johnson may not have done so well in the Christianising stakes. By March 1792, Johnson had two Aboriginal girls in his household, whom he described as "ignorant and benighted heathens" (Smith, 2001, p. 140). One of those girls may have been Bòo-rong. According to Lake (2008) and Willey (1979), the girl only stayed in the settlement for eighteen months before returning to the bush.

The young boy who survived the smallpox epidemic was present when his elderly relative died. In describing the moments before death Tench (1793) writes:

and with dying eyes, seemed to recommend him to our humanity and protection. Nanbaree was adopted by Mr. White, surgeon-general of the settlement, and became henceforth one of his family. (Tench, 1793, p. 148)

It is interesting to note the language in these two different descriptions by Tench (1793): the boy Nanbaree was *adopted* by Dr White as one of his family, yet Bòo-rong became an *inmate* at the home of the Johnsons, indicating a difference in roles. Given the age difference, it could imply that Bòo-rong was to take up domestic duties and was not in need of care.

In time Nanbaree took the name of Andrew Sneap Hammond Douglas White and, according to information in the Sydney Gazette on 8 September 1821, he died at the age of 37 years. Nanbaree had become a seaman on both the *Reliance*, and then the *Investigator*, where he sailed with Matthew Flinders:

Upon his return, however, he betook himself to his native wilds which were mostly in the vicinity of Kissing Point. From the woods he only occasionally emerged, for a number of years, in order to return with renewed avidity and satisfaction. (*Sydney Gazette*, 1821, 8 September, p. 3)⁴¹

After his death in 1821, Nanbaree was buried in the same grave as renowned Aboriginal Elder Bennelong and his wife, who both died in 1813.

7.2.2 The Reverend Samuel Marsden

The Reverend Samuel Marsden was the second Anglican cleric to arrive in the colony in 1794. When Johnson went back to England in 1800, Marsden became the sole person in charge of the spiritual needs of the entire colony. This position required him to travel from Sydney, west to Parramatta and up to the Hawkesbury (Marsden, 1913). According to Woolmington (1986) the Secretaries of the London Missionary Society advised Marsden to work towards the civilisation of the heathen Aboriginal people “and thus prepare them for the reception of moral and religious instruction” (Woolmington, 1986, p. 93).

Examining the book, *The Life and Work of Samuel Marsden* written by non-relative J.B. Marsden (1913), reveals the relationships, attitudes, and beliefs of the Reverend Marsden. In his *Appreciation* at the beginning of the book, Archdeacon Philip Walsh describes Marsden as coming from “good Yorkshire stuff” and the book as “the history of a man, patiently, laboriously and conscientiously doing his duty”

⁴¹ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/493132>

(Marsden, 1913, p. vii). Marsden is also regarded as the founder of Christian activities in New Zealand (Standfield, 2002). Establishing a Seminary in Parramatta, Marsden encouraged young Maori men to come to the colony to learn agriculture (Kamira, 2016). Standfield (2002) suggests Marsden also intended to civilise and Christianise the Maori men while at the seminary.

Samuel Marsden is a controversial person in Australian history. Although a man of the cloth, Yarwood (1986, p. 7) describes him as a “hard, dominant, on occasions cruel, outgoing, forthright type of man”. Marsden was however supportive of establishing a place for destitute children, as long as they were “brought up in the principles of morality and industry” (Ramsland, 2011, p. 92). With the help of the Colonial Government, Marsden established “two schools for orphans” (Marsden, 1913, p. 60). Marsden also gained the nickname of the ‘flogging parson’ from the years he spent as a Magistrate (Gladwin, 2012) because of the severe punishment he dealt out to those who broke the law (Carr, 2004; Gladwin, 2012; Hughes, 1987). Allen (2017) however argues this reputation was undeserved as, while Marsden did indeed order floggings as punishment, other Magistrates were more severe.

On the question of Aboriginal peoples, Marsden (1913) believes the Reverend Marsden offered his advice on the subject with “respect” and “honest courage”, as the “wrongs of the aborigines their heathenism and their savage state, with all its attendant miseries and hopeless prospects in eternity, sank into his heart” (Marsden, 1913, p. 21). The “honest courage” of the Reverend Marsden, found the “heathen” Aboriginal peoples, who lived in their “savage state” were incapable of being

civilised. This point of view created a rift between the clergy and Governor Lachlan Macquarie, as the Colonial Government had an intent to civilise, Christianise, assimilate, and grant citizenship to Aboriginal peoples (Armitage, 1995).

That Marsden had a distrust of Aboriginal peoples is corroborated by Harris (1994), writing that the Minister believed them to be the most degraded of humanity. Keary (2009, p. 120) confirms this view, arguing “colonial clergy, particularly the senior Anglican minister, Samuel Marsden, viewed Aboriginal peoples’ incapable of ‘civilisation’ and without hope of salvation”. Sydney historians Brook and Kohen (1991), and Willey (1979) concur that Marsden did not approve of the way Aboriginal people lived nor did he feel they could be civilised. This was due in part to his belief they were “itinerant and lazy” (Lake, 2010, p. 57), as they refused to work on the surrounding farms.

In the fledgling colony, farming was a critical part of the economy and necessary for the survival of the newcomers. Marsden’s view was “the development of agriculture was God’s plan for mankind” (Lake, 2010, p. 57). The fact that Aboriginal peoples did not appear to have domesticated animals or plants to cultivate (Lake, 2010) contributed to Marsden’s view that Aboriginal people were failing to “progress towards civilisation” (Scrimgeour, 2006, p. 5). One hundred years later, J.B. Marsden (1913) inferred that Aboriginal peoples were disappearing under the weight of colonialism:

They were already wasting away in the presence of the European colonists like snow before the sun. Their restless and wandering habits seemed to present insuperable difficulties, whether the objects were to convert or merely to protect them. (Marsden, 1913, p. 157)

From an Aboriginal perspective, Aboriginal peoples needed neither protection nor conversion to Christianity. They continued to live traditional lives as they moved across Ngurra with their ‘restless and wandering habits’. Although living in another century, J.B. Marsden, Samuel Marsden’s admiring author, had similar values, attitudes, and beliefs regarding Aboriginal peoples.

Within a short time of arriving in Parramatta in 1794, Marsden began taking Aboriginal boys into his home. Given English names, the three were known as Tristan, Samuel Christian and Harry (Lake, 2008; Lake 2010; van Toorn, 2006). One was taken from his mother’s breast after the parents were shot at Toongabbie (Lake, 2010). Writing to Commissioner Bigge in 1820, Marsden recounts:

I FOUND SOMETHING PECULIAR in their [the natives’] constitutions and affections. I think it hardly possible to attach them to our habits, customs, and friendships....One of my boys was taken from his mother’s breast and brought up with my children for 12 years – but he still retained has [sic] instinctive taste from native foods... (Marsden as cited in Fletcher, 1989, p. 20)

Marsden also wrote of his counterpart Reverend Johnson having taken in an Aboriginal girl: “One of my colleagues, the Rev. R. Johnstone [sic], took two native girls into his house, for the express purpose of educating them; but in a short time they went into the woods again” (Marsden, as cited in Marsden, 1913, p. 63). Later he gave a more revealing account of his Aboriginal child to Anglican Archdeacon T. H. Scott:

He learned to speak our language and while he was with me behaved well. I entertained great hopes that from conversing with him upon the comforts of Civil Life, the nature of our Religion, and such subjects as I thought were best calculated to enlarge his mind, he might become civilized. But at length he joined the Natives in the Woods ... and he never seems to think he lost anything by living in the woods. (Lake, 2010, p. 57.12)

Time after time during my research I found evidence that many young Aboriginal people who lived with Europeans eventually returned to the bush.

As head of the Anglican Church Marsden came into conflict with Governor Macquarie, who at the time (1814) was battling the frontier conflicts (Ellis, 1978; Kaskens, 2009), described in Chapter Six. Marsden had upset Macquarie by refusing to participate on the Board of Trustees of the Parramatta Turnpike alongside two ex-convicts, Lord and Thompson. The two men had become emancipist magistrates during the Macquarie era, after arriving in the colony as convicts (Gladwin, 2012). In Marsden's defence, Gladwin (2012) suggests that Marsden's refusal was not due to the men being ex-convicts, but on the grounds of "the notorious immorality of Lord's and Thompson's private lives" (Gladwin, 2012, p. 391). At the time both men were living with mistresses; with Lord also being accused of "seducing two of the girls from the orphan school at Sydney of which Marsden had oversight" (Gladwin, 2012, p. 391). In a letter sent by Governor Macquarie to Earl Bathurst on 24 May 1814, the dispute between the two men is declared:

I have now to inform your Lordship that Mr. Marsden, the Principal Chaplain (who is permitted as a matter of Indulgence to reside and perform Clerical Duties at Parramatta, instead of at Head Quarters) declined reading this General Order for the Second time, on the grounds that it was Irregular and Improper to read Such Orders in Churches...Considering his conduct highly improper and disrespectful, I have cautioned Mr. Marsden to beware of resisting my Commands in this way for the future, as he shall answer for it at his peril. (Watson, 1916, p. 256)

Despite this conflict, Governor Macquarie still considered it necessary to consult Marsden about setting up a native school, as an experiment towards the civilisation of the native population, and urged him to promote the school (Ritchie, 1971).

7.2.3 Missionary William Shelley

In 1800 Missionary William Shelley of the London Missionary Society arrived in Sydney Cove. Describing him as an adventurer and a humanitarian, Brook and Kohen (1991) write how Shelley travelled to Tonga on the *Duff* in 1799, escaping “with his life” (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 55) when other missionaries in his party were murdered. Returning to Sydney, Shelley married, and eventually settled in Parramatta. Unlike Marsden, William Shelley was a visionary. He developed a religious zeal to civilise native children and sent several letters to Governor Macquarie outlining his ideas (Watson, 1916), arguing that when they were away from their parents, Aboriginal children would be easier to control (Barry, 2008). His views proved to be the most influential in persuading Governor Macquarie to establish a native school, later to become the Parramatta Native Institution.

Shelley began his quest to establish a native school early in 1814. He endeavoured to plant the seed in Governor Macquarie’s mind that Aboriginal children could be civilised, Christianised, and taught useful skills. Through his letters to Macquarie he expressed how Aboriginal people, although having lived amongst Europeans, had returned to their ‘former habits’. The following is an extract from the first letter Shelley sent to Governor Macquarie on 8 April 1814 (see Figure 7.1 in Appendix 7 for the full text of this letter):

The civilisation of the Natives of this Continent, particularly those contiguous to these Settlements, having frequently occupied my thoughts, I take the liberty of laying before your Excellency a few ideas on that important subject. Notwithstanding the prejudices that many have against the probability of success in Civilising the Natives of New South Wales, yet, if we consider that human nature is the same in every Clime, allowing for the difference of manners and customs and variety of circumstances in which they are placed, I think this opinion supported neither by theory or experience. I know it has been alledged [sic] that men have been Carried to England, lived in civilized Society during a long space, and on their return relapsed into their former

habits and Society; but it must be acknowledged that they learned no means of supporting themselves in their improved habits, nor Could they make themselves respectable in their new Society. (Watson, 1916, p. 370)

In Shelley's view the natives' return to the bush was due to their not being able to support themselves or be accepted into colonial society. The word 'prejudices' in association with 'many', has Shelley affirming how Europeans were narrow-minded in their view that Aboriginal peoples could be civilised. Rather than needing to support themselves, the quote confirms Aboriginal men who had lived in civilised society preferred a traditional lifestyle among their kin.

Below is another extract from the letter of 8 April 1814 (see Figure 7.1 in Appendix 7) outlining what Shelley believed was the best way forward for civilising Aboriginal children, including marriage arrangements, evidence that Aboriginal children were to be managed by Europeans even into adulthood:

In order to their improvement and civilisation, let there be a public establishment containing one set of apartments for boys, and another separate set for girls; let them be taught reading, writing, and religious education, the boys manual labour, agriculture, mechanic arts, etc., the girls, sewing, knitting, spinning, or such useful employments as are suitable for them; let them be married at a suitable age, and settled with steady religious persons over them from the very beginning to see that they continued their employment, so as to be able to support their families, and who had skill sufficient to encourage and stimulate them by proper motives to exertion. (Watson, 1916, p. 371)

As he had lived in the colony for several years, William Shelley would have known that Aboriginal young people often went back to the bush, after spending years living in European households. His plan to have the students at the PNI marry each other

may have been influenced by a newspaper article where a young Aboriginal sailor was questioned about returning to the bush after arriving back in port:

Will you said he, keep me company: or will any white man or woman keep me company? White women will marry white men, but no white woman will have me. Then why wish me to keep away from my own people, when no other will look upon me? (Riley, 1814, 1 January, p. 2)

In response the author wrote: “But how did they live among us? Not as equals, but as creatures not possibly to be associated with...we despise their manners, customs, and general habits, because we prefer our own...” (Riley, 1814, 1 January, p. 2). This article was written at a time when adventurous young Aboriginal men were sailing across the seas or guiding expeditions of Europeans into the interior. Nevertheless, the article confirms Aboriginal peoples were not accepted into colonial society. Shelley did not understand their relational connection to Ngurra and to their kin group. To prevent the students returning to their native ways upon leaving the PNI, Shelley hoped to create a civilised class of Aboriginal peoples, based on the British way of life.

In the eyes of the missionaries, Aboriginal peoples were savages. Shelley’s view is evidenced in another letter to Macquarie written on the 20 August 1814, where he states “I am fully persuaded, that, under the blessing of God, these Natives are as capable of receiving instructions as any other untutored Savages” (Watson, 1916, p. 371). While Read (2006, p. 32) explains that William Shelley was determined to enlighten Aboriginal children so they could take their place in colonial society, he goes on to state that Shelley did not genuinely believe Aboriginal people were equal to Europeans.

In that same letter of 20 August 1814, Shelley outlines his plan for the PNI, listing nine rules and regulations along with an estimate of expenses per annum (Watson, 1916). To justify his argument for the PNI, Shelley also includes details in this second letter of how he had conferred with “different tribes” (Watson, 1916, p. 371) on 8 August 1814. Shelley also states how he was visited by a “great number of natives” (Watson, 1916, p. 371) who wanted their off-spring taught in the same way as European children; as a result three boys and one girl remained in his care and “appear very happy” (Watson, 1916, p. 371). Shelley believed behaviours “could be refashioned by altering their environment” (Fletcher, 1989, p. 19) and had a vision to create a special ‘civilised’ class of Aborigine. Through influencing the children in the PNI to marry, Shelley envisaged they would provide a level of support to each other, independent of their tribal connections (Brook & Kohen, 1991; Read, 2006).

Missionary William Shelley was to become the first Superintendent of the PNI.

7.2.4 The Reverend Robert Cartwright

An Evangelical Anglican, Cartwright arrived in the colony in 1810, the same year Lachlan Macquarie became Governor. Coming from Yorkshire in England (Gladwin, 2010), he was described by Macquarie as a “most exemplary and benevolent man” (Watson, 1917, p. 262). According to Gladwin (2010), Cartwright became an early press advocate for Aboriginal people. Very soon after his arrival, Cartwright wasted no time, writing to the Printer of the *Sydney Gazette* on 7 July 1810, under his pen name Philanthropus:

Sir, the great Creator having made of *One Blood* all Nations of the Earth, and taking for granted that the Natives of New South Wales are capable of instruction and civilization, I should be extremely obliged by the favor of an

Answer to the following Query, either publicly through your Paper, or privately to be left at the Gazette Office.

Query – “What plan can be adopted, what means used, or what steps taken, whereby we may most speedily and effectually civilize and evangelize the Natives of New South Wales, local circumstances considered.

I am Sir your obedience servant.

Philanthropus. (1810, 7 July, p. 2)

Over a twenty-year period, Cartwright continued to write to the *Sydney Gazette* under the pseudonym *Philanthropos* (Gladwin, 2010), or *Philanthropicus* (O’Brien, 2008a), which Gladwin argues attributed to the “Gazette’s sympathetic editorial line towards Aborigines” (Gladwin, 2010, p. 56). O’Brien (2008a) contends that Cartwright had more of a conscience than Governor Macquarie about the effects of colonisation on Aboriginal peoples, describing them as “the stable proprietors of this land” (O’Brien, 2008a, p. 160).

Information in letters Cartwright wrote to Macquarie (Watson, 1917), highlights Cartwright’s opinions about the management of the native school and his ideas on how to ‘civilise’ Aboriginal peoples. Through these letters, a picture emerges of life at the PNI for Kitty and the other children. While supporting Macquarie’s endeavour in setting up the PNI, Cartwright outlines his concerns for the welfare of the Aboriginal students. The writings also reveal how Cartwright did not support either the PNI Committee or Elizabeth Shelley.

Cartwright, much like William Shelley, proposed the establishment of a native settlement, albeit further into the country, where Aboriginal children could continue

to be ‘civilised’ in the same manner as they were at the PNI. Cartwright also suggested that land should be set aside at this location for the settlement of the different Aboriginal ‘tribes’ (Watson, 1917), proposing the native village be called “Macquarie City” (Ellis, 1978, p. 358). According to his letters (Watson, 1917) his motive to remove the children from Parramatta was due to the evil influences of Europeans. Like William Shelley, Cartwright requested he be the Manager of the new establishment. Later in this chapter quotes from Cartwright’s letters explain his reasoning.

It must be remembered that across the colonised world missionaries had had two hundred years of experience with native residential schools, particularly in Canada and America (Cassidy, 2009), before coming to Australia. Missionaries knew the most efficacious way to civilise the natives was to remove the children then take them to boarding schools or orphanages (Cruickshank, 2008; Jacobs, 2006); a necessary action in order to shape the next generation (Armitage, 1995). As Woolmington (1986, p. 90) puts it:

The ‘civilising’ process consisted partly of teaching the sorts of skills which would enable indigenous peoples to fit into European society, but it also involved weaning them from their own customs and cultures.

While conducting research on the missionaries, evidence has been found to verify the Darug continued to live traditional lives on Ngurra well into the nineteenth century (Colwell, 1904, pp. 172-184; Strachan, 1863, pp.145-154). The next section outlines Governor Macquarie’s move to establish a native school at Parramatta, strongly influenced by the worldviews, values and beliefs of the evangelising missionaries, particularly William Shelley.

7.3 Establishment of the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI)

When William Shelley first suggested that Macquarie establish a native school, the Governor was struggling to keep peace in the colony. Although seeing value in such a school, Macquarie was more concerned with the confronting problems of drought (Karskens, 2009) and frontier violence across the region, as discussed in Chapter Six. As O'Brien (2008a, p. 159) comments, "the years 1814-1816 saw a resurgence of violence between settlers and Aborigines on the Cumberland Plains which Macquarie felt impelled to put down".

On 8 October 1814, Macquarie wrote to Earl Bathurst, admitting to the provocation and aggression on the part of the settlers, while expressing his belief that the vindictiveness and vengefulness of Aboriginal peoples could be quelled through kindness and encouragement and that Aboriginal peoples would be appreciative of these learnings towards being 'civilised':

From Whatever Motives or Causes Some of these Natives have been Induced to Commit Acts of hostility Against the Settlers, it seems to bear a reasonable Inference that Provocation or Aggression from some Undiscovered or Unacknowledged Cause may have given Rise to them, Under an Impression of temporary Revenge; but when once Induced to forego this Vindictive Spirit, which Kindness and Encouragement and Social Intercourses together Would Sooner or later bring about, their next Step towards Civilization would be rapid and easy, and they Would learn to Appreciate that Degree of Importance to Which they had thus progressively Attained. From Considerations of this kind, Which in a great Measure have been Guided and Strengthened by My own personal Knowledge and Observation, I have determined to make an Experiment towards the Civilization of these Natives, which is the Object I have in View by this Address, and trust it Will Meet Your Lordship's benevolent Patronage. (Watson, 1916, p. 369)

As I argue elsewhere, "by taking local Aboriginal children into this residential school he [Macquarie] had a chip with which to bargain" (Norman-Hill, 2020, p. 372) (See

Figure 10.2. in Appendix 9 for full transcript of this book chapter). Macquarie goes on to make this specific proposal in this letter to Earl Bathurst:

As a preliminary Measure I intend to establish an Institution at Parramatta, first on a Small Scale under the direction of a Mr William Shelley (formally a Missionary), Whom I shall Appoint as Superintendent for Educating, and bringing up to Habits of Industry and Decency, the Youth of both Sexes, Commencing at the outset with Six Boys and Six Girls. Mr Shelley Appears to be Well Qualified for such an Undertaking, is a Moral, Well Meaning Man, and has Manifested great Zeal and Promptitude On this Occasion. Insomuch that I Consider him a very fit Person to be Entrusted for such a Purpose. (Watson, 1916, p. 369)

The year before the PNI was proposed, arrangements were made to move the existing Female Orphan School (FOS) from its location in Sydney to a much larger building on the banks of the Parramatta River (Bubacz, 2008; Ramsland, 1986), the construction to be overseen by the Reverend Marsden (Ramsland, 1986). The FOS had been operating since 1801 with the aim to “relieve, protect and provide with lodgings, clothing and food, and a suitable degree of plain education and instruction in some plain mechanical art, [for] poor unprotected ...orphan children” (Dickey, 1987, p. 9).

However, the establishment of the PNI was not a benevolent exercise to provide care for destitute, homeless, and orphaned Aboriginal children. This was a calculated social experiment, with the stated intention of removing Aboriginal children from the influences of their parents and placing them into a co-educational school. Evidence from historical documents demonstrates that the PNI students were neither parentless nor living on the streets of Parramatta. That the children were not orphans is affirmed by William Shelley’s remark, in the letter he sent to Governor Macquarie on 8 April 1814: “The chief difficulty appeared to me to be the separation of the

children from their parents, but I am informed that in many cases this could be easily done” (Watson, 1916, p. 371).

Nevertheless, there were similarities between the two residential facilities: the girls at the FOS were “taught to read and write, and to work as seamstresses” (Ramsland, 1986, p. 10), much like the girls at the PNI (Brook & Kohen, 1991). Shelley’s intent for the children to be taught useful skills, then to be married at a suitable age to each other, was set in motion. As they grew older their lives were to be managed by ‘steady religious persons’. That was the fate of my ancestor Kitty and the other students who entered the PNI.

Separation meant children would be “dispossessed of their family, culture, language, land and general freedom” (Das, 2013, p. 5). Removals also broke familial attachments and destroyed important relationships and connections, which had sustained Aboriginal families for over sixty thousand years (Berndt & Berndt, 1999).

As the PNI began to take shape, Macquarie appointed himself and his wife Elizabeth as the patrons. He also invited local men to form the Management Committee to both oversee the running of the residential school and ensure the children were cared for: John Thomas Campbell, Rowland Hassall, D’Arcy Wentworth, William Redfern, Hannibal McArthur, Reverend William Cowper, Reverend Henry Fulton (Brook & Kohen, 1991). The Reverend Marsden was a notable exclusion. By that time Marsden had sailed to New Zealand with other missionaries in the hope of

converting the Maori to Christianity (Marsden, 1913), but as the quote below indicates, he was not opposed to Macquarie's 'scheme':

Governor Macquarie, after consulting Mr Marsden, attempted to establish a farm for the Australian natives, and, in connection with it, a kind of reformatory school at Parramatta, where they were to be civilized and cured of their migratory habits, and instructed in the Christian religion. Mr Marsden took a warm interest in the scheme, as he did in everything that concerned the welfare of the aborigines. (Marsden, 1913, p. 62)

The ongoing issues between the Reverend Marsden and the Governor may have influenced Governor Macquarie to appoint two Assistant Chaplains to the Committee in place of their Principal Chaplain (Bridges, 1972). It would not be until late in 1821 that Reverend Marsden had the opportunity to become a part of the PNI Committee (Marsden, 1913).

7.3.1 Macquarie's General Orders outline the Rules of the PNI

To proclaim the opening of the PNI to those in the colony, Governor Macquarie made an announcement under Government and General Orders on 10 December 1814 in the *Sydney Gazette* (see Figure 7.2 and Figure 7.3 in Appendix 7, for the front page of the *Sydney Gazette* and full text of the General Orders). Here I include excerpts relevant to the argument in this chapter:

His Excellency the Governor having long viewed with sentiments of Commiseration the very wretched State of the Aborigines of this Country; and having resolved in his Mind the most probable and promising means of ameliorating their condition, has now taken the Resolution to adopt such measures as appear to him best calculated to effect that Object, and improve the Energies of this innocent, destitute and unoffending Race. With this Anxiety to make one Experiment so interesting to the Feelings of Humanity, and to endeavour to ascertain how far the Condition of the Natives may be improved by the Application of such Means as are within his Power.

With a View, therefore to effect the Civilization of the Aborigines of New South Wales, and to render their habits more domesticated and industrious,

His Excellency the Governor, as well from motives of humanity as of that policy which affords a reasonable hope of producing such an Improvement in their condition as may eventually contribute to render them not only more happy in themselves, but also in some degree useful to the community, has determined to institute a school for the education of the native children of both sexes, and to assign a portion of land for the occupancy and cultivation of adult natives, under such rules and regulation as appear to him likely to answer the desired objects; and which are now published for general information. (Sydney Gazette, 1814, p. 1)

These two paragraphs reflect Governor Macquarie's intention to civilise, domesticate and make Aboriginal peoples more industrious and useful to the community. The experiment included parents giving up their children to be educated by a missionary, and in return they would be given land to farm.

To introduce the idea to the Aboriginal families, another notice was placed in the Sydney Gazette on the same day, on the same page (see Figure 7.4 in Appendix 7 for full text). Policemen and Peace Officers were directed to ask local Aboriginal families to attend a 'Public Conference' with the Governor in the marketplace at Parramatta on 28 December 1814 (Brook & Kohen, 1991). For the experiment to succeed, Governor Macquarie needed to gain the trust of the families. He then had to induce them to hand over their children to William and Elizabeth Shelley.

7.3.2 Macquarie's seven-point plan for the PNI

To enact the plan, Macquarie invited the PNI Management Committee to attend the conference and relay his new 'seven-point plan' to the families. While around sixty Aboriginal people tentatively gathered around the marketplace to hear about this school, many more stayed on the periphery, presumably cautious and full of doubt about Macquarie's intentions (see Figure 1.1 in Appendix 1 for an artist's impression

of the Parramatta marketplace). Walking amongst the group, Macquarie spoke of the benefits of following the ways of white people “by applying themselves to ‘moderate industry’, and having their children educated at the new school” (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 66). During the afternoon, while the parents enjoyed a ‘great feast’ of roast beef, bread and jugs of ale (Brook & Kohen, 1991), four children were ‘given up’ by their parents to live at the PNI, announced in the *Sydney Gazette* on 31 December 1814. After Governor Macquarie left the meeting, the Committee delivered his seven-point plan to the parents (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 65). Below are each of the seven points, with my commentary and interpretation.

No. 1. *The Object and utility of the Institution and that it is solely intended for their own benefit*

Families were to learn the benefits of their children receiving a white man’s education; they were not told their children were to be kept indefinitely, to be trained as servants. Macquarie needed to convince the families the PNI was for their own benefit. For the experiment to be successful the children needed to be completely removed from the influence of their Aboriginal parents, allowing the missionaries to indoctrinate them into living like Europeans.

No. 2. *That they must not attempt to take away their Children after they are once delivered up to the Institution, nor give any trouble to the Manager.*

By giving up their children to this new system, their rights as parents would be discounted, their rights as cultural teachers would be eroded and speaking their language would be forbidden.

No. 3. *That the Committee is intended to take care of and see that the children are properly treated; one member of the Committee to check on the other, to see justice is done to the Children.*

As with all institutions and reformatory schools established over the next two centuries, to accommodate Aboriginal children who were forcibly removed there was a Committee to oversee their welfare.

No. 4. *That the Natives should be Divided into District Tribes, according to the Several Districts which they usually reside in; and that each Tribe should elect its own Chief, who the Governor will distinguish by some honorary Badge.*

An objective point Governor Macquarie failed to understand during his five years in the colony was that the Darug clan groups were already ‘residing’ on their traditional Ngurra with their own governance structures in place. Macquarie however needed to establish control and instill an arrangement he could work with. By appointing a tribal Chief there would be someone in charge of the mob, a Chief to keep control, a person Macquarie could control.

No. 5. *That the Chief of each Tribe is to adjust all Differences that may arise between the Individuals of his own Tribe; and that he shall also be held accountable to the Governor for their general conduct, and that through him all the grievances of his Tribe shall be redressed.*

The conflict across the region between Aboriginal men and the settlers, concerned Governor Macquarie. The drought of 1814 had resulted in mountain tribes (Gundungarra) coming onto Darug Ngurra at Camden, with killings on both sides (Watson, 1916, p. 496). The only method available to Macquarie to control the situation was through force. Aboriginal men were also conducting payback ceremonies, activities that were confusing for the British. By appointing a Chief, Macquarie had an expectation that those ritual ‘ceremonies’ would be controlled,

unaware that this was part of traditional cultural knowledge with the rites passed at initiation.

No. 6. *That such of the adult Natives as may wish to receive Land to cultivate and reside on, shall have Lands assigned to them, and be allowed all reasonable assistance and indulgence from the Government on taking Possession of their Farms.*

This was a generous gesture indeed from a man who was giving away Darug land to settlers and convicts alike, land that did not belong to the British. The Aboriginal peoples did not need to settle on small plots of dirt as they had the whole of Ngurra to live on, and as this thesis attests, they were still living traditional lives at this time. One Aboriginal man by the name of Bungaree, who originally came from Broken Bay (Smith, 1992), agreed to establish a settlement on land at Georges Head which was surrounded by the sea. On 31 January 1815, the Governor, his wife and a party of Europeans travelled by boat to the new settlement and appointed Bungaree “Chief of the Broken Bay Tribe”, where “Sixteen of the Natives with their wives and families were assembled” (*Sydney Gazette*, 1815, p. 1).

No. 7. *That there shall be an annual Congress, or meeting of the Natives at Parramatta in future on the 28th day of each December, when they shall be permitted to see the Children at the Institution.*

As mentioned earlier, on 31 December 1814, the reported four Aboriginal children were ‘given up’ at the public conference and placed in the Institution (see Figure 7.5 in Appendix 7 for full text of the article). The day was considered a ‘success’:

After a length of conversation, three children were yielded up to the benevolent purposes of the Institution ... Another child has since been offered, without solicitation or persuasion... That the proposed number will very shortly be obtained there can be no reason to doubt (*Sydney Gazette*, 31 December 1814, p. 2).

As the *Sydney Gazette* piece suggests, there were four children given to William Shelley and the PNI was now functional. Yet this was the exact number that William

Shelley claimed to have been ‘home schooled’ at his home. As Kitty was taken into the PNI on the 28 December 1814 and lived close by at Prospect, I suggest there is a strong chance she was the girl referred to by William Shelley as being one of those four.

At the end of December expenses lodged by William Shelley for December 1814⁴² confirm there were four children at the PNI, not eight. This number fell far short of the required twelve pupils originally proposed by Shelley and needed by Macquarie for the sustainability of the Institution. Yet on 11 March 1815, the Sydney Gazette (1815, p. 2)⁴³ reported:

It is with the highest pleasure we state, from the report of Mr. Shelley, that his little pupils, now 13 in number, make a progress not commonly excelled by children of any other colour or complexion whatsoever. The capacity of some are particularly promising; and they already feel too sensible of their improved condition to entertain the slightest wish of abandoning their protection that has humanely been afforded them.

On 24 March 1815, Governor Macquarie wrote to Earl Bathurst with an update on the PNI. In this correspondence he affirmed the PNI opened on 18 January 1815, and shortly after six boys and six girls were living there:

in a short time Appeared to be perfectly happy and reconciled to their new Mode of life. Some of their parents, however, from an unaccountable Caprice, have since decoyed away their Children and Six only remain” (Watson, 1916, p. 467).

Once the families realised their children were being isolated from them, they took action to remove their offspring from the PNI. According to Macquarie’s letter,

⁴² Wentworth Papers D1 ML p. 119 Quarter ending 31/12/1814

⁴³ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7263>

within a short period, the numbers had dwindled by half. Kitty however remained at the school until her marriage (see section 8.2 in Chapter 8).

7.4 The PNI 1815-1822

On 18 January 1815 the first native residential school in Australia formally commenced (see Figure 7.6 in Appendix 7 for a drawing of the PNI and Figure 7.7 for a sketch of the layout of the school and its surrounds, presumably drawn by Shelley). The Parramatta Native Institution was established at a time when the early colony was, according to Cascoigne (2002, p. 20):

Founded by a state who thought that religion was good for the social order, its outward forms bore the imprint of a confessional state where membership of the church and of the body politic were synonymous.

The ‘Congress’ of December 1814, which was to be continued each year, was not held in December of 1815. According to Brook and Kohen (1991), this was attributed to the drought which had affected food supplies. At that time there were now five young children living at the PNI, including Kitty. Without the meeting of the tribes, Kitty would not see her parents and the parents would not get to see their children. On the official list of PNI Admissions⁴⁴ written for the Government Muster of 1821, only five Aboriginal children are listed as resident at the PNI, Kitty, Maria, Fanny, Friday during 1815 (Brook & Kohen, 1991).

Admission to the PNI meant growing up away from family, community, and culture. The children were not able to formally leave until the girls reached fourteen and the

⁴⁴ Native Institution Admissions BT 50 Vol 127

boys sixteen (; Brook & Kohen, 1991; Sydney Gazette, 1814). As with the later reformatory schools and institutions for Aboriginal children across Australia, the law was clear: they could not leave or be removed by their families. The Government and General Orders as stipulated by Governor Macquarie formalised the first of many Aboriginal child removal policies across Australia.

On 1 April 1815, a notice in the Sydney Gazette (1815, p. 1) announced the first meeting of the PNI Committee would be held at the schoolroom of William Shelley, on 5 April. Interestingly, on page two of the same newspaper the death of Vice Admiral Arthur Phillip was announced. Phillip had died eight months before at Bath England, on 31 August 1814. While Governor Phillip was heralded in the announcement as having much “fortitude, zeal and integrity” in his role as Governor of the colony, the news of his death was not considered important enough to be on page one.

Six months after moving into the PNI, William Shelley died at the age of forty-one (Brook & Kohen, 1991). The five Darug students living at the PNI were then placed into the care of his wife Elizabeth Shelley (Read, 2006, p. 33). From the quarterly accounts provided by Elizabeth Shelley⁴⁵, the diet of the children was very different from the traditional foods of their clan group: the list included meat, salt and pepper, bread, rice, cornflour, wheat, sugar, along with soap (Bridges, 1972; Brook & Kohen, 1991). The children were also given European names, clothing to wear and implements to write with. As Aboriginal children had been taken during punitive

⁴⁵ NSW 4/7498 Native Institution Reports and Accounts 1/4/1816-13/6/1816

raids across Darug Ngurra, by 1816 Macquarie reported the number at the Institution had risen to eighteen:

...there were now eighteen healthy boys and girls in this Institution, well clothed, well-fed and well instructed in the common branches of education, including needle work for the girls, and knowledge of agriculture for the boys, there being a large field and garden attached to the school house for them to work in. (Macquarie, as cited in Ellis, 1978, p. 358)

By 28 December, 1820, however only 37 children were recorded as being admitted since the opening of the PNI (see Figure 7.10 in Appendix 7 for details).

As Read (2006, p. 34) articulates, William Shelley had a belief that all humans were equal, and “Aboriginal children were capable of, and merited, colonial education”. After his death, Shelley’s belief was confirmed when, during an educational examination of all children in the colony in 1819, a fourteen-year-old student from the PNI took out the main educational prize. Twenty young people from the PNI sat the exam along with one hundred European children (Brook & Kohen, 1991; Fletcher, 1989). The achievement was published on 17 April 1819, in the Sydney Gazette (Brookes, 1819, p. 2): “A black girl of fourteen years of age, between three and four years in the school, bore away the chief prize, with much satisfaction to their worthy adjudgers and auditors” (see Figure 7.8 and Figure 7.9 in Appendix 7). Although the girl was not named, only two girls of the right age and academic achievement could have won the prize: Betty Cox and Betty Fulton. The documents from the PNI indicate Kitty and the other girls who were there between 3-4 years, were too young. The achievement indicates the level of education was equal to or better than that received by non-Aboriginal children in the colony.

Evidence that the ‘moral safety’ of the Aboriginal children was at risk is contained in correspondence between the Reverend Robert Cartwright and Governor Macquarie. Cartwright wrote how the students were at risk from “demoralising influences” (Rowley, 1986, p. 90) and proposed moving the native school south of the Cowpastures (Bridges, 1972). On 6 December 1819, almost five years after the PNI opened, Cartwright sent a letter to Governor Macquarie in which he outlined his plan to move Aboriginal peoples from the farming areas and relocate them to an area not yet developed. From analysing the text of this correspondence, Cartwright also appears concerned about the welfare of the Aboriginal students and provides insight into the management of the PNI:

When informed of the intention of the Committee to apprentice the Boys to the most useful mechanical trade, and to put the Girls out to Service, from my long experience of men and things, and more particularly during the last ten years, in which I have resided in this Colony, I confess my Spirit was damp’t at the mention of such a measure, perceiving no cause to believe it would tend to the Moral and spiritual improvement of these savage Youths. The only security for their gradual and real improvement, and which is the opinion of many with whom I have conversed on the Subject, is to keep them as much and as long separate as possible from the bad example of those around them ... (Watson, 1917, p. 265)

Macquarie eventually agreed to move the PNI, however chose the Aboriginal settlement at ‘Black Town’ (as it was then known) as the new site. On 14 March 1822, the PNI Committee met to negotiate the new arrangements. By this time two of the older female students had been married the previous year (Brook & Kohen, 1991).

The two weddings held on 15 March 1821 were organised by PNI Manager, Missionary Elizabeth Shelley. The Aboriginal brides were Betty Fulton and Polly.

An article in the Sydney Gazette (1821, 17 March, p. 3) stated that two of the PNI Committee members gave the girls away: “After their marriages, the two couples set off, with the Deputy Surveyor General, to have their respective farms measures, granted to them by His EXCELLENCY, the Patron of the Institution”.⁴⁶ Aboriginal land was granted to two Aboriginal couples who were married “by special licence”, the ceremony performed by the Reverend Richard Hill. Kitty would soon follow, marrying in June the following year at the age of thirteen.

According to Ellis, (1978), by the time Lachlan Macquarie left the colony in 1822, he had witnessed improvements in the ‘civilisation’ of the native population. The educational prize won by a girl from the PNI; marriages of female students; and the success of the native festivals where “...little ones from the Institution read aloud” (Ellis, 1978, p. 358).

However, before the doors of the PNI closed on 31 December 1822, several of the Aboriginal children had died of an unknown complaint: “the Institution experienced a wave of illness: four children died and three more were removed by their parents when they became sick” (Cruikshank, 2008, p. 117). The Reverend Hill believed the illness to be “a fatal intestinal disease, peculiar to the natives” (Brook & Kohen, 1991).

On 1 January 1823, the remaining students were moved to the Black Town settlement where a dormitory-styled building was being constructed. Under the care

⁴⁶ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/492929#>

of missionaries George and Martha Clarke, the children continued in the Macquarie experiment to be civilised, Christianised, and educated (Brook & Kohen, 1991). On reflection, it was sensible to have the new native school close to where the married girls were living. They could be useful to the missionaries, and already had established relationships with the surviving Parramatta students (see Figure 7.11 in Appendix 7 for text showing the rules for children to follow in the Black Town Institution, likely identical to those for the PNI students).

Reflective poem

I wonder as I sit today
Why my mother and father are kept away
I long to feel their love and care
My mother's eyes I want to stare

I miss her touch, her strength, her being
My father's face I keep on seeing
Why do we have to live this way?
Why do you keep our family away?

The food is different, the walls close in
The words you teach us, say we sin
Our language is forbidden, our stories we hide
Our tears are hidden, but not our pride

Rosemary Norman-Hill Parramatta 22 July 2017

7.5 A failed institution: the closure of the PNI

7.5.1 Cartwright's letters

The first evidence of the PNI being referred to as a failure comes from the writings of the Reverend Cartwright in correspondence with Governor Macquarie in 1819 and 1820. His letter of 18 January 1820 states:

I am persuaded the Native Institution has suffered materially since Mr Shelly's [sic] death for want of a proper Superintendent, who could feel a real interest in its welfare. Perhaps, if in the first instance it had been established in the Country under the immediate inspection of a clergyman, it might have been better. However, be this as it may, I think it is now generally admitted that it would be best on all accounts to remove the Institution from Parramatta. (Watson, 1917, pp. 266-267)

Why Cartwright wrote how the PNI 'suffered materially' after William Shelley's death is unclear. What is clear however is that Cartwright believed the PNI needed a person '*who could feel a real interest in its welfare*', showing a lack of support for Elizabeth Shelley and her management of the PNI. It also fails to recognise that one of the girls from the PNI won a prize earlier in 1819 (see Figure 7.9 in Appendix 7). In a letter written on 6 December 1819, Cartwright first alludes to the Aboriginal students being at risk from unsavoury European influences, as he introduces his idea of separating Aboriginal people from colonial society:

Your Excellency has led the way in the glorious Cause, while others have attempted to discover new Roads; but from my knowledge of the Country and its Inhabitants, I will venture to predict that there can be found no path so easy of access, and sure of leading us to the object of our wishes, as that which Your Excellency has clearly marked out. There can be no doubt of the success of a general establishment of Schools for the young. Confidence has not only inspired the Breasts of these poor Savages, but a general desire has been excited in them by the experiment...Buried as is the intellect of these Savages in Augean filth, we may yet find Gems of the first Magnitude and brilliance...to keep these Black Natives entirely separate from our people 'till the Institution is become sufficiently strong and the work of Civilization is so far advanced as to be proof against the evil practices and examples of our depraved Countrymen. (Watson, 1917, pp. 263-266)

It appears his desire to keep the children separate came from a protectionist view rather than a racist one, given his reference to ‘our depraved Countrymen’. Cartwright could be considered the instigator of a new plan to relocate the native Institution away from the town of Parramatta. Whether it driven by a failure to protect the children from harm or a failure to civilise them to the extent required remains unclear. At the time Cartwright wrote his letters, the PNI had only been operating for five years and the Aboriginal children were still at a vulnerable age. His references to ‘depraved countrymen’ and ‘evil practices’ however, does raise concerns about the level of care Kitty and other Aboriginal children received at the PNI.

7.5.2 Elizabeth Shelley’s assessment

After the closure of the PNI, in 1838 Elizabeth Shelley made a submission to the NSW Legislative Council Votes and Proceedings (1838, p. 54-55):

I kept the Asylum for Aboriginal Children, established at Parramatta; by Governor Macquarie, in 1814, for upwards of eight years—during which time the greatest number of children in the Asylum, at any one period, was, to the best of my recollection, twenty-three; and the Report now produced shows the number to have been eleven boys, and twelve girls, from the ages of three years to fifteen, I found their dispositions and their capacity for learning to vary very much. Some of them read and wrote well, and understood arithmetic to a certain extent; but I always found the half-caste children quicker and more tractable than the blacks. All who were old enough were taught their Catechism, which they repeated very accurately, and they were taken regularly to church. The School was visited, monthly by a Committee of gentlemen appointed for that purpose and the progress of the children was considered very satisfactory up to the time of giving up the charge in 1823, when they were sent to Black Town, and put under the care of Mr. Clarke, a Church Missionary, now at New Zealand; The books were kept by the Rev. Mr. Hill, but whether retained in his possession, or lodged in the office of the Colonial Secretary, I cannot say.

While Elizabeth Shelley makes a reference to half-caste children, I have been unable to verify which of the students were from mixed descent. The Christianisation of the

children is evidenced in Shelley's statement that the children attended church. Their church attendance can also be verified by Brook and Kohen (1991, p. 81), who describe the comments of a visiting Russian Officer:

the cleanly dressed females who were at church the following day in Parramatta dressed in clean white dresses...their reverence and their harmonious singing of the hymns were clear expressions of the moral force of Christian teachings. (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 81)

Mrs Shelley goes on to comment:

The expense of the establishment was about £365 per annum, I visited the settlement two or three times during Mr. Walker's charge, and found a great many of the old blacks amongst them, and that they were in consequence in a very imperilled state. Several of the girls had married black men, but instead of bearing the effect intended, of reclaiming them, they eventually followed their husbands into the bush, after having given away and destroyed all the supplies with which they had been furnished by the government.

Since that period, some of them have occasionally visited me, and I found they had relapsed into all the bad habits of the untaught natives. A few of the boys went to sea, but I have not heard what has become of them. Most of the girls have turned out very bad, but there is one exception in a half-caste girl, who was married to a white man, and was very industrious, taking in needlework, but I have not, however heard of her for two years. I have frequently conversed with them since, on religious subjects, but they turned them into laughter, and said they had forgotten all about it.

The comments made by Mrs Shelley indicate the Aboriginal students returned to their traditional ways '*in the bush*', leaving behind them the European way of life. The identity of the half-caste girl who married the 'white man' as referred to by Mrs Shelley, remains a mystery.

Through the research process I found some anomalies in the stories about the establishment of the PNI. Beginning with the Rules and Regulations, Governor Macquarie proclaimed fourteen, while William Shelley proposed nine. It is

interesting to note that Rule Fourteen was not on Shelley's list. Shelley's list also stipulated that the Manager of the PNI needed to be on the Management Committee, which was not on Macquarie's list (see Figure 7.3. in Appendix 7).

There also appears to be a discrepancy in the numbers of the children in the PNI over the eight years that it operated. From the two official lists written by Elizabeth Shelley for the Government Muster of 1821, only 37 children are listed as being students since 28 December 1814 (see Figure 7.10 in Appendix 7). The first list has the students and their clan group, the second list has their educational achievements. The number 37 has since been used as a benchmark for those people writing about the PNI (Wilson, 1997). Through my research, however, evidence shows the number was much higher.

7.5.3 The Bigge Commission of Inquiry 1823

In 1819 English Barrister John Thomas Bigge was given full powers to investigate every detail of life in the colony of New South Wales. As part of the final report (Bigge, 1823, p. 73), Bigge included a report on the PNI (see Figure 7.12, photo of front page; Figure 7.13, photo of page with relevant highlighted text; and Figure 7.14 for full text details). After describing the establishment, the location and structure of the Institution, he reports on the numbers of children and their attainments:

An account was submitted to me of the number, names and attainments of the children that have been received into the institution since its establishment; and it appears that thirty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls have been placed in it, and of these, six have absconded, two have died, and one was taken by his father to reside upon some land that was given to him. These children have been taught to read and write and have been instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. They also attend church regularly at Parramatta, and join in the service. The girls have been taught the common sorts of needle-work and domestic service, and two have been hired out as servants to respectable inhabitants in the country.

He then proceeds to comment from his lofty perspective on the nature of Aboriginal peoples:

From the experiment that has been made at this establishment, no doubt can be entertained of the natural opacities of the native black children, and their power of attaining the means of improving their condition. It yet remains to be proved, whether the habits they acquire in the schools are permanent. In the mean time, the effort that has been made is very creditable to Governor Macquarie; and the meeting that he has annually held with the chiefs and black natives that are nearest to the settled districts, has tended in some degree to conciliate them. It has not, however, had the effect of subduing their reluctance to allow their children to be taken into the native institution; and I did not observe that the meeting between the parents and the children on these occasions awakened any sympathy or emotion.

7.6 The children of the PNI: the first Stolen Generation in Australia

In this section I argue why Kitty and the Aboriginal children from the PNI should be considered the first of the ‘Stolen Generations’. Kitty grew up on Darug Ngurra, albeit within the walls of the PNI, unlike many from the ‘Stolen Generations’ who were forcibly removed and taken far from their traditional Ngurra. Kitty’s admittance to the PNI may have been with her parents’ consent to gain a whitefella education. Unbeknown to her parents, however, this separation was permanent, with an intent to break family relationships and disconnect her from Warmuli cultural influences:

The Aboriginal who tried to maintain his Law fought the missionary for the minds of his children. The missions attempted to split the generations and wreck the traditional pattern of socialisation in order to save the soul of the child. (Rowley, 1986, p. 102)

When the PNI officially opened on 18 January 1815, the Macquarie experiment to systematically remove the most vulnerable of the native population had begun. With

Fourteen Rules and Regulations to manage the PNI, Rule Fourteen became the forerunner of future removal policies:

Fourteenthly, that no child, after having been admitted into the institution, shall be permitted to leave it, or be taken away by any person whatever (whether parents or other relatives) until such time as the boys shall have attained the age of sixteen years, and the girls fourteen years, at which stage they shall be respectively discharged. (Campbell, *Sydney Gazette*, 10 December, 1814, p. 1)

Defined by Governor Lachlan Macquarie as an ‘experiment’, the PNI had as its stated aim, the ‘civilising, educating and Christianising’ of Aboriginal children. Like other ‘Stolen Generation’ institutions, the PNI was managed by missionaries and funded by the Government:

The Native Institution at Parramatta, the first of many such schools for Aboriginal children, was opened by Governor Macquarie in 1814. Designed to distance the children from their families and communities, provide them with the ‘benefit’ of a European ‘education’ and inculcate the diligent subservience thought desirable in servants and the working class, it was quickly boycotted by Indigenous families. By 1820 it had closed, and other attempts were similarly short-lived. (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997, p. 39)

As a student at the PNI, Kitty was raised by missionaries and lived apart from her family; she was also taught skills in domestic work while the male students learned manual and farm work. Previously in this thesis I have provided examples of Aboriginal children being taken by Europeans, particularly during the time of the smallpox epidemic and during frontier conflicts. Once the PNI became established, my research has confirmed that Aboriginal parents were reluctant to hand over their children to the PNI.

With Governor Macquarie desperate to fill the quota needed to sustain his ‘experiment’, he ordered Aboriginal children to be “forcibly removed during punitive expeditions” (Mitchell, 2011, p. 10). On 10 April 1816, Governor Macquarie directed Captain Schaw to “...make as many Prisoners as possible” (Watson, 1917, p. 139). The instructions included the capture of Aboriginal boys and girls, between four and six years of age, for the PNI.⁴⁷

There is further evidence of forced removals: on 29 October 1818, while riding along the Hawkesbury River, Missionary Walter Lawry found a group of Aboriginal people. He questioned why the women had run away with their children when he came near:

I enquired why the children were carried off; they replied that many of them had been taken away by men in black clothes, and put to school at Parramatta, and they feared I was come on that errand. (as cited in Colwell, 1904, p. 170)

By 1819, according to Brook and Kohen (1991), Yarramundi, Chief of the Boorooberongal Tribe, recounted “men dressed in black” removing their children from the Richmond area (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 70). This is evidence that Macquarie was determined to fill the PNI with Aboriginal children. Although seemingly established with good intentions, Crotty and Roberts, (2007, p. 6) argue:

the Native Institution established a template for principles and procedures that were hardened and corrupted in later years to become one the most infamous instruments in the oppression and destruction of Aboriginal societies – the systematic and extensive policy of forcibly removing Aboriginal children from their parents, separating them from their cultural roots, and raising them to be ‘like us’.

The error of William Shelley’s idea, according to Read (2006, p. 34), was coercion:

⁴⁷ Instructions for Capt. W.G.B. Schaw 46th Regt., CS Reel 6045, 4/1734:149-69, SRNS.

Children were to be educated as if they were cultureless orphans. Separating children from their extended families created a vacuum in their own cultural knowledge, and a subsequent ignorance of how to parent their own children.

In 1997, after the Inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, *The Bringing Them Home Report* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997, p. 27) was released. The Report (1997) found, “Indigenous children have been forcibly separated from their families and communities since the very first days of the European occupation of Australia”. Jorgensen, Sullivan, and Grootenboer (2013, p. 4) concur, the children were: “removed by force from their families and incarcerated at the school”. Going on further, Jorgensen et al, (2013, p. 4) show how families were averse for their children “to be trained as servants” or to become good British subjects.

According to (Mitchell, 2011, p. 10), the PNI “targeted children, including some removed forcibly from foreign districts in punitive raids”. Going on further, Mitchell (2011) explains that historians identified these removals as the separation and institutionalisation of Aboriginal children, “which in the late 20th century would become identified under the heading of the Stolen Generations” (Mitchell, 2011, p. 10). Needing to exterminate any traditional cultural memory, the placing of Aboriginal children in the PNI, according to Fletcher (2009, p. 116) was for their “improvement and fast tracking to civilisation”.

When the decision was made to relocate the children from the PNI to Black Town in January 1823, a structure was commenced to house the remaining Aboriginal children. The policy for the establishment of the PNI in 1814, with the fourteen rules

and regulations, became the forerunner of future Government policies which would see thousands of Aboriginal children suffer a similar fate to Kitty over the next century and a half.

7.7 Conclusion

The Parramatta Native Institution opened on 18 December 1815, with young Kitty leaving her family to move into the new residential school under the care of Missionary William Shelley. If Kitty had been living with the family prior to the PNI opening, she would have established a relationship with both William his wife Elizabeth and their four children. Unfortunately, due to the lack of primary documents from that time, this research cannot verify if Kitty was the girl mentioned by William Shelley (Watson, 1916). The intent to educate, civilise and duly Christianise the children was in many cases accomplished (Brook & Kohen, 1991); however as I have suggested earlier, young Aboriginal people returned to their traditional ways even after living amongst Europeans for years. While it was Shelley's wish that the students be married off to each other, the older girls married men from the community instead of the school, which included my ancestor Kitty.

The following chapter explores Kitty's life as she leaves her childhood behind and becomes the child-woman at thirteen years, marrying a man 26 years her senior. Marriages and children dominate the chapter as evidence that Darug children from the PNI went on to have productive lives.

Reflective poem

*It is funny how there seems to be
A difference between you and me
Our voices, they don't sound the same
Our skin colour differs, but who is to blame*

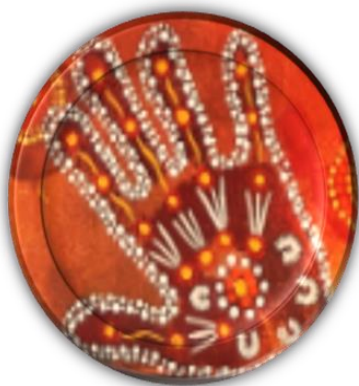
*Our languages, they vary so much
But we value them because they touch
Our heart, our spirit, our way to 'be'
Language means strength and identity*

*But what if we are taken away
To learn to live another way
Our mother tongue forbidden to speak
Sadness makes us spiritually weak*

*Breaking hearts, we cry each day
For family, culture and 'our way'
Then resilience kicks in, we find strength to fight
We are Aboriginal people, even if our skin is white*

Rosemary Norman-Hill – Parramatta June 2017

Chapter 8: The legacy of Black Kitty of the Darug



8.1 Introduction

This chapter continues the storying, with Kitty (now to be known as ‘Black Kitty’), leaving the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI) after eight years of being a student, emerging and becoming a child-woman within her family group. The artwork reflects life for Black Kitty after the PNI and incorporates symbols that connect to her PNI Aboriginal family (centre of the palm), the ‘sista’ girls Black Kitty grew up with. The young women are portrayed as sitting around the circle sharing stories, basking in the sunshine, within the first native settlement in Australia at Blacktown. These girls are married and rejoice in their freedom. The symbols branching out from the circle are their children who run and play. In our imaginings, we hear their laughter ringing in the air. No longer stifled by European rules and regulations, they sit on Mother Earth and connect back to Country. Branching out down the fingers are Black Kitty’s children, grandchildren, and her descendants down the hereditary line. In this visual dialogue (Sheehan, 2011a), Black Kitty’s legacy surrounds her down the different family trees.

In this chapter, historiography continues to create the backdrop for the storytelling. The different periods take the reader on a journey from Black Kitty’s first marriage to Colebee in 1822, her second marriage to convict Joseph Budsworth in 1831, followed by the birth of her children. The last section of the chapter examines the contribution Black Kitty’s descendants made to the First World War.

8.2 Kitty marries ‘Richmond Colebee’

Black Kitty left the PNI at the age of 13 years after marrying Colebee, a 39-year-old native Constable from Windsor, 26 years her senior. On 12 June 1822, the young teenage bride became his lawful wife. The marriage was noted in Governor Macquarie’s diary as follows:

12 June: Colebee from Richmond marries Kitty, aged 13, from the Warmuli (Prospect Clan), a student at the Native Institution.⁴⁸

It was not unusual under customary lore for an older Aboriginal man to take a young girl as his partner (Berndt & Berndt 1999; Brook & Kohen, 1991). While Attenbrow (2003) points out that Aboriginal men could have more than one wife, I have been unable to find substantial evidence that Colebee was already married. However, there is an indication that Governor Macquarie gave blankets to three Aboriginal guides for their ‘Gins’.⁴⁹ Colebee was one of those guides.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, two Aboriginal girls, Betty Fulton and Polly from the PNI, were married in 1821 (Brook & Kohen, 1991). Their Aboriginal husbands were not students from the PNI as William Shelley had hoped. Rather, they came from the community. Colebee may have been instrumental in finding those men as Michael Yarringguy, Polly’s husband, was a native Constable at Richmond and an associate of Colebee’s, while Robert Nurragingy, Betty Fulton’s husband, was the son of Nurragingy, or ‘Creek Jemmy’, also Colebee’s friend.

⁴⁸ 12 June: Colebee from Richmond marries Kitty, aged 13, from the Warmuli (Prospect Clan), a student at the Native Institution. Source: Macquarie, Memorandum, List of Natives at Native Institution, 28 December 1819, MS A772:151, ML

⁴⁹ Derogatory word for Aboriginal wife or woman.

The relationships and connections were critical to the success of one of the hoped-for outcomes of the experiment that the late William Shelley and Governor Macquarie desired, namely finding suitable marriage partners for the students. Colebee's younger sister Maria had entered the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI) on the same day as Black Kitty in 1814 (Brook & Kohen, 1991). It is highly likely that Colebee would have visited the PNI over the years Maria was living there and, as Black Kitty grew into her teenage years, he may have formed a relationship with the young Warmuli girl. As a descendant of Black Kitty and a romantic, I prefer the storying to have this beautiful young Aboriginal girl falling in love with Colebee, a strong, proud Aboriginal man.

8.3 The story of 'Richmond Colebee' a Boorooberongal man

Richmond Colebee was born around 1783, the son of Yellomundi (Yarramundi) and grandson of Gombeeree from the Boorooberongal clan of the Darug. From the writings of Watkin Tench (1979), we learn that during the inland exploration of the Hawkesbury in April 1791, Governor Phillip and his party met Richmond Colebee's family. Richmond Colebee was first mentioned in history when he was asked to assist forty-eight-year-old Englishman William Cox to cross the Blue Mountains in 1814. Governor Macquarie, eager to find more grazing land over the great divide, commissioned Cox on 12 July 1814 to build a road across to the other side of the range. The previous year Blaxland, Lawson and Wentworth had ventured up the Blue Mountains, followed soon after by the Government Surveyor George Evans (Karskens, 2014). Mapping the route across to the West, these men most likely followed the trading tracks of Aboriginal peoples (Reynolds, 1990). Evidence that Colebee was part of this epic journey and had a working relationship with the

Englishman is contained in Cox's journal: "...Got two natives who promise to continue with us – Joe from Mulgoa and Coley from Richmond".⁵⁰

While the name Coley is recorded, according to Sydney historians Brook and Kohen (1991), Coley is believed to be the same Colebee from Richmond. I found a comment in Cox's journal on 3 August 1814 that he heard 'the chattering of natives' and shortly after sent a man named Lewis to go to Richmond, most likely to get Colebee. Cox also sent a corporal and three men forward to guard the team of convict workers. On 8 August 1814, Cox confirmed in his journal that two Aboriginal men had joined his team with one having killed a kangaroo⁵¹.

I would argue that Cox brought in Richmond Colebee and Mulgoa Joe because he had a trusted relationship with both men. Cox would have needed their local knowledge of Country, their ability to communicate with other Aboriginal peoples and act as intermediaries in case of conflict. Despite their vital role, Colebee and Joe are barely mentioned in the history of this exploration. In his book, *With the White People*, historian Henry Reynolds (1990) explains how important Aboriginal men were to the European explorers:

From the earliest years of settlement explorers and other travellers received valuable information from local Aborigines about fords, passes, short cuts, easy gradients ... Local guides were also invaluable in negotiating with their neighbours to prepare for the peaceful reception of the traveller. (Reynolds, 1990, pp. 12, 15)

⁵⁰ William Cox, Journal 1814, MS C708-2/CY Reel 1022:25 ML.

⁵¹ Memoirs of William Cox, J.P., Lieutenant and Paymaster of N.S.W. Corps, or 102nd Regiment. Late of Clarendon, Windsor. William Brooks and Co., Printers Sydney and Brisbane. 1901. Facsimile reprint published in 1979 by the Library of Australian History.

In 1816, while young Kitty was learning how to read, write, sew and cook at the Parramatta Native Institution, both Colebee and Nurragingy were acting as Aboriginal guides for the Military Detachments sent out by Governor Macquarie, particularly when violence erupted across the Cumberland Plains and the Hawkesbury in 1816 (Sharpe, 2000).

The year 1819 was to be a fortuitous one for Colebee. He worked as a seaman on board the brig *Glory of Richmond* along with two other Aboriginal men named Richmond Jack and Tom. According to Corr (2013) in his publication *Pondering the Abyss*, they worked as part of the crew and sailed to Kangaroo Island on 27 September 1819. Sydney historians Brook and Kohen, (1991, p. 51) also have Colebee as sailing from: “Sydney to the Derwent (Tasmania)” in the same year, on the same ship. Later that year, Colebee entered the annals of Australian history when he became the first and only Aboriginal man formally granted land by the Colonial Government under British law (Brook & Kohen, 1991). The 30-acre land grant was signed over to Colebee by Governor Macquarie, even though in his journal he had promised it to both Nurragingy and Colebee in 1816. The official document (see Figure 8.1 for a copy of the deed and Figure 8.2 in Appendix 8 for a picture of the land today), reads as follows:

Unto Colebee (a Black Native) His Heirs and Assigns to Have and to Hold for Ever, Thirty Acres of Land lying and situate in the District of Bathurst. Bounded on the North by Vitrio’s farm bearing East twenty degrees North, on the East by a South twenty Degrees East line of seven chains: On the South by a line West twenty-six Degrees South to the Richmond Road; and on the West by that Road: Conditioned not to Sell or alienate the same for space of Five Years of that date hereof, and to cultivate Ten Acres within the said Period, and reserving to Government the right of making a Public Road through the same, and also, reserving for the use of the Crown such Timber as may be deemed fit for Naval Purposes... (as cited in Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 38)

Recently the Blacktown City Council began a process to organise a ceremony to commemorate the Nurragingy and Colebee land grant. I sent through the copy of the Title Deed with Colebee's name only on the document. The Title is held in the Registrar –Generals Office in Sydney. Under British law this was the legal proof of ownership. The original document, located in the NSW Archives does have three words '*otherwise Creek Jemmy*' written by person or persons unknown in pencil underneath where Colebee's name is written (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 39). Legally the Colonial Government gave Colebee the Grant of thirty acres for services rendered. Morally, according to Aboriginal lore the land was situated on Nurragingy's traditional Ngurra.

Sometime after Colebee came back from his journeys on the *Glory of Richmond*, he was made a native or black Constable. Historians Brook and Kohen (1991) believe this was between 1822 and 1824. I have not found evidence of the actual date. Around the time of his marriage some complaints had been made in Windsor that Colebee was absent from his role of Constable (Sharpe, 2000). Most likely, Colebee was enjoying married life at Black Town with Black Kitty. However, in the same month as his marriage, a letter was sent from Dr. John Harris to the Colonial Secretary, Frederick Goulburn, on 26 June 1822, stating:

Coleby the Black Constable is seldom or ever seen at the Black Town, but is constantly away with the Natives and is of no use there as a Constable...I have had frequent complaints of him before from Windsor for drunkenness and violent conduct... (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 51)

As I found no evidence to corroborate this, it is unclear whether there is any truth to these statements. If true, one can only wonder what sort of life Black Kitty may have had. According to Sharpe (2000), Colebee was sacked from his position as native

Constable, however on 25 October 1825, the Sydney Gazette (1825) announced his reinstatement under Government and General Orders:

In the District of Windsor...Colebee, a Black Native, to be a Constable from the 15th Instant, in the Room of Yarramoroo, absent without Leave.⁵²

The date is three years after his marriage to Black Kitty. Whether Kitty travelled with Colebee when he went on his ‘wanderings’ or stayed near her friends from the PNI is unknown. Both are listed as living at Blacktown with their son Samuel in the 1824 census records taken at that time (see Figure 8.3 in Appendix 8).

Living next to Black Kitty were the other young brides from the Institution who had settled on land given to them by Governor Macquarie. Kitty’s childhood roommate and sister-in-law Maria also moved to the Richmond Road settlement in 1824, when she married Robert Lock, a convict. Working as a carpenter, Robert helped build a large two-storied building to house up to sixty Aboriginal students. Robert was assigned to Maria, the first-ever marriage recorded between an Aboriginal woman and a convict in Australian history (Brook & Kohen, 1991). So began the Richmond Road Aboriginal Settlement which had started with Colebee’s land grant in 1819.

In 1823 Black Kitty gave birth to her first child Samuel (Brook & Kohen, 1991). At the age of three years, Samuel was baptised at Richmond’s Catholic Church on 23 August 1827 (Sharpe, 2000). Kohen (2006) speculates that Black Kitty may have given birth to another son to Colebee, named Norbetus or Norpetus, also possibly known as Patrick. I have not found evidence to support this speculation as I found a

⁵² <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2184584>

Norbetus (Norpetus) to be the child of King Coggy and You (Yoo) Coleby,⁵³ who was baptised in 1827, the same year as Kitty's son Samuel Coleby (see Figure 8.4 in Appendix 8).

By 1831 Richmond Colebee was dead. Evidence of his passing is contained in a letter requesting his sister Maria receive his 30 acres of land.⁵⁴ I have not uncovered evidence of how Colebee died. With a smallpox outbreak in 1829-1830 (Campbell, 1983), Colebee may have contracted this disease. However, Colebee's family had already been exposed, with smallpox marks present on the body of his grandfather in 1791 (Fitzhardinge, 1979).

8.4 Kitty marries Joseph Budsworth

With Colebee dead, Kitty had left the Blacktown site and was living at Richmond in 1832 (Kohen, 2010), where she met and married a convict by the name of Henry Joseph Budsworth, who had been sent out to the colony for stealing half a pound of butter. The son of John and Margaret Budsworth (nee Bore), Joseph's family were farmers from West Derby. Caught for stealing the butter, sixteen-year-old Joseph was tried and convicted at Liverpool on 4 May 1829. With four previous convictions against him, he was sentenced to seven years in the colony, leaving Britain on the *Claudine* and arriving in Sydney on 6 December 1829.

⁵³ <http://www.cifhs.com/nswrecords/nswbdm.html>

⁵⁴ Colonial Secretary Correspondence re land Maria Lock to Darling 14/3/1831 NSW Reel 1153

After being assigned to William Cox, Joseph went to work on Cox's property at Clarendon, Richmond outside of Windsor. As Colebee and Cox had an established relationship, Colebee and Joseph may have met before Colebee's death, given the property was situated on Boorooberongal lands. According to Kohen (1993; 1996; 2010), Joseph met Black Kitty after she became a widow, suggesting she may have been cared for by Colebee's family on Country. On 15 February 1837, after serving his seven years, Joseph earned his Certificate of Freedom (Kohen, 2010). By that time the couple had moved along the stock route of the Liverpool Plains in western NSW, with their children being born along this journey.

8.5 The children of Black Kitty and Joseph Budsworth

The research undertaken by historian Joy Pickette and the Coonabarabran DPS Local & Family History Group, contributes much of the personal information for this section through the book *Footprints in the Sands of Time* (Pickette, 2017).

Black Kitty and Joseph Budsworth had a productive partnership, producing six living children, three sons and three daughters. It is unknown whether Colebee and Black Kitty's first son Samuel went with them or stayed with members of the Richmond clan. The first son of the union Joseph (Joe) Budsworth Jnr was born at Maitland NSW on 27 June 1833 and died 11 May 1863 at Koroom Station in South West Queensland. Although having a relatively short life, Joe married a young Aboriginal girl by the name of Mary Jane Griffin on 2 July 1857, according to the Maitland

Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (1857, p. 3).⁵⁵ Joe and Mary had one son, James Budsworth, who was born 21 October 1860. He died two years after his father in 1865. Mary Jane went on to marry George Cain, on the 21 November 1865. Later referred to as 'Queenie Cain', Mary Jane became the Aboriginal matriarch of Coonabarabran and responsible for the establishment of Burra Bee Dee Aboriginal Mission (Pickette, 2017).

I am descended from Kitty and Joseph's second son, James Bowen Budsworth, born on William Lawson's Bowen Plains Run (Pickette, 2017) on the banks of the Peel River, near Tamworth in 1840 (see more details about James in section 8.6 below). Kitty's third son John was born in 1843, but I could find little information about his life.

Kitty and Joseph's first daughter, Catherine Budsworth, was born in Tambar Springs in 1838. She died at Granville Sydney, on 26 August 1906, aged 74 years. Their second daughter was Mary Budsworth (Pickette, 2017), recorded as being born in 1849. Records state Mary was 16 years old when she married Francis Archibald Baker, a shepherd and labourer from Coonabarabran, on 28 April 1870. However, if Mary was born in 1849, she would have been 21 years old. This is consistent with her age listed as 29 years when Mary died on 18 May 1878 from typhoid fever at Bundella Creek (Pickette, 2017). The third daughter was Sarah Budsworth, who married 45-year-old Frederick George Hamilton 28 April 1870 at Bundella, the same day as Mary and Francis. Sarah's marriage, registered at Tamworth, had Sarah's

⁵⁵ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/18655638?fbclid=IwAR2MhtdjU2E0D2iuZHaGICBCGxQnUWK2r68KUOxZTTEhxx-CIgktWYBTem>

name listed as Budeworth. Sarah's age at the time of her marriage was listed as 16 years of age, the same registered age as Mary's, which might explain the discrepancy. The person recording the ages may have made a mistake as Mary's birth and death records are consistent with her age. Sarah's birth date then would have been around 1854. Sarah died at Inverell on 19 October 1886.

8.6 My connection with Kitty: James Bowen Budsworth

I am descended from Kitty and Joseph's second son, my great, great grandfather James Bowen Budsworth, who was born on 12 April 1840 at the 'Bowen Plains Run' in Western NSW. The property belonged to William Lawson (Pickette, 2017), which indicates there was a relationship between Black Kitty and William Lawson.⁵⁶ This relationship would have started at Warmul, as Lawson had moved to Prospect around the time Black Kitty was born. The baptism service was performed by the Reverend J.T. Lynch on 1 August 1845 at the Roman Catholic Church in West Maitland (Pickette, 2017). On his Baptism Certificate his parents' place of abode is recorded as Peel's River.

James Bowen had a chequered life. Described as a bushranger in an article from the Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser (1863, p. 2),⁵⁷ the same newspaper (1863) had James Bowen, accused of horse stealing, in the lockup at Cassilis awaiting transportation back to Coonabarabran (see Figure 8.5 in Appendix

⁵⁶ <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/lawson-william-2338>

⁵⁷ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/18694732#>

8). Known also as ‘Mudgee Jimmy’⁵⁸, my great, great grandfather carried himself well, as noted in the Tamworth newspaper:

Budsworth is a half-caste, slightly built, about 23 years of age, 5’7” high, rather good looking and intelligent; dresses very showy and usually wears a gold ring and watch chain; is rather flash in his manner; and is very well known about Liverpool Plains and Cassilis. (Pickette, 2017, p. 18)

On 26 February 1867, James Bowen married Catherine Ryan at Clayey Waterhole Station (see Figure 8.6 in Appendix 8 for a copy of the marriage register), an outstation of Bomera (Pickette, 2017, p. 18). The service was conducted in the parlour of the residence of his father, Joseph Budsworth (Pickette, 2017). Mary Budsworth and James Goulburn are on the paperwork as the witnesses. James Bowen’s occupation is listed as horse-breaker at Bomera. At the time of her marriage, Catherine was living at Toorawandi. She signed her name with an X (Pickette, 2017). Catherine was the daughter of James and Mary Ryan, nee Edmonds, born around 1844, at Braidwood NSW. The fact that James Bowen could sign his name on the register indicates he may have been taught how to read and write. As Aboriginal children were excluded from attending school at this time, I would argue this is evidence he was home schooled by his mother, Black Kitty.

James Bowen and Catherine had eleven known children, nine of them born in the Coonabarabran district. Two of their sons, along with two of their grandsons enlisted to fight for ‘King and Country’ in World War I, as I discuss below. James Bowen died aged 90 years on 7 August 1930 in Warwick, Queensland. His parents’ names on his death certificate are Joseph and ‘Kathleen’. According to Pickette (2017) this

⁵⁸<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/18694872?fbclid=IwAR0vGzIksRQFtI7EhnbxGSluZu3OjWPColj3aSlXJu2FSbjRneCx8rcqO9>

was another name Kitty used. His wife Catherine died on 18 February 1931 aged 86 years, in Auburn, Sydney. She is buried in the Catholic portion of Rookwood Cemetery. James Bowen's daughter Cicely Lucy, married Ephraim Joseph Rose, great grandson of Thomas and Jane Rose of the *Bellona* (see section 2.1.2).

8.7 What became of Kitty and Joseph?

Kitty's husband Joseph Budsworth was employed for many years at James Hale's Bomera Station, which passed to his grandson, Andrew Town, when Hale died in 1857. Joseph stayed on and continued to work there until he was in his 70s. There is some information on Joseph Budsworth from a manuscript in the Mitchell Library written for Mary Jane Cain of Burra Bee Dee in 1926⁵⁹:

There was an old man taken away by the name of Joe Budsworth and an old man Sam Freeman both these men were very feeble but being such faithful servants and Mr Towns (sic) being so kind Hearted it was his wish for them to go to Windsor, his home.

Joseph died at the Hawkesbury Benevolent Asylum and was buried at Windsor General Cemetery.

After the birth of her children, Black Kitty fades into history. I found no record of her death or burial through my research. While her name, written as Catherine, Kathleen or Katherine, appears on official documents for the births and deaths of her children (Pickette, 2017), there appear to be no records of her own death. There was speculation Kitty was imprisoned at Maitland Gaol for stealing a watch in

⁵⁹ Cain, M.J. c1926, Reminiscences of Coonabarabran, N.S.W. and district, 1844—1926, Mitchell Library Document 2686.

Tamworth. I found an Aboriginal woman named Kitty who had been in Maitland Gaol in 1866 and had died of consumption a year later in 1867. However, records I studied at the NSW Archives in Western Sydney confirm that woman was much younger than Black Kitty would have been at that time, so I have had to discount that theory.

Reflective poem

*Black Kitty and Joseph travelled this way
Bringing their kids, they came to stay
Mary Jane married Joseph, they came along too
James Bowen met Catherine, the family grew*

*Coonabarabran became their home
A country town with room to roam
The family expanded with grandkids to follow
Generations would come, in the future tomorrow*

*Working stations across the Liverpool Plains
Faraway from Country, Black Kitty's spirit remains
Tied to the Darug, but respecting you see
She lived on Kamilaroi Country with her family*

Rosemary Norman-Hill western NSW 7 July 2017

8.8 Kitty's lasting legacy: her descendants' contribution to World War I

8.8.1 Reflections about Country

Thirteen of Black Kitty's descendants signed up to fight in the Great War of 1914 - 1918. It was during the time when Aboriginal people were subjected to the "White Australia policy... in a deeply racist Australia" (Scarlett, 2015, p. 164). The Defence Act of 1903 denied the right of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people to enlist, as it was restricted to those who were largely of European descent (Pickette, 2017; Riseman, 2014; Scarlett, 2018; Syron, 2015). Under the revised Defence Act 1909, Indigenous Australians were also denied access to the Universal Training Scheme, with Hall (1989) clarifying that "both government and the Services opposed Aboriginal military service" (Hall, 1989, p. 1).

While Aboriginal men went to great lengths to enlist (Pickette, 2017), once they were identified as Aboriginal, they were often discharged. The Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS)⁶⁰ notes that after overcoming all the obstacles, approximately 1000 Aboriginal men were permitted to enlist to fight for Australia on the condition they did not live in a tribal environment. During the latter part of WW1, when casualty figures reflected the intensity of the war and recruitment figures began to fall, a Military Board gave the direction in 1917 to allow those from mixed descent to enlist (Pickette (2017).

⁶⁰ <https://aiatsis.gov.au/exhibitions/stafford-brothers>

As this was the time of the Protection Boards and the complete marginalisation of Aboriginal peoples in this country, Indigenous men found nothing had changed when they returned from fighting. According to Hall (1989), Aboriginal men were completely left out of the “digger legend” (Hall, 1989, p. 1). Their service to Australia was ignored “then forgotten for decades by white Australians” (Scarlett, 2015, p. 165). While fighting in the AIF brought a measure of equality, entitlement and empowerment for Aboriginal people (Riseman, 2014), in reality the Aboriginal men found no equality in assimilation. That they had fought side by side with their non-Aboriginal ‘Aussie mates, was of no consequence. The voice of returned Aboriginal soldier Tom Blackman says it all:

I always thought fighting for my king and country would make me a naturalise british [sic] subject and a man with freedom in the country but I have hardly had freedom since I returned from the war... It seems as if a Chief Protector thinks the half caste return soldier dont [sic] want justice... We help to fight same as the white soldiers did. Think of all the half caste soldiers who were killed at war. What thanks have the half caste soldiers got for going to war. We were good men at war but looked down on now the war is over. (as cited in Scarlett, 2015, p. 174)⁶¹

With historians such as Philippa Scarlett and Joy Pickette working meticulously to bring the storying of many individual Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander WW1 veterans to the attention of the wider Australian population, we can now have a greater appreciation for the part Black Kitty’s descendants played during this time of history. The names of these nineteen men, along with others from the Coonabarabran District in western NSW, are included in Pickette’s 2017 publication, *Footprints in the Sands of Time*. I was invited to attend the book launch in Coonabarabran in July 2017. The invitation made me reflect on the Aboriginal

⁶¹ Blackman to Tennant Kelly, 22 February 1935 in Scarlett, 2015.

men who chose to fight for 'King and Country', at a time when both the Australian Government and Military opposed Indigenous people joining the service (Hall, 1997).

According to Scarlett (2018), undertaking this type of research has not been without its challenges. One such challenge was that the AIF had no specific identification, which meant proving the heritage and Indigeneity of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Soldiers was at times difficult, particularly when they had the same name as non-Aboriginal service men.

Reflective Poem

*We hit the road to travel that way
Two cars we headed to Binnaway
More memories to add to the family book
We travelled along, to have a look*

*Then on to Coonabarabran we went
To honour the invitations that were sent
A book launch of our Aboriginal men
The Great War was calling way back then*

*Guests travelled from near and far away
Together we gathered to remember the day
When brave men left to go to war
Their memories live on forever more*

Rosemary Norman-Hill (on the road to Coonabarabran) 6 July 2017

8.9 Conclusion

Just as my ancestry begins the thesis, so the final chapter of the story ends with my links to Black Kitty through the ancestry in this chapter. The storytelling of Black Kitty's life provides insight into life for Aboriginal peoples, with the separation of Aboriginal children from families as an experiment by the Colonial Government, to the child bride who moved out of the PNI to a strange new world.

Black Kitty of the Darug was an Aboriginal woman who survived the death of her first husband, then followed her second husband across the harsh landscape to the Liverpool Plains. Having lived at Blacktown before marrying Joseph, Kitty would have been grounded back to Ngurra by the local Aboriginal peoples who frequented the settlement (Brook & Kohen, 1991).

The chapter concludes with Black Kitty's contribution to the First World War which outlines the challenges for Indigenous people when they tried to enlist.

Black Kitty's legacy lives on through Darug culture that continues to thrive on Ngurra. Please take some time to view some of the cultural work Darug peoples continue to do in the Parramatta area in Appendix 9, before reading the conclusion to the thesis in Chapter Nine.

Chapter 9: Conclusion – Coming full circle



Through this doctoral research I have written my interpretation of the Darug story as a Cannemegal-Warmuli woman to reveal the truths about those early years of settlement on Darug Ngurra. I first began the research journey focused on Kitty of the Darug, the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI), and the rhetoric of colonial Sydney. That was until the ceremony in the urban bush changed everything, as detailed in the Foreword of the thesis. It was at this time my ‘cultural eyes’ were opened, and I began my ‘cultural learnings’, which led to my becoming an Aboriginal researcher. It also brought a change in focus, as the study grew to become much more than Kitty’s story.

In the artwork for this Chapter I am the hand, symbolically ‘handing over’ the thesis as a complete story to the reader. I hold within the hand all the experiences which place me in the story, alongside the ancestors who walked with me and taught me the ‘right way’ to see the world through Darug eyes. In this way I see the artwork as a holistic pathway to my becoming a Darug storyteller. I believe the thesis remains true to an Australian Indigenous research approach, with Indigenous Knowledge (IK) grounded in Darug Ngurra as the guiding principle.

The circle of dots on the palm represents the Parramatta Paradigm (PP), which has become my theoretical, analytical, and philosophical approach within the overarching PP methodology. Taking its place at the centre of the thesis, IK is placed in the centre of the dots like a campfire burning bright, just as IK shines bright as a

way of 'knowing and being' within the academy. The half-circles surrounding the campfire reflect the four methods which inform the PP: Indigenous Storywork, Aboriginal historiography, Aboriginal hermeneutics, and textual analysis. Each method works individually and collectively to reveal hidden meanings in historical documents, analysed and interpreted through Aboriginal eyes. The fingers and thumb are the conduit for distributing knowledge, as stories flow out to be shared with others. In this chapter, I visually represent all the stories incorporated in the chapters through bringing together each chapter's artwork. I start with reflecting upon both the challenge of developing the PP and why it matters, connecting back to Indigenous 'knowing, being and doing' in the academic space.

9.1 The making of a new Indigenous Research paradigm

As I studied both Indigenous and non-Indigenous theories and methodologies, I found I was experiencing something similar, to what happened to me in the urban bush. As I sat behind the computer, four circles kept coming into my brain, interrupting my train of thought. I drew these circles on paper then on the computer and printed them out. I had no idea what the four circles stood for or why they kept appearing. Those circles permeated my thinking constantly as I searched for a reason for their existence.

I went back to the aim of the thesis, revisited the thesis title and thesis question. I knew the purpose of the study was to examine the colonial past and that historical documents needed to be analysed and interpreted through Aboriginal eyes to reveal the truths of the Darug experience. I understood IK in Darug Ngurra was the

foundation for the methodology. That foundation grounded me *in* the research and *in* Country through the ceremony in the bush. I knew historiography was critical in both setting the scene for the storying and for exploring how the writing of history changed over time. I also recognised the relevance of textual analysis in examining the writings in documents to understand both the Darug and European peoples' lived experience. Yet I kept drawing these same four circles.

I thought of Kitty of the Darug and her experience growing up living apart from her family at the Parramatta Native Institution. The words as written by the missionaries told their story of coming with good intentions, their soul and sole purpose was to save the heathen native population from eternal damnation. Their intention was to civilise the savage Aboriginal race, using education as the way to redemption. The establishment of native residential schools and removal of Aboriginal children from their primitive and pagan lifestyles was believed to be in the children's best interest. I kept thinking of Kitty's life's journey and my belief in the importance of this work: "through her I am and because of her I can".

Still the four circles continued to interrupt my writings. I discussed the circles with my supervisors and in group sessions with my peers, to try to get some clarity about what I presumed were *my* thoughts. I did not realise at the time it was the *ancestors who were driving this thought process*. In the same way as they did in the bush, the spirit beings were steering me towards finding what was missing from my approach. I knew I had two purposes: first, to find hidden meanings in the text in order to tell

the Darug history of Sydney in a more truthful way, and second, to find the right way to bring the stories together to share with others.

I knew if I were to find the answer to the four circles, I needed to stop thinking and start to listen deeply. It happened at Southern Cross University during a peer group meeting: I ‘saw’ the missing parts of my emerging methodology through deep reflection, just as I ‘saw’ the hidden meanings in the markings on the tree of knowledge in the urban bush. As Meyer (2003) reminded me, hermeneutics was needed as a method in the PP to expose the hidden messages in historical documents. I reflected on the process where hermeneutically I had begun to see hidden meanings in the markings on the tree and to see the tree as the sum of its parts. This experience in the bush helped me to see the world around me in a different way, and reminded me later, that I needed to find the sum of the parts of the storying in the thesis.

I found that through bringing all the stories together, different versions of the history of colonial settlement emerged. These versions differed from that portrayed by white historians and allowed the truths of the Darug experience to be exposed. Once I recognised this, the challenge became how to share this information as an Aboriginal researcher respectfully, sensitively, and responsibly with others. Enter Jo-Ann Archibald and Indigenous Storywork. The four circles were now complete: by adding hermeneutics and the ancient art of storytelling to the circles, I had all four methods to reveal the truths of colonial settlement on Darug Ngurra, and the most respectful way to relay the stories to others.

These were the academic tools I needed to reveal and interpret the truths hidden within the colonial journals and reflect on Darug survival after the coming of the British to Ngurra. I was able to make connections with and make sense of our current struggle for recognition in Sydney, how we as Darug people have all but had our history on Ngurra extinguished by those in positions of power in the Sydney space. It was then I realised how much the truth telling of Darug survival mattered, not just to me, but to all who have descended from the children in the PNI and other Aboriginal families whose ancestors walked the earth across Sydney.

I argue that the PP is an emergent Indigenous paradigm that does not take a conventionally de-colonising methodological approach. Rather, I honour my ancestors by ensuring their way of ‘knowing’, passed on to me in the urban bush, informs the methodology. The development of the PP also allowed me to step away from the more dominant Western research paradigms (Wilson, 2008) to embed IK in Ngurra (Country) as the foundation for the research. It also fits within Wilson’s (2008) view of relationality, as each part of the methodology relates to the others to guide the research. Thus, the thesis emerges as a ceremony of learning, sharing, acknowledging, and understanding my contribution to knowledge in the discipline of Indigenous Philosophies.

9.2 Reflections on ancestry and Country (Ngurra)

While Chapter One places this body of work in context and provides a brief overview of the main themes of the research process, Chapter Two introduces my ancestry as a way of connecting the story back to colonial settlement days. The relationships and

connections become important in the storying as both my Aboriginal and European ancestors lived side by side on Ngurra. This part of the thesis became a reality for me when in early July 2017, I flew out of Sydney toward Dubbo to attend the book launch at Coonabarabran. As the aeroplane headed across the Cumberland Plains, I could see from the window the results of modernity: infrastructure, suburbs, concrete buildings, train lines and highways snaking their way across the landscape.

My thoughts returned to earlier times, to Darug Ngurra below me, the lands where my Aboriginal ancestors had trodden the earth for thousands of years. My imaginings once again revealed a huge expanse of Country, devoid of any signs of European 'civilisation'. The waterways were clear of pollution and the landscape was managed by Darug peoples to ensure a constant supply of food sources. I realised how difficult it would have been for those of the First Fleet to try and monitor this space. I imagined the Aboriginal warriors sitting together on Prospect Hill, surveying the surrounding countryside, men who fought so bravely to protect their families, their hunting grounds, and their sacred right to 'place'. The years of conflict that followed demonstrated an indomitable belief in their inherent right to exist.

I reflected on my European bloodline, those who came to these lands both in chains and as settlers. My emotions were stirred when I realised my ancestors, the Cross and Rose families, in using land for farming, took Ngurra from Black Kitty's family. I realised there must have been sliding door moments between them all after the Roses relocated to the Government farm at Warmul: the marriage between the Cross

and Rose children, then later their descendants joining the Darug line through marrying Kitty's descendants.

The harshness of this new land would have been confronting for matriarch Jane Rose, who had left her extended family and the green fields of Dorset to travel to a new land on the other side of the world. I reflected on the reconciliation meeting on Prospect Hill as the Warmuli did their best to negotiate for peace in the area, and on my ancestry, both black and white. The importance of knowing more of my history and my ancestry gives me an identity I own and am proud of.

9.3 A different view of history

As the writing continued and the chapters began to evolve, I provided evidence to demonstrate that bands of Aboriginal peoples not only survived the smallpox epidemic, but were living traditional lives in Sydney and across the Cumberland Plains long after the smallpox epidemic of 1789. I also examined why war existed in this space and verified that Darug families raised their children alongside Europeans on Ngurra.

Over the many months of doing historical research I had read different versions of the colonial history of Australia written by those who were not Aboriginal. When I analysed the writings in letters, journals and historical records, I sensed the frustration of Governor Phillip hidden beneath glowing words of praise for the settlement (Hill, 2008) and I felt the dissension in the ranks as the marines turned against Governor Phillip. I learned of the killings on both sides as the British tried to

assert their authority on a land ‘belonging’ to others and read multiple texts about the smallpox outbreak of 1789.

These documents told the story of the severe depopulation of Aboriginal peoples in the Sydney region. While I came to understand the hardships written in First Fleet journals, I found a different truth in their words: that the hardship experienced at that time was actually by the newcomers, not Aboriginal peoples, as was portrayed in the British journals. It was clear to me from the written texts that the British had struggled to build a fledgling colony in a hostile environment.

Therefore, through Aboriginal hermeneutics and textual analysis, another version of the story emerges: at the coming of the First Fleet, the Aboriginal population was far more numerous than determined by Cook and Banks in 1770. As each Chapter unfolds, the stories of taking of land, children and cultural practices continue the narrative. The overarching story of the thesis highlights the truths from an Aboriginal perspective about the colonial history of Sydney, to reveal the impact on the local Aboriginal population.

By highlighting the historical significance of the Parramatta Native Institution (PNI) as the first native residential school in Australia, I argue through the research that the ‘experiment’ of the PNI represented the first Aboriginal child removal policy in Australia. Enacted by the colonial government of the time, the experiment removed Aboriginal children from their families to ‘civilise, Christianise and educate’ them into the European way of life. Thus, through a partnership formed between a

missionary and the colonial government, this scheme was structured to ensure Aboriginal children were raised by Europeans as Europeans, denying them their Aboriginal heritage and identity.

I found that through exploring my ancestry, the story grew to be more than just family history, as it revealed the survival of the Darug nation from colonial settlement to present day. The methodology has allowed me to re-tell Australia's colonial patriarchal (his)story using my Aboriginal voice and perspective as my way of reclaiming Darug history. Through interpretation of text and applying the message through storying I both share the research and provide evidence to corroborate my interpretations. I argue that in doing so I regain our traditional place (Ngurra) and space (knowledges).

From my ceremony in the bush, to the realisation at 28,000 feet over Darug Ngurra, my mind has been opened to a different way of being in this world. The work I have completed in this thesis has established my connection to Darug Ngurra and reclaimed my sovereign right to Country. As this was my first piece of major research on this academic journey, I am now ready to move forward to other historical research projects using the PP methodology.

9.4 The role of traditional Aboriginal art

The traditional artworks incorporated throughout the thesis complete the methodology. They bring together the stories within each Chapter with the

realisation that each symbolically adds value to the whole and validates the research process. This visual dialogue (Sheehan, 2011a) not only provides the introduction to the chapters but is also an allegorical way to remind us this is Aboriginal research, about Aboriginal people, on Aboriginal land. The symbols, as Wilson (2008) explains, demonstrate how everything is alive, relational, and connected.

This thesis has now come full circle, beginning with my European and Aboriginal ancestry in Chapter Two and finishing with my direct ancestral link to Kitty of the Darug in Chapter Eight.

Figure 9.1 demonstrates the completion of the thesis using the visual dialogue approach.

Figure 9:1 Coming full circle – a visual representation of the thesis



The study has exposed the Darug experience, examined what happened during colonial times and demonstrated how the Darug did not just survive, but continued to thrive within Ngurra long after the arrival of the First Fleet. Notwithstanding, over two hundred and thirty-two years ago the British entered our space, followed by other Europeans who came in chains or to claim our space. The Maori from New Zealand were invited to come and learn in our space, while other Aboriginal nations from North, South and West came to live in our space. All bringing their own ways of 'being' in the world to Darug Ngurra.

The foundations of Darug life, our sacred places, our language, our Dreaming, passed on by the ancestors down the generational line, has slowly been eroded as others have claimed our space. This is the reality of the human experience of both Aboriginal and Europeans, as colonial settlement has seen land theft and the eventual destruction of our traditional way of life. The Darug, however have adjusted, with a resilience gained by 'knowing' how to adapt, as our ancestors learned to adapt over thousands of years, of 'being' a part of Ngurra.

I argue that this thesis confirms the Darug survived the coming of the British to Ngurra. The British did not, nor could they know that the lands they had settled on was Aboriginal lands, a place where our ancestors had walked the earth, cared for Ngurra and practiced traditional knowledge, medicines and sciences for thousands of generations. Ngurra was (and still is) the essence of our being, our place of belonging.

9.5 Implications for future research

On reflection, the experience in the bush changed not just the way I was seeing and being in the world, but the way I was researching Australian colonial settlement history. From this came the Parramatta Paradigm, which is my Indigenous research methodology. No longer am I on the outside looking in.

I realise now that more research is needed on the PNI to investigate the impact on the children and to find missing documents that would complete more of the story. During this research, I received emails from Darug peoples who are descendants from children at the PNI (Parramatta Native Institution) or BNI (Blacktown Native Institution), asking for information on their ancestors. While there was no scope in this paper to research these children or their histories, I believe this to be a rich field of study. If undertaken, the research would both empower and be of great benefit to the Darug community. The Parramatta Paradigm thus provides a framework for other Darug researchers to reclaim our history, and to add to the Darug story of survival.

By doing this research I have found that the telling of history can distort the real truths of what happened. While I can confidently claim that the Darug people survived the smallpox epidemic, the frontier wars, appropriation of lands and separation from family, more investigation is needed in this history space. I also believe the smallpox question and my suspicions about who the culprits might be needs more corroboration and research. This research preferably undertaken by Aboriginal researchers, who can examine the smallpox question, the PNI question and impact of colonisation on Aboriginal peoples, through an Aboriginal lens.

I took care as the researcher to cause no harm through my writings. Yet in researching one's own mob, one may find evidence of Aboriginal child removals, wars, and massacres, which can be confronting and cause trauma (Thorpe, 2014). As Russell (2018, p. 205) comments "...there is the great concern that the harrowing incidents we might find in the archives can have the capacity to re-traumatise contemporary Aboriginal people who are the descendants, relatives and custodians". Through this thesis I have focused on giving the ancestors a voice, on truth telling, as a way of re-telling our history and contributing to family narratives (Faulkhead, et al, 2010). I have presented my version of events through stories, alongside those authors from long ago.

Undertaking this Professional Doctorate has proven to me that on a deep ontological level Darug Ngurra is our connection to our past, our present and our future. While Darug Ngurra has been an active participant through this thesis, the 'knowing' about Ngurra gives us our identity and sense of belonging. From our earth Mother and the surrounding landscape to our waterways and the sky Father; from our ancestors, our spirit beings, the seen and unseen. I conclude this thesis through the voices of the ancestors as given to me in the urban bush in Sydney.

Reflective poem

*They came they stayed they took away
Our right to language, land 'our way'
At first there were but very few
They struggled to survive on the land we knew*

*The seeds they planted never grew
Their animals ran off, leaving oh so few
Never believing in our right to 'be'
Not knowing 'our way' they failed to see*

*We never killed, more than one day
Sharing when plenty, coming from far away
Our mob would gather with songs to sing
Celebrating our life, our 'belonging'*

*For thousands of generations we lived this way
Painting our stories using ochre clay
We left a legacy for others to follow
Always taking care of the future tomorrow*

Rosemary Norman-Hill, Manly June 2017

References

- Allen, M. (2017). The myth of the flogging Parson: Samuel Marsden and severity of punishment in the age of reform. *Australian Historical Studies*, 48(4), 486-501.
doi:10.1080/1031461X.2017.1377269
- Anderson, K., & Perrin, C. (2007). 'The miserablest people in the world': Race, humanism and the Australian Aborigine. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology*, 18(1), 18-39.
doi:10.1111/j.1835-9310.2007.tb00075.x
- Archibald, J. (2008). *Indigenous storywork: Educating the heart, mind, body, and spirit*. Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press.
- Archibald, J. (2019). Indigenous storywork in Canada. In J. Archibald, J. Lee-Morgan, & J. De Santolo (Eds.), *Decolonising research: Indigenous storywork as methodology* (pp. 17-22). London, England: Zed Books Ltd.
- Archibald, J., Lee-Morgan, J., & De Santolo, J. (2019). Introduction: Decolonising research: Indigenous storywork as methodology. In J. Archibald, J. Lee-Morgan, & J. De Santolo (Eds.), *Decolonising research: Indigenous storywork as a methodology* (pp. 1-16). London, England: Zed Books Ltd.
- Ardill, A. (2013). Australian sovereignty, Indigenous Standpoint Theory and Feminist Standpoint Theory: First Peoples' sovereignties matter. *Griffith Law Review*, 22(2), 315-343. doi:10.1080/10383441.2013.10854778
- Armitage, A. (1995). *Comparing the policy of aboriginal assimilation: Australia, Canada, and New Zealand*. British Columbia, Canada: UBC Press.

- Atkinson, W., Langton, M., & Williams, M. (1985). Contact history: Introduction: A celebration of resistance to colonialism. *Australia 1939-1988: a bicentennial History Bulletin*.
- Attenbrow, V. (2003). *Sydney's Aboriginal past: Investigating the archaeological and historical records*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press Ltd.
- Attwood, B. (2003). Historiography on the Australian frontier. In B. Attwood & S. Forster, G (Eds.), *Frontier conflict: the Australian experience* (pp. 169-184). Canberra, Australia: National Museum of Australia.
- Barlo, S. (2016). *Can the impacts of colonisation on the dignity of Aboriginal men be reversed?* (PhD). Southern Cross University, Lismore, Australia. Retrieved from <https://epubs.scu.edu.au/theses/510/>
- Barnes, S., & Mar, P. (2018). *Waves of people: Exploring the movements and patterns of migration that have shaped Parramatta through time*. Parramatta, Australia: City of Parramatta.
- Barquet, N., & Domingo, P. (1997). Smallpox: The triumph over the most terrible of the ministers of death. *Annals of Internal Medicine*, 127(8), 635–642. doi:10.7326/0003-4819-127-8
- Barry, A. (2008). Equal to children of European origin: Educability and the civilising mission in early colonial Australia. *History Australia*, 5(2), 41.41-41.16. doi:10.2104/ha080041
- Barton, G. (1889). *History of New South Wales: From the records* (Vol. 1 Governor Phillip 1783-1789). Sydney, Australia: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- Bateson, C. (1969). *The convict ships, 1787-1868*. Sydney, Australia: A. H. & A. W. Reed.

- Beaglehole, J. (Ed.). (1963). *The Endeavour journal of Joseph Banks: 1768-1771 (Vol. 1)*. (2nd ed.). Sydney, Australia: Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in association with Angus and Robertson.
- Behrendt, L. (2019). Indigenous storytelling decolonizing institutions and assertive self-determination: Implications for legal practice. In J. Archibald, J. Lee-Morgan, & J. De Santolo (Eds.), *Decolonising research: Indigenous storywork as methodology* (pp. 175-186). London, England: Zed Books Ltd.
- Bell, D. (1993). *Daughters of the dreaming* (2nd ed.). St Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Bell, S., Instone, L., & Mee, K. (2017). Engaged witnessing: Researching with the more than human. *Royal Geographical Society*, 50, 136-144. doi:10.1111/area.12346
- Bennett, M. (2009). Smallpox and cowpox under the Southern Cross: The smallpox epidemic of 1789 and the advent of vaccination in colonial Australia. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 83(1), 37-62. doi:10.1353/bhm.0.0167
- Berndt, R., & Berndt, C. (1999). *The world of the first Australians* (5th ed.). Canberra, Australia: Australian Studies Press.
- Bickford, A. (1988). Contact history: Aborigines in New South Wales after 1788. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*, 1, 55-61. Retrieved from <https://aiatsis.gov.au/publications/australian-aboriginal-studies-journal>
- Bigge, J. (1823). *Report of the Commissioner of Inquiry on the state of agriculture and trade in the colony of New South Wales*. London, England: Great Britain, House of Lords.
- Bladen, F. M., & Britton, A. (1892). *Historical records of New South Wales (Vol. 1)*. Sydney, Australia: Charles Potter, Government Printer.
- Bladen, F. M., & Britton, A. (1896). *Historical records of New South Wales (Vol. 4)*. Sydney, Australia: Charles Potter Government Printer.

- Blaxcell, G. (1805, 5 May). General Orders. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 4. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/6112>
- Blainey, G. (2015). *The story of Australia's people: The rise and fall of ancient Australia*. Scoresby, Australia: Penguin Group Australia.
- Bremer, A. (2007). Domestic disclosures: Letters and the representation of cross-cultural relations in early colonial New South Wales. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 28(1), 77-95. doi:10.1353/fro.2007.0021
- Bridges, B. J. (1972). The Native Institution, Parramatta and Blacktown. Part 1 1814-20. In *Forum of Education: An Australian Journal of Teacher Education* (Vol. XXXI). Sydney, Australia: Sydney Teachers' College.
- Broadbent, J. (1992). Macquarie's Domain. In J. Broadbent & J. Hughes (Eds.), *The age of Macquarie* (pp. 3-18). Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Brook, J., & Kohen, J. (1991). *The Parramatta Native Institution and the Black Town: A history*. Kensington, Australia: New South Wales University Press.
- Brookes, R. (1819, 17 April). Sitting Magistrate. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 4. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2178659>
- Broughton, W. (1815, 13 March). Sydney. *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7263>
- Bubacz, B. M. (2008). *The female and male orphan schools in New South Wales, 1801-1850*. (PhD). University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia. Retrieved from <https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/handle/2123/2474>
- Buchan, B. (2005). The empire of political thought: civilization, savagery and perceptions of Indigenous government. *History of the Human Sciences*, 18(2), 1-22. doi:10.1177/0952695105054179

- Burridge, N., & Chodkiewicz, A. (2012). An historical overview of Aboriginal education policies in the Australian context. In N. Burridge, F. Whalan, & K. Vaughan (Eds.), *Indigenous education. Transgressions (cultural studies and education)* (Vol. 86): Sense Publishers, Rotterdam.
- Butlin, N. (1983). *Our original aggression*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Cajete, G. (1994). *Look to the mountain: An ecology of Indigenous education*. Durango, Colorado: Kivaki Press.
- Cajete, G. (2000). *Native science; natural laws of interdependence*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: Clear Light Publishers.
- Campbell, J. (1983). Smallpox in Aboriginal Australia, 1829–31. *Historical Studies*, 20(81), 536-556. doi:10.1080/10314618308682899
- Campbell, J. (2002). *Invisible invaders smallpox and other diseases in Aboriginal Australia 1780–1880*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Campbell, J. T. (1814, December 10). Government and General Orders. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7233>
- Campbell, J. T. (1815, 1 April). *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7269>
- Campbell, J. T. (1816, 4 May). Proclamation. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 1. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/493033>
- Carr, T. (2004). From Castlebellingham to the Bay of Islands: Tully Mathews, New Zealand's first brickmaker. *Journal of the County Louth Archaeological and Historical Society*, 25(4), 471-474. doi:10.2307/27729950
- Cassidy, J. (2009). The Canadian response to Aboriginal residential schools: Lessons for Australia and the United States? *Elaw Journal: Murdoch University Electronic*

- Journal of Law*, 16(2), 38-71. Retrieved from
<http://www5.austlii.edu.au/au/journals/MurUEJL/>
- Claes, R., & Clifton, D. (1998). *Needs and expectations for redress of victims of abuse at native residential schools*. Ottawa, Canada: Law Commission of Canada
- Clark, A., Berger, S., Hughes-Warrington, M., & Macintyre, S. (2018). What is history? Historiography roundtable *Rethinking History*, 22(4), 500-524.
doi:10.1080/13642529.2018.1528046
- Clark, I. (2002). Indigenous children and institutions: 'For the instruction and improvement of the natives'. In D. Mellor & A. Haebich (Eds.), *Many Voices* (pp. 166-176). Canberra, Australia: National Library of Australia.
- Clark, M., & Cathcart, M. (1993). *Manning Clark's history of Australia*. Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Clark, R. (1981). *The journal and letters of Lt. Ralph Clark 1787 - 1792* (P. G. Fidlon & R. J. Ryan Eds.). Netley, Australia: Griffin Press Ltd.
- Clarke, P. (2009). An Overview of Australian Aboriginal Ethnoastronomy.
Archaeoastronomy, 21, 39-58. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276207078_An_Overview_of_Australian_Aboriginal_Ethnoastronomy.
- Clarke, P. (2014). The Aboriginal Australian cosmic landscape. Part 1: The ethnobotany of the skyworld. *Journal of Astronomical History and Heritage*, 17(3), 307-325.
Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276207325_the_Aboriginal_Australian_cosmic_landscape_part_1_the_ethnobotany_of_the_skyworld
- Collins, D. (1798). *An account of the English colony in New South Wales, with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners etc, of the native Inhabitants of that country* (Vol. 1). Sydney, Australia: Reed in association with the Royal Historical Society.

- Collins, D. (1802). *An account of the English colony in New South Wales: With remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners etc, of the native Inhabitants of that country* (Vol. 2). Sydney, Australia: Reed in association with the Royal Historical Society.
- Colwell, J. (1904). *The illustrated history of Methodism: Australia 1812-1855: New South Wales and Polynesia 1856-1902: With special discoveries of the settlement of Australia, the missions to the South Sea Islands, New Zealand and the Aborigines, and a review of the movement leading up to the Methodist Union*. Sydney, Australia: William Brooks and Co. Ltd Printers and Publishers.
- Connor, J. (2002). *The Australian frontier wars 1788-1838*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press Ltd
- Cook, J., & Reed, A. (1969). *Captain Cook in Australia: Extracts from the journals of Captain James Cook giving a full account in his own words of his adventures and discoveries in Australia*. Sydney, Australia: Reed, A.W.
- Corr, B. (2013). Pondering the abyss: A study of the language of settlement on the Hawkesbury Nepean Rivers. Retrieved from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.arc-144576>
- Cowan, J. (1994). *The Aboriginal tradition* (3rd ed.). Brisbane, Australia: Element Books Ltd for Jacaranda Wiley Ltd.
- Cox, W. (1814). [Journal 1814]. CY Reel 1022:25 ML.
- Crotty, M., & Roberts, D. (2012). Introduction: Contemplating the role of mistakes in Australia's past. In M. Crotty & D. Roberts (Eds.), *Great mistakes of Australian history* (pp. 1-13). Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press Ltd.
- Cruickshank, J. (2008). To exercise a beneficial influence over a man: Marriage, gender and the native institutions in early colonial Australia. In A. Barry, J. Cruickshank, A. Brown-May, & P. Grimshaw (Eds.), *Evangelists of empire? Missionaries in colonial*

- history* (pp. 115-124). Melbourne, Australia: eScholarship Research Centre in collaboration with the Schools of Historical Studies.
- Curthoys, A. (2008). WEH Stanner and the historians. In M. Hinkson & J. Beckett (Eds.), *An appreciation of difference: WEH Stanner and Aboriginal Australia* (pp. 233-250). Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Das, P. (2013). "The frontier spectrum": Colonial Australia and Aboriginal resistance. *International Multidisciplinary Journal*, 11(5), 1-10. Retrieved from <http://www.galaxyimrj.com/V2/n4/July2013.pdf>
- Davies, G., & Dwyer, C. (2007). Qualitative methods: Are you being enchanted or are you alienated. *Progress in Human Geography*, 31, 257-266.
doi:10.1177/0309132507076417
- De Santolo, J. (2019). The emergence of Yarnbar Jarngkurr from Indigenous homelands: A creative Indigenous methodology. In J. A. Archibald, J. Lee-Morgan, & J. De Santolo (Eds.), *Decolonizing research Indigenous storywork as methodology* (pp. 239-260). London, England: Zed Books Ltd.
- Dening, G. (1997). Endeavour and Hokule'a: The theatre of re-enactment histories. *Humanities Research*, 1, 33-45. doi:10.22459/hr.1997.03
- Dickey, B. (1987). *No charity there: A short history of social welfare in Australia*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Dodson, M. (2008). Foreword: An appreciation of difference: WEH Stanner and Aboriginal Australia. In M. Hinkson & J. Beckett (Eds.), *An appreciation of difference: WEH Stanner and Aboriginal Australia* (pp. iii-vii). Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.

- Dodson, M., & Wilson, R. (1997). *Bringing them home: Report of the National Inquiry into the separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families*. Sydney, Australia: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.
- Donald, S. L. (2012). Dual heritage, shared future: James Cook, Tupaea and the transit of Venus at Tolaga Bay. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 42(2), 79-85. doi:10.1080/03036758.2012.672431
- Druett, J. (1987). *Tupaia: The remarkable story of Captain Cook's polynesian navigator*. Auckland, New Zealand: Random House.
- Eddy, J. (1992). Empire and politics. In J. Broadbent & J. Hughes (Eds.), *The age of Macquarie* (pp. 35-47). Netley, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Edwards, W. (2004). *An introduction to Aboriginal societies* (2nd ed.). Southbank, Australia: Social Science Press.
- Elder, B. (1998). *Blood on the wattle: Massacres and maltreatment of Australian Aborigines since 1788* (Vol. 2). Frenchs Forest, Australia: New Holland Publishers (Australia) Pty Ltd.
- Ellis, M. H. (1978). *Lachlan Macquarie: his life, adventures and times* (5th ed.). Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson Publishers.
- Fast, E., & Collin-Vézina, D. (2010). Historical trauma, race-based trauma and resilience of Indigenous peoples: A literature review. *First Peoples Child & Family Review*, 5(1), 126-136. Retrieved from <https://fpcfr.com/index.php/FPCFR/article/view/379>
- Faulkhead, S., Iacovino, L., McKemmish, S., & Thorpe, K. (2010). Australian Indigenous knowledge and the archives: Embracing multiple ways of knowing and keeping. *Archives and Manuscripts*, 38(1), 27-50. Retrieved from <https://www.archivists.org.au/learning-publications/archives-and-manuscripts>

- Faulkhead, S., & Thorpe, K. (2017). Dedication: Archives and Indigenous communities: Our knowing Allison Boucher Krebs (September 8, 1951-January 26, 2013). In A. Gilliland, M. Sue, & A. J. Lau (Eds.), *Research in the archival multiverse* (pp. 2-15). Victoria, Australia: Monash University Publishing.
- Fenn, E. A. (2000). Biological warfare in eighteenth-century North America: Beyond Jeffery Amherst. *The Journal of American History*, 86(4), 1552-1580. doi:10.2307/2567577
- Ferguson, N. (2011). *Civilization: The West and the rest*. New York, NY: The Penguin Press.
- Fitzhardinge, L. (1979). *Sydney's first four years: Being a reprint of a narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay and a complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson*. North Sydney, Australia: Library of Australian History.
- Fletcher, B. (1989). *Documents in the history of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales*. Carlton, Australia: B. Fletcher.
- Fletcher, J. (1989). *Clean, clad and courteous: A history of Aboriginal education in New South Wales*. Carlton, Australia: J. Fletcher.
- Flynn, M. (1993). *The second fleeters: Britain's grim convict armada of 1790*. Erskineville, Australia: Library of Australian History.
- Flynn, M. (1995). *Place of eels: Parramatta and the Aboriginal clans of the Sydney region: 1788-1845*. Parramatta, Australia: M. Flynn.
- Flynn, M. (1997). *Holroyd history and the silent boundary project*. Merrylands, Australia
- Foley, D. (2001). *Repossession of our spirit: Traditional owners of Northern Sydney* (2nd ed.). Canberra, Australia: Canberra Aboriginal History Inc.
- Foley, D. (2003). Indigenous epistemology and Indigenous Standpoint Theory. *Social Alternatives*, 22(1), 44-52. Retrieved from <http://socialalternatives.com/>
- Foster, E. (1987). *Australia's first settlement 1788-1821*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press Australia.

- Gapps, S. (2018). *The Sydney wars: Conflict in the early colony, 1788-1817*. Sydney, Australia: New South Publishing.
- Gascoigne, J., & Curthoys, P. (2002). *The enlightenment and the origins of European Australia*. Port Melbourne, Australia: Cambridge University Press.
- Gazette, S. (1810, 7 January). Sydney Gazette. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 4. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/6596>
- Gazette, S. (1821, 17 March). Sydney Gazette. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 3. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/492929>
- Gazette, S. (1821, 8 September). Sydney Gazette. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 3. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/493132>
- Gilbert, K. (1973). *Because a white man'll never do it*. Sydney, Australia: Angus & Robertson.
- Gilbert, K. (1978). *Living black: Blacks talks to Kevin Gilbert*. Ringwood, Australia: Penguin Books Australia.
- Given, L. (2008). *The Sage Encyclopedia of qualitative research methods* (K. Saumure Ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications.
- Gladwin, M. (2010). The journalist in the rectory: Anglican Clergymen and the Australian intellectual life. *History Australia*, 7(3), 56.51-56.28. Retrieved from <https://www.theaha.org.au/history-australia/>
- Gladwin, M. (2012). Flogging Parsons? Australian Anglican Clergymen, the Magistracy, and convicts, 1788-1850. *Journal of Religious History*, 36(3), 386-403. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9809.2012.01174.x
- Goulburn, F. (1825, 27 October). Government and General Order. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 4. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2184584>

- Grant, E. (2014). The incarceration of Australian Aboriginal women and children. In P. Ashton & J. Wilson (Eds.), *Silent system: Forgotten Australians and the institutionalisation of women and children* (pp. 43-56). North Melbourne, Australia: Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty Ltd.
- Grant, S. (2016). *Talking to my Country*. Sydney, Australia: Harper Collins Publisher Australia Pty Ltd.
- Hall, R. (1989). *The black diggers: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in the Second World War*. Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Harkin, N. (2017). On responsibility. *Overland*, 226, 51-52. Retrieved from <https://overland.org.au/>
- Harris, J. (1994). *One blood: 200 years of Aboriginal encounter with Christianity: A story of hope* (2nd ed. Vol. 2). Sutherland, Australia: Albatross Books.
- Haskins, V. (2012). The chaplain's wife and the native girl: Re-envisioning a cross-cultural female relationship in the contact zone. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 27(73), 259-268. doi:10.1080/08164649.2012.700256
- Hasty, W. (2011). Piracy and the production of knowledge in the travels of William Dampier, c.1679-1688. *Journal of Historical Geography*(37), 40-54. doi:10.1016/j.jhg.2010.08.017
- Henderson, D. A., Inglesby, T. V., Bartlett, J. G., Ascher, M. S., Eitzen, E., Jahrling, P. B., . . . Osterholm, M. T. (1999). Smallpox as a biological weapon: Medical and public health management. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 281(22), 2127-2137. Retrieved from <https://jamanetwork.com/journals/jama>
- Hill, D. (2008). *1788 the brutal truth of the First Fleet: The biggest single overseas migration the world had ever seen*. North Sydney, Australia: Random House Australia Pty Ltd.

- Hinkson, M. (2001). *Aboriginal Sydney: A guide to important places of the past and present*. Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Hinkson, M. (2002). Exploring 'Aboriginal' sites in Sydney: A shifting politics of place? *Aboriginal History*, 26, 62-77. doi:10.22459/ah.26.2011
- Hinkson, M. (2010). *Aboriginal Sydney: A guide to important places of the past and present* (2nd ed.). Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Holmes, R. (2008). *'Joseph Banks in paradise', in the age of wonder: How the romantic generation discovered the beauty and terror of science.* . New York: Vintage Books.
- Hooker, J. D. (Ed.). (1896). *Journal of the Right Honourable Sir Joseph Banks*. London, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Hunter, B., & Carmody, J. (2015). Estimating the Aboriginal population in early colonial Australia: The role of chickenpox reconsidered. *Australian economic history review*, 55(2), 112-138. doi:10.1111/aehr.12068
- Hunter, J., King, P. G., & Phillip, A. (1792). *An historical journal of the transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island with the discoveries which have been made in New South Wales and in the Southern Ocean since the publication of Phillip's voyage: Compiled from the official papers, including the journals of Governors Phillip and King and of Lieut. Ball; and the voyages from the first sailing of the Sirius in 1787 to the return of that ship's company in 1792*. London, England: J. Stockdale Piccadilly.
- Iseke, J. (2013). Indigenous storytelling as research. *International Review of Qualitative Research*, 6(4), 558-577. doi:10.1525/irqr.2013.6.4.559
- Jacobs, M. (2006). Indian Boarding Schools in comparative perspective: The removal of Indigenous children in the United States and Australia, 1880-1940. *Department of History, Paper 20*, 202-232. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/historyfacpub/20>

- Jenks, E. (1895). *The history of the Australasian colonies: From their foundation to the year 1893* (2nd ed.). London, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Jervis, J. (2014). Parramatta during the Macquarie period. *The Cumberland Argus and Fruitgrowers Advocate (Parramatta, NSW: 1888-1950)*. Retrieved from <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-title351>
- Jorgensen, R., Sullivan, P., & Grootenboer, P. (2013). *Pedagogies to enhance learning for Indigenous students: evidence-based practice*. Singapore: Springer.
- Kamira, M. (2016). *Maori trade & relations in Parramatta*. Parramatta, Australia: City of Parramatta.
- Karskens, G. (1991). *Holroyd: A social history of Western Sydney*. Sydney, Australia: University New South Wales Press Ltd.
- Karskens, G. (2009). *The Colony*. Crows Nest, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Karskens, G. (2014). The Blue Mountains crossings: New histories from the old legends. *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, 16, 197-225. Retrieved from <https://www.une.edu.au/about-une/faculty-of-humanities-arts-social-sciences-and-education/hass/humanities-arts-and-social-sciences-research/journal-of-australian-colonial-history>
- Keary, A. (2009). Christianity, colonialism, and cross-cultural translation: Lancelot Threlkeld, Biraban, and the Awabakal. *Aboriginal History*, 33, 117-155. doi:10.22459/ah.33.2010.
- Keneally, T. (1987). Here nature is reversed. In E. Jagger (Ed.), *Australia beyond the Dreamtime* (pp. 11-80). Richmond, Australia: William Heinemann Australia.
- Kidd, R. (2002). Looking back: An historical overview of policy, legislation and administration relating to Indigenous child separation in Australia. In D. Mellor & A.

- Haebich (Eds.), *Many Voices* (pp. 247-264). Canberra, Australia: National Library of Australia.
- King, J. (1984). *The first settlement: The convict village that founded Australia 1788-90*. Melbourne, Australia: The Macmillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd.
- King, J. (2009). *Great moments in Australian history*. Crows Nest, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- King, P. G. (1980). *The Journal of Philip Gidley King Lieutenant, R.N. 1787 - 1790*. Netley S.A.: Griffin Press Ltd.
- Kitson, A. (1911). *The life of Captain James Cook the circumnavigator* (2nd ed.). London, England: John Murray.
- Knight, F. (1968). *Captain Cook & the voyage of the Endeavour 1768-1771*. Sydney, Australia: Thomas Nelson Ltd.
- Kociumbas, J. (1997). *Australian childhood: A history*. St Leonards, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Kociumbas, J. (2004). Genocide and modernity in colonial Australia. In A. D. Moses (Ed.), *Genocide and settler society: Frontier violence and stolen Indigenous children in Australian history* (pp. 77-102). USA: Berghahn Books.
- Kohen, J. (1987). *Prehistoric settlement in the western Cumberland Plain: Resources, environment and technology*. (PhD). Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.
Retrieved from <https://www.researchonline.mq.edu.au/vital/access/services/Download/mq:31176/SOURCE1?view=true+History%22>
- Kohen, J. (1993). *The Darug and their neighbours: The traditional Aboriginal owners of the Sydney region*. Blacktown, Australia: Darug Link.
- Kohen, J. (2006). *Daruganora: Darug Country - The place and the people*. Blacktown, Australia: Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation.

- Kohen, J. (2010). *Aboriginal families and clans of the Sydney region: The Prospect clan Warmuli*. Seven Hills, Australia: Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation.
- Kovach, M. (2009). *Indigenous methodologies characteristics, conversations and contexts*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press.
- Kovach, M. (2015). Emerging from the margins: Indigenous methodologies. In L. Brown & S. Strega (Eds.), *Research as resistance: Critical, Indigenous, and anti-oppressive approaches* (2nd ed., pp. 19-36). Toronto, Canada: Canadian Scholars Press Inc.
- Kovach, M., Carriere, J., Montgomery, H., Barrett, M., & Gilles, C. (2015). *Indigenous presence: Experiencing and envisioning Indigenous knowledges within selected Post Secondary sites of Education and Social Work*. Retrieved from Saskatchewan, Canada: <https://education.usask.ca/profiles/kovach.php#RecentResearchReports>
- Laidlaw, R. (1990). *Discovering Australian history to 1900: An evidenced based approach*. Caulfield East, Australia: Edward Arnold (Australia) Pty Ltd.
- Lake, M. (2008). *'Such spiritual acres': Protestantism, the land and the colonisation of Australia 1788 - 1850*. (PhD). University of Sydney, Sydney, Australia. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/2123/3983>
- Lake, M. (2010). Samuel Marsden, work and the limits of evangelical humanitarianism. *History Australia* 7(3), 57.1-57.23. doi:10.2104/ha100057
- Lake, M. (2011). Provincialising God: Anglicanism, place, and the colonisation of Australian land.(Report). *Journal of Religious History*, 35(1), 72. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9809.2010.00972.x
- Lambert, L. (2014). *Research for Indigenous survival: Indigenous research methodologies for the behavioral sciences*. Pablo, MT: Salish Kootenai College Press.

- Lang, J. D. (1875). *An historical and statistical account of New South Wales from the founding of the colony in 1788 to present day: The history of the last 25 years entirely new* (4th ed. Vol. 1). London, England: Sampson Low, Marston Low, and Searle.
- Legislative Council, N. S. W. (1838). *Aborigines question: Report from the Committee on the Aborigines question, with the minutes of evidence*. Sydney, Australia: J Spilsbury
- Retrieved from
<https://trove.nla.gov.au/work/25976526?selectedversion=NBD41686355>
- Lim, J. (2016). *The battle of Parramatta 21 March to 22 March 1797*. Melbourne, Australia: Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty Ltd.
- Liston, C. (1992). Colonial society. In J. Broadbent & J. Hughes (Eds.), *The Age of Macquarie* (pp. 19-34). Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Liza-Mare, S. (2015). 'Addressing a great silence': Black diggers and the Aboriginal experience of war. *New Theatre Quarterly*, 31(3), 223-231.
doi:10.1017/S0266464X15000457
- Lock, M. (2018). Wirrawi Bubuwul – Aboriginal Women Strong. *Australian Journal of Education*, 62(3), 299-310. doi:10.1177/0004944118799483
- Long, A. (2005). *Aboriginal scarred trees in NSW: A field manual*. Hurstville, Australia: Department of Environment and Conservation (NSW).
- Lord, S. (1814, 31 December). Sydney: Sitting Magistrate. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7240>
- Macknight, C. (2011). The view from Marege': Australian knowledge of Makassar and the impact of the trepang industry across two centuries. *Aboriginal History*, 35, 121-143.
doi:10.22459/ah.35.2011.06
- Markus, A. (1990). *Governing savages*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin

- Marsden, J. B. (1913). *Life and work of Samuel Marsden*. Christchurch, New Zealand: Whitcome and Tombs Limited.
- Martin, K. (2003). Ways of knowing, being and doing: A theoretical framework and methods for indigenous and indigenist re-search. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 27(76), 203-214. doi:10.1080/14443050309387838
- Martin, M. (1988). *On Darug land: An Aboriginal perspective*. St. Marys, Australia: Greater Western Education Centre Collective.
- Mathews, R. H. (1901). The Gundungarra language. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 40(167), 140-148. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/983755>
- McGregor, R. (1997). *Imagined destinies: Aboriginal Australians and the doomed race theory, 1880-1939*. Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- McKee, A. (2001). A beginner's guide to textual analysis. *Metro Magazine*, M127, 138-140. Retrieved from <http://metromagazine.com.au/magazine/>
- McKee, A. (2003). *Textual analysis: A beginner's guide*. London, England: Sage.
- McKinnon-Kidd, M. (2009). Drawn threads-Peggy's legacy: art as a medium for revealing Aboriginal history (MPhil). Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.
- Mear, C. (2008). The origin of the smallpox outbreak in Sydney in 1789. *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 94(1), 1-22. Retrieved from <https://www.rahs.org.au/discover-new-south-wales-history/journal-of-the-royal-australian-historical-society/>
- Mellor, D., & Haebich, A. (2002). *Many voices: Reflections on experiences of Indigenous child separation*. Canberra, Australia: National Library of Australia.
- Meyer, M. A. (2001). Our own liberation: Reflections on Hawaiian epistemology. *The Contemporary Pacific*, 13(1), 123-148. doi:10.1353/cp.2001.0024

- Meyer, M. A. (2003). Hawaiian hermeneutics and the triangulation of meaning: Gross, subtle, causal. *Social Justice*, 30(4), 54-63. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/29768223?seq=1>
- Meyer, M. A. (2013). Holographic epistemology: Native common sense. *China Media Research*, 9(2). Retrieved from <https://www.chinamediaresearch.net/>
- Mitchell, J. (2011). *In good faith? Governing Indigenous Australia through God, charity and empire, 1825-1855*. Canberra, Australia: ANU E Press.
- Moreton-Robinson, A. (2013). Towards an Australian Indigenous women's standpoint theory: A methodological tool. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 28(78), 331-347.
doi:10.1080/08164649.2013.876664
- Mullins, G. (1898). *A brief history of smallpox and vaccination in New South Wales from the foundation of the colony to the present day*. Sydney, Australia: Angus and Robertson.
- Nakata, M. (2007). An Indigenous standpoint theory. In M. Nakata (Ed.), *Disciplining the savages: savaging the disciplines* (pp. 213-217). Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Nayutah, J., & Finlay, G. (1988). *Our land our spirit*. Lismore: Northern Star LTD.
- Needham, A. (1992). *Women of the Neptune*. Sydney, Australia: A. Needham.
- Neidjie, B. (1989). *Story about feeling*. Broome, Australia: Magabala Books.
- Newbury, P. (1999). *Aboriginal heroes of the resistance: From Pemulwuy to Mabo*. Surrey Hills, Australia: Action for World Development.
- Ngurra, D., Dadd, L., Glass, P., Scott, R., Graham, M., Judge, S., . . . Hodge, P. (2019). Yanama budyari gumada: Reframing the urban to care as Darug Country in Western Sydney. *Australian Geographer*. doi:10.1080/00049182.2019.1601150
- Norman-Hill, R. (2020). Australia's native residential schools. In S. Minton (Ed.), *Residential school systems and Indigenous peoples: From genocide via education to the*

- possibilities for truth, reconciliation and reclamation* (pp. 66-94). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nugent, M. (2008). The encounter between Captain Cook and Indigenous people at Botany Bay in 1770 reconsidered. In P. Veth, P. Sutton, & M. Neale (Eds.), *Strangers on the shore: Early coastal contacts in Australia* (pp. 198-207). Canberra, Australia: National Museum of Australia Press.
- O'Brien, A. (2008a). 'Kitchen fragments and garden stuff'. *Australian Historical Studies*, 39(2), 150-166. doi:10.1080/10314610802033148
- O'Brien, A. (2008b). Charity and philanthropy. *Sydney Journal*, 1(3). doi:10.5130/sj.v1i3.887
- O'Dowd, M. (2012). Embodying the Australian Nation and silencing history. *Arena Journal*, 37/38, 88-104. Retrieved from <https://arena.org.au/>
- Parbury, N. (1986). *Survival: A history of Aboriginal life in New South Wales*. Sydney, Australia: Ministry of Aboriginal Affairs New South Wales.
- Pascoe, B. (2014). *Dark Emu: Black seeds: Agriculture or accident?* Broome, Australia: Magabala Books.
- Pascoe, B. (2018). *Dark Emu: Aboriginal Australia and the birth of agriculture*. Broome, Australia: Magabala Books.
- Pembroke, M. (2014). *Arthur Phillip: Sailor, mercenary, governor, spy*. Richmond, Australia: Hardie Grant Books.
- Perkin, C. (1975). *A bastard like me*. Sydney, Australia: Ure Smith
- Philanthropus. (1810, 7 July). To the Printer of the Sydney Gazette. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/6651>
- Phillip, A. (1789). *The voyage of Governor Phillip to Botany Bay: With an account of the establishments of the colonies of Port Jackson compiled from authentic papers which*

- have been obtained from several departments to which are added the journals of Lieut' Shortland, Watts, Ball, and Capt Marshall with an account of their new discoveries.* London, England: Stockdale, John.
- Pickette, J. (2017). *Footprints in the sands of time*. Mildura, Australia: Sunnyland Press
- Pidgeon, M. (2019). Moving between theory and practice within an Indigenous research paradigm. *Qualitative Research*, 19(4), 418-436. doi:10.1177/1468794118781380
- Poulter, J. (2016). *The dust of the mindye: The use of biological warfare in the conquest of Australia*. Templestowe, Australia: Red Hen Enterprises.
- Price, G. (1958). *The explorations of Captain James Cook in the Pacific, as told by selections of his own journals, 1768-1779*. New York, NY: Heritage Press.
- Proudfoot, H. (1992). Opening towns, public virtue and the interior. In J. Broadbent & J. Hughes (Eds.), *The age of Macquarie*. Carlton, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Ramsland, J. (1986). *Children of the back lanes: Destitute and neglected children in colonial New South Wales*. Kensington, Australia: New South Wales University Press.
- Read, P. (2006). Shelly's mistake: The Parramatta Native Institution. In M. Crotty & D. Roberts (Eds.), *The great mistakes of Australian history* (pp. 32–47). Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press Ltd.
- Read, P. (2007). *The Stolen Generations: The removal of Aboriginal children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969* (4th ed.). Sydney, Australia: NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs.
- Read, P. (2015). Dispossession is a legitimate experience. In A. McGrath & M. Jebb (Eds.), *Long history, deep time: Deepening histories of place* (pp. 119-133). Canberra, ACT: ANU Press.

- Reid, J. (2018). Notice of corrections: A critique of the discourse of dispossession in Indigenous Studies. *On_Culture: The Open Journal for the Study of Culture* (2019), 5(23), 1-24. Retrieved from <https://www.on-culture.org/>
- Rey, J. (2019). Country tracking voices: Dharug women's perspectives on presences, places and practices. (PhD). Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.
- Rey, J., & Harrison, N. (2018). Sydney as an Indigenous place: "Goanna walking" brings people together. *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples*, 14(1), 81-89. Retrieved from <http://www.alternative.ac.nz/>
- Reynolds, H. (1972). *Aborigines and settlers: The Australian experience 1788-1939*. Melbourne, Australia: Cassell Australia.
- Reynolds, H. (1987). *Frontier*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Reynolds, H. (1989). *Dispossession: Black Australians and white invaders*. North Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Reynolds, H. (1990). *With the white people: The crucial role of Aborigines in the exploration and development of Australia*. Ringwood, Australia: Penguin Books Australia Ltd.
- Reynolds, H. (1996). *Aboriginal sovereignty: Three nations, one Australia?* Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.
- Reynolds, H. (2001). *An indelible stain: The question of genocide in Australia's history*. Ringwood, Australia: Penguin Books Australia Ltd.
- Reynolds, H. (2005). *Nowhere people*. Camberwell, Australia: Penguin Group.
- Reynolds, H. (2006). *The other side of the frontier*. Sydney, Australia: University of New South Wales Press Ltd.
- Reynolds, H. (2013). *Forgotten war*. Sydney, Australia: New South Wales Publishing.
- Richie, J. (1988). *Lachlan Macquarie a biography*. Carlton, Australia: Brown Prior Anderson Pty. Ltd. for Melbourne University Press.

- Rigney, L. I. (1999). Internationalization of an Indigenous anticolonial cultural critique of research methodologies: A guide to Indigenist research methodology and its principles. *Wicazo Sa Review* 14(2), 109-121. doi:10.2307/1409555
- Riley, A. (1814, 1 January). Sydney: Sitting Magistrate. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 2. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7123>
- Riseman, N. (2015). Aboriginal military service and assimilation. *Aboriginal History*, 38, 155-175. doi:10.22459/ah.38.2015.08
- Ritchie, J. (1971). *The evidence to the Bigge Reports: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie* (Vol. 2: The written evidence). Adelaide, Australia: William Heinemann Australia Pty. Ltd.
- Ritchie, J. (1986). *Lachlan Macquarie a biography*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Rooney, T., Lawlor, K., & Rohan, E. (2016). Telling tales: Storytelling as a methodological approach in research. *The Electronic Journal of Business Research Methods*, 14(2), 147-156. Retrieved from www.ejbrm.com
- Rose, D. B. (2000). *Dingo makes us human: Life and land in an Australian Aboriginal culture*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Rowley, C. (1986). *The destruction of Aboriginal society: Aboriginal policy and practice* (5th ed. Vol. 1). Canberra, Australia: Australian National University Press.
- Roy, A. (2014). Aboriginal worldviews and epidemiological survey methodology: Overcoming incongruence. *International Journal of Multiple Research Approaches*, 8(1), 117-128. doi:10.5172/mra.2014.8.1.117
- Russell, L. (2018). Affect in the archive: Trauma, grief, delight and texts. Some personal reflections. *Archives and Manuscripts*, 46(2), 200-207. doi:10.1080/01576895.2018.1458324

- Ryan, L. (2013). Untangling Aboriginal resistance and the settler punitive expedition: The Hawkesbury River frontier in New South Wales, 1794–1810. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 15(2), 219-232. doi:10.1080/14623528.2013.789206
- Salmond, A. (2003). *The trial of the cannibal dog: The remarkable story of Captain Cook's adventures in the South Seas*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Sarbin, T. R. (1986). *Narrative psychology: The storied nature of human conduct*. New York, NY: Praeger Publishers/Greenwood Publishing Group. .
- Scarlett, P. (2015). Aboriginal service in the First World War: Identity, recognition and the problem of mateship. *Aboriginal History*, 39(1), 163-181.
doi:10.22459/AH.39.2015.08
- Scarlett, P. (2018). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Volunteers for the AIF* (4th ed.). Macquarie, Australia: Indigenous Histories.
- Sentance, N. (2017). “The Paternalistic Nature of Collecting”. Retrieved from <https://archivaldecolonist.com/2017/06/12/the-paternalistic-nature-of-collecting/>
- Sharpe, A. (2000). *Pictorial history Blacktown and District*. Alexandria, Australia: Kingsclear Books.
- Sheehan, N. (2011a). Indigenous knowledge and respectful design: An evidenced-based approach. *Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Design Issues*, 27(4), 68-80.
doi:10.1162/desi_a_00106
- Sheehan, N. (2011b). *Respectful design: Connective art, Indigenous cultural development and well being*. Woolloongabba, Australia: Link-Up QLD Aboriginal Corporation.
- Sheehan, N. (2012). *Stolen generations education: Aboriginal cultural strengths and social and emotional wellbeing*. Woolloongabba, Australia: Link-Up QLD Aboriginal Corporation.

- Sheehan, N., Martin, G., Krysinaka, K., & Kilroy, K. (2009). *Sustaining connection: A framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander community, cultural, spiritual, social and emotional wellbeing*. Brisbane, Australia: Centre for Suicide Prevention Studies, University of Queensland.
- Sheehan, N., & Walker, P. (2001). The Purga project: Indigenous knowledge research. *Australian Journal of Indigenous Education*, 29(2), 11-17.
doi:10.1017/s1326011100001344
- Smallwood, G. (2011). *Human rights and first Australians' well-being*. (PhD). James Cook University, Townsville, Australia. Retrieved from
https://researchonline.jcu.edu.au/20193/1/20193_Smallwood_2011_thesis.pdf
- Smith, K. (1992). *King Bungaree: A Sydney Aborigine meets the great South Pacific explorers, 1799-1830*. Kenthurst, Australia: Kangaroo Press Pty Ltd.
- Smith, K. (2001). *Bennelong: The coming in of the Eora Sydney Cove 1788-1792*. Sydney, Australia: Kangaroo Press
- Smith, K. (2005). *Wallumedegal and Aboriginal history of Ryde*. Ryde, Australia: Community Services Unit, City of Ryde
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples*. London, England: Zed books Ltd.
- Smith, L. T. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and Indigenous peoples* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Zed Books Ltd.
- Soldatic, K. (2015). Postcolonial reproductions: Disability, indigeneity and the formation of the white masculine settler state of Australia. *Social Identities*, 21(1), 53-68.
doi:10.1080/13504630.2014.995352

- Standfield, R. (2012). The Parramatta Maori Seminary and the education of Indigenous peoples in early colonial New South Wales. *History of Education Review*, 41(2), 119-128. doi:10.1108/08198691311269493
- Stanner, W. E. H. (1969). *After the dreaming: Black and white Australians- an anthropologist's view*. Sydney, Australia: Australian Broadcasting Commission.
- Stanner, W. E. H. (1987). *The Dreaming*. Melbourne, Australia: The Macmillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd.
- Steele, J. (2005). *The Aboriginal language of Sydney: A partial reconstruction of the Indigenous language of Sydney based on the notebooks of William Dawes of 1790-91 informed by other records of the Sydney and surrounding languages to c.1905* (M. A.). Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia.
- Steffensen, V. (2019). Putting the people back into Country. In J. Archibald, J. Lee-Morgan, & J. De Santolo (Eds.), *Decolonizing research Indigenous storywork as methodology* (pp. 224-238). London, England: Zed Books Ltd.
- Steven, M. (1992). Public credit and private confidence. In J. Broadbent & J. Hughes (Eds.), *The age of Macquarie* (pp. 48-59). Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press.
- Strachan, A. (1863). *The life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh: Missionary to the settlers and savages of Australia and New Zealand: With a history of the origin and progress of the missions in those colonies*. London, England: Hamilton, Adams and Co.
- Suchet-Pearson, S., Wright, S., Lloyd, K., & Burarrwanga, L. (2013). Caring as Country: Towards an ontology of co-becoming in natural resource management. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 2, 185-197. doi:10.1111/apv.12018
- Sydney, G. (1805, 5 May). Postscript. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 4. Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/6112>

- Sydney, G. (1816, 11 May). Sydney. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 2.
Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/493040>
- Sydney, G. (1828, 7 January). Death. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, p. 4.
Retrieved from <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/496478>
- Syron, L.-M. (2015). 'Addressing a great silence': Black diggers and the Aboriginal experience of war. *New Theatre Quarterly*, 31(3), 223-231.
doi:10.1017/S0266464X15000457
- Tench, W. (1793). *A complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson in New South Wales: Including an accurate description of the situation of the colony; of the natives; and of its natural productions*. London, England: G. Nichol and J. Sewell.
- Tench, W., & Flannery, T. (1996). *1788 comprising a narrative of the expedition to Botany Bay and a complete account of the settlement at Port Jackson*. Melbourne, Australia: The Text Publishing Company.
- Thorpe, K. (2014). Indigenous records: Connecting, critiquing and diversifying collections. *Archives and Manuscripts*, 42(2), 211-214. doi:10.1080/01576895.2014.911692
- Tidswell, F. (1898). *A brief sketch of the history of smallpox and vaccinations in New South Wales*. Paper presented at the Australian association for the advancement of science, Sydney, Australia.
- Tovey, N. (2004). *Little black bastard: a story of survival*. Sydney, Australia: Hodder
Headline Australia Pty Ltd.
- Troy, J. (1994). *The Sydney Language*. Canberra, Australia: Panther Publishing and Printing.
- Turbet, P. (2011). *The first frontier: The occupation of the Sydney region 1788 to 1816*. Dural, Australia: Rosenberg Publishing Pty Ltd.

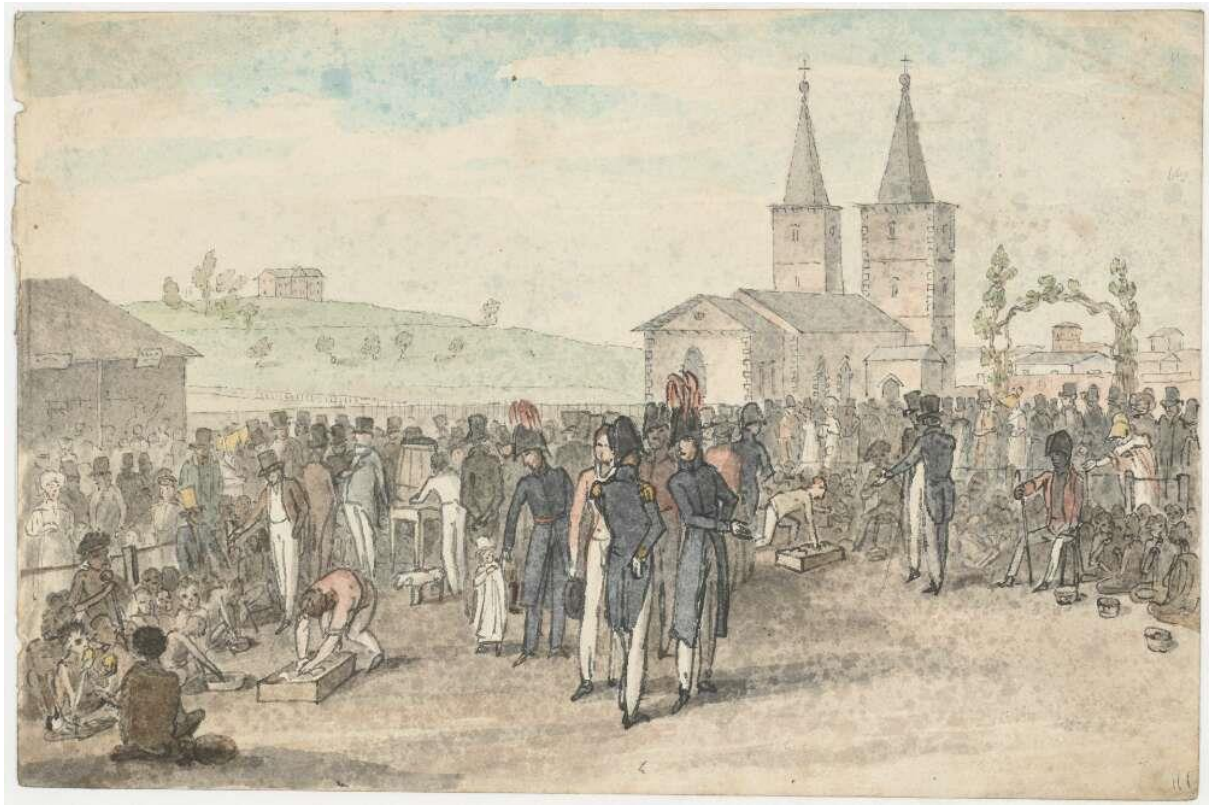
- Turnbull, P. (2007). British anatomists, phrenologists and the construction of the Aboriginal race, c. 1790–1830. *History Compass*, 5(1), 26-50. doi:10.1111/j.1478-0542.2006.00367.x
- Turner Strong, P. (1986). Fathoming the primitive: Australian Aborigines in four explorers' journals, 1697-1845. *Ethnohistory*, 33(2), 175-194. doi:10.2307/481773
- van Toorn, P. (2006). *Writing never arrives naked: Early Aboriginal cultures of writing in Australia*. Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Walter, M. (2005). Using the 'power of the data' within Indigenous research practice. *Australian Aboriginal Studies*(2), 27-34. Retrieved from <https://aiatsis.gov.au/publications/australian-aboriginal-studies-journal>
- Ward, R. (1982). *Australia since the coming of man* (3rd ed.). Sydney, Australia: Lansdowne Press.
- Warren, C. (2014). Smallpox at Sydney Cove – who, when, why? *Journal of Australian Studies*, 38(1), 68-86. doi:10.1080/14443058.2013.849750
- Watson, F. (Ed.). (1914). *Historical records of Australia: Series 1 Governor's despatches to and from England (Vol. 1) 1788-1796*. Sydney, Australia: Library Committee Commonwealth Parliament.
- Watson, F. (Ed.). (1916). *Historical records of Australia: Series 1 Governor's despatches to and from England (Vol. 8) 1813-1815*. Sydney, Australia: Library Committee Commonwealth Parliament.
- Watson, F. (Ed.). (1917). *Historical records of Australia: Series 1 Governor's despatches to and from England (Vol. 9) 1816-1818*. Sydney, Australia: Library Committee Commonwealth Parliament.

- Watson, F. (Ed.). (1917). *Historical records of Australia: Series 1 Governor's despatches to and from England (Vol. 10) 1819-1822*. Sydney, Australia: Library Committee Commonwealth Parliament.
- West, J. E. (2000). *An alternative to existing Australian research and teaching models: The Japanangka teaching and research paradigm an Australian Aboriginal model*. (PhD). Southern Cross University, Lismore, Australia. Retrieved from <https://epubs.scu.edu.au/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1015&context=theses>
- Wharton, W. J. L. (1893). *Captain Cook's journal during his first voyage round the world made in HM Bark "Endeavour", 1768-71*. London, England: Elliot Stock.
- Whitby, M., Street, A., Ruff, T., & Fenner, F. (2002). Biological agents as weapons 1: Smallpox and botulism. *The Medical Journal of Australia*, 176, 431-433.
doi:10.5694/j.1326-5377.2002.tb04486.x
- White, J. (1788). *Journal of a voyage to New South Wales*. Sydney, Australia.
- Willey, K. (1979). *When the sky fell down: The destruction of the tribes of the Sydney region, 1788-1850s*. Sydney, Australia: William Collins Pty. Ltd.
- Willmot, E. (1987). *Pemulwuy: The rainbow warrior*. Sydney, Australia: Weldons Pty Ltd.
- Wilson, S. (2001). What is an Indigenous research methodology? *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 25(2), 175-179. Retrieved from <https://www.bradonu.ca/native-studies/cjns/>
- Wilson, S. (2003). Progressing towards an Indigenous paradigm in Canada and Australia. *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, 27(2), 161-178. Retrieved from <https://www.bradonu.ca/native-studies/cjns/>
- Wilson, S. (2008). *Research is ceremony: Indigenous research methods*. Black Point, Canada: Fernwood Publishing.

- Wilson, T. J. (1997). *In the best interest of the child? Stolen children: Aboriginal pain/white shame*. Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal History.
- Woodroffe, R. (1993). Pemulwuy: Leader of the Eora tribe and symbol of the Aboriginal resistance waged against white settlements in the Sydney region. *Ngoonjook*(9), 23-31. Retrieved from <https://search.informit.com.au/browseJournalTitle;res=IELAPA;subject=law;issn=1039-8236>
- Woolmington, J. (1986). The civilisation/Christianisation debate and the Australian Aborigines. *Aboriginal History*, 10, 90-98. doi:10.22459/ah.10.2011.08
- Worgan, G. (1978). *Journal of a First Fleet Surgeon: Surgeon of the Sirius*. Retrieved from <http://purl.library.usyd.edu.au/setis/id/worjour>
- Wright, S. (2014). More-than-human, emergent belongings: A weak theory approach. *Progress in Human Geography*, 39(4), 391-411. doi:10.1177/0309132514537132
- Yarwood, A. T. (1986). *Marsden of Parramatta*. Sydney, Australia: Kangaroo Press.

Appendix 1

Figure 1.1: Governor's Annual Meeting of the Native Tribes in Parramatta
by Augustus Earle c. 1826



Source: Australian National Library, Canberra

Appendix 2

Figure 2.1: The sailing ships *Leopard*, *Surprise*, *Bellona* & *Sophie* 1793



Source: korabley.net

Figure 2.2: Dorset sign on bridge at Sturminster Newton



Source: photo by Rosemary Norman-Hill, November 2015

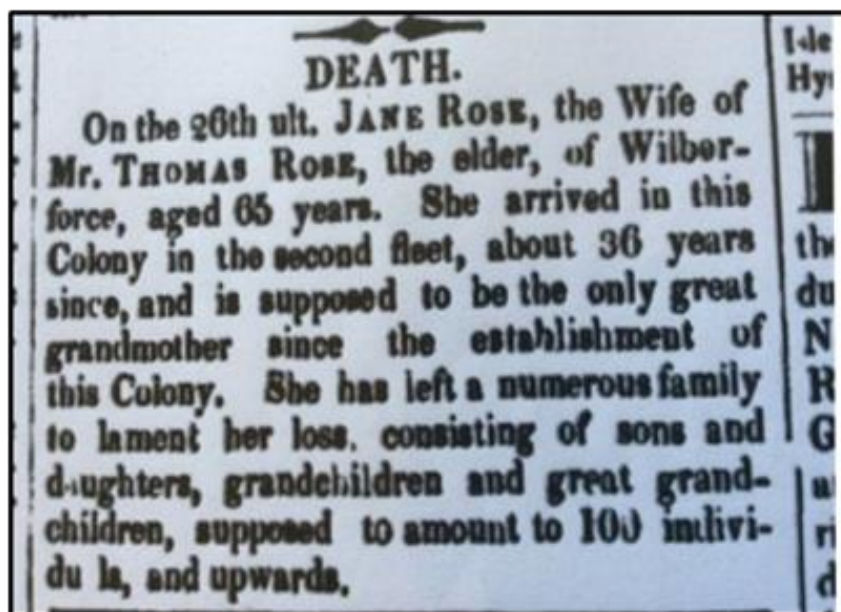
Figure 2.3: Rose Cottage at Wilberforce



Circa 1810: oldest timber slab cottage in Australia, still on original site

Source: photo by Rosemary Norman-Hill, March 2016

Figure 2.4: Death notice of Jane Rose



Source: Sydney Gazette 7 January 1828 (<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7233#>)

Figure 2.5: Ned Puckeridge and daughter Minnie on her wedding day



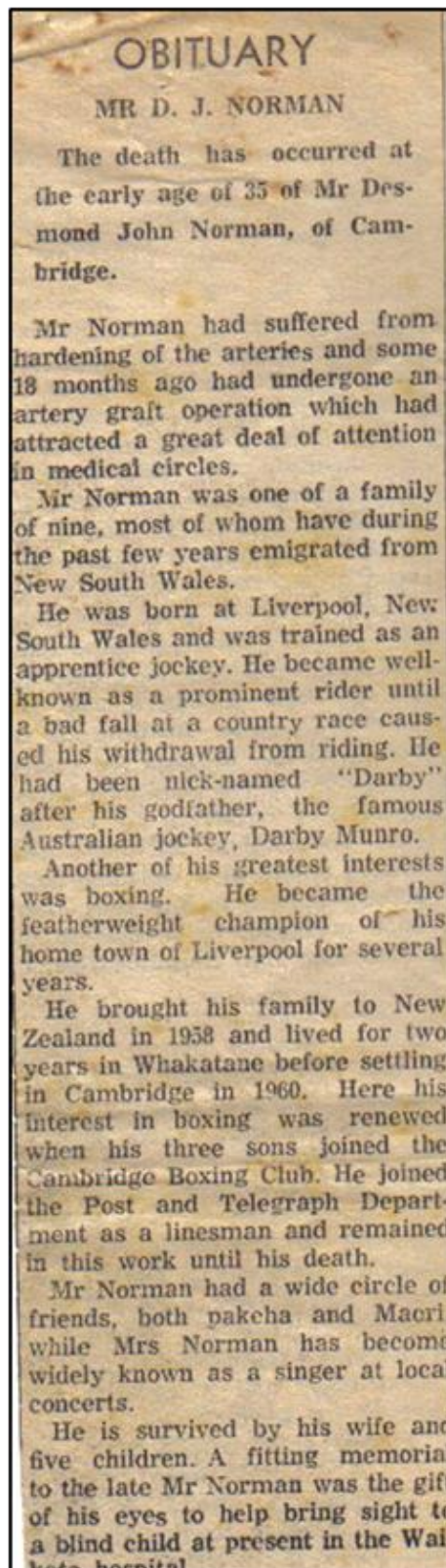
Source: Family photo

Figure 2.6: My father John (on right) and uncle Ron Norman



Source: Family photo taken in Cambridge, New Zealand, 1963

Figure 2.7: Obituary for my father, Desmond John Norman



Source: Cambridge Newspaper Obituary Notice (date unknown)

My father passed away in 1965

Figure 2.8: Corrections to the obituary of my father D. J. Norman

It was my mother's family who emigrated to NZ, not my fathers; John's actual place of birth was at Port Kembla NSW, not Liverpool, although the family lived in Liverpool for several years. I also noticed there was no reference to John being from Aboriginal descent, which was not unusual as he was living in another country. John had many friends both Maori and Pakeha (non-Indigenous), and I remember many coming to his funeral. After his death, his corneas were given to a child who was blind to give her sight. Following the funeral, the support from our close-knit family, our 'clan', our mob, helped get us through. With both John and Ron gone, there was not one grieving widow to assist, but two. Between them, there were nine young children, all needing love and care through this difficult time.

Figure 2.9: My 'Nan', Mary Evelyn Brouggy (nee Rose)



Source: family photo, summer 1968

Figure 2.10: Handwritten list by Elizabeth Shelley, Manager of the PNI 1815-1822

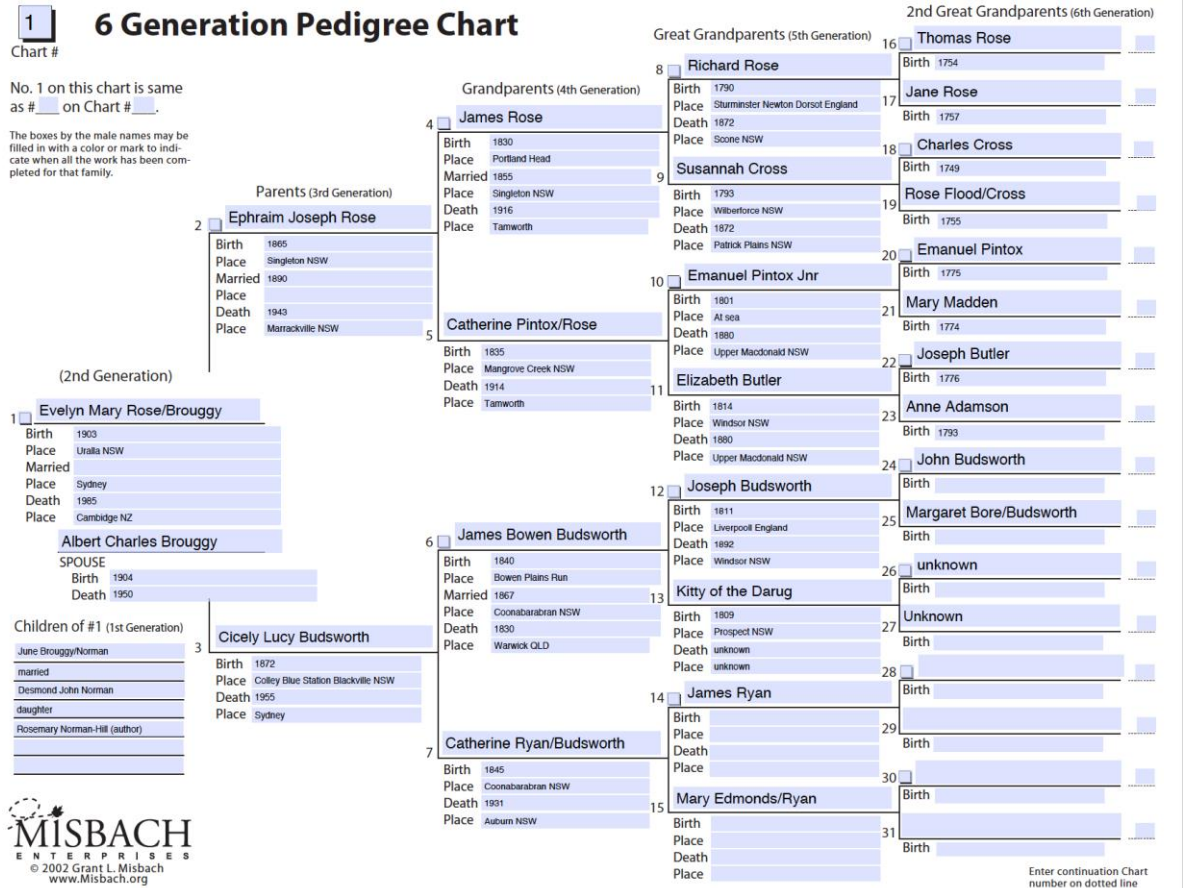
Vol. 127. 46280 480

Names of the Children of the Aborigines received into the Native Institution Parramatta, since its foundation, 10 Jan^y 1814.

N ^o	Date of Admission	Names	supposed Ages	State of Learning	not now in School
1	28 Dec 1814	Maria	13	Spells four syllables & reads	
2	"	Kitty	12	reads & writes well.	
3	"	Fanny	9	beginning to read & spell	
4	"	Friday	12	reads & writes well.	
5	10 Jan ^y 1815	Billy	12	d? d?	
6	6 June 1816	Malou			Abandoned
7	"	Doors			d?
8	12 Aug ^t	Betty Cox	15	reads & writes well	
9	"	Mibah	15	improves in read ^g & spelling	
10	"	Betty Fulton	16	reads & writes well.	
11	"	Tommy	11	reads & writes well.	
12	"	Peter			Abandoned
13	"	Pendergrass			d?
14	23 "	Amy	8	reads & spells well.	
15	"	Raney	10	beginning to read & spell	
16	"	Charlotte			Did in Sydney.
17	9 Sep. 1816	John	6	reads & spells	
18	28 Dec "	Davis			Abandoned
19	"	Dicky	9	reads & spells well	
20	"	Judith	13	reads & writes well	
21	1 Jan ^y 1818	Jimmy Mulgawong	7	reads & spells	
22	"	Joe Harlow			Abandoned
23	17 July 1818	Neddy	6	reads & spells.	
24	25 Sep "	Wallis	10	repeats the Alphabet	
25	15 Jan ^y 1819	Jemmy	4	d?	
26	1 March "	Henry	4	d?	
27	20 Dec "	Maria, als Margt	11	d?	
28	"	Ranny			taken by her Father
29	"	Sakey			Did in Parramatta
30	30 May 1820	Joseph	3	d?	
31	"	Billy George			taken by his Father
32	6 June "	Polly	16	reads & writes well.	
33	28 Dec "	Mortke	10	repeats the Alphabet	
34	"	Peggy	8	d?	
35	"	Charlotte	10	d?	
36	"	Caroline	7	d?	
37	"	Anna	7	d?	(Signed) Richard Hill Secretary.

Source: NSW reel 4/7498 Microfilm 1933, Aboriginal or Native Institution Letters and Records 1814-23

Figure 2.11: Rosemary Norman-Hill Family Tree



Appendix 3

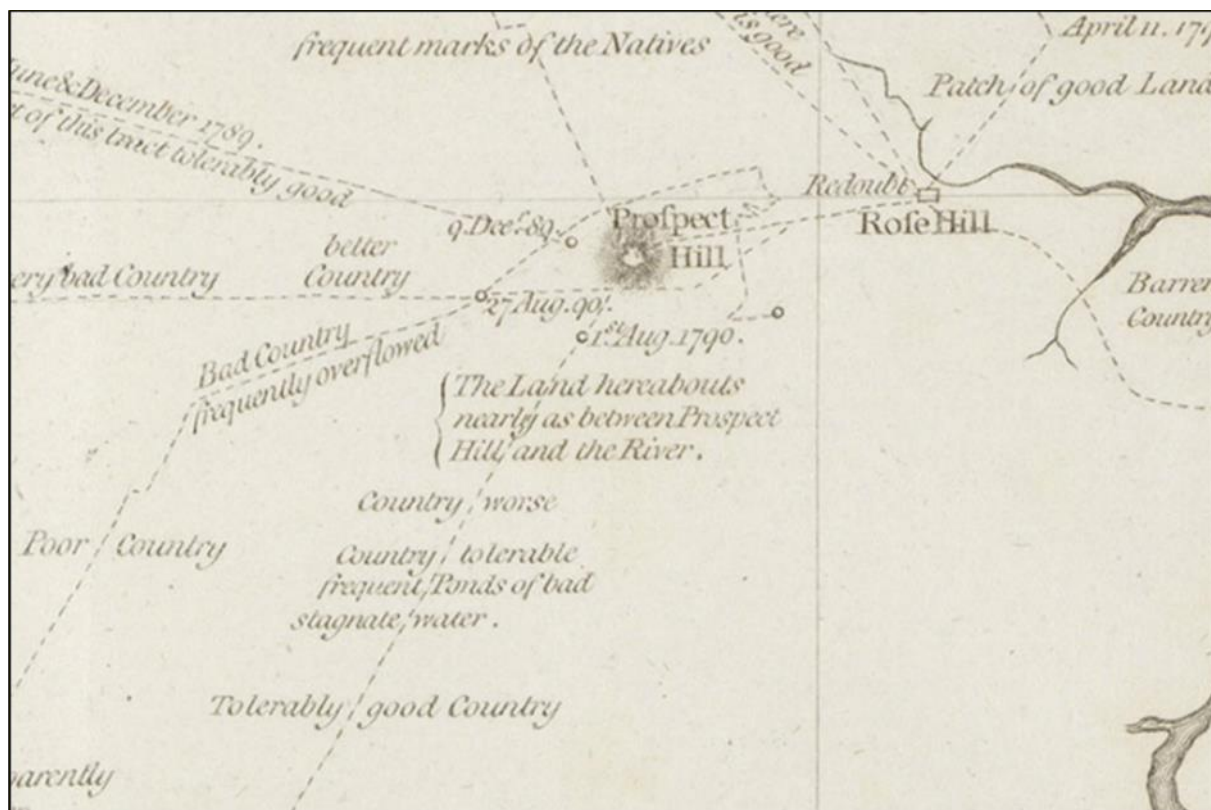
Figure 3.1: Event at which Darug Community gave permission to undertake this research

In 2015, I organised an event, in partnership with the City of Parramatta, which provided funding to commemorate the 200 year anniversary of the establishment of the PNI. This event, held on 18 January 2015, at the Parramatta Town Hall, brought together 220 descendants of the children who attended the PNI, precisely 200 years to the day the PNI officially opened. The site is of immense significance as the Town Hall sits on the original site of the Parramatta marketplace, the meeting place of Aboriginal clans and the colonial Government from 1814. Thus united, we came together to honour the memory of our ancestors. Those present endorsed this research and gave me authority to write about this important part of our history. As a Darug woman I am tasked with writing and sharing of this story with those who come in the future, because as the custodians of our history and culture, we have a responsibility to pass our knowledge on to future generations (Atkinson, Langton, & Williams, 1985).



Appendix 4

Figure 4.1 Kitty's traditional Ngurra



Source: Watkin Tench (drawn by him)

From the collections of the State Library of New South Wales [a928468 / DL Q79/64]

While named 'Prospect Hill' by the British, First Fleet Officer and scientist William Dawes recorded the name 'Mar-Rong' in his notes (Flynn, 1995). On 16 October 2003, Mar-Rong was recognised as a significant place and included in the New South Wales (NSW) State Heritage Register. That the area has cultural significance is evidenced in several reports (Dallas, 2018; Hoy, 2019); the draft Prospect Hill Plan of Management for Public Exhibition, was released in November 2018, by the Cumberland Council. Prepared by PhillipsMarler Architects, the following key features are stated in the Hoy (2019) Report:

- Prospect Hill is a place significant to the Cannemegal-Warmuli Clan of the Darug Nation, who were the traditional custodians of the area before the arrival of Europeans
- It is an area of significant early interactions between Aboriginal people and European settlers

The Report goes on further to describe the hill as being a natural topographic feature rising to 112 metres in height above sea level; is one of the highest points between the coast and the Blue Mountains allows a unique 360-degree view of Sydney from the top of the hill; characterised by extensive grasslands on the eastern slopes.

Appendix 5

Figure 5.1: Transcript of Cook's secret instructions 1768

Secret

By the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain & c.^a
Additional Instructions for L^t James Cook, Appointed to Command His Majesty's Bark the Endeavour

Whereas the making Discoverys of Countries hitherto unknown, and the Attaining a Knowledge of distant Parts which though formerly discover'd have yet been but imperfectly explored, will redound greatly to the Honour of this Nation as a Maritime Power, as well as to the Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain, and may tend greatly to the advancement of the Trade and Navigation thereof; and Whereas there is reason to imagine that a Continent or Land of great extent, may be found to the Southward of the Tract lately made by Captⁿ Wallis in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin (of which you will herewith receive a Copy) or of the Tract of any former Navigators in Pursuit of the like kind, You are therefore in Pursuance of His Majesty's Pleasure hereby requir'd and directed to put to Sea with the Bark you Command so soon as the Observation of the Transit of the Planet Venus shall be finished and observe the following Instructions. You are to proceed to the Southward in order to make discovery of the Continent abovementioned until' you arrive in the Latitude of 40°, unless you sooner fall in with it. But not having discover'd it ^{or any Evident sign of it} in that Run you are to proceed in search of it to the Westward between the Latitude beforementioned and the Latitude of 35° until' you discover it, or fall in with the Eastern side of the Land discover'd by Tasman and now called New Zeland.

If you discover the Continent abovementioned either in your Run to the Southward or to the Westward as above directed, You are to employ yourself diligently in exploring as great an Extent of the Coast as you can carefully observing the true situation thereof both in Latitude and Longitude, the Variation of the Needle; bearings of Head Lands Height direction and Course of the Tides and Currents, Depths and Soundings of the Sea, Shoals, Rocks &c^a and also surveying and making Charts, and taking Views of Such Bays, Harbours and Parts of the Coasts as may be useful to Navigation. You are also carefully to observe the Nature of the Soil, and the Products thereof; the Beasts and Fowls that inhabit or frequent it, the Fishes that are to be found in the Rivers or upon the Coast and in what Plenty and in Case you find any Mines, Minerals, or valuable Stones you are to bring home Specimens of each, as also such Specimens of the Seeds of the Trees, Fruits and [FIRST PAGE ENDS] and Grains as you may be able to collect, and Transmit them to our Secretary that We may cause proper Examination and Experiments to be made of them. You are likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives, if there be any and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them presents of such Trifles as they may Value inviting them to Traffick, and Shewing them every kind of Civility and Regard; taking Care however not to suffer yourself to be surprized by them, but to be always upon your guard against any Accidents.

You are also with the Consent of the Natives to take Possession of Convenient Situations in the Country in the Name of the King of Great Britain: Or: if you find the Country uninhabited take Possession for his Majesty by setting up Proper Marks and Inscriptions, as first discoverers and possessors.

But if you shall fail of discovering the Continent beforemention'd, you will ~~with~~ upon falling in with New Zeland carefully observe the Latitude and Longitude in which that Land is situated and explore as much of the Coast as the Condition of the Bark, the health of her Crew, and the State of your Provisions will admit of having always great Attention to reserve as much of the latter as will enable you to reach some known Port where you may procure a Sufficiency to carry You to England either round the Cape of Good Hope, or Cape Horn as from Circumstances you may judge the Most Eligible way of returning home.

You will also observe with accuracy the Situation of such Islands as you may discover in the Course of your Voyage that have not hitherto been discover'd by any Europeans and take Possession for His Majesty and make Surveys and Draughts of such of them as may appear to be of Consequence,

without Suffering yourself however to be thereby diverted from the Object which you are always to have in View, the Discovery of the Southern Continent so often Mentioned.

But for as much as in an undertaking of this nature several Emergencies may Arise not to be foreseen, and therefore not to be particularly to be provided for by Instruction beforehand, you are in all such Cases to proceed, as, upon advice with your Officers you shall judge most advantageous to the Service on which you are employed.

You are to send by all proper Conveyance to the Secretary of the Royal Society Copys of the Observations you shall have made of the Transit of Venus; and you are at the same time to send to our Secretary for our information accounts of your Proceedings, and Copys of the Surveys and discoverings you shall have made and upon your Arrival in England you are immediately to repair to this [SECOND PAGE ENDS] Office in order to lay before us a full account of your Proceedings in the whole Course of your Voyage; taking care before you leave the Vessel to demand from the Officers and Petty Officers the Log Books and Journals they may have Kept, and to seal them up for our inspection and enjoyning them, and the whole Crew, not to divulge where they have been until' they shall have Permission so to do.

Given under our hands the 30 of July 1768

E^d Hawke
Piercy Brett
C Spencer

By Command of their Lordships

[SIGNED]

Ph^p Stephens

Source: https://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/nsw1_doc_1768.pdf

Figure 5.2: Extract from Cook's journal 29 April 1770

April 1770. At Anchor, Botany Bay, N.S.W.

Sunday, 29th.—In the P.M. wind Southerly and Clear weather, with which we stood into the bay and Anchored under the S. shore about 2 miles within the Entrance in 5 fathoms, the S. point bearing S.E. and the N. point E. Saw, as we came in, on both points of the bay, several of the Natives and a few hutts; Men, Women, and Children on the S. Shore abreast of the ship, to which place I went in the Boats in hopes of speaking with them, accompanied by Mr. Banks, Dr. Solander, and Tupia. As we approached the Shore they all made off, except 2 Men, who seem'd resolved to oppose our landing. As soon as I saw this I order'd the boats to lay upon their Oars, in order to speak to them; but this was to little purpose, for neither us nor Tupia could understand one word they said. We then threw them some nails, beads, etc., a shore, which they took up, and seem'd not ill pleased with, in so much that I thought that they beckon'd to us to come ashore; but in this we were mistaken, for as soon as we put the boat in they again came to oppose us, upon which I fir'd a musquet between the 2, which had no other Effect than to make them retire back, where bundles of their darts lay, and one of them took up a stone and threw at us, which caused my firing a Second Musquet, load with small Shott ; and altho' some of the shott struck the man,, yet it had no other effect than making him lay hold on a Target. Immediately after this we landed, which we had no sooner done than they throw'd 2 darts at us; this obliged me to fire a third shott, soon after which they both made off, but not in such haste but what we might have taken one; but Mr. Banks being of Opinion that the darts were poisoned, made me cautious how I advanced into the Woods. We found here a few small huts made of the Bark of Trees, in one of which were 4 or 5 Small Children, with whom we left some strings of beads, etc. A quantity of Darts lay about the Hutts; these we took away with us. 3 Canoes lay upon the beach, the worst I think I ever saw; they were about 12 or 14 feet long, made of one piece of the Bark of a Tree, drawn or tied up at each end, and the middle kept open by means of pieces of Stick by way of Thwarts.

Source: Cook, 1893, p. 243

Appendix 6

Figure 6.1: Governor Phillip's instructions

It is our will and pleasure that in every such case you do issue your warrant to the Surveyor of Lands to make surveys of and mark out in lots such lands upon the said territory as may be necessary for their use; and when that shall be done, that you do pass grants thereof with all convenient speed to any of the said convicts so emancipated, in such proportions and under such conditions and acknowledgments as shall hereafter be specified, viz.:—To every male shall be granted 30 acres of land, and in case he shall be married, 20 acres more; and for every child who may be with them at the settlement at the time of making the said grant, a further quantity of 10 acres, free of all fees, taxes, quit rents, or other acknowledgments whatsoever, for the space of ten years: Provided that the person to whom the said land shall have been granted shall reside within the same and proceed to the cultivation and improvement thereof; reserving only to us such timber as may be growing, or to grow hereafter, upon the said land which may be fit for naval purposes, and an annual quit rent of* after the expiration of the term or time before mentioned. You will cause copies of such grants as may be passed to be preserved, and make a regular return of the said grants to the Commissioners of our Treasury and the Lords of the Committee of our Privy Council for Trade and Plantations.

Source: *Historical Records Australia*, 1914, p. 14-15

Figure 6.2: Pimbloy [Pemulwuy]: Native of New Holland in a Canoe of that Country
1804 by SJ Neele



Source: State Library of New South Wales Q80/18

Figure 6.3: King's letter to Banks May 1792 p. 1

Sir Joseph Banks Papers Series 39.004: Letter received by Banks from Philip Gidley King, 8 May 1792 | SAFE/Banks Papers/Series 39.04 | FL3258081

104.
Dear Sir.
Norfolk Island May 8 1792

I feel my self much obliged to you & more than can express for your very kind attention to me, & which I have received a recent proof of, by your letter, which I have received by the Mail, the arrival of that Ship has cost out a little work for me, as I have not had an opportunity of writing to our friend Philip. He has left me to tell my own story, as as I am certain that you will see my letter to Government. I shall say no more about the Island; only that I think Stanning is at a very unusual distance from us, & which you will have no pains to believe, when I tell you that out of the last years crop we have issued out 25,000 weight of Flour which of course is a great deduction in the Supplies of this Island to Government, & there is now 4 months Flour in the Pitches & Granaries. This with 70 people off the shore entirely, & twice as many who will go off next year, together with the birds of the Air & the fish in the Sea, will enable us to do very well. If I did not think that there was a certainty of your being a fuller acct. of the Island in your letter alluded to as above, I should enter into further particulars.

It is a fortunate circumstance for you & me, that my worthy associate Capt. Patterson is here; notwithstanding a severe & painful Rheumatism in to gether with the Liver & Bile, he has with uncommon pains visited every thing on the land, & under the land, & on the water round our Earth, in search of every thing that can give you any information, you may wish for. As he tells me he has wrote to you, there will be need for me to say, then that whenever he leaves this Island, I shall come a valuable second, & you will know the Natural history of this Island as complete as possible & the pleasure of leaving that he is beginning

Figure 6.4: King's letter to Banks May 1792 p. 2

Sir Joseph Banks Papers Series 39.004: Letter received by Banks from Philip Gidley King, 8 May 1792 | SAFE/Banks Papers/Series 39.04 | FL3258083

artificial Grass seeds, as we have not a blade of
any other Grass seed, growing on this Island, than
the Canary Grass.

In case of any accident happening
to the Pitt in her circuitous Voyage, I shall send
Duplications of the things already sent, which I have
designed sending to send by the first Opportunity
If Mr. Naime goes home in a Dutch Packet
he will not be able to take Charge of them.

Respecting the Stone Ax which you
will find in one of the Boxes, I will not absolutely
vouch for the truth of its being found in the place
mentioned to me, but the Man who first found
some of the Stone Articles, which Major Skiff carried
home, I do not think is a falsehood;
The Bananas which are now wonderfully multiply
are as good as you in general meet with, &
certainly these trees are not indigenous.

Our rising generation will be
much obliged to you if any method can be devised
to send the small Pox Matter, so as it may inoculate
those young Creatures, for I much fear that if it should
make its Appearance here in a few Years, that
it will sweep off a vast Number of Children, I am
certain I have said enough to call forth your
wonderful Humanity — I have brought to this Island
some Guinea Corn which does wonderfully well
indeed, & will be a great acquisition to this Island,
one Rod of Ground sowed with fifty Guineas, has
produced 370 very large heads of Corn, which I suppose
will produce from a trial I have made of a few
heads! sixty four pounds of good flour clear of the Bran

Figure 6.5: Reconciliation on Prospect Hill 5 May 1805, *Sydney Gazette* 'Postscript'

P O S T S C R I P T.

It being intimated to the Reverend Mr. MARSDEN on Wednesday last that the Natives of Prospect wished a conference with him, with a view of opening the way to a reconciliation, that Gentleman readily undertook the mission, and repaired without hesitation or delay to the appointed place of rendezvous. On his arrival the only persons visible were three native women, by whom he was informed that the men desirous of conversing with him were then in the woods, whither they had betaken themselves with a design of summoning a more general consultation on the subject; but that immediately on their return, a detachment composed of three persons would be dispatched to Parramatta to report the result of their errand. Three men in consequence waited on Mr. Marsden on Thursday, under the guidance and protection of Mr. John Kennedy, a settler. Declaring a speedy reconciliation to be the desired object of their embassy, Mr. Marsden kindly assured them of the general anxiety for the acceleration of the event; and acquainted them with the only terms upon which it could be ventured on, namely, the surrender of those who were principally active in the recent horrible enormities; explaining at the same time,

Figure 6.6: Copy of Macquarie's 4 May 1816 'Proclamation'

The Sydney Gazette, and NEW SOUTH WALES ADVERTISER:

PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY.

[VOLUME THE FOURTEENTH.] SATURDAY, MAY 4, 1816 [NUMBER 80.]

His Excellency the Governor and Commander in Chief has thought proper to insert, that all Public Communications which may appear in the SYDNEY GAZETTE, and NEW SOUTH WALES ADVERTISER, signed with any Official Signature, are to be considered as Official Communications, and to be inserted in the same manner as when they are signed by JOHN THOMAS CAMPBELL, Secretary.

Proclamation,

By His Excellency LACHLAN MACQUARIE, Esquire, Captain General and Governor in Chief of and over His Majesty's Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

WHEREAS the ANTIQUARIAN, or Black Natives of this Colony, have for the last three Years manifested a strong and unrelenting spirit of ANIMOSITY and HOSTILITY towards the BRITISH INHABITANTS residing in the interior and remote Parts of the Territory, and have recently guilty of atrocious and wanton Murders, in infamously murdering Men, Women, and Children, from whom they had received no Injury or Provocation; and also in killing the Cattle, and plundering and destroying the Cattle and Property of every Description belonging to the Settlers and Persons residing on and near the Banks of the Rivers Murrumbidgee, Grose and Macintyre, and throughout, in the great Terror, Loss, and Distress of the suffering Inhabitants.

And whereas, notwithstanding, that the Government has heretofore acted with the utmost Mercy and Humanity towards these Natives, in forbearing to punish such wanton Crimes and Disorders with their merited Severity, thereby hoping to reclaim them from their barbarous Practices, and to conciliate them to the British Government, by affording them Protection, Assistance, and Indulgence, instead of subjecting them to the Execution of Justice, which their own wanton Crimes would have fully justified; yet they have persisted in the pursuit of their course of such destructive and barbarous Crimes, and Depredations on the Lives and Property of the British Inhabitants, after having been repeatedly warned to desist by the Government, and that would result to themselves in the Contumacious and obstinate Disobedience of the Government, and that the Government has been obliged to resort to the use of Force to suppress such Crimes and Barbarities, and to bring to justice Persons guilty of the perpetration of them as could be found and apprehended; and with this View sent out a Military Force to drive away these hostile Natives from the British Settlements in the remote Parts of the Territory, and to take as many of them Prisoners as possible; in consequence of which several Natives, have been unaccountably killed and wounded, in consequence of their not having surrounded themselves on being approached, so as to avoid them, it may be considered fortunate, that some of the most guilty and atrocious of the Natives were not in the late Muster and Barriers are numbered. And although it is to be apprehended that some of the most guilty of these atrocious Crimes, and the Severity which has attended it, will eventually strike Terror amongst the surviving Tribes, and deter them from the further Commission of such sanguinary Outrages and Barbarities.

And whereas the more effectually to prevent a Recurrence of Murders, Robberies, and Depredations by the Natives, as well as to protect the Lives and Property of His Majesty's British Subjects residing in the several Settlements of this Territory, His Excellency the Governor deems it his indispensable Duty to promulgate certain Rules, Orders, and Regulations to be observed by the Natives, and rigidly enforced and carried into Effect by all Magistrates and Peace Officers in the Colony of New South Wales; and which are as follow:

First.—That from and after the Fourth Day of June next ensuing, that being the Birth Day of His Most Gracious Majesty King George the Third, no Black Native, or Body of Black Natives shall ever appear at or within one Mile of any Town, Village, or Farm, accepted by, or belonging to any British Subject, armed with any Weapon or offensive Weapon or Weapon of any Description, such as Spear, Club, or Waddie, on Pain of being declared and considered in a State of Aggression and Hostility, and treated accordingly.

Second.—That no Number of Natives, according to the whole Six Persons, being entirely unarmed, shall ever come to look or enter upon any Farm in the Interior, on Pain of being considered Hostile, and treated accordingly.

Third.—That the Practice heretofore observed amongst the Native Tribes, of assembling in large Parties or Parties armed, and at fighting and attacking each other on the Plea of settling Punctures on Transgressors of their own Customs and Manners, or at near Sydney, and other principal Towns and Settlements in the Colony, shall be forever wholly abolished, and no Person shall be permitted to assemble for the purpose of settling the same, which is an Object of the highest Importance to effect, if possible. Any cruel Study of Natives, therefore, who shall assemble for the purpose of settling the same, or at Sydney or

any of the other Settlements of this Colony after the said Fourth Day of June next, shall be considered as Disturbers of the Public Peace, and shall be apprehended and punished in a summary Manner accordingly. The Black Natives are therefore hereby prohibited and enjoined to desist from this barbarous Custom, not only at and near the British Settlements, but also in their own wild and remote Parts of the Interior.

Fourth.—That such of the Natives as may wish to be considered as the Protection of the British Government, and desist from such Practices in a peaceable, unoffensive, and honest Manner, shall be furnished with Provisions and Certificates in that Effect, signed by the Governor, on their making Application for the same at the Secretary's Office, at Sydney, on the First Monday of every succeeding Month; which Certificates they will find will prevent them from being injured or molested by any Person, so long as they conduct themselves peaceably, unoffensively, and honestly, and do not use any or more offensive Weapons, contrary to the Terms of this Proclamation.

The Governor, however, having taken the following into consideration: That the British Inhabitants, in prohibiting the Black Natives from carrying or using offensive Weapons, as long as they are in the Interior, and that the British Inhabitants of these Settlements, consider it equally a Part of the Public Duty, as a Compensation for the Protection of not allowing them to go about the Country armed, to afford the Black Natives such Arms as may be necessary to enable them to obtain an honest and comfortable Subsistence by their own Labour and Industry. His Excellency therefore hereby prohibits and enjoins, that he shall always be a willing and ready to grant small Portions of Land in suitable and convenient Parts of the Colony, to such of them as are inclined to become regular Settlers, and such occasional Assistance from Government as may enable them to cultivate their Farms:—Namely:

First.—That they and their Families shall be furnished from the King's Store for Six Months, from the Time of their going to reside on their Farms.

Second.—That they shall be furnished with the necessary Agricultural Tools; and also, with Flour, Meat, and Potatoes for Seed; and

Third.—That the Persons of a Family, who shall settle on any Land granted from the King's Store shall be given. But these Indulgences will be a gratuity to any Native, which shall appear that he is well inclined, and feels inclined to become a Settler, and personally to reside on such Farm as may be assigned to him for the purpose of cultivating the same for the Support of him and his Family.

His Excellency the Governor therefore hereby prohibits, and that he hereby invites the Natives to relinquish their wandering, idle, and predatory Habits of Life, and to become industrious and useful Members of a Community where they will find Protection and Encouragement. It is such as do not like to cultivate Farms of their own, but would prefer working as Labourers for those Persons who may be disposed to employ them, there will always be Land Masters among the Settlers who will hire them as servants of this Description. And the Governor strongly recommends to the settlers and other Persons, to accept such Services as may be offered by the industrious Natives, desirous of engaging in their Employ. And the Governor desires it to be understood, that he will be happy to grant Lands to the Natives in such Situations as may be agreeable to themselves, and according to their own particular Choice, provided such Lands are disposable, and belong to the Crown.

And whereas His Excellency the Governor, from an anxious Wish to civilize the Aborigines of this Country, so as to make them useful to themselves and the Community, has established a Seminary or Institution at Parramatta, for the Purpose of a teaching the Male and Female Children of those Natives who might be willing to place them in that Seminary.—His Excellency therefore now earnestly calls upon such Natives as have Children, to embrace so desirable and good an Opportunity of preparing for their future Offspring, and of having them brought up, clothed, fed, and educated in a Seminary established for such humane and desirable Purpose. And in Fortification of this Measure, His Excellency deems it expedient to invite a general Friendly Meeting of all the Natives residing in the Colony, to take Place at the Town of Parramatta, on Saturday the 20th of December next, at Twelve o'clock at Noon, at the Public Market Place there, for the Purpose of more fully explaining and pointing out to them the Objects of the Institution referred to, as well as for Consulting with them on the best Means of improving their present Condition.—On this Occasion, and at this public general Meeting of the Natives, the Governor will be happy to reward such of them as have given Proof of Industry, and an Inclination to be civilized. And the Governor, wishing that this Com-

will positively be refused, and the Amounts respectively will be deducted forthwith to the Crown.

Holders of Store Receipts either accepting or failing to pay due Attention to this Notice, will have themselves alone to blame, if being His Excellency's positive Order that due Attention shall be refused to the said Store-receipts and General Orders.

The 11th, 23d, 25th, and 26th Day of every Month will be appropriated for the receiving, checking off, and entering for Consolidation, all such as may be then presented.

By Command of His Excellency,
D. ALLAN, Deputy Commissary General.

DEPUTY COMMISSARY GENERAL'S OFFICE, Sydney, 26th March, 1816.

A LIST of Persons who were indebted S.P. A PLIES of FRESH MEAT, for the Use of His Majesty's Stores, and from whom the Quantities required against their respective Names will be received at the following Stations, AT SYDNEY.

Wharf	By whom tendered (Quantity)	Rebates
10th	May 11th 1816	9000 Sydney
11th	Mr. John Nicholson	4000 ditto
12th	Mr. Edward Quin	2000 ditto
13th	Mr. Isaac Nichols	2000 ditto
14th	Mr. Joseph Smith	2000 ditto
15th	Mr. W.D. Westcott	2000 ditto
16th	Mr. John Campbell	2000 ditto
17th	Mr. Allan	2000 ditto

AT PARRAMATTA.

May 11th	Mr. George Knight	700 Parramatta
12th	Mr. O'Brien	1000 Parramatta
13th	Mr. John Palmer	1000 Parramatta
14th	Mr. John Ligonier	200 Parramatta
15th	Mr. Bernard Raby	200 Parramatta
16th	Mr. Robert Coker	200 ditto
17th	Mr. James Glover	2000 Prospect
18th	Mr. Thomas Spencer	200 Richmond
19th	Mr. Isaac Nichols	1000 New Hill
20th	Mr. Blackman	1000 Richmond

AT WINDSOR.

May 11th	Mr. George Smith	600
12th	Mr. John Dyer	300
13th	Mr. John Dyer	300
14th	Mr. John Dyer	300
15th	Mr. John Dyer	300
16th	Mr. John Dyer	300
17th	Mr. John Dyer	300
18th	Mr. John Dyer	300
19th	Mr. John Dyer	300
20th	Mr. John Dyer	300

THE Applications for Land and Cattle made to the Governor at the prescribed Time in June last, having been so numerous as to require very far what he had expected, and consequently requiring His most serious Consideration previous to His giving a final Answer on the respective Claims of the Applicants; and therefore, further, much Difficulty in accommodating those whose Claims to such Indulgences may be admitted, owing to the Scarcity of available Lands, and the reduced State of the Government Herd, in consequence of the late Distresses, His Excellency has thought proper to give this Notice, that an Application for either Lands or Cattle will be received by him in the ensuing Month of June; and that the First Monday of June, in the Year 1817.

In consequence of the necessary Determination on the Part of His Excellency, the Magistrates are required to withhold their Signatures of Recommendations from all Applications for Land or Cattle for the current Year.

By Command of His Excellency,
DEPUTY COMMISSARY GENERAL'S OFFICE, Sydney, 26th April, 1816.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Public Notice given from this Office, by Command of His Excellency the Governor, and inserted in the Sydney Gazette of Dates the 10th, 23d, and 25th inst., requiring and directing all Persons holding Store Receipts that they should, in Conformity to the Government and General Orders of the 8th of July last, make their Demands thereon once in each Month; and that all Store Receipts should be presented for Payment within one Month from their respective Dates.

It still appears that Store Receipts to a very large Amount have not, in Conformity to the Government and General Orders, been presented at the Office, whereby much Inconvenience and Delay have been created in the Consolidation and Payment thereof, arising from the Unders of the Debt, and consequent Length of Time required in checking off, examining, and reapplying them with the necessary Vouchers, and which most essentially prove injurious to the Holders themselves.

Notice is therefore hereby given, that unless every Store Receipt which may be issued after the 1st of October next, be presented and paid at Head-Quarters on or before the 1st of October next, the same will be void, and the Date which such Receipt may express shall not be taken into Consideration thereon; and that all Store Receipts presented after the 1st of October next, shall be void, and the Date which such Receipt may express shall not be taken into Consideration thereon; and that all Store Receipts presented after the 1st of October next, shall be void, and the Date which such Receipt may express shall not be taken into Consideration thereon.

Figure 6.7: Full text of Macquarie's 4 May 1816 'Proclamation'

By His EXCELLENCY LACHLAN MACQUARIE, ESQUIRE, Captain General and Governor in Chief in and over His Majesty's Territory of New South Wales and its Dependencies, &c. &c. &c.

Whereas the ABORIGINES, or Black NATIVES of this Colony, have for the last three Years manifested a strong and sanguinary Spirit of ANIMOSITY and HOSTILITY towards the BRITISH INHABITANTS residing in the Interior and remote Parts of the Territory, and been recently guilty of most atrocious and wanton Barbarities, in indiscriminately murdering Men, Women, and Children, from whom they had received no Offence or Provocation; and also in killing the Cattle, and plundering and destroying the Grain and Property of every Description, belonging to the Settlers and Persons residing on and near the Banks of the rivers Nepean, Grose and Hawkesbury, and South Creek, to the great Terror, Loss, and Distress of the suffering inhabitants.

And whereas, notwithstanding that the Government has heretofore acted with the utmost Lenity and Humanity towards these Natives, in forbearing to punish such wanton Cruelties and Depredations with their merited Severity, thereby hoping to reclaim them from their barbarous Practices, and to conciliate them to the British Government, by affording them Protection, Assistance, and Indulgence, instead of subjecting them to the Retaliation of Injury, which their own wanton Cruelties would have fully justified ; yet they have persevered to the present Day in committing every species of sanguinary Outrage and Depredation on the Lives and Properties of the British Inhabitants, after having been repeatedly, cautioned to beware of the Consequences that would result to themselves by the Continuance of such destructive and barbarous Courses,

And whereas His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR was lately reluctantly compelled to resort to coercive and strong Measures to prevent the Recurrence of such Crimes and Barbarities, and to bring to condign Punishment such of the Perpetrators of them as could be found and apprehended; and with this View sent out a Military Force to drive away these hostile Tribes from the British Settlements in the remote Parts of the Country, and to take as many of them Prisoners as possible; in executing which Service several Natives have been unavoidably killed and wounded, in Consequence of their not having surrendered themselves on being called on so to do; amongst whom, it may be considered fortunate, that some of the most guilty and atrocious of the Natives concerned in the late Murders and Robberies are numbered. And although it is to be apprehended that some few innocent Men, Women, and Children may have fallen in these Conflicts, yet it is earnestly to be hoped that this unavoidable Result, and the Severity which has attended it, will eventually strike Terror amongst the surviving Tribes, and deter them from the further Commission of such sanguinary Outrages and Barbarities.

And whereas the more effectually to prevent a Recurrence of Murders, Robberies, and Depredations by the Natives, as well as to protect the Lives and Properties of His Majesty's British Subjects residing in the several Settlements of this Territory, HIS EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR deems it his indispensable Duty to prescribe certain Rules, Orders, and Regulations to be observed by the Natives, and rigidly enforced and carried into Effect by all Magistrates and Peace Officers in the Colony of New South Wales ; and which are as follow:—

First, —That from and after the Fourth Day of June next ensuing, that being the Birth-Day of His MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY KING GEORGE the THIRD, no Black Native, or Body

of Black Natives shall ever appear at or within one Mile of any Town, Village, or Farm, occupied by, or belonging to any British Subject, armed with any warlike or offensive Weapon or Weapons of any Description, such as Spears, Clubs, or Waddies, on Pain of being deemed and considered in a State of Aggression and Hostility, and treated accordingly.

Second, —That no Number of Natives, exceeding in the Whole Six Persons, being entirely unarmed, shall ever come to lurk or loiter about any Farm in the Interior, on Pain of being considered Enemies, and treated accordingly.

Third, —That the Practice hitherto observed amongst the Native Tribes, of assembling in large Bodies or Parties armed, and of fighting and attacking each other on the Plea of inflicting Punishments on Transgressors of their own Customs and Manners, at or near Sydney, and other principal Towns and Settlements in the Colony, shall be henceforth wholly abolished, as a barbarous Custom, repugnant to the British Laws, and strongly militating against the Civilization of the Natives, which is an Object of the highest Importance to effect, if possible. Any armed Body of Natives, therefore, who shall assemble for the foregoing Purposes, either at Sydney or any of the other Settlements of this Colony after the said Fourth Day of June next, shall be considered as Disturbers of the Public Peace, and shall be apprehended and punished in a summary Manner accordingly. The Black Natives are therefore hereby enjoined and commanded to discontinue this barbarous Custom, not only at and near the British Settlements, but also in their own wild and remote Places of Resort.

Fourth, —That such of the Natives as may wish to be considered under the Protection of the British Government, and disposed to conduct themselves in a peaceable, inoffensive, and honest Manner, shall be furnished with Passports or Certificates to that Effect, signed by the GO-VERNOR, on their making Application for the same at the Secretary's Office, at Sydney, on the Firsts Monday of every succeeding Month ; which Certificates they will find will protect them from being injured or molested by any Person, so long as they conduct themselves peaceably, inoffensively, and honestly, and do not carry or use offensive Weapons, contrary to the Tenor of this Proclamation.

The GOVERNOR, however, having thus fulfilled an imperious & necessary Public Duty, in prohibiting the Black Natives from carrying or using offensive Weapons, at least in as far as relates to their usual Intercourse with the British Inhabitants of these Settlements, considers it equally a Part of his Public Duty, as a Counter-balance for the Restriction of not allowing them to go about the Country armed, to afford the Black Natives such Means as are within his Power to enable them to obtain an honest and comfortable Subsistence by their own Labour and Industry. His EXCELLENCY therefore hereby proclaims and makes known to them, that He shall always be willing and ready to grant small Portions of Land in suitable and convenient Parts of the Colony, to such of them as are inclined to become regular Settlers, and such occasional Assistance from Government as may enable them to cultivate their Farms: — Namely:

First, - That they and their Families shall be victualled from the King's Stores for Six Months, from the Time of their going to reside actually on their Farms.

Secondly, —That they shall be furnished with the necessary Agricultural Tools; and also, with Wheat, Maize, and Potatoes for Seed ; and

Thirdly, —To each Person of a Family, one Suit-of Slops, and one Colonial Blanket from the King's Stores shall be given. But these Indulgences will not be granted to any Native, unless it shall appear that he is really inclined, and fully resolved to become a Settler, and permanently to reside on such Farm as may be assigned to him for the Purpose of cultivating the same for the Support of himself and his Family.

His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR therefore earnestly exhorts, and thus publicly invites the Natives to relinquish their wandering, idle, and predatory Habits of Life, and to become industrious and useful Members of a Community where they will find Protection and Encouragement. To such as do not like to cultivate Farms of their own, but would prefer working as Labourers for those Persons who may be dis-posed to employ them, there will always be found Masters among the Settlers who will hire them as Servants of this Description. And the GOVERNOR strongly recommends to the Settlers and other Persons, to accept such Services as may be offered by the industrious Natives, desirous of engaging in their Employ. And the GOVERNOR desires it to be understood, that he will be happy to grant Lands to the Natives in such Situations as may be agreeable to themselves, and according to their own particular Choice, provided such Lands are disposable, and belong to the Crown.

And whereas His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR, from an anxious Wish to civilize the Aborigines of this Country, so as to make them useful to themselves and the Community, has established a Seminary or Institution at Parramatta, for the Purpose of educating the Male and Female Children of those Natives who might be willing to place them in that Seminary:— HIS EXCELLENCY therefore now earnestly calls upon such Natives as have Children, to embrace so desirable and good an Opportunity of providing for their helpless Offspring, and of having them brought up, clothed, fed, and educated in a Seminary established for such humane and desirable Purposes. And in Furtherance of this Measure, His EXCELLENCY deems it expedient to invite a general Friendly Meeting of all the Natives residing in the Colony, to take Place at the Town of Parramatta, on Saturday the 28th of December next, at Twelve o'Clock at Noon, at the Public Market Place there, for the Purpose of more fully explaining and pointing out to them the Objects of the Institution referred to, as well as for Consulting with them on the best Means of improving their present Condition.— On this Occasion, and at this public general Meeting of the Natives, the GOVERNOR will feel happy to reward such of them as have given Proofs of Industry, and an Inclination to be civilized.

And the GOVERNOR, wishing that this General Meeting, or Congress of the friendly Natives should in future be held annually, directs that the 28th Day of December, in every succeeding Year, shall be considered as fixed for this Purpose, excepting when that Day happens to fall on a Sunday ; when the following Day is to be considered as fixed for holding the said Congress.

And finally. His EXCELLENCY the GOVERNOR hereby orders and directs, that, on Occasions of any Natives coming armed, or in a hostile Manner without Arms, or in unarmed Parties exceeding Six in Number, to any Farm belonging to, or occupied by British Subjects in the Interior, such Natives are first to be desired in a civil Manner to depart from the said Farm, and if they persist in remaining thereon, or attempt to plunder, rob, or commit any kind of Depredation, they are then to be driven away by Force of Arms by the Settlers themselves ; and in Case they are not able to do so, they are to apply to a Magistrate for Aid from the nearest Military Station ; and the Troops stationed there are hereby commanded to render their Assistance when so required. The Troops are also to afford Aid at the Towns of Sydney, Parramatta, and Windsor respectively, when called on by the Magistrates or Police Officers at those Stations.

Given under my Hand, at Government

House, Sydney, this 4th Day of May,

in the Year of Our Lord 1816.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

"LACHLAN MACQUARIE".

By Command of His Excellency,

J. T. CAMPBELL, Secretary.

Source: *Sydney Gazette* (1816, 4 May, p. 1)

Figure 6.8: Reconciliation on Prospect Hill: Postscript from *Sydney Gazette* 5 May 1805

It being intimated to the Reverend Mr. MARSDEN on Wednesday last that the Natives of Prospect wished a conference with him, with a view of opening the way to a reconciliation, that Gentleman readily undertook the mission, and repaired without hesitation or delay to the appointed place of rendezvous. On his arrival the only persons visible were three native women, by whom he was informed that the men desirous of conversing with him were then in the woods, whither they had betaken themselves with a design of summoning a more general consultation on the subject; but that immediately on their return, a deputation composed of three persons would be despatched to Parramatta to report the result of their errand. Three men in consequence waited on Mr. Marsden on Thursday, under the guidance and protection of Mr. John Kennedy, a settler. Declaring a speedy reconciliation to be the desired object of their embassy, Mr. Marsden kindly assured them of the general anxiety for the acceleration of the event; and acquainted them with the only terms upon which it could be ventured on, namely, the surrender of those who were principally active in the recent horrible enormities; explaining at the same time that until this demand should be complied with, none of them could be admitted on the grounds of any settler. Without starting objection to the demand, they appeared to be somewhat concerned at their inability to render information of more than one of the chief aggressors; but nevertheless pledged themselves that upon the following day he should receive every necessary information from a party at or in the neighbourhood of Prospect; and some of whom they doubted not would readily engage in pursuit of the murderers. Mr. Marsden was exact to this appointment also, and on Friday met them again at Prospect, where, though they were scattered in prodigious numbers through the surrounding wood, yet not more than twenty approached near enough to be conversed with. The information insisted on of the names of the principal murderers was extorted by degrees from the division inhabiting the Cow-pasture Plains; but all positively resisted the demand of aiding in their apprehension, until Mr. Marsden in a determined tone forbade their hope of reconciliation until the terms insisted on should be complied with; when one advancing, volunteered himself for the expedition, upon which six of the military were detached, accompanied by Warby, and a second native who afterwards offered his joint assistance as a guide. The names of the persons accused by their own tribes are, Talboon, Corriangee, & Doollonn, Mountain natives; Moonaning & Doongial, Branch natives; and Boon-du-dullock, a native of Richmond Hill.

Source: *Sydney Gazette* (5 May 1805, p. 4)

WANTED.

TWENTY Able bodied Stamen and Landmen to be employed in whaling on board the King George, whaler, or in Sealing and Oiling in the Schooner Marcia and sloop Contell, bound to Bass's Straits and ports adjacent, to the Southward.

They must be active, industrious and free from incumbrances of every kind, as liberal encouragement will be given. Apply to the House of Messrs Kable and Company.

WANTED.

TEN or Twelve Men, Americans, Dutch, Portuguese, or any other that can obtain due permission to leave the Colony, to proceeding the Schooner Independence, or the American ship Favorite, on a sealing voyage. Application must be made in the court or the ensuing week to Capt. Paidock of the Favorite, or Mr. Townend, master of the Independence. No applications will be attended to, but from such as can legally leave the Colony, and are without incumbrance.

NOTICE.

CAPTAIN LUCAS, of the ship Richard and Mary, requests that all claims and demands against the following persons may be either presented to the selves immediately, or otherwise lodged in the Secretary's Office, in order to the recovery of any debts due from either of the said persons before the departure of the above vessel.

James Field	James Mackey
John Paul	G. B. Lee
John P. Lee	William Towler
James Cooper	William Brown

CAUTION.

ALL persons are hereby forbid cutting timber, making incursions to the injury of the Government Stock, or in any other manner trespassing on the farm of Joshua Palmer late in the occupation of Mr. Mann, and situated at Parrot Hill, contiguous to Grose's Farm.

Any person offending herein after this final Notice, will be prosecuted.

RICH CEDAR.

NEWLY imported per the Governor Hunter, a quantity of fine and beautiful Cedar, adapted equally to Household furniture and banding; and sawed into plank from 14 to 18 inches in width and three inches in depth, some of the sample exceeding two feet in breadth, six to eight feet long.

Gentlemen, Tradesmen, or others, wishing a large or small supply are requested to give intimation thereof to L. Nichols, at the Hospital Wharf, where the plank may be inspected.

TO LET.

A FARM known by the name of Soho at Richmond Hill bounded on the front by John Ryan and Smith's; on the N. E. by John Bowers; there are 25 acres cleared and the greater part in cultivation the whole well watered; and adapted equally to stock and agriculture.

Particulars may be had on the said Farm.

FOR SALE.

By H. Furber, at Kissing Point.

A Number of Bench Seedlings of a proper age for transplanting; and if taken in quantities, will be disposed of at the very low price of 4d. each plant, also some very fine Vinegar at 8s. per gallon.

WANTED.

A Sober, steady and attentive Man as Shepherd, to have the charge of a large flock. A person of good character will meet with liberal encouragement. Apply to G. Howe Lower Chapel Row.

Water-Colours, Stationary, &c.
To be purchased of G. Howe,
Lower Chapel Row.

DARLING'S Best prepared Water Colours in Boxes, with Pencils and some loose colours.

Pens and Quills, ready made Ink and Ink Powders; Cards, for the instruction of Infants, containing the Alphabet in four different characters; tables of vowels joined to single and double consonants, monosyllables, &c. &c. price only 6d.



SHIP NEWS.

His Majesty's ship Investigator is expected to sail in the course of the present week.

The Polly, Capt. Foster, ready for sea, and remains with the Richard and Mary, Harriet, and Coras South whalers; the Sydney, Sophia, Harrington, and Eagle; and American ships Favorite and Criterion in Neutral Bay.

POSTSCRIPT.

It being intimated to the Reverend Mr. MARSDEN on Wednesday last that the Natives of Prospect withed a conference with him, with a view of opening the way to a reconciliation, that Gentlemen readily undertook the mission, and repaired without hesitation or delay to the appointed place of rendezvous. On his arrival the only persons visible were three native women, by whom he was informed that the men desirous of conversing with him were then in the woods, whither they had betaken themselves with a design of summoning a more general consultation on the subject; but that immediately on their return, a detachment composed of three persons would be dispatched to Parramatta to report the result of their errand. Three men in consequence waited on Mr. Marsden on Thursday, under the guidance and protection of Mr. John Kennedy, a settler. Declaring a speedy reconciliation to be the desired object of their embassy, Mr. Marsden kindly allured them of the general anxiety for the acceleration of the event; and acquainted them with the only terms upon which it could be ventured on, namely, the surrender of those who were principally active in the recent horrible enormities; explaining at the same time,

that until this demand should be complied with, none of them could be admitted on the grounds of any settler. Without starting objection to the demand, they appeared to be somewhat concerned at their inability to render information of more than one of the chief aggressors; but nevertheless pledged themselves that upon the following day he should receive every necessary information from a party at or in the neighbourhood of Prospect; and some of whom they doubted not would readily engage in pursuit of the murderers. Mr. Marsden was exact to this appointment also, and on Friday met them again at Prospect, where, though they were scattered in prodigious numbers through the surrounding wood, yet not more than twenty approached near enough to be conversed with. The information insisted on of the names of the principal murderers was extorted by degrees from the division inhabiting the Cow-pasture Plains; but all positively refused the demand of aiding in their apprehension, until Mr. Marsden in a determined tone forbade their hope of reconciliation until the terms insisted on should be complied with; when one advancing, voluted to red himself for the expedition, upon which 6 of the military were detached, accompanied by Waddy, and a second native who afterwards offered his joint assistance as a guide.

The names of the persons accused by their own tribes are, *Tolson, Corrianger, & Doolman*, Mountain natives; *Moonaning & Doolman*, Branch natives; and *Bom-du-duluck*, a native of Richmond Hill.

GENERAL ORDERS.

A Number of Natives, composed of the Families well known about Prospect and Parramatta, with some Strangers from the Cow Pasture having put themselves under the protection of the Magistrates at Parramatta, and are *fit down* at the Bruth between Prospect and George's River, they are not to be molested in that situation; some of them having accompanied a party to apprehend the Murderers of the two Settlers and the two Stockmen.

By Command of His Excellency,

G. BLAXCELL, Acting Sec.

Government House, Sydney.

May 5, 1835.

Account given by John Platt, a Miner, of the Coal-mines at Newcastle.

The Coal-mines on the sea side Government House, Newcastle, are 3½ feet thick, solid coal, and resemble those of Busby Park, between Warrington and Prescot. The same mine is also in Lord Derby's Park, near Prescot, called Nozeley Park. These coals are of the best quality, and are used for furnaces, malt-houses, &c. being free of sulphur.

Those at the Harbour, by the Salt-pan called New Discovery, from its being like a Delf in Weston, near Prescot in Lancashire, are of a bad quality, having as much dirt as coal, and fit for burning bricks, fire engines, &c.

PRINTED AT SYDNEY, AND ADVERTISEMENTS RECEIVED BY G. HOWE.

Appendix 7

Figure 7.1: Letter from William Shelley to Governor Macquarie 8 April 1814

The civilisation of the Natives of this Continent, particularly those contiguous to the settlements, having frequently occupied my thoughts, I take the liberty of laying before Your Excellency a few ideas on that important Subject. Notwithstanding the prejudices that many have against the probability of success in Civilizing the Natives of New South Wales, yet, if we consider the human nature is the same in every Clime, allowing for the differences of manners and Customs and variety of Circumstances in which they are placed. I think this opinion supported neither by theory or experience, I know it has been alledged that men have been carried to England, lived in civilized Society during a long space, and on their return relapsed into their former habits and Society; but it must be acknowledged that they learnt no means of supporting themselves in their improved habits, nor Could they make themselves respectable in their new Society. They were generally despised, especially by European females: thus all attachment to their new Society was precluded: they learnt neither mechanical arts, nor manual labour, so as to make them pleasant or useful to them; long Contracted habits recurred with greater force on this account.

Where is the human being who would be pleased to live at a Gentleman's table, and wear his Clothes, without having any prospect in view but food and Clothes, while he remained useless and despised in the Society in which he lived? Young Men live in a prospect of Marriage and have ambition and pride to be respectable in their own Society. No European woman would marry a Native, unless some abandoned profligate. The same may be said of Native Women received for a time among Europeans. A solitary individual, either man or woman, educated from infancy, even well, among Europeans, would in general, when they grew up, be rejected by the other sex of Europeans, and must go into the bush for a companion; or, if educated among drunken or thievish servants, must become still worse. In order to their improvement and civilisation, let there be a public establishment containing one set of apartments for boys, and another separate set for girls; let the, be taught reading, writing, and religious education, the boys manual labour, agriculture, mechanic arts, etc., the girls, sewing, knitting, spinning, or such useful employments as are suitable for them; let them be married at a suitable age, and settled with steady religious persons over them from the very beginning to see that they continued their employment, so as to be able to support their families, and who had skill sufficient to encourage and stimulate them by proper motives to exertion. The chief difficulty appeared to me to be the separation of the children from their parents, but I am informed that in many cases this could be easily done.

Should your Excellency conceive the above plan practicable, I will endeavour to lay before your Excellency the cheapest method of supporting such an institution, as also a few rules for regulating the same.

Source: *Historical Records Australia*, 1916, pp. 370-371.

Figure 7.3: Text of Rules for the Parramatta Native Institution, 10 December 1814

His Excellency the Governor having long viewed with sentiments of Commiseration the very wretched State of the Aborigines of this Country; and having resolved in his Mind the most probable and promising means of ameliorating their condition, has now taken the Resolution to adopt such measures as appear to him best calculated to effect that Object, and improve the Energies of this innocent, destitute and unoffending Race. With this Anxiety to make one Experiment so interesting to the Feelings of Humanity, and to endeavour to ascertain how far the Condition of the Natives may be improved by the Application of such Means as are within his Power.

With a View therefore to Effect the Civilization of the Aborigines of New South Wales, and to render their habits more domesticated and industrious, His Excellency the Governor, as well from motives of humanity as of that policy which affords a reasonable hope of producing such an Improvement in their condition as may eventually contribute to render them not only more happy in themselves, but also in some degree useful to the community, has determined to institute a school for the education of the native children of both sexes, and to assign a portion of land for the occupancy and cultivation of adult natives, under such rules and regulation as appear to him likely to answer the desired objects; and which are now published for general information.

First, that there shall be a school for the Aborigines of New South Wales, established in the town of Parramatta, of which His Excellency the Governor is to be patron, and Mrs Macquarie, patroness.

Secondly, that there shall be a committee, consisting of seven gentlemen, for conducting and directing the institution....

Thirdly, that the institution shall be placed under the immediate management and care of Mr William Shelley, as superintendent and principal instructor.

Fourthly, that the main object of the institution shall be the civilization of the Aborigines of both sexes.

Fifthly, that the expenses of the institution shall be defrayed for the first two years by Government, in such manner as the Governor may deem expedient; but with a view to extend the benefits of it after that period that subscriptions shall be solicited and received from public societies and private individuals.

Sixthly, that this institution shall be an asylum for the native children of both sexes; but no child shall be admitted under four, or exceeding seven years of age.

Seventhly, that the number of children to be admitted in the first instance, shall not exceed six boys and six girls, which numbers shall be afterwards increased, according to circumstances.

Eighthly, that the children of both sexes shall be instructed in common, in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic; that the boys shall also be instructed in Agriculture, Mechanical Arts and such common manufactures as may best suit their ages, and respective dispositions; that the girls shall also be taught

Needlework, for all which purposes instructors, properly qualified, will be employed.

Ninthly, that the manager of superintendent shall have the immediate care of the children, the purchase of provisions, and of the materials for employing them, together with the disposal of the articles manufactured by the children.

Tenthly, that a portion of land shall be located for the use of adult natives, who shall be invited and encouraged to cultivate it; and that such assistance shall be rendered them for that purpose by Government, as may be deemed expedient; that the management and superintendence thereof shall be also vested in Mr Shelley, and under his immediate inspection, subject to such directions as he shall receive from the committee.

Eleventhly, that the committee shall meet quarterly at the town of Parramatta, on the first Wednesday in each succeeding quarter, for the purpose of inspecting and auditing the quarterly accounts of the manager; and also of examining the pupils as to their progress in civilization, education, and morals; and how far the necessary attention has been paid to their diet, health, and cleanliness. That the committee (which shall at no time consist of less than five members) shall have power to take cognizance of and correct any existing abuses, and frame such additional regulations as may appear necessary for the improvement and benefit of the institution.

Twelfthly, that the committee shall make a written report of the result of their observations and enquires, at their quarterly meetings to His Excellency the Governor, as patron of the institution; and also of such rules and regulations as they may deem necessary to frame for the benefit of the institution; which must receive the sanction of the Governor previous to their being carried into effect.

Thirteenthly, that the proposed institution will be opened for the reception of the prescribed number of children on Wednesday the 18th day of January next, being the auspicious anniversary of Our Most Gracious Queen.

Fourteenthly, that no child, after having been admitted into the institution, shall be permitted to leave it, or be taken away by any person whatever (whether parents or other relatives) until such time as the boys shall have attained the age of sixteen years, and the girls fourteen years, at which stage they shall be respectively discharged.

Source: *The Sydney Gazette*, 10 December 1814, p. 1

Figure 7.4: Text of invitation to a Feast in Parramatta on 28 December 1816

Agreeably to that Part of His Excellency the Governor's Proclamation, bearing Date first Day of November last, wherein His Excellency invited a general friendly Meeting of the Natives, they are now reminded of the same; and Notice is hereby given, that the said friendly Meeting of the Black Natives or Aborigines of this Colony, will be held at the Market Place in Parramatta, on Saturday next, the 28th of this present Month of December, at the Hour of Ten in the Forenoon. And the Natives are accordingly invited and requested to attend on that Occassion [sic] with their Families, under the Assurance of being Kindly received, and plentifully furnished with Refreshments of Meat and Drink. The Magistrates, Peace Officers, and Settlers throughout the Colony, will be pleased to acquaint the Natives residing in their respective Neighbourhoods, or occasionally [sic] resorting thither, with the present Invitation for a general Meeting on the said 28th Day of December Instant. And the Gentlemen composing the Committee of the Native Institution, are requested to assemble at Government House, Parramatta, a little before the Hour of Ten in the Morning, on the said 28th instant.

Source: *The Sydney Gazette*, 10 December 1814, p. 1

NRS 1046 [SZ759, page 299; Reel 6038]

Figure 7.5: Text of *Sydney Gazette* article about result of Marketplace Conference

On Wednesday His Excellency the GOVERNOR went to Parramatta, for the purpose of seeing and conferring with the Natives, agreeably to the benevolent design intimated in the General Orders of the 10th instant. At one o'clock His Excellency, accompanied by the Lieutenant Governor, and a number of Officers Civil and Military, went to the Market-place, where the interview had been appointed to be held, and conversed with them for an hour, pointing out in an affable and familiar way the advantages they would necessarily derive from a change of manners, and an application to moderate industry. The whole number assembled, of all ages and sexes, did not exceed sixty, owing, as it was conjectured, to some false impressions which the more distant tribes had given way to, relative to the design of the convocation, suspiciously imagining that they were to be forcibly deprived of their children, & themselves sent to labour. Those who did attend gave information that numbers were in the neighbourhood, but unwilling to come forward, owing to their doubts, which they had in vain endeavoured to appease and satisfy - After a length of conversation, three children were yielded up to the benevolent purposes of the Institution: and after HIS EXCELLENCY, His Honor the LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, and the accompanying Officers had bestowed every possible pains in producing a confidence necessary to the proposed ends, the natives were seated in a circle, and served with a fine dinner of roast beef, and a cheering jug of ale. At two o'clock His Excellency took leave of them, and returned to Sydney, accompanied by Mrs. MACQUARIE. During the afternoon their number increased, and the strangers were welcomed by Mr. Shelly, who continued the same hospitable treatment to all that arrived, from the remaining stock, which had been provided for a much greater number. Another child has since been offered, without solicitation or persuasion, and added to the list of candidates for civilization. That the proposed number will very shortly be obtained there can be no reason to doubt; while on the other hand it may readily be believed, that in the course of a very few months that number might, if required, be very considerably increased.

The house preparing for their reception is near the Church of Parramatta, and will be inclosed [sic] only by a paling; one good effect of which will be, that they will be frequently in the view perhaps of their parents, as well as other persons; and when those become eye- witnesses of the benefits accruing to their children from the change, it cannot be doubted they will feel thankful to the beneficence that projected and accomplished it. The plan that has been adopted must appear the best suited to the ends proposed. At a tender age it affords to the children an asylum against the distressing wants they feel, more especially in June, July and August, when the weather is cold, the woods afford them little or no food, and they become a prey to many loathsome diseases which poverty entails upon the human frame. The kangaroo has almost disappeared about the Settlements; the opossum, long substituted as their chief dependence, has at length become as scarce; the roots of the earth are by nature too sparingly administered to constitute anything like a dependence to them ; and the tribes of each district dare not incroach [sic] upon any other. In the summer those of the coast subsist by fishing; but in the winter, only for the occasional aid they derive from us, their situation would be equally miserable: -And whence have those evils originated, but in the clearing of the immense forests which formerly abounded in the wild animals they lived upon? This admission certainly gives them a claim upon the consideration of the British Settler; and we cannot imagine for a moment, that

any one who bears that character will withhold any means that may fall within his power of forwarding the benevolent views of the Native Institution.

Source: *Sydney Gazette*, 31 December 1814, p. 2

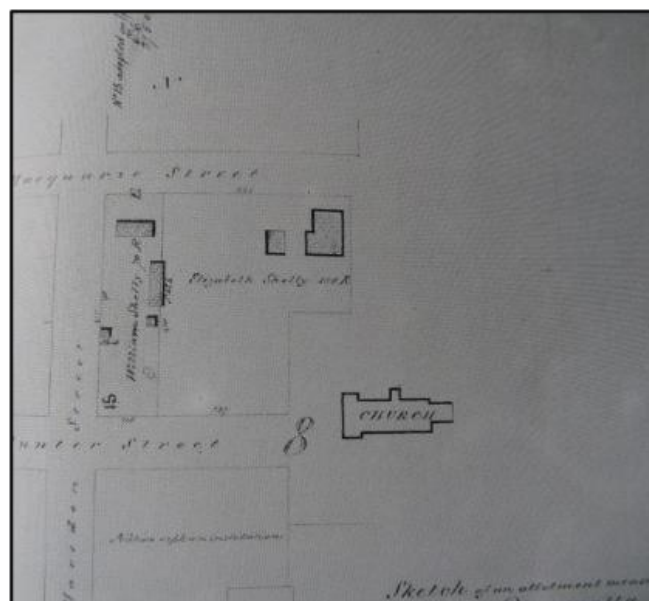
Figure 7.6: Drawing of the Parramatta Native Institution 1835

(artist unknown)



Source: Reprinted with permission from the Heritage Centre Parramatta

Figure 7.7: Sketch of layout of PNI, presumably by William Shelley



State Records of New South Wales: Reel 6038, SZ759

Figure 7.8: Copy of partial text from The Sydney Gazette 17 April 1819, p. 2

A pupil of the Native Institution wins a prize

On Tuesday last an Anniversary School Examination took place at Parramatta, at which the children of the Native Institution were introduced, their numbers not exceeding twenty; those of the schools of the children of Europeans amounting nearly to a hundred. Prizes were prepared for distribution among such of the children as should be found to excel in the early rudiments of education, moral and religious; and it is not less strange than pleasing to remark, in answer to an erroneous opinion which had long prevailed with many, namely, that the Aborigines of this country were insusceptible to any mental improvement which could adapt them to the purposes of civilized association, that a black girl of fourteen years of age, between three and four years in the school, bore away the chief prize, with much satisfaction to their worthy adjudgers and auditors. Other prizes were designated to children of much desert; and it was declared generally that the attention paid to their instruction by their various instructors was entitled to much praise for their zeal in so good a cause, manifested in the improvement of their pupils. At the time His EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR MACQUARIE was pleased to institute and patronize the Institution for the maintenance and instruction of these poor children, it was consi-

Figure 7.9: Full text from *Sydney Gazette*: A pupil of the Native Institution wins a prize

On Tuesday last an Anniversary School Examination took place at Parramatta, at which the children of the Native Institution were introduced, their numbers not exceeding twenty; those of the schools of the children of Europeans amounting nearly to a hundred. Prizes were prepared for distribution among such of the children as should be found to excel in the early rudiments of education, moral and religious; and it is not less strange than pleasing to remark, in answer to an erroneous opinion which had long prevailed with many, namely, that the Aborigines of this country were insusceptible to any mental improvement which could adapt them to the purposes of civilized association, that a black girl of fourteen years of age, between three and four years in the school, bore away the chief prize, with much satisfaction to their worthy adjudgers and auditors. Other prizes were designated to children of much desert; and it was declared generally that the attention paid to their instruction by their various instructors was entitled to much praise for their zeal in so good a cause, manifested in the improvement of their pupils.

At the time His EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR MACQUARIE was pleased to institute and patronize the Institution for the maintenance and instruction of these poor children, it was considered by very few otherwise than as a benign wish to withdraw them from a condition which had no rank in the scale of human nature; but under this benign auspices, aided by the zealous exertions of the Gentlemen appointed to its Committee, we have already the happiness of contemplating in the infant bud the richness of the expanding flower. That they might have been for many years to come reserved for the contempt of the more enlightened world no doubt may be formed; but do not all late accounts in form us that the black natives of Africa are in the exercise of high offices in St Domingo ; which they not only conduct with precision, but fill with a degree of urbanity (which may nevertheless be more confined to the reception of strangers than to common habit) and why then should we despair of the poor people being equally redeemable from their state of abjection, which was in itself but natural to persons whose only associates were the animals of the forrest [sic]. It is true, that repeated instances in our natives, have occasioned their adapting themselves in youth to European manners, and in the end retreated to the woods to rejoin their kindred : but in this there can be no-thing to be wondered at : that state amongst the white population that was assigned to them was possibly little better than the one they had forsaken; the meanest offices of drudgery always reflecting upon their minds a picture of debasement, a want of attention to their common wants, of which our very dogs and horses had not to complain. Such treatment could not be considered a fair trial of their capacities or fixed inclinations. On the contrary, it was sufficient to disgust instead of withdrawing them from habit which at maturer age appeared to themselves to be even less intolerable. In the Gazette ten years ago, we recollect ascribing to another cause their voluntary return to original habits. Man cannot be happy without society, for nature has enriched him with a mind which unfits him to the state of solitude. A poor native boy in a kitchen was worse than in a state of solitude; for he had constantly, and the more so as he improved in faculty, to lament a debasement which nature alone had stamped upon him. There is an associate which man in every condition finds congenial to his wishes; the smallest bird has its mate; the un-tamed son of the forest defends his den, and protects his yet inoffensive family of yelping cubs; out of the woods the poor half civilized native had no chance of a mate; no chance of ever sharing in the tender

feelings of a parent, which the very crocodile evinces. The doubt of their capacity and fairness of intellect must now wear off; and it will no more be doubted that this our infant Native Institution will prove eventually honorable to its earliest Patronage, and add additional honor to the Country whose benevolent efforts are sounded throughout all parts of the habitable world.

Source: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/494184>

Figure 7.10: Names and ages of students at the PNI as of 28 December 1820

**TABLE 4.1 PARRAMATTA NATIVE INSTITUTION ADMISSION LIST:
10 JANUARY 1814 TO 28 DECEMBER 1820**

<i>No.</i>	<i>Date of admission</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Supposed age (in 1821)</i>	<i>Tribe</i>
1	28 Dec 1814	Maria	13	Richmond
2	28 Dec 1814	Kitty	12	Prospect
3	28 Dec 1814	Fanny	9	Cattai Creek
4	28 Dec 1814	Friday	12	Portland Head
5	10 Jan 1815	Billy	12	South Creek
6	6 Jun 1816	Nalour	—	—
7	6 Jun 1816	Doors	—	—
8	12 Aug 1816	Betty Cox	15	Hawkesbury
9	12 Aug 1816	Milbah	15	Cowpastures
10	12 Aug 1816	Betty Fulton	16	Cowpastures
11	12 Aug 1816	Tommy	11	Hawkesbury
12	12 Aug 1816	Peter	—	—
13	12 Aug 1816	Pendergrass	—	—
14	23 Aug 1816	Amy	8	Botany Bay
15	23 Aug 1816	Nancy	10	Botany Bay
16	23 Aug 1816	Charlotte	—	—
17	9 Sep 1816	John	6	Cattai Creek
18	28 Dec 1816	Davis	—	—
19	28 Dec 1816	Dicky	9	—
20	28 Dec 1816	Judith	13	Mulgoa
21	1 Jan 1818	Jenny Mulgaway	7	Mulgoa
22	1 Jan 1818	Joe Marlow	—	Prospect
23	17 Jul 1818	Neddy	6	Prospect
24	25 Sep 1818	Wallis	10	Newcastle
25	15 Jan 1819	Jemmy	4	Newcastle
26	1 Mar 1819	Henry	4	Kissing Point
27	20 Dec 1819	Maria (Margaret)	11	—
28	20 Dec 1819	Nanny	—	—
29	20 Dec 1819	Sukey	—	—
30	30 May 1820	Joseph	3	—
31	30 May 1820	Billy George	—	—
32	6 Jun 1820	Polly	16	—
33	28 Dec 1820	Martha	10	—
34	28 Dec 1820	Peggy	8	—
35	28 Dec 1820	Charlotte	10	—
36	28 Dec 1820	Caroline	7	—
37	28 Dec 1820	Anna	1	—

Source: Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 89

Figure 7.11: Rules of Black Town Native Institution under Archdeacon Scott, 1827-28

(Rules would likely have been the same at PNI)

I BEG TO INFORM YOU [Mr Hall] that His Excellency the Governor has approved of your being placed at Black Town together with your wife to take charge of that establishment for the civilization of the black natives both male and female ...

With regard to the children the object in view must be instruction in reading, writing and the common rules of cyphering [arithmetic] and the common operations of labour—but especially to teach the boys the trade of a carpenter. The girls should be taught plain needlework and spinning especially from the down of the opossum which you might employ the parents of the children to collect, giving them small presents of tea, sugar or flour in return, and of which a separate account should be kept. When this is spun both boys and girls may be taught to knit stockings or other articles.

I would recommend the following rules to be observed subject to such deviation only as may be found absolutely necessary:

1. The children to be up and dressed by 6 and set to work.
2. To wash themselves at half past 7, go to prayers, and breakfast at 8.
3. To work till 10 o'clock.
4. To wash and go back to school from 10 to 12; write one copy, read half an hour, cypher 1 hour.
5. To dine at quarter after 12 and play till 1.
6. To school at 1; read and cypher till 2.
7. To work from 2 till 6, the boys at carpentering, the girls sewing and knitting.
8. To play and wash and be ready for supper at 7.
9. To prayers at half past 7 and to be in bed at 8.
10. On Saturday morning to be devoted to instruction of church service.
11. The following rewards to be given in tickets for
 - 1) Good behaviour
 - 2) Good work
 - 3) Religious knowledge in which they are to be examined every Sunday.

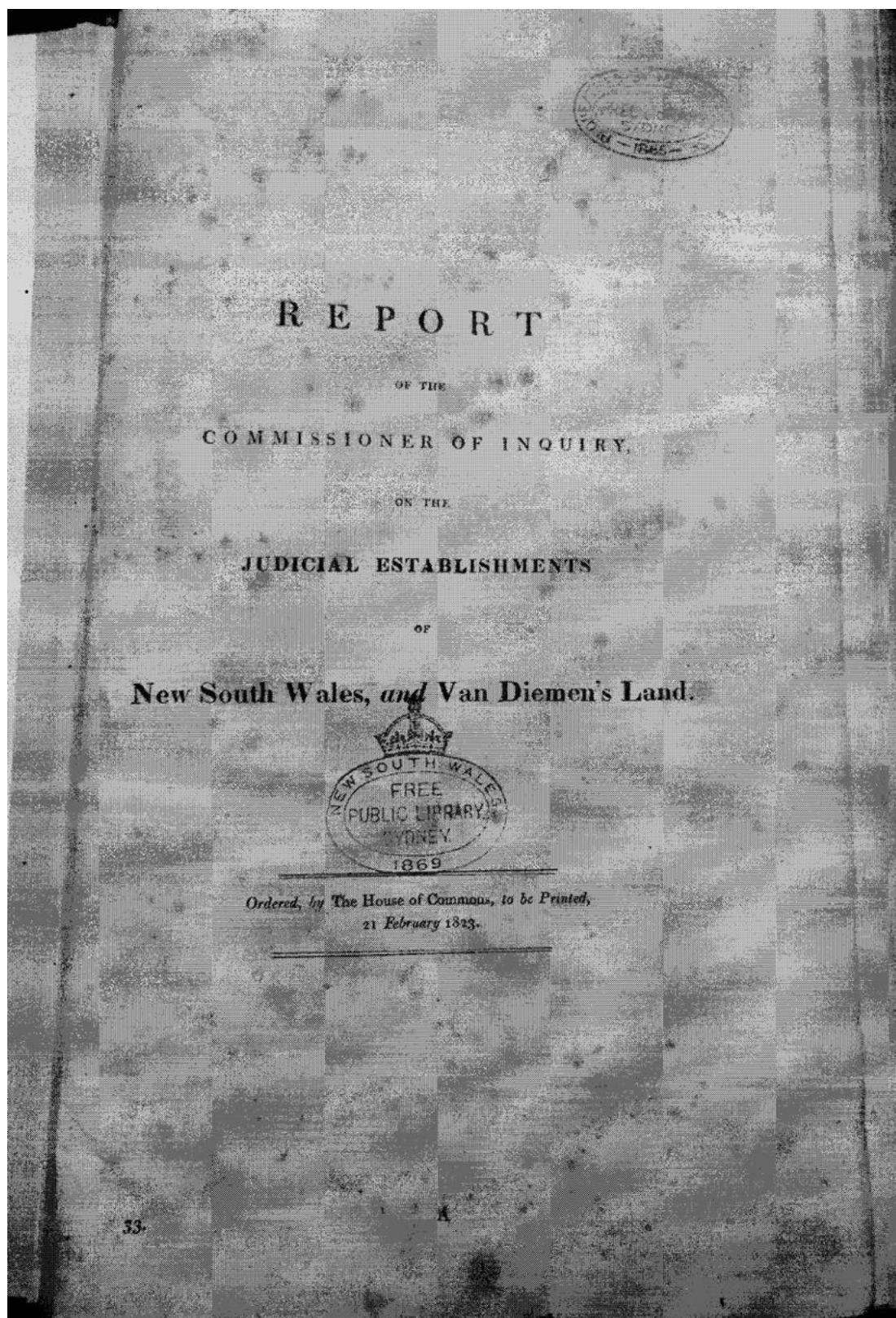
Of one ticket at each time at the discretion of the master and mistress and for every 10 tickets an account shall be kept in a book entitling the children to sixpence to be laid out for their benefit at the discretion of the Visitor.

IN THE MEANTIME, I proposed to the trustees that a separate school be formed in some part, not too distant, but at the same time quiet apart from any town, at which such children as could be got should be placed. This was fixed at a place called Black Town, about 14 miles N.W. of Parramatta, and a person named Hall with his wife, well qualified for the undertaking, were placed there to conduct the establishment. I caused such black children, as were in the Male and Female Orphan Institutions, to be removed there, and directed Mr Hall to continue the common elements of education, in which they had been previously instructed, but at the same time to devote a large portion of their time to work, the boys to be taught carpentering and the girls plain needlework by his wife, Mr Hall having a very religious turn of mind, I directed him to give these children religious instruction at the same time to read the church service and short plain discourses on the Sunday to the parties of convicts employed on the roads in that neighbourhood, and thus uniting with his other occupation a very important matter in this Colony.

The time has been too short to pronounce decisively on this experiment; but, as the trade of a carpenter is cleanly, useful, and capable of being carried off in a shed under the eye of the master, I preferred it to any other as the best calculated to civilise them, until these are got under, little hope of success can be expected. One of these boys aged 17, who had been bred up at the Male Orphan School, was apprenticed to a most respectable person in Sydney, Mr Thorp, Assistant Engineer to the Government, to learn the trade of a builder. After remaining about 10 days, I regret to say the boy ran away into the woods, and, although the police has been searching for him, no intelligence has yet to be received of him.

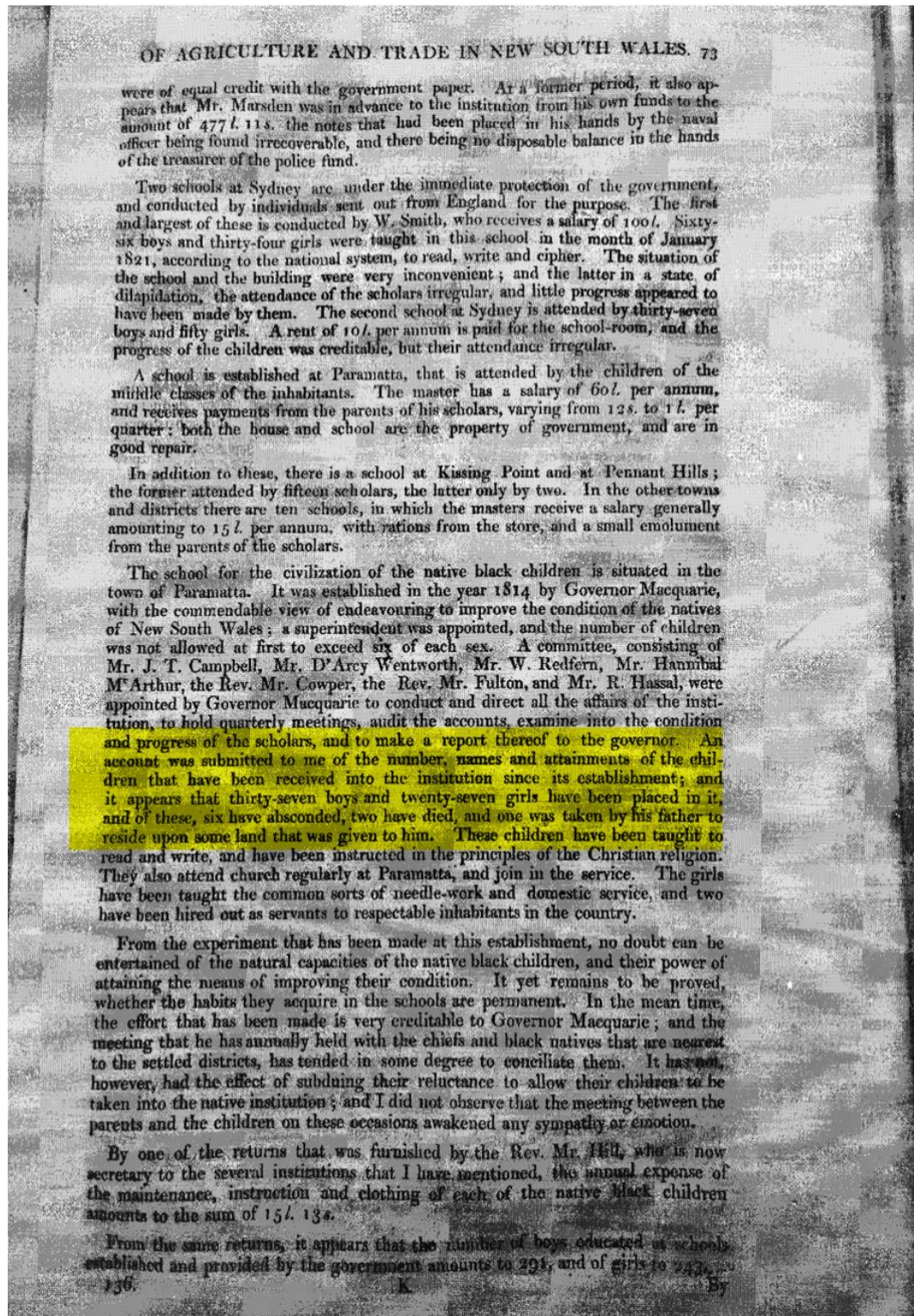
Source: Cited in Fletcher, B. (1989). *Documents in the history of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales*. Carlton, Australia: Author, pp. 33-34

Figure 7.12: Front page of Report of the Bigge Commission of Inquiry 1823



Source: Photo taken by Rosemary Norman-Hill of Title Page of Report (Bigge, 1823)

Figure 7.13: Photo of Page 73 of Bigge Commission of Inquiry 1823



Source: Bigge (1823, p. 73)

Figure 7.14: Text of Commissioner Bigge's report on the Native Institution

The school for the civilization of the native black children is situated in the town of Paramatta. It was established in the year 1814 by Governor Macquarie, with the commendable view of endeavouring to improve the condition of the natives of New South Wales; a superintendent was appointed, and the number of children was not allowed at first to exceed six of each sex. A committee consisting of Mr. J. T. Campbell, Mr. D'Arcy Wentworth, Mr. W. Redfern, Mr. Hannibal M'Arthur, the Rev. Mr. Cowper, the Rev. Mr. Fulton, and Mr. R. Hassal, were appointed by Governor Macquarie to conduct and direct all the affairs of the institution, to hold quarterly meetings, audit the accounts, examine into the condition and progress of the scholars, and to make a report thereof to the governor. An account was submitted to me of the number, names and attainments of the children that have been received into the institution since its establishment; and it appears that thirty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls have been placed in it, and of these, six have absconded, two have died, and one was taken by his father to reside upon some land that was given to him. These children have been taught to read and write and have been instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. They also attend church regularly at Parramatta, and join in the service. The girls have been taught the common sorts of needle-work and domestic service, and two have been hired out as servants to respectable inhabitants in the country.

From the experiment that has been made at this establishment, no doubt can be entertained of the natural capacities of the native black children, and their power of attaining the means of improving their condition. It yet remains to be proved whether the habits they acquire in the school are permanent. In the mean time, the effort that has been made is very creditable to Governor Macquarie; and the meeting that he has annually held with the chiefs and black natives that are nearest to the settled districts, has tended in some degree to conciliate them. It has not, however, had the effect of subduing their reluctance to allow their children to be taken into the native institution; and I did not observe that the meeting between the parents and the children on these occasions awakened any sympathy or emotion.

By one of the returns that was furnished by the Rev. Mr. Hill, who is now secretary to the several institutions that I have mentioned, the annual expense of the maintenance, instruction and clothing of each of the native black children amounts to the sum of 15*l.* 13*s.*

Source: Bigge (1823, p. 73)

Figure 7.15: Mrs Shelley's assessment of the Native Institution, 1838

I FOUND THEIR DISPOSTION and their capacity for learning to vary very much. Some of them read and wrote well and understood arithmetic to a certain extent; bit I always found the half-caste children quicker and more tractable than the blacks. All who were old enough, were taught their catechism, which they repeated very accurately, and they were taken regularly to church.

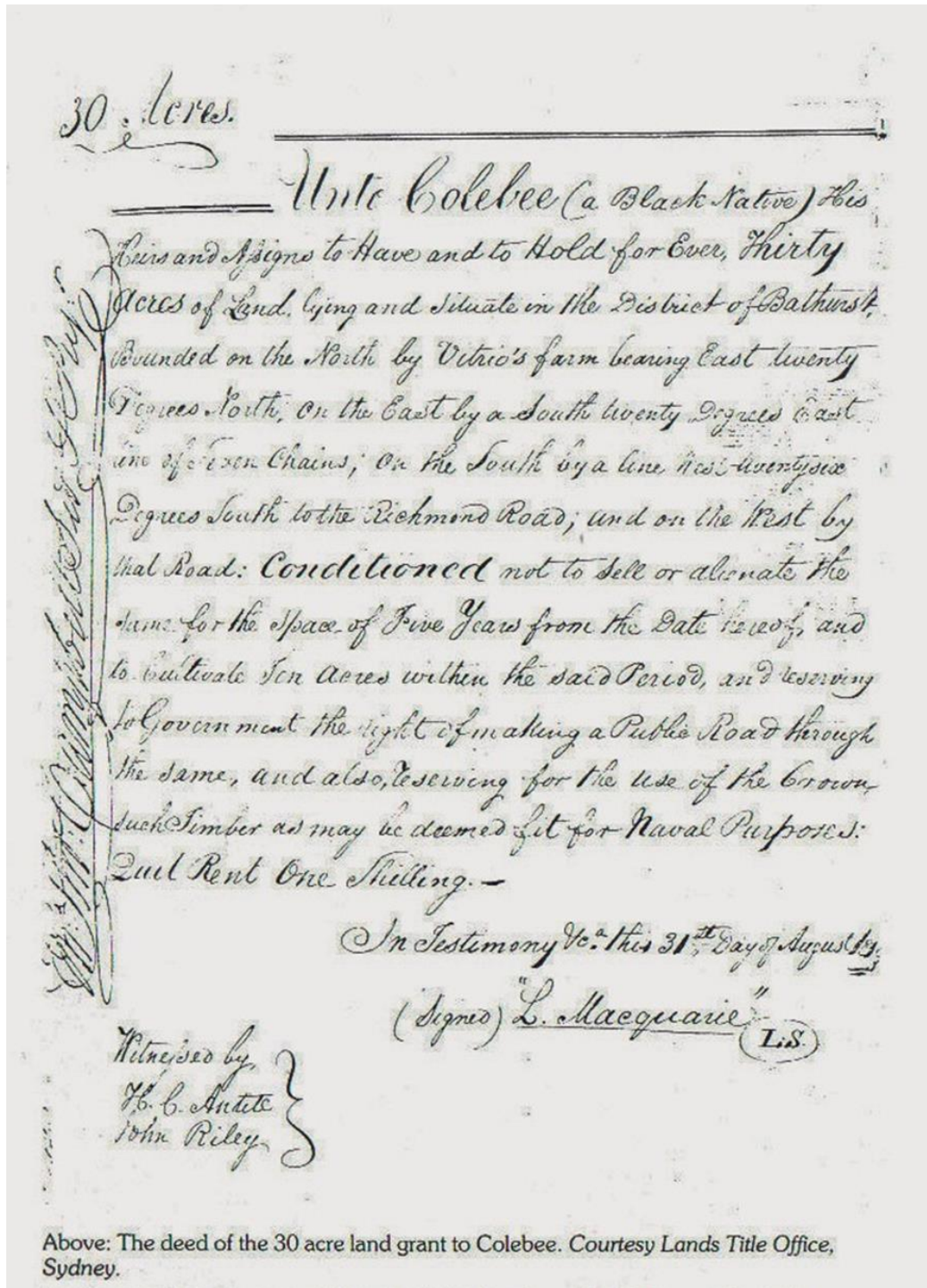
I visited the settlement two or three times during Mr Walker's charge and found a great many of the old blacks amongst them, and they were in consequence in a very unsettled state.

Since that period, some of them have occasionally visited me, and I found they had relapsed into all the bad habits of the untaught natives. A few of the boys went to sea, but I have not heard what has become of them. Most of the girls have turned out very bad, but there is one exception in a half-caste girl, who was married to a white man, and was very industrious, taking in needlework, etc. I have not, however, heard of her for two years.

I have frequently conversed with them since on religious subjects, but they turned into laughter, and said they had forgotten about it.

Appendix 8

Figure 8.1: Deed to the 30 acres of land granted to Colebee in 1819



Source: cited in Brook and Kohen (1991, p. 38).

Figure 8.2: Photograph of the site of Colebee's Land Grant



Source: Image taken by Tracey Appel Copyright Heritage Branch

<http://141.243.8.146/heritageapp/HeritageItemImage.aspx?ID=5056189#ad-image-0>

Figure 8.3: Magistrate's Population Book: Kitty, Coleby, Samuel in Blacktown 1824

[illegible]

Source: Windsor, 1824 (4/1223; microfilm copy SR Reel 1254)

Figure 8.4 Baptism Records NSW

Volume 125				
<u>Christian Name</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>
Christianna	Ardingale	Cowan	1821	80
Caroline	Bone	Mary	1820	50
Mark	Bowen Bungary	Maria	1832	2173
Theda	Bowen Toura	Maria	1830	1500
Timothy	Bulvawn	Mabbeth	1823	311
Agnes	Byan	Sally	1821	81
Julianna	Chenoman	Betsy	1830	1528
Eleanor	Cooman	Nelly	1821	216
Elizabeth	Cooman	Nelly O.L.	1821	79
John de Deo	Derilla	Yearning	1824	470
Francis	Doodooth	Goburra	1824	471
Francis	Gerome	Mary Nagara	1830	1754
Francis	Gerome	Tom Tom	1830	1754
John C.	Chindell	Booganda	1821	79
Joseph	Jack Ryal		1831	1819
Marselinus J.	Jackey Gogg	Nelly	1827	982
Martin Atkins	Jem	Betty	1831	2025
Hedwidge	Joe	Rose	1830	1707
Terrence Bungaree	Joe Bungaree	Rose	1829	1278
Soph.	John Dempsey	Ann	1827	1006
Margaret	Joseph	Rose	1831	1977
Norpetus	King Gogg	You Cobeby	1827	983
Amastatta E.C.	Merringoole	N. Curring Biddy	1823	312
Mary Anne	Pepper	Broughton	1830	1745
Samuel Coleby	Samuel Coleby	Kitty	1827	1003
John	Simebuna	Marragurra	1821	77
Thomas Jewetth	Thomas Jewetth	Peggy	1824	474
Bibianna 'Joe'	Towe	Rose	1830	1499
Bridget	Wallan	Mary	1823	313
Margaret W.	Warren	Werry	1827	1004
Mary Ann Hide		Crumba	1820	55
Thomas		Cucumdum	1820	57
Ann		Morghey	1820	54

Source: <http://www.cifhs.com/nswrecords/nswbdm.html>

Figure 8.5: Newspaper report of James Bowen Budsworth in the Cassilis lockup



Source: The Maitland Mercury and Hunter Valley General Advertiser, 16 April 1863

Figure 8.6: Registered Marriage of James Bowen Budsworth and Catherine Ryan

1867 Marriage Solemnised in the District of DUBBO (COONABARABRAN) in the Colony of New South Wales Reg by Frederick William EDWARDS District Registrar

Coonabarabran DPS, Local & Family History Group
Marriages Registered Information

Page No	When & Where Married	Names of Parties	Condition of parties Bachelor/Spinster	Birthplace	Rank or profession	Ages	Usual Place of Residence	Names Parents Mothers maiden name	Fathers Rank or Profession
29	20 Feb 1867	Andrew ANGUS	Bachelor	NSW	SAVATTER	N/L	Castlereagh River Bimble	N/L	GAZIER
		BARADINE Sarah Anselia HALL	Spinster	NSW	wife her parents	N/L	Ura Wilkie	Margaret LYONS	GAZIER
		Max. at BARADINE Acc: R.C.			SOL: Andrew ANGUS; Sarah Anselia HALL		WITNESS: John PATTING	Mary Jane COOPER	
		By: John COOPER Min.							
30	26 Feb 1867	James BUDSWORTH	B	NSW	HORSE BREAKER	N/L	Gomerah	N/L	SHEPHERD
		Clayton Waterhole Station - General Catherine RYAN	S	NSW	NONE	N/L	Turramandie	N/L	SHEPHERD
		Max. residence of bridegroom's Father Acc: LAW			SOL: James BUDSWORTH Catherine RYAN X		WIT: Mary BUDSWORTH James GOULAVAN X		
		Before me F.W.E. Reg.							
31	8 Apr 1867	John CARLOW	B	Dandry NSW	STOCKHOLDER	24	Dandry	N/L	N/L
		C'CAN Mary Ann BROOME	S	Ulamambry NSW	NONE	18	Ulamambry	N/L	N/L
		Max. Court House C'CAN Acc: LAW			SOL: John CARLOW X Mary Ann BROOME		WIT: George MATTHEWS Robert STAPLETON		
		By: F.W.E. Reg.							
32	1 May 1867	Alexander CAMERON	B	N/L	STOCKMAN	N/L	'Nullen' Munderran	N/L	N/L
		MUNDERRAN Caroline Elizabeth	S	N/L	SEAVANT	N/L	Munderran	N/L	N/L
		Max. Residence of Mr BYRNES Acc: PAST			SOL: Alexander CAMERON Caroline Elizabeth O'NEIL X		WIT: John McKay Susan DEAN		
		By: Alexander MELWEN							
33	13 Jul 1867	William DUCE	B	N/L	SAWYER	N/L	Weetalaba	N/L	N/L
		WEETALIBA Mary Jane ALLEN	S	N/L	NONE	N/L	Weetalaba	N/L	N/L
		Max. in house of Mr Angus Mc GREGOR of WEETALIBA Acc: PAST			SOL: William DUCE X Mary Jane ALLEN				
		WIT: Gavin HOUSTON Angus Mc GREGOR			By: Alexander Mc GREGOR				

Source: Journal of the Coonabarabran DPS, Local & Family History Group Marriages Registered Information. Photographed 9 July 2016, Rosemary Norman-Hill.

Figure 8.7: Thesis search for WW1 records - descendants of Black Kitty

NATIONAL ARCHIVES
OF AUSTRALIA

Your story, our history

RecordSearch

[Login](#)

[Newly scanned records](#)
[RecordSearch Forum](#)
[View previous searches](#)

[Basic search](#)
[Advanced search](#)
[Name search](#)
[Photo search](#)
[Passenger arrivals](#)
[Help](#)

Welcome guest

[New search](#)
[Refine search](#)

Display search results per page

<< < > >>

 Displaying 1 to 8 of 8

☒ List report
☐ Details report

Select	Series no.	Control symbol	Item title	Date range	Digitised item	Item barcode	Format
☐	B2455	BUDSWORTH J	Budsworth James : SERN 2455 : POB Narrabri NSW : POE Brisbane QLD : NOK Moore Nellie Access status: Open Location: Canberra	circa1914 - circa1920		3163645	
☐	B2455	BUDSWORTH J	Budsworth Joseph : SERN 1381 : POB Sydney NSW : POE Holsworthy NSW : NOK Breen Kate Access status: Open Location: Canberra	circa1914 - circa1920		3163647	
☐	B2455	BUDSWORTH R H	Budsworth Roderick Hamilton : SERN 18 : POB Coonamble NSW : POE Armidale NSW : NOK F Budsworth James Access status: Open Location: Canberra	circa1914 - circa1920		3163650	
☐	B2455	BUDSWORTH W E	Budsworth Wilfred Ernest : SERN DEPOT : POB Tamworth NSW : POE Inverell NSW : NOK M Budsworth Agnes Access status: Open Location: Canberra	circa1914 - circa1920		3163653	
☐	MP76/1	3713	[Inventor/Submitter -] W E Budsworth - Torpedo trap [includes one drawing] Access status: Open Location: Melbourne	1942 - 1942		4334785	
☐	B883	VX63335	BUDSWORTH HARRY FRANCIS : Service Number - VX63335 : Date of birth - 28 Sep 1921 : Place of birth - BLACK ROCK VIC : Place of enlistment - ROYAL PARK VIC : Next of Kin - BODSWORTH PERCIVAL Access status: Not yet examined Location: Canberra	1939 - 1948		6123007	
☐	C138	C24408 PART 1	BUDSWORTH, Joseph - Service Number - 1381 Access status: Not yet examined Location: Sydney	1914 - 1969		22463935	
☐	C138	C24408 PART 2	BUDSWORTH, Joseph - Service Number - 1381 Access status: Not yet examined Location: Sydney	1914 - 1969		22463936	

Source:

<https://recordsearch.naa.gov.au/SearchNRetrieve/Interface/ListingReports/ItemsListing.aspx>

Figure 8.8: Summary of Kitty's contribution to the Great War (1914-1918)

Overview		
Baker	Members of Service: 1 Unfit (deafness): 1	Deployed: 0
Budsworth	Members of Service: 4 Dismissal Underage: 1	Deployed: 3 Unwounded: 1 Wounded in Action (WIA): 1 Killed in Action (KIA): 1
Coleman	Members of Service: 1	Deployed: 1 Unwounded: 1
Hamilton	Members of Service: 2	Deployed: 2 Killed in Action (KIA): 1 Medical Discharge: 1
Stafford	Members of Service: 5	Deployed: 5 Unwounded: 1 Wounded in Action (WIA): 3 Killed in Action (KIA): 1
TOTAL Number enlisted: 13	Deployed: 11 Unfit for Service: 1 Underage: 1	Outcome of those deployed: Unwounded: 3 Wounded in Action (WIA): 4 Killed in Action (KIA): 3 Medical discharge: 1

Appendix 9

This Appendix contains evidence of Kitty's legacy not detailed in the thesis: Darug people continuing Darug cultural activities on Ngurra (Country), 211 years after Kitty's birth. It is reflective of culture and how Darug people culturally connect to Ngurra.

Figure 9.1: Darug Elder Uncle Lex's story

Darug Elder Uncle Lexodius (Lex) Dadd shares through storytelling how we are stronger when we work together: This story is repeated here with his permission ...

One single strip of the stringy bark represents each of us as individuals. Alone, we are not very strong and can be easily broken. But when we twist the pieces together, it becomes stronger and stronger almost unbreakable. When we work together and care for each other we are so much stronger than when we are along, for you are no better than I and I am no better than you or that ant over there. If you look at the bracelet you will see rough spiky bits that may be a little itchy at first but after wearing the bracelet for a while it will become softer and smoother. This is the same for many relationships in our lives, things can be quite difficult at first but after you get to know a person better, things become easier.

Figure 9.2: Snake Jump (Darug Bulada)

At the Sydney Olympics in 2000, world-renowned course designer, Mike Etherington-Smith paid tribute to the original Darug people with his now iconic Snake Jump (Darug Bulada). The original fence was jump number three on the cross-country course in Sydney 2000. As images of this jump were beamed around the world, so too were the traditions of Aboriginal art and culture.



New Snake Jump Gunyalungalung Wumarabara (Dreaming Jump)



To repaint the jump, three generations of Aboriginal artists from the Cannemegal-Warmuli Clan travelled came to The Sydney International Equestrian Centre (SIEC) to give this jump a new lease of life. The jump was given a new traditional story as a way of honouring our ancestors and preserving cultural heritage.

Aunty Julie (Jones) Webb designed the artwork and chose a Darug creation story: rainbow serpent travels from top to tail at either end. He can be seen from either side of the jump. This shows the Warmuli/Cannemegal's direct connection to Ngurra, (Country), Mother Earth (Wiyangabembul) and Father Sky (Biiameeburra). This story is an integral part of the Darug storyline and within the artwork is our land, significant waterholes, animals, particular family totems, food sources and ways of living for this particular place (nunanglanung). Most importantly, as Uncle Lex says in the video, it is the importance of sharing and looking after one another.

Sources:

https://sydneyhorsetrialsblog.wordpress.com/tag/warmulicannemegal-clan/?fbclid=IwAR0rO0TDQgFyeAFEH_ctPtD2CSDHnvLJongMzPzkJdXSkaFjJRwU3zeFp3k

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UvpgLrTjyzs>

Figure 9.3: Children's Book: Cooee Mittaggar and Aboriginal Songlines (Sept 2019)



Walking the songline



DARUG women author Jasmine Seymour and artist Leanne Mulgo Watson have teamed up to release *Cooee*

Mittigar, a beautiful children's book that aims to teach primary school children about Aboriginal songlines, out this November through Magabala Books.

A songline is a map of country and helps one feel like they belong.

In *Cooee Mittaggar*, meaning 'Come here, Friend', the reader is greeted by Mulgo (the black swan) who welcomes you to yana (walk) on country and walks the reader along one of the Darug songlines; she shows us its path. Journeying through the seasons, Mulgo describes the land, skyscape, birds, plants, animals and totems. It is a gentle guide to how Darug people read the seasons, knowing when it is time to hunt and time to rest. It is a beautiful exploration of what

you might see along the songline as you walk through Nura (Darug country).

With Darug language interspersed with English and an extensive glossary throughout, *Cooee Mittaggar* presents an important tool for learning, told as a tender story with exquisite illustrations. It is Jasmine and Leanne's wish that with this book, everyone will know that the Darug mob are still here and still strong.

Jasmine and Leanne are both Darug mob and are thrilled to keep their culture alive through books.

"This book gives a view into how it was, how it is and how it will always be to Darug people," Jasmine said.

"Acknowledging and recognising our history is important for reconciliation. Our culture deserves to be championed by all people who live on Darug lands. We all belong to this beautiful country and I hope this book teaches young ones how to belong and feel at one with country."

Figure 9.4: The Parramatta Native Institution 200th Year Commemoration Ceremony

Midway through 2014, I notified the City of Parramatta about the 200th anniversary of the Parramatta Native Institution and importance of this place to the Darug community. The Parramatta Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Board then endorsed an event recognising the importance of having a commemoration.

On 18 January 2015, two hundred years to the day of the opening of the Parramatta Native Institution, those descended from the children were invited by the City of Parramatta to attend an event held at the Town Hall to commemorate their memory. The Town Hall, which is situated next to St John's Church and directly across from where the PNI was situated, became the meeting place of two hundred and twenty people who made their journey from across Australia to attend. This event put to rest the fallacy that the Darug peoples were basically annihilated during those early years of British occupation. On that day in 2015, we stood as proud representatives of a culture which has survived over thousands of generations, adapting to climatic changes and continuing to be a society rich in knowledge. We have a right to take our rightful place across the Sydney region as Traditional Custodians of our lands.



The event was broadcast on ABC News on 18 January 2015 and can be seen on Youtube.com - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uVjVFmbR3eI>

Figure 9.5: Koori Mail Coverage of PNI 200th Anniversary Event



Figure 9.6: Darug in Country: Community Event – The Secret Life of Eels

<https://landcare.nsw.gov.au/groups/parramatta-river-catchment-group/secret-life-of-eels/>

On Saturday 20 August 2016, during the Sydney Science Festival, the City of Parramatta held a community event ‘The Secret Life of Eels’, and invited Elders from three Aboriginal communities across NSW and Victoria, to share storytelling about their relationship and connection to the eels. I was asked to participate with other members of the Darug community. Along with traditional custodians, this gathering, which was held at Little Coogee in Parramatta Park, also included marine scientists and the wider community to listen, learn and appreciate the importance of the eel in Aboriginal life. This day was particularly significant, as the event was held on the lands of the Burramattagal clan of the Darug, whose name is synonymous with the place of eels. The City of Parramatta also has the eel as its emblem. Facilitated by Ms Sasa Kennedy and Ms Cath Renwick, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples came together to celebrate, hold ceremony and share in the storytelling from the different Aboriginal communities:

For the Darug the ‘running of the eels’ was an important time on the Darug calendar and archaeological digs on site have uncovered evidence of this over thousands of years. For the Gunditjmarra peoples of Lake Condah, in South-West Victoria, their economy and lifestyle were based on farming and smoking eels to trade. Leading a settled existence, they built five eel traps around the lake’s edge which are carbon-dated back to 6600 years. For the Muurrbay peoples of Northern NSW, eels living in the Clarence River continue to feature prominently as an important food source and part of their traditional culture. Workshops held during the day showcased the eel’s life cycle, discussed their migration and ability to survive in both fresh and saltwater. Those attending listened as Elders spoke of how the running of the eels through waterways along the east coast of Australia continues to be a significant seasonal event. Eel traps were displayed, along with demonstrations on how to use them. While being a valuable food source, eels also brought together Aboriginal peoples, over thousands of generations to share, connect, hold ceremonies and celebrate life.



Figure 9.7: Undergraduate unit at Macquarie University about Darug Country



MACQUARIE
University
SYDNEY • AUSTRALIA

[Handbook](#)
[Library](#)
[Campus Map](#)
[Macquarie Contact](#)

[MACQUARIE HOME](#)
[STUDENTS](#)
[STAFF](#)

[TUDY](#)
[INTERNATIONAL](#)
[RESEARCH](#)
[ON CAMPUS](#)
[ABOUT US](#)
[ALUMNI AND SUPPORTERS](#)
[BUSINESS AND COMMUNITY](#)

[Macquarie Home](#) > [Handbook Home](#) >

2019 HANDBOOK

- Undergraduate
 - Degrees and diplomas
 - Majors
 - Minors
 - Units
 - Units by code
 - Units by offering
 - Units by designation
 - Units by faculty
 - Units by department
 - People units
 - Planet units
 - PACE units
 - Printable schedule of units
- Graduate
- Research Training
- Postgraduate
- Macquarie University International College
- Open Universities Australia
- Rules and Policy
- Other information

Dharug Country: Presences, Places and People - ABST102

This unit introduces students to Dharug perspectives about Country, spiritual concepts including human and non-human ancestors, and the importance of connecting to place and belonging. Students will learn valuable insights from a diverse group of Dharug community members telling their own stories about sites of significance to them. Students will be introduced to Dharug language, art and other cultural practices demonstrating the continuity of knowledges that Dharug people have maintained for over 65,000 years. This unit allows students to connect with contemporary Dharug people and learn about the impact of colonisation on the community and also better understand how Dharug people and communities have resisted and survived. Dharug people will share stories of importance so students can be more aware of the politics of place.

Credit Points:	3
When Offered:	S2 Day - Session 2, North Ryde, Day S2 External - Session 2, External (with on campus sessions)
Staff Contact(s):	Professor Bronwyn Carlson
Prerequisites:	
Corequisites:	
NCCW(s):	
Unit Designation(s):	
Unit Type:	
Assessed As:	Graded
Offered By:	Department of Indigenous Studies Faculty of Arts

Course structures, including unit offerings, are subject to change.
[Need help? Ask us.](#)

Macquarie University and Darug academic Dr Jo Rey have developed *Dharug Country: Presence, Places and People* as an undergraduate unit which began in July 2019. Students spend time on Country (Ngurra) doing experiential learning activities and learning about the history from Darug people. Filming for the unit involved Darug Elders and community members who were brought together to speak about Country on Country. I also participated as one of the Darug speakers. The filming took place in the grounds of Darug Ngurra Tribal Corporation at Seven Hills in Western Sydney on 28 April 2019.



Figure 9.8: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Science & Knowledge Centre



In 2018 The City of Parramatta brought together a select group of people to participate as part of an expert panel in discussing the concept of a centre of excellence (Aboriginal Science and Knowledge) within the Westmead Hospital Precinct. Representatives from the Council, the Westmead Precinct Development Project, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal academics, and various Aboriginal community members were invited to participate.

Participants worked in collaboration on a concept paper in order to attract partners to the project. The meetings were facilitated by Aden Ridgeway of Cox Inall Ridgeway. I was privileged to be invited to participate on behalf of the Darug community. The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Science and Knowledge Centre (ASKC) will become a repository for science and knowledge systems that Indigenous people want to share. Underpinned by cultural protocols, access will be prescribed by the knowledge holders themselves. This project is ongoing.

Figure 9.9: The handback of the Blacktown Native Institution October 2018

Darug descendants have been campaigning for years to have the Native Institution site preserved and its significance recognised. Nomination of the site to the State Heritage Register is under way, where a range of options ‘for development of the site and promotion of its historic significance have been canvassed in the course of this recent research’ (Hinkson, 2002, p. 71). An historic event took place on 13 October 2018 when the Blacktown Native Institution site was formally handed back to the Darug community. After completion of the formalities, a corroboree and celebration began, Darug peoples coming together on Country as they had done since the Dreaming, celebrating life, relationships and Country through dance and song.



Landcom hands back the BNI site to the Darug Community



Darug Elder Aunty Julie conducts the smoking ceremony

The Daily Telegraph reported this event on 24 October 2018:

THE Blacktown Native Institution is said to be Australia’s earliest remaining site built to “indoctrinate” Aboriginal people to European customs. The BNI Project, situates the Blacktown Native Institution as ‘holding great cultural, spiritual and heritage significance’ and a place that symbolises ‘dispossession, loss and forced child removal’. ... The BNI project confirms ‘The Institution played a key role in the history of colonial assimilation policies and race relations in Australia’. Dharug Strategic Management Group representative Dr Shane Smithers reiterates the handing back of the site to be “incredibly significant” for the Darug community.

Figure 9.10: Invitation to attend the handback of the BNI



Photograph supplied by Landcom, 2018. Ngara - Ngurangwa Byallara (Listen, hear, think - The Place Speaks) on 9 June, 2018.

Dear Aunty Rosey, and family,

You are invited to celebrate the Blacktown Native Institution site handover.

We would like to extend a personal invitation to this historic hand over hosted by Dharug Strategic Management Group and Landcom. The event will formally acknowledge transfer of ownership back to the Dharug people, the traditional custodians of this land.

Established in 1823, the Blacktown Native Institution was one of the earliest known examples of institutional removal of Aboriginal children from their families.

The site is a living memorial to Australia's Stolen Generations and this occasion is of national significance in the journey of reconciliation.

Formal proceedings will include a Welcome to Country, smoking ceremony, the ceremonial handover with dances performed by the Dharug custodians and local community. A corroboree with music and dancing will follow.

This is a BYO snacks/dinner event. We encourage you to bring an alcohol free picnic to the corroboree.

WHEN Sat 13 October

Formal proceedings
6:00pm - 7:30 pm
Community corroboree
7:30pm - 10:00pm

WHERE Blacktown Native Institution

Corner of Richmond Road and Rooty Hill Road North,
Oakhurst 2761

Appendix 10

Figure 10.1: Cover of Minton (Ed.) (2020): Residential Schools and Indigenous Peoples

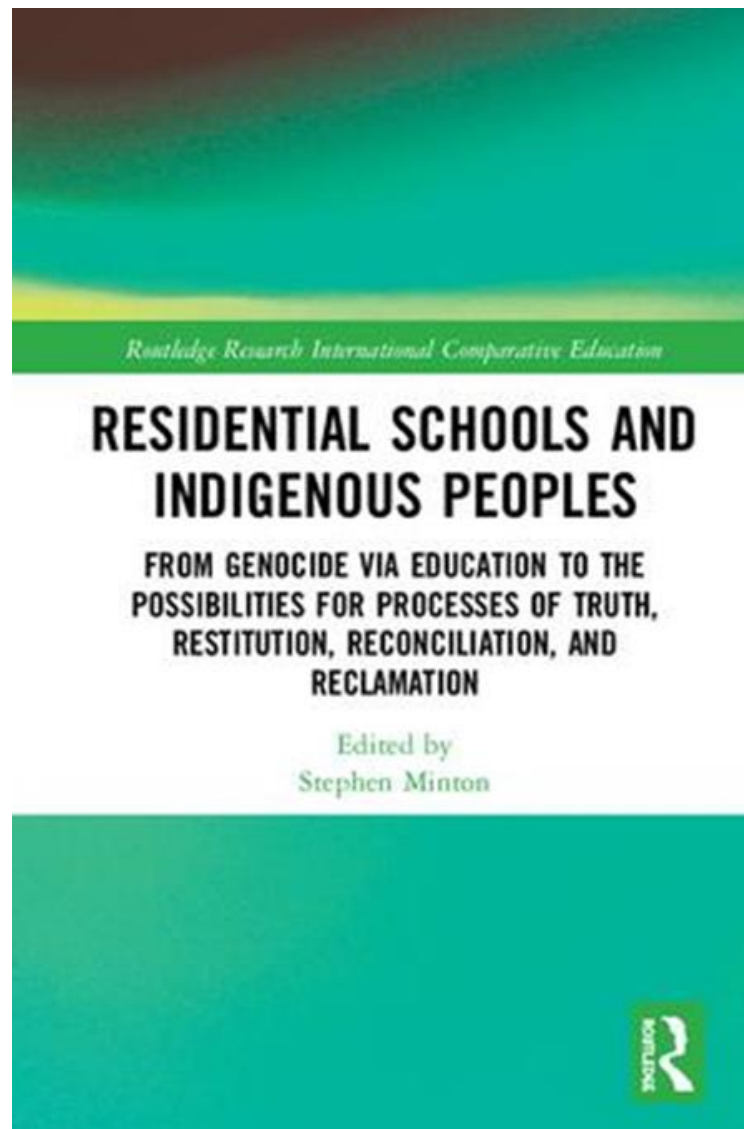


Figure 10.2: Rosemary Norman-Hill (2020), Chapter FOUR in Minton (Ed) (2020)

INTRODUCTION

From the early days of colonisation missionaries saw the civilisation of the ‘savage heathens’ a priority in Australia. Those from the northern hemisphere, with their seafaring spirit and sense of superiority, were relative newcomers to these ancient lands. The Australia that greeted the British in 1788 was a continent of many landscapes, cared for by Aboriginal peoples for thousands of generations. At the time of writing my PhD thesis (2020), Europeans had only been in Australia for two hundred and thirty years. However, within forty years of first contact, missions had sprung up in New South Wales, followed soon after in other settler states. Telling the story of my ancestors, my PhD research explores the first Aboriginal peoples impacted by colonisation. In particular, I focus on the story of my great, great, great grandmother ‘Black Kitty’, as she was known, from the Cannemegal / Warmuli clan of the Darug. As a young five year-old, Black Kitty was in the first cohort of children placed in the Parramatta Native Institution (1814 - 1822), the first native residential school in this country.

What began as a ‘great feast’ for local Aboriginal clans, on a hot summer’s day late in December 1814 opened the door to a chain of events which over the next one hundred and fifty years would result in thousands of native children being forcibly removed from their families across Australia. Eighteen days earlier, Governor Lachlan Macquarie had proclaimed, under Government and General Orders, fourteen rules and regulations for the establishment of the native school which he described as an ‘Asylum for the Native Children

of both sexes'⁶². The intention was to 'educate, Christianise and civilise' local Aboriginal children. When the Institution officially opened on 18th January 1815, the systematic removal and redemption of the most vulnerable of the native population had begun. Separation ensured the students would be 'dispossessed of their family, culture, language, land and general freedom' (Das, 2013, p. 5). Rule 14 of those orders stipulated that once placed, the children were not to be taken away from the school. Announced in the Sydney Gazette on 10th December 1814⁶³, those General Orders formalised the first Aboriginal child removal policy in Australia.

From those first years, Aboriginal children were taken to live with Europeans. Some were removed when their families were murdered; others were cared for after surviving the smallpox epidemic of 1789 (Collins 1798; Tench 1793). It was not long before missionaries saw the value in taking children into their homes. The younger children were to be inculcated with European beliefs, the older ones trained as servants (Kidd, 2002, p. 148):

'As European exploration increased around the globe, the colonisation of Indigenous peoples varied considerably in the "new" territories. In their treatment of Indigenous children, colonists often drew on established models of child "rescue" and labour, adapting these to local needs and circumstances, and reflecting race attitudes of the time.'

Before coming to Australia, missionaries across the colonised world had two hundred years of experience in removing native children to residential schools, particularly in Canada and

⁶² NRS 1046 Colonial Secretary: Copies of Government and General Orders and Notices 1810-1819 [SZ759, pages 11-14; Reel 6038].

⁶³ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7233>

America (Cassidy, 2009). They believed the way to salvation was civilisation, and the most effective way to do this was by taking the children away from the care of their parents and tribal influences. The first missionary to use this method in Australia was William Shelley. He believed that placing Aboriginal children under the care of missionaries, would break familial attachments; those removals destroying important relationships and connections, which had sustained Aboriginal families for over sixty thousand years (Berndt & Berndt, 1999). The removals also broke their connection to Country⁶⁴, to the ancestors and to the Dreaming⁶⁵. For the Europeans the separation of Aboriginal children and indoctrination into the European way of life through education and Christian teachings was seen to be far more productive. The logic was to ‘civilise the savage’, then make them useful to settler society. The many thousands of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children forced to grow up apart from family, community and culture have come to be known across Australia as the ‘Stolen Generations’ (Wilson, 1997).

This Chapter on the Australian experience begins with the historical context that led to the formation of the Parramatta Native Institution (1814-1822). Then I discuss details of other types of native residential schools established during the nineteenth century, culminating in Aboriginal child removals becoming an accepted part of government policy in all states and territories in Australia. Following this is the legacy of continuing policies of child removals, through the stages of separation, assimilation, integration and ‘self-determination’. The

⁶⁴ The word Country/Countries is capitalised to denote traditional lands of a nation or language group. In Australia, there were thought to be between 500 - 600 different nations, each with their own language at the time of colonisation (Kociumbas, 1997; Kohen, 1993; Parbury, 1988). Many of those languages are now lost.

⁶⁵ The ‘Dreaming’ or ‘Dreamtime’ are English words used to describe the time of creation for Aboriginal peoples (Cowan, 1992; Edwards, 2004; Keneally, 1987; King, 2009; Kohen, 2006; Laidlaw, 1990; Parbury, 1988; Stanner, 1987).

Chapter concludes with a discussion of the current status of the processes of truth telling, restitution, reconciliation and reclamation in native and European relations.

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS

Australia's European history began on 26 January 1788, when over 1,000 boat people arrived unannounced and uninvited to the shores of what the new arrivals called 'Botany Bay'. The eleven ships, making up the First Fleet, carried the flotsam of British human life (Bennett, 2009; Ritchie, 1986), mainly unwanted prisoners clogging up the jails and hulks of Britain. This cargo of human misery, 'the scraps, the junk, the waste from a new age' (Elder, 1998, p. 2), were not settler farmers or tradesmen, but convicted criminals, over 750 of them. In the heat of summer, the local inhabitants watched in awe and bewilderment as the strange vessels entered their place and space. Warrior men, armed and prepared to defend their Country, challenged the British as they tried to set foot on Australian soil. Taken aback, the newcomers were led to believe '...the great south land was scarcely inhabited or at most inhabited by savages' (Fletcher, 1989, p. 13). They were very mistaken.

Although no war was ever declared by the British against the native peoples of Australia, the frontier war of native⁶⁶ resistance against the British began from the first landing of the First Fleet in Sydney, the fighting persisting '...well into the twentieth century' (Bottoms, 2013, as cited in Hunter & Carmody, 2015, p. 112). Aboriginal men were fighting to keep their traditional lands, to feed their families and protect sacred places. These sites held the memory of the dreaming where for thousands of generations, Aboriginal clan groups gathered together for feasting, celebration, rituals and ceremonies. While they continued to defend what was rightfully theirs, more settlers arrived, and conflicts escalated. Murders

⁶⁶ The term 'native' is used to describe Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as the original inhabitants of Australia.

and massacres against Aboriginal peoples were perpetrated overtly and covertly across the country (Elder, 1998). More often than not, the deaths were disregarded by colonial authorities.

While this is part of the black history of this nation, it has largely been accepted as the progression towards 'civilisation'. Fighting for their very existence, it is estimated that 30,000 Aboriginal people may have died during those early years of conflict (Reynolds, 2013, p. 134). Great fighters such as Pemulwuy (Willmot, 1987), Windradyne (Coe, 1999), Jandamarra and Yagan (Newbury, 1999), along with many others, gave their lives fighting for Country, while it was systematically taken from them by government grants and the settler economy. The myth that Aboriginal peoples did not fight for their lands 'needed to be put to rest' (Smith, 2001, p. 23). Noted historian Geoffrey Blainey (2015, p. 322) adding:

'Europeans too had their own blindness. They could not understand that the Aborigines, though not gardeners and not inclined to remain long in one place, loved their own ancestral land intensely and depended on it. How could they sell it or rent it out to sheep-owners when, in their eyes, it was inalienable, having been presented to them for all time by their divine ancestors?'

While their lands were being misappropriated, Aboriginal peoples' health suffered. Diseases, to which they had no immunity, further impacted on their physical, mental, emotional and spiritual health. Australia, now part of the expanding British Empire, claimed Aboriginal peoples as citizens under British law. Aboriginal societies, developed over many thousands of years, were now set up for extinction. Considered heathens in need of saving,

their traditional lifestyles were believed to be wild and savage. Over the coming years more settlers arrived to build new lives, thus sealing the fate of Aboriginal peoples, who in time were believed to be a ‘dying race’ (Reynolds, 2001, p. 139).

Killings were accepted in the spirit of European assumptions about ‘progress’, as in all parts of the country Aboriginal people struggled to keep what was rightfully theirs. During violent clashes, men were killed, women and girls raped, and children kidnapped. Many were taken to be slaves or exploited as cheap labour (Ramsland, 1986; Reynolds, 2001; Wilson, 1997). While the killings continued, the settlement of this nation brought the ‘enlightened’ to our shores. Missionaries and salvationists, imbued with evangelical Protestant humanitarianism, came to eradicate ‘*savage*’ Indigenous cultures, and save the ‘*un-enlightened*’ natives (Barry, 2008; Brook & Kohen, 1991; Cruickshank, 2008; Gladwin, 2012; O’Brien 2008a, 2008b). Recounting the attitudes of European people, Cruickshank, (2008, p. 115) expounds:

Among missionaries and administrators concerned about the fate of Aborigines in early colonial Australia, many concluded that boarding schools or orphanages for young Aboriginal children would be the most effective tool for Christianisation and civilisation.

Not recognised by the Europeans, the assumed ‘savage and heathen’ ways of Aboriginal families were, in reality, healthy and productive; incorporating a way of ‘doing and being’ that had sustained them for many thousands of years. This way of life not only promoted good physical health through their hunter-gatherer lifestyle, but also produced strong social, emotional, physical, mental, cultural and spiritual well-being. Children, who represented ‘the future of the Dreamtime’ (Parbury, 1988, p. 25), began their education at birth.

They grew up, generation after generation, safe within their clan of families. Being part of a well-structured community meant living within a solid kinship system, providing a mental map of relationships (Parbury, 2008). Through hearing, seeing and doing, everyday life became a totality of learning and the surrounding environment was their classroom. Learning through interaction rather than reaction, children were immersed in Culture⁶⁷ from the time they were born, which at a deep ontological level defined their nature of reality (Sheehan, Martin, Krysinka & Kilroy, 2009). This successful system of relationships and connections was not acknowledged or understood by the imperious Europeans.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS SYSTEM IN AUSTRALIA

The Parramatta Native Institution (1814-1822)

The Parramatta Native Institution opened on 18th December 1815, under the management of Missionary William Shelley, a member of the London Missionary Society. While the Aboriginal students were to be educated, civilised and Christianised, there was an expectation that at the appropriate time, they would then be married off, to each other. The Governor of the colony, Lachlan Macquarie although seeing value in the School, was more concerned with the confronting problems of drought and frontier violence across the region. However, by taking local Aboriginal children into this residential school he had a chip with which to bargain. William Shelley, who had been providing schooling to Aboriginal children in the area, proposed the idea in a letter sent to Macquarie in 1814 suggesting the school begin with six girls and six boys. He explained that he found the children ‘remarkably

⁶⁷ Culture, with a capital ‘C’, is used to describe the many different cultures of Australia’s natives’ peoples.

teachable with a peculiar aptness in learning the English language....they are as capable of instruction as any other untutored Savages' (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 57). Macquarie agreed to this proposal, possibly considering this an opportunity to quell the Aboriginal hostilities, while William Shelley wrote how he wanted to learn the local Aboriginal language.

For the civilisation of these children to be effective, they needed to live away from the influence of both their parents and tribe (Melville, 2006); however, the adults were not attracted to most aspects of European civilisation (Rowley, 1986). William Shelley was aware that Aboriginal young people returned back to the bush after spending years living in European households. This, he believed, was due to them not fitting into colonial society, rather than having the 'bush in their blood'. He saw human development as environmental, refusing to consider native peoples as being racially determined. Shelley believed behaviours 'could be refashioned by altering their environment' (Fletcher, 1989, p. 19). He had a vision to create a special 'civilised' class of Aborigine. Through influencing the children in the Institution to marry, he envisaged they would provide a level of support to each other, independent of their tribal connections (Brook & Kohen, 1991; Read, 2006).

While around sixty Aboriginal people tentatively gathered around the marketplace on the afore-mentioned feast day in 1814, to hear about this school, many more stayed on the periphery, full of doubt about Macquarie's intentions (Brook & Kohen, 1991). Walking amongst the group, Macquarie spoke of the benefits of following the ways of white people 'by applying themselves to "moderate industry", and having their children educated at the new school' (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 66). Aboriginal parents were offered plots of land

to farm if they allowed their children to receive the ‘white man’s’ education. The Aboriginal families listened as they ate a generous meal of roast beef and bread, washed down with ale. They listened as William Shelley and the Institution Committee explained a number of rules they would need to adhere to if their children were to be educated. They were informed that once placed, their children could not be removed, and visitation rights would be limited to once a year, on the anniversary of the feast. They listened and they walked away.

On 31 December 1814, the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* reported the day of the ‘great feast’ to be a success. The newspaper article claimed four children had been given up freely to William Shelley, without ‘solicitation or persuasion’, due to families feeling the beneficence of the idea. This number was far less than the required twelve pupils originally proposed by Shelley, and needed by Macquarie, for the sustainability of the Institution. These children were not orphans, as Shelley believed the ‘chief difficulty’ of his plan was removing them from their parents; however, he ominously told the governor – ‘I am informed that in many Cases this could be easily done’ (Read, 2007, p. 33). The first four children who entered, most likely those previously schooled by Shelley. When William Shelley died six months after the Parramatta Native Institution opened, his wife Elizabeth and daughter (also named Elizabeth) took over the roles of Manager and teacher.

With Aboriginal parents being reluctant to hand over their children, over the next eighteen months there was only one new admission. Desperate to fill the quota needed to sustain the Institution, Macquarie ordered the removal of Aboriginal children during frontier conflicts. With several children sent in from the Appin Massacre of 1816, when their families were slaughtered and pushed over the cliff. By 1819, Yarramundi of the Burraberongal Tribe,

feared ‘men dressed in black’ (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 70) taking children from the Richmond area. They came from as far away as Newcastle, some mere babies. The residential school did not appeal to the majority of the boys with many absconding, some within days of placement. There were also parents who ignored rule fourteen of Macquarie’s regulations, and took their children back from the care of Elizabeth Shelley.

As William Shelley had predicted, Aboriginal children had the ability to learn as well as European children. During an examination in 1819, a fourteen year-old student from the Parramatta Native Institution took out the main educational prize in the colony. Twenty young people from the native school sat the exam, along with a hundred European children (Brook & Kohen, 1991; Fletcher, 1989). Being a major achievement for the Institution, it received a mention in the *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser* on 17 April 1819. Although receiving a good education, the Aboriginal children were also at risk from ‘demoralising influences’, as expressed by the Reverend Robert Cartwright to Governor Macquarie (Rowley, 1986, p. 90). Cartwright proposed moving the Institution away from Parramatta and Macquarie had to agree.

A plan was put in place to formally shut down the Parramatta Native Institution and move the children to a country location on Richmond Road at Blacktown, where a dormitory was being constructed. This native school was located alongside a number of small farm lots which were granted to the girls from the Institution when they married. By the time the Institution finally closed its doors on 31st December 1822, sadness and sickness had fallen on the school with a number of children falling sick and dying from an unknown complaint. The surviving children left for Blacktown on New Year’s Day 1823, to join their married

friends. One of those couples was my ancestor, Black Kitty, and her husband Colebee, a Black Constable. Colebee, the son of Yarramundi, had become the first Aboriginal person granted land in the colony in 1819. Having married Black Kitty on 12th June 1822, they had their first and only child Samuel at their Blacktown property the following year. It was sensible to build the Blacktown Native Institution close to where the married girls were living. They could assist the missionaries at the school and already had established relationships with the surviving Parramatta students.

The Blacktown Residential Institution (1823-1833)

While both the Parramatta and Blacktown Native Institutions were managed by missionaries, there was a difference. At Parramatta, the children were kept completely segregated from their families and could only see them once a year. While at Blacktown families were encouraged to settle close to the school. The experiences of the children in both Institutions were mixed. Both schools provided children with a rudimentary education and conversion to Christianity (Fletcher, 1989). The boys gained skills in carpentry, farming and agriculture, while the girls learnt domestic duties at both locations. The days were regimented from morning till night, with study and scripture, a minimal play period before going back to work (Brook & Kohen, 1991). Both Institutions ensured the children were indoctrinated into the European way of life, always under the watchful eye of missionaries - evangelicals, who were driven to both 'civilise the savage child' and save their souls. By changing their 'heathen ways' and teaching them employable skills, missionaries believed the children could become productive in colonial society.

When the Blacktown Native Institution was unable to provide care due to a lack of missionary staff, the children went to other orphan schools. The boys were sent to Liverpool, from where they quickly absconded, running back to the bush (Fletcher, 1989); and the girls went to the Female Orphan School at Parramatta, where they were put into service to European families. When the girls returned to Blacktown in 1826, those families demanded their return. One such demand came from Francis Oakes of Parramatta who requested ‘Nelly, a half-caste girl...to be apprenticed to him’ (Brook & Kohen, 1991, p. 205). Nelly’s fate was then sealed.

By the end of 1828, the Blacktown Native Institution was short of pupils, and described as ‘chronically ill with malnutrition’. Young girls were also afflicted with ‘internal hereditary disease’ (Fletcher, 1989, p. 223), which was later identified as venereal disease. Children, who had previously led happy, healthy lives under the watchful care of their kin, were now exposed to deadly diseases and the exploitation of Europeans. Not all the children were Aboriginal, as some Māori children were also placed there (Brook & Kohen, 1991). Over the years that it operated, the Blacktown Native Institution was thwarted by drought, disease and death. It died its own lingering death in 1833, with surviving students sent back to orphan schools at Parramatta and Liverpool, while three older girls were taken to the emerging Wellington Valley Mission.

It is unknown exactly how many children passed through the doors of those first two Institutions. I suggest it would be unlikely the children would remember, or have retained any teachings, from their kin, nor did the missionaries understand the importance of those learnings. Rather they ‘...entailed a wholesale attack on Indigenous oral tradition, culture

and law’ (Kociumbas, 1997, p. 11). Even so, once their education was complete, many of the young people returned once again to their cultural roots, re-joining their sacred lifestyle which had existed for thousands of generations (Fletcher, 1989).

Mission Schools and Orphanages in the 1830s and 1840s

While both native Institutions were considered failures in their mission to civilise the students, they paved the way for the systematic removal of Aboriginal children and young people in every state and territory in Australia. Over the next four decades, charities and churches continued to monopolise the education system in New South Wales (NSW). Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, Mission schools rose up in western NSW, Victoria, and Queensland. It was not until 1848 that the NSW government formally took on the responsibility for education (Burridge & Chodkiewicz, 2012). While policies of the day excluded Aboriginal children from attending any government schools, in 1840 a school in Adelaide South Australia (SA), reported Aboriginal children as having ‘a capacity for learning and [are] not at all inferior to the best class of European children’ (Barry, 2008, p. 41.4).

Some evangelicals set up Institutions in their homes, while others procured huge parcels of land, calling them ‘missions’. The first bill for the Protection of Aborigines was drafted in 1838, after the massacre of thirty unarmed Aboriginal men, women and children at Myall Creek NSW in June of that year (New South Wales Government Office of Environment and Heritage, 2019). This was followed years later by Protectorates, which were set up across Australia (Parbury, 1988, p. 65). When native schools opened on Aboriginal missions, families could reside nearby. However the day-to-day care of those children usually fell

under the watchful eye of the missionaries, and families were kept at a distance. States and territories, that had smaller Aboriginal populations such as Victoria and Tasmania, removed Aboriginal children and placed them in orphanages and child welfare Institutions (Clark, 2002).

Aboriginal parents, while wanting their children educated, were not considered worthy of raising their progeny. The attitudes of the clergy and officials continued to keep Aboriginal peoples as a class below Europeans. Bishop Broughton reported that ‘after an intercourse of nearly half a century with a Christian people, these hapless human beings continue to this day in their original benighted and degraded state’ (Barry, 2008, p. 41.7). Removing children from their families continued to be thought of as being in their best interest. Regarded as a race of people with no hope, no ability and no destiny in the modernity that characterised the new nation, dislocation, separation, and then assimilation, became the order of the day.

The Camfield School in Western Australia

While native residential schools in Australia often differed in their setup, operations and purpose, the ideological belief in the necessity to ‘civilise’ Aboriginal children underpinned every single one. In Western Australia (WA) an Englishwoman with a passion for education set up a school at her home in Albany in November 1852. Anne Camfield and her husband Henry were devout evangelicals, and had taken some Aboriginal children into their home. Anne, like Elizabeth Shelley from the Parramatta Institution (but unaware of her existence), also took on the role of primary teacher and carer. Within six months, Anne was caring for ten children with the help of two Aboriginal assistants, Ellen Wells and Ellen Trimme

(Cruickshank, 2008). Henry Camfield, in support of his wife's endeavours, wrote in a letter '...Anne is very much interested in the sable race. There is plenty to work upon if their presently dark minds were duly cultivated' (Cruickshank, 2008, p. 119). Later erecting accommodation next to their home, the Institution was known as 'Annesfield' or 'the Camfield' (p. 119). In 1865, Florence Nightingale used Annesfield 'as evidence of Aboriginal ability in a lecture given to the National Association for the Foundation of Social Service in England' (p. 121). The success of the school was measured by the high level of education (then marriage) of the young women. The failure being that even educated Aboriginal women, could not take their rightful place among European society.

The Poonindie Native Training Institution (1850-1894)

In South Australia (SA) the Poonindie Native Training Institution opened 15 Kilometres north of Port Lincoln using a different model, as it focused on an older group of young people and had a training arm. This saw many young Aboriginal men gain expert training in agriculture. Established under the Anglican Church, the Institution was managed until 1856 by Archdeacon Matthew Hale (later, Bishop of Perth and Brisbane). According to Peggy Brock (1987), Poonindie was founded fourteen years after the arrival of Europeans in SA. Much like the other native schools, Hale wanted to 'experiment by isolating his prospective Aboriginal charges from the influence of their own people and from the corrupting influence of many of the settlers in Adelaide' (Brock, 1987, p. 119). Arguing that people were not forced to go to Poonindie, nor held against their will, Brock (1987, p. 120) described how 'Hale's intention was to save Aborigines so they could become "civilised" and Christianised, not to incarcerate them and kill them'. However, many did die while

living there, as over the first few years, ‘fifty per cent of the residents died’ (Brock, 1987, p. 120).

Marrying the young people to suitable partners was high on the agenda at Poonindie, as it was at Parramatta and Annesfield. It was not long before half-caste children from Adelaide arrived at the Institution and when Hale returned to Perth in 1856, he also sent across half-caste children from Annesfield in Albany WA. According to Brock (1987), Aboriginal people who lived at the Institution developed a strong connection to the place, regardless of where their traditional lands were. Most of the people who lived there retained their Aboriginal identity, many continuing to have a strong relationship and sense of belonging to the site.

The Second Wave of Missions and Schools

During the colonisation and settling of Australia, whole communities were pushed off, or forcibly removed, from traditional lands. Safe within their family unit, home for many Aboriginal children ‘...was a camp on the fringe of town, a pastoral station, or far out in the bush’ (Allam, 2002, p. 37). They survived as they had done for thousands of generations ‘happily unaware that they were considered “poor and deprived”’, by a ‘do-gooder’ society, the children enjoyed life ‘hunting, fishing and inventing games’ (p. 38). By the middle of the nineteenth century, Australian States began to formally act against native families. They appointed Boards for their ‘protection’, and Protectors to enact the laws (Read, 2007, p. 36):

‘The second wave of missions and schools established from the 1870s onwards, were mostly run by state governments. The power of the state to disrupt Aboriginal life was a far greater force to be reckoned with than the power of the missionaries.’

While placement on missions, or reserves, provided some security from the influence and racism of European settlers, it also took away Aboriginal people’s right to live traditional lives, eat traditional foods and raise their children in a cultural way. Initially set up under the control of missionaries, these places were to provide a ‘humane environment while their race supposedly died out’ (Grant, 2014, p. 47). Forced to live in substandard accommodation, families became dependent on their caregivers. With poverty knocking at the door, and the system wrapped in a shrouded cloak waiting around the corner, removal of their children became a daily reality. Children and young people were forced to flee if strangers came too near.

By 1883, the NSW government instigated managed reserves through the NSW Aborigines Protection (later Welfare) Board (Read, 2015). With the number of half-caste children growing exponentially, assimilation was deemed necessary. Children then became ‘segregated, biologically assimilated and vigorously integrated into the mainstream White culture’ (Das, 2013, p. 5). This was effectively a social engineering program designed to breed out ‘the colour of both body and mind’ (van Krieken, 2004, p. 127).

Not all Indigenous children suffered removal from families, and not all families were moved off their traditional lands. However, very few escaped the trauma of dislocation, separation and assimilation. Children from mixed descent were at greater risk of removal. Much

depended on the location and intent of the Aboriginal Protector. Nevertheless, between 1870 and 1950, part-descent children were separated from full-descent children in the hope ‘that the latter would disappear as quickly as possible’ (Read, 2006, p. 35).

Early in the twentieth century, authorities gained more powers to remove Aboriginal children and place them in reformatory schools and children’s homes, the enactment of those laws systematically taking away the rights of Aboriginal parents to raise their children (Rowley, 1986). While the states differed in the way they wrote these laws, the intent and end result was the same: forced removals of native children. The State became the legal guardian and child welfare Institutions their home. Mixed race children were most at risk: the lighter the skin, the higher the chance of being taken and absorbed into ‘white Australia’ (Jacobs, 2006, p. 203).

The missionaries continued to play a role and by the beginning of the twentieth century New South Wales Aborigines' Mission (NSWAM) (later, the Australian Aboriginal Mission and United Aborigines Mission) set up multiple sites across the country, based on the basic principle of ‘trusting God to provide’. The organisation became ‘an effort of evangelical Christians of all denominations to give the Gospel to the aborigines of Australia – a real union of Christian fellowship and activity’ (Clark, 2002, p. 167). The Australian Inland Mission and the Uniting Church Frontier Services were set up in more remote areas across the continent. The United Aborigines Mission was responsible for setting up the first Aboriginal Children’s Home in the 20th century: the Bomaderry Aboriginal Children's Home for babies and young children. Situated south of Sydney, it started taking children from 1908 and was in operation longer than any other

Aboriginal children's home in NSW (New South Wales Government Office of Environment and Heritage, 2019).

In 1910, the Northern Territory Aboriginals Department was established through the Northern Territory Aboriginals Act 1906, appointing a Chief Protector (the position created under the law) as the 'legal guardian of every Aboriginal and every half-caste child up to the age of 18 years' Australian Human Rights Commission (2019). In 1915, an iron shed named the Bungalow became the Alice Springs Half-Caste Institution or Half-Caste Home. Conditions there were appalling, and the children were subjected to sexual abuse (Find and Connect, 2019). A letter sent to the Minister outlines the horrific living standards:

'The accommodation provided for them exhausts my power to paint adequately. A rough floor of burnt lime and sand to make a form of cement has been laid down. A very rough framework of wood was put up, and some dilapidated sheets of corrugated iron roughly thrown over it. There are no doors or windows... The children are issued with two blankets and lie on the floor. One small stove has to cook bread for over fifty people. They apparently have never had fruit or vegetables...The only lighting is two hurricane lamps. The children have no games or amusements of any description. Cooking utensils are practically nil. There are six bowls and twenty towels to serve everybody.'

The Moore River Native Settlement in Western Australia (WA) was a Government Institution opened in 1918, under the supervision of the Protector of Aborigines, A.O. Neville. His policy of biological absorption '...was based on the assumption that Aboriginal culture was inherently inferior, and a threat to the successful inculcation of white ways'

(McHugh, 2002, p. 128). Known for its poor sanitation, overcrowded facilities and dilapidated buildings, the Settlement posed a serious health risk to the children forced to live there. Research completed by the Aboriginal History WA unit indicates that the majority of the 374 people who died at Moore River were children who succumbed to treatable respiratory and infectious diseases (Perpitch, 2018). Their daily routine was regulated and controlled by 'rules, timetables and regimens, and in nearly all Institutions, children's lives were governed by the ringing of bells' (Clark, 2002, p. 169). These were not isolated cases, with Wilson (1997) finding that when children were removed (p. 137):

'The physical infrastructure of missions, government institutions and children's homes was often very poor and resources were insufficient to improve them or to keep the children adequately clothed, fed and sheltered.'

Native children were removed by the State because it was deemed 'in their best interest'. They were not just separated from their families and communities, but also dislocated from Country and Culture. Many were forced to live in sub-standard conditions, many suffered from neglect, most were abused and used as free labour. All suffered ongoing trauma, perpetrated by the very system set up to protect them - and this was done 'for their own good'?

THE LEGACY OF THE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS SYSTEM IN AUSTRALIA

Native residential schools were not a new phenomenon in the Western world, having been established in colonised countries for almost 200 years (Cassidy, 2009; Claes & Clifton, 1998; Prochner, 2004). While the civilising and Christianising of native children has been

the impetus for all native residential schools, Australia has differed from those in other parts of the world in the ways the Institutions were set up. While the American Indian Boarding School system fell under education clauses contained in treaties signed by Indian Nations between 1780 and 1870 (Cassidy, 2009), no such accords existed in Australia. The education of native children at residential schools was placed largely in the hands of ‘voluntary religious organisations’ (Prochner, 2004, p. 9). In Canada, the majority of native children receiving an education were also placed in boarding schools; however, Carney (1995) found most ‘went unwillingly, without the consent of their parents’ (p. 14). Many were forcibly kept there for years.

When Australia implemented laws to remove children from their parents and place them under the guardianship of the State, most if not all of them also went unwillingly, usually without parental consent. However, education, although seen as important, was not the sole purpose of these Australian native residential schools. Christian teachings underpinned the educational process, as only a few hours each day were set aside for reading and writing (Buti, 2002). With the colour of their skin denoting inferiority, and their nakedness degradation (Harris, 1994), ‘civilising’ the children was deemed to be the only way (Rowley, 1986). Read argues that ‘....children’s minds were like a kind of blackboard on which the European secrets could be written’ (Read, 2006, p. 10).

Children were also sent out from the institutions during school holidays, to work on farms where many were subjected to physical and sexual abuse. When they reported their treatment, it was they who were castigated and made to feel it was their fault, disbelieved and punished again by the system (Mellor & Haebich, 2002).

In this section I discuss two main legacies of native residential schools in Australia. First, the pretexts, practices and policies that have justified a system of forced Aboriginal child removals that continues to this day; and second, the debates about whether such policies and practices constitute a form of genocide.

Pretexts, Practices and Policies

From the colonisers' point of view, they did everything they thought necessary to 'help' native peoples from the earliest days of the colony. They set up residential schools to educate Aboriginal children. Cared for by missionaries, the children had a 'good Christian upbringing', which in turn would save their souls. Taught employable skills, the children were given every chance to become part of European society. With settlement expanding on every front, state governments introduced protection policies to keep native peoples safe. Removing them from traditional lands and placing them on missions and reserves could be viewed as a humanitarian act of ensuring native peoples' rights, while protecting them from molestation by white settlers. The government appointment of Protectors ensured '....their mission would be a civilising one - rounding up Aborigines and showing them the benefits of Christianity' (Barta, 1987, p. 246).

The opening of the Native Institution at Parramatta set the precedent and laid the foundation for all native schools across Australia. The practice of removing Aboriginal children became 'official government policy until 1969' (Grant, 2014, p. 49). With removals often crossing states, many children and young people grew up far from home, many never knowing their roots, or from whence they came. When the laws across Australia took away the rights of Aboriginal parents, removals effectively became a social engineering program designed to breed out 'the colour of both body and mind' (van Krieken, 2004). Just as states and territories became the legal guardian of native children; child welfare Institutions and reformatory schools became their homes. Apart from being forcibly separated from their families, many suffered horrendous cruelty and ill treatment, including sexual abuse and exploitation (Wilson, 1997). While the most vulnerable and impressionable in native society

were being exposed to unimaginable abuses by a ‘do-gooder’ system removal were considered to be in the children’s best interest.

By the middle of the 1930s, the policy of assimilation became the main focus of dealing with ‘the Aboriginal problem’. During the 1937 Aboriginal Welfare Conference, assimilation policy was endorsed as the preferred method of control over native peoples’ lives. According to Das (2013, p. 7), the policy’s intentions were twofold: assimilation of Aboriginal people into the dominant white Australian culture; and, secondly, ‘....an idea of biological-genetic assimilation, which in turn depended on the premise of human genetics and bias against the dark skin colour’. By 1940, assimilation had replaced protection and become official policy in all Australian mainland States and the Territories.

With the large number of mixed-race children continuing to appear, assimilation policies were enforced and over time thousands of Aboriginal children were removed from their families. Absorbing them into white society, sat well during the age of the ‘White Australia’ policy, which began in 1901, and was not abolished until 1973 (Moses, 2004). After all, this was the nature of ‘progress’, the advancement into a new age, the age of ‘whiteness’ where heathen days and heathen ways would be easily forgotten. Progress would naturally follow. In reality, it represented policies that destroyed native families, communities and cultures. In the 2006 reprint of his book, ‘*The Stolen Generations*’ (which he first wrote in 1981), noted historian Peter Read reflected somewhat somberly on the issue of child separation:

It was scarcely talked about. Non-Aborigines said it couldn't have happened. The victims of separation thought it shameful to talk about their removal. They believed that maybe their parents hadn't been able to care for them properly, or worse still, didn't want them.

Forced Child Removals: Genocide or an Inevitable Result of 'Progress'?

Polish lawyer Raphaël Lemkin first coined the phrase 'genocide' in 1944. Lemkin went on to lobby for the act of genocide to be accepted as a crime under international law. In 1946, the United Nations codified genocide as an independent crime, adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly, on 9 December 1948. Article II of the Convention states:

'In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- Killing members of the group
- Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group
- Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part
- Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group
- Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.'

During the UN debates on the Genocide Convention, removing children from one group to another was taken very seriously (Reynolds, 2001), with Greek Delegate, Pierre Vallindas,

arguing that ‘....the forced transfer of children could be as effective a means of destroying a human group’ (Reynolds, 2001, p. 173). However, Reynolds revealed that Lemkin himself did not regard assimilation as a major issue, as ‘cultural genocide related to drastic methods aimed at the rapid and complete disappearance of the cultural, moral and religious life of a group of human beings’, which Lemkin considered to be much more serious than ‘....a policy of forced assimilation by moderate coercion’ (Reynolds, 2001, p.175).

The Australian parliamentary debate about the Genocide Convention in 1949 strongly refuted the notion that Australia’s treatment of Aboriginal Peoples could be seen as genocide. For example, Archie Cameron, Liberal member for Barker, claimed (in Tatz, 1999, p. 315):

‘No one in his right senses believes that the Commonwealth of Australia will be called before the bar of public opinion, if there is such a thing, and asked to answer for any of the things which are enumerated in this Convention.’

In the same session, Leslie Haylen, Labour Member of Parliament for Parkes, remarked (in Tatz, 1999, p. 315):

...the horrible crime of genocide is unthinkable in Australia. That we detest all forms of genocide ...arises from the fact that we are moral people.’

However, in the afore-mentioned *'The Stolen Generations'*, Peter Read (1981, p. 3) argued that:

'Genocide does not simply mean the extermination of people by violence but may include any means at all. At the height of the policy of separating Aboriginal people from their parents the Aborigines Welfare Board meant to do just that. The 1921 Report of the Board stated that, "the continuation of this policy of dissociating the children from camp life must eventually solve the Aboriginal problem"....Some were taken so young that they did not remember where they had come from or even who their parents were....Many of these children did not, and could not, return to their families.'

To highlight this attitude, Read (1981, p. 3) quoted from a letter from the Aboriginal Welfare Board to a Police Sergeant at a mid-Western town in New South Wales in 1958:

'In view of the inadequate provision as regards housing, food and care of the children of ___ on the Aboriginal reserve at ___ would you kindly charge the children as neglected and commit them to the care of this Board.'

Today, any notion of genocide against Australia's native peoples continues to sit uneasily in this country. The mainstream view in Australia today is not that far from the views held by politicians debating the issue seventy years ago: that Australia is a nation 'built on the backbone of pioneers. This is particularly demonstrated on days of national significance, such as ANZAC and Remembrance Days, when we come out in force to remember and honour our fallen soldiers. Genocide is viewed as something that was committed elsewhere:

the Holocaust in Germany, in Stalin's Russia, Pol Pot's Cambodia, Bosnia, Rwanda or Turkey / Armenia. Genocide represents man's inhumanity to man, and challenges man's inherent right to exist. Suggesting that genocide may have been committed against the original inhabitants of Australia is to admit the unthinkable. It goes against everything this country stands for, which is 'a fair go for all'.

For many in the wider population, incidents involving the death of Aboriginal peoples during the early days of Australia's history are seen as a natural part of 'progress'. Tragic as they may have been, the prevailing argument is that they happened at another time - a time when this 'great nation' was being colonised and civilised, when 'pioneers' struggled to eke out a living in a strange and hostile environment, 'creating civilisation out of a wilderness' (Attwood, 2005, p. 14). This was a time of opportunity, of commercialism, capitalism and advancement.

Many non-Indigenous people fail to realise or acknowledge that '....the battle for Australia was the same kind of war of dispossession which was fought by Europeans anywhere in the world' (Read, 2006, p. 17). Aboriginal people were seen as mere collateral damage on the path to 'inevitable' advancement. To accuse the colonising nation, Great Britain, of any form of genocide, would be to admit wrongdoing during the founding of this country. However, what those who hold such attitudes fail to recognise is, the devastating effect on the native population: with civilisation came dislocation from Country, separation from families, then assimilation into the European way of life. With Christianity came missionaries; and with education came native residential schools, spreading like 'tiny islands scattered across the continent' (Clark, 2002, p. 165). According to Read (2006, p. 34):

‘Children were to be educated as if they were cultureless orphans. Separating children from their extended families created a vacuum in their own cultural knowledge, and a subsequent ignorance of how to parent their own children. The long-term effects were, for some, madness and death, and for others, many generations of desolation and misery.’

As I discuss in the next section, it was not until the 1990s that some steps were taken in Australia to acknowledge and recognise the irreparable damage to the peoples whose lives and cultural connections have been devastated by the policies of forced child removals in the name of ‘civilisation’ and ‘progress’.

PROCESSES OF TRUTH, RESTITUTION, RECONCILIATION AND RECLAMATION

While Australia has a long way to go in acknowledging the damage done through the legacy initiated by the establishment of the first native residential school in Parramatta in 1814, several more recent events have triggered a significant movement towards truth telling and reconciliation between native and non-native Australians: Prime Minister Paul Keating’s ‘Redfern Speech’ in 1992; the report of the ‘*National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families*’ (known as the “‘Bringing Them Home” Report’) in 1997; and the ‘*National Apology to Australia’s Stolen Generations*’ by Prime Minister Kevin Rudd in 2008. Before turning to those events, it is worth noting that the first British acknowledgement of disruption to the lives of Aboriginal peoples came on 10th December 1814, when Governor Lachlan Macquarie announced the

opening of the Parramatta Native Institution and promises of land to parents, with a purpose to 'effect the Civilisation of the Aborigines of New South Wales and to render their Habits more domesticated and industrious'. Describing Aboriginal peoples as '....innocent, destitute, and unoffending Race', this experiment was intended to '....not only make them happy in themselves, but also in some Degree useful to the Community'. In the General Orders, Macquarie acknowledged the impact of British Settlement, and the exclusion of '....the Natives from many of the natural Advantages they had previously derived from the animal and other Productions of this Part of the Territory'.

The Redfern Speech (1992)

One hundred and seventy-eight years after the establishment of the Parramatta Native Institution, the then-Prime Minister of Australia, Paul Keating, delivered a resounding speech in Redfern, Sydney while launching the 1993 *Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples*. Known as the 'Redfern Speech', it was delivered on 10th December 1992, and marked the first instance of an Australian Prime Minister admitting the impact of colonisation on the native peoples of this country. Prime Minister Keating spoke the 'unspeakable' and broke the 'great Australian silence' on the national stage. During this address, he named the failure of the Europeans to bring much more than devastation and demoralisation to Aboriginal Australia, an injustice not to be swept aside (Keating, 1992):

'It begins, I think, with that act of recognition. Recognition that it was we who did the dispossessing. We took the traditional lands and smashed the traditional way of life. We brought the diseases. The alcohol. We committed the murders. We took the children from their mothers. We practiced discrimination and exclusion. It was our ignorance and our

prejudice. And our failure to imagine these things being done to us. With some noble exceptions, we failed to make the most basic human response and enter into their hearts and minds.’

Bringing Them Home Report (1997)

Four-and-a-half years later, on 26th May 1997, two events occurred that would both challenge and confront the wider Australian population. The first was the tabling in the Australian Parliament of the ‘*Bringing Them Home*’ Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families (Wilson, 1997). Led by Sir Ronald Wilson, the Inquiry heard testimony from hundreds of survivors of these policies. The ‘*Bringing them Home*’ Report clearly demonstrated how Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children were systematically taken under the pretexts of education, protection and assimilation (Wilson, 1997). It highlighted the trauma, loss and grief that affect most Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander families across Australia. Importantly, in the light of the earlier discussion about genocide, it noted (Wilson, 1997, p. 239):

‘The policy of forcible removal of children from Indigenous Australians to other groups for the purpose of raising them separately from and ignorant of their culture and people could properly be labelled ‘genocidal’ in breach of binding international law from at least 11 December 1946.’

The submission to the Inquiry from the Sydney Aboriginal Mental Health Unit went further (Wilson, 1997, p. 170):

‘This tragic experience, across several generations, has resulted in incalculable trauma, depression and major mental health problems for Aboriginal people... This process has been tantamount to a continuing cultural and spiritual genocide both as an individual and a community experience and we believe that it has been the single most significant factor in emotional and mental health problems which in turn have impacted on physical health.’

And finally, the Inquiry concluded (Wilson, 1997):

When a child was forcibly removed that child’s entire community lost, often permanently, its chance to perpetuate itself in that child. The Inquiry has concluded that this was a primary objective of forcible removals and is the reason they amount to genocide.

The second event on that day was the opening of the Australian Reconciliation Convention in Melbourne, by the then-Prime Minister of Australia, John Howard. In his opening address Howard, referring to the treatment of native Australians since European settlement, called it ‘...a blemished Chapter in our history’. His response is in stark contrast to the speeches of both Paul Keating and later Kevin Rudd, as well as the spirit of the ‘*Bringing Them Home*’ Report (Howard, 1997):

‘Personally, I feel deep sorrow for those of my fellow Australians who suffered injustices under the practices of past generations towards indigenous people. Equally, I am sorry for the hurt and trauma many people here today may continue to feel as a consequence of those practices. In facing the realities of the past, however, we must not join those who would portray Australia's history since 1788 as little more than a disgraceful record of imperialism, exploitation and racism. Such a portrayal is a gross distortion and deliberately neglects the overall story of great Australian achievement that is there in our history to be told, and such an approach will be repudiated by the overwhelming majority of Australians who are proud of what this country has achieved although inevitably acknowledging the blemishes in its past history. Australians of this generation should not be required to accept guilt and blame for past actions and policies over which they had no control.’

When The ‘*Bringing Them Home*’ Report was tabled in Parliament that day, it recommended that the Prime Minister issue a public apology to the Stolen Generations. That apology was not forthcoming from John Howard, who would not subscribe to what he called ‘the black armband view of history’ and opposed the use of the word ‘genocide’ in relation to Australia’s history (Reynolds, 2001). In lieu of any formal apology, a ‘*National Sorry Day*’ was established to raise awareness of all native children and young people who were forcibly removed from their families. It stands as a reminder to the wider Australian population that those removals happened, and of the ongoing suffering and pain that still endures, and that this history must never be forgotten. The ‘*Inquiry into the Stolen Generation*’ submission from the Howard government to the Senate Legal and Constitutional References Committee for the ‘*Bringing Them Home*’ Report, stated there was ‘....never a “generation” of stolen children’ (Jonas, 2000). With the Howard Government denying those atrocities ever occurred, it was easy to understand why the

majority of Australians felt the same way, preferring to look at those decades of removals as being ‘in the best interests of those children’.

National Apology to Australia’s Stolen Generations

On 13 February 2008, then-Prime Minister Kevin Rudd addressed the Australian people from Parliament to rectify ‘....this blemished Chapter in our national history’. What follows are a few excerpts from that speech (Hempenstall, 2018):

‘... today we honour the Indigenous peoples of this land, the oldest continuing cultures in human history. We reflect on their past mistreatment. We reflect in particular on the mistreatment of those who were Stolen Generations – this blemished Chapter in our nation’s history....We apologise for the laws and policies of successive Parliaments and governments that have inflicted profound grief, suffering and loss on these our fellow Australians. We apologise especially for the removal of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their families, their communities and their country. For the pain, suffering and hurt of these Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry. To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry. And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry... We embrace with pride, admiration and awe these great and ancient cultures we are truly blessed to have among us cultures that provide a unique, uninterrupted human thread linking our Australian continent to the most ancient prehistory of our planet.’

Ten years on from the National Apology, the physical, mental, cultural, spiritual, social and emotional well-being of Australia's Aboriginal peoples is still a matter of concern. While there is no national reparation scheme, New South Wales, Tasmania, Western Australia and South Australia have introduced some form of reparation for members of the Stolen Generations. The Northern Territory, Queensland and Victoria are still yet to do so. While saying 'sorry' does go a long way in healing the hurt, there are still those in the wider community who continue to believe it was in the best interest of those children to be removed from their parents. However, no words of apology or well-meaning attitudes can make up for the loss of family, community and culture. No words, however well intentioned, can undo the legacy of those destructive government policies and practices.

A FINAL NOTE

Before the arrival of the First Fleet and missionaries, Australia had no jails, no state welfare systems, no drug, alcohol or mental health facilities, no out-of-home care and residential care homes. The effects of colonisation were so catastrophic they have become embedded in the psyche of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples, passing down the genetic line. As a woman of Aboriginal heritage, with experience of working in Aboriginal affairs, I can confidently say that the history of colonisation does not lie dead and forgotten. It lives within us every day, a phenomenon that has come to be recognised as intergenerational trauma.

It is also vital to acknowledge the history of Aboriginal resistance and struggle. In the 1930s, Aboriginal peoples began to fight for their basic human rights to live as equals and raise their children. During the 1970s, voices grew louder and louder, like thunder booming across the landscape. Pitched higher and higher, they screamed, 'This decimation of our

families - it has to stop!’ Aboriginal organisations began to operate across the country, providing services to Indigenous communities, including Aboriginal Legal Services and Medical Centres, along with Aboriginal and Islander Child Care Agencies (AICCAs). The role of the AICCA was to place Indigenous children within their extended family unit or with Indigenous carers, when they needed out-of-home care. Advocating for the best interests of the child and the abolishment of the previous harsh policies and practices, the AICCAs lobbied for national welfare legislation and policies to reduce the over-representation of Indigenous children in the care and protection system. This has resulted in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Placement Principle, which is now enshrined in legislation across the country. The fundamental goal of the Principle is ‘....to enhance and preserve Aboriginal children's connection to family and community and sense of identity and culture’.

The notion that removing native children from their parents is in the ‘best interests of the child’ echoes the attitudes and beliefs of missionaries like William Shelley in 1814. While the Principle is definitely a way forward, it is still open to interpretation, with statutory agencies continuing to make the call as to whether they involve Aboriginal welfare agencies or what they consider to be in the ‘child’s best interests’. These attitudes continue to reverberate across Australia, despite the fact that the Principle has been adopted in every jurisdiction to ensure the ‘Stolen Generations’ do not happen again (SNAICC, 2017):

The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Placement Principle (ATSICPP) recognises the importance of connections to family, community, culture and country in child and family

welfare legislation, policy, and practice, and asserts that self-determining communities are central to supporting and maintaining those connections.’

Where native schools operated across Australia, now foster homes and residential care facilities take their place. Children no longer live under the care of missionaries, but under the watchful eye of state welfare systems. Often, workers on shift provide their day-to-day care. Like other colonised nations, Indigenous children (in Australia’s case, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children) are over-represented in the care and protection and juvenile justice systems, across every jurisdiction. In 2017, the Australian Bureau of Statistics found that Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children made up 36.9 per cent of children placed in care 2016 / 2017, yet they made up only 5.5 per cent of the population aged 0 - 17 years. Rates per 1000 are 10 times that of non-Indigenous children (AIHW, 2018).

In an Aboriginal understanding of time, two hundred and thirty odd years is but a mere moment. Despite all attempts by the colonisers and missionaries to destroy the oldest living cultures on earth, our cultures continue to thrive, languages are being revived, and young people are becoming proud of being First Nations youth. They are the best hope for our future.

REFERENCES

- Allam, L. (2002). Memories of home 'this beautiful sense of freedom. In D. Mellor & A. Haebich (eds.), *Many Voices: Reflections on Experiences of Indigenous Child Separation* (p. 324). Canberra: National Library of Australia.
- Attwood, B. (2005). *Telling the Truth about Aboriginal History*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Australian Human Rights Commission (2019). *Bringing Them Home: 8. History - Northern Territory*. Available on-line: <https://www.humanrights.gov.au/publications/bringing-them-home-8-history-northern-territory> [Accessed January, 2019].
- Australian Institute of Family Studies (2015). *Enhancing the Implementation of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Placement Principle Policy and Practice Considerations*. Available on-line: <https://aifs.gov.au/cfca/publications/enhancing-implementation-aboriginal-and-torres-strait-islander-child/aboriginal-and> [Accessed January, 2019].
- Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (2018). *Child Protection Australia 2016 – 17*. Available on-line: <https://www.aihw.gov.au/getmedia/66c7c364-592a-458c-9ab0-f90022e25368/aihw-cws-63.pdf.aspx?inline=true> [Accessed January, 2019].
- Barry, A. (2008). 'Equal to children of European origin': Educability and the civilising mission in early colonial Australia. *History Australia*, 5(2), 41.41 - 41.16.
- Barta, T. (1987). Relations of genocide: land and lives in the colonization of Australia. *Genocide and the Modern Age: Etiology and Case Studies of Mass Death*, 2: 237 - 253.

- Bennett, M. (2009). Smallpox and cowpox under the Southern Cross: The smallpox epidemic of 1789 and the advent of vaccination in colonial Australia. *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 83(1): 37 - 62.
- Blainey, G. (2015). *The Story of Australia's People: The Rise and Fall of Ancient Australia*. Scoresby: Penguin Random House Australia.
- Brock, P. (1987). Writing Aboriginal collective biography: Poonindie, South Australia, 1850-1894. History of an Aboriginal mission. *Aboriginal History*, 11: 116 - 128).
- Brook, J., & Kohen, J. (1991). *The Parramatta Native Institution and the Black Town: A History*. Kensington, NSW: NSW University Press.
- Burridge, N., & Chodkiewicz, A. (2012). An historical overview of Aboriginal education policies in the Australian context. In N. Burridge, F. Whalan, & K. Vaughan (eds.), *Indigenous Education* (pp. 11 - 21). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Buti, A. (2002). The removal of Aboriginal children: Canada and Australia compared. *University of Western Sydney Law Review*, 6: 25 - 37.
- Carney, R. (1995). Aboriginal residential schools before confederation: The early experience. *Historical Studies*, 61: 13 - 40.
- Cassidy, J. (2009). The Canadian response to Aboriginal residential schools: lessons for Australia and the United States? *Elaw: Murdoch University Electronic Journal of Law*, 16(2): 38 - 71.
- Claes, R. & Clifton, D. (1998). *Needs and Expectations for Redress of Victims of Abuse at Native Residential Schools*. Available on-line: <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/bitstream/handle/10222/10440/Sage%20Research%20Redress%20EN.pdf?sequence> [Accessed January, 2019].

Clark, I. (2002). Indigenous children and Institutions: 'for the instruction and improvement of the natives'. In D. Mellor & A. Haebich (eds.), *Many Voices*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.

Coe, M. (1999). Windradyne: a Wiradjuri Koorie. In P. Newbury (ed.), *Aboriginal Heroes of the Resistance: From Pemulwuy to Mabo* (2nd edn). Sydney: Action for World Development.

Collins, D. (1798). *An account of the English colony in New South Wales, with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners etc, of the native Inhabitants of that country* (Vol. 1). Terrey Hills, Sydney: Reed, A.H & Reed, A.W in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society.

Cowan, J. (1992). *The elements of Aborigine tradition*. Brisbane: Element Books Ltd.

Cruickshank, J. (2008). To exercise a beneficial influence over a man: marriage, gender and the native Institutions in early colonial Australia. In A. Barry, J. Cruickshank, A. Brown-May & P. Grimshaw (Eds.), *Evangelists of Empire? Missionaries in Colonial History* (pp. 115-124). Melbourne: eScholarship Research Centre in collaboration with the Schools of Historical Studies.

Das, P. (2013). 'The Frontier Spectrum': Colonial Australia and Aboriginal Resistance. *Galaxy: International Multidisciplinary Journal*, II(IV): 1 - 10.

Edwards, W. H. (2004). *An Introduction to Aboriginal societies*. Melbourne: Thomson / Social Science Press.

Elder, B. (1998). *Blood on the Wattle: Massacres and Maltreatment of Australian Aborigines Since 1788* (Vol. 2). Sydney: National Book Distributors.

Find and Connect (2019). *The Bungalow (1914 - 1942)*. Available on-line: <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/guide/nt/YE00019> [Accessed January, 2019].

Fletcher, J. (1989). *Clean, Clad and Courteous: A History of Aboriginal Education in New South Wales*. Carlton, N.S.W.: J Fletcher.

Fletcher, J. (1989). *Documents in the History of Aboriginal Education*. Marrickville NSW: Southwood Press Pty Ltd.

Gladwin, M. (2012). Flogging parsons? Australian Anglican clergymen, the magistracy, and convicts, 1788-1850. *Journal of Religious History*, 36(3): 386 - 403.

Grant, E. (2014). The incarceration of Australian Aboriginal women and children. In P. Ashton & J. Wilson (eds.), *Silent System: Forgotten Australians and the Institutionalisation of Women and Children*. North Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty Ltd.

Harris, J. (1994). *One Blood: 200 years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope* (2nd edn, Vol. 2). Sutherland, NSW: Albatross Books.

Hempenstall, H. (2018). *Kevin Rudd's Sorry Speech: Ten Years Later, are Indigenous Australians Better Off?* October 3rd. Available on-line: <https://www.who.com.au/kevin-rudd-sorry-speech> [Accessed January, 2019].

Howard, J. (1997). *Transcript of the Opening Address To The Australian Reconciliation Convention Melbourne. May 26th. Available on-line: https://pmtranscripts.pmc.gov.au/release/transcript-10361* [Accessed January, 2019].

Hunter, B. & Carmody, J. (2015). Estimating the Aboriginal population in early colonial Australia: The role of chickenpox reconsidered. *Australian Economic History Review*, 55(2): 112 - 138.

Jacobs, M. (2006). Indian boarding schools in comparative perspective: the removal of Indigenous children in the United States and Australia, 1880-1940. *Faculty Publications, Department of History University of Nebraska-Lincoln*, 20: 202-231.

Jonas, W. (2000). *Submission to the Senate Legal and Constitutional References Committee's Inquiry into the Stolen Generation*. Available on-line: https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/stolen_senate_submission.pdf [Accessed January, 2019].

Keating, P. (1992). *Transcript of Speech Delivered in Redfern Park*, December 10th. Available on-line: https://antar.org.au/sites/default/files/paul_keating_speech_transcript.pdf [Accessed January, 2019].

Keneally, T. (1987). Here nature is reversed. In E. Jagger (ed.), *Australia Beyond the Dreamtime* (p. 248). Richmond Victoria: William Heinemann Australia.

Kidd, R. (2002). Looking back: an historical overview of policy, legislation and administration relating to Indigenous child separation in Australia. In D. Mellor & A. Haebich (eds.), *Many Voices: Reflections on Experiences of Indigenous Child Separation* (pp. 247-264). Canberra: National Library of Australia.

National Library of Australia.

King, J. (2009). *Great Moments in Australian History*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Kociumbas, J. (1997). *Australian Childhood: A History*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.

Kohen, J. (1993). *The Darug and their Neighbours: The Traditional Aboriginal Owners of the Sydney Region*. Blacktown, NSW: Darug Link.

Kohen, J. (2006). *Daruganora: Darug Country: The Place and the People*. Blacktown NSW: Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation.

Laidlaw, R. (1990). *Discovering Australian History to 1900: An Evidence-Based Approach*. Caulfield East, Vic: Edward Arnold (Australia) Pty Ltd.

Lemkin, R. (1944). *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. Washington: Canegie Endowment for International Peace.

McHugh, S. (2002). The carers: 'To me they were children'. In D. Mellor & A. Haebich (eds.), *Many Voices: Reflections on Experiences of Indigenous Child Separation*. Canberra: National Library of Australia.

Mellor, D., & Haebich, A. (eds.). (2002). *Many Voices: Reflections on Experiences of Indigenous Child Separation*. Canberra, A.C.T: National Library of Australia.

Melville, W. I. (2006). *An Historical Analysis of the Structures Established for the Provision of Anglican Schools in the Diocese of Perth, Western Australia between 1917 and 1992*. Perth: University of Western Australia.

Moses, A. D. (2004). Genocide and settler society in Australian history. In A. D. Moses (Ed.), *Genocide and Settler Society: Frontier Violence and Stolen Indigenous children in Australian History* (pp. 3 - 48). New York: Berghahn Books.

Newbury, P. (Ed.) (1999). *Aboriginal Heroes of the Resistance: from Pemulwuy to Mabo*. Sydney: Action for World Development.

New South Wales Government Office of Environment and Heritage (2019). *Bomaderry Aboriginal Children's Home*. Available on-line: <https://www.environment.nsw.gov.au/heritageapp/ViewHeritageItemDetails.aspx?ID=5061330> [Accessed January, 2019].

O' Brien, A. (2008). Charity and philanthropy. *Sydney Journal*, 1(3): 18 - 28.

- Parbury, N. (1988). *Survival: A History of Aboriginal Life in New South Wales*. Sydney: Bloxham and Chambers.
- Parbury, N. (2008). *Survival: A History of Aboriginal Life in New South Wales*. Revised Edn. Surrey Hills NSW: NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs.
- Perpitch, N. (2018). *A Journey into 'Hell on Earth'*. Available on-line: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-05-26/moore-river-aboriginal-settlement-journey-into-hell-on-earth/9790658> [Accessed January, 2019].
- Prochner, L. (2004). Early childhood education programs for Indigenous children in Canada, Australia and New Zealand. *Australian Journal of Early Childhood*, 29(4): 7 - 16.
- Ramsland, J. (1986). *Children of the Back Lanes: Destitute and Neglected Children in Colonial New South Wales*. Kensington NSW: NSW University Press.
- Read, P. (1981). *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969*. Sydney: NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs.
- Read, P. (2006). *The Stolen Generations: The Removal of Aboriginal Children in New South Wales 1883 to 1969*. Revised Edn. Sydney: NSW Department of Aboriginal Affairs.
- Read, P. (2007). Shelly's Mistake: the Parramatta Native Institution. In M. Crotty & D. Roberts (eds.), *The Great Mistakes of Australian History* (pp. 32-47). Sydney: UNSW Press.
- Read, P. (2015). Dispossession is a legitimate experience. In A. McGrath & M. Jebb (Eds.), *Long History, Deep Time: Deepening Histories of Place* (pp. 119 - 133). Canberra, ACT: ANU Press.
- Reynolds, H. (2001). *An Indelible Stain? The Question of Genocide in Australia's History*. Ringwood, Vic: Penguin.
- Reynolds, H. (2013). *Forgotten War*. Sydney, NSW.: New South Wales Publishing.

- Ritchie, J. (1986). *Lachlan Macquarie: A Biography*. Melbourne University Press.
- Rowley, C. (1986). *The Destruction of Aboriginal Society*. Canberra ACT: Australian National University Press.
- Sheehan, N., Martin, G., Krysinska, K., & Kilroy, K. (2009). *Sustaining Connection: A Framework for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Community, Cultural, Spiritual, Social and Emotional Wellbeing*. Brisbane: Centre for Suicide Prevention Studies, University of Queensland.
- Smith, K. (2001). *Bennelong: The Coming in of the Eora: Sydney Cove 1788-1792*. Sydney: Kangaroo Press.
- SNAICC: National Voice for Our Children (2017). *Understanding and Applying the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Child Placement Principle*. Available on-line: <https://www.snaicc.org.au/understanding-applying-aboriginal-torres-strait-islander-child-placement-principle/> [Accessed January, 2019].
- Stanner, W. E. H. (1987). *The Dreaming*. Melbourne: The Macmillan Company of Australia Pty Ltd.
- Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser (1814). p. 2, December 31st. Available on-line: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/7240> [Accessed January, 2019].
- Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser (1819). p. 2, April 17th. Available on-line: <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/494184> [Accessed January, 2019].
- Tatz, C. (1999). Genocide in Australia. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 1(3): 315 - 352.
- Tench, W. (1793). *A Complete Account of the Settlement at Port Jackson*

Including An Accurate Description of the Situation of the Colony; of the Natives; and Of Its Natural Productions. Available on-line:

<http://setis.library.usyd.edu.au/ozlit/pdf/p00044.pdf> [Accessed January, 2019].

van Krieken, R. (2004). Rethinking cultural genocide: Aboriginal child removal and settler-colonial state formation. *Oceania*, 75(2): 125 - 151.

Willmot, E. (1987). *Pemulwuy: The Rainbow Warrior*. Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Wilson, R. (1997). *Bringing Them Home: National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children from their Families*. Canberra: Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.